

**THOMAS OF BAYEUX, ARCHIBISHOP OF YORK, 1070 TO 1100**

**Elisabeth Austin**

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Thomas of Bayeux  
Archbishop of York, 1070 to 1100

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Ph.D., Mediaeval History  
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University of St. Andrews



## Contents

	page
Declarations	2
Abstract	3
Acknowledgments	5
Abbreviations	6
Chronology of Thomas of Bayeux's Career	10
I. TEXT	
1. Introduction	12
2. The Family of Thomas of Bayeux	35
3. The Primacy Dispute	65
4. The Metropolitan	106
5. The Diocesan	137
6. The Archbishop I: Chapter and Cathedral	161
7. The Archbishop II: The Lands of St. Peter's	197
8. Thomas and his Kings	225
9. Conclusion	248
II. APPENDICES	
1. Select Documents Issued by Thomas of Bayeux	259
1. Profession of obedience	
2. Letter to Lanfranc	
3. Grant to Selby	
4. Grant to Selby	
5. Letter to Algar the clerk	
6. Formation of prebends	
7. Confirmation of Durham's privileges	
8. Grant of Carlisle to Durham	
9. Obituary of William the Conqueror	
2. Canons and Dignitaries of St. Peter's, 1070-1100	265
3. The Fee of the Archbishop of York, 1086	266
4. Lands Held of the Archbishop by the Canons of St. Peter's, 1086	268
5. Domesday Origins of the Prebends of St. Peter's, 1291	269
III. GENEALOGY AND MAP	
1. The Family of Thomas of Bayeux	271
2. The Fee of the Archbishop of York, 1086	272
IV. BIBLIOGRAPHY	
1. Manuscripts	273
2. Printed Works	275

## Declarations

I, Elisabeth Austin, hereby certify that this thesis, which is approximately 75,000 words in length, has been written by me, that it is the record of work carried out by me and that it has not been submitted in any previous application for a higher degree.

Date 1 May 1997 Signed 

I was admitted as a research student in September, 1992 and as a candidate for the degree of Ph.D. in Mediaeval History in September, 1992; the higher study for which this is a record was carried out in the University of St. Andrews between 1992 and 1996.

Date 1 May 1997 Signed 

I hereby certify that the candidate has fulfilled the conditions of the Resolution and Regulations appropriate for the degree of Ph.D. in the University of St. Andrews and that the candidate is qualified to submit this thesis in application for that degree.

Date 12 May 1997 Signed 

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## Abstract

This study considers the career of Thomas of Bayeux, the first Norman archbishop of York. Through the patronage of William of Normandy and his half-brother, Odo, Thomas rose from treasurer of Bayeux to royal chaplain, and then to archbishop of York. Thomas' notorious "loss" of the primacy dispute has been misrepresented, for the archbishop made only a qualified profession to Lanfranc, and none to Anselm. Other aspects of Thomas' archiepiscopate have been equally misunderstood or neglected. In re-evaluating Thomas of Bayeux's career, this thesis draws on archiepiscopal acts and letters, charters, chronicles, Domesday Book and ancillary surveys, and the architectural remains of York's Norman minster.

In his capacity as metropolitan of the northern province, Thomas of Bayeux granted his first undisputed suffragan, St. Cuthbert's, Durham, special privileges. The archbishop also capitalized on Lanfranc's empty grant of Scotland to annex two more suffragans to his province. Thomas offset York's loss of Lincoln and Worcester with St. Andrews and Orkney, freeing the province from Canterbury's assistance at northern consecrations.

As diocesan, Thomas ministered to the collegiate churches at Ripon, Beverley, and Southwell by drawing on flourishing chapters to bolster weaker institutions. Where circumstances permitted, the archbishop reconstituted collegiate churches to mirror changes at the mother church, but the archbishop also recognized the Anglo-Saxon virtues of canonical common life. Relations between secular and monastic foundations in Thomas' diocese prove rosier than current opinion has allowed. Thomas not only countenanced but supported the growth of the Benedictines in the north.

In his own church of St. Peter's, York, Thomas transformed a tiny, quasi-monastic chapter into a body of canons endowed with dignities and fixed prebends, and poised for mensal independence. The archbishop's use of prebendaries to develop waste land should not be overstated. Domesday entries, Thomas' patronage of York's ancient hospital, and the unusual architectural arrangement of the new Norman cathedral testify to the archbishop's pastoral commitment to his flock.

Eloquent, good-natured, and the best musician of his age, above all Thomas proved a shrewd politician. He dealt strategically with two royal

courts, weathered the destruction of a patron (Odo of Bayeux) and a suffragan (William of St. Calais), and established a secular cathedral during the height of a monastic revival, without making an enemy. Interesting in its own right, Thomas' career tells us much about the northern province's post-Conquest history and York's secular "reform", and ultimately about politics and patronage in the Anglo-Norman church.

## Acknowledgments

I am grateful to the many people who have offered their advice during the writing of this thesis, among them Bernard Barr, Jim Binns, Sarah Costley, Constantine Fasolt, Samuel Jaffe, Jon Lehrich, Sarah Mitchell, Alan Piper, Sarah Rees-Jones, Christopher Norton, Orit Schwartz, and John Williams. David Bates and John Hudson offered helpful comments and criticisms at the viva and afterwards. I owe especial thanks to my supervisor, Robert Bartlett, whom Thomas of Bayeux has dogged from Chicago to St. Andrews.

## Abbreviations

Acta	<i>English Episcopal Acta V: York, 1070-1154</i> , ed. J.E. Burton (Oxford, 1988).
Acta, Lincoln	<i>English Episcopal Acta I: Lincoln, 1067-1185</i> , ed. D.M. Smith (Oxford, 1980).
Aelred	<i>De Sanctis Ecclesiae Hagulstaldensis et Eorum Miraculis Libellus Auctore Aelredo Abbate Rie-vallensi</i> , in <i>The Priory of Hexham</i> , 1, ed. J. Raine, Surtees Society 44 (1864), pp. 173-203.
AL	<i>Acta Lanfranci</i> , in <i>Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel</i> , ed. C. Plummer (2nd ed. Oxford, 1929), pp. 287-92.
AND	D. Rollason, et al., eds., <i>Anglo-Norman Durham 1093-1193</i> (Woodbridge, 1994).
ANS	Anglo-Norman Studies, Woodbridge
ASC	<i>Anglo-Saxon Chronicle</i> , trans. S.I. Tucker, in <i>English Historical Documents 1042-1089</i> , eds. D.C. Douglas, G.W. Greenaway (London, 1968).
Barrow, Kingdom	G.W.S. Barrow, <i>The Kingdom of the Scots</i> (London, 1973).
Bates, "Character"	D. Bates, "The Character and Career of Odo, Bishop of Bayeux (1049/50-1097)", <i>Speculum</i> 50 (1975), pp. 1-20.
Bates, Remigius	D. Bates, <i>Bishop Remigius of Lincoln, 1067-1092</i> (Lincoln, 1992).
Beverley Mem.	<i>Memorials of Beverley Minster</i> , ed. A.F. Leach, Surtees Society 98 (1898).
Béziers	M. Béziers, <i>Mémoires pour servir a l'état historique et géographique du diocèse de Bayeux</i> , 3 vols., ed. G. LeHardy (Paris, 1894-96).
BL	British Library, London
Bodl.	Bodleian Library, Oxford
Bohmer	H. Bohmer, <i>Die Falschungen Erzbischof Lanfranks</i> (Leipzig, 1902).
Brooke, CF	C.N.L. Brooke, "The Canterbury Forgeries and Their Author", <i>Downside Review</i> 68 (1950), pp. 462-76.
Brooke, Hugh	C.N.L. Brooke, "Introduction", Hugh the Chanter, <i>The History of the Church of York 1066-1127</i> , ed. and trans. C. Johnson, rev. M. Brett, C.N.L. Brooke, M. Winterbottom (Oxford, 1990).
Brooke, Marriage	C.N.L. Brooke, <i>The Medieval Idea of Marriage</i> (Oxford, 1989).
Burton, MRO	J. Burton, <i>Monastic and Religious Orders in Britain, 1000-1300</i> (Cambridge, 1994).
C&S	<i>Councils and Synods with Other Documents Relating to the English Church, i, 871-1204</i> , ed. D. Whitelock, M. Brett, and C.N.L. Brooke (Oxford, 1981).
CDF	<i>Calendar of Documents Preserved in France, Illustrative of the History of Great Britain and Ireland, A.D., 918-1216</i> , ed. J.H. Round (HMSO, 1899).
Chrodegang	<i>The Old English Version of the Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang</i> , ed. A.S. Napier (EETS, 1916).
Clapham	A.W. Clapham, <i>English Romanesque Architecture After the Conquest</i> (Oxford, 1934).

- CP *Canterbury Professions*, ed. M. Richter, Canterbury and York Society Publications 67 (1973).
- Crosby E. Crosby, *Bishop and Chapter in Twelfth-Century England* (Cambridge, 1994).
- CS Camden Society
- CTB D. Phillips, *Excavations at York Minster II: The Cathedral of Thomas of Bayeux* (RCHM, 1985).
- Dalton P. Dalton, *Conquest, Anarchy and Lordship: Yorkshire 1066-1154* (Cambridge, 1994).
- DB *Domesday Book, Yorkshire*, 2 vols., ed. M.L. Faull, M. Stinson (Chichester, 1986).
- DCDCM Durham Cathedral, Dean and Chapter Muniments
- DCL Dean and Chapter Library, Durham
- DGNE H.C. Darby, I.S. Maxwell, *The Domesday Geography of Northern England* (Cambridge, 1962).
- Dickens A.G. Dickens, "The 'Shire' and Privileges of the Archbishop in Eleventh Century York", *YAJ* 38 (1952-55), pp. 131-47.
- Digby *Chronica Pontificum Ecclesiae Eboracensis Pars Prima, Auctore Anonymo*, *HCY*, ii, pp. 312-87 (Digby 140).
- DIV *De Injusta Vexacione Willelmi Episcopi Primi per Willelmum Regem Filium Willelmi Magni Regis*, in *Symeon*, 2, pp. 170-95.
- Douglas, WC D.C. Douglas, *William the Conqueror* (Berkeley, 1964).
- Dugdale *Monasticon Anglicanum*, ed. W. Dugdale, 8 vols. (London, 1817-30).
- Durham Charters* *Durham Episcopal Charters 1071-1152*, ed. H.S. Offler, Surtees Society 179 (1968).
- EC1000-1066 F. Barlow, *The English Church 1000-1066* (London, 1963).
- EC1066-1154 F. Barlow, *The English Church 1066-1154* (London, 1979).
- Edwards K. Edwards, *The English Secular Cathedrals in the Middle Ages* (2nd ed., New York, 1967).
- EETS Early English Text Society
- EGC *Earldom of Gloucester Charters... to A.D. 1217*, ed. R.B. Patterson (Oxford, 1973).
- EHR English Historical Review
- EYC *Early Yorkshire Charters*, 1, ed. W. Farrer (Edinburgh, 1914).
- Fauroux *Recueil des Actes des Ducs de Normandie de 911 à 1066*, ed. M. Fauroux (Caen, 1961).
- Fasti J. Le Neve, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1066-1300*, rev. D. Greenway (London, 1968- ).
- Fasti, Clay *York Minster Fasti*, ed. C.T. Clay, *Y.A.S.* 123-124 (1958-9).
- FW *Florentii Wigorniensis Monachi Chronicon ex Chronicis*, 2 vols., ed. B. Thorpe (English Historical Society, 1848-9).
- Gleason S.E. Gleason, *An Ecclesiastical Barony of the Middle Ages: The Bishopric of Bayeux 1066-1154* (Cambridge, MA, 1936).
- Gleason, PhD S.E. Gleason, *The Bishopric of Bayeux, 1066-1154*, unpublished PhD thesis, Harvard University (1934).
- GP *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis Monachi Gesta Pontificum Anglorum Libri Quinque*, ed. N.E.S.A. Hamilton (RS, 1870).
- GR *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis Monachi Gesta Regum*, 2 vols., ed. W. Stubbs (RS, 1887-9).
- HCY *The Historians of the Church of York and Its Archbishops*, 3 vols., ed. J. Raine (RS, 1879-94).

- HH *Henrici Archidiaconi Huntendenensis Historia Anglorum*, ed. T. Arnold (RS, 1879).
- HN  
HN, Bosanquet *Eadmer, Historia Novorum in Anglia*, ed. M. Rule (RS, 1884).  
*Eadmer's History of Recent Events*, trans. G. Bosanquet (London, 1964).
- HR  
Hugh *Historia Regum*, in *Symeon*, 2, pp. 3-283.  
Hugh the Chanter, *The History of the Church of York 1066-1127*, ed. and trans. C. Johnson, rev. M. Brett, C.N.L. Brooke, M. Winterbottom (Oxford, 1990).
- HYM G.E. Aylmer, R. Cant (eds.), *A History of York Minster* (Oxford, 1977).
- JEH *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*
- JTS *Journal of Theological Studies*
- Jumièges Charter "*Une charte de Jumièges concernant l'épreuve par le fer chaud*," ed. P. Le Cacheux, *Société de l'Histoire de Normandie, Mélanges, sér. II* (Rouen, 1927), pp. 205-16.
- Knowles, MO D. Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England, 940-1216* (2nd ed., Cambridge, 1963).
- LDE *Libellus de Exordio atque Procursu istius hoc est Dunelmensis Ecclesie*, in *Symeon*, 1, pp. 3-169.
- LL *The Letters of Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury*, ed. and trans. H. Clover, M Gibson (Oxford, 1979).
- LN (*Livre Noir*) *Antiquus Cartularius Ecclesiae Baiocensis*, ed. V. Bourrienne, 2 vols. (Rouen and Paris, 1902-3).
- LS *Statutes of Lincoln Cathedral*, 2 parts in 3 vols., ed. H. Bradshaw, C. Wordsworth (Cambridge, 1892, 1897).
- MRA *Magnum Registrum Album*, York Minster Library
- OV *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. and trans. M. Chibnall (Oxford, 1969-80).
- Palliser D. Palliser, "Domesday York", *Borthwick Paper* 78 (1990).
- Palliser, "Intro." D. Palliser, "An Introduction to the Yorkshire Domesday", *The Yorkshire Domesday*, ed. A. Williams, Alecto Historical Editions (London, 1992), pp. 1-38.
- PL J.P. Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, 221 vols. (Paris, 1844-64).
- Prior Richard *The History of the Founding of the Church of Hexham, and of the Bishops of that Place, by Richard, Prior of Hexham*, in *The Priory of Hexham*, 1, ed. J. Raine, *Surtees Society* 44 (1864), pp. 1-106.
- Reg. Ant. *The Registrum Antiquissimum of the Cathedral Church of Lincoln*, 1, ed. C.W. Foster, *Lincoln Record Society* 27 (1931).
- Regesta *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum, i. 1066-1100*, ed. H.W.C. Davis (Oxford, 1913); *ii. 1100-35*, ed. H.A. Cronne and C. Johnson (Oxford, 1956).
- Rights and Laws "An English Document of About 1080," ed. M.H. Peacock, *Y.A.J.* 18 (1905), pp. 412-16.
- Rog. Hov. *Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Houedene*, ed. W. Stubbs, 4 vols. (RS, 1868-71).
- RS *Rolls Series: Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland during the Middle Ages*, 99 vols. (1858-96).
- SCH *Studies in Church History*
- Southern, CF R.W. Southern, "The Canterbury Forgeries". *EHR* 68 (1958), pp. 193-226.
- Southern, *Portrait* R.W. Southern, *St. Anselm: A Portrait in a Landscape* (Cambridge, 1990).

<i>Southwell Vis.</i>	<i>Visitations and Memorials of Southwell Minster</i> , ed. A.F. Leach, CS new series 48 (1891).
<i>Symeon</i>	<i>Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia</i> , 2 vols., ed. T. Arnold (RS, 1882-85).
<i>Taxatio</i>	<i>Taxatio Ecclesiastica Angliae et Walliae Auctoritate Papae Nicholai IV circa A.D. 1291</i> , Record Commission (London, 1802).
TRHS	Transactions of the Royal Historical Society
VCH	<i>The Victoria History of the County of York</i> , 3 vols., ed. W. Page (London, 1913).
<i>Whitby Cartulary</i>	<i>Cartularium Abbathiae de Whiteby Ordinis S. Benedicti (1078-1547)</i> , 2 vols., ed. J.C. Atkinson, Surtees Society 69, 72 (1879, 1881).
YAJ	Yorkshire Archaeological Journal
YAS	Yorkshire Archaeological Society
YML	York Minster Library
YS	<i>(York Statutes) De Consuetudinibus et Ordinationibus Antiquitus Usitatis et Obseruatis</i> , in <i>LS2.1</i> , pp. 90-104.

## Chronology of Thomas of Bayeux's Career

c. 1040	Born in Bayeux
1060s	Studies at Liège, at Bec (with Lanfranc); travels to Germany and Spain; enters Odo's <i>familia</i> and becomes treasurer of Bayeux Cathedral
1066	With Odo of Bayeux at Conquest
1066x1068	Receives <i>capellaria</i> of St. Jean from William I
1068	Whitsunday: at Westminster with William I
1070	24 May: appointed archbishop of York, Windsor After 29 August: refuses consecration, Canterbury
c. 1070?	"Rights and Laws": survey of archiepiscopal privileges, York
1070x1071	Consecrated at Canterbury; professes personal obedience to Lanfranc
1071	Fall: travels to Rome for pallium, with Lanfranc
1072	Easter (8 April): primacy settlement, Winchester Pentecost (27 May): primacy settlement, Windsor: professes obedience to Lanfranc and successors Possibly attends court at "Pedreda"; loses Worcester lands
1073	March: consecrates Ralph of Orkney, at York
1074x1075	Attends Lanfranc's council, London
1075x1076	Attends consecration of Arnost of Rochester, Westminster
1076	1 April: attends Lanfranc's council, Winchester
1077	May: attends dedication at Bayeux September: attends dedication at Caen
1077x1078	Attends Lanfranc's council, London
1080	14 July: At Caen with William I Christmas (27 December x 3 January): consecrates William of St. Calais bishop of Durham, Gloucester
1081	3 January: attends Lanfranc's council, Gloucester
1085x1086	Christmas x January: attends Lanfranc's council, Gloucester
1086	5 April: attends consecration of Maurice of London, Winchester 1 August: at Salisbury for oath

At Laycock with William I  
 1086x1087 August x July: at Isle of Wight with William I  
 1087 Christmas: at Rufus' court, London  
 1088 Present at foundation of St. Mary's Abbey, York  
 2 November: attends trial of William of St. Calais;  
 supports king  
 Christmas: at Rufus' court; receives grant of St.  
 Stephen's, York  
 1089 After 28 May; attends Lanfranc's funeral,  
 Canterbury  
 1089x1093 Canterbury vacant  
 1091 Consecrates Ralph of Chichester  
 Consecrates Herbert Losinga of Norwich  
 27 January: at Dover  
 At Hastings  
 1092 Consecrates Hervey of Bangor  
 Appoints nephew provost of Beverley  
 1092x1100 Grants care and archdeaconry of Carlisle to  
 Durham  
 1093 4 December: consecrates Anselm at Canterbury  
 1095x1096 Christmas x 2 January: at deathbed of William of  
 St. Calais  
 1096 8 June: attends consecration of brother Samson  
 of Worcester and Gerard of Hereford, London  
 1099 29 May: at Westminster with Rufus  
 5 June: consecrates Ranulf Flambard bishop of  
 Durham, London  
 1100 After 2 August: at Ripon  
 After 5 August: arrives at London too late to  
 crown Henry  
 14 September: Westminster  
 18 November: dies at Ripon or York

## 1. Introduction

The tomb of Thomas of Bayeux was much venerated by Victorian schoolboys, who enlivened York Minster's services by thrusting long wooden sticks through its hollow quatrefoils and rattling the enclosed lead coffin. So persistent was this worship, that in 1860 the Dean and Chapter commissioned masons to break open Thomas' burial place and fill in the quatrefoils.<sup>1</sup> The archbishop's corpse, clutching a reliquary box, was examined and pronounced in good repair. It is rumored, however, that it never returned to its resting place. To this day, Thomas' monument, a recess guarded by censing angels in the third bay of the north nave aisle, is unmarked: testimony to the current lack of recognition afforded to Thomas of Bayeux, archbishop of York from 1070 to 1100.

If he can be said to be famous for anything, Thomas of Bayeux is famous for losing the primacy dispute to Lanfranc of Canterbury. Institutional historians have dwelt on the contest in intimate detail, but almost universally abandon Thomas in 1072 (the year he professed his obedience), ignoring his twenty-eight subsequent years of service at York.

Ecclesiastical historians have always acknowledged other aspects of Thomas' career. Thomas appears in the literature alongside Remigius of Lincoln and Osmund of Salisbury playing an

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<sup>1</sup>The RCHM office at York preserves this story, although the account of the disinterment is no longer extant. York Minster's sub-librarian thinks the tale is apocryphal, but the internal edges of the monument's quatrefoils do bear suspicious signs of wear.

undisclosed part in the development of non-monastic cathedrals in the closing decades of the eleventh century. The traditional view that the prelates of York, Lincoln and Salisbury together conspired to reconstitute their churches as secular cathedrals during Canterbury's vacancy has now been exploded.<sup>2</sup> Individual studies of the early secular cathedrals have begun to modify earlier generalizations. London has received serious consideration for decades, and Lincoln, Salisbury, and Exeter have been recently reappraised.<sup>3</sup> Surprisingly little attention has been paid to York. This study attempts to use a biography of York's first Norman archbishop to illuminate York's constitutional evolution from quasi-regular to secular cathedral.

A biography of Thomas of Bayeux has not been undertaken for several reasons, some of them good. Thomas' submission to Lanfranc appears rather unheroic, and his working relations with his monarchs, though excellent, lack the sort of drama which so often enlivens royal dealings with Canterbury. Nor was Thomas overtly holy enough to fascinate the theologian-historians who celebrate the piety of his monastic counterparts. Above all, perhaps the inferior status of the northern province has driven historians to consider York less worthy of study than Canterbury.

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<sup>2</sup>See D. Greenway, "The False *Institutio* of St. Osmund," in D. Greenway *et al.* (eds.), *Tradition and Change: Essays in Honour of M. Chibnall* (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 77-102.

<sup>3</sup>For Lincoln, see D. Owen, "The Norman Cathedral at Lincoln," *ANS* VI (1983), pp. 188-99; for Salisbury, Greenway, "False *Institutio*;" for Exeter, see D. Blake, "The Development of the Chapter of the Diocese of Exeter, 1050-1161," *JMH* 8 (1982), pp. 1-11. E.U. Crosby, *Bishop and Chapter in Twelfth-Century England* (Cambridge, 1994), reviews the circumstances of the secular cathedrals, pp. 257-361. The analysis of York is superficial and draws heavily on secondary sources.

But the most telling argument against attempting at a biography of Thomas of Bayeux is the problem of evidence. Of Thomas' own writing, only his profession, one poem, one letter, and a few acts and charters (the most telling of which is widely considered a forgery) survive. A catastrophic fire at York in the 1120s destroyed any contemporary documents that remained there. Aside from late copies, Thomas' writings owe their survival to sources outside York. Nonetheless, although the lack of immediate primary sources precludes the sort of biography to which, for example, Lanfranc or Anselm lend themselves, a multitude of sources remain to testify to Thomas' character and actions.

Two twelfth-century chronicles of York provide details of Thomas' episcopate, and shed some light on his earlier career. In 1127, Hugh the Chanter wrote a history of the church of York in order to refute the Canterbury version of the primacy dispute.<sup>4</sup> His text, preserved in the Minster's fourteenth-century *Magnum Registrum Album*, comprises a series of biographies of the first four Norman archbishops of York. Thomas of Bayeux plays a prominent, indeed a crucial, role in Hugh's history.

The text of Hugh the Chanter's history is strikingly defective, due to the incompetence of its scribe. Abbreviations have been expanded incorrectly, documents "given below" do not appear, and sentences frequently make no sense. Modern editors of the text have been driven to extreme lengths in attempting to render Hugh

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<sup>4</sup>The text of the *De aduentu W. ducis Normannie in Angliam* may be found in York's *Magnum Registrum Album*, I, ff. 1r-32r. For convenience, references are made to the revised OMT edition, although where my reading differs from the editors', the MS is cited.

intelligible.<sup>5</sup> In addition to guessing at probable scribal misreadings, the practice has been to use a later redactor of Hugh to "correct" Hugh's text. We shall see, however, that reading the mid-twelfth century Digby 140 as merely a copy, or worse, an abbreviation of a superior text of Hugh the Chanter, is inappropriate.<sup>6</sup> The Digby author quite clearly intended to amplify and clarify Hugh, not simply to copy him. It is unwise to use Digby's words as an exemplar for a garbled passage of the fourteenth-century version of Hugh.

In some cases, despite scrupulous footnotes, the modern edition of Hugh the Chanter perhaps too thoroughly disguises the chaotic nature of the text. Nonetheless, the portion of the history that focusses on Thomas of Bayeux spans only the first two folios of the work, and, with the exception of a missing document, the scribal errors are not too dire. In fact, for the purpose at hand, the problems with the existing text of Hugh's history are largely superficial, and should not be allowed to overshadow the essential reliability of the chronicler himself.

The evidence suggests that Hugh was an eyewitness to much of the events he describes. A canon of York before 1100, and precentor (or "Chanter") under his friend and patron Thurstan (1114-40), Hugh is said by his continuator, the Digby chronicler, to have known all four of his subjects intimately. He appears as a witness to a confirmation issued by Thomas of Bayeux, and although this document has been often dismissed as a forgery, its core and its

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<sup>5</sup>See *Hugh*, pp. lvii-lxi for the principle's of Winterbottom's and Brett's revisions to Johnson's 1961 OMT edition.

<sup>6</sup>*Hugh*, p. lvii: "[Digby 140] for the period 1070-1140 ...is almost entirely an abbreviation of Hugh, lightly supplemented from the archives of York..."

witness list seem genuine.<sup>7</sup> For circumstances to which he was not privy, Hugh relies on older contemporaries in the chapter. Moreover, he carefully bolsters crucial passages with references to "people who are still alive who saw and heard" the earlier, disputed, events. Lest a reader dismiss the phrase as hyperbole, Hugh adduces impartial witnesses prepared to attest his story.<sup>8</sup> Although Hugh's veracity has been often impugned, his account of the primacy contest has worn better than his rival's at Canterbury, and for the course of Thomas of Bayeux's dispute over precedence, no chronicler supplies more information.

But the second York account supplies a fuller picture than Hugh's chronicle of other aspects of York Minster's history. An anonymous *Chronicle of the Archbishops of York* survives as Digby 140, an illuminated manuscript of the mid-twelfth century that deserves better than its current garbled rebinding.<sup>9</sup> The Digby author was almost certainly a canon of York, perhaps also, like Hugh the Chanter himself, a member of Archbishop Thurstan's household. His history deserves more attention than it has generally received.

If Digby compiled his chronicle soon after Thurstan's death, he would have been writing not much more than a dozen years after

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<sup>7</sup>With due deference to Professor Bates, Durham DCDCM I.I Archiep i is discussed in chapter 5, and transcribed in part, in the appendix.

<sup>8</sup>He specifies Ranulf Flambard and Gilbert Crispin in an episode discussed below, in the primacy chapter.

<sup>9</sup>Digby 140 is bound correctly up to 6v, but the next three folios are reversed. The current order is ff. 1,2,3,4,5,6,9,8,7,10. A note to this effect is expected to be placed in the Digby catalogue, which is presently under revision. R.R. Darlington, "Ecclesiastical Reform in the Late Old English Period," *EHR* 51 (1936), pp. 385-428, p. 397 argues that the manuscript could date to as late as the first half of the thirteenth century. For convenience, references cite the R.S. edition.

Hugh the Chanter. Not unnaturally, modern historians tend to dismiss Digby as merely a redacter of Hugh, too close in time to have any new perspective on York's history. Digby himself made few claims for his work, acknowledging his profound debt to Hugh, and downplaying his own contributions. He follows the structure of Hugh's text (namely, a series of individual biographies), and, in places, borrows heavily from the earlier work. Digby emphasizes above all Hugh's great authority on the primacy issues which Hugh "*diligenter audivit, praesentialiter vidit, memoriter retinuit.*"<sup>10</sup> Digby carefully excerpted, he tells us, as much of Hugh's history as he possibly could for his own "little work".<sup>11</sup>

In part, the Digby chronicler apparently conceived his work as a completion of Hugh the Chanter's, for he carries York's history to the end of Thurstan's pontificate. Where Hugh winds up his chronicle with a triumphant account of Thurstan's resistance to Canterbury, Digby concludes on a markedly different note. Although Digby dutifully recapitulates Hugh's account of Thurstan's battle with William of Canterbury, his closing encomium leaves aside the primacy issue and emphasizes other aspects of the archbishop's career: consecrating and obtaining professions from three bishops and an abbot, systematizing arrangements for the disposal of prebends of canons who left the chapter through death or entry into a religious order, and finally resigning his see in order to enter the Benedictine monastery at Pontefract.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>10</sup>Digby, p. 355.

<sup>11</sup>Digby, p. 355: *De cuius scriptis plurima quae in hoc opusculo posuimus diligenter excerpimus.*

<sup>12</sup>Digby, pp. 385-87.

The difference in purpose and outlook between Digby and Hugh the Chanter could hardly be clearer. Hugh strove above all to bolster York's claim to independence from Canterbury's authority. He chose not to include, and probably to suppress, information irrelevant to, or not in support of this goal. Digby is not so single- (or perhaps narrow-) minded. Although he recognizes the importance of recording York's arguments and proofs for independence, Digby values other aspects of the Minster's history. While his prologue demonstrates that Digby, like Hugh, intends to argue York's case in the primacy contest, the author also resolves to set down other matters of importance as they occur to him.<sup>13</sup>

The Digby history ultimately comprehends a much wider field of interests than Hugh's chronicle. The difference in chronological scope is obvious at once. Where Hugh's text opens with a recapitulation of the tragedies which befell the Minster after the Norman Conquest, the Digby chronicle begins three-and-a-half centuries earlier, with Gregory I and Paulinus. Digby seems to be seeking to do for York what Simeon did for Durham: namely to provide his church with a coherent record of its history from foundation to the author's own day, primarily in order to establish the antiquity of current traditions.<sup>14</sup> Where Hugh the Chanter represents the Norman Conquest as a disjunction in the history of St.

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<sup>13</sup>Digby, pp. 312-13. Digby approaches the case for independence by arguing against the legitimacy of one metropolitan demanding a profession from another. This point was also crucial for Hugh the Chanter.

<sup>14</sup>Durham's chroniclers sought to represent their church as consistently monastic, or aspiring to that state. On this point see M. Foster, "Custodians of St. Cuthbert: The Durham Monks' View of their Predecessors, 1083-c.1200", in *AND*, pp. 53-65, especially pp. 55-6.

Peter's, Digby stresses continuity. Only the birthplace of York's archbishops has changed; the continuity of the church itself is unbroken.<sup>15</sup> Here, the primacy contest appears as a recent and, partly for that reason alone, unjustified, quarrel.

Relying heavily for the early portion of his chronicle on Bede, the Durham chroniclers, and Folcard, Digby seems to begin drawing on York's own sources beginning with Wulfstan I (931-950).<sup>16</sup> From the middle of the tenth century through to the death of Aldred in 1069, the sources for Digby's accounts are not known. The histories of the archbishops before Aldred are brief notices only, but the narrative of the career of the last of York's Anglo-Saxon archbishops is expansive. Digby devotes fully as much space to Aldred (1061-9) as he gives to York's first Norman, Thomas of Bayeux (1070-1100), and more than he accords Thomas' successors, Gerard (1100-9) and Thomas II (1109-14), put together.

Digby's interest in Aldred marks a significant difference in outlook with Hugh the Chanter. For Hugh, the history of the Minster essentially begins with the crisis of the Conquest. Although Hugh could have appealed to the figure of Aldred as proof of York's dignity and political significance, Aldred appears in Hugh's chronicle only as the former landlord of property now claimed by the new Norman archbishop. Digby, on the other hand, celebrates York's Anglo-Saxon heritage by preserving Aldred's achievements for posterity. It is important to note that Digby describes Aldred's personal

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<sup>15</sup>Digby, p. 354: *Finita successione pontificum qui de natione Anglorum oriundi...*

<sup>16</sup>Digby, p. 339. Raine's editing, though not at all reliable orthographically, is extremely helpful in noting the chronicler's borrowings.

achievements, such as his mission to the German emperor and his unprecedented pilgrimage to Jerusalem, as well as factors which bear on the status of York, such as obtaining a papal pallium and consecrating Wulfstan, his successor at Worcester "*quasi suffraganeum*."<sup>17</sup>

Digby also amplifies Hugh's bald statement that Aldred consecrated and crowned William of Normandy. Hugh made nothing of this.<sup>18</sup> Digby, on the other hand, sees Aldred's consecration of Harold and then William I and, later, Queen Mathilda, as proof of York's special dignity. Digby further emphasizes that Aldred consecrated William only after he had formally sworn on the altar of St. Peter's, Westminster, *sicut ipse archiepiscopus ab eo exigebat*, to rule justly and to defend the country's churches and clergy.<sup>19</sup> Digby here represents Aldred as powerful enough to make demands of the prospective king; and he cements this portrayal by recording an episode in which the archbishop chases the king down to London and shames him into disciplining the contumacious sheriff of York.<sup>20</sup> This story accords well with Hugh the Chanter's early theme of William I's betrayal of York, and one wonders at its absence in his history.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>17</sup>See Digby, pp. 345-6.

<sup>18</sup>Hugh, p. 2: *Dux prefatus, Anglia debellata, in regem eleuatus est, et ab Aldredo uenerabili archiepiscopo Eboracensium, consecratus et coronatus*. Aldred is not even the subject of the sentence.

<sup>19</sup>Digby, p. 349. In the MS this passage begins on fo. 7v and continues on 10r.

<sup>20</sup>Digby, pp. 350-3.

<sup>21</sup>See especially Hugh, p. 8: *Nequam regis ecclesie retribucio. Illa eum in regem consecrando exaltauit; ipse eam subdendo humiliavit*. Note that Hugh chooses not to mention Aldred by name; it is rather the church of York who consecrated the king.

Digby's source for this episode, and indeed for the whole of the Aldred narrative, is not immediately clear. It seems unlikely that Digby had access to any texts that Hugh the Chanter, writing so soon before him, did not. It is just barely possible that a short history of Aldred was written (perhaps in Anglo-Saxon?) by one of the three canons whom Hugh the Chanter tells us survived the Conquest, and that Digby found it accessible while Hugh did not. But Hugh seems unlikely in any case to have dug very deeply into York's archives for records of Aldred since, for him, the history of York essentially begins with the crisis of the Conquest. Hugh is consistently "modern" in his outlook. His arguments about primacy derive much less from precedent than from his ideas of contemporary canon law.<sup>22</sup> Digby, on the other hand, perceives York's pre-Conquest history not only as relevant to primacial issues, but worthy of preserving in its own right. Aldred's career falls into the category of information Digby found outside of Hugh, and important enough to add.<sup>23</sup>

Digby's wider scope and greater sense of perspective help to balance Hugh the Chanter's narrow polemic. Moreover, Digby's evident mission to broaden York's earlier account gives us important material not traceable elsewhere. For his narrative on Thomas of Bayeux, Digby draws on Hugh the Chanter and the Durham authors, but also records precious biographical details not preserved in these sources. To impugn his reliability would be unwise. Digby

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<sup>22</sup>For example, see *Hugh*, p. 8. The chronicler argues that Lanfranc could not have demanded an oath from Thomas because prelates swear (present tense) obedience only to the pope. There is no direct appeal to precedent.

<sup>23</sup>See *Digby*, p. 355: *Et quae apud alios invenimus, cum istis conferentes concorditer addidimus...*

consistently demonstrates both a regard for written evidence and an unusual degree of restraint. The claim that Thomas of Bayeux once studied in Spain, had it been made by Hugh the Chanter, might justly be questioned, but Digby is so immune to rhetorical flourishes that we must take him seriously.<sup>24</sup>

In fact, in comparison with Hugh the Chanter and his contemporaries elsewhere, the Digby chronicle is strikingly prosaic.<sup>25</sup> The Digby author's interest in church building and furnishings, prescriptions for clerical dress, and prebends, generally lie outside of Hugh's scope. His concern for the northern collegiate churches, also not shared by Hugh, sheds light on a particularly important aspect of Thomas of Bayeux's administration. Moreover, by analysing the pontificate of Thomas' predecessor, the chronicler reveals how much of the Anglo-Saxon arrangement Thomas preserved at York, and how much he changed. Although Digby borrows heavily from Hugh in areas relating to the primacy, he does much more than copy his predecessor's account of Thomas of Bayeux's archiepiscopate.

Further information for Thomas' episcopate derives from the *scriptorium* of his only undisputed suffragan, Durham. The *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesia*, rightly the *Libellus de Exordio atque Procursu istius hoc est Dunelmensis*, surveys Durham's history from the foundation in 635 to the death of William of St. Calais in 1096, and thus encompasses the first twenty-six years of Thomas' tenure of

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<sup>24</sup>Whether Digby's own source might be relied upon is another question; but it is practically inconceivable that the chronicler would have made the story up out of whole cloth.

<sup>25</sup>This may in some measure explain the fact that Canon Raine's edition of this chronicle has never been updated, while his version of Hugh the Chanter (in the same volume of the RS) has, twice.

York. Internal evidence dates the text to 1104x1107, nearly two decades earlier than Hugh the Chanter's text.<sup>26</sup> The *Libellus'* attribution to Simeon, a monk of Durham known to have written history, is insecure; the author himself tells us only that he is a monk writing at the request of his superiors.<sup>27</sup> The history to some extent counterbalances the polemics of Canterbury and York: despite Durham's "return" to a monastic organization in the time of Thomas' archiepiscopate (the *Libellus'* central theme), Canterbury's prelates are not treated with unmixed reverence. Nor, however, does the chronicler consistently support his church's metropolitan, for Durham proved jealous of its independence. In fact, the *Libellus de Exordio* is as close as possible to an independent source, being impartially critical of both archbishops.

A second Durham text, much narrower in scope, provides evidence for Thomas of Bayeux's work as metropolitan. *De Injusta Vexacione Willelmi Episcopi* tells the story of William of St. Calais' fall from favour and his trial in 1088. Although the pamphlet leaves some important questions unanswered (not least of which the specific cause of the bishop's downfall), the text puts an interesting light on Thomas' relations with both the crown and his English

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<sup>26</sup>The most recent analysis of the texts ascribed to Simeon is D. Rollason, "Symeon of Durham and the Community of Durham in the Eleventh Century," in Hicks, ed., *England in the Eleventh Century*, pp. 183-98. For the date of the *LDE*, see p. 183.

<sup>27</sup>Simeon's name is known from a request from Hugh the dean of York (either c. 1093-1109 or 1130-32) for a history of York's early archbishops. (A request from the second Hugh might explain the source of some of the Digby material). A. Dawtry, "The Benedictine Revival in the North: the Last Bulwark of Anglo-Saxon Monasticism?" *SCH* 18 (1982) pp. 87-98, p. 88n. notes that Simeon appears "thirty-seventh on the list of those who had taken monastic vows at Durham before 1104."

suffragan. Despite persistent criticism, the *De Injusta Vexacione* is widely accepted at its face-value: as a contemporary, first-hand account of the bishop's downfall written by a Durham partisan.<sup>28</sup>

Two useful accounts survive from another northern church, the Priory of Hexham. Prior Richard, in office from 1160 to c. 1209, gives an account of the founding of Hexham which testifies to Thomas of Bayeux's revival of religious life in the north. Richard also provides the most explicit evidence for early prebends at St. Peter's, and speaks to the fluidity with which clerics moved between churches subject to Thomas.

Richard's account is supplemented by *De Sanctis Ecclesiae Hagustaldensis et eorum Miraculis*, written in the 1150s by Aelred of Rievaulx. The abbot of Rievaulx had good cause to understand Thomas' involvement with Hexham, for the priest to whom Thomas first entrusted the church was Aelred's grandfather. Aelred's text is full of perils, for the church was held of two Thomases (Thomas of Bayeux and his nephew) by two Eilafs (Aelred's father and grandfather). Not surprisingly, where Prior Richard credits Thomas

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<sup>28</sup>Rollason, p. 186, continues to support Offler's view ("The *Tractate De Iniusta Vexacione Willelmi Episcopi Primi*," *EHR* 64 (1951), pp. 321-41, at p. 334) that the *DIV* was "a Tendenzschrift composed at leisure" in the first half of the twelfth century. This author however sides with Gibson and Barlow. Barlow's "A View of Archbishop Lanfranc," *JEH* 15 (1964), pp. 163-77, at p. 174n. puts the case for an eyewitness-based account most succinctly: the "informant... never pretends to know what went on in the royal court when the bishop was not there." Gibson thinks the *DIV* a work of "contemporary journalism" written probably in Normandy during the bishop's exile (*Lanfranc*, p. 221). Gransden, p. 122, takes neither side: the *DIV* is either a piece of "contemporary reportage" or a forgery from the second quarter of the twelfth century. These analyses have recently been superseded by M. Philpott, "The *De iniusta vexacione Willelmi episcopi primi* and Canon Law in Anglo-Norman Durham", *AND*, pp. 125-37. Philpott decisively argues for the *DIV*'s contemporaneity, on the basis that the proofs used there are marked in William of St. Calais' version of Lanfranc's canon law collection.

of Bayeux with a wish to re-establish religion at Hexham, Aelred praises his ancestor, but together with Richard's account, Aelred's history supplies good evidence for the chronology and the method of Thomas' reforms in the north.

Rievaulx supplies another useful chronicle, although indirectly. Ernard, abbot of Rievaulx, commissioned a history from a canon of the Augustinian priory of Newburgh circa 1196. Although William of Newburgh's *Historia Rerum Anglicarum* has little to say about Thomas I, it treats Thomas II lavishly. William's ear for a good story preserved some unflattering tales which the York chroniclers omitted.

The Yorkshire town of Howden furnished one final northern history. Roger of Howden, possibly a vicar of the minster there, certainly a royal clerk, composed a narrative rich in historical documents. His chronicle preserves a confirmation attributed to Thomas of Bayeux which appears nowhere in the York sources. Despite its late date (perhaps the last decade of the twelfth century), his text provides important evidence for Thomas' career.

South of the Humber, the sources are often less favourable to Thomas. Several of the contemporary and near-contemporary chroniclers fall, to varying degrees, under Canterbury's sway. Monastic histories almost universally recapitulate Eadmer's version of the primacy dispute. The problems of the *Historia Novorum* are so well-known it hardly bears saying that Eadmer cannot be trusted on the subject of Thomas. But the *Historia Novorum* and the *Vita Anselmi* provide the nearest contemporary accounts (being written and revised between 1093 and 1125) of the contest, and if Eadmer's

reading of Thomas' motivation and methods must be questioned, the positive aspects of the monk's representation of Thomas matter more than Hugh the Chanter's encomia. Moreover, the points on which Hugh and Eadmer agree provide a basis for understanding the course of the long battle between Thomas and two successive archbishops of Canterbury.

Canterbury's resistance to Thomas' metropolitan claims surfaces in the accounts of two other cathedrals. Worcester furnishes a northern version (D) of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle ending in 1079, a history attributed to Florence, and a life of Thomas' sometime rival, Wulfstan. The *Vita Wulfstani*, which survives in William of Malmesbury's translation of Coleman's Anglo-Saxon text, narrates the bishop's dispute with Thomas over lands once held by Aldred, Thomas' predecessor at York and Wulfstan's at Worcester. The biography details Thomas' campaign from Wulfstan's point of view, and thus supplements Hugh the Chanter's cursory account. Coleman, Wulfstan's chaplain and chancellor, cared only about the jurisdictional aspects of the primacy dispute. For this reason his text supplies a crucial check on the perspective of the Canterbury and York chroniclers, who tend to stress the issue of precedence.

Two other Worcester texts supply relevant information: the cartulary compiled and annotated by the monk Hemming, and the *Chronicon ex Chronicis*, probably written after 1124 by John from notes by another monk, Florence. Hemming's cartulary documents the property dispute with York, and contains a short narrative on the life of Wulfstan. Florence's chronicle also covers the years of Thomas' pontificate, but its importance for the present purpose is

limited: for the period in question it is largely derivative. The close links between Worcester and Canterbury, cemented by Wulfstan's profession to Lanfranc, remained unshaken even when Thomas' brother, Samson, succeeded Wulfstan in 1096. Worcester accounts of Thomas should be treated with some caution, but the monks' biases are easily accounted for, and the Worcester sources have much to add to the histories from York.

A second bishopric to which Thomas laid claim supplies further relevant accounts. Lincoln furnishes a history by the archdeacon Henry of Huntingdon, and a life of Bishop Remigius by Gerald of Wales. Henry of Huntingdon gives the most detailed account of Remigius' institutional reforms and thus helps to place Thomas' reorganization of York in context. As he served in the *familia* of Robert Bloet (1093-1123), Henry might be forgiven for portraying Thomas unsympathetically, but in fact the archbishop comes off well in his text.

Henry of Huntingdon's work became the basis for later representations of Thomas at Lincoln. When Gerald of Wales undertook three years of study at Lincoln, he drew on earlier accounts to compose a life of bishop Remigius. The *Vita Remigii* provides several details lacking in Henry's history, despite its late date (1196x1199). Though the writers of Worcester and Lincoln were at pains to point out the injustice of York's metropolitan claims to their churches, their histories reveal aspects of the general constitutional debate between monastic (Worcester and Canterbury) and non-monastic (Lincoln and York) cathedrals, and also about Thomas' political tactics.

The most elaborate account of the Anglo-Norman church, the *Gesta Pontificum*, was composed by William of Malmesbury in about 1125 but heavily revised before the monk's death in ?1143. William swallowed Eadmer's version of the primacy dispute whole, and devoted a disproportionate section of his history to the subject. But despite a strong Canterbury bias, the historian portrays Thomas of Bayeux as a virtuous prelate, representing his resistance to Lanfranc as a momentary aberration. The *Gesta Pontificum*'s sister work, the *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, has little to say on the subject of Thomas directly, but illustrates royal attitudes to the church in general. The breadth of William's interests and the variety of his sources outweigh the partisan reporting of the primacy dispute, and the *Gesta Pontificum* has the singular virtue of showing Thomas of Bayeux working alongside his fellow-bishops, instead of merely arguing with them.

Continental chronicles, with one enormous exception, can tell us little about Thomas. The chroniclers of William's conquest of England are unanimously unaware or uninterested in Thomas' presence. William of Jumièges perhaps finished his *Gesta Normannorum Ducum* in 1072, William of Poitiers wrote the *Gesta Guillelmi Ducis Normannorum et Regis Anglorum* soon afterwards, and Guy of Amiens (if indeed he is the author) composed the *Carmen de Hastingae Proelio* about the same time. The three panegyrists make no mention of Thomas: even if William had taken him into his chapel by 1066, he apparently played no role in the events of that year.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>29</sup>The silence of William of Poitiers, like Thomas a royal chaplain and secular clerk, is especially unfortunate. F. Barlow, *EC1066-1154*, n. 21, notes that the

One caveat: even Aldred of York, who not only helped to persuade the English to accept William but went so far as to crown him, receives short shrift. So it is not remarkable that Thomas' appointment to York in 1070 did not cause these Norman historians to reappraise his importance and insert him into their narratives.

But Orderic Vitalis, like William of Malmesbury of mixed race, shatters the silence of his continental counterparts. The monk of St. Evroul, in a picturesque rendering of the political and ecclesiastical affairs of his generation, wrote his *Ecclesiastical History of England and Normandy* between about 1115 and 1141. Covering the reigns of duke (and then king) William and his two sons, Orderic's history provides evidence for Thomas and Samson's patronage by Odo of Bayeux, and relates one or two anecdotes concerning the brothers. Orderic also counterbalances the insular chroniclers who dwell on the primacy issue: although siding with the Canterbury monks in the affair, Orderic does not overplay the significance of the contest. Although he draws on insular chroniclers, Orderic also provides documentary evidence (and hearsay) not available elsewhere, and his predilection for epitaphs has preserved Thomas of Bayeux's verse on the Conqueror for posterity.

The chronicle accounts of Thomas' career are validated, supplemented, and corrected by more official documents. Domesday Book, for example, the least-exploited source for Thomas' episcopate, proves one of the most useful. The Survey not only speaks to the extent of Thomas' jurisdiction, but hints at the chronology and

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end of William of Poitiers' *GG* contains the beginnings of a panegyric of Aldred, subsequently lost. Orderic did not record it.

method of the shift in policy at York which replaced common estates with fixed prebends. Royal charters, too, reveal the extent of Thomas' involvement in the business of the realm and document the compensation Thomas exacted for dropping his claims to other sees. Episcopal and monastic cartularies supplement the royal archives on these points.

York's fourteenth-century *Liber Albus*, or *Magnum Registrum Album*, contains surprisingly little charter evidence for Thomas' career.<sup>30</sup> Information concerning Thomas' foundation of prebends survives, however, in copies of charters compiled in the first quarter of the sixteenth century by Thomas Water, registrar to the dean and chapter of York. Water systematically inventoried the contents of the chests of documents kept in the transepts, the originals of which seem to have disappeared in the seventeenth century. Charter evidence for Thomas is thus peculiarly, if not uniquely, problematic. A large proportion of the texts in which Thomas appears as donor or witness are suspicious, and their value as evidence varies tremendously.<sup>31</sup>

Other sources deal with non-seigneurial aspects of the post-Conquest church. Decrees from church councils in Normandy and England place Thomas' changes at York in the wider context of ecclesiastical reform. Very few letters and *acta* attributable to Thomas survive to testify directly to Thomas' own policy, but the extensive collection of Lanfranc's correspondence reveals aspects of

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<sup>30</sup>Although some material relating to archiepiscopal privileges is preserved there, the MRA is a chapter, not an archiepiscopal, register.

<sup>31</sup>The new edition of the *Regesta* may well require some modifications of conclusions reached in this work.

the contemporary debate about the virtues of common life.<sup>32</sup> Secure evidence for church liturgy derives only from the thirteenth century, and in some cases from much later: York's ordinals and customals can tell us little about the arrangements in Thomas' church. Comparisons of thirteenth- to fifteenth-century rituals have revealed family connections between churches favouring, for example, the Sarum Use, but York's history remains peculiarly problematic. Thomas' innovations can only be surmised from chronicle testimony and the unusual physical arrangement of his church.

The most absorbing issue for the late eleventh- and twelfth-century church, the primacy contest, generated enough documentary evidence to require a separate chapter for its analysis. The authenticity of the primacy documents preserved in the archives of the dean and chapter of Canterbury has been debated for nearly nine hundred years, but much of the textual debate proves tangential to the purposes of this study. The focus here remains on what the sources can tell us about Thomas, and though documents dating from after 1100 (namely, the series of forged privileges) reveal later attitudes to his actions, the first-generation texts are the most telling.

Continental sources for church history often prove disappointing, for Thomas left little account of himself before his appointment to York. The thirteenth-century Bayeux cartulary known as the *Livre Noir* omits even retrospective mention of Thomas, but this chapter cartulary does provide fragmentary information concerning Thomas' picaresque brother, Samson, and his

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<sup>32</sup>The collection dates to c. 1090 (Gibson, *Lanfranc*, p. 205).

descendants. It remains the fullest source for Thomas' family history. The inquest into the temporalities of Bayeux commissioned by Henry I after the death of Richard fitz-Samson in 1133 supplements the chapter's records, and like the *Livre Noir* documents the ineffectual administration of Thomas' nephew.<sup>33</sup> Outside of Bayeux, the archives hold little information concerning Thomas, with one striking exception: a charter of Jumièges testifies to Thomas' early patronage by William I. Norman cartularies can tell us little about Thomas' very occasional presence on the continent in the company of his king.

Written sources tell us a great deal about Thomas' character and actions, but a more enduring monument to his work exists. The outline of York's Anglo-Norman Minster survives in the undercroft of the present church, and the footings Thomas commissioned continue to support the late-medieval tower. Thirty years of excavations, now complete, reveal the scale of Thomas' building campaign and suggest the aspirations which dictated it.

In the end, then, a biographer of Thomas of Bayeux may find ample materials to work with. If much of the ground had been trodden for purposes to which Thomas was incidental, a few sources remain to be exploited with a new intent. Thomas here will be

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<sup>33</sup>Gleason, pp. 68-9, summarizes the transmission of the 1133 returns: the originals, a copy in a register of 1297, and a seventeenth-century transcript are all lost. A nineteenth-century transcript of a second seventeenth-century transcript of the 1297 copy survives, but the version of the inquest in the *Red Book of the Exchequer* (RS 1896, ii, pp. 645-7) is regarded as more reliable. See J.H. Round, *Family Origins and Other Studies*, ed. W. Page (London, 1930), pp. 201-16, and Haskins, *Norman Institutions*, pp. 15-20. H. Navel compares the versions of the inquest and reproduces the text, corrected from Delisle, in "L'enquête de 1133 sur les fiefs de l'évêché de Bayeux", *BSAN* 42 (1935), pp. 5-80. The index alone of this painstaking critical edition runs to nine pages.

considered in the context of his family background, the role patronage played in his preferment, and his methods of administering and protecting his see. His relations with his fellow prelates, the northern magnates, and the crown receive due attention. The primacy dispute must once again be addressed, in order to enquire into Thomas' strategy in the contest. His renovation and reform of St. Peter's, although considered in the context of contemporary movements in both England and Normandy, will be studied particularly with reference to the peculiar circumstances of York. The depredations of the Conqueror's harrying, the continued northern resistance to Norman hegemony, and the anomalous position of the quasi-regular pre-Conquest Minster each posed Thomas special problems. How he adapted a newly-evolving Norman structure of administration to fit the specific circumstances of York is the central concern of this work.

We are told by the chroniclers that Thomas of Bayeux was tall, handsome, chaste, eloquent, elegant, and musical. We may discern an acerbic sense of humour in one surviving letter. But this well-educated, well-dressed Norman archbishop rises above the exemplar of the prelate-courtier despised by Wulfstan of Worcester. Thomas' actions during his thirty-year pontificate reveal him as a keen strategist and a shrewd administrator. Despite bitter and prolonged episcopal disputes, no chronicler calls his personal integrity into question, and he weathered the destruction of his patron, Odo of Bayeux, and his suffragan, William of St. Calais, completely unscathed. He managed to transform the administration and the fabric of St. Peter's, York, so thoroughly that by his death in 1100 hardly a trace

of the pre-Conquest church survived, and yet so gradually that no disruption can be identified, now or then. The commonly-accepted scenario of a Norman prelate imposing drastic and immediate changes on a corrupt Anglo-Saxon church, does not fit the facts at York.

## 2. The Family of Thomas of Bayeux

Thomas of Bayeux was a member of perhaps the most successful ecclesiastical family of its century.<sup>34</sup> From circa 1050 to 1150 the clerical dynasty made clever use of patronage, using the royal chapel as a springboard to preferment. The characters and careers of Thomas' kin reveal the family as an ecclesiastical counterpart to the ambitious new secular aristocracy of eleventh-century Normandy.<sup>35</sup>

John LePatourel charted the ascent of a small number of "parvenu" Norman families ennobled at the instance of the duke. As LePatourel characterized them, these new aristocrats were distinguished at their best by ambition and loyalty, and at their worst by "empire building proclivities" and an "unsuitable lust for possession."<sup>36</sup> These qualities also abound in the ecclesiastical aristocracy, and for the same reasons. Like LePatourel's new feudal aristocracy, Thomas of Bayeux's family flourished as a result of

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<sup>34</sup>On the subject of the family's many prelates, see for instance Barlow, *EC 1066-1154*, p. 58; Haskins, *Norman Institutions*, p. 52; D.S. Spear, "The Norman Empire and the Secular Clergy," *Journal of British Studies* 21 (1982), pp. 1-10, at pp. 5 and 9; C.A. Newman, *The Anglo-Norman Nobility in the Reign of Henry I: The Second Generation* (Philadelphia, 1988), pp. 50-1; D.R. Bates, "The Character and Career of Odo, Bishop of Bayeux (1049/50-97)," *Speculum* 50 (1975), pp. 1-20, at p. 13, and R. Brentano, *York Metropolitan Jurisdiction*, p. 27.

<sup>35</sup>Vide D. Douglas, "The Norman Episcopate Before the Conquest," *CHJ* 13, No. 2 (1957), pp. 101-15, especially p. 102, for the argument that "the Norman episcopacy at this time was predominantly representative of the new secular aristocracy which... was established in the Duchy, and which was itself closely connected with the ducal dynasty." Odo of Bayeux is the most obvious example of this phenomenon. See Bates, *Normandy Before 1066*, p. 190ff, for the alliance of ducal and episcopal authority.

<sup>36</sup>J. LePatourel, *Norman Barons* (St.-Leonard's-on-Sea, 1966), and "The Norman Conquest of Yorkshire," *Northern History* 6 (1971), pp. 1-21, *passim*.

patronage granted initially in return for personal service, in this case in the royal chapel, and then given a wider scope.<sup>37</sup>

Also like their secular peers, Thomas' kin managed to look after their own interests at least as well as their masters'. The sources suggest that as each family member prospered, he used his influence to widen the scope of patronage. As the first-generation prelates (Thomas of Bayeux and his brother) themselves became influential, they drew the next generation into their sphere. William the Conqueror and Henry I were well aware of the family's strategy, and exploited it to their own ends. Chronicle evidence suggests that royal threats against the extended family were used as leverage against individual members, specifically, two uncooperative archbishops of York, Thomas of Bayeux and his nephew and namesake. Yet the relations could also threaten each other: events will show that the sentiment of individual members was not allowed to jeopardize the security of the family as a whole.

The names of Thomas' parents, Osbert and Muriel, are preserved in a Durham necrology.<sup>38</sup> The provenance of the necrology has not been established, and the entries for Osbert and Muriel, among the earliest in the manuscript, reveal nothing about their subjects' status.<sup>39</sup> Eadmer, and following him, William of

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<sup>37</sup>LePatourel, *Norman Barons*, p. 22.

<sup>38</sup>DCDCL B iv 24, f. 6v: v. *kl. Mar. O' Osbertus pater domini archiepiscopi Thomae*; f. 7v: v. *Id.' O' Muriel mater domini archiepiscopi Thomae.*, printed *Liber Vitae Ecclesiae Dunelmensis*, ed. J. Stevenson, Surtees Society 13 (1841), at pp. 139-140: Durham Cathedral Library MS B.iv.24, entries of the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries. The calendar itself dates to the end of the eleventh century.

<sup>39</sup>The other five early entries commemorate four *milites et monachi*, and Mathilda, Countess of Mortain, Odo of Bayeux's sister-in-law. These entries seem to be written in the same hand as the calendar itself. The necrology is

Malmesbury, stigmatize Thomas as the son of a priest, but the context of the description is suspicious.<sup>40</sup> A slur on Thomas' parentage provides Eadmer with an all too convenient tool in his campaign to undercut York's claim to primacy. Orderic Vitalis, perhaps the greatest gossip of all the twelfth-century chroniclers, makes no mention of a paternal priest in his disquisition on Samson's unfitness for his bishopric. At York the chroniclers tell us nothing about Thomas' parents, but they almost never discuss genealogy.<sup>41</sup> Thomas himself showed some concern for the correct procedure for dealing with married clerks, but that need hardly be taken as a sign of a guilty conscience.<sup>42</sup> In any event, it is not clear to what extent the allegation, even if it were true, would have harmed Thomas. Married priests (for even Eadmer does not suggest that Thomas was illegitimate), were hardly remarkable in mid-eleventh century Normandy.<sup>43</sup>

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bound with a number of different texts associated with William of St. Calais, who is known to have augmented Durham's library. A Bayeux connection also seems likely. Alan Piper is currently editing the entire MS; when I met with him in February 1995, he had not yet reached any firm conclusions about the necrology's provenance or date. See A. Piper, "The Durham Cantor's Book," and M. Gullick, "The Scribes of the Durham Cantor's Book," In *AND*, pp. 79-92, and 93-109.

<sup>40</sup>*GP*, p. 66. *HN* s.a. 1071. Orderic Vitalis makes no mention of Samson's father being a priest, although he discusses other reasons for Samson's ineligibility for his bishopric.

<sup>41</sup>With the exception of Samson and Thomas II. See below. A strong argument against Hugh the Chanter having seen the *Historia Novorum* is the fact that Hugh does not address Eadmer's claim.

<sup>42</sup>Thomas wrote to Lanfranc for advice about what to do with married canons at York (as we know from Lanfranc's reply). Could this letter have given Eadmer ideas?

<sup>43</sup>In addition to Brooke's article on clerical marriage, a fine précis of contemporary attitudes regarding married priests may be found in D. Nicholl, Thurstan Archbishop of York, pp. 2-8. See also G. Olsen, "The Idea of the *Ecclesia Primitiva* in the Writings of the Twelfth-Century Canonists," *Traditio* 25 (1969), pp. 61-86, at p. 72, and R.R. Darlington, "Ecclesiastical Reform in the Late Old English Period," pp. 404-07.

If Osbert was not a priest, who was he? The name is unfortunately not uncommon, especially at the ducal court. It seems likely that Osbert maintained some connection with the ducal family, for two of his sons came early to the attention of William the Bastard's half-brother. The Hexham chronicler asserted that Thomas II was of high birth, but whether this reflects only the dignity of his father, Samson bishop of Worcester, it is difficult to say. Osbert's status cannot be deduced from the scanty evidence available, and nor can the identity of his wife.

Muriel is a similarly unremarkable name. As the sources in general mention women by name only rarely, the hope of identifying Thomas' mother is a slim one. A sister of Odo of Bayeux bore the same name, but she is inconveniently known to have married someone not called Osbert. If Thomas had been a nephew of Odo of Bayeux, much of his early history might have been explained, but it seems not to be the case. In the end, all that we know of his parents is their names, which is still more than can be said for many of Thomas' peers.

If the subject of Thomas' parentage seems largely to have escaped contemporary comment, the striking number of Osbert's descendants who occupied episcopal sees on both sides of the channel could not have done. In Normandy, the family's preeminence at Bayeux informs generations of entries in the *Livre Noir*. Osbert's sons, Thomas and Samson, each held the dignity of treasurer of Bayeux; Samson may have been dean. Samson's son, Richard II, held the bishopric itself from 1107 to 1133; and another bishop Richard (from 1133 to 1142) was Samson's illegitimate

nephew. In England, Thomas and Samson won preferment from the royal chapel to episcopal sees: Thomas held York from 1070 to 1100, and Samson, Worcester, from 1096 to 1112. Another of Samson's sons, Thomas, served in the royal chapel and later accepted the archbishopric of his uncle and namesake, which he held from 1109 to 1114.

According to Orderic Vitalis, both Thomas and Samson owed their early education to Odo of Bayeux. Even Odo's critics lavish nothing but praise on the bishop for the munificence of his patronage.<sup>44</sup> Orderic Vitalis, notoriously unsympathetic to worldly prelates, reports that Odo

... sent promising clerks to Liège and other cities where he knew that philosophic studies flourished, and supported them generously there so that they might drink long and deeply from the springs of knowledge. Among the pupils whom he educated in this way were Thomas, archbishop of York, and Samson his brother... and many others who have accepted high positions in the church of God in this present age, and have diligently led their flocks, feeding them on sound doctrine and lighting their paths with virtues.<sup>45</sup>

Liège was one of the few schools flourishing in northern Europe in the middle of the eleventh century; Maurilius of Rouen had been

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<sup>44</sup>For example, Douglas, "The Norman Episcopate Before the Conquest," CHJ 13, No. 2 (1957), pp. 101-15, at p. 105: "The public acts of this prelate were at times wholly reprehensible, his overweening ambition was a perpetual source of strife, and his private life was at times a subject of scandal. Nevertheless, the see of Bayeux obtained great benefits from his rule, and his patronage of scholarship, and of the arts, was both princely and well directed."

<sup>45</sup>OV, 4, p. 118: *Dociles... clericos Leodicum mittebat, et ad alias urbes ubi philosophorum studia potissimum florere nouerat; eisque copiosus sumptus ut indesinenter et diutius philosophico fonti possent insistere largiter administrabat. De discipulis quos ita nutrierat fuerint Thomas archiepiscopus Eborachensis, atque Samson frater eius episcopus Wigornensis... multique alii qui nostris temporibus in ecclesia Dei floruerunt, et subiectis quibus pabulo doctrinae radiisque uirtutum sollerter profuerunt...*

educated there.<sup>46</sup> Thomas' stint at Liège may lie at the root of the Digby chronicler's assertion that Thomas "set out for love of learning into Germany [and] investigated every Saxon and Teutonic school."<sup>47</sup>

The status of the Norman schools continues to be debated, but it seems clear that Thomas sought an unusually broad education.<sup>48</sup> Like, as Hugh the Chanter points out, practically every other student in Europe, Thomas studied with Lanfranc, almost certainly at Bec.<sup>49</sup> His younger brother Samson spent some time at the school of Marbode of Rennes, but probably only after Thomas was ensconced at Bayeux.<sup>50</sup> In any event, Thomas is reputed to have ranged beyond northern Europe in pursuit of his education. According to York's Digby chronicle, after his schooling in Gaul and Germany,

he journeyed to Spain, and there learning many things which he was not able to [learn] elsewhere, he made his breast a treasure chest of Spanish learning.<sup>51</sup>

It is not easy to dismiss the Digby chronicler's account out of hand.

There is a strong chronicle tradition for the breadth of Thomas'

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<sup>46</sup>Brooke links Rouen to the "twelfth-century renaissance" in C.N.L. Brooke, *Europe in the Central Middle Ages 962-1154*, (London, 2nd ed.,1987), p.344.

<sup>47</sup>Digby, p. 355: *...ecclesiam suscepit regendam primus de Normannigenis Thomas Senior, qui Baiocis oriundus, in Galliis eruditus, ardore discendi in Germaniam profectus, omnem Saxonum et Theutonum scholam est perscrutatus.*

<sup>48</sup>Professor Southern cautions against making generalizations about eleventh-century schools in "Lanfranc of Bec and Berengar of Tours," in R.W. Hunt et al. (eds.), *Studies Presented to F.M. Powicke*, (Oxford, 1948), pp. 27-48, at 27-8. For current thinking on Norman schools see Bates, *Normandy Before 1066*, p. 216.

<sup>49</sup>Hugh, p. 4.

<sup>50</sup>Gleason, PhD, p. 23 notes that Samson studied with Marbode of Rennes. See PL clxxi, 1658.

<sup>51</sup>Digby, p. 356: *inde per Franciam reversus Normanniam, perrexit ad Hispanias, ibique multa quae alibi non potuit addiscens, pectus suum Hispanicarum fecit armarium scientiarum.*

knowledge. In addition to Orderic Vitalis and the Digby author quoted above, Hugh the Chanter at York, William of Malmesbury, and Henry of Huntingdon remark upon Thomas' erudition.<sup>52</sup> Hugh the Chanter confirms that Thomas was "renowned throughout the provinces of Gaul and well beyond for his learning, honour, and distinction."<sup>53</sup> Although the Digby account at first reads like hyperbole, the statement that Thomas gained knowledge in Spain which he could not learn elsewhere rings true. If Thomas travelled to Cordoba or Toledo, the quadrivium would have been opened to him in a way not possible in the northern schools. The epitaph he composed for William the Conqueror indicates a grounding at least in astronomy.<sup>54</sup>

The Digby chronicler differs from Orderic Vitalis in making no mention of Odo of Bayeux's sponsorship of Thomas' peripatetic education. On the contrary, only after the completion of his schooling does Thomas come to Odo's attention, "as much for his elegant manners as on account of the breadth of his learning."<sup>55</sup> The chronicler relates that the bishop of Bayeux took Thomas into his *familia* and then established him as treasurer of the cathedral. Again, the Digby chronicler appears to be drawing on a source unknown to Hugh the Chanter. Hugh omits to mention even that

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<sup>52</sup>Hugh, p. 2 et al., GP, p. 257; HH, p. 233.

<sup>53</sup>Hugh, p. 2: *cuius sciencie et honestatis et elegancie preconium per omnes Galliarum prouincias et longe ultra frequens resonabat.*

<sup>54</sup>See the last two lines of the poem, given in the appendix.

<sup>55</sup>Digby, p. 356: *Tandem ad natale solum reversus, magnifici viri Odonis Baiocensis episcopi familiaritatem nactus, tum propter morum elegantiam, tum propter multimodam scientiam, Baiocensis ecclesiae ab eodem episcopo assecutus est thesaurariam; nec multo post cum eodem episcopo veniens in Angliam, regis Willelmi Senioris consecutus est capellariam .*

Thomas had been a canon of Bayeux: for Hugh the Chanter and Orderic Vitalis, Thomas' history begins with his appointment to the royal chapel.<sup>56</sup> Florence of Worcester, followed by Simeon of Durham and William of Malmesbury, does describe Thomas as a former canon of Bayeux, but does not mention the dignity of treasurer.<sup>57</sup>

According to Digby, "not long after [Thomas' appointment as treasurer], coming with the same bishop [Odo] into England, he was taken into the chapel of King William".<sup>58</sup> The chronicler telescopes events to skim over Thomas' presence at the conquest. If Thomas had been a member of Odo's entourage he saw something of the battle, and it was no part of the Digby chronicler's brief to portray Thomas as a warrior-priest. William of Poitiers relates that Odo of Bayeux and Geoffrey of Coutances brought "a company of monks and clerks with them, whose office it was to fight with their prayers and good counsel";<sup>59</sup> Thomas could have been a member of this entourage.

The Digby text provides the fullest chronology of any source for Thomas' early career. The issue of Odo's sponsorship, which is in dispute more in regard to timing than in essence, may perhaps be put aside. But more important is the chronicler's implication that William appointed Thomas chaplain after he became king. Professor Brooke takes issue with this assertion in his notes to Hugh the

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<sup>56</sup>Hugh, p. 2; *OV*, 2, p. 238. But for Hugh, Thomas' career began at York. Previous history is related only incidentally, as for instance when Hugh mentions that Thomas studied with Lanfranc. We hear this as part of Hugh's introduction of Lanfranc, not as part of a biography of Thomas.

<sup>57</sup>*FW*, p. 6; *HR*, p. 193; *GP*, p. 257.

<sup>58</sup>See note above.

<sup>59</sup>*GG*, in *Historiae Normannorum Scriptores*, ed. Duchesne (Paris, 1619), 201, quoted by LePatourel, "Geoffrey of Montbray...", p. 150.

Chanter's *History*. But the text he cites in contradiction of Digby's chronology does not necessarily bear out the criticism.<sup>60</sup>

Brooke argues on the basis of a French text that William constituted Thomas chaplain before the Conquest: he was thus a ducal chaplain before he was a royal one. The evidence proposed is a late eleventh-century document from Jumièges, written by Queen Mathilda's clerk, Rainald, later abbot of Abingdon, to explain his acquisition of some property in and around the city of Bayeux.<sup>61</sup> Rainald relates an elaborate tale of an infant impostor whose mother reclaimed him after undergoing the trial by hot iron; the infant lost the inheritance of his putative father, which King William took into his own hand and then divided between his wife (who granted her share to her clerk Rainald), and "Thomas his clerk, not yet archbishop."<sup>62</sup>

The text is inexplicit, but strongly suggests that Thomas was then royal chaplain, and that his gift was the royal chapel of St. John, in Bayeux.<sup>63</sup> Brooke was perhaps misled by the opening of Rainald's story, which concerns the tale of the changeling and is indeed set in the time of Duke William. But the trial took place between 1067 and

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<sup>60</sup>Hugh, note 2, pp. 2-3 .

<sup>61</sup>Jumièges Charter, p. 215: Rainald refers to Mathilda as "*regina mea domina*". Internal evidence dates the text to 1080x1084: William "now" abbot of Fécamp requires a date after 1080, and Rainald became abbot of Abingdon in 1084.

<sup>62</sup>Jumièges Charter, p. 214: *nam alias res ejusdem Stephani [the father] que pertinebant ad ecclesiam Sancti Johannis, que erat capella regis, dederat jam rex Thome suo clerico nondum archyepiscopo*. For Bayeux's jurisdiction over the ordeal, see *LN*, i, #135, from 1169.

<sup>63</sup>Thomas' brother Samson is shown holding this *capellaria* in *LN* #4. Professor Bates points out that the tense of *dederat* suggests that William had employed Thomas for some length of time before 1068x1069; so the possibility that Thomas was in the duke's service cannot be completely ruled out.

1070, at the instance of King William.<sup>64</sup> No extant text fixes Thomas as ducal chaplain, and his first appearance in the official archives dates to Whitsunday 1068, when he appears in the phalanx of royal chaplains witnessing a confirmation at Westminster.<sup>65</sup> Digby's chronology stands.

William appointed Thomas to York at his Whitsun court on 24 May 1070. Consecrated, after some delay, by Lanfranc at Canterbury, he journeyed with his fellow archbishop to Rome in the autumn of 1071, and received his pallium from Alexander II. Thomas' pallium letter suggests that the new prelate held a high opinion of himself, for the pope recommends that he pay as much attention to his conscience as to his exterior.<sup>66</sup> Thomas would hold the see of York for thirty years, the longest episcopate among the first generation of Norman bishops.

Contemporary chroniclers unite in praise of his excellence. His first York biographer is fulsome. In addition to reforming the Minster and adorning it with books, treasure, and learned and virtuous canons, Thomas himself stood as a model of virtue.

No other archbishop in his time had more personal dignity, or was more generally popular with great and small. For none was more generous or less severe, nor more agreeable in any company whether on serious business or in clean fun. In pretty well all matters he was lovable, praiseworthy, and reverend.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>64</sup>Jumièges Charter, p. 213: *cujus femine clamor perveniens ad Willelmum ducem jam factum regem et ad Matildam uxorem ejus...fecit rex...tenere placitum...* Rainald reports that John of Avranches (1067-79) adjudicated; Thomas took York in 1070.

<sup>65</sup>Reg. #22.

<sup>66</sup>MRA I, f. 41; printed HCY, iii, #4.

<sup>67</sup>Hugh, p. 20: *...quonec alter episcopus tempore suo persona decencior, nec magnis et minimis magis unanimiter dilectus, quia nec magis liberalis nec*

As recorded by Hugh the Chanter, Thomas' epitaph endows him with an embarrassment of virtues : "White-haired and merry, full of manly grace,.../ Such learning with such honesty combined/ A perfect clerk-- or rather, man-- defined."<sup>68</sup> Simeon of Durham is less effusive, but grants that Thomas "of blessed memory" was affable and amiable to all, and a man of exemplary religion.<sup>69</sup> William of Malmesbury, equally laudatory, provides a more explicit sketch of Thomas' character and person. He agrees with Hugh that Thomas led a blameless life, and that nothing ever drove him to anger, except the case for Canterbury's primacy.<sup>70</sup> "Elegant, slightly of person, he was the envy of those seeing him; as a youth, adorned by strength and a fine physique; as an old man, by vivid colouring and hair as white as a swan." He was generous, fostered learning in his clergy, and was himself learned in "antique philosophy" without being proud. He had a fine singing voice and composed many hymns himself, even transforming popular tunes into divine lauds. He forbade his clergy to sing effeminately.<sup>71</sup> The *Gesta Pontificum* contains few encomia,

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*minus austerus, neque quibuslibet in seriis et locis honestis magis consentaneus; postremo in omnibus fere et amabilis et laudabilis et reuerendus.*

<sup>68</sup>Hugh, p. 20: *Canities, hilaris facies, statura uenusta,.../ Hic numero atque modo doctrine seu probitatis/ Clericus omnis erat, uel magis omnis homo.* A life of nobility, distinction and goodness is further ascribed to Thomas, together with the credit for making the house and clergy of the Minster "what it is and has."

<sup>69</sup>HR, p. 194: *Venerandae memoriae et vir religionis eximiae, affabilis omnibusque amabilis...* Simeon here agrees with Florence of Worcester, FW, p. 6.

<sup>70</sup>GP, p. 257: *Omni vita integer, et cui nichil vel in gestis vel in dictis succenseri debeat, nisi quod primo archiepiscopatus tempore, in causa primatus Cantuariensis, magis errore quam pertinatia certavit...*Hugh, p.18 also speaks of Thomas' sweet temper: *Erat enim satis mansueti animi...*

<sup>71</sup>GP, p. 257: *Elegantia, personatus spectabilis, desiderio videntibus erat; juvenis, vigore et aequalitate membrorum commodus; senex, vivido fatiei rubore et capilis cigneus... Celibatam eius nunquam sinister rumor aspexit.*

and this one is the more remarkable for describing a secular prelate. It is not only sources partial to York who speak highly of Thomas. That Eadmer ascribes nothing to Thomas but a contumacious desire to overthrow Canterbury speaks worse of Eadmer than of Thomas.<sup>72</sup>

In contrast, Thomas' brother wins only temperate praise from contemporary critics. Like Thomas, Samson served as treasurer of Bayeux.<sup>73</sup> Willam of Malmesbury further names him as dean, but the Bayeux sources give no support to this assertion.<sup>74</sup> Samson seems likely to have been an absentee dignitary, however, for sources place him more often in the king's circle than at Bayeux. Also like Thomas, Samson served William I as chaplain, although for a longer period than his brother and probably from a young age.<sup>75</sup> Orderic Vitalis claimed that William nourished the clerk from

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*Philosophis antiquis scientia comparandus, nec elatus. Sermone et vultu comis, moribus dulcis. Nec cantu nec voce minor, multa [a]ecclesieastica composuit carmina. Si quis in auditu ejus arte jocularia aliquid vocale sonaret, statim illud in divinas laudes effigiare. Illud apud clericos quam maxime agere, ut masculam in [a]ecclesia musicam haberent, nec quicquam effeminate defringentes...* York was later famous for its clergy not caring what they sang, as long as they could sing it loudly. For Thomas' musical accomplishments, William of Malmesbury presumably draws on Coleman: the VW, p. 24, informs us that Thomas was the foremost musician of his day.

<sup>72</sup>The *Historia Novorum* contains nothing at all which might be construed as praise of Thomas; Eadmer does not even acknowledge his erudition, which he might do in order to dignify Thomas as a worthy opponent. Eadmer calls Thomas a '*novus Angliae civis*' (as Lanfranc was himself) who tried to 'humiliate' Canterbury, *HN*, p.16.

<sup>73</sup>He witnesses a chapter act of Bayeux as treasurer, 25 Sept. 1093, in the presence of Odo, *LN* #23.

<sup>74</sup>Barlow, *EC 1066-1154*, p. 71.

<sup>75</sup>The brothers perhaps also shared the same *capellaria*. In *LN* #4 (24 April 1089) Robert Curthose confirmed Samson's possession "*de capellaria Sancti Johannis*," which Bourrienne identifies as "probablement Saint-Jean-le-Blanc, canton de Condé-sur-Noireau, prébende fondée par Odon Ier de Conteville." Odo's foundation of this prebend is not attested, and at any rate a prebend is not equivalent to a *capellaria*. I am not comfortable with Bourrienne's identification. Samson's *capellaria* of St. John could rather be that given to Thomas by William I 1067x1070.

boyhood, and loved him dearly.<sup>76</sup> Samson received from William I the grant of the church of St. Mary, Wolverhampton in recognition of his service.<sup>77</sup> The Exon. Domesday records that he held a manor in Somerset as "*Samson capellanus*" in 1086; the entry is corrected to emphasize that Samson held his manor not as tenant-in-chief but as a mesne tenant of Odo of Bayeux.<sup>78</sup> Samson clearly enjoyed the good graces of both brothers.

On the basis of the corrections to Samson's entries in Little Domesday, V.H. Galbraith plausibly credits him with overseeing at least the evidence for the Winchester circuit.<sup>79</sup> Whether Samson served as the "backroom boy" for the entire Domesday survey remains open to question, but charter evidence confirms his position as the king's administrative proxy throughout the reign.<sup>80</sup> Samson's preferment continued under William Rufus and he was elected bishop of Worcester in 1096, ordained deacon and priest on 7 June, and consecrated the following day.<sup>81</sup> Ivo of Chartres congratulated him on his preferment, in elliptical terms which may perhaps be explained by the fact that Samson was still in minor orders at his

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<sup>76</sup>*OV*, 2, p. 300: William refers to Samson "...*quem a puericia nutriui et amaui sedulo...*" Orderic creates an exchange between the king and his chaplain; though the words are imagined, the gist is probably accurate.

<sup>77</sup>*Reg.*, App. III. #xxvi, notification to Lanfranc and Geoffrey of Coutances: *sciatis me dedisse Samsoni capellano meo ecclesiam sancte marie de wolvrenehamptonia, cum terra et omnibus aliis rebus et consuetudinibus...* [from Pat. Roll, 2Ric.II, pt 2, m.19]; Galbraith, "Notes on the Career of Samson...", p. 88 dates the charter to after 1074.

<sup>78</sup>See Galbraith, "Notes...", p. 89, for an analysis of Exon DB fo. 87b.2.

<sup>79</sup>Galbraith, "Notes...", pp. 89-93.

<sup>80</sup>Galbraith, p. 93, speculates that Samson was "the backroom boy" supporting "Ranulf the great administrator" in the next reign. Pierre Chaplais, however, writes Samson off in "William of St. Calais and the Domesday Survey," in J.C. Holt (ed.), *Domesday Studies* (Woodbridge, 1987), pp. 65-77, esp. pp. 68-70.

<sup>81</sup>*Fasti*, 2, p. 99; *HN*, p. 74; but *FW* gives 15 June.

election.<sup>82</sup> Samson held Worcester until 1112, but would seem to have made a less spectacular bishop than royal man of affairs.

Despite external similarities between the brother's careers, in character and habits Samson and Thomas could hardly have differed more. Thomas was a model of physical and verbal elegance, and, as William of Malmesbury wrote, no one ever whispered that Thomas was unchaste. Samson was altogether different.

Orderic Vitalis relates an illuminating, if wholly imaginary, conversation between Samson and William I in 1081, when the king offered his chaplain the bishopric of Le Mans. Samson refused the preferment and recommended that William instead appoint another royal chaplain, a Breton called Hoel.<sup>83</sup> In refusing the king, Samson argued that

By apostolic precept a bishop must be blameless. But I am a man who has been guilty of sin all my life, and am stained in the sight of God with every kind of vice of the flesh and the spirit; I could never deserve this honour since my sins make me wretched and despicable.<sup>84</sup>

The passage is significant not for the protagonist's words, doubtless apocryphal, but for the light it sheds on contemporary perceptions of Samson's character. The chronicler represents Samson as dissipated, but no hypocrite. That these lines are not meant to convey false

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<sup>82</sup>PL clxii, 168.

<sup>83</sup>OV, 2, p. 300. Hoel was a Breton, "but...humble and truly good." Chibnall notes that although he was elected in 1081/2 the opposition of Fulk of Anjou delayed his consecration until 1085.

<sup>84</sup>OV, 2, p. 300. *Secundum apostolicam traditionem oportet episcopum irreprehensilem esse. Ego autem in omni uita mea sum ualde reprehensibilis, omnibusque mentis et corporis ante conspectum deitatis pollutus flagitiis nec tantum decus contingere possum pro sceleribus meis miser et despicibilis.*

humility other evidence makes clear; Samson fathered several children, and he was no stranger to gluttony.

But if Orderic accurately portrays his character in 1081, Samson seems either to have overcome his scruples or reformed his mode of living by 1096 when he accepted the bishopric of Worcester from Willam Rufus. Orderic considered that Samson made a satisfactory bishop, grouping him among the many protégés of Odo of Bayeux who "diligently led their flocks, feeding them on sound doctrine and lighting their paths with virtues."<sup>85</sup>

Samson fares worse under the pen of William of Malmesbury. The final redaction of the *Gesta Pontificum*, it is true, terms Samson nothing worse than "old-fashioned in his customs," and praises him for his learning, eloquence, and liberality.<sup>86</sup> But the earlier version is scathing. William of Malmesbury accuses Samson of sins ranging from gross obesity to fraud. In addition to despoiling a monastery under his care, Samson disgusted the Wiltshire monk by his gourmandizing.<sup>87</sup>

Samson also receives some heated criticism from his one-time fellow clerk, Rainald, in the Jumièges text quoted above. Rainald sought to establish his claim over Samson's to some property in

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<sup>85</sup>*OV*, 4, p.118: *qui nostris temporibus in aecclesia Dei floruerunt, et subiectis ouibus pabulo doctrinae radiisque uirtutum sollerter profuerunt...*

<sup>86</sup>*GP*, p. 289: *...non parvae litterature vir nec contempndae facundiae. Antiquorum homo morum, ipse liberaliter vesci, et aliis dapsiliter largiri.*

<sup>87</sup>*GP*, note pp. 289-90, from MSS B and C: *Non exiliter litteris educata nimia dapsilitate urgens stomachum, adeo ut isto evo dicatur unicus gurgis escarum. Qui nichil umquam quod esset veneri propositum ineptum dimitteret, modo gulae lacunam explere conditiore <conditionis in C> duntaxat irritamento posset. Apponebatur ei patina quadrantia scrofae et xxti iiior pullorum gallinatorum capax, ut, cum se ex medio auide insulsisset, reliquum quod esset in disco mitteret vel daret assidenti sine improprio. Nec tamen inter haec oblitus pauperum ccc cotidie ad minus reficeret numerum.*

Bayeux. The document paints an intriguing picture of the competition between royal clerks: Samson is William's, Rainald, Mathilda's. Rainald closes his piece by saying that Samson "did not make a claim when I sold him one of the houses in the city with the land of that same house for sixty pounds, of which I have had fifty pounds and of which he still owes me ten pounds in recompense; and I still have men who could recover the money."<sup>88</sup> Rainald's allegation reflects badly on Samson's business practices if true, and if false is frankly slanderous. But the threatening note about enforcement rings true.

Samson, however, earns no opprobrium from his contemporaries for his conspicuous lack of celibacy. He was still in minor orders, a subdeacon, when he was elected in 1096 (as shown by the fact that he was not ordained deacon until after his election), and was thus free to marry.<sup>89</sup> As Brooke points out in his study of clerical marriage, the 1080 ban on the marriage of canons was widely disregarded.<sup>90</sup> Thomas may have earned copious praise for his chastity, but Samson's unchastity passed without comment. Certainly Samson's children must have been conceived well before his consecration, for two of his sons themselves became bishops little more than a decade after their father's appointment. Thomas served

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<sup>88</sup>Jumièges Charter, p. 215: *Et, ut audivi, Samson clericus clamat in predictis rebus, sed tunc non clamavit quando ei vendidi unam de domibus infra civitatem cum terra ipsius domus sexaginta libris, de quibus habui quinquaginta libras et adhuc debet michi x libras in weredono, et adhuc habeo homines qui eosdem denarios receperunt.*

<sup>89</sup>As Barlow points out, *EC1066-1154*, p. 71. Samson was ordained deacon and priest on 7 June 1096 and consecrated the next day (or perhaps on 15 June according to the Worc. Cart.); *Fasti*, 2, p. 99. Eadmer tells us he was a subdeacon at the time of his election, *HN*, p. 74.

<sup>90</sup>"Gregorian Reform in Action", *CHJ* 12, No. I (1956), pp. 1-21, p. 13

as archbishop of York from 1109 to 1114, and Richard held the bishopric of Bayeux from 1107 to 1133. No evidence of the identity of the children's mother has appeared.

The appointment of Thomas II to York, devoutly sought by the chapter, would ultimately prove disappointing.<sup>91</sup> Hugh the Chanter describes the initial euphoria which greeted the election of Samson's son, another royal chaplain and provost of St. John's, Beverley:

Many had been longing for this day, on which our mother city received as its metropolitan the man Thomas, who would have immediately succeeded his uncle Thomas, as though by right of inheritance, if they had had the power to elect him before. For he had been brought up and well trained among us at the feet of his beloved and friendly uncle; and he was himself agreeable both in morals and manners. As archbishop, his kinship, his same Christian name, and a certain likeness of character seemed in a way to have brought his uncle back to us again.<sup>92</sup>

Thomas II seems to have been closer to his uncle than to his father: Hugh reports that the young Thomas received his education in the chapter at York, and he served as provost at a collegiate church, St. John's, Beverley, with close ties to the Minster. Hugh further refers to the younger Thomas as his uncle's heir, *quasi iure*. This terminology

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<sup>91</sup>Hugh reports that Henry had intended to appoint Thomas to the see of London, but the dean and certain others from York persuaded him to change his mind: *Hugh*, pp. 24-26: ...*cui [Thome] rex eadem die Lundoniensem episcopatum uel in proxima daturus, requisicione decani Hug<onis> et quorundam de nostris, qui tunc erant ad curiam, consilium mutauit, et ei Eboracensem tradidit.*

<sup>92</sup>*Hugh*, p. 26: *Multorum desideria dies ille desideratus aduenit, quando in metropolitam metropolis nostra illum suscepit, quibus si antea elegisse licuisset, Thome Thomas, patruo nepos, quasi iure hereditario proxime successisset. Erat enim apud nos sub patruo auo amabili et amabili educatus et decenter eruditus, moribus et conuersatione gratus, ipseque archiepiscopus factus pro consanguinitate et nominis similitudine et aliqua morum consuetudine patrum suum nobis in se ex parte reddidisse uisus est.*

appears to have more behind it than a figure of speech, for the Chanter later portrays Samson as an unnatural father.

Because Hugh the Chanter's *History* justifies York's resistance to Canterbury's claim to primacy, the work evaluates York's archbishops in terms of the vigour of their defense against Canterbury. By this reckoning, Thomas I and Thurstan are successful, and Gerard and Thomas II unfortunate. Slander is beyond Hugh: he is no William of Malmesbury. But his description of the continuation of the primacy dispute at the beginning of Thomas' pontificate reveals Hugh at his most vituperative. As Henry I deliberated over the question of primacy,

Step by step, the king's flatterers told him that he would not be a good heir if he suffered his father's decisions to be repealed. And one of the bishops, with disgusting subservience, bore witness to having seen what (or the like of which) neither he nor anyone else had anywhere seen, namely that when Thomas consecrated Anselm, he made his profession: a story I judge deserving of laughter rather than refutation. But all that we said to the king was that whoever had said that lied in his teeth.<sup>93</sup>

Hugh prefers not to name the man who cravenly testified that Thomas professed in 1093, but Orderic and Eadmer tell us that it was Samson of Worcester.<sup>94</sup> Anselm had written to Samson before his death in April of 1109, demanding his support for Canterbury's position. But Hugh does not concern himself with Samson's motive;

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<sup>93</sup>Hugh, p. 42: *Et quidam de episcopis, turpiter assentator, se uidisse testatus est quod nec ipse nec alius nec simile huic usquam uiderat, scilicet quod quando T<homas> Ans<elmum> consecrauit, consecrato professionem fecit; de quo magis ridendum esse quam respondendum estimo. Set tantum regi dictum est a nobis quod quicumque hoc dixerat, in caput suum mentitus fuerat.*

<sup>94</sup>HN, p. 208

he cares only that Samson traduced both his brother and his son by claiming that Thomas I professed to Anselm. The Chanter implicitly contrasts Samson's hypocrisy with Henry's desire to be a loyal heir to his father.

Hugh draws an interesting picture of family relations. When he writes overtly of Samson's testimony, he diplomatically relates only that the bishop advised his son to relent, out of fear of the king. But he adds that Samson's was not the only family voice pressuring Thomas to profess. Richard II bishop of Bayeux, another of Samson's sons, also was present taking the side of Canterbury. Hugh records that Richard and Samson let their fear of the king outweigh their "natural affection to a brother and son," and, "by urging and advising [Thomas] to do what the king wished, they practically forced him to comply."<sup>95</sup>

Not all of Thomas II's relatives took the side of the king, however. Still more of Thomas' kin appeared at the court, to stand with Thomas against Samson and Richard. Hugh provides us with no names, saying merely that "some other members" of Thomas' family, "*probi uiri*," reproached some members of the York party for their uncaring demeanour.<sup>96</sup> In his description of the conflict between Thomas I and Lanfranc, Hugh also had alluded to members of the archbishop's family being used as leverage by the king: William

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<sup>95</sup>Hugh, p. 46: *Sampson Wigornensis episcopus et Ric<ard>us Baiocensis, pater et frater illius, hic fratrem, ille filium carnaliter amantes, et regem timentes, illum archiepiscopo carere nolebant, regem exaspere non audebant; sicque monendo, consulendo ut regia uoluntatem faceret, quasi uim inferebant.*

<sup>96</sup>Hugh, p. 46: *De parentula eius aliquanti probi uiri, qui illuc aderant nobis, qui cum eo <ex> ecclesia nostra, tres aut quatuor, et tristes et timidi, aderamus, improberabant modicum curare si archiepiscopatum perderet.*

threatened "that neither Thomas [I] nor any of his kinsmen should stay in England or Normandy, unless he made his profession, at least to Lanfranc personally."<sup>97</sup> In the case of the second Thomas, Hugh asserts that Henry sent messengers to the archbishop elect threatening to banish "him and all his kinsmen from all his lands: just as though the king had deliberately thought, 'As the father did to the uncle, so shall the son do to the nephew.'"<sup>98</sup> It is interesting to note that by the time of the second Thomas, the family enjoyed sufficient standing to appear at court in numbers.

Thomas II at last capitulated, professing to an unspecified archbishop of Canterbury. In general, the archbishop seems easily led, and his pontificate was brief and unremarkable.<sup>99</sup> The chronicles portray Thomas II as his uncle's namesake only in part: he possessed all the chastity but none of the panache. Simeon of Durham describes the second Thomas as a man of exemplary piety, rich in good works and pure and upright of manner both before and during his episcopacy, of nearly indescribable virtue.<sup>100</sup> William of Malmesbury acknowledged Thomas II's chastity and faith as "an example to everyone," but in an early version of the *Gesta*

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<sup>97</sup>Hugh, p. 6: *cominatus est eciam quod nec <ipse nec> quisquam de sibi genere propinquis in Anglia nec in Normannia remaneret, sinon personaliter saltem L<anfranco> profiteretur.*

<sup>98</sup>Hugh, p. 44: *Misit iterum rex ad nos qui dicerent quod... si non [professionem faceret], in finem perderet, et ipsum et omnes sibi genere propinquos de tota terra sua exterminaret; ac si de industria rex cogitasset: Sicut pater fecit patruo, filius faciet nepoti.*

<sup>99</sup>According to *Prior Richard*, p. 202, Thomas' canons coerced him into taking St. Eata's relics from Hexham.

<sup>100</sup>HR, p. 248: *Anno MCXIII...Thomas Eboracensis archiepiscopus, vir eximiae religionis, vi kal. Martii feria iii obiit. Qui, cum caeteris sanctarum virtutum operibus, etiam in virginitatis puritate perrexit ad Dominium. Quanto vero morum probitate et vitae innocentis puritate ante episcopatum et in episcopatu enituerit, nullis humanis verbis digne explicari posse arbitror.*

*Pontificum* unkindly ascribed the archbishop's virginity to the fact that he was so fat he could hardly walk.<sup>101</sup> Even Hugh the Chanter acknowledged that Thomas II was unable to suffer discomfort, being "full-bodied, and fatter than he should have been."<sup>102</sup> But William of Malmesbury repeats the gossip that though Thomas was outwardly virtuous, in his heart he was a sinner, and went out of his mind and died when the translation of Oswald's relics brought home his inner unchastity.<sup>103</sup> Against this story, however, a Durham eyewitness reports nothing more untoward at Oswald's translation than the presence of the odour of sanctity.<sup>104</sup> William of Malmesbury deletes his account from his later text, apparently one case where his revision is motivated by truth, not tact.

However, irreverent stories have clung to Thomas II's memory. William of Newburgh claims that a persistent illness led to Thomas being prescribed a night with a woman. Thomas admitted her to his room but slept on the floor and lied to his friends that she had

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<sup>101</sup>*GP*, p. 262: *Expers, ut credebatur, ab adolescentia feminearum sed et obscenitatum omnium. Dapsilis exemplo sui ad omnes, praedicandae pietatis et favoris in clericos.* Also p. 263, note; from the B and C MSS: *Dapsilis exemplo sui ad omnes. Prepinguis et fedae corpulentiae, ut vix ambulare posset suspiriosus.*

<sup>102</sup>*Hugh*, p. 48: the Chanter blames Thomas' obesity, although in typically gentle terms, for the archbishop's failure to put up a good fight against Canterbury: *consensit quod, ut uerum estimo, nullatenus fecisset si exilii et fatigacionis et ceterarum incommoditatum corpus paciens haberet; set corpulentus erat, et pinguior quam oportet.*

<sup>103</sup>*GP*, p. 263, note (as above): *Quia ergo fama pro vero vulgaverat martyris ossa in ecclesia illa scrinio inclusa, ardebat Thomas veritatem rei oculis experiri. Suadentibus quibusdam ut precibus premissus et solenni jejunio indicto religionem aggredereetur, castitatis suae conscia neglexit. Summo igitur diluculo jam pransus, scrinio effracto, extraxit ossa, firmavit oculis animi credulitatem. Continuoque templum egressus, valetudinem letalem incidit. Quia invalescente per dies, post iiiior menses animam dereliquit.*

<sup>104</sup>*Symeon*, 1, p. 370. Thomas II presided over the ceremony: *In qua translatione tantam mirifici odoris fragrantiam sensimus, ut nullius sapientia eloquentia tantae redolentiae vapor ad plenum valeat exprimi.*

relieved him. His doctor discovered the truth and despaired.<sup>105</sup>

Walter Daniel records that Aelred of Rievaulx's first miraculous act was to prophesy Thomas' death, which he did at the age of four or five, with great pleasure.<sup>106</sup> The sources conflict over the date of Thomas II's demise, as well as the cause, but agree that he died a young man.<sup>107</sup> His pontificate lasted something under six years.

Another of Samson's sons, Richard II of Bayeux, outlived his brother by nearly twenty years. Richard may have continued the family tradition of service in the royal chapel, as he witnesses occasional charters of Henry I. But certainly, like Thomas I and Samson, Richard fitzSamson held the treasurership of Bayeux, which by this point amounted to a hereditary fee. Richard inherited the treasurer's prebend of Douvres from his father, and appears to have treated it as his personal property. Land at Douvres, which Gleason identifies as Douvres-la-Délivrande, canton of Caen, comprised part of the earliest estates of Bayeux cathedral.<sup>108</sup> The prebend must

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<sup>105</sup>William of Newburgh, pp. 28-9.

<sup>106</sup>Walter Daniel, *Vita Aelredi cum Epistola ad Mauricium*, ed. and trans. F.M. Powicke (London, 1950), p. 71. This was good news to Aelred's father, ousted from the church of Hexham by Thomas' Austin canons. Hexham chroniclers prove particularly spiteful to Thomas, accusing him of stealing their relics (or at least wanting to). See *Priory of Hexham*, p. 202.

<sup>107</sup>Both Hugh and William of Malmesbury term Thomas II "*juvenis*" at his death, *Hugh*, p. 54; *GP*, p. 262. Brooke summarizes the "conflicting" evidence for his date of death, *Hugh*, p. 54-5, note 2: Hugh's date is internally inconsistent, for he gives the length of the pontificate as "five years and almost nine months" but dates his consecration to 27 June 1109 and his death to 19 February 1114-- a length of 5 years and eight months. Brooke is characteristically harsh on Hugh here, quibbling over a couple of weeks, at most. Simeon of Durham follows Florence of Worcester and gives 24 February as the date of death (*FW* 2, p. 67; *HR*, 248); Richard of Hexham (p. 57) and *HCY* 2, p. 525 give 16 February, but incorrectly name the day as a Tuesday, instead of Monday. Brooke ultimately leans toward following Florence.

<sup>108</sup>Gleason, PhD, p. 140, for the location. Hugh, bishop of Bayeux protests that "*raptores... vi abstulerant... alloders in Duvero...*" in a charter of 1035x1037 (*LN* #21). This text gives a useful early list of the bishop's patrimony.

have been lucrative, for Richard took it with him when he rose to the bishopric.<sup>109</sup>

Appointed by Henry I after the deposition of Turolde of Envermeu, Richard fitzSamson held Bayeux from 1107 to 1133. His long episcopate was marred by the loss of important fiefs to Bayeux's enterprising tenant-barons.<sup>110</sup> Esteemed for his education by Adelard of Bath, and for his poetic language by Ivo of Chartres, Richard fitzSamson proved a disastrous bishop: passive, and self-recriminating.<sup>111</sup> When he sided with his patron Henry I on the issue of excommunicating bishops, Honorius II brought him to heel by reminding him of his predecessor's fate.<sup>112</sup> Turolde's unpopularity and ultimate deposition partially explain why Richard II chose to represent himself in episcopal acts as the heir of Odo of Conteville.<sup>113</sup> But perhaps Richard also hoped to gain by association with that relentless (if often absentee) aggrandizer of Bayeux's landed wealth.

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<sup>109</sup>Béziers provides this reference in *Mémoires*, iii, p. 280: Ben. de regul. par., 4 lib. 2 f. 157: *Richardus Samsonis filius, Odonis per intervalla successor, Dobrae baroniam, quae ad eum jure haereditario pervenerat, episcopali mensae [Béziers has mensae, which is meaningless] addixit.* I have been unable to trace this important reference. The chapter later reclaimed Douvres for the treasurership, as numerous references in the *Livre Noir* attest. See especially LN #117, 3 March 1153, an act in which Philip de Harcourt gives Ralph "in prebendam, terram apud Dolvram, quae dicta est terra thesaurarii."

<sup>110</sup>Gleason, pp. 17-28 gives a fine précis of Bayeux's situation in the first half of the twelfth century. Also see Bates, *Normandy Before 1066* on the subject.

<sup>111</sup>Such a patron of learning was Richard that Adelard of Bath dedicated his *Quaestiones Naturales* to him, as Gleason notes, p. 24 (and p. 65 of his PhD).

<sup>112</sup>See PL clxvi, col. 1275. Gleason paints a vivid portrait of Richard II on the basis of the primary sources in his PhD, pp. 63-8.

<sup>113</sup>See for example the charter Richard II obtained from Henry I giving him the same rights and liberties "*sicut Odo antecessor... habuit...*" (LN # 29). Also see the act by which Richard annexed Douvres to the bishop's fee, quoted above.

The greatest despoiler of the Bessin in Richard fitzSamson's episcopate was Robert earl of Gloucester, the natural son of Henry I. Robert legitimately held an honour in the Bessin at the consent of the king and the chapter of Bayeux.<sup>114</sup> He was not above adding to his territory by force, but less martial strategies also served him well. He married the daughter of another problematic Bayeux tenant, Robert fitzHamon, and took as mistress the sister of Bishop Richard, Isabella of Douvres.<sup>115</sup> The *Livre Noir* records that the earl of Gloucester's estates multiplied, as the cathedral's dwindled.<sup>116</sup> So much of the cathedral's property was alienated during Richard's long episcopate that Henry I was forced to commission an inquest at the bishop's death in 1133.

But the next incumbent of Bayeux proved no more effective. Richard II was succeeded by another Richard, his illegitimate nephew, the natural son of Robert earl of Gloucester and Samson's daughter Isabella.<sup>117</sup> His parentage is known through a carefully

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<sup>114</sup>*Earldom of Gloucester Charters...to AD 1217*, ed. R.B. Patterson (Oxford, 1973), #6, (cf. Cart. Bayeux, #41, Reg.,iii,#58, etc.), September 1146, Devizes: *...hoc quod habebam apud Anaerias de dono Ricardi Samsonis filii Baiocensis episcopi...* EGC, #1, and note shows father and son working together: Richard III introduced canons into St. Mary's, Ardennes; his father established a prebend there [see "Inquest of 1133," *Extraits des chartes et autres actes Normands ou Anglo-Normands dans les Archives du Calvados*, ed. Léchaudé D'Anisy, *Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie*, vii, part I; viii, part II (1834-), ii, 426] .

<sup>115</sup>See below. The prebend of Douvres (Dolvram) may be found linked to Samson and his family in several charters preserved in Bayeux's *Livre Noir*, and suggests that the treasurer's prebend amounted to a hereditary fee. LN, 1, cxvii, 143 shows a gift by the bishop in 1153 '*...in prebendam, terram apud Dolvram, quae dictae est terra thesaurarii, liberam et quietam ab omni servitio...*' Samson routinely appears in French secondary sources as "Samson de Douvres."

<sup>116</sup>LN, i, #190: *Rodbertus, comes Gloucestriae, maximam partem bonorum Baiocensis ecclesiae sibi auferat, et tam in feudo quam in dominio violenter detineat.*

<sup>117</sup>He appears in CDF #161 as "*filius comitis.*"

worded obituary printed by the antiquary Michel Béziers: "On the 24th day of the month of April died Isabel mother of Richard Bishop of Bayeux, son of the earl of Gloucester."<sup>118</sup> As Béziers points out, the only possible interpretation is that Isabella was Robert of Gloucester's mistress.<sup>119</sup>

Richard III followed the familiar path of service in the royal chapel, in this case at the court of his grandfather, Henry I.<sup>120</sup> As chaplain he appears in the sources only seldom, and his later career suggests he would not have made an effective man of affairs. However, his family connections ensured him the bishopric of Bayeux, and at his uncle's death in 1133 he took up the post. His illegitimacy delayed his consecration until 1135, when the king finally coerced the archbishop of Rouen into performing the ceremony.

Like his uncle, Richard III proved incapable of asserting himself against baronial encroachments; unsurprisingly, since the chief culprit was his father. Father and son, however, sometimes cooperated in their patronage. When the bishop introduced canons into St. Mary's, Ardennes, the earl donated a prebend.<sup>121</sup> Richard III

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<sup>118</sup>Béziers, *Mémoires*, i, p. 324. From "the old necrology of Bayeux." Béziers states that Isabel's death was listed as occurring at Easter, and Easter fell on 24 April in 1166. This date suggests that Isabel was extremely long-lived, as her brothers died in 1114 and 1133. Possibly she was the product of a different liaison with Samson. She would certainly have been older than Robert earl of Gloucester.

<sup>119</sup>Ironically, another of Robert of Gloucester's sons obtained a part of Samson's heritage: Roger of Gloucester served as bishop of Worcester from 1163 to 1179. *Fasti*, 2, p. 99. Roger appears, however, to have been the child of the earl of Gloucester's wife. Mabel fitzHamon and the earl of Gloucester had a number of children, including one named Richard. See *CDF* #1454 for members of this family.

<sup>120</sup>See *CDF* #590.

<sup>121</sup>*EGC* #1, note.

died in 1142, and after his death the earl of Gloucester refused to disgorge the territory he had purloined from his son's bishopric.<sup>122</sup> Eugenius III claimed that Robert of Gloucester had "carried off the greater part of the goods of the church of Bayeux."<sup>123</sup> So depleted were the cathedral's resources that in the next episcopate Henry Plantagenet ordered an inquest into the liberties possessed in Odo's time, noting that

the church of Bayeux was reduced almost to nothing after Bishop Odo's death through the impotence and negligence of subsequent bishops, and sales, and gifts, and commutations...until practically nothing was left...<sup>124</sup>

Samson's descendants had not acquitted themselves well.

As far as the evidence goes, Richard III brought the family's dwindling ecclesiastical fortunes to an end. But a few more descendants appear in the sources. C.T. Clay published a charter which identifies a grandson and namesake of Samson.<sup>125</sup> The charter dates probably to the period between the deaths of Bishop Samson and Archbishop Thomas II, that is, between May, 1112 and February, 1114, and records a gift by Thomas II of some land in

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<sup>122</sup>In 1145x1146 Eugenius III commanded the bishops of Worcester and Bath to persuade the earl to return the lands, *LN* #s 190, 191.

<sup>123</sup>*LN* #190: Eugenius III to S. of Worcester and R. of Bath. "*Venerabilis frater noster Philippus, Baiocensis episcopus, ad sedem Apostolicam saepe conquestus est quod Robertus, comes Gloecestriae, maximam partem bonorum Baiocensis ecclesie sibi auferat, et tam in feudo quam in dominio violenter detineat...*"

<sup>124</sup>*LN* #14: *Quoniam ecclesia Baiocensis, post mortem Odonis episcopi, per subsequentium episcoporum impotentiam, cum per eorumdem negligentiam., et pervenditiones, et donationes, et commutationes ab ipsis factas, fere ad nichilum redacta erat...*

<sup>125</sup>C.T.Clay, "A Worcester Charter of Thomas II, Archbishop of York; and Its bearing on the early history on the Church of Leeds," *YAJ* 36 (1944-7), pp. 132-36.

Gloucester to "my nephew, Samson son of Aiulf."<sup>126</sup> The genealogy places Aiulf in the generation of Samson's sons Thomas II and Richard II: Aiulf could be either another son, or a son-in law. Clay thought Aiulf less likely to be Samson's son than the husband of a daughter, presumably on the basis of his English name. An Aiulfus appears in the Domesday returns for Worcester as a tenant of Roger de Lacy at Wolverton, five miles from the city of Worcester.<sup>127</sup> It is possible that a daughter of Samson married an Englishman of her father's diocese, and named her son after his grandfather. Aiulf sheriff of Somerset provides a more intriguing candidate: he appears as a witness with Archbishop Thomas in 1089, and with both Thomas and Samson the chaplain in 1091.<sup>128</sup> But a more intimate link has not yet been established.

The grandson Samson who received Thomas II's grant is not easily identifiable. A subdeacon of that name appears in Bayeux's *Livre Noir* as an old man, handing over his prebend to another canon in 1164.<sup>129</sup> The poor showings of Richards II and III could account for a member of the family holding a relatively lowly position in the

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<sup>126</sup>*Sciatis me dedisse Sansoni filio Aiulfi nepoti meo terram Vptone quam teneo de Sancta Maria Wigornensi quam dominus meus Sanson episcopus Wigornensis licentia et voluntate regis Henrici mihi de se et de predicta ecclesia tenendam dedit . Volo igitur et concedo ut ita libere et honorabilius tenui de predicto domino meo Sans(one) episcopo.* Sir Ivor Atkins, who found the charter before Clay did, presumably dates it to after Samson's death because it shows Thomas, the sub-tenant, making the gift, rather than Samson himself.

<sup>127</sup>*Ibid*, p. 133, note 5. Clay cites a verbal reference provided by Professor Stenton for the provenance of the name; and finds *Aiulfus* in DB, i,172b.

<sup>128</sup>*Reg. #s* 309, 315. He received two notifications from Rufus, *Reg. #s* 326, 457.

<sup>129</sup>LN #49: *Sanxon, subdiaconus ecclesiae Baiocensis, fere decrepitus, juravit et dixit se vidisse praefatum Helyam habere ecclesiam sde Tracheio in praebenda sua.*

chapter's hierarchy. But other than the name, and possibly the date, nothing connects this subdeacon to Samson I.<sup>130</sup>

A less tenuous connection surfaces in the Bayeux sources. One *Robertus, nepos episcopi*, appears in the returns for the 1133 inquest.<sup>131</sup> As Richard III had not yet been consecrated, this Robert must be the nephew of Richard II. He appears as a tenant of Adelaid the Chamberlain, holding fees in the Bessin and the Cotentin<sup>132</sup>. Stapleton and Deslisle determined that Robert was the son of John of Bayeux, himself the son of Bishop Odo.<sup>133</sup> Samson's daughter would thus have borne a child to the son of his old patron, Odo.

We do not know if Robert was legitimate. His father, John of Bayeux was himself a bastard, and it would be unwise to assume that Robert felt it necessary to marry Samson's daughter. Robert of Gloucester did not trouble to marry Isabel. The fact that Samson's daughters had children by the bastards of Odo of Bayeux and Henry I is an interesting comment on his status. He was influential enough to place his daughters in the way of influential men, but not important enough (at least in Isabella's case, and possibly in the other daughter's) to coerce them into marriage.

According to Léchaudé d'Anisy, Robert "the bishop's nephew" married extremely well, taking the daughter of William du Hommet,

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<sup>130</sup>Subdeacon Samson, "decrepit" in 1164, could even be a long-lived son of Samson I. Isabella died in 1166.

<sup>131</sup>Gleason discusses Robert's genealogy and holdings in his PhD, p. 175.

<sup>132</sup>Namely La Ferrière-du-Val (Canton of Aunay), Crépigny (canton of St.-Jean-le-Blanc), Rouchamp (canton of Aunay), and La Rivière (Cotentin).

<sup>133</sup>Gleason cites Stapleton, *Magni Rotuli Scaccarii Normanniae sub Regibus Angliae*, ii, clxxii; and Léchaudé d'Anisy, *Extraits*, MAN vii, 53ff.

the constable of Normandy.<sup>134</sup> Robert did much better for himself than Richard II's other nephew and successor Richard III. His heirs would hold positions of power in the Bessin for generations.

It was to be in the secular sphere that Osbert and Muriel's descendants profited after about 1150. But the Norman priest (if he was a priest) had founded a clerical dynasty which flourished for the better part of a century. Members of the family at Bayeux held the treasury at least three times, perhaps the deanery once, and the bishopric twice; and in England, the archbishopric of York twice and the bishopric of Worcester once. Four or five of Osbert's descendants staffed royal chapels.<sup>135</sup> The Norman family made its fortunes by clever use of patronage, and when the ducal family became royal, Osbert's descendants widened their scope accordingly and divided their attentions between England and the continent.

After Thomas and Samson's generation, little evidence of cross-channel appointments is forthcoming.<sup>136</sup> Thomas and Samson held dignitaries at Bayeux before their English preferments, but Samson's children appear to have chosen one side of the channel and stuck to it.<sup>137</sup> The brothers appear to have apportioned their patronage wisely. In England, Thomas I trained his nephew and namesake to

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<sup>134</sup>Extraits, 53ff.

<sup>135</sup>Thomas I and Samson [William I], and Thomas II, Richard II (perhaps), and Richard III [Henry I].

<sup>136</sup>D.S. Spear looks at cross-channel appointments in "The Norman Empire and the Secular Clergy, 1066-1204," *Journal of British Studies* 21 (1982), pp. 1-10. Spear does not differentiate as much as he might between families whose members hold positions in *both* England and Normandy (i.e. Walchelin of Winchester's extended family), and those whose members serve *either* in England *or* in Normandy.

<sup>137</sup>At least for their appointments. We do know that Richard fitzSamson was in England during Thomas II's primacy crisis. Richard fitzSamson's early history is obscure; some English training cannot be ruled out.

fill his shoes at York, while Samson, who held on to the Bayeux treasurership at least until 1092, groomed his son Richard for the bishopric there. Despite their enormously different lifestyles, the brothers cooperated in furthering the careers of the next generation. But the talent and vigour, and perhaps also the charm, which distinguished them, diffused over the next generations. It was not only increasing restrictions on clerical marriage which curtailed the expansion of the ecclesiastical dynasty in the later twelfth century. The chastity of Thomas of Bayeux was conspicuous in an age that praised but did not require it, and perhaps the family's loss.

### 3. The Primacy Dispute

From September of 1070, when Lanfranc claimed the primacy of England, until the papacy depressed Canterbury's pretensions in 1122, Christ Church and St. Peter's, York, mounted a war of propaganda.<sup>138</sup> On paper, at least, York was never in the running: sources penned at Canterbury have survived in quantity, while York claims only a chronicle composed nearly sixty years after the crucial event. But Canterbury's documentary advantage has not secured victory for its version, and the story of the primacy dispute remains as hotly-contested in the twentieth century as it was in the eleventh. The evidence bears reviewing, not least because Thomas of Bayeux's submission to Lanfranc is the best-known episode of his career. If the significance of Thomas' profession, and indeed of the primacy contest itself, has been often exaggerated, no analysis of the prelate's career in England can begin anywhere else.

By the summer of 1070, the death of Aldred and the deposition of Stigand had left both archiepiscopal sees vacant. William nominated his chaplain, Thomas of Bayeux, to York on 27 May 1070, and invested Lanfranc of Pavia with Canterbury on 15 August. With both metropolitan sees vacant, the archbishops-elect required consecration by their suffragans, and since York lacked the required number, Canterbury's suffragans consecrated Lanfranc first, on 29

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<sup>138</sup>Although Thomas was appointed in May, Lanfranc won consecration first, in September, as Canterbury had the requisite number of suffragans to perform the ceremony, and York did not.

August. Thomas presented himself at Canterbury not long afterwards, for consecration by the new archbishop.<sup>139</sup> But during Thomas' examination Lanfranc demanded a profession of obedience, which was unusual though not unprecedented, and an oath, which was both.<sup>140</sup> Thomas protested, and it is at this juncture that the sources begin to diverge.

The earliest evidence for subsequent events derives from a number of texts associated with the Canterbury archives.<sup>141</sup> Two of the most detailed are attributed to Lanfranc: a short narrative known as *Intravit*, and a letter to Pope Alexander II.<sup>142</sup> *Intravit*, written certainly after 1073 and probably after 1075, preserves the Canterbury version of events from Lanfranc's call to England to his return from Rome in the autumn of 1071.<sup>143</sup> If the archbishop did not write the text himself, he certainly authorized it.

*Intravit* records that Lanfranc followed "the practice of his predecessors" in demanding a profession fortified by an oath from the archbishop-elect of York. The narrative describes Thomas' resistance and his request for proof of precedents:

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<sup>139</sup>The *Acta Lanfranci* (p. 238) tells us that "only a few days" elapsed between Lanfranc's consecration and Thomas' abortive consecration attempt.

<sup>140</sup>Richter analyses the history of episcopal professions and oaths in his introduction to *CP*, passim, but especially pp. xii-xvi.

<sup>141</sup>Canterbury's primacy texts are collected in a memorandum, of which two early copies survive. Gibson edits the memorandum as *LL* #3: it consists of five elements: first, *Intravit*, an account of the first year of Lanfranc's pontificate (1070); second, a report of Lanfranc and Thomas' journey to Rome (1071) and the subsequent Easter council at Winchester (1072); third, the text of Thomas' profession; fourth, a record of the primacy settlement at Winchester; and fifth, Lanfranc's letter to Alexander explaining the Winchester judgment.

<sup>142</sup>Edited *C&S* #90 and *LL* #3, from BL ms. Cotton Nero A, vii, fos. 3v-5.

<sup>143</sup>The date is fixed by internal reference to Alexander II as dead, and to bishoprics with post-council of London sites.

Thomas replied that he would never do that until he could read evidence of the claim and could see witnesses testifying to its antiquity; in short, until he should hear good reason why he should do it justly and reasonably, without prejudice to his own church.<sup>144</sup>

A well-trained student, Thomas refused to compromise the position of his new charge without written and oral proof. The narrative states that Lanfranc immediately produced evidence, but that the archbishop-elect departed unconsecrated. It must have required no small degree of courage for Thomas to refuse to profess to his influential former teacher on oath. The Canterbury narrative suggests that Thomas had profoundly shocked the assembly.

According to *Intravit*, the king blamed Lanfranc for the fiasco. William accused the archbishop of making a demand based more on scholarship than reason. But only a few days later he capitulated, giving way before Lanfranc's explanation and the testimony of the English (presumably Canterbury monks).<sup>145</sup> The king and those present at the court then decided that the ceremony should recommence, and that

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<sup>144</sup>A quo cum Lanfrancus scriptam de oboedientia sua cum adiectione iuris iurandi professionem custodito antecessorum more exposceret, respondit Thomas se id numquam facturum nisi prius scriptas de hac auctoritates legeret, nisi testes huius antiquitatis assertores cerneret, postremo nisi congruas super hac re rationes audiret, quibus id iuste et rationabiliter sine suae aeccliesiae preiudicio facere debeat.

<sup>145</sup>Lanfrancus tamen in presentia paucorum episcoporum qui ad eum pro hac consecratione convenerant quod postulavit ostendit, at ille aspernatus omni non sacratus abscessit. Quod rex audiens graviter accepit existimans Lanfrancum iniusta petere, et scientia litterarum magis quam ratione et veritate confidere, quamvis nec ipse Thomae deesset scripturarum peritia, multo ingenio multoque studio comparata. Paucorum dierum spacio evoluto Lanfrancus ad curiam venit, a rege audientiam postulavit, redditis rationibus eius animum mitigavit, transmarinus qui aderant suae parti iusticiam adesse suasit et persuasit. Angli enim qui rem noverant assertionibus eius per omnia constantissime testimonium perhibebant.

for the moment Thomas should return to the mother church of the whole kingdom, write a profession, read out what he had written and present to Lanfranc what he had read, while he was being examined in the presence of the bishops as is the custom of the Church.<sup>146</sup>

This time Thomas agreed. Indeed, he must have realized that without consecration, he was helpless to protect the church of York. He seems to have decided to take consecration on the best terms going, and in fact, he had successfully forced Lanfranc to modify his demands. This time Thomas could write his own profession, rather than have one thrust upon him by the Canterbury monks, and though Lanfranc had fixed important terms, the archbishop-elect left himself room to manoeuvre.

Thomas professed absolute and unconditional obedience to Lanfranc "in all matters relating to the practice of the Christian religion." As a trained dialectician Thomas knew the value of selecting phrases open to interpretation, and "*quae ad Christianae religionis cultum pertinent*" sounded deferential enough to please Lanfranc, but vague enough to leave ground for future argument. Moreover, Thomas professed only personally, binding himself but not his successors.<sup>147</sup> For the moment Thomas was excused from professing obedience to Lanfranc's successors, until he received evidence *coram rege* or in an ecclesiastical council that "his predecessors had made, and ought to have made, such a profession"

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<sup>146</sup>*Itaque regio edicto communique omnium decreto statutum est ad praesens debere Thomam ad matrem totius regni aecclesiam redire, professionem scribere, scriptam legere, lectam inter examinandum in presentia episcoporum aecclesiastico more...* Note that Canterbury is dignified with the title "mother church..." recalling Augustine's mission.

<sup>147</sup>This point will be discussed below. It is enough here to note that *Intravit* mentions only Lanfranc's successors, not Thomas'.

to Canterbury before.<sup>148</sup> Historians have sometimes overlooked the fact that from the first few days of the primacy contest, a formal council was forecast.

*Intravit* notes, almost in passing, that Lanfranc subsequently required and received written professions from those bishops who had been consecrated during Stigand's pontificate.<sup>149</sup> Although the text states that all the bishops formerly consecrated professed obedience to Lanfranc, the only surviving professions of bishops consecrated before 1072 apply to prelates potentially important to Thomas: Wulfstan of Worcester, Remigius of Dorchester (later Lincoln), and Herfast of Thetford. Worcester and Dorchester potentially fell under York's metropolitan jurisdiction, and Thetford, although less directly involved, abutted Dorchester's huge see.<sup>150</sup>

No written record of Thomas' profession in 1070 survives. Canterbury's long and unusual tradition of preserving professions renders it almost inconceivable that the chapter would not have copied the text Thomas wrote and read. The omission of Thomas' promise from the archive seems deliberate.<sup>151</sup> *Intravit* speaks of an anodyne profession, promising nothing more than personal obedience

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<sup>148</sup>...*Lanfranco porrigere, in qua preceptis quidem eius in omnibus quae ad Christianae religionis cultum pertinent se obtemperaturum absolute nulla interposita conditione promitteret, successoribus vero eius non ita nisi prius vel coram rege vel in episcopali concilio competens ei ratio redderetur qua antecessores suos Dorobernensis aecclesiae primatibus id fecisse et facere debuisse evidentissime ostenderetur.*

<sup>149</sup>*Non post multos dies Lanfrancus ab universis Anglici regni episcopis qui diversis temporibus diversis in locis ab aliis archiepiscopis vel a papa tempore Stigandi sacriati sunt professiones petiit et accepit.* GP, p. 40 repeats the *Intravit* sentence verbatim.

<sup>150</sup>Thetford also had pre-Conquest links with Canterbury, and Lanfranc wanted them maintained. See Gibson, *Lanfranc*, pp. 148-9. For the professions, see CP #s 31-33.

<sup>151</sup>As Michael Richter also points out, CP, p. lx.

to Lanfranc in matters of the faith, a promise which is in any event innate to the act of consecration. Pre-Conquest professions tend to take this form: they are less professions of obedience than professions of faith.<sup>152</sup> The *Intravit* evidence testifies to a conservative profession in 1070 which might have allowed York a dangerous precedent. But the Canterbury sources record that Thomas superceded this profession with a later, more binding one.

*Intravit* relates that Thomas re-opened the primacy question at the papal curia in October of 1071.<sup>153</sup> The author represents Thomas' move as somehow underhanded, but it seems a natural effort to marshal ammunition for the future primacy council. In the presence of Alexander II, Thomas challenged Lanfranc's claim to primacy, citing Gregory the Great's mandate for the equality of the two English archbishops.<sup>154</sup> He further raised the question of the jurisdiction of Dorchester, Lichfield, and Worcester. Lanfranc countered by pointing out that Gregory's edict referred to York and London, not Canterbury (which had not yet been fully established), but the narrative notes no response to the issue of the disputed

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<sup>152</sup>See Richter's Downside Review article, p. 111. Lanfranc's reinterpretation of the profession principle requires no rehearsal here.

<sup>153</sup>The *Acta Lanfranci* tells us the journey took place in Lanfranc's second year as archbishop; JL 4962 confirms the month as October (Gibson, p. 43, n. 7). Thomas received the pallium from Alexander then, and presumably also the letter of confirmation, JL 4693.

<sup>154</sup>*In cuius [Alexander's] praesentia Thomas calumniam movit de primatu Dorobernensis aecclesiae, et de subiectione trium episcoporum, Dorcensis sive Lincoliensis, Wigornensis, Licifeldensis qui nunc est Cestrensis, dicens Cantuariensem aecclesiam atque Eboracensem parem ad se invicem honorem habere, nec alterum alteri secundum beati Gregorii constitutionem debere ullatenus subiacere, excepto quod alterutrius archiepiscopum priorem et digniorem oporteat esse eo quem constiterit fuisse posterius ordinatum, praedictos vero tres episcopos suae sedi suisque antecessoribus ab antiquis temporibus extitisse subiectos.* This appears to be the first instance of the use of the term "primacy of the church of Canterbury."

bishoprics. An impromptu court seems to have been held on the spot.

Possibly to the surprise of Lanfranc, his former teacher, Alexander II deferred a decision. Apparently the pope could not decide which way to jump, and, not wanting to risk alienating the Conqueror, left the matter to him. He referred the case to a council to be held in England "and settled there by the testimony and judgement of the bishops and abbots of the whole kingdom."<sup>155</sup>

Lanfranc and Thomas returned to England with their pallia (one for Thomas, two for Lanfranc) and put their arguments before the king. At this juncture *Intravit* runs into trouble. The narrative conflicts with other early sources on the date and place of the primacy settlement for, according to the conciliar records preserved at Christ Church, the king held two councils in 1072: one at Easter (8 April) in the royal chapel at Winchester, and one at Pentecost (27 May) at Windsor. The councils addressed Lanfranc's claim to primacy on both occasions, but *Intravit* and Lanfranc's other text, the papal letter, mention only the first occasion.

Two conciliar texts recording the primacy settlement survive at Christ Church.<sup>156</sup> The texts, in eleventh-century hands, differ only in

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<sup>155</sup>*Lanfrancus hoc audiens etsi moleste tulit modesta tamen discretione verba illius veritate penitus carere respondit, asseverans Gregorianam illam constitutionem non de Cantuariensi et Eboracensi aecclesia sed de Londoniensi et Eboracensi esse promulgatam. De qua re... decrevit Alexander papa oportere hanc causam in Anglica terra audiri et illic totius regni episcoporum et abbatum testimonio et iudicio definiri.* Actually, the story that Lanfranc once instructed Alexander II derives from late sources; it may be a myth. Lanfranc does not refer to the matter in his letter. See Barlow, "A View of Archbishop Lanfranc," p. 170.

<sup>156</sup>They are edited in *C&S* #91, and in *Early English Writs to AD 1100*, with a photograph of the impression of the great seal, pl. xxix.

regard to their witness clauses and a note attached to the second. One, Canterbury D & C Muniments *Chartae Antiquae* A.2, bears the autograph crosses of the king and queen, and the autograph subscriptions of the papal legate, the two archbishops, and four bishops.<sup>157</sup> The second, Canterbury D& C Muniments *Chartae Antiquae* A.1, preserves a longer witness list, not autograph, with those persons who appeared on the first document here designated as having subscribed to the judgment, and the new witnesses as having consented.<sup>158</sup> An impression of the great seal was formerly attached en placard. A note in the original hand at the end of the manuscript remarks that

This case was ventilated first in the city of Winchester at the festival of Easter, in the royal chapel which is in the castle, afterwards on the royal estate called Windsor, where it was settled in the presence of the king, the bishops, abbots, and the men of various ranks who had gathered at the court at the feast of Pentecost.<sup>159</sup>

This note distinguishes between two occasions on which the case was addressed: it was first "ventilated" (or examined) at Easter in the

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<sup>157</sup>Two of whom (Remigius and Wulfstan) were involved in the proceedings as incumbents of the disputed bishoprics, one as host of the council (Walkelin of Winchester), and one (Herfast of Thetford) possibly by reason of his position as a former royal chancellor. It seems likely that it was on this occasion that Lanfranc obtained the extant professions from these bishops.

<sup>158</sup>With one exception, surely a scribal error: Herman of Sherburn is listed as *subscripsi*. As he was present at the first judgment, he ought to be designated *consenti*.

<sup>159</sup>*Ventilata est autem haec causa prius apud Wentanam civitatem in Pascali solemnitate in capella regis quae sita est in castello postea in villa regia quae vocatur Windisor, ubi et finem accepit in praesentia regis, episcoporum, abbatum, diversorum ordinum, qui congregati erant apud curiam in festivitate Pentecostes.*

king's chapel at Winchester, and "settled" at Pentecost at the royal court at Windsor.<sup>160</sup>

This distinction seems problematic to some modern historians, suspicious because only one meeting is mentioned by *Intravit* and Lanfranc's letter to Alexander. However, the likeliest explanation is that the autograph charter records the initial agreement reached with the two negotiating parties in the presence of a few witnesses.<sup>161</sup> The second charter represents a presentation of the judgment to a wider audience, validated by the rest of the bishops.

The two council charters relate that the king and the bishops and abbots heard the case which Lanfranc advanced for primacy over the church of York, and also the case regarding the ordination of certain bishops whose suffragan status was in doubt. The documents note that "by written proofs of various kinds" two verdicts were reached: York should be subject to Canterbury, and that the northern

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<sup>160</sup>The charters proper are inexplicit about the place and time of the judgement, recording only that the case was ventilated before certain participants in 1072, in the eleventh pontifical year of Alexander II and the sixth regnal year of William.

<sup>161</sup>It is not always clear what Lanfranc is supposed to have gained by suppressing the fact that the judgement was read twice. But Lanfranc's letter to Alexander (*LL* #4) has been criticized for misrepresenting facts to Alexander. Bohmer thought that Lanfranc was lying outright, and that the case had not been settled at the time of the letter (*Die Falschungen*, pp. 21, 167). Southern more reasonably proposed that the second meeting was simply an insignificant adjournment from the first, and Lanfranc did not need to refer to it (*CF*, p. 200). Most recently, the *C&S* editors argue that Lanfranc could only have written his letter to Alexander after the second meeting, because copies of the long version of the charter are found in several ecclesiastical libraries in England, and "Lanfranc claimed to be sending the pope a version of the text as it was circulated." (*C&S*, p. 593) But the charters cited (p. 592) as copies of the extended charter derive from sources with close links to Canterbury (e.g. St. Augustine's, William of Malmesbury's histories) or to the royal archives (Peterborough). It does not seem dishonest for Lanfranc (or whoever wrote *Intravit*) to state that a judgment was reached at Easter. It was; it was merely confirmed at Pentecost.

province should extend northwards from the border of Lichfield and the Humber to the furthest limits of Scotland, and include only property south of the Humber that "lawfully falls within the diocese of York."<sup>162</sup> The disputed bishoprics thus reverted to Canterbury's jurisdiction.<sup>163</sup>

The only explicit result of Lanfranc's status as primate is Thomas' obligation to present himself and his suffragans at Lanfranc's councils and to show himself obedient to Lanfranc's canonical instructions. The brusque Latin of the charters depicts Thomas as Lanfranc's inferior: *Eboracensis archiepiscopus sui praesentiam cum omnibus sibi subiectis episcopis ad nutum eius exhibeat...* But in one respect, Lanfranc failed to carry the day. The charters declare that Lanfranc waived the public oath (*professionem cum sacramento*) which was due to him from Thomas "by ancient custom," out of love for the king.<sup>164</sup>

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<sup>162</sup>*Et tandem aliquando diversis diversarum scripturarum auctoritatibus probatum atque ostensum est quod Eboracensis aecclesia Canturiensi debeat subiacere, eiusque archiepiscopi ut primatis totius Britanniae dispositionibus in iis quae ad Christianam religionem pertinent in omnibus oboedire. Subiectionem vero Dunelmensis, hoc est Lindisfarnensis, episcopi atque omnium regionum a terminis Licifeldensis episcopii et Humbrae magni fluvii usque ad extremos Scotiae fines, et quicquid ex hac parte praedicti fluminis...*

<sup>163</sup>It is true that by granting Thomas titular jurisdiction over all of Scotland, the council raised the possibility of York acquiring further suffragans. But the chances of enforcing such metropolitan rights in 1072 looked slim. The grant of Scotland thus reflects Lanfranc's notion of his own authority more than any real jurisdiction for Thomas. The immediate deprivation of the border bishoprics of Lindsey, Lichfield, and Worcester was much more significant.

<sup>164</sup>*Quod autem Eboracensis archiepiscopus professionem Canturiensi archiepiscopo facere etiam cum sacramento debeat Lanfrancus Dorobernensis archiepiscopus ex antiqua antecessorum consuetudine ostendit, sed ob amorem regis Thomae Eboracensi archiepiscopo sacramentum relaxavit, scriptamque tantum professionem recepit, non praeiudicans successoribus suis qui sacramentum cum professione a successoribus Thomae exigere voluerint.*

A profession *cum sacramento* is a much more serious proposition than a simple profession or promise.<sup>165</sup> Canon law set the penalty for breaking an oath at deposition, for reneging on a simple profession at the lesser sentence of excommunication.<sup>166</sup> Lanfranc's failure to extract an oath from the new archbishop preserved Thomas' right to refuse demands he considered unjust.<sup>167</sup> *Intravit's* claim that Lanfranc remitted the oath out of love for the Conqueror suggests that the king was prepared to indulge him only up to a point. Thomas retained some influence with his former employer.

The conciliar charters further reassert the principle of Honorius that archbishops of York or Canterbury should consecrate the elect of the other province, but the judgment specifies that in either instance the consecration must take place at Canterbury.<sup>168</sup> Canterbury here maintained her prestige, never suffering an archbishop to be consecrated at York. The judgment set aside the Gregorian provision that suffragans should consecrate their metropolitan-elect in his own church. In any event, by restricting York to only one suffragan, Durham, the council rendered consecration by suffragans impossible: canon law required three officiating prelates, and there seemed little

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<sup>165</sup>As Richter has shown, *CP*, pp. xix-xxi

<sup>166</sup>Richter, *CP*, p. xix.

<sup>167</sup>As indeed do the terms of Thomas' profession. The significance of William's role will be considered below.

<sup>168</sup>*Si archiepiscopus Canturiensis vitam finierit, Eboracensis archiepiscopus Doroberniam veniet, et eum qui electus fuerit cum caeteris praefatae aecclesiae episcopis ut primatem proprium iure consecrabit. Quodsi Eboracensis archiepiscopus obierit, is qui ei successurus eligitur, accepto a rege archiepiscopatus dono, Canturiam vel ubi Canturiensi archiepiscopo placuerit accedet, et ab ipso ordinationem canonico more suscipiet.*

prospect of Thomas converting his titular jurisdiction over Scotland into reality.

The text of Thomas' 1072 profession, preserved at Canterbury, proves compatible with the reports of *Intravit* and the two conciliar charters. It is impossible to establish if the profession took place at Winchester, Windsor or both, but the terms were finally acceptable to Lanfranc. Thomas bound himself to Lanfranc and, this time, to his successors, declaring that,

It is right that every Christian should be subject to Christian laws, not opposing by arguments of any kind what has been soundly established by the holy fathers. Such disputatiousness is the source of wrath, dissensions, envy, disputes and other evils, which plunge their addicts into eternal torments. The loftier a man's estate, the greater too his obligation to observe the commandments of God.

Wherefore I, Thomas, now ordained metropolitan bishop of the church of York, having heard and understood the case for doing so, make to you Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, and to your successors an absolute profession of canonical obedience; and whatever shall be justly and canonically enjoined on me by you or by them I promise to observe. When I first sought ordination from you I was uncertain on this point, and so I promised obedience to you unconditionally but to your successors conditionally. <sup>169</sup>

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<sup>169</sup>BL Cotton Nero A viif. 5r: *Decet christianum quenque christianis legibus subiacere nec his quae a sanctis patribus salubriter instituta sunt quibuslibet rationibus contraire*[ this sentence is keyed with an asterisk and written at the bottom of the folio; it is correctly placed in the Cleopatra ms]. *Hinc nanque irae, dissensiones, inuidiae, contentiones, ceteraque procedunt, quae amatores suos in poenas aeternas demergunt. Et quanto quisque altioris est ordinis, tanto impensius diuinis debet obtemperare preceptis; propterea ego thomas ordinatus iam eboracensis aecclesia metropolitanus antistes, auditis cognitisque rationibus absolutam tibi lanfrance dorobernensis archiepiscopo tuisque successoribus de canonica oboedientia professionem facio, et quicquid a te uel ab eis iuste et canonice iniunctum michi fuerit seruaturum me esse promitto. De hac autem re dum a te adhuc ordinandus essem dubius fui, ideoque tibi quidem sine conditione, successoribus uero tuis conditionaliter, obtemperaturum me esse promisi.*

The text does not read as if Lanfranc dictated it.<sup>170</sup> The preamble could be interpreted to mean either that Thomas had stirred up trouble in the English church (Lanfranc's position), or that the dispute itself was so destructive that it should be abandoned (presumably Thomas' view). The sentiment that lofty estates demand nobility of character is an Augustinian commonplace.<sup>171</sup> But one element of the profession itself surely came straight from Thomas. The qualification of his promise leaps to the eye. Thomas will obey Lanfranc's successors as well as himself, but he reserves the right to refuse demands made unjustly or uncanonically.<sup>172</sup> Moreover, Thomas makes his profession not to the "primate" but to the archbishop of Canterbury.

Lanfranc appears to have felt insecure in his new position, for he lost no time in asking for papal validation. His letter to Alexander II provides the fullest account of the events leading up to the settlement of 1072, but it is to be treated with caution.<sup>173</sup> The letter reveals Lanfranc at his most eloquent, and his most vituperative. After a flowery salutation, the archbishop reminds the pope of his visit to Rome in October, 1071.

Exalted in lowliness and lowly when exalted your beatitude  
must recall that, while we were with you, the archbishop of the

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<sup>170</sup>It is not clear that a formula existed for the early Anglo-Norman professions. The sources disagree about whether Thomas was presented with a profession and then had to read it, or was to write his own text.

<sup>171</sup>Manengold of Lautenbach asserts the same principle in a disquisition on royal dignity. See *MGH Libelli de Lite*, I, (Hanover, 1892), p. 365. Augustine's Sixth Commentary on John is the standard proof-text.

<sup>172</sup>The remission of the profession with sacrament granted Thomas similar discretion.

<sup>173</sup>Lanfranc wrote either after Winchester (Gibson, Southern, Bohmer) or after Windsor (the C&S editors and this author).

church of York publicly criticized and privately disparaged me, and in your highness' presence made this accusation: I was meditating an injustice, in that I was endeavouring to acquire primacy over him and his church as a right of our own church. In his accusation he did not scruple to challenge the long-established right of jurisdiction over certain bishops, whom he attempted to attach to his own church.<sup>174</sup>

Lanfranc congratulates the "holy and skilful ruler" for wisely referring the matter to an English court, and states that the case was heard before bishops, abbots, and others of the clergy and laity at Easter in Winchester. He reviews the five arguments proposed in Canterbury's favour: first, that from the one hundred and thirty-seven years from Augustine to Bede, Canterbury exercised primacy (*primatum gessisse*) over all of Britain, summoning and disciplining archbishops of York.<sup>175</sup> Bishops of the sees which Thomas claimed for the province of York had been reprimanded or even deposed by Canterbury. Lanfranc here claimed that he produced "much further evidence of this kind." Second, conciliar texts confirmed that Canterbury had exercised jurisdiction over the disputed sees. Third, records of written professions show the elect of the disputed bishoprics professing obedience to Canterbury. Oral testimony "of everyone" validated this written evidence. Fourth, unnamed annals documented that an archbishop of Canterbury had excommunicated

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<sup>174</sup>C&S #91.II, from BL Cotton ms. Nero A. vii, fos. 6-8v. *Memnisse debet humiliter excellens excellenterque humilis beatudo vestra quia quo tempore apud vos fuimus Eboracensis aecclesiae antistes adversum me palam murmuravit, clam dextravit, in praesentia celsitudinis vestrae calumniam suscitavit, dicens me iniuste velle agere, eo quod super se suamque aecclesiam iure nostrae aecclesiae primatum niterer obtinere. De quorundam quoque subiectione episcoporum quos aecclesiae suae conatus est aggregare antiquam sua querela non est veritus consuetudinem temerare.*

<sup>175</sup>He glosses over the fact that for most of this time no archbishop of York had received a pallium.

a certain Northumbrian king for selling York to a simoniac. Fifth, "as the cornerstone of his case" (*quasi robur totiusque causae firmamentum*), a series of papal privileges from Gregory to Leo, sent to Canterbury and the English kings "at one time or another for various reasons." Lanfranc does not specify the nature of these privileges, raising great suspicion in later historians.

Heinrich Bohmer first cast doubt on the authenticity of the papal privileges in 1902, and forcefully argued that Lanfranc himself forged them in the seven-week interval between the Easter and Whitsun courts of 1072.<sup>176</sup> Bohmer's identification of the papal privileges as genuine texts with interpolated passages regarding Canterbury's supremacy has never since been questioned. But the attribution of responsibility to Lanfranc proved distasteful to later historians, and a counterattack was soon launched. Professor Z.N. Brooke placed the blame for the fraud on the Canterbury monks, asserting that Lanfranc lacked both the unscrupulousness and the knowledge of English history required of the forger.<sup>177</sup> A.J. MacDonald carried the argument for Lanfranc's innocence even further by pushing the date of the forgeries' creation forward some fifty years.<sup>178</sup> MacDonald disputed that Lanfranc's papal texts could have been the forgeries cited by Eadmer and William of Malmesbury in the 1120s: if Lanfranc's texts were so decisive, why were they insufficient to carry the day in the later contest between Ralph and Thurstan?

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<sup>176</sup>H. Bohmer, *Die Falschungen Erzbischof Lanfranks von Canterbury* (Leipzig, 1902), esp. pp. 16-21.

<sup>177</sup>Z.N. Brooke, *The English Church and the Papacy*, p. 121.

<sup>178</sup>MacDonald, *Lanfranc*, pp. 279-87.

MacDonald's central thesis found support in Sir Richard Southern's work on the primacy. After analyzing the extant bulls more thoroughly than any previous scholar, Southern concluded that Lanfranc's documents represented only general privileges, insufficient to prove Canterbury's supremacy over York. The "Canterbury forger" beefed up the genuine texts with a few choice phrases during the next generation of the contest. Like Brooke, Southern balked at MacDonald's identification of the forger with Eadmer.

Southern's decisive article notwithstanding, Margaret Gibson returned to Bohmer's camp in the dating of the forgeries, concluding that Lanfranc refrained from elaborating the privileges in his letter to Alexander because he knew they were forged and feared detection by the curia.<sup>179</sup> Gibson's interpretation of the evidence has gained little currency, and the balance of historians still agree with Southern: Lanfranc refrained from citing the bulls not because they were forged, but because they were inadequate. This explanation best accounts for the fact that the Canterbury monks produced the privileges only in 1123, when the papal curia laughed them out of Rome.<sup>180</sup>

The essential weakness of Lanfranc's case for Canterbury's primacy has long been noted. The proofs advanced at court and listed in the letter to Alexander II were hardly conclusive.<sup>181</sup> Most

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<sup>179</sup>Gibson, *Lanfranc*, p. 233.

<sup>180</sup>Hugh the Chanter describes their reception, pp. 192-3.

<sup>181</sup>Richter analyses the case's flaws, *CP*, pp. lxiv-lxv, but Southern's analysis is better, *CF*, pp. 195-7. Richter mistakenly asserts that Lanfranc was so ashamed of his case that he did not even ask for papal confirmation. Barlow agrees with Southern's analysis of the settlement (*EC 1000-66*, p. 235).

related only to jurisdiction over disputed bishoprics, not to the primacy. The papal privileges alone pertained to the primacy dispute, and their efficacy may be judged by the fact that Lanfranc hesitated to quote them.<sup>182</sup>

In his letter to Alexander, Lanfranc made suspiciously light of Thomas' response, claiming that Thomas countered with "the most trivial objections" (*paucissimas contradictiones*). But if Thomas had advanced only ineffective proofs, Lanfranc would have been happy to knock them down for Alexander's benefit. The papal letter, however, mentions only York's argument that Gregory had decreed that York and London should be equal in status (which was disallowed as irrelevant to Canterbury), and other (unspecified) proofs, "slight and weak which were soon demolished at a few strokes."

Lanfranc continues the letter in this celebratory vein by asserting that

When the king rebuked [Thomas] with paternal mildness for having presumed to come so poorly supplied with arguments against such a battery of proofs, he replied that he had not previously understood that the church of Canterbury was fortified with so many mighty proofs and such convincing arguments.<sup>183</sup>

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<sup>182</sup>For Lanfranc's method of arguing on the basis of equipollent propositions, see Southern, *Portrait*, pp. 50-53.

<sup>183</sup>*Quem cum rex dulci paternaque reprehensione argueret, quod contra tantam argumentorum copiam tam inops rationum venire presumpsisset, respondit se antea ignorasse Dorobernensem aecclesiam tot tantisque auctoritatibus tamque perspicuis rationibus esse munitam.*

If Thomas indeed made such a reply, he can only have meant it ironically.<sup>184</sup> Lanfranc tells the pope that Thomas then begged the king to persuade Lanfranc to put aside his rancour and make peace. According to his own disingenuous testimony, Lanfranc readily did so, since it was Thomas and not he who initiated the disagreement. The close of the letter reveals Lanfranc's purpose in writing. The archbishop does not merely record the council's judgment in favour of Canterbury's primacy, he asks for its papal confirmation.

Lanfranc knew, better than most, the importance of written evidence. He informs Alexander that a record of the settlement was written and copies disseminated "to the major churches in England, which in future ages will always testify to how that lawsuit has been concluded."<sup>185</sup> He adds,

Nor have I neglected to send a copy to you... so that from this and the other documents sent you may clearly understand what you should confirm in the tradition of your predecessors to me and to Christ Church, whose government is in my hands. I ask that it be expressed as a privilege by grace of the apostolic see in due form and without delay... <sup>186</sup>

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<sup>184</sup>Thomas apparently enjoyed addressing Lanfranc facetiously, confident that his tone would escape detection. In *LL*, #12, (presumably after the 1072 settlement): To the most reverend and holy Lanfranc... Thomas his vassal and, if it does not seem presumptuous to his holiness archbishop of the church of York. Gibson remarks that Lanfranc would find nothing to which to take exception in this address: "the most sensitive primate must have approved" (*Lanfranc*, p. 145). In her edition of the letters, however, she concedes that Thomas' salutation is "possibly" ironic.

<sup>185</sup>*Facta est igitur communi omnium astipulatione de hac re quaedam scriptura, cuius exemplaria per principales Anglorum aecclesias distributa futuris semper temporibus testimonium ferant ad quem finem causa ista fuerit perducta.*

<sup>186</sup>*Cuius exemplar vobis quoque quibus sanctam totius mundi aecclesiam constat esse commissam transmittendum curavi, ut ex hoc atque aliis quae transmissa sunt perspicue cognoscatis ex more antecessorum quid mihi Christique aecclesiae quam regendam suscepi concedere debeatis. Quod peto*

Lanfranc certainly speaks here in the tone of one addressing a former student. The letter reads less as supplication than instruction.

The archbishop asked for the privilege, he said, as "an open declaration" of the pope's love for him. Lanfranc's high-handed attitude may have offset Alexander's personal affection for him, for he sent no confirmation. In fact, neither Lanfranc nor his successors could obtain papal validation of the primacy in entirely satisfactory terms.<sup>187</sup> For the moment, Alexander's refusal left Thomas of Bayeux free to carry on the fight.

Canterbury historians marshalled their forces. A memorandum was composed, incorporating *Intravit*, the two 1072 council records, and Lanfranc's letter to Alexander. Two early copies of the memorandum survive, and a comparison of the texts reveals a remarkable excision in the papal letter. The scribe of the second manuscript omitted Lanfranc's unsuccessful request for confirmation

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*honeste et sine dilatione per indultum sedis apostolicae privilegium fieri, quatinus ex hoc quoque quantum me diligatis evidenter possit ostendi.*

<sup>187</sup>This lack of papal validation has given rise to much later debate. Currency has been given to the argument that the papacy disliked primacies on principle. Frank Barlow (*EC1066-1154*, p. 42) points out that not one of the nine pontiffs from Urban II to Adrian IV furnished Canterbury with an express privilege. Even Anselm received confirmation only of the primacy as enjoyed by his predecessors: no explicit jurisdiction over York was mentioned (*JL5955, HN*, p. 154, 16 Nov. 1103, Paschal II to Anselm: *Quondam...*

*Cantuariensis ecclesiae primatum ita tibi plenum concessimus, sicut a tuis constat praedecessoribus fuisse possessum*). Barlow's view that Lanfranc's failure to secure Alexander II's confirmation of the settlement of 1072 was due more to papal antipathy to primacies in general than to the archbishop's failure to state his case in Rome (the reason expressed in Hildebrand's letter in reply to Lanfranc's application) received wide support. But Professor C.N.L. Brooke (*Hugh*, pp. xxxviii-xxxix) maintains that Hildebrand's response was no "polite fiction," and that if Lanfranc had in fact journeyed to Rome, he might have achieved his goal.

of the settlement, thus suppressing the fact that Alexander found Lanfranc's arguments unconvincing.<sup>188</sup>

This lack of a papal bull pressed the Canterbury monks to preserve, and circulate, a detailed account of their version of events. In this they out-performed the disorganized chapter at York. But the primacy memorandum inadvertently flatters Thomas of Bayeux at the expense of Lanfranc.

The hostile sources preserved in the Canterbury memorandum portray Thomas as a determined spokesman of his church's rights, caring more for his chapter than for protocol. He seems tenacious and clever (or obstreperous and underhanded, depending on your viewpoint), adapting his case as the circumstances changed. At first, he merely refused to play Lanfranc's game, refusing consecration altogether. Not only did he make a fuss, he got Lanfranc blamed for it in the king's eyes. Then he accepted consecration in terms which left room for negotiation. Subsequently, he brought the issue up with the pope; and if he could not win Alexander's support he presented a sound case that Lanfranc could not better. When he saw that the council would force him to profess to future archbishops of Canterbury, he wrote a profession so carefully that Lanfranc never quibbled at the qualification under his nose.

Lanfranc, in contrast, fares rather badly in the memorandum. He appears arrogant and grasping. The king thinks his demand for primacy some school-master's trick, and requires days to be

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<sup>188</sup>Gibson notes the missing section in her edition but finds it "puzzling." I have checked the mss; Gibson's editing is correct. It is clear that the memorandum compiler desired to suppress the fact that the papacy found Lanfranc's arguments unconvincing.

persuaded otherwise. Lanfranc also appears baffled by the unflagging defense of his formal pupil. When Thomas first challenged him to prove the justice of his demand, Lanfranc can offer nothing.<sup>189</sup> He fails to convince the pope in Rome. He refuses to elaborate Thomas' arguments in the letter to Alexander, although he spells out his own in detail: a sorry piece of work for a dialectician. His begging of Alexander looked distasteful even to his own chapter. All in all, the memorandum presents an unattractive portrait of the archbishop it strove to justify.

A less partisan piece of much the same date also survives. Drawing on elements of the memorandum material, a Latin annal, written c. 1090 and found at the close of the A-version of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (which ends in 1070), details the acts of Lanfranc's career in England. As early evidence for events from 1070 to 1089, the *Acta Lanfranci* bears some consideration, but as the annal deals with Lanfranc's pontificate in its entirety, and represents the primacy issue only as an aspect of his career, its usefulness proves limited. On this point, it is easier to correct the annalist than to learn from him.

The *Acta Lanfranci* author favoured the letters of Lanfranc above any other source.<sup>190</sup> This dependence on the letter collection at one point leads the author into an error of chronology, but on the whole the annalist provides a factual record of archiepiscopal

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<sup>189</sup>At the time of Thomas' first consecration ceremony.

<sup>190</sup>The date is Gibson's, *LL*, p. II; it is certainly likely that the *AL* was written during the vacancy, and soon after Lanfranc's death.

business.<sup>191</sup> His account of the dispute between Lanfranc and Thomas, however, is cursory and misleading.

A hint of the author's bias surfaces at the beginning of his account. The first sentence of the *Acta Lanfranci* tells the reader that Lanfranc abbot of Caen, compelled by the king and the pope, "took up the primacy of the kingdom of England" in 1070. The primacy was not of course established at Lanfranc's election, but this terminology reveals the annalist's tendency to telescope events. The account of Lanfranc's demand for a profession fortified by an oath and its summary rejection by Thomas accords with the report of *Intravit*. But the *Acta* author departs radically from the other Canterbury sources in his elaboration of the following events.

According to the annalist, Thomas departed Canterbury unconsecrated, but was forced to return after Lanfranc persuaded the king of the justice of his demand. Thus far, the *Acta Lanfranci* agrees with *Intravit*. But where *Intravit* recounts that Thomas returned to Canterbury a few days later and made a limited profession of obedience to Lanfranc personally and then received consecration, the *Acta Lanfranci* implies that Thomas made a profession *cum sacramento*: That is, Thomas "humbly performed all that Lanfranc required." The author represents Thomas as capitulating completely to Lanfranc's demand at the consecration.

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<sup>191</sup>The *Acta Lanfranci* mistakenly follows the order of the letter collection in placing Thomas' consecration of Bishop Ralph of the Orkneys after the council of London in 1075; the consecration actually took place in 1073, Gibson, *LL*, p. 11. Gibson argues that the collection was probably put together after Lanfranc's death (as it is not in the chronological order we would expect of a contemporary register), possibly either in the vacancy of 1089-93 by Osbern the precentor, or later, in Anselm's pontificate, by Gundulf of Rochester, *LL*, pp. 11-13.

The arguments of the following two years have evaporated. Moreover, the annalist makes no mention in the text of the question of Thomas' obedience to Lanfranc's successors, a major concern of *Intravit* and the conciliar charters. It appears that the annalist deliberately departed from the other texts in order to strengthen Canterbury's case against York.<sup>192</sup>

The *Acta Lanfranci* author clearly relies on Lanfranc's correspondence as the major source for his discussion of the primacy. He quotes Lanfranc's letter when noting the fact that in 1071 Alexander gave Lanfranc the pall in which he celebrated mass as a mark of special favour. He explicitly cites the same letter in describing how Thomas raised the issues of primacy and jurisdiction over the disputed bishoprics at the curia. The tone, too, is Lanfranc's: Thomas here did not merely bring up the subject, but formally *calumniam mouit*, cravenly reopening an issue at Rome which he had accepted in England.

The annalist does not relate that Alexander referred the matters to an English council, but simply records that a general council in the following year was celebrated at Winchester. He does not specify that the council dealt with the dispute between Canterbury and York. In the end, the *Acta Lanfranci* proves unhelpful: its chronology is suspect, and the implication that Thomas

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<sup>192</sup>This scenario at first looks attractive: Canterbury historians are notoriously selective. But on the other hand, if the *Acta* author had seen *Intravit*, he would surely have used details from it that reflected badly on Thomas (such as intransigence), and he did not. It seems possible that the annalist did not see *Intravit*, although we know he had access to the Canterbury archives. Perhaps the annalist did not use *Intravit* because it had not yet been written? The traditional attribution to Lanfranc would thus become untenable.

professed only once, in 1070, finds no support in the earlier Canterbury texts.

A Canterbury source of a generation later than the opening of the dispute provides the fullest, but least trustworthy account. Writing the version of the *Historia Novorum* which deals with the primacy dispute in the early 1120s, Eadmer may be forgiven for rehearsing his account of Thomas' consecration with an explicit anti-York bias.<sup>193</sup> The monk's inclusion of the Canterbury forgeries has long been noted. But the chronicler's skilful enhancement of Lanfranc's letters and other primary documents with stories that find no support elsewhere lays a more subtle trap.

The reputation of Thomas of Bayeux is blighted by only one element, and responsibility for the story rests with Eadmer. In his account of the journey to Rome in 1071, Eadmer embellishes earlier Canterbury sources with a tale of his own devising. Lanfranc, at the close of his letter to Alexander II in 1072, refers cryptically to the fact that he had interceded with the pope on someone's (or someones') behalf. "Whenever I was anyone's advocate, at my intercession you at once granted his request, if it was just and profitable."<sup>194</sup> The terms of the profession of Remigius of Dorchester (later Lincoln), who had received consecration at the hands of the pluralist Stigand, identify Remigius as Lanfranc's supplicant. The

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<sup>193</sup>The date is Gibson's, *Lanfranc*, p. 219. Southern notes that Eadmer kept records of Anselm's activities (Anselm at one point ordered their destruction), but also holds that the section of the *HN* dealing with the primacy was written ten years after Anselm's death (Introduction to Bousanquet, ed., *HN*, p. x).

<sup>194</sup>...*illud quoque quod omnibus quorum mediator extiti quicquid iuste ac salubriter petierunt me interveniente protinus concessistis, ut taceam alia plura quae in hac parte ab his minime discrepant, queque mihi memoriam vestri nominis siquid boni bonifacio dulciter representant.*

profession, conceding that Lanfranc's mediation secured Remigius a papal indulgence, bears out the *Historia Novorum's* account of Alexander II's concern with Remigius' conduct.

But Eadmer stigmatizes Thomas of Bayeux as a similarly unlawful prelate, prohibited from taking holy orders by reason of his father's priesthood. This statement has been incorporated into evidence of the parentage of Thomas and Samson of Bayeux, but it should be questioned. It is true that the Latin of Lanfranc's letter leaves room for another supplicant. But Eadmer's story that the pope divested Thomas for the fault of his parentage finds no support elsewhere.<sup>195</sup> York chroniclers might have suppressed the episode, but the Durham necrology that records the obits of Osbert and Muriel makes no mention of holy orders.<sup>196</sup> Negative evidence is always unsatisfactory, but Eadmer's aspersion on Thomas deserves questioning. Concern for clerical marriage belongs more to Eadmer's generation than Thomas': late eleventh-century popes proved more inclined to prohibit further transgressions than to punish past offenses.<sup>197</sup> The episode related by Eadmer looks suspiciously like an invention to illustrate Lanfranc's magnanimity and the insecurity of Thomas' tenure.

Eadmer's version of the primacy dispute has been much analyzed, and often questioned. With the exception of Professor

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<sup>195</sup>Eadmer relates that Lanfranc intervened and that when the pope told him to do with Thomas' episcopal staff (and that of Remigius) as he saw fit, Lanfranc magnanimously returned it to Thomas. The issue of Thomas' parentage has been discussed in the chapter on his family.

<sup>196</sup>The necrology records the status of other early entries, e.g. *miles et monachus*.

<sup>197</sup>Vide Brooke's article on clerical marriage for this point, cited above.

Southern, however, historians have followed Eadmer in preference to his northern rival, Hugh the Chanter. Yet Eadmer's remarkable vagueness about events from 1071 to 1072 often passes unnoticed. The monk has little to say on the subject of Thomas' professions in either 1070 or 1072; he merely ascribes to Thomas the desire to humble the church of Canterbury. His silence on the course of the early dispute must be deliberate, since he had *Intravit*, the council records, and Lanfranc's letter to Alexander to hand. The chronicler perhaps saw more to Lanfranc's discredit than Thomas', and preferred to reserve his attention for the conflict with his hero, Anselm.

Eadmer's account of Anselm's consecration during the winter of 1093 is credited by Barlow, Richter, and Brooke, and indeed, at first sight, the Canterbury version of events appears reliable.<sup>198</sup> Eadmer recounts that Canterbury's consecration petition described Anselm as "metropolitan of all Britain," but when Thomas of Bayeux protested that this terminology denied the metropolitan status of York, the Canterbury party amended the title to "primate of all Britain." Two arguments favour Eadmer's version. We know from other sources that later Canterbury usage referred to the archbishop as "metropolitan of all Britain": if this phrasing denied the status of York, so much the better. Eadmer himself routinely emphasizes Canterbury's stature by referring to Christ Church as "the mother church of all Britain," and even Thomas of Bayeux used this term in an early letter to Lanfranc<sup>199</sup>. It seems not inconceivable that the

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<sup>198</sup>Barlow, *EC1066-1154*, p. 43; Richter, *CP*, p. lxix; C.N.L. Brooke, *Hugh*, p. xxxix.

<sup>199</sup>*LL* #12.

Canterbury chapter might seek to validate its phrasing by insinuating it into the consecration ceremony. Secondly, all the professions of obedience to Anselm term him "primate of all Britain" and, like his predecessor, the archbishop himself used the title in his correspondence.<sup>200</sup>

But neither of these arguments proves unassailable.

"Metropolitan of all Britain" was a phrase, for example, beloved of the Canterbury forger.<sup>201</sup> Christ Church monks might very well have chosen to use it at Anselm's consecration as a less contentious alternative to "primate." But it is one thing to use such a phrase in the Canterbury scriptorium, and quite another to propose it before a formal assembly. It would have been ridiculous to attempt to use the term "metropolitan of all Britain" under Thomas' nose. No one could possibly doubt that York was also a metropolitan church. Thus far, Eadmer's account seems reasonable. Had the monks written "metropolitan of all Britain," Thomas would have contested the term.

But at this point, the story breaks down. Clearly, the halting of Anselm's consecration was dramatic and memorable enough that Eadmer knew he had to deal with it. No one would forget that a dispute over terms occurred, but eventually people might forget the terms themselves. Eadmer saw his chance. He represented the initial demand as a mistake, speedily emended when Thomas protested. But it tests credulity too far to accept that Thomas

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<sup>200</sup>CP #s 51-61.

<sup>201</sup>The term was also used in the early days when York possessed no recognized archbishop. See Southern, *CF*, pp. 203, 215.

accepted as a second choice the very term that he found most repugnant and Canterbury wanted most.

The only reason for the Canterbury monks to have proposed "metropolitan of all Britain" for their initial petition is that they knew that Thomas would never swallow "primate." "Metropolitan of all Britain" would have seemed nearly as good to Canterbury, for at least it implied superiority. They would happily have settled for that, for at this point they had no papal privileges, and only an old profession of obedience from Thomas which itself said nothing explicit about primacy. The settlement was twenty-one years old in 1093, and Thomas was now the senior prelate. Naturally the chapter wished to secure Anselm's dignity. The monks knew they were unlikely to persuade Rome to force Thomas to concede Canterbury's primacy. Anselm's consecration ceremony represented the chapter's only chance of winning Thomas' explicit and public acknowledgement of Anselm as primate. When presented with the chance to dictate the terms of the consecration petition, they must have leapt at it.

Thomas, of course, was re-visiting his own consecration ceremony; but this time he was in Lanfranc's position, and Anselm was in his. Thomas was now England's senior prelate, and if Anselm wanted consecration at his hands, he would have to take it on his terms. There was no reason in the world why Thomas would have chosen to acknowledge Anselm as primate, as Eadmer claimed. Thomas held all the cards, as Lanfranc had in 1070. The consecrator possesses all the power in the ceremony; the archbishop-elect is merely the supplicant. This time no royal authority would be brought to bear against York, for Rufus had already begun to have

his difficulties with Anselm. At any point, Thomas could have walked away, leaving Anselm to be consecrated by his suffragans, contravening the settlement of 1072. Thomas and Anselm both recognized the situation, and it would not have been Thomas who needed to give in.

All of these circumstances tell against Eadmer's account of Thomas' consecration of Anselm. But likelihood apart, Eadmer's most effective critic is his counterpart at York, the earliest source for the northern version of the primacy dispute, Hugh the Chanter.

Hugh has suffered much criticism for his partisan reporting of the primacy dispute; he is markedly more censured than Eadmer. It is true that because he wrote as late as 1127/8, Hugh's account of events under Thomas deserves extra scrutiny.<sup>202</sup> But Hugh is careful to validate his text with written evidence or the promise of oral testimony. In his description of Thomas' limited profession to Lanfranc in 1070, for example, he maintains that "There are still some people living who saw and heard this."<sup>203</sup> Elsewhere, he counsels sceptics to seek confirmation of Ranulf Flambard and Gilbert Crispin, who could hardly have been viewed as York partisans.<sup>204</sup> If Hugh's statements sometimes ring of hyperbole, his account at least deserves the same degree of attention awarded Eadmer's.

Hugh and Eadmer do not diverge as widely as has sometimes been argued. To a large extent, Hugh's account of Thomas' consecration and profession of obedience accords with the

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<sup>202</sup>The date is established as being after the death of Thurstan but while Ranulf Flambard was still alive (*Hugh*, p. 10).

<sup>203</sup>*Hugh*, p. 6: *Adhuc supersunt aliqui qui hoc et uiderunt et audierunt.*

<sup>204</sup>This is the case for the Isle of Wight meeting, discussed below.

Canterbury version. Thomas applied to Lanfranc for consecration, following the precept of Honorius, but when Lanfranc demanded a profession ("of subjection," says Hugh, *subieccionis professionem*) Thomas refused and departed unconsecrated. At this juncture, Hugh makes no mention of a demand for an oath, or that the profession be written. The king sent Thomas back to Canterbury, demanding that Lanfranc consecrate Thomas without a profession, but the archbishop refused. Both the Canterbury sources and Hugh represent the king as initially hostile to Lanfranc's position; but where southern narratives have Lanfranc win William over by logical argument, in Hugh's history Lanfranc resorts to veiled threats. According to Hugh, Lanfranc protested that a profession was necessary for the security of the realm, intimating that

...it was expedient for the union and solidarity of the kingdom that all Britain should be subject to one man as primate; it might otherwise happen, in the king's time or that of one of his successors, that some one of the Danes, Norwegians, or Scots, who used to sail up to York in their attacks on the realm, might be made king by the archbishop of York and the fickle and treacherous Yorkshiresmen, and the kingdom disturbed and divided.<sup>205</sup>

Lanfranc supplemented this political argument, according to Hugh, "with many gifts and promises" (*donis et pollicitacionibus plurimis*). If Lanfranc may be excused the charge of bribery, the tone of the argument seems genuine. Hugh would hardly have wished to

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<sup>205</sup>Hugh, p. 4: *Porro utile esse ad regni integritatem et firmitatem conseruandam ut Britannia tota uni quasi primati sunderetur; alioquin contingere posse, uel suo uel successorum suorum tempore, ut de Dacis seu Norensibus siue Scotis, qui Eboracam nauigio uenientes regnum infestare solebant, unus ab Eboracensi archiepiscopo et a prouincie illius indigenis mobilibus et perfidis rex crearetur, et sic regnum turbatum scinderetur.*

suggest Thomas as a potential traitor if the allegation had not already been made by Canterbury.

To modern eyes, Lanfranc's argument that Thomas might crown a rival king seems unconvincing. If William had doubts of his chaplain's loyalty he would hardly have appointed him to York, and as Barlow points out, if Thomas desired to crown a Scandinavian king, a profession would hardly dissuade him. On the other hand, the harrying of the north had been completed only some four months before Thomas' nomination, and unrest continued.<sup>206</sup> The argument for a clear ecclesiastical hierarchy must have held some appeal for a king wishing to underline the country's political unity.

In the event, William agreed to Lanfranc's request and attempted to persuade his former chaplain to submit. Hugh records that William at first tried blandishments and then resorted to threats:

So the king spoke to the archbishop-elect and at first tried, by prayers, coaxing, and promises, to induce him to make his profession and be consecrated for the sake of unity and peace as he himself had been advised. Thomas replied that he ought not to do it; it was not canonically right, nor was it either honourable or expedient for the kingdom. The king then lost his temper and said he should hate him forever; and he threatened that neither Thomas nor any of his kinsmen should stay in England or Normandy, unless he made a profession, at least to Lanfranc personally.<sup>207</sup>

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<sup>206</sup>LePatourel emphasizes that "there was a moment when it was not quite inconceivable that a kingdom of Northern England, under Scottish or Danish protection and centred on York, might have been set up..."("The Norman Conquest of Yorkshire," *Northern History* 6 (1971), pp. 1-22, at 21). Douglas also credits the political argument in his analysis of the primacy dispute in *WC*.

<sup>207</sup>Hugh, p. 6: *Loquens igitur rex Eboracensi electo, primo precibus, blanditiis, promissis, efficere conatus est ut consecrationem suscipiens professionem faceret, propter regni unitatem et pacem, sicut ei persuasum erat. Ille regi*

The argument Hugh puts in the king's mouth in favour of unity and peace is strikingly similar to the preamble to Thomas' written profession. Hugh, however, explicitly ascribes Thomas' submission not to antipathy to conflict but to threats and bad advice, and asserts that the archbishop-elect made an unwilling profession "with tears and sighs" (*flens et suspirans*).<sup>208</sup> He is of course opening the way for a later claim that Thomas' profession was extorted.<sup>209</sup>

Hugh agrees with the Canterbury sources that Thomas professed obedience to Lanfranc only, not to his successors, and adds that when presented with the profession charter by the Canterbury scribes he would neither read or deliver it. Hugh does not imply that Thomas wrote no profession, but only that he would not copy or deliver the one prepared for him. It has been argued that this promise of obedience to Lanfranc alone is the only profession of which Hugh admits the validity.<sup>210</sup> We shall see that this is not the case.

Hugh the Chanter asserts that that the primacy charter preserved at Canterbury which bears the great seal is a fraud. This assertion has been widely dismissed, and Hugh's reasoning rarely considered. But it is important to note that in disputing the Canterbury texts Hugh does not quarrel with the stated terms of

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*responsit nec debere nec canonicum esse, regno quidem nec honestum nec utile. Iratus itaque rex dixit ei quod odium eius perpetuo haberet; comminatus est etiam quod nec quisquam de sibi genere propinquis in Anglia nec in Normannia remaneret, si non personaliter saltem l<anfranco> profiteretur.*

<sup>208</sup>Hugh records that William blackmailed Thomas by threatening his kin with exile; Eadmer states (and Hugh perhaps implies) in the context of Thomas II's consecration that Samson was present at the consecration of Thomas I.

<sup>209</sup>Hugh, p. 10: *Hec sic extorta professio...*

<sup>210</sup>Brooke, in *Hugh*, p. xl: "Hugh had made no mention of this second profession; indeed he had denied its existence by implication."

Thomas' profession. He objects, rather, to the assertion that Lanfranc could have demanded a profession by oath.

The monks of Canterbury wrote a charter and sealed it with the king's seal which they obtained by theft and fraud, saying that the case had been brought up between the two archbishops before the king and the bishops and principal men of England, and that it had been proved and recognized that the archbishop of York was bound to make his profession by oath (*cum iuramento professionem facere*) to the archbishop of Canterbury; but that Lanfranc, for love of the king, had remitted the oath to Thomas, without prejudice to his own successors.<sup>211</sup>

Neither the terms of the profession (limited or absolute) nor the fact of its existence but a question of status occupies Hugh here. That a metropolitan of York could be bound by an irrevocable oath diminished the status of the northern church. Hugh's proof of the impossibility of Lanfranc's demand is a point of canon law: an archbishop makes submission by oath to the pontiff alone, when he receives his pallium.<sup>212</sup> Hugh objects to the Canterbury version on the grounds that it elevates Lanfranc to the status of pope.<sup>213</sup> But as

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<sup>211</sup>Hugh, p. 8: *Monachi Cantuarienses cartam scripserunt, et regis sigillo surreptione et dolo aquisito sigillauerunt, causam scilicet uentilatam esse inter duos archiepiscopos coram rege et episcopis et primoribus Anglie, et ostensum et cognitum esse Eboracensem archiepiscopum Cantuariensi debere cum iuramento professionem facere; set propter amorem regis Lanfrancus sacramentum remisit, non preiudicans successoribus suis.*

<sup>212</sup>As Urban II's letter to Thomas, quoted below, makes clear.

<sup>213</sup>Hugh (pp. 4-6) ascribes responsibility for the circulation of the profession charter not to Lanfranc personally, but to his chapter. Lanfranc wins Hugh's qualified respect: He was certainly a good and wise man, but more eager for glory and honour than befitted a monk. The chapter of Christ Church receives the blame for fraud "in holding to a submission obtained by injustice and violence" and sending a forged charter for preservation in the archives of churches and monasteries (p. 8). Modern historians, eager to exculpate Lanfranc from the charge of overweening ambition, have sometimes credited the rival chapters with the impetus for the dispute. But this attribution seems anachronistic: York's chapter at Thomas' accession consisted of three clerics,

even the Canterbury sources do not claim that Thomas actually made the sacramental promise, Hugh is never forced to defend Thomas against a charge of perjury.

Hugh records that Thomas protested against Canterbury's manoeuvres during Lanfranc's archiepiscopate. As the king left for the Isle of Wight in the autumn of 1086, Thomas brought to his attention the fact that Canterbury was circulating a charter bearing the great seal.

The king took it amiss, and said before both archbishops that this was no doing of his; and if archbishop Thomas had made any concessions on account of his love or fear of the king by way of exception, personally and for a limited time, he did not wish the church of York to be prejudiced thereby. <sup>214</sup>

Hugh here suggests that William was prepared to reconsider the validity of Thomas' original, coerced profession. William counselled Thomas to wait for his return, when he would decide the matter *iuste et canonice*. This episode, if genuine, suggests that before the end of William's reign, the chapter of York anticipated a problem of the sort that arose at Thomas' consecration of Anselm.

It is reasonable to suppose that Thomas would make an attempt to clarify his position with regard to the next archbishop of Canterbury. By this time Lanfranc was an old man, and William's departure for Normandy presented a logical (indeed the last) opportunity. Sadly for Hugh's credibility, no charter evidence

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and though Canterbury retained more clergy, surely no monk could have persuaded Lanfranc against his will.

<sup>214</sup>Hugh, p. 8: *Quod moleste accipiens, coram utroque archiepiscopo dixit per se factum non esse, et si T<homas> archiepiscopus aliquid propter amorem et timorem regis dispensatiue et personaliter uel temporaliter fecerat, nolebat illud Eboracensi ecclesie prejudicium fieri.*

confirms Thomas' presence on the Isle of Wight at the appropriate time. But Hugh carefully says that Ranulf Flambard, keeper of the royal seal at the time of the episode and bishop of Durham at the time of Hugh's writing, and Lanfranc's protégé Gilbert Crispin, witnessed the exchange. Neither of these men could possibly be suspected of lying in York's favour, and Hugh's willingness to name them as witnesses is decisive. But in the event, William I died at Rouen, and was unable to fulfill his promise to take issue with Canterbury.

The consecration of Lanfranc's successor supplied York with another chance to re-open the issue. Hugh's account of Anselm's consecration proves so different from Eadmer's that historians have abandoned all hope of discovering the true course of events. But the accounts enjoy important points of similarity. Like Eadmer, Hugh documents a disagreement over terms at the ceremony in December of 1093. But the terms in Hugh's account differ radically from those in the *Historia Novorum*.

Hugh records that the petition sought that Thomas consecrate Anselm "primate of all Britain." Thomas at once removed himself to the vestry and took off his pontificals, and was only persuaded to continue the ceremony when Anselm and Walkelin of Winchester humbly knelt at his feet and apologized. Hugh has Thomas deliver a small speech setting forth York's position:

'Since there are only two metropolitans in Britain, one of them cannot be primate except over the other. If I personally and improperly submitted, whether for love or fear, with a young

man's folly, I am now free. I will consecrate no man primate.'<sup>215</sup>

According to Hugh, Anselm and Walkelin averred that they sought nothing but peace and charity, and told Thomas to deal with the petition as he wished. The words "as primate" were erased and "metropolitan of Canterbury" inserted. This terminology returned Canterbury and York to equal status. Thomas himself had professed obedience to Lanfranc as "metropolitan bishop of York."<sup>216</sup>

Hugh thus agrees with Eadmer in identifying an initial disagreement over terms, speedily resolved with no equivocation on Canterbury's part. But where Eadmer recounts that "metropolitan of Britain" gave way to "primate of Britain," Hugh has "primate of Britain" abandoned for "metropolitan of Canterbury." Hugh's case has won few supporters. He is accused by Professor Brooke of internal inconsistency, and this charge is telling.

One of the few documents explicitly cited by Hugh is a letter from Urban II to Thomas of Bayeux. Hugh adduces this text after his discussion of Thomas' profession to Lanfranc, dating the letter to "about the same time" that Lanfranc died, i.e. 28 May 1089. Brooke points out that this date cannot be correct, although he concedes that Hugh's chronological inaccuracy does not in itself tell against him.<sup>217</sup> The letter mentions two papal legates, Roger the deacon and Herbert bishop of Thetford, known to have carried out duties for Urban II in

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<sup>215</sup>Hugh, p. 12: "*Cum duo tantum sint metropolitae in Britannia, alter nisi super alterum primas esse non potest. Si timore uel amore et iuuenili consilio personaliter et indebite alicui me subieci, liberatus sum. In primatem neminem consecrabo.*"

<sup>216</sup>See his 1072 profession.

<sup>217</sup>Hugh, p. xl for a review of scholarship.

1093/4. Historians once questioned the authenticity of the text but its reliability is now established: and Brooke argues that its insertion in the *History* backfires on Hugh.

Urban writes to "his beloved son in Christ," Thomas, in severe tones:

Your mother, the holy Roman church, has a serious complaint against you. Whereas the blessed Gregory, the apostle of the English says that of the archbishops of Canterbury and York he who is first ordained shall have precedence, you, after having received the pallium from the apostolic see, and sworn fealty, as is the custom for metropolitans, did, without consulting the bishop of Rome, unduly submit your church to the archbishop of Canterbury, and did make a charter of profession to him, contrary to the decree of the blessed Gregory.<sup>218</sup>

Urban argues that Thomas submitted his church to Canterbury unduly (*indebite*) on two grounds: first, the Gregorian principle that seniority of consecration determines precedence, and second, the fact that Thomas had already pledged obedience to the pope. The letter seems to bear upon the circumstances of Thomas' consecration of Anselm, rather than on his profession to Lanfranc *per se*. Urban would only mention seniority of consecration as an argument in favour of York's precedence if Thomas was then senior prelate: Lanfranc was Thomas' senior, Thomas, Anselm's. Furthermore, the letter rebukes Thomas as if his actions came to the pope's ears

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<sup>218</sup>Hugh, p. 10: *Querelam non modicam habet aduersum te mater tua, sancta Romana ecclesia. Cum enim beatus Greg<orius>, gentis Anglorum apostolus, dicat ut inter Cantuariensem et Eboracensem archiepiscopos ille prior habeatur qui prior <fuerit> ordinatus, tu <post> acceptum ab apostolica sede pallium, post iuratam, sicut mos est metropolitanis, fidelitatem, inconsulto Romano pontifice Cantuariensi episcopo tuam ecclesiam indebite subdidisti, et cartam ei professionis contra decretum beati Greg<orii> fecisti.*

through the words of others; the legates of Roger and Hubert in 1093/4 constitute the most likely candidates.

But in addition to misplacing the circumstance of the letter, Hugh commits a more serious blunder. By documenting that Thomas swore fealty to Lanfranc after his journey to Rome in 1071, Hugh undercuts his dismissal of the Canterbury charter in 1072. Professor Brooke finds this convincing evidence for Hugh's unreliability. But in fact, Hugh's Latin leaves room for another interpretation. Hugh never denies that a council took place, or that Thomas professed. He disputes only the issue of the sacramental oath. Urban's letter in no way contradicts Hugh's account, for the pope mentions only a charter, not an oath.

The circumstances surrounding Thomas' reception of the letter remain obscure. Hugh gives no explanation of how or when Urban came to hear of the profession, saying merely that he did. York's archives preserve no further correspondence between Thomas and the papacy on the subject. If Thomas did meet with the papal legates to discuss the situation, no records survive to testify to the fact. Certainly no evidence places him at Rome, as requested. In 1093 or 1094 a papal legation from Urban would in any case enjoy little authority, for William Rufus only recognized Urban in 1095.<sup>219</sup> The Canterbury primacy documents, not surprisingly, carry no references to criticism from Urban or his legates.

The strongest argument in favour of Hugh's account of Anselm's consecration is that Thomas never appears to have

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<sup>219</sup>It is possible that Thomas did not flaunt this letter because of England's ambiguous relations with the papacy.

produced Urban's letter in evidence against Canterbury. If he had consecrated Anselm as primate, he would have produced the letter in refutation after Rufus' recognition at Rockingham, in February of 1095. Urban explicitly validates Thomas' precedence by virtue of seniority. But Thomas would have had no need of further argument if he had consecrated Anselm only as "metropolitan of Canterbury." Hugh the Chanter's account fits the evidence more closely than Eadmer's.

It was noted above that Anselm used the title "primate of all Britain" in some of his correspondence, and in the profession charters he received. Paschal II wrote to Anselm as "primate of the church of Canterbury", a different thing altogether."<sup>220</sup> No evidence survives to show Anselm using "primate of Britain" in dealings with York, and his restraint may have been politic. But during Thomas' archiepiscopate, terminology was elastic. Chanceries had not yet fixed formulae, and archbishops were not themselves consistent. Outside Canterbury, the term "primacy" was used flexibly; Simeon of Durham remarks that Thomas "held the primacy" during Canterbury's vacancy.

Archbishops of York could use the fluidity of terms to their advantage. Thomas' successors used "*primas*" to describe their position in their own province. "Metropolitan" and "primate" were used synonymously, or sometimes in conjunction: Archbishop

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<sup>220</sup>JL 5955. 16 November 1103. *Quondam... Cantuariensis ecclesiae primatum ita tibi plenum concessimus, sicut a tuis constat praedecessoribus fuisse possessum.* Could it be possible that Hugh and Eadmer were both wrong, and that the demand was initially for "primate of Britain", corrected to "primate of Canterbury?" If so, Eadmer was more wrong than Hugh.

Wickwane asserted "primatial and metropolitan dignity" over Durham in 1281, in describing the obligations of bishops-elect.<sup>221</sup> No evidence testifies to Thomas' own use of the term, but one extant letter avoids dignifying Lanfranc with his title. Thomas addresses Lanfranc as "Thomas, his *fidelis*, and, if it does not seem presumptuous to his holiness, archbishop of the church of York."<sup>222</sup> The letter which follows is decorous in the extreme, but Thomas permitted himself to twit his colleague about his superiority.

Ultimately the primacy dispute was less important than the allied issue of metropolitan rights. The claim to primacy provided an instrument by which Lanfranc could deprive Thomas of the suffragans necessary for him to form a viable province. The settlement of 1072 ensured that even if York gained enough suffragans to contribute three consecrating prelates, an archbishop-elect of York must still receive consecration from the archbishop of Canterbury. This requirement to a large degree undermined the value of Lanfranc's "grant" of Scotland.

Lanfranc's motivation has often been questioned. He appears to have conceived a plan for his governance of the English church from the instant of his consecration. By the time Thomas presented himself at Canterbury, Lanfranc had already determined to extract a profession of obedience in terms that changed a historical primacy of

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<sup>221</sup>...*quod ecclesia predicta Eboracensis super ecclesiam Dunelmensem et quamplures alias cathedrales primacie et metropolitice dignitatis insignia a Beati Petri corpore [habet]...*, cited from Wickwane's register by R. Brentano, *York Metropolitan Jurisdiction*, pp.4-5; Makower, p. 291, cites several examples of York's use of the term "*primas*" from the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries.

<sup>222</sup>LL #12, quoted above.

precedence into a new primacy of jurisdiction. By tailoring the terms of the subsequent professions of the bishops over whose sees Thomas claimed jurisdiction, Lanfranc ensured that York could pose no threat to Canterbury's supremacy.

But Lanfranc seems to have misjudged his man. There was surely no reason for Lanfranc to expect a fight from his former pupil in 1070, and the evidence suggests that he did not. Lanfranc took several days to marshal his argument sufficiently to persuade the king of its justice. But Thomas seems to have taken seriously his new role as guardian of the rights of his church, and if he was finally coerced into professing, the text of his promise tells us why. He felt that a continued battle was degrading both to the church and its churchmen. His statement of obedience to Lanfranc reserves his right to defy uncanonical judgments, and his academic training ensured that he could put up a good fight. Lanfranc might have achieved a better result, with much less difficulty, had he approached Thomas with a reasoned argument before springing a degrading demand on him in the public arena of the consecration ceremony. Lanfranc enjoys the reputation of a distinguished statesman, but his dealing with Thomas calls this view into question.

#### 4. The Metropolitan

The primacy settlement of 1072 fixed the southern boundary of Thomas of Bayeux's province as the northern edge of the see of Lichfield. Thomas was to hold metropolitan jurisdiction over only one suffragan, Durham, although he was given titular right to the Scottish bishoprics. Worcester, held jointly with York for over a century, was now declared subject to Canterbury. The districts of Lindsey and Dorchester, which would be combined into the see of Lincoln after the council of London in 1075, also reverted to the southern province. The settlement engineered by Lanfranc ensured that the northern metropolitan could never function independently of Canterbury.

This chapter will examine Thomas' response to the 1072 settlement, and in particular his attempt to retain rights over Worcester and Lincoln. The evidence will show that, although the battle ultimately proved unsuccessful, Thomas enabled his own diocese to profit. York's relations with Durham will also be considered. We shall see how Thomas dealt with his suffragan's "restoration" of monastic status, and the convent's increasing independence of his authority. Finally, Thomas' campaign to advance York's claim to Scotland will be discussed, alongside Lanfranc's counter-moves in the north. We shall see that as Lanfranc increased his efforts to restrict his co-metropolitan authority along the

southern borders of his province, Thomas sought, and won, suffragans in Scotland.

Thomas' negotiations regarding the extent of his province are well-documented and revealing. Although the professions of obedience of Remigius and Wulfstan to Lanfranc thwarted York's claims to the dioceses of Lincoln and Worcester, Thomas ultimately obtained lucrative compensation for his chapter. As in the primacy contest, Thomas' refusal to recognize judicial defeat appears at first to amount to blindness-- an inability to recognize a hopeless case-- but ultimately proves a ploy. Sir Richard Southern remarked of Anselm that "to keep asking is not a very refined form of political action, but it is very wearing."<sup>223</sup> Thomas used the same technique, to even greater effect. By persisting in arguing about cases his opponents regarded as settled, the archbishop of York eventually obtained property which he would otherwise never have received.

Worcester maintained an especially close historical tie with York, for until 1061, the two sees were held in plurality. The reform-minded pope put a stop to the practice during the archiepiscopate of Thomas of Bayeux's predecessor, refusing to recognise Aldred's translation to York with a pallium until he promised to relinquish Worcester. After nearly losing his life to some Roman brigands, Aldred saw the force of Pope Nicholas' argument, and gave in.<sup>224</sup> But Aldred's departure from the bishopric in some respects only complicated the anomalous situation further.

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<sup>223</sup>Southern, *Portrait*, p. 275, regarding Anselm's repeated requests for Rufus to allow him to visit Rome.

<sup>224</sup>*Digby*, pp. 346-7.

For while the archbishop relinquished his position as bishop of Worcester, he chose to retain a substantial proportion of episcopal property.

Hugh the Chanter attests that Aldred kept twelve manors for himself, leaving the rest to Bishop Wulfstan "as his vicar."<sup>225</sup> The York chronicler here emphasizes Worcester's continued submission to the authority of York. Wulfstan may be bishop of Worcester in name, but he acts as Aldred's vicar. The Digby chronicler, as is his wont, elaborates on Hugh's statement, in order to clarify the relationship between the two prelates.

...Archbishop Aldred... consecrated that venerable man, Wulfstan, whom first he had constituted prior, then abbot of Worcester, bishop, *as his suffragan*. And since the church of York from the time of archbishop Wulfhere [854-900] had been reduced almost to nothing by the persecution of barbarians, by the assent and ordinance of King Edward [Aldred] retained twelve villas from the episcopate of Worcester for his own use....<sup>226</sup>

Digby carefully adapts Hugh the Chanter's terminology to stress that Aldred consecrated Wulfstan as his suffragan.<sup>227</sup> Crucially, he establishes the link between possession of the manors and metropolitan jurisdiction. The implication is that if York loses Worcester as a suffragan, it also loses control of the property.

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<sup>225</sup>Hugh, p. 2: *...duodecim uillas sibi retinuit, reliquas uero W<lstan> episcopo, tanquam uicario suo, reliquit.* The VW, p. 20 confirms the partitioning of the estates.

<sup>226</sup>Digby, pp. 347-8: *...[A]rchiepiscopus Aldredus...virum venerabilem Wlstanum, quem primo priorem, deinde abbatem Wigorniae constituerat,... quasi suffraganeum suum consecravit episcopum. Et quia Eboracensis ecclesia tempore Wlferi archiepiscopi persecutione barbarorum paene ad nihilum redacta fuerat, assentiente et hoc ipsum ordinante rege Edwardo, xii villas de episcopatu Wigorniae sibi in usus et sumptus proprios retinuit...*

<sup>227</sup>There is a problem here, as we shall see below. Digby records no profession of obedience obtained from Wulfstan.

This implication was not lost on Wulfstan. Aldred's death late in 1069 offered Wulfstan the opportunity to negotiate for full control of his bishopric. As soon as possible, he aimed to disprove York's right to claim Worcester as a suffragan. Within a year, he had found the most effective means of accomplishing this goal.

The Canterbury profession collection documents Wulfstan's strategy to disassociate himself from St. Peter's. There, Wulfstan swears that, although for his consecration,

...I went to Aldred, bishop of the church of York, I have put off making my profession of canonical obedience until the present day. Now, therefore, I offer to you, Lanfranc, metropolitan of the holy church of Canterbury, my profession of obedience to your orders and those of your successors, according to the canons, and I promise to obey them according to holy writ.<sup>228</sup>

Though Aldred consecrated Wulfstan, he obtained no profession of obedience, and thus no formal recognition of York as Worcester's metropolitan. Wulfstan was free to profess to Lanfranc and repudiate his ties to the northern province.

A modern biographer of the bishop of Worcester finds it "almost inconceivable" that Aldred would have let him Wulfstan without professing, but it is likely to be true.<sup>229</sup> York's Digby chronicler, an assiduous archivist, could apparently find no record of such a profession being made. Although he writes that Aldred did consecrate Wulfstan *quasi suffraganeum*, he makes no claim that

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<sup>228</sup>CP #31: *Ego autem Aldredum Eboracensis ecclesiae antistitem adii, professionem tamen de canonica oboedientia usque ad praesentem diem facere distuli. Nunc igitur tibi eiusdem sanctae Cantuariensis ecclesiae, Lanfrance metropolitanae, antistes de tuis tuorumque successorum obseruandis iussionibus professionem secundum canones porrigo meque ita seruaturum sub diuini nominis obtestatione promitto.*

<sup>229</sup>E. Mason, *St. Wulfstan of Worcester, c. 1008-1095* (Oxford, 1990), p. 114.

Wulfstan made a formal profession.<sup>230</sup> Since one of the important functions of the Digby chronicle is to record professions of obedience (or at least their incipits), we must conclude that the author searched York's archives and could find no evidence of one from Wulfstan. For this reason, apart from the improbability that a man of the bishop's character would tell a direct falsehood, it seems wisest to believe Wulfstan's statement to Lanfranc. Aldred had, after all, first constituted Wulfstan dean and then prior of Worcester; perhaps he viewed a further statement of obedience as redundant.

With the question of metropolitan obedience settled, Wulfstan could feel secure that possession of the twelve manors once held by Aldred, and given by the king to York's new incumbent, Thomas of Bayeux, would speedily revert to Worcester.<sup>231</sup> This indeed proved to be the case. Thomas of Bayeux was outflanked by Wulfstan and Lanfranc at a proceeding whose outcome was so preordained that Wulfstan spent most of it asleep.<sup>232</sup>

Lanfranc, of course, had his own reasons for supporting Wulfstan's position. For him, the possession of the manors was merely a codicil to the larger issue of York's metropolitan independence. The archbishop of Canterbury had not yet succeeded in establishing primacy, but depriving Thomas of physical property which symbolized jurisdiction over a dependent diocese was the first

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<sup>230</sup>Digby, p. 348.

<sup>231</sup>Hugh, p. 18: *Ipse uero dono regis aliquam diu duodecim uillas habuit, quas Aldredim predecessorem suum de Wigornensi episcopatu sibi retinuisse supradiximus;...*

<sup>232</sup>VW, p. 25. Emma Mason discusses the scene and its implications, emphasizing how frustrating Wulfstan's behaviour was calculated to appear, pp. 111-13.

small step in that direction. Hugh the Chanter aptly observes that when King William took back the twelve manors which he had previously conceded to Thomas, he was acting "at [Lanfranc's] instance and on [his] advice".<sup>233</sup> Lanfranc's own letters reveal a consistent interest in parting Worcester from York, and Wulfstan knew how to use Lanfranc's aspirations toward primacy for the good of his own see.<sup>234</sup>

Similar tactics gave Remigius of Dorchester (later, Lincoln) his liberty from Thomas' jurisdiction. As in the case of Worcester, the dispute with Lincoln had its roots in the archiepiscopate of Thomas of Bayeux's predecessor. In 1061, Dorchester obtained papal confirmation of its rights the parish of Lindsey, the church of Stow (Lincs.), and the town of Newark (Notts.).<sup>235</sup> The bishop of Dorchester and the archbishop of York each claimed these properties for his diocese, but again, as in the case of the twelve Worcester manors, a larger issue was also at stake. The real question was whether York could claim Dorchester itself as a suffragan.

As Wulfstan had done, Remigius perceived that the most effective means of repudiating York's claim to jurisdiction was to profess obedience to Lanfranc. Remigius seems to have been under

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<sup>233</sup>*Hugh, p. 18: Ipse uero dono regis aliquam diu duodecim uillas habuit, quas Aldredim predecessorem suum de Wigornensi episcopatu sibi retinuisse supradiximus; set eas, molimine et instinctu Lanf<ranci> archiepiscopi, idem rex ei abstulit.*

<sup>234</sup>The correspondence between Thomas, Lanfranc, and the bishops Lanfranc sent to assist Thomas in his consecration of Ralph of the Orkneys is quoted below.

<sup>235</sup>*Reg. Ant. i, #247. 3 May 1061. Nicholas II confirms the decision against Archbishop Alfric (1023-51). Henry of Huntingdon, the apologist of the first Norman bishops of Lincoln, later conceded that the surrounding district of Lindsey fell within the province of York.*

some special obligation to the archbishop of Canterbury, doubtless in connection with his suspension from office in 1070.<sup>236</sup> The bishop's profession to Lanfranc conveys his indebtedness, and emphatically negates his earlier profession to the deposed Stigand:

Wherefore with you, Lanfranc, metropolitan of the holy see [of Canterbury], petitioning Rome, I approached the aforementioned pope [Alexander II], and, with you mediating, I sought and received an indulgence. Therefore, recognizing on the authority of the pope that [Stigand] was not your [rightful] predecessor nor you his successor, to you I make my written profession of obedience, and I promise to obey the commands of you and your successors.<sup>237</sup>

Remigius owed Lanfranc his bishopric, and hastened to demonstrate his gratitude. His profession at once extricated his see from the jurisdiction of York and, from Lanfranc's point of view, removed Thomas' last chance of a viable province.

It must be noted that York's potential claim to jurisdiction over Lincoln was in one important sense much weaker than that over Worcester. Where Aldred had consecrated Wulfstan as bishop, an act traditionally performed by the bishop-elect's metropolitan (regardless of whether a written profession was made), Remigius had been consecrated by the archbishop of Canterbury. Receiving consecration from the hands of Stigand was preferable to admitting Dorchester as a suffragan of York.

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<sup>236</sup>For the "snares and harassments" that beset Remigius at the beginning of his episcopate, see Bates, *Remigius*, pp. 4-5.

<sup>237</sup>*CP*, #32: *Verum te, eiusdem sanctae metropolitanae sedis antistes Lanfrance, Romam petente, praefatum papam adii, teque mediante indulgentiam petii et impetravi. Cognoscens igitur ex auctoritate praedicti papae nec eum antecessorem tuum fuisse nec te successorem ipsius existere, tibi quidem de oboedientia mea scriptam professionem porrigo, meque tuis omniumque qui tibi successuri sunt iussionibus obtemperaturum esse promitto.*

The Winchester settlement of 1072 ruled against York's claims to Dorchester, but the case remained open to question. Lanfranc felt it necessary to continue to guard Remigius' independence from Thomas of Bayeux. When the archbishop of York wrote to Canterbury to request two suffragans to assist him in consecrating Ralph bishop of Orkney, in 1072 or 1073, he felt compelled to reassure the new primate that

The suspicion that our brother and fellow bishop Remigius entertained not long ago can be utterly dismissed: that on this precedent I shall from now on seek jurisdiction over the bishop of Dorchester or the bishop of Worcester. God is my witness that I shall never do this.<sup>238</sup>

But Lanfranc took no chances. Not only did he not send Remigius, he instructed the two bishops whom he did send, Wulfstan of Worcester and Peter of Chester, to keep copies of Thomas' letter and Lanfranc's own, to secure themselves against any later pretensions on York's behalf.<sup>239</sup> Thomas kept his word as far as it went. He did not use assistance at Ralph's consecration against Wulfstan and he would not have used it against Remigius; but he did not give up his claim to Lincoln, either.

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<sup>238</sup>LL, #12: *Illa autem procul arceatur suspicio quam nuperrime nobis noster frater et coepiscopus subintulit Remigius, me scilicet in posterum quaesiturum Dorcastrensis uel Wigornensis episcopi hac de causa subiunctionem.* Note that Thomas cannot bring himself to use the word "primate" in his address; he writes instead merely to "totius quoque Britanniae summo pastori..."

<sup>239</sup>LL, #13: *...Et ne forte sollicit sitis, putantes quod uel ipse uel successores eius hac occasione super aecclesias uestras ius prelationis quandoque conentur arripere, litteras quas ipse michi transmisit fraternitati uestra sollicitudinem de futuro gerens curauit transmittere. Quas et has quas uobis transmittito in archiuis aecclesiarum uestrarum ob memoriam futuorum seruatum iri praecipio.*

It seems likely that despite the papal bull in Dorchester's favour and perhaps despite the primacy settlement itself, Thomas of Bayeux continued to obtain royal recognition of rights in Lincolnshire. A royal notification of uncertain date informs Thomas of the confirmation of rights to St. Mary's, Stow.<sup>240</sup> the archbishop of York appears to be addressed as diocesan. It is possible that the notification predates the accord of Winchester in the spring of 1072.<sup>241</sup> Thomas may have initially received the benefit of the doubt in the dispute, as he did, briefly, in the case of the Worcester manors, and the king may have presumed Stow to lie in the diocese of York, notwithstanding the 1061 bull to the contrary.

But it is also possible that the Stow notification post-dates the primacy settlement, and that the address to Thomas of Bayeux reflects only the fact that the archbishop continued to regard York's claims to Stow as open to question.<sup>242</sup> The king may perhaps be warning Thomas and his men to desist from encroaching on property which Remigius can testify belongs to St. Mary's. It seems possible that the document should be read not as upholding Thomas' rights as diocesan, but restricting them.

In any event, we know that Thomas refused to accept the accord of Winchester as decisive. Thomas sustained his claim to jurisdiction over Lincoln for some twenty years, the dispute outliving both Remigius and Lanfranc. After Dorchester's translation to

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<sup>240</sup>*Reg.*, #333, dated there 1075x1092.

<sup>241</sup>Professor Bates, *Remigius*, p. 30, argues for an early date.

<sup>242</sup>The fact that *Reg.* #335, a similar notification given by William II to Thomas concerning Stow, is dated in *Reg.* as 1091-2, also seems to push the date of #333 back. I defer to Prof. Bates on this point.

Lincoln, Remigius attempted to cement his claim to Lindsey by constructing his cathedral on the north bank of the river. After the church's completion in 1092, Thomas, temporarily senior prelate due to Canterbury's vacancy, refused to dedicate it.<sup>243</sup> Remigius attempted to circumvent Thomas by bribing Rufus to order every other English bishop to perform the ceremony. The episcopate assembled at Lincoln, but just before the appointed day, Remigius died.<sup>244</sup> York tradition naturally views this event as a divine comment on Remigius' pretensions, but Thomas' victory was temporary.

When the king filled Canterbury's four-year vacancy, Thomas lost the opportunity either to perform or to refuse to perform the consecration ceremony at Lincoln.<sup>245</sup> He was also prevented from consecrating the new bishop-elect of Lincoln, Robert Bloet. Bloet delayed his ceremony until it could be performed by an archbishop of Canterbury, avoiding any chance of appearing to recognize Thomas as his metropolitan.<sup>246</sup> On 4 December 1093, Thomas consecrated Anselm as archbishop of Canterbury, and Anselm was to consecrate Robert Bloet on the following day. According to Hugh the Chanter, Thomas demanded that the new archbishop of Canterbury choose the terms of the ceremony carefully.

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<sup>243</sup>*Digby*, p. 361.

<sup>244</sup>*Digby*, p. 361. See also Bates, *Remigius*, pp. 33-4, for other chronicle accounts. *Digby* appears to follow Florence of Worcester in recording that Remigius died two days before the scheduled ceremony.

<sup>245</sup>One strongly suspects that Remigius never wanted Thomas to perform the ceremony in the first place, since consecration of cathedrals is a metropolitan right.

<sup>246</sup>Thomas did perform consecrations during Canterbury's vacancy, as he was qualified to do; but the jurisdiction of none of these bishoprics was disputed.

He did not forbid [Anselm] to consecrate [Robert] bishop of Dorchester, as his predecessors had been; but said that the town of Lincoln and a great part of Lindsey had been and rightly should be in the diocese of York and had been wrongly taken from it, together with three towns, Stow, Louth, and Newark, which belonged to St. Peter of York; as he was prepared to prove if justice were granted him.<sup>247</sup>

Thomas seized the chance to reopen the debate in the most public manner possible.

A suit took place, but Thomas lost his claim for good. Hugh asserts that Rufus fixed the settlement against Thomas' will and without the assent of the chapter, and that "All England knows that Bishop Robert gave King William £3,000 for this."<sup>248</sup> Henry of Huntingdon set the figure at £5,000. Whether bribery tipped the scale or not, Robert won his case, and York forever renounced its jurisdiction over Lincoln and Lindsey. Thomas was allowed, however, to retain the manor of Lavington, in Lincoln, "as freely as Aldred", and won substantial further compensation.<sup>249</sup> Thomas of Bayeux's persistence enabled him to benefit York in a case that, by

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<sup>247</sup>Hugh, p. 14: *Non prohibebat quin eum Dorracestresem ordinaret episcopum, sicut et antecessores sui fuerunt uerum Lincolnum oppidum et magnam partem prouincie Lindisse dicebat fuisse et iure esse debere parochiam Eboracensis ecclesie, et iniuria illi ereptam esse cum tribus uillis, scilicet Stou et Ludha <et> Niuwerca, que proprie fuerunt Sancti Petri Eboracensis, quod et ipse diracionare paratus erat si rectitudo consentiretur.*

<sup>248</sup>Hugh, p. 14: *...rex Willelmus quandam concordiam fecit inter illos, T<homa> quidem archiepiscopo inuito et renitene et coacto, nec consenciente nec consulto Eboracensis ecclesie capitulo. Hoc autem Anglia tota nouit, quod propter hanc concordiam Robertus episcopus W<illelmo> regi ter mille libras dedit.* Henry of Huntingdon places the figure at £5,000 but blames the king for the simony. *HH*, pp. 216-17.

<sup>249</sup>*EYC* #13, 1093 to 1100. Rufus' compensatory grant is discussed in a later chapter.

rights, should have been largely regarded as settled as far back as 1061.<sup>250</sup>

It is worth noting that as soon as Anselm filled Canterbury's long vacancy, Thomas was required to renounce much of his episcopal jurisdiction outside the diocese of York. Hugh the Chanter could not be trusted on this matter, even if he had something to say about it. It is perhaps reassuring that he does not. But even the royal charters bear witness to the circumscription of York's authority, as Canterbury is again in the ascendant. From 1093 to 1095, Thomas renounced rights Lincoln, a peculiar in Gloucestershire (discussed in the next chapter), and Durham. But the evidence, although enormously problematic in parts, seems to suggest that at least at Durham, Thomas ceded his authority willingly.

Thomas' interactions with the bishop, prior and convent of St. Cuthbert's have never been adequately explored. While the history of Anglo-Norman Durham is now receiving serious attention, Thomas' attitude and actions toward his suffragan during his thirty years as metropolitan have yet to be considered.<sup>251</sup>

Evidence for Durham's post-Conquest history is more ample than that for York, but more contentious. The problems of the Durham narrative sources are largely irrelevant here. But other difficulties peculiar to the Durham charter collection may distort the evidence for Thomas' actions as metropolitan. A number of charters purporting to date from the pontificate of William of St. Calais are

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<sup>250</sup>When the papacy confirmed the ruling against York's claims to Lindsey, etc.

<sup>251</sup>See the papers in D. Rollason, M. Harvey, and M. Prestwich (eds.), *Anglo-Norman Durham 1093-1193* (Woodbridge, 1994).

widely regarded as spurious.<sup>252</sup> This is something of a tragedy for students of Thomas' career, for he appears in all of them.

The crucial charter evidence for Thomas' involvement with the convent of Durham derives from DCDCM I.I Archiep. i, a text in existence before 1187, when copies of it and a related charter were sent to Rome for papal confirmation.<sup>253</sup> There is no doubt that the text as it stands is a forgery. But, as in the case of the Canterbury primacy privileges, it seems likely that a genuine grant has provided a basis for later interpolation. The confirmation of the rights of Durham's prior has long been recognized as spurious, but the grant of freedom of St Cuthbert's possessions in the diocese of York has been unnecessarily dismissed. At base, the Durham charter seems sound.

As it stands, DCDCM I.I Archiep. i purports to be a notification of Thomas by grace of God archbishop of York to all the archbishops, bishops, and abbots of England, present and future. That Thomas I and not his nephew gave the original grant may be understood by the fact that the first witness is dean Aldred, while dean Hugh attests consistently throughout the term of Thomas II, 1109 x 1114.<sup>254</sup> The charter testifies that Thomas owed an especial debt to St. Cuthbert, which he wished to repay,

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<sup>252</sup>See D. Bates, "The Forged Charters of William the Conqueror and Bishop William St. Calais," in *Anglo-Norman Durham*, pp. 111-24, for a review of scholarship and a new analysis. Thomas' grant of privileges (I.I Archiep. no. 1) is dealt with mostly incidentally, but linked with the campaign of the 1150s and 1160s, as "redolent of the forger's language" (p. 120).

<sup>253</sup>For a transcription of the ms, see the appendix. Burton prints it (with some minor errors) from other printed editions as Acta #3.

<sup>254</sup>The evidence of the witness list of this confirmation will be discussed in Chapter 6.

...having been chastened with the scourge of God, and having been parched in an incredible manner during a period of two years with weakness from attacks of fever, and whereas all the physicians declared that it was evident that death alone would be the termination of our sufferings, and that there were no means by which they might counteract the evil effects of this prolonged weakness. Wherefore, being warned in a vision, groaning and weeping I passed a night at the tomb of St. Cuthbert, where, being wearied out with the disease and fatigue, I was overcome with sleep; upon which St. Cuthbert appeared to me in a vision, and touching each of my limbs with his hands, rendered me, when I awoke, whole from all infirmity...

We know from Hugh the Chanter that Thomas suffered from debilitating illness, at least at the end of his archiepiscopate, so there is nothing untoward here. If doctors could not cure him, he might well have sought the intercession of a saint, and as York had no relics of its own (Lanfranc having given St. Paulinus' to Rochester), Durham was the closest alternative.

The text states that Cuthbert commanded the archbishop to be dutiful to him, and to free the saint's possessions in his diocese from all burdens.<sup>255</sup> This is the purpose of the original charter, made "with the consent of the chapter of York":

Know then all persons, present and future, that I, Thomas, archbishop of York... with the consent of the chapter of York, do give and do grant unto God and Saint Cuthbert, and to all his bishops in succession, and to all the monks who shall be there in time to come, that all churches whatsoever, which at the present time they may happen to possess in my diocese, or which hereafter they shall canonically obtain by royal grant or gift of the faithful, or which they shall build upon their own lands, they shall hold free and entirely acquitted forever of all claims, by me and all my successors...

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<sup>255</sup>For local rights as gifts to saints, see Southern, *Portrait*, pp. 284, 335, 346-7.

Thomas confirms St. Cuthbert's rights over peculiars in the diocese of York, including those in existence and any created later. The archbishop promises to exert no claims over these churches whether they be royal or lay foundations, and he binds his successors to abide by this precept. While the elements of this grant are not unimportant, they are far removed in degree from the grandiose statements characteristic of the Durham forger. It seems probable that the genuine charter ends at the conclusion of the sentence beginning "*Quare volo et precipio*".

By the time that Roger of Hoveden included a copy of the grant in his chronicle, the text had been amplified. The charter which Roger recorded contained an additional section beginning, rather suspiciously, "*Concedo insuper...*"<sup>256</sup> Here it is asserted that Thomas relinquished his right to appoint to churches held by Durham in York's diocese, his claim to alms and synodals, and all aids, rents, exactions, and hospitality. He similarly bound his deans, archdeacons, vicars, and ministers. He prohibited any one from coercing Durham clergy to attend synods or chapters. He bound the court of St. Cuthbert to deal with complaints against them or theirs. Thomas reserved for himself and his successors only the right to cure of souls.

This section of the grant looks very much like an attempt to gloss the earlier, original grant. There, Thomas had sworn that St. Cuthbert's should hold its peculiars without interference from

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<sup>256</sup>The *concedo* which Thomas used above occurs in a clause; the use here seems rather abrupt, as if it were tacked on. Although Roger was writing very late in the twelfth century, it looks very much like he had managed to uncover a relatively early copy of the grant.

Thomas and his successors at York. The added section spells out the sort of interference that a diocesan might expect to make. The intent of this first forged section is not to mislead, but to clarify. The forger simply defines the specific financial and spiritual exactions which Thomas has sworn, in general terms, not to make.

The Durham charter continues to list items which Thomas confirmed, but from this point on, the text accords very little with Thomas of Bayeux's original intent. The sections quoted above had probably already suffered interpolations. But the next forger (or the same one acting from a different motivation) shifted the ultimate purpose of the document, to suggest that William of St. Calais introduced monks to Durham on the authority of Gregory VII, and with the consent of William I and Thomas of Bayeux. The insertions were clumsily crafted, and make little sense.<sup>257</sup>

After the conclusion of the section regarding Thomas' confirmation of the rights of St. Cuthbert in his diocese, there follows a "confirmation" of the inviolability of Cuthbert's body, the boundaries of the diocese, and the rights of the convent and prior. The prior of Durham is said to enjoy the rights which the dean possesses at York. These elements, all live issues in the middle of the twelfth century, have nothing at all to do with the substance of the charter, which considers the general rights of Durham in the diocese of York. The terminology of the second half of I.I Archiep. i reveals parallels with other forged or expanded Durham privileges.<sup>258</sup> But

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<sup>257</sup>The appendix prints the interpolations in a smaller font; see below.

<sup>258</sup>Bates, "Forged Charters," p. 121, remarks of the set that "The scale of the interdependence is very great and the slavishness of the copying notable."

the first section of the text shows few parallels. The tone and style are unique, and perhaps uniquely Thomas'. This confirmation seems to stand as the most sustained piece of Thomas' writing to survive.

Narrative sources at Durham confirm Thomas' generous treatment of his suffragan. Problems which we might expect in their treatment of Thomas rarely materialize. Because Durham historians represent the transition to a monastic regime as "progress," we look for tension in their accounts of York, which remained secular. However, the chroniclers do not seem to have felt their subjection to York inappropriate because of its secular status. Monks of course fare better under Durham's pen than canons, but their relations with Thomas had less to do with philosophical issues, and more to do with liberty.

On the whole, the Durham sources treat Thomas with respect. They acknowledge his learning and culture. They praise him for granting liberties to their church. He served admirably as their metropolitan, largely fulfilling their desire to be left alone. If they make any complaint at all, it is that he was too distant a metropolitan. On the one occasion when suffragan Durham needed a strong metropolitan, Thomas stepped aside. Loyalty to the crown outweighed his duty to protect his suffragan, and he refused to support William of St. Calais during his trial in November of 1088.<sup>259</sup>

As his most important suffragan (and for a time, his only suffragan), Durham represented an important ally for St. Peter's. It was sensible for Thomas to pledge the inviolability of St. Cuthbert's

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<sup>259</sup>This episode is considered in Chapter 8.

property and ministers in his diocese: and in fact, the grant was hardly a generous one. Thomas apparently added little to Durham's existing property in Yorkshire, merely confirmed what was already being held. He saw no need to win Durham's favours at the expense of his own church.

Rather, Thomas appears to have regarded Durham as an adjunct of St. Peter's. He used St. Cuthbert's as a northern outpost to undertake duties out of easy reach of York. Thomas ceded to the bishop of Durham the pastoral care and archdeaconry of Carlisle, recovered from the Scots in 1092.<sup>260</sup> Carlisle remained under his metropolitan authority, but the grant gave Durham responsibilities which would have drained the slim resources of York's chapter. Teviotdale similarly fell to Durham to administer.<sup>261</sup> Thomas appears to have guarded York's resources carefully, and strictly enforced the boundaries of Durham's responsibility. Perhaps he resented endowing St. Cuthbert unnecessarily. A letter from Thomas to Algar the clerk reprimands the latter for distributing chrism and holy oil in the parish of Durham, instead of the Scottish church for which it was intended.<sup>262</sup>

The primacy settlement of 1072 had awarded the Scottish sees to Thomas' province. Lanfranc certainly never expected Thomas to

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<sup>260</sup>*Acta* #2, dated 1092 x 1 January 1096 or 28 May 1099 x 18 November 1100. The later date would put this charter in the pontificate of Ranulf Flambard, but the former seems preferable, as William II recovered Carlisle from the Scots in 1092 and granted jurisdiction to the bp. of Durham in a charter printed *Regesta*, i, # 478.

<sup>261</sup>Probably until 1099, according to Simeon. See *Acta* #6, note.

<sup>262</sup>The text is in the appendix, from *Acta* #6. Although either Thomas could have written the letter, Teviotdale fell under Durham's jurisdiction probably only until 1099, which disqualifies Thomas II.

assert his control of the northern bishoprics. William the Conqueror had not even attempted to assert military control over territory north of Lindisfarne. But if Thomas could generate two suffragans from Scotland, he would be able to offset the loss of Worcester and Lincoln. Three suffragans would enable him to form a viable province: the very circumstance which Lanfranc hoped to prevent.

Again, the evidence is slim, but we are fortunate that the few sources that survive are especially eloquent. It is clear that as Thomas began to assert his authority over Scottish bishoprics, in particular Orkney and St. Andrews, Lanfranc sought to counter him.

Soon after the primacy settlement, Thomas began negotiations to secure the bishopric of Orkney as a suffragan. The sources do not tell us how Thomas approached Earl Paul (c. 1065-c. 1098) to request that he send his bishop-elect to York for consecration. The three previous bishops there had been suffragans of Bremen.<sup>263</sup> But as archbishop Adelbert had died on 16 March 1072, perhaps Earl Paul found Thomas' overtures not unwelcome. Circumstances favoured Thomas' first metropolitan venture into Scotland, and he proceeded carefully.

Sometime after the council in the summer of 1072 but before the ceremony took place on 3 March 1073, Thomas of Bayeux wrote to Lanfranc to ask him to send two bishops from the southern province to York. The letter, preserved at Canterbury with Lanfranc's correspondence, is one of Thomas' few extant writings. It

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<sup>263</sup>See *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae...*, pp. 247-9. Gibson summarizes the circumstances in the introduction to *LL*, #12.

bears quoting at length not only because of its relevance to Thomas' actions as metropolitan, but for what it reveals of his character.

Thomas' salutation is a model of epistolary art:

To the most reverend and holy Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury and supreme pastor of all Britain, Thomas his vassal and (if it does not seem presumptuous to his holiness) archbishop of the church of York: may he open the gates of heaven to the just and close them to the unjust as justly as St. Peter.<sup>264</sup>

Thomas disarms Lanfranc by acknowledging him as supreme pastor of Britain, and himself as merely his vassal, but refrains from dignifying him with the title "*primas*." Canterbury will find no proof text here for York's acceptance of Lanfranc's primacy. Thomas' undercuts his deference with a tongue-in-cheek query to see if Lanfranc will let him keep his title of archbishop of York: perhaps even that has become presumptuous to claim? The comparison of Lanfranc to St. Peter is also double-edged. It elevates Lanfranc to the status of apostle, but also dignifies Thomas. York, not Canterbury, was St. Peter's church.

But in case his salutation was thought too daring, Thomas hastened to assert his filial devotion. He is Lanfranc's son, his church the daughter of Lanfranc's.

Most holy father, your son cries out to you! Your daughter rather, the church of York, as though running back to her mother's arms, makes filial entreaty to that church which in

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<sup>264</sup>Printed *LL*, #12; the English translation here is Gibson's, but the text is from BL Cotton Nero A.vii, f. 15r-v. *Piisimo & sanctissimo cantuariorum archiepiscopo, totius quoque britanniae summo pastori, L. thomas fidelis suus & nisi praesumptuosum sanctitati suae uideatur, eboracensis aecclesiae archiepiscopus, coeli portas petri uice iustis & iniustis iuste aperire et claudere;...*

God's providence you govern, that out of the abundance of her mother's wealth her own indigence should be relieved, for her strength is failing among these remote and barbarous peoples.<sup>265</sup>

Thomas represents himself as helpless in the face of the Yorkshire barbarians. This is probably no exaggeration: we will see in subsequent chapters that his church was destroyed and his canons scattered by rebellious northerners. He emphasizes that such a poor, disrupted see as York's could never pose a threat to richly-endowed Canterbury. Again, his attempt is to disarm. The next few sentences tell us why.

The meat of Thomas' letter is a request for Lanfranc to allow two bishops from the southern province to assist the archbishop of York at a consecration ceremony. He chooses his words carefully.

A certain cleric has come to us, whom Earl Paul sent from the Orkneys with sealed letters stating that he has granted to that cleric the office of bishop within his territory. Following the usage of his predecessors the cleric asks that we should consecrate him bishop. It would be unjust for us to refuse him his just petition. We therefore ask you, father, to send us two bishops with the help of whose prayers we may perform this sacrament in accordance with canon law.<sup>266</sup>

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<sup>265</sup>BL Cotton Nero A vii, f. 15r: *Ecce pater sanctissime filius tuus ad te clamat, sed magis filia eboracensis uidelicet aecclesia ad eam cui dispositione diuina praesides aecclesiam tanquam ad maternum recurrens sinum pie postulat ut ex abundantia maternarum deliciarum reparetur inopia suarum se deserentium immo longe & inter barbaras nationes positarum uirium.*

<sup>266</sup>Gibson translated "*cum litteris sigillatis*" in the singular; it has been changed here. BL Cotton Nero A.vii, f. 15r. *Siquidem uenit ad nos quidam clericus quem misit paulus comes cum litteris sigillatis de orchadum partibus, significans in eis episcopatum suae terrae eidem clerico se concessisse; At ille antecessorum suorum ordine custodito, postulat a nobis episcoporum se consecrari; Cui quod iste petit iniuste denegare non possumus; Precamur ergo ut nobis duos episcopos dirigat paternitas uestra, quorum fulti orationibus & auxilio, tante rei sacramentum canonice compleamus;...*

Thomas takes pains to provide Lanfranc with no grounds for objection. The clerk, Ralph, brought "sealed letters" stating his credentials: no irregularity there. Custom is appealed to; the bishop-elect is said to follow the practice of his predecessors in applying to York. We can not tell if Thomas knowingly misled Lanfranc on this point. The best evidence suggests that bishops immediately preceding Ralph looked elsewhere for consecration. It had been fifty years since an Orkney candidate came to York.<sup>267</sup> Finally, Thomas recalls the point of canon law which required three attending bishops, as if to suggest that Lanfranc would be flouting it if he refused to cooperate.

Thomas knew full well that Lanfranc's first thought would be for the precedent which York could claim. Acting as Thomas' assistants at a ceremony which took place at St. Peter's could clearly be taken to imply suffragan status. Not only Lanfranc would find this cause for concern. Thomas moved to allay the obvious fear.

The suspicion that our brother and fellow bishop Remigius entertained not long ago can be utterly dismissed: that on this precedent I shall from now on seek jurisdiction over the bishop of Dorchester or the bishop of Worcester. God is my witness that I shall never do this.<sup>268</sup>

Remigius' concern was warranted. Thomas had claimed both Dorchester and Worcester for his province. Wulfstan and Thomas, however, seemed likely to come to terms rather quickly. York's

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<sup>267</sup>Bishop Henry's exact dates are not known. He is thought to have flourished c. 1035.

<sup>268</sup>BL Cotton Nero A vii. ff. 15r-v: *Illā autem procul arceatur suspicio quam nuperrime nobis noster frater et coepiscopus subintulit/ Remigius, me scilicet in posterum quaesiturum dorcestrensis uel wigornensis episcopi hac de causa subiunctionem; Dico enim coram deo me nunquam hoc facturum.*

claim to Worcester was based on the tradition of holding the sees jointly, and as the papacy had nearly deposed Aldred for pluralism, Thomas seemed unlikely to prevail in this case. The matter of the Worcestershire manors which he inherited from Aldred was quickly settled (too quickly, according to Hugh the Chanter). Wulfstan and Thomas came to an arrangement. The Anglo-Saxon bishop perhaps even performed pastoral duties in the diocese of York when the new Norman incumbent feared for his own safety. Lanfranc saw no harm in sending Wulfstan of Worcester to assist in Ralph's consecration at York.

Remigius was another matter. Where the dispute with Worcester boiled down to tenurial matters, the issue with Dorchester continued to concern spiritual jurisdiction. The district of Lindsey proved especially contentious. Remigius claimed it for Dorchester, but its physical location thrust it into Thomas' diocese. Although the acta of the 1072 councils excluded Lindsey from the northern province, Thomas did not appear inclined to accept the settlement. At any rate, Lanfranc did not take any chances. Remigius stayed at home, and Peter of Lichfield (later Chester) went in his stead.

Despite his refusal to send Remigius, Lanfranc showed some sensitivity by sending Thomas prelates from bishoprics with historical ties to York. He could have underscored York's inadequacy by forcing Thomas to import prelates from deep in the southern province, and he did not. On the other hand, Wulfstan of Worcester and Peter of Lichfield were in the most convenient geographical positions for travelling to York, so perhaps Lanfranc's thoughtfulness

should not be overstated. In any event, Lanfranc took precautions against any later pretensions on Thomas' part.

Lanfranc's letters to Wulfstan and Peter of Lichfield provide the clearest evidence possible of his attempts to curtail Thomas' authority. But the text also inadvertently conveys the effectiveness of Thomas' own letter. Thomas knew his teacher well. In describing York's right to consecrate bishops of Orkney, Lanfranc heightens Thomas' rather vague use of "*antecessorum suorum ordine*" into "*ex antiquo more sui iuris est.*"<sup>269</sup> This was just the impression Thomas had hoped to instill in Lanfranc, and if he had seen the letter he must have been delighted that Lanfranc interpreted York's consecration of one or two island bishops as constituting a legal prerogative.

Lanfranc stresses that Wulfstan and Peter will act at Lanfranc's behest, and not at Thomas'. Thomas asks, but Lanfranc "requires" and "directs."<sup>270</sup> Wulfstan and Peter are told (three times) to "assist", but says Lanfranc, only "on our directive." Above all, Lanfranc tells them to guard this correspondence well. He foresees future disputes with York.

And in case you are apprehensive that either this archbishop or his successors may try to use this as a pretext at some time or another to seize jurisdiction over your churches, with an eye to the future, my brothers, I have made a point of sending you

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<sup>269</sup>BL Cotton Nero A. vii, f. 15v: *Et quia ex antiquo more sui iuris est prefatarum insularum presules consecrare, petit a me ut mittam sibi de nostris suffraganis duos qui tantae rei sacramentum cum eo ualeant celebrare.*

<sup>270</sup>BL Cotton Nero A.vii, f. 15v: *Rogantes itaque precipimus et precipientes rogamus quatinus omni excusatione summoti illuc eatis, et ex nostro precepto secum quod iustum est in tantae rei misterio compleatis. Non enim decet ut qui sacrandus in hanc terram uenit, et cum omni humilitate sacrari se postulat, inopia adiutorum a tanto regno non sacratus abscedat; Terminum huius consecrationis lator uobis praesentium indicabit.*

the letter which the archbishop himself sent to me. I advise you to keep both that and the letter I send you now in the archives of your churches as a record for your successors.<sup>271</sup>

They need not have bothered. In his customary fashion, Thomas had crafted his words carefully. As he had promised, he never used the consecration ceremony as a precedent. But he used every other precedent he could lay his hands on.

Thomas consecrated Ralph, or Rodulph, as bishop of Orkney on 3 March 1073. Later sources would claim that Thomas received a profession of obedience from Ralph, and given the circumstances of his own consecration, it indeed seems likely that Thomas would have required a formal promise. The Digby chronicler cites only the first line of Ralph's profession, so we do not know the form on which Thomas insisted.<sup>272</sup> It was likely to have been stringent. Thomas badly needed to secure Orkney as a permanent suffragan of York.<sup>273</sup>

Aside from Orkney, York maintained historical connections with other Scottish sees.<sup>274</sup> Tradition recorded that Cynesige had consecrated two bishops of Glasgow. Thomas may have attempted to

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<sup>271</sup>BL Cotton Nero A. vii, ff. 15v-16r: *Et ne forte solliciti sitis putantes quod uel ipse uel successores eius hac occasione super aecclesias uestras ius prelationis quandoque conentur arripere, litteras quas ipse michi transmisit fraternitati uestrae sollicitudinem de futuro gerens curauit transmittere; Quas et has quas uobis transmitto in archiuis aecclesiarum uestrarum ob memoriam futurorum seruatum iri praecipio.*

<sup>272</sup>Digby, p. 363. Brooke notes (*Hugh*, p. xlvi, n.) that "a text with the same opening, but addressed by a Bishop Richard to an Archbishop Richard, survives in Harleian Manuscript 433, iii. 84. No conjunction of a bishop and archbishop both called Richard occurred in the medieval period, and it seems likely that the text is a bungled version of Rodulf's profession to Thomas I." If this is indeed the case, Thomas extracted a profession "even more emphatic than the common run of such documents in its undertakings towards the mother church." Brooke's conjecture is seductive, but cannot be taken as secure.

<sup>273</sup>In this, he was reasonably successful. Brooke summarizes the developments of the next pontificates in *Hugh*, pp. xlvi-xlvii

<sup>274</sup>See *HCY* iii, #18/ *Acta* #6.

reestablish connections with the diocese. Late copies of a letter of Thomas I or II survive at Durham, showing that the archbishop of York supplied chrism for the church of Glasgow. Durham preserved the letter because it criticized a clerk named Algar for dispensing the chrism in Teviotdale, diocese of Durham, contrary to the archbishop's orders. The authorship of the letter is not certain. The astringent tone seems more likely to have come from the pen of Thomas I than his torpid nephew.<sup>275</sup> The Durham chronicler reported that Durham lost jurisdiction over Teviotdale in 1099, which gives a terminus ad quem in the archiepiscopate of Thomas I.<sup>276</sup> But the chronicler's dating is not always trustworthy.<sup>277</sup> Altogether, all we can say is that it is likely that Thomas would have sought to promote relations with Glasgow.<sup>278</sup>

But the most important Scottish see was St. Andrews, and we know for certain that Thomas turned his attentions there. He had

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<sup>275</sup>Printed *Acta* #6. Durham D&C Cartulary I fo. 183v., s. xv in.; and Cartulary III fo. 248r s. xv in., etc. Burton prints from *HCY* iii, 97 (from the latter of the Durham mss). *Ipse tibi ore ad os prohibui cum per te crisma et oleum ad Glasguensem ecclesiam misi ne crisma vel oleum illud dares in parrochiam Dunelm(ensis) episcopi. Tu vero illud contra defensionem meam in Tevegetedale dedisti de qua ecclesiam Dunelmensem saisitam inveni,. Mando igitur tibi et episcopali auctoritate prohibeo et omnibus presbiteris de Tevegetedale ne de crismate et oleo aliquod ministerium amodo faciatis nisi per octo dies tantum postquam breve istud videritis ut interim requirere possitis crisma a Dunelmensi ecclesia que vobis illud dare solita est. Quod si post illos octo dies de crismate quod misi aliquam Christianitatem facere presumpseritis a divino officio vos suspendo [donec] diratiocinatum sit ad quam ecclesiam pertineat.* The author thinks she saw a copy of this letter in the MRA, which would be earlier than the other mss. But in the more than 400 pages, she has been unable to trace it.

<sup>276</sup>Symeon, i, p. 139.

<sup>277</sup>In *Acta* #6, note, Burton gives the opposing case from Watt, *Fasti*, 143; and A.O. Anderson, ed., *Scottish Annals from English Chroniclers 500-1286* (1908) 97 note, 129 note, 133 note.

<sup>278</sup>Barrow, *Kingship*, p. 70, notes that Glasgow and St. Andrews were "the two richest and most important sees." At this date, St. Andrews perhaps held the edge.

some competition from Lanfranc. As the principal see of the Scottish kingdom, St. Andrews was closely allied with the royal house. Lanfranc seems to have undercut the titular grant of Scotland to the northern province by seeking to connect the royal family with Canterbury. Some of his correspondence with queen Margaret survives, showing Lanfranc as Margaret's spiritual adviser.<sup>279</sup> When Margaret needed monks for the new house at Dunfermline, Lanfranc sent some of his own. But despite Lanfranc's probable efforts, Thomas managed to claim St. Andrews itself as a suffragan. According to Hugh the Chanter, King Malcolm sent bishop-elect Fothadh (ob. 1093) to York for his consecration.<sup>280</sup> Again, Thomas required a profession to solidify his metropolitan position. The Digby chronicler preserves part of it.<sup>281</sup>

All in all, Thomas proved remarkably successful at transforming Lanfranc's nominal grant of Scotland into reality.<sup>282</sup> Earl Paul of Orkney and Caithness and King Malcolm both acknowledged him as spiritual head of their territories by sending him their candidates. Bishops Ralph and Fothadh both travelled to York and made professions of obedience that bound them to observe York as metropolitan. Technically, York now existed as a self-

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<sup>279</sup>See Gibson, *Lanfranc*, pp. 128-30, and Barrow, *Kingdom*, pp. 167, 193-9.

<sup>280</sup>*Hugh*, p. 50. Brooke thinks it "unlikely" that Malcolm would have chosen York (*Hugh*, p. xlix).

<sup>281</sup>*Digby*, p. 363.

<sup>282</sup>Barrow, *Kingship*, p. 69, perhaps slightly underplays Thomas' role in Scotland. "But the Windsor ruling (1072) was probably not widely known in Scotland, and was certainly never put into effect." Barrow tends to skip over Thomas I in his analysis of York's role in Scotland; for Thomas' purpose it mattered little whether the people of Scotland knew he was their metropolitan, as long as a few bishops looked to him. However, it is certainly true that Thomas' successors held little influence over the Scottish churches, except in Galloway.

sufficient province. With suffragans at Durham, Orkney, and St. Andrews, Thomas could consecrate bishops-elect without resorting to prelates from the southern province. Lanfranc had lost.

Metropolitans historically enjoyed five rights: consecration of suffragans, visitation of suffragan dioceses, administration of vacant sees, convocation of provincial councils, and hearing of appeals. It is not clear how many of these rights Thomas actually exercised. He consecrated Ralph of Orkney, Fothadh of St. Andrews, and Durham's William of St. Calais and Ranulf Flambard. He visited churches in his care, though formal visitations are not recorded; he was at Ripon, for example, when he died.<sup>283</sup> The right of authority *sede vacante* was denied him, for during the vacancy of Durham, the monks obtained a royal privilege to exclude the archbishop of York. During Canterbury's vacancy, however, Thomas exercised the rights of that see to consecrate the bishops of Norwich, Chichester, and Bangor.

As for Thomas' court, little evidence survives. The council of Lillebonne in 1080 numbered the offenses of which a bishop has cognizance, but the York sources do not tell us if Thomas fined criminal clerics, as he was entitled to do.<sup>284</sup> A letter to the archbishop from Lanfranc, however, strongly suggests that adulterers received no little of Thomas of Bayeux's attention.<sup>285</sup> Lanfranc congratulates Thomas for wisely seeking advice concerning the problem of husbands who wished to leave their wives *causa*

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<sup>283</sup>The *GP*, p. 285, following the *VW*, records that Thomas asked Wulfstan to perform a visitation for him, either, in Worcester's eyes, because Thomas was ignorant of English or because he was afraid of violence.

<sup>284</sup>*Mansi* XX, 555 for the Cl. of Lillebonne, 1080.

<sup>285</sup>*LL*, #23. Thomas' own letter is not preserved in Lanfranc's collection, probably because it has no bearing on the primacy, or York's jurisdiction.

*fornicationis*. Citing the gospels of Luke and Mark, Lanfranc argues that neither partner may marry another while the other spouse lives, and counsels Thomas,

But if a man denies that he has married the woman who is thought to be his wife, you should either show that he is lying, by reliable testimony or some kind of clear proof, or you should drop his case for the moment until the position is better understood.<sup>286</sup>

Although Thomas' original enquiry to Lanfranc does not survive, it is clear that the archbishop of York exercised his right to hear marital cases.

Whether Thomas convoked councils is less clear. Beverley's fifteenth-century Provost's Book reports that in 1092 Thomas "*accessit Beverlacum et convocatis ipsius ecclesie canonicis universis...*" for the purpose of appointing a provost.<sup>287</sup> This statement must be treated with some caution, as the author writes specifically to attest to the antiquity and dignity of the office of provost at Beverley. It is possible that Thomas convened some sort of hearing at the time of William of St. Calais' troubles, but the evidence is obscure. William of St. Calais' historian suggests only that Thomas and William met sometime before the trial in November, 1088, and that Thomas refused his sympathy.<sup>288</sup> We know that

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<sup>286</sup>*LL*, #23: *Eum uero qui mulierem quae uxor putatur desponsasse se abnegat, aut euentibus testimoniis seu quibuslibet claris indiciis mentiri eum ostendite, aut in presentiarum quoadusque res melius clarescat causam eius omittite.*

<sup>287</sup>Provost's Book, fo. 81v.

<sup>288</sup>*DIV*, p. 179.

Thomas attended Lanfranc's councils, but it is far from clear that he held meetings in his own province.<sup>289</sup>

Thomas received a pallium, symbol of his metropolitan office, from Alexander II at Rome in October 1071.<sup>290</sup> If he had his crozier carried before him in the southern province, as later archbishops of York insisted was their right, the sources are silent on the subject. The council of London established only the hierarchy of seating arrangements: Thomas was dignified with the position immediately to the left of England's other metropolitan.

Above all, in measuring Thomas of Bayeux's achievements as metropolitan, one must recall the state of the northern province at the time of his predecessor's death. Even Aldred, a remarkably accomplished negotiator, had been unable to arrange settlements with Worcester and Lincoln. Although Thomas failed to establish jurisdiction over either diocese, he both obtained compensation and maintained successful working relationships with the very bishops he argued with. He validated Wulfstan's authority, for example, by allowing him to dedicate a church founded in the diocese of York by an Englishman, and by delegating his right of visitation.<sup>291</sup> If Thomas' contest with Remigius proved more heated, we must also suspect that prelates who appear so regularly together in the sources, must have conferred about the similar reforms each directed at his church. Thomas of Bayeux began his tenure at York with

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<sup>289</sup>Wulfstan of Worcester left a record of a diocesan synod in 1092. See *The Cartulary of Worcester Priory*, ed. R.R. Darlington, Pipe Roll Society new series 38 (1968), #52, where Wulfstan declares that he is nearing death and wished to set his ecclesiastical affairs in order.

<sup>290</sup>JL 4693; see above for the MRA reference.

<sup>291</sup>See VW, p. 45, GP, p. 285.

almost nothing in the way of metropolitan authority. But thirty years later, he left his own successor a viable province.

## 5. The Diocesan

Thomas of Bayeux's archdiocese of York was the largest see in England.<sup>292</sup> This chapter will consider Thomas' care of the collegiate churches, monastic communities and the parish churches under his authority in the diocese of York, and his peculiars in other dioceses. He felt a special responsibility for the old collegiate churches, of which his own Minster at York was one. We shall see that although Thomas continued the reforms of his Anglo-Saxon predecessor in places, where circumstances allowed he implemented significant changes. Perhaps most importantly, we shall see Thomas' relationship with the monastic foundations in his diocese in an unconventional light. Although he vigorously defended the rights of St. Peter's if a monastery encroached on lands of his chapter, Thomas actively encouraged the expansion of the religious orders. In general, Thomas seems to have devoted more attention to diocesan matters than to metropolitan affairs.

Outside of St. Peter's itself, the three most important churches of the diocese were the old minsters at Beverley, Ripon, and Southwell. The vast physical expanse of the territory required more ministrations than one foundation could provide, and St. Peter's, York, served the center of the diocese, Beverley the East Riding, Ripon the West Riding, and Southwell Nottinghamshire. These collegiate

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<sup>292</sup>York and Lincoln vie for the title of largest diocese; York's is larger in area, but far less populous.

churches served as centers for the distribution of chrism, and they were no less important to the diocese than York Minster itself. Thomas' predecessor, Aldred, had made a point of endowing them generously.

The Anglo-Saxon minsters at Beverley, Ripon, and Southwell shared the same arrangement as that of St. Peter's, York. Indeed, perhaps only York's historical situation as the head of the Northumbrian kingdom distinguished it from the other three by endowing it with the status of cathedral. Although evidence is scarce, it seems that all four of the diocese's principal churches were served by "culdees," canons living under no specific vow, not bound to celibacy, and differing from ordinary parish priests in that they lived together. There were probably no more than seven at any time before the Conquest, at any of the four churches.

Thomas seems to have respected the Anglo-Saxon arrangements of the three subordinate minsters. Again, the lack of substantial evidence may mislead. The lesser collegiate churches produced few chronicle accounts; it was all they could do to preserve charters. But the limited evidence that survives suggests that Thomas made dramatically fewer changes to the chapters of Beverley, Ripon, and Southwell than he instituted at his own church. He was not uninterested. We know he visited the collegiate churches, although we are not told about formal "visitations." But because York was the only church under his eye, certain innovations which could work effectively there proved inappropriate for foundations not under his immediate control.

For instance, the evidence suggests that Thomas established fixed prebends only sparingly. Beverley provides the fullest sources on this point, but even here much must be conjectured. We are told in a late account that Thomas I imposed the office of provost on the canons of Beverley in 1092, to manage the chapter's landed wealth. Writing in 1416, Simon Russell, the provost's official, provides the following account.<sup>293</sup>

...And so, with certain canons of the church being resident, and certain others in remote parts, matter of question often arose between the same canons and others beneficed in the same church, which of them should work in demesne churches and which on those which were still common to them...<sup>294</sup>

The division of some of Beverley's property into prebends created some confusion, and perhaps some competition, among the canons. Russell records that Thomas convoked all the canons of the church, and others whom the present business concerned, to find a permanent solution to the problem. The answer was simple: Thomas delegated responsibility for administering the new system to a man raised among the chapter at York. With the consent of every canon of Beverley, the other interested parties, and William Rufus, the archbishop made his nephew the first provost of Beverley.<sup>295</sup>

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<sup>293</sup>Russell is often unreliable. He seems to have copied from earlier sources rather cavalierly: Thomas of Bayeux is said to have been "royal chaplain and treasurer," rather than royal chaplain and treasurer of Bayeux. *Provost's Book*, f. 81v. Moreover, Leach's editing of the ms in *Memorials of Beverley Minster* is often careless. The citations here are from the ms, not Leach.

<sup>294</sup>*Provost's Book*, f. 81v: ...*residentibus itaque quibusdam Beverlacensis ecclesie canonicis et quibusdam in remotis agentibus, suborta est sepius inter eosdem canonicos et alios in eadem ecclesia beneficiatos questionis materia, quis eorum in dominicis ecclesiis et circa ea que adhuc illis erant communia pro communi operas daret ...*

<sup>295</sup>*Provost's Book*, f. 81v: ... *accessit Beverlacum et convocatis ipsius ecclesie canonicis universis, et aliis quos presens tangebatur negocium pastoralis*

Russell spelt out the duties of the first provost, which made clear that the official would remain outside the chapter itself. The dignity was to be not *in* but *of* the church. Thomas the Younger would manage all the church's temporalities which were held in common, hold the advowson of all dependent churches, and the right to appoint the chancellor, precentor, sacristan, the seven clerks of the Berfell, and other officials of the Bedern.<sup>296</sup> The details Russell provides here strongly suggest that he has telescoped events. He writes on behalf of a fifteenth-century provost, who wishes to testify to the antiquity of the powers he claims. But Russell seems to have used an earlier text, at least in part. His punctuation is so erroneous in places that it looks as if he copied a difficult Latin text without understanding it. His list of livestock delivered to Thomas the Younger by the Chapter seems unnecessarily specific for an invention.<sup>297</sup>

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*solicitudine curavit opportunum apponere remedium pro perpetuo duraturum. Porro de singulorum Beverlacensis ecclesie canonicorum, ac aliorum quorum intererat in hac parte consensu et assensu, generali annuente Rege Anglorum Willelmo secundo. Idem pater Thomam nepotem suum, dictum Junioem, ejusdem Regis capellanum primum ecclesie collegiate Sancti Johannis Beverlacensis prepositum ordinavit et constituit, A.D. 1092.*

<sup>296</sup>*Provost's Book, f. 81v: Ipsumque prepositum et successores suos Beverlacensis ecclesie prepositos temporalia, Beverlacensis ecclesie dominia que predictis canonicis et ministris extra ecclesiam tam in aquis quam in terris eatenus erant communia, cum suis pertinentiis et omni advocacione ecclesiarum eisdem annexa una cum patronatu Cancellarii Precentoris Sacriste et septem clericorum de Berella, et aliorum officiariorum in Bedderna, preter ea que iure hereditario succedunt [an interesting exception]... dictam preposituram Beverlacensem fore statuit non in set de ecclesia dignacione, unde nec stallum in choro nec locum in capitulo eidem preposito eius ne successoribus prepositis, qui pro tempore fuerint, appropriavit, nec etiam assignavit.*

<sup>297</sup>Russell lists the animals handed over to the provostry: 92 bulls, 42 draught cattle, 80 cows, 120 bullocks and veal calves, 600 sheep, 460 ewes, 86 boars, sows, and pigs. *Provost's Book, f 82r.* Russell claims that Thomas I instituted that all future provosts should have the same "*numerum animalium diverse speciei,*" so perhaps his account is suspect.

Russell's account is extremely untrustworthy on one important issue. It seems highly unlikely that Thomas of Bayeux would have relinquished the right to appoint Beverley's dignitaries. Simon Russell claimed that Thomas had invested his nephew with the authority to appoint a chancellor, precentor, and other chapter officials. This statement conflicts with earlier evidence. First of all, the offices of chancellor and precentor are not known to have existed in the eleventh century. If they were introduced that early (as they were at York Minster), they were surely introduced by Thomas himself. He would surely have reserved the "patronatus" of the dignitaries for his own office. Russell seems to be annexing authority for his own provost.

If Thomas of Bayeux created or authorized the creation of separate prebends at Beverley, he must have done it after 1086. Domesday Book reveals that the canons held their lands in common in 1086, and later evidence confirms that long after York's clerks maintained separate prebends, Beverley's canons lived off a common fund.

Reform of the collegiate church of Southwell, like Beverley and Ripon, had been begun by Aldred. Thomas' predecessor had constructed a refectory here, and endowed the canons with lands.<sup>298</sup> The Digby chronicler termed Aldred's endowment "prebends," but too much should not be made of this. A few sentences later, the chronicler carefully characterizes Thomas' endowments at York as "separate prebends," in order to distinguish them from the earlier

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<sup>298</sup>*Digby*, p. 353.

arrangement. The canons of Southwell before the Conquest, like their brethren at Beverley and Ripon, lived the common life promoted by Aldred.

Because of its geographical position, Southwell must have become especially important to Thomas after it became clear that the diocese of Lincoln was lost to him. The collegiate church marked the southernmost point of his province, as well as his diocese. Possibly because of this fact, Thomas preserved his position as head of the chapter. Unlike Beverley, which Thomas provided with a provost, Southwell maintained no official as head of its chapter. It is of course true that Beverley required the service of a provost because of its greater landed wealth. The sources do not explain why Beverley flourished at such a great rate, while Southwell and Ripon stagnated. Geography explains much-- the market town of Beverley was situated in a prime spot near the Humber-- but not all.

Thomas is unlikely to have founded separate prebends at Southwell. Domesday Book lists the church of St. Mary's, Southwell as a subtenant of the Archbishop of York.<sup>299</sup> The Survey on one occasion describes the canons holding estates which St Mary's had in 1066.<sup>300</sup> Here the canons appear as a body equivalent to the church itself; the property is clearly held in common. In another entry regarding St. Mary's lands held of the Archbishop of York, the canons are not named explicitly, but are represented by their church.<sup>301</sup>

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<sup>299</sup>DB, Notts., 283a. The heading for the section which includes the canons' holdings is *Terra Archiepiscopi Eboracensis*.

<sup>300</sup>DB, Notts., 283a, Cropwell.

<sup>301</sup>DB, Notts., 283b, Norwell.

Both entries indicate that the estates were held by St. Mary's TRE; Thomas has not made any new endowments here.

Some of Southwell's Domesday estates may have been given to the chapter by Thomas' predecessor, Aldred. Aldred's gifts, despite Digby's use of the term "*in prebendam*," were not fixed territorial prebends in the later sense: that is, they were not intended to support individual canons. The Digby chronicler carefully uses the term "separate prebends" when this is what he means, and it is clear that Aldred's endowments were common. Aldred instructed Southwell's canons to live together in the cathedral close, enriched the chapter as a body, and generally enjoined his clergy to follow the *vita apostolica*.

One ambiguous Domesday entry pertaining to Southwell has led a later historian to believe that Thomas overset Aldred's arrangements, and established prebends at St. Mary's. An entry for Woodborough shows one clerk holding one bovate of land of the archbishop.<sup>302</sup> Leach took it for granted that the clerk was a canon of Southwell Minster, but this is unlikely.<sup>303</sup> First of all, Woodborough is said to pertain to Southwell, not to "the church of Southwell," or "St. Mary's of Southwell." The manor of Southwell, the first of the entries under "Lands of the Archbishop of York," is said to possess twelve outliers, which are not enumerated.<sup>304</sup> "*Ad Suduuelle*

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<sup>302</sup>DB, Notts., 283c. *In Vdeburg 7 bovatae terrae ad geldam... Ad Suduuelle pertinent. Ibidem habet 1 clericus sub archiepiscopo 1 bovatae terrae ad geldam.* See Leach, *Visitations... of Southwell*, pp. xxv-xxvi.

<sup>303</sup>*Visitations... of Southwell*, p. xxvi: "The words '*Ad Suduuelles pertin.*' taken in conjunction with the statement that one clerk under the archbishop holds a bovate, must surely mean that it belonged to the church of Southwell, and that the clerk was a prebendary."

<sup>304</sup>DB, Notts., 283a.

*pertinet*" indicates that Woodborough is a berewick of Southwell; a possession of St. Mary's would be designated something like "*Sancta Maria de Sudewelle habet.*" Land held by Southwell Minster in Leicestershire, for example, appears as "*Haec terra est de elemosina Sanctae Mariae de Sudewelle.*"<sup>305</sup> Leach seems to have been misled by the fact that Woodborough appears as a single prebend in later years.<sup>306</sup> But it is common to find single prebends created out of land once held by the archbishop, and the assumption that the Southwell canons held Woodborough in 1086 is unsound.

In the second place, it is impossible to establish that the cleric holding one bovaté of Thomas of Bayeux was a canon of Southwell Minster. Unnamed clerks appearing as tenants of the archbishop of York abound throughout Domesday Book; they are not all chapter canons. Parish priests are usually indicated by the term "*presbyter*," but not every *presbyter* was a parish priest. "*Clericus*" applied to a clerk in minor or major orders, a chaplain or a member of a body of canons. In the context of the Southwell entry, the identification of a clerk with a canon of the minster is particularly tenuous. On the one occasion where the members of the church are mentioned, the scribe refers to them as "*canonici*," not "*clerici*." Consistency is of course not the rule in Domesday Book, but nonetheless, no case can be made for Thomas of Bayeux's founding of prebends at Southwell on the basis of the Woodborough entry.

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<sup>305</sup>DB, Leics., 230d.

<sup>306</sup>Leach discusses the origins of Southwell's prebends in *Visitations... of Southwell*, pp. xxv-xxvii.

Leach might have adduced another, even more obscure Domesday entry for evidence of early prebends at Southwell Minster. He would have been wrong. We are told that in the manor of Southwell "three clerics have 1 1/2 carucates of land, of which two bovates are [held] in prebend."<sup>307</sup> The three clerks here are more likely to be members of the minster than the one cleric holding land at Woodborough, if only because St. Mary's seems the likeliest candidate for a foundation supporting three (or more) clerks. We do not know of another church with a corporate body in or around Southwell. It is difficult to understand precisely what the prebend of two bovates signifies. The land was held by three clerks, so we see at once it was not a fixed prebend but a common holding. This harmonizes with the Digby chronicler's use of the term prebend in regard to Aldred's endowment at Southwell. But it is not clear how or why only part of the property is prebendal. It is possible that the Domesday compiler has conflated separate entries, and that part of the property was retained by one of the clerks individually. We will see at York that clerks sometimes retain special rights over previously-owned property even after they join a cathedral chapter, and this might explain a distinction between prebendal and non-prebendal property.<sup>308</sup> But all that seems certain is that this Domesday entry does not describe a fixed, individual prebend at Southwell in 1086.

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<sup>307</sup>DB, Notts., 283a. *In Svdwelle cum Bereuuitis suis... Tres clerici habent 1 carucatam terrae et dimidiam; de ea sunt 2 bovatae in prebenda.*

<sup>308</sup>Archdeacon Durand's endowments at York will be discussed below.

This negative evidence may mislead. We have seen that Domesday Book provides no evidence for separate prebends at any of the collegiate churches in the diocese of York. At Beverley, the Provost's Book survives to testify that Thomas of Bayeux had constituted some form of prebends at St. John's by 1092. No such evidence exists for Southwell or Ripon (where the canons appear in Domesday Book only as the archbishop's subtenants)<sup>309</sup>, and no firm conclusions about Thomas' arrangements there can be drawn.

Thomas' work at the collegiate churches of his diocese probably struck a balance between preserving the traditional communal arrangements and imposing new discipline. As early as the beginning of the eleventh century, under Wulfstan, proper arrangements had been debated for the collegiate foundations. It seems likely that for most of his pontificate, Thomas continued the reforms visualized by Wulfstan and initiated by Aldred.<sup>310</sup> Based on the evidence for Beverley, it appears that Thomas ultimately resolved the laxity of the Anglo-Saxon arrangements not by insisting on a strictly common life, as the earlier reformers, steeped in the monastic movement, had done. Rather, he combined the positive aspects of the communal life (which inhibited clerical marriage) with the practical advantages of non-residence for some canons. Non-residents could both oversee distant properties, and minister to parishioners out of reach of the mother church.

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<sup>309</sup>DB, 303d. In St. Wilfrid's Territory, Ripon, Thomas holds the manor that was Aldred's; the canons hold fourteen bovates.

<sup>310</sup>Hugh the Chanter's account suggests that this was the case for St. Peter's, York. Thomas' first action was to restore the common buildings there, and the evidence suggests that his prebendal innovations occurred late in his term. See the following chapters.

We do not know if Thomas augmented the size of the chapters of Beverley, Ripon, and Southwell, as he did at York.<sup>311</sup> Beverley at least was thriving. St. John's seems to have been administered similarly to Thomas' own church of St. Peter's, probably because it was wealthy enough to support both resident and non-resident canons. Beverley's stronger chronicle tradition may distort the picture; but the fact that Ripon and Southwell did not devote equivalent attention to historical writing is itself suggestive. Ripon, and particularly Southwell, may have lagged behind.<sup>312</sup> But all three of the old minsters continued to serve their function as grand parish churches.

In addition to the collegiate churches of his diocese, Thomas also maintained authority over "peculiars" outside his own see. The parish church of Hexham became a special project for Thomas. His actions there reveal both a desire to reform and a flexible attitude towards the less-than-ideal realities of northern religious life. Hexham had once been an important Northumbrian church, but political upheaval had virtually destroyed it. Accounts of Hexham's revival after the Conquest praise Thomas for his interest in reviving religious life in the north.

Thomas' re-establishment of the church of Hexham is documented by Aelred of Rievaulx, whose grandfather was placed at Hexham by Thomas.<sup>313</sup> Aelred's grandfather was a canon of Durham

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<sup>311</sup>For York, see the following chapters.

<sup>312</sup>Southwell at least won privileges for her prebendaries more slowly than the other churches. Hugh the Chanter (p. 52) reports that Thomas II obtained rights for Southwell that were already enjoyed by Ripon and Beverley.

<sup>313</sup>*Aelred*, pp. 191ff.

called Eilaf, who, when faced with William of St. Calais' ultimatum in 1083, left St. Cuthbert's rather than take monastic vows. With Thomas of Bayeux's permission, according to Aelred, Eilaf attempted to reestablish the defunct church. Aelred naturally credits his grandfather with the impetus to restore Hexham, but the less partial Prior Richard represents Thomas as wishing to restore religious life in the north.<sup>314</sup>

Eilaf faced a difficult task at Hexham, and the revival hardly got off the ground. Eilaf died within two years of his appointment.<sup>315</sup> It seems that in 1085 that Thomas decided that the church of Hexham would never be viable in its current form. The care of a single canon had proved insufficient to restore the church; and although Eilaf was probably elderly, even a young clerk would find the task insurmountable. So, at least, Thomas appears to have felt. Rather than leaving Hexham to fend for itself any longer, Thomas decided to incorporate it with St. Peter's. Thomas constituted the church of Hexham as a prebend of York Minster.<sup>316</sup>

Hexham is the earliest prebend at York for which we have evidence. Thomas' establishment of fixed prebends at York will be discussed in detail in the following chapters; but his treatment of Hexham requires further attention here. The church's state was so ruinous as to be worthless. Thomas combined it with a more lucrative property, the vill of Holme "*Archiepiscopi*," near

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<sup>314</sup>*Prior Richard*, p. 50.

<sup>315</sup>*Aelred*, p. 191.

<sup>316</sup>*Prior Richard*, p. 50.

Fridaythorpe, to the east of York.<sup>317</sup> Unusually, we are told the prebendary's name: Richard de Maton, a (former) canon of Beverley Minster.<sup>318</sup>

Here we see an important aspect of Thomas' diocesan administration. He viewed the churches under his care not as individual foundations, but as parts of a whole. He redirected the resources of a flourishing church to one in trouble, and gave responsibility to an individual who would benefit from his church's improvement.

Thomas permitted, or perhaps even encouraged, Eilaf's son, Eilaf II, to remain at Hexham. According to Prior Richard, Richard de Maton shared his benefice with Eilaf the Younger, allowing him to continue to administer the church.<sup>319</sup> Thomas tacitly condoned the hereditary priesthood, something Lanfranc would never have done. If Eilaf II had lost the chance to continue in his father's position, he nonetheless received an assured benefice. Thomas' sensitivity ensured his praise by the Hexham chroniclers, and markedly contrasts with the precipitate action and harsh descriptions of Thomas II.<sup>320</sup>

Aside from Hexham, other churches outside the diocese of York demanded Thomas' attention. A dispute early in his episcopate centered around the church of St. Peter's, Gloucester, in the midst of

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<sup>317</sup>*Prior Richard*, p. 50. This prebend will be discussed in the following chapters.

<sup>318</sup>*Prior Richard*, p. 50.

<sup>319</sup>*Prior Richard*, p. 50.

<sup>320</sup>Eilaf II would be ousted by Thomas II when regular canons were installed at Hexham. See *Aelred*, p. 192. Walter Daniel records that Aelred's first miraculous act was to foresee the death of Thomas the Younger. His family was incredulous, but delighted.

the diocese of Worcester. As in other cases, Thomas of Bayeux inherited this problem from his predecessor. While serving as bishop of Worcester, Aldred had subjected St. Peter's, Gloucester, to his direction, and he continued to assert jurisdiction even after his departure for York. Edward the Confessor had countenanced the archbishop's control of monastic communities, arguably out of reforming impulses, but after the Conquest the community had no intention of allowing the situation to continue.<sup>321</sup>

York's inability to secure Worcester as a suffragan technically deprived Thomas of Bayeux of the right to continue Aldred's relationship with St. Peter's, Gloucester. We have seen, however, that in several cases Thomas did not view the Winchester accord as the final word on his jurisdiction, and St. Peter's, Gloucester, supplies another example of the archbishop's tenacity. While there is no evidence that Thomas sought to perpetuate the degree of control which Aldred exerted, he certainly held onto a number of manors which belonged to the church.

A pretended charter of 1070x1071 represents that William I forced Thomas to disgorge the Gloucester lands at the beginning of his archiepiscopate. The archbishop of Canterbury appears as the first witness to a charter recording that the king

...has confirmed to God and St. Peter and Abbot Serlo, and the monks of Gloucester, the lands which Archbishop Thomas of York held unjustly..., to hold freely according as it was stated by a jury (recognitum) in the king's presence that the said

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<sup>321</sup>Barlow discusses the "royal connivance" with Aldred and Stigand's monastic coups, *EC1066-1154*, p. 178.

lands belonged to St. Peter of Gloucester from the beginning, and that the archbishop had no right in those lands.<sup>322</sup>

The witness list alone exposes the charter as a forgery.<sup>323</sup> Further, Domesday evidence places the manors specified in the charter among the lands of the archbishop of York.<sup>324</sup> As of 1086, Thomas continued to maintained his grip on the property of St. Peter's, Gloucester.

The archbishop could hardly have expected to continue his tenure of the manors indefinitely. As in the case of the twelve Worcester manors which Aldred considered his own property and retained, the Gloucester manors were indirectly linked to Aldred's one-time role as diocesan of Worcester. Once the primacy settlement had broken this link, it was only a matter of time before circumstance forced Thomas to admit defeat. Wulfstan of Worcester won his case almost immediately. But it took some twenty-five years for St. Peter's, Gloucester, to recover property from Thomas.

The Gloucester Cartulary records that on Palm Sunday (18 March) 1095, Thomas restored to the church of St. Peter's, Gloucester, four manors which "the archbishop admitted he had held unjustly for some time."<sup>325</sup> It is remarkable that Thomas had managed to hang on as long as he did. One suspects that the archbishop might have held out even longer had he not already won compensation. Not long

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<sup>322</sup>*Regesta*, #36, 1070.

<sup>323</sup>Bishop and Chaplais, p. xxi: William Fitz Osbern died in 1071 and Serlo was not appointed until 1072. Bishop and Chaplais (p. xxii) link this charter to others in the same hand, probably attributable to a campaign by Gervase of Blois, an illegitimate son of King Stephen, and abbot of Westminster (deposed 1157).

<sup>324</sup>Moreover, Davis could find no DB reference to a lawsuit against Thomas.

<sup>325</sup>Summarized as *Acta* ref. #1; (*Gloucester Cartulary* i, 11-12; *ibid.*, i, 93).

before he returned the manors of St. Peter's, Thomas had negotiated a settlement which granted him more lucrative Gloucestershire property: the royal foundation of St. Oswald's.

A royal charter of 1093 records that Thomas received confirmation of St. Oswald's as a partial return for renouncing his claim to the diocese of Lincoln. Davis suspected the authenticity of the charter, and it is true that the preamble looks suspiciously inflated. William Rufus uncharacteristically proclaims that

...seeing the church of the English in divisiveness and discord, I desired to restore what has been evilly cut apart, and to recall to the harmony of charity what for a time has existed divided through discord.<sup>326</sup>

But the substance of the charter seems sound. Rufus redeems the claim which Thomas put forward against Lincoln and Lindsey and certain messuages by granting to the archbishop and his successors the royal abbey of St. German, Selby and the priory of St. Oswald's, Gloucester, to hold "as freely as the archbishop of Canterbury has Rochester." The settlement rewarded Thomas for dropping the wearying battle over Lincoln. The bishop of Lincoln himself conceded nothing himself, not coincidentally, as Robert Bloet witnesses the charter.

The grant of St. Oswald's, Gloucester, although stated to provide compensation for Lincolnshire territory, looks much more like a

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<sup>326</sup>*Regesta*, Appendix, #LXI, from YML Liber Albus pt II, fo. 4b (Incomplete), and Charter Roll 3 Ed III, #51: *...videns ecclesiam Anglorum ex parte diuisam et discordantem, resarare concupiui quod male scissum fuerat, et ad unitatem vere caritatis reuocare quod diu discussum sub discordia manserat*. Davis marks this charter as ?spurious; but while the preamble appears inflated, the content of the grant presents no suspicious elements. If it is a forgery, it is a needless one, for several other sources attest to Rufus' grants to Thomas in return for his abandonment of the Lincoln claim.

promised replacement for the Gloucestershire church whose property Thomas had been supposed to restore for decades. The dispute with St. Peter's, Gloucester, was not yet settled at the time of Rufus' grant, and one suspects that Thomas had made it clear that he would drop his claim to the property of St. Peter's if the king offered something better in its place. Although no evidence exists for a straight exchange, we know that at Easter of 1095 Thomas relinquished the four disputed manors to the community of St. Peter's. Thomas had won much more than he had lost. At St. Peter's he had claimed only dependent lands; St. Oswald's belonged to him in its entirety.

The significance of the phrase in Rufus' 1093 grant that Thomas was to hold St. Oswald's as Lanfranc held Rochester requires some elucidation. Happily, sources for Rochester are prolific, at least in comparison with St. Oswald's. Canterbury's proprietary interest in Rochester was the subject of correspondence between Lanfranc and his protege Gundulf, and from this we see that Thomas of Bayeux's interest in St. Oswald's must have been great indeed.

St. Oswald himself had been both bishop of Worcester and archbishop of York, and the connection between the two sees traditionally found expression in the patronage of his church.<sup>327</sup> While Worcester possessed Oswald's shrine, York suffered badly from a lack of relics. The gift of the church of St. Oswald's to Thomas of Bayeux, despite the fact that it lay two hundred miles south of York Minster, was thus highly appropriate.

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<sup>327</sup>HCY II preserves four lives of Oswald, including one by Eadmer.

But Rufus' sensitivity to the historical connection between St. Oswald and York should not be overestimated. It may also have been the case that the king was only too pleased to be rid of an old and disorganized foundation, which had been under the disreputable control of Stigand. By 1093 Thomas had demonstrated much skill in reorganizing older communities, and Rufus may have considered that giving Thomas the same rights to direct St. Oswald's as Canterbury exercised at Rochester best served the interests of that church. Interestingly, Thomas may even have persuaded his own brother to participate in the revival of St. Oswald's, for we know that after Samson became bishop of Worcester he granted St. Oswald's the monopoly on schooling in Gloucestershire.<sup>328</sup>

Rufus' grant to Thomas in return for dropping his claims to Lincoln also included the abbey of Selby, not many miles from York Minster. William II's gift of Selby looks as politic as that of St. Oswald's. Thomas' involvement with St. German, Selby, was of longstanding, as he had cooperated with the Conqueror's patronage of the new foundation and consecrated Benedict of Auxerre as abbot.<sup>329</sup> Moreover, long before Selby fell into his possession, Thomas endowed its monks. The Selby Cartulary records a notification of Thomas of Bayeux's grant of Fryston and Selby, probably before 1082.<sup>330</sup> Odo of Bayeux is the only witness recorded by name, which

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<sup>328</sup>Barlow, *EC1066-1154*, p. 231 and n; there is some question about whether Samson granted a true monopoly.

<sup>329</sup>For Selby's early history, see R.B. Dobson, "The First Norman Abbey in Northern England", *Ampleforth Journal* (1969), pp. 161-76, especially pp. 167-72, for Thomas of Bayeux's involvement.

<sup>330</sup>Printed Burton, *York Acta*, #4 from EYC 1, #41. BL Add. 37771, f. 93r (Hexham Miracles, Selby Cartulary, etc.) was consulted on microfilm. The differences with the printed text are minor.

suggests a date before his imprisonment by William I.<sup>331</sup> The authenticity of the charter is not in doubt. The terms of the grant tell us much about Thomas' perception of his diocesan responsibility for monastic foundations.

The Selby notification shows Thomas granting the monks lands to hold free and quit of all customs, for the health of the souls of his king and himself, "with the consent and common counsel of [his] clerks."<sup>332</sup> The secular chapter is explicitly stated to condone the abbey's enrichment. The statement of consent is no mere formula. Thomas is frequently described as taking advice and acting with the consent of his chapter.<sup>333</sup>

The terms of the Selby grant reveal that Thomas felt a responsibility towards Selby because of its location.

To the church which was founded *in my diocese* in honor of the blessed confessor Germanus, I have granted [this] as freely as I have said, excepting ecclesiastical jurisdiction and a celebration of the anniversary to be celebrated every year by the brothers of the church for the remission of my sins. [*Italics mine*] <sup>334</sup>

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<sup>331</sup>BL Add. 37771, f. 93r: *Huius donationis testes sunt: Odo Baiocensis episcopus etc.* [sic].

<sup>332</sup>BL Add. 37771, f. 93r: *Notum volo fieri omnibus sancte matris dei ecclesie cultoribus quod ego Thomas Eboracensis ecclesie dei gratia Archipresul de salute anime domini mei regis Willelmi pariterque mei, necnon omnibus in Christo fidelium in futurum providens has terras, Ffriston Salebyam, ab omni consuetudine liberis et quietas, clericorum meorum consensu consilioque communi. ...Hoc autem rogo et humiliter meos successores admoneo, ne hanc caritatis donationem violare vel adnullare aliquatenus presumant, set imperpetuum supradicte ecclesie eiusque serventibus pro remunerationis eterne gloria adiacere permittant.*

<sup>333</sup>Hugh the Chanter describes Thomas taking advice when considering the establishment of prebends; the Durham privileges, although forgeries in part, also show Thomas obtaining his chapter's consent.

<sup>334</sup>BL Add. 37771, f. 93r: *Ecclesie que in honore beatissimi confessoris Germani in diocesi mea fundata est donaverim ita libere sicut superius dixi, excepta Christianitatis causa et celebratione aniversarii quod celebraturi sunt eiusdem ecclesie fratres singulos annos pro peccatorum meorum remissione.*

Thomas saw the role of monastic houses as complementary to, not in conflict with, that of secular foundations. Selby abbey was as much a part of his diocese as Beverley or Ripon. That monastic houses fulfilled a particular role in society he not only acknowledged, but was glad of: like the great lay patrons, Thomas expected his beneficiaries to pray for him.

According to foundation charters, Thomas of Bayeux explicitly permitted the Benedictine revival in his diocese. The resettlement of Whitby under the patronage of William de Percy in 1078/9 is said to have proceeded only when Thomas had agreed to it. Further north, monastic settlements at Jarrow, Monkwearmouth, and Melrose owed much to the encouragement of the bishops of Durham, but Walcher and William of St. Calais could not have proceeded without Thomas' approval.<sup>335</sup> Closer to home, Thomas countenanced the establishment of a Benedictine foundation under the very noses of his canons.

Thomas of Bayeux's dealings with St. Mary's Abbey, York, have been used to argue that the archbishop viewed monastic communities as a threat to his chapter's prestige. Responsibility for this misperception lies at the door of Canon James Raine, the editor of many of the Norman York sources.<sup>336</sup> The facts of Thomas' disagreement with the abbot of St. Mary's are not in dispute. But Raine's interpretation of the facts is unsound.

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<sup>335</sup>For "the northern revival," see Burton, *MRO*, pp. 31-2.

<sup>336</sup>See J. Raine, *The Founding of St. Mary's Abbey and St. Leonard's Hospital, York* (York, 1898). Raine's account is more lively than accurate. Of the monks of St. Mary's Raine writes "They must be ejected, and Archbishop Thomas led the charge" (p. 31).

The resettlement of Whitby had proved problematic, and part of the monastic community moved inland to Lastingham, and thence to Marygate, just outside the walls of York.<sup>337</sup> Sometime before 1088, Alan of Brittany gave the community some lands in Bootham, in order to build a new abbey. Thomas of Bayeux denied that the property was Alan's to give, and duly won a promise of compensation from the Conqueror.<sup>338</sup> It should be noted that the friction between Thomas and St. Mary's was strictly tenurial, and in fact, nothing indicates that the archbishop considered the abbot to be personally at fault. Thomas chose to be present at the abbey's consecration in 1088, signalling diocesan approval of the new Benedictine foundation only a few hundred yards of the west front of York Minster.<sup>339</sup>

Thomas obtained some small property in Clifton, where, according to Domesday Book, he was already well endowed, but he also apparently persisted in requesting greater compensation. Here we see another instance of Thomas refusing to accept a court decision as final. As in the cases, for example, of Lincoln and St. Peter's, Gloucester, Thomas managed to keep the issue of St. Mary's Abee in the air until the 1090s. The archbishop demonstrated consistent skill in negotiating with Rufus.

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<sup>337</sup>The monks had trouble from both pirates and their erstwhile patron, William de Percy. The Chronicle of St. Mary's is printed by Dugdale in *Mon. Ang.*iii, 546.

<sup>338</sup>Domesday Book and the "Rights and Laws" hint, but do not explicitly confirm, that the land lay within the bishop's shire. Thomas evidently thought they did.

<sup>339</sup>Selby was, of course, outside the city walls.

On Christmas Day, 1093, William Rufus issued a charter at his council in Gloucester:

Know that I grant to Archbishop Thomas and the Church of St. Peter the Church of St. Stephen, which is situated in York next to the fishpond [*stagnum*], and what lies with it, in exchange for the land on which the Abbey of St. Mary, York was built, so that the aforementioned abbey be free and quit of all claims.<sup>340</sup>

Thomas obtained St. Stephen's and its possessions for his pains; and the rights to a church and property inside the city walls surely outweighed a tenuous claim to the land of St. Mary's, on which the Abbot had already built his church, and indeed, already compensated Thomas.<sup>341</sup>

The duration of references to conflict concerning St. Mary's and the archbishop of York often misleads. Thomas of Bayeux fanned the flames of the dispute for five years; but essentially it was a dispute between two landlords, Alan Rufus and the archbishop of York, appropriately settled in the royal court. Nothing in the sources suggests that Thomas objected to the foundation of a monastic community just outside the city walls. Contrary to Raine's analysis, Thomas sought to protect not the prestige, but the endowment of his chapter, and in this, he was successful. He ultimately increased the chapter's holdings within the city of York.

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<sup>340</sup>*Regesta*, Appendix, #LII, from Bodleian, Dodsworth transcripts 63, fo. 8v: *Volo ut sciatis quod ego ecclesiam Sancti Stephani, que in Eboraco iuxta stagnum sita est, et quod adiacet, concedo Thome Archiepiscopo et ecclesie Sancti Petri in excambio pro illa terra in qua abbathia Sancte Marie Ebor' constituta est, ut exhinc abbathia predicta ab omni calumnia segura et libera permaneat.*

<sup>341</sup>BL Add. 38816, fos. 29v-30r.

The revival of monasticism in the north occurred alongside the reform of the collegiate churches. Conventional wisdom argues that newly-founded Benedictine houses competed with York Minster for resources and patrons. To some extent, this perception is valid, for the sources repeatedly document Thomas of Bayeux's efforts to protect the estates of his chapter.

But Thomas' cooperation with the patrons and abbots of the new houses has not been acknowledged. The picture of an archbishop jealously protecting the rights of his dependent clerks has been overdrawn. Discussions which imply that monastic expansion somehow threatened the position of secular canons in the decades after the Conquest need modification. The evidence suggests that Thomas not only tolerated the rapid expansion of a Benedictine presence in his diocese, but encouraged it. He validated the mission of the abbot of St. Mary's by attending the foundation's consecration, and he himself consecrated the abbot of Selby and endowed his monks.

In the end, despite the vagaries of the evidence, an examination of Thomas' diocesan activities proves instructive. First, we see that Thomas moved personnel around the churches under his care. In addition to placing his nephew, who had been educated in the chapter at York, at Beverley, he took a canon of St. John's into his own chapter, and endowed him with the parish church of Hexham, in Northumberland. Weaker churches were strengthened by the resources of the better-endowed, and Thomas remained flexible in implementing programs of reform. The flourishing chapter of Beverley was provided with a provost to oversee its continuous

growth, and some prebends were established there to reward beneficial administration of lands, and to diminish the toll on the common fund. Ripon and Southwell tell us less of their history, but it is certain that Thomas would not have coerced the less well-endowed churches of Ripon and Southwell into changes which they could not survive. The lesser collegiate churches perhaps received especial care from Thomas: he was at Ripon when he died.<sup>342</sup>

Under Thomas' direction, monastic houses benefited as well as secular foundations; they were equally part of his diocese, as his grant to Selby explicitly states. Like his patron Odo of Bayeux, Thomas endowed abbeys. Too often modern sources stress the disjunction between inward-looking monks and outward-looking seculars. There was a difference, and Thomas clearly valued it. He asked the monks of Selby to pray for remission of his sins. His canons had no such intercessory role for him. The vaunted religious revival of the north was not a strictly monastic affair, as it often appears in modern sources. Thomas had a role to play here, and he clearly knew it.

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<sup>342</sup>According to the Digby chronicler (p. 364). Hugh (p. 20) and the Durham chronicler in *HCV* ii, p. 527 have him die at York, but Digby says that "*apud Ripum obiit. Sed delatus Eboracum, iuxta praedecessorem suum beatae memoriae Aldredum in ecclesia sepultus est.*" As the Digby chronicler's self-declared task is to add to Hugh's history, it is likely that he is working from a lost earlier account.

## 6. The Archbishop I: Chapter and Cathedral

St. Peter's Minster was a shambles when the new archbishop returned from Rome with his pallium late in 1071. For the better part of two decades Thomas of Bayeux devoted himself to repairing the damages to the fabric and the clergy of his predecessor's Anglo-Saxon church. This chapter analyzes Thomas' innovations in chapter administration, in particular the introduction of officials, and evaluates to what extent Thomas could be termed a reformer, and in what respects he was carrying on the traditions of his predecessor, Aldred.<sup>343</sup> It reviews the evidence for the composition of the chapter, the archiepiscopal household, and the development of St. Peter's hospital. Thomas' building programme will be discussed in terms of its liturgical and social significance. Throughout, this chapter seeks to set Thomas' renovation of the Minster in both its local and a more general context, that is, to consider it as a response to problems specific to York and Yorkshire, and in wider terms of the impact of the Norman episcopacy on the Anglo-Saxon church.

Twelfth-century chroniclers tend to justify the "Norman conquest of the church" as a movement for reform.<sup>344</sup> If we now know enough to mistrust Norman pictures of a degenerate Anglo-Saxon church, we can nonetheless best evaluate Hugh the Chanter and Digby's representations of Thomas of Bayeux's archiepiscopate

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<sup>343</sup>Thomas' mensal innovations, in particular the establishment of separate prebends, will be treated in the following chapter.

<sup>344</sup>Barlow carefully puts "conquest" in quotes, *EC, 1066-1154*, p. 8, emphasizing that the Normans were only one force for change.

by comparing them with contemporary views of the Norman episcopate in general. We shall ultimately find that at York Thomas struck a balance between preservation and change, and that reform had been envisioned and initiated by his predecessor, Aldred.

William of Malmesbury depicts the Anglo-Saxon clergy as so lax that they could hardly understand the words of the sacraments, much less comprehend the niceties of grammar. He impartially indicts both regulars and seculars, and suggests that only the coming of the Normans revived religious observance and church-building in England.

Orderic Vitalis takes a similar line, portraying the English as rustic, nearly illiterate, and hopelessly irreligious.<sup>345</sup> The lack of canonical discipline he ascribes partly to the breakdown of royal authority in the face of Danish incursions, and partly to inherent English depravity:

Abundance of food and drink gave rise to luxury, the shallowness and shabbiness of the people made them all prone to crime. After the destruction of the monasteries regular life was undermined, and canonical discipline was not restored until the time of the Normans. Indeed, for a long time previously monasticism had been declining on that side of the Channel, and monks differed little from seculars in their way of life.<sup>346</sup>

Like William of Malmesbury, Orderic emphasizes monastic abuses, but it is noteworthy that Orderic intends to traduce the Anglo-Saxon

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<sup>345</sup>OV, 2, p. 246.

<sup>346</sup>OV, 2, p. 246: *Abundantia cibi et potus luxuriam nutrebat, leuitas et mollicies gentis in flagitium quenquam facile impellebat. Destructis monasteriis monastica religio debilitata est; et canonicus rigor usque ad Normannorum tempora reparatus non est. Per longum itaque retro tempus transmarinorum monachatus deciderat, et parum a saecularitate conversatio monachorum differebat.*

monks by equating them with the secular clergy. Regular and secular clerics alike "wore no habit and took no vows; they indulged in feasting and private property and countless foul transgressions."<sup>347</sup> Orderic is more specific than William of Malmesbury about the impetus for reform: where William spoke generally of "the coming of the Normans" as the source of religious renewal, Orderic specifically credits the king. Ecclesiastical rectitude was restored "by the governance of King William... so that it once again deserved respect."<sup>348</sup>

That William himself fostered reform the royal records testify. His hundred court writ makes it known

... to all my liegemen who are in England that by the common council and counsel of the archbishops, bishops, abbots, and of all the magnates of my kingdom, I have ordained that the episcopal laws shall be amended, because before my time these were not properly administered in England according to the precepts of the holy canons.<sup>349</sup>

The writ provides for the separation of spiritual and temporal courts, so that a person tried for an ecclesiastical crime shall be judged not according to the law of the hundred court but the "justice of God and his bishop." Secular officials may support bishops by forcing criminals to trial, if they have shown contempt of court three times.

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<sup>347</sup>*OV*, 2, p. 248: *Habitu fallebant ac professionis uocabulo, dediti ganeae, peculiis, innumeris foedisque praeuaricationibus.*

<sup>348</sup>*OV*, 2, p. 248: *Hic itaque ordo Guillelmi regis instinctu ad instituta regularia corrigebatur, ac ad consuetudines beatificas perductus ualde honorabatur.*

<sup>349</sup>*Reg. Ant.*, xxxvii,1, printed in Stubbs, *Select Charters* (9th ed.), pp. 99-100; and the *C&S*. *Sciatis vos omnis et ceteri mei fideles qui in Anglia manent, quod episcopales leges, quae non bene nec secundum sanctorum canonum praecepta usque ad mea tempora in regno Anglorum fuerunt, communi concilio et consilio archiepiscoporum et episcoporum et abbatum et omnium principium regni mei emendandas iudicavi.*

This writ has its place among the king's general legal reforms, but William's interest in spiritual courts in particular was of longstanding. William of Poitiers testifies that as duke of Normandy William customarily intervened in ecclesiastical cases when he felt bishops imposed too lenient a sentence on the guilty.<sup>350</sup> Eadmer confirms that no ecclesiastical council enacted any legislation unless it had first been ordained by William.<sup>351</sup>

In general, the sources credit William with a devotion tinged with pragmatism. Orderic emphasizes that William sought administrative skills as well as piety in his bishops. When deliberating over ecclesiastical appointments,

he summoned his bishops and abbots and other prudent counsellors, and with their advice tried to find the man most capable of governing the house of God in both spiritual and secular matters. Finally, the wise king appointed as administrator of the abbey or bishopric whoever seemed to his highest counsellors specially distinguished in life and doctrine.<sup>352</sup>

The king's judicious policy is illustrated, according to Orderic, by his first two episcopal appointments: Walchelin to Winchester and Thomas of Bayeux to York.

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<sup>350</sup>GG, p. 124-6.

<sup>351</sup>HN, p. 9: *Primatem quoque regni sui, archiepiscopum dico Cantuariensem... si coacto generali episcoporum consilio praesideret, non sinebat quicquam statuere aut prohibere, nisi quae suae voluntati accomoda et a se primo essent ordinata.*

<sup>352</sup>OV, 2, p. 238: *Deinde praesules et abbates aliosque sapientes consiliarios conuocabat, et eorum consilio quis melior et utilior tam in diuinis rebus quam in saecularibus ad regendam Dei domum videretur summopere indagabat. Denique illum quem pro uitae merito et sapientiae doctrinae prouiso sapientum eligebat beniuolus rex dispensatorem et rectorem episcopatus uel abbatiae constituabat.*

In fact, the challenge Thomas faced at York could hardly have been greater. Its historical importance as the northern metropolis was matched only by the degree of its disorganization. A review of Yorkshire's political circumstances during the opening years of his archiepiscopate provides context for Thomas' reforms.

In the space of four years, from 1065 to 1069, the north revolted and was subdued three times; and York itself changed hands four times.<sup>353</sup> St. Peter's was unaffected by Tostig and Harold Hardrada's defeat of the brother's Edwin and Morcar at Fulford on 20 September 1066, and by Harold Godwineson's defeat of Tostig and Harold Hardrada five days later at Stanford Bridge.<sup>354</sup> But William's conquest of the north proved devastating to the church of the archbishop who crowned him.

St. Peter's was destroyed by the Normans twice. In the spring of 1069, the Yorkshiremen murdered the Norman castellan; the king's punishment was swift and brutal. According to the Anglo-Saxon chronicle, William's army "killed those who could not escape, which was many hundreds of men, and ravaged the city, and made St. Peter's Minster an object of scorn..."<sup>355</sup> Archbishop Aldred's conspicuous loyalty to the crown could not preserve his church: William destroyed the city and threw up another castle.

Only a few months later, after unsuccessful attempts on both castles, the English enlisted the help of Swein of Denmark; in the ensuing fight at least one of the castles was razed, and the Normans,

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<sup>353</sup>Orderic Vitalis and the D version of the ASC provide detailed accounts; a synthesis of the primary sources may be found in Kapelle, pp. 89-119.

<sup>354</sup>ASC, D, s.a. 1066; *OV*, 2, p. 168.

<sup>355</sup>ASC, D, s.a. 1068

attempting to prevent the Danes from using the timbers as bridges, fired the houses in the vicinity of the Minster.<sup>356</sup> This strategy failed signally to deflect the Danish army, but it did manage to consume the entire city including, for the second time in a year, St. Peter's Minster.

Archbishop Aldred, one of Wiliam's few supporters north of the Humber, died of grief at the prospect of continued rebellion, and was buried in the Minster eight days before the Normans destroyed it.<sup>357</sup> Between September of 1069 and May of 1070 the archbishopric lay vacant, and when Thomas of Bayeux took up his new post, according to Hugh the Chanter,

...he found everything laid waste as a result of hostilities. Of the seven canons (there had been no more), he found three in the burnt city and ruined church. The rest were either dead, or driven away by fear and devastation.<sup>358</sup>

The political upheaval of the north had taken its toll on the Minster, and Thomas set himself to restoring both the fabric of the church and the canons who administered it.

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<sup>356</sup>ASC, D, s.a. 1069; *OV*, 2, p. 226. Orderic says that both castles fell; the ASC mentions only one. Simeon, *HR*, p. 187-8: *...Normanni qui castella custodiebant, timentes ne domus, quae prope castella erant, adjuncta Danis ad implendas fossas castellorum essent, igne eas succendere coeperunt. Qui nimis excrescens totam civitatem invasit, monasteriumque Sancti Petri cum ipsa consumpsit.*

<sup>357</sup>ASC, D, s.a. 1069 records that Aldred died on the day of SS Protus and Hyacinthus, 11 September 1069. Simeon of Durham, following Florence and the E version of the ASC, has Aldred die after hearing that de Commines was murdered by a mob: *De quorum omnium adventu Eboracensis archiepiscopus Aldredus valde tristis effectus, in magnam decidit infirmitatem, et... vitam finivit* (*HR*, p. 187).

<sup>358</sup>Hugh, p. 18: *...cuncta hostili uastacione depopulata inuenit. De septem canonicis (non enim plures fuerant) tres in ciuitate et ecclesia combusta et destructa reperit. Reliqui uel mortui uel metu et desolacione exulati.*

No traces of the Anglo-Saxon church have survived; architectural historians know little of its structure and can only conjecture that the church was built on the alignment of the Roman foundation it replaced.<sup>359</sup> The Minster's wooden roof rendered the building intensely vulnerable to fire, we know from Hugh the Chanter that the depredations of 1069 compelled Thomas to re-roof and rebuild the structure. In the event, however, his repairs were shortlived: St. Peter's was sacked again when the Danes retook York in 1075.<sup>360</sup> Cnut brought two hundred ships from Denmark, and although he dared not risk another meeting with William, he "broke into St. Peter's Minster and captured a large amount of property there and so departed."<sup>361</sup> Although the church, this time, may have at least escaped being burnt to the ground, the vulnerability of the Anglo-Saxon minster perhaps partially explains the archbishop's decision to rebuild from the foundations up.

Excavations carried out beneath the fabric of the present church suggest that the early Norman church begun by Thomas was completed by his death in 1100. The remains of much of the Norman transepts have been found, as well as a proportion of the crossing and nave, constructed close to the correct orientation.<sup>362</sup> Archaeological evidence reveals that Thomas' Minster was 362 feet long, comprising a long, aisled eastern arm ending in an apse; two

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<sup>359</sup>E.A. Gee, *HYM*, pp. 111, 115. The Saxon cemetery lies under the south transept of the present church, and it is this arrangement that suggests an alignment different from the later one, namely a position to the north of the Norman structure.

<sup>360</sup>ASC, D, s.a. 1076 (for 1075).

<sup>361</sup>ASC, D, s.a. 1076 (for 1075).

<sup>362</sup>CTB, p. 49. The Romanesque Minster is something over two degrees to the north of true east.

transepts each with an eastern apse; and an exceptionally large, aisleless nave of seven bays. The crossing, surmounted by a low tower, equalled in width the eastern arm with its corridors. The walls of the structure were seven feet thick, and built largely of Roman stone taken ready-dressed from military structures on and close to the site.<sup>363</sup> The aisles were probably barrel-vaulted: none of Durham's early Gothic ribs for Thomas. The external faces of the walls were plastered, and the incised decoration probably consisted of rolls, foliage, palmettes, and scalloped capitals. Interested parties can tour the Minster undercroft and view portions of the Norman foundations and the odd carved capital.

Thomas' structure survived intact until 1132, when a fire destroyed the eastern arm, and signalled the beginning of massive alterations to the eleventh-century church.<sup>364</sup> Yet even in the fourteenth century, when all traces of the super-structure of Thomas' church had been obliterated, the dean and chapter revered the first Norman archbishop as the true founder of St. Peter's, and awarded him a place in the great west window, with the other patron saints of the Minster.<sup>365</sup>

Thomas' church shares several features with other structures built in the north in the last quarter of the eleventh century. The double respond capitals with paired shafts which appear in the

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<sup>363</sup>*CTB*, pp. 47, 62, 77, *et passim*. The Minster is situated on the remains of a Roman garrison. Phillips emphasizes that there is no evident re-use of stone from Aldred's church (unless some of the Roman stones were used by Aldred). The Northumbrian and Anglo-Scandinavian carved stones visible in the substructure are "no later than the early 10th century," p. 83.

<sup>364</sup>Gervase of Canterbury, p. 100, June 1137: *apud Eboracum combusta est beati Petri ecclesia*.

<sup>365</sup>D.E. O'Connor, J. Haselock, *HYM*, p. 359.

remains at York are similar to those extant at Richmond, Alan of Brittany's castle on the Swale, and at Durham Cathedral. An aisleless nave was similarly constructed at Ripon, and the Vitruvian method of reinforcing footings with burnt timbers, which excavations have revealed in St. Peter's, was employed both at Clifford's Tower and at Richmond. Also similar to Richmond Castle are the stone plinths pitched to form a herringbone pattern at the base of the piers in the nave. Though it would be hazardous to conjecture one team of Norman builders working in the north in the decades after the Conquest, archaeology suggests that the early Norman Minster was constructed in a fashion typical of the period in Yorkshire. Eric Gee is confident enough to posit "the same school of masoncraft" at least for St. Peter's and Richmond.<sup>366</sup>

Yet the Minster may also be viewed in a wider context than the merely local. For the second half of the eleventh century saw massive building campaigns first in Normandy and then in England, and the scale of Thomas' structure suggests that the archbishop viewed his church not just as a participant but as the culmination of this trend.

Under Duke Robert and his son, Romanesque churches in northern France were erected and enlarged at Jumièges, Mont-St.-Michel, Bec, Rouen, Coutances, Bayeux, Evreux, and Caen.<sup>367</sup> Three Norman churches were dedicated in the space of six months in 1077:

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<sup>366</sup>Gee, *HYM*, p.118. For a history of the construction of Richmond, see Hey, p.31ff.

<sup>367</sup>K.J. Conant, *Carolingian and Romanesque Architecture 800- 1200* (The Pelican History of Art Series, ed. N. Pevsner, Harmondsworth, 1959), provides a useful summary, p. 280.

Bayeux, Caen, and Bec, the former homes of the current archbishops of Canterbury and York.<sup>368</sup>

When the Normans took their fortunes across the channel, they brought their master masons with them. Churches as well as castles sprung up in the wake of the Conquest. New European prelates found little to praise in their bulky Saxon churches, and hastened to remodel them. The decree of the royal council at Windsor in 1072, which dictated that henceforth episcopal sees must be situated in the great town of their see, provided a further incentive to rebuild. By the time William repeated the decree, at his council in London in 1075, many Anglo-Saxon churches had already been destroyed. Of the secular cathedrals, the new Lincoln Cathedral, begun by Bishop Remigius of Fecamp in 1072 or 1073 after the transference of his see from Dorchester, would be consecrated upon its completion in 1092.<sup>369</sup> Old Sarum begun by bishop Hermann between 1075 and 1078, also received its consecration in 1092, although it would soon be enlarged again.<sup>370</sup> Among the monastic churches, Rochester, begun by Bishop Gundulf probably in 1077, saw its completion only a few years later thanks in large part to the offices of Lanfranc.

Canterbury's Saxon cathedral suffered a fire in 1067 and soon after Lanfranc's appointment in 1070 the new archbishop commenced rebuilding. As befitted the importance of the seat of the primate of all Britain, the new church was erected at such speed that it was completed in seven years. Lanfranc's work was soon modified

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<sup>368</sup>*OV*, 3, p. 158, and note 2, p. 159.

<sup>369</sup>Clapham, p. 21, with primary sources.

<sup>370</sup>Clapham, p. 22.

by Prior Ernulf (1096-1107), who enlarged Lanfranc's two-bay choir and started a program of augmenting the eastern arm of the church which would not be completed until the end of the first quarter of the twelfth century.<sup>371</sup> But Lanfranc's campaign seems likely to have provoked Thomas into conceiving his church as a rejoinder. Thomas' church is both wider and longer than his rival's.

But size proved the least of the differences between the two new metropolitan churches. The Anglo-Norman minster served a different purpose than Lanfranc's cathedral abbey, and Thomas' aims for his church are reflected in the building's plans. Where the *Decreta Lanfranci* prescribed a series of altars, processional aisles, and screens to separate monks and worshipping laity, Thomas emphasized the connection between the canons and their parishioners.<sup>372</sup> Christ Church presented a series of enclosed spaces, creating a sense of mystery and exclusion. York Minster emphasized openness. Thomas constructed his church like a vast barn. The huge aisleless nave at York would be echoed generations later by the mendicants, for good reason. Like later friars' churches, York Minster served a social function.<sup>373</sup> Although corporate worship remained important-- the chroniclers tell of Thomas' desire for proper chanting-- the enormous nave was designed not for the

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<sup>371</sup>Clapham, p. 21.

<sup>372</sup>Anglo-Norman monastic churches have received more attention than their secular counterparts. For the relation between architecture and liturgy see A.W. Klukas, "The Architectural Implications of the *Decreta Lanfranci*," *Anglo-Norman Studies* 6 (Woodbridge, 1984, repr. 1990), pp. 136-69); Burton, *MRO*, pp. 42, 136, 166.

<sup>373</sup>Burton, *MRO*, p. 139 compares monastic and mendicant churches. She does not deal with the secular cathedrals here, although she notes the conflict between secular canons and friars over parochial duties, p. 126.

Minster's canons, who could hardly have numbered more than a dozen, but for the public.

Thomas' construction seems to have been without precedent. No other cathedral in England at the time attempted to construct a nave without aisles.<sup>374</sup> The architectural daring of this plan can hardly be over-stated: nave aisles performed a structural function as well as an ecclesiastical one. A modern historian attributes the desire for architectural novelty to the "near megalomania" of Norman prelates in England.<sup>375</sup> It is fair to say that the idea of a "triumphant gesture" must have appealed to Thomas of Bayeux. But the particular form of architectural ambition which gripped him suggests not an empty desire for novelty, but a wish to represent the social purpose of his reformed church in physical terms.

But Thomas' repairs to the Minster in the years following the harrying were not confined to architecture. The new archbishop restored not only the fabric of the church, but the canons who had fled or died upon its destruction by the Norman forces. Here, he made radical changes only cautiously.

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<sup>374</sup>One architectural historian compares it in this regard with St. Martin, Angers structurally, but there is no evidence that Thomas chose this as a model. See E. Fernie, "The Effect of the Conquest on Norman Architectural Patronage," *Anglo-Norman Studies* 9 (1986), pp. 71-85, pp. 77-84. Fernie compares it to

<sup>375</sup>Fernie, "The Effect...", p. 85: As a result of the replacement of Anglo-Saxon by Norman magnates, both lay and ecclesiastical [,] the new patrons found themselves with vastly greater opportunities for building than any other group in contemporary Europe. Their near megalomania suggests that they were aware of this fact and that... they were attracted by the idea of the triumphant gesture...This group of patrons made apparently wayward choices in a search for variety... But there was nothing wayward about Thomas' plans at York.

Hugh the Chanter records that Thomas found only three of the seven canons of St. Peter's when he received the archbishopric, but soon set matters to rights.

[He] recalled the fugitives to the service of God and the church, and added to their number; he rebuilt the refectory and dormitory. He appointed a provost to preside over the others and to manage their affairs; he gave manors lands and churches himself, and restored those which others had taken away. He bestowed much of his own property on the canons.<sup>376</sup>

According to Hugh, the most detailed chronicle source for the new archbishop's early policy, Thomas first retrieved the few canons who survived the harrying and then increased their ranks. The depopulation of the north (as well as Thomas' inability to speak English) suggests that Thomas imported Norman clerics to augment the chapter, although Hugh offers no evidence to support or disprove this theory. Certainly two decades later, the Minster's dignitaries who attended Anselm's consecration in 1093 all bore Norman names.<sup>377</sup>

Hugh's statement that the new archbishop began his program by rebuilding not only Aldred's church, but the refectory and dormitory of his canons is also significant. Reconstruction of the common buildings signifies that Thomas attempted at the beginning

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<sup>376</sup>Hugh, p. 18: ...*dispersos recocauit ad Deo seruiendum et ecclesie; aliquos addidit; refectorium refecit et dormitorium; prepositum constituit qui ceteris preesset et eos procuraret; uillas aliquas et terras et ecclesias dedit, et ab aliis ablatas reddidit; plurima de suo proprio canonicis necessaria administrabat.*

<sup>377</sup>Hugh, p. 12, mentions Hugh the dean, Ranulf the treasurer, Durand the archdeacon, and Gilbert the precentor. Durham DCDCM I.I. Archiep. i has a dean Aldred, though the other dignitaries are the same as the 1093 evidence. Thomas may have promoted an Anglo-Saxon canon to the first dignity.

of his pontificate to continue the policy of his Anglo-Saxon predecessor of fostering communal life among the canons.

In some ways, Aldred's reforms are better documented than Thomas'. Aldred's work at Beverley inspired an encomium from Folcard, monk of St. Bertin's and abbot of Thorney, whose *Life of St. John* celebrated the archbishop's patronage of Beverley.<sup>378</sup> The Digby chronicler, in adding Anglo-Saxon material to Hugh the Chanter's history, also summarizes Aldred's program. The Anglo-Saxon chronicle adds to the accounts of Digby and Folcard by documenting the archbishop's travels on the continent and in the Middle East.<sup>379</sup>

During his pontificate from 1061 to 1069, Aldred built refectories at York and Southwell, and finished the refectory and dormitory begun by his predecessors at Beverley.<sup>380</sup> The York sources prove less explicit about Aldred's program for St. Peter's, both in regard to the Minster's architecture and its administration, than about his improvements at Beverley.<sup>381</sup> Folcard claimed that York "had thrown off its old provincialism" under Aldred's rule, but

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<sup>378</sup>Folcard dedicated the work to Aldred. It is printed in *HCY* i. For the dedication see *Vita S. Johannis*, pp. 241-2

<sup>379</sup>Aldred was in Rome in 1050 [ASC D], Germany in 1054 [ASC D], Hungary and then Jerusalem in 1058 [ASC D], Rome again in 1061 [ASC D].

<sup>380</sup>Digby, p. 353: *Refectoria, ubi canonici simul vescerentur, unum Eboraci, alterum Suthhwelle statuit. Nam refectorium, et dormitorium, Beverlaci a praedecessoribus suis Alfrico et Kinsio inceptum fuerat.*

<sup>381</sup>Digby appears to draw on Folcard in places, which perhaps explains why Aldred's innovations at Beverley are elaborated in more detail for those at York. Possibly York required fewer reforms. Note also that Digby and Folcard may overstate canonical laxity, in order to heighten the effect of Aldred's accomplishments.

relates no specifics.<sup>382</sup> The Digby chronicler emphasizes that Aldred tried to import the discipline he witnessed his during continental travels to his own churches.

Many things which pertained to the rectitude of religious observance and to the rigour of ecclesiastical discipline, he heard, saw, and committed to memory, [and] afterwards caused to be observed in the churches of the English.<sup>383</sup>

Digby and Folcard report that Aldred tightened restrictions on canonical dress, and drew up regulations concerning almsgiving, washing the feet of the poor, and performing masses for the dead.<sup>384</sup> The chroniclers suggest that parochial duties were as important as internal institutional reform in the archbishop's program.

Aldred required his canons to live the common life. In the canons of the Council of Rome, 1059, Nicholas II had declared that clergy should

...sleep and eat together near the church to which they have been ordained... and... shall hold in common whatever revenues come to them from the church; and we urge them especially that they strive to attain the apostolic way of life, which is a life in common.<sup>385</sup>

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<sup>382</sup>Folcard, *Vita St. Johannis*, p. 241. Folcard focusses on Aldred's work at Beverley. Reforms at York can only be inferred.

<sup>383</sup>Digby, p. 345: *Multa quae ad honestatem ecclesiasticae observantiae, multa quae ad rigorem ecclesiasticae disciplinae pertinent audivit, vidit, et memoriae commendavit, quae postea in ecclesiis Anglorum obsevari fecit.*

<sup>384</sup>See Folcard, *Vita*, p. 241; Digby, p. 354: *Huius quoque patris industria clerus archiepiscopatus sui a populo parum eatenus vita vel veste discretus ad correctioris vitae normam et ecclesiasticae institutionis disciplinam revocatus est.*

<sup>385</sup>1059, Cl. of Rome. *MGH, Constitutiones et Acta*, I, ed. L. Weisland (Hanover, 1893), p. 547, c. 4; Mansi, 19.898B. The decree was repeated at the 1069 council [c. 4 *ibid* 1025c]. See also V Aethelred 7. For the *vita apostolica*, see G. Constable, "Renewal and Reform in Religious Life: Concepts and Realities," in R.L. Benson et al (eds.), *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century* (repr. Toronto, 1991), pp. 37-67, at 51-9; G. Olsen, "The Idea of the *Ecclesia Primitiva* in the

Digby tells us that the archbishop built a refectory at York, and although the chronicler mentions no dormitory at the minster, it seems safe to assume that one existed.<sup>386</sup> Aldred probably favoured a communal rule along the lines of Chrodegang of Metz's decretulum of circa 755.<sup>387</sup>

Bishop Chrodegang derived his rule from that of Benedict, mandating communal living arrangements and the customary chastity and obedience. His rule is often called "quasi-monastic."<sup>388</sup> But Chrodegang's institution crucially differed from the Benedictine in relaxing the prescription of poverty: Chrodegang's clergy received alms. The decretulum of Mainz achieved widespread currency among the cathedral and collegiate churches of Carolingian Europe, and was instrumental in promoting a definition of a "canon" as a clerk living a common life according to a written, but non-monastic rule. An enlarged version of Chrodegang's rule ( which allowed canons to hold private property) circulated in England before the second half of the eleventh century, translated from the Latin into

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Writings of the Twelfth-Century Canonists," *Traditio* 25 (1969), pp. 61-86, esp. pp. 63-70.

<sup>386</sup>*Digby*, p. 353. Digby mentions only structures which Aldred constructed. The context seems to imply that Aldred did not need to build a dormitory at York because one already existed.

<sup>387</sup>Edwards summarizes Chrodegang's rule (although the bishop did not call it a rule himself, only a "*parvum decretulum*") and its later transmogrifications in her *English Secular Cathedrals*, 1st ed., pp. 3- 5. See also, Barlow, "Leofric and His Times", in *Norman Conquest and Beyond*, pp. 113-28, at 121-3, and J. Barrow, "Cathedrals, Provosts and Prebends...", *JEH* 37 (1986), pp. 536-64, *passim*.

<sup>388</sup>At least by Barlow, *EC 1000-66*, p. 239, and "Leofric...", p. 121; also Knowles, *MO*, p. 140

Old English, and it is this rule, or one like it, that Aldred probably observed at York.<sup>389</sup>

We know little of the liturgical arrangements of Aldred's minster, and hardly more of Thomas'. Aldred is assumed to have favoured the use of Wulfstan II's missal, a product of the tenth-century monastic reform movement.<sup>390</sup> The earliest evidence for York customs stems only from the thirteenth century, and can tell us nothing of Thomas' innovations.<sup>391</sup> The statutes collected from 1290 onwards supply only brief statements of the liturgical duties of the dignitaries, and do not reveal if Thomas, who introduced the dignities, also introduced customs. William of Malmesbury suggests that Thomas altered the style, at least, of the chapter's chanting of the psalms: the archbishop required loud and vigorous chanting. Thomas' strictures seem to have been taken to heart. The York canons became famous for caring more for volume than quality.<sup>392</sup>

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<sup>389</sup>*An Old English Version of the Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang, Together with the Latin Original*, ed. A.S. Napier, from MS 191, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. Wulfstan II (the supposed compiler of the Laws of Northumbrian Priests) may have adapted Chrodegang's rule specifically for churches in the north of England. For similar discipline introduced by Leofric at Exeter, see D. Blake, "The Development of the Chapter of the Diocese of Exeter, 1050-1161," *JMH* 8 (1982), pp. 1-11

<sup>390</sup>See J. Hill, "Monastic Reform and the Secular Church: Aelfric's Pastoral Letters in Context," in C. Hicks, ed., *England in the Eleventh Century*, pp. 103-16, esp. pp. 103-4; J. Wilcox, "The Dissemination of Wulfstan's Homilies: The Wulfstan Tradition in Eleventh-Century Vernacular Preaching," in *ibid.*, pp. 199-217, esp. 199-201; D. Whitelock, "Archbishop Wulfstan, Homilist and Statesman," *TRHS* 4th Ser. 24 (1942), pp. 25-45, at p. 35. For the monastic reforms in general, see R.R. Darlington's underrated (or at least under-cited) "Ecclesiastical Reform in the Late Old English Period," *EHR* 51 (1936), pp. 385-428, esp. 387-92.

<sup>391</sup>See the Bishop of Truro's essay, "York Service Books," in *York Minster Historical Tracts*, ed. A.H. Thompson, no page numbers.

<sup>392</sup>See Nicholl, *Thurstan*, p. 121 citing Maurice of Kirham, Bodl. MS Hatton 92.

In addition to enforcing standards of chanting, Thomas also sought to improve the Minster library and re-establish the once-famous school. In this, he followed Lanfranc's lead at Canterbury.<sup>393</sup> But where Lanfranc's letters to Anselm at Bec reveal which books the archbishop required at Canterbury, we have no comparable evidence for York. Hugh the Chanter reports only that Thomas furnished the minster with books: he gives no titles.<sup>394</sup> Digby is no more explicit. It is likely, however, that Thomas had to work almost from scratch. The great library of Alcuin's day was all but gone: Hugh stresses the loss of charters and privileges in the fire of 1069, because they are central to his story.<sup>395</sup> But valuable books were also destroyed, and Thomas perhaps faced at least as large a task at York as Lanfranc did at Canterbury.

One of Thomas' first actions, if Hugh the Chanter's implied chronology can be relied upon, was to establish a master of schools.<sup>396</sup> The *magister scholarum* was the first of the four dignities which Thomas created, and although the sources supply no date for the institution, it is likely to have been early in Thomas' archiepiscopate. To refound the school which had once been Alcuin's would signal a return to the days of York's prestige. The confirmation of Durham's privileges in the diocese of York is

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<sup>393</sup>See Southern, *Portrait*, passim.

<sup>394</sup>Hugh, pp. 18-20: *Ecclesiam que nunc est fundavit et fecit, et eam pro posse suo clericis, libris, ornamentis ornavit et muniuit...*

<sup>395</sup>Hugh, p. 2: *Incensa quoque et Beati Petri metropolis ecclesia, et ornamenta illius, carte et privilegia combusta uel perdita fuerunt.*

<sup>396</sup>Hugh, p. 18: *magistrum scholarum iam ante statuerat.*

witnessed by a master Suirus, *magister scholarum*, but no firm date can be fixed.<sup>397</sup>

Thomas also sought to restore the old hospital of St. Peter's. Legend held that Athelstan had promised to the culdees a thrave out of every carucate in Yorkshire if they would minister to the poor and kill the wolves who haunted the city.<sup>398</sup> The enterprising canons appear to have despatched the wolves, for they built a hospital on the land which stretched from the west end of the Minster to the Ouse. William the Conqueror and Rufus confirmed Aethelstan's grant of the thraves, and either William I or II granted the canons "*terram liberam omni querela ad hospitalitatem faciendam*."<sup>399</sup> The foundation history of St. Leonard's records that Thomas of Bayeux himself endowed the hospital, but no charter evidence survives.<sup>400</sup>

St. Leonard's services to the community would have been crucial in the severe social dislocation following the harrying of the north. Simeon of Durham testifies that after the Norman campaign in the north,

famine prevailed to such an extent that, driven by hunger, men ate what custom abhorred: people, horses, dogs, and cats... Meanwhile, with the land barren of cultivators, a desert lay everywhere for nine years. Not a village was inhabited

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<sup>397</sup>Durham DCDCM II Archiep. i. We know only that the original charter pre-dates 4 December 1093, when Hugh tells us that dean Hugh attended Anselm's consecration. The dean witnessing the Durham charter is Aldred.

<sup>398</sup>St. Peter's (after Stephen's refoundation, St. Leonard's) has not received much attention. See J. Raine's essay, "The Founding of St. Mary's Abbey and St. Leonard's Hospital, York" (York, 1898). Lanfranc's comparable foundation ("welfare institution") at Canterbury is discussed by C.N.L. Brooke, "Monk and Canon: Some Patterns in the Religious Life of the Twelfth Century," SCH 22 (1985), pp. 109-29, at p. 22.

<sup>399</sup>Reg. i, #269; EYC, #166.

<sup>400</sup>Dugdale, vii, 608, no. 1.

between York and Durham; dens of beasts as well as brigands were greatly to be feared by travellers.<sup>401</sup>

In such circumstances, one of Thomas' most pressing tasks would have been to oversee and attempt to augment the distribution of what little food and medical care the canons could provide at St. Leonard's.

We know little of the archbishop's own household. A steward, Osmund, and a chaplain, Gilbert, appear in one of Rufus' Christmas grants of 1093, but no other references have come to light.<sup>402</sup> Clergy and laymen appear in Domesday Book as belonging to the archbishop; he has knights as well as clerks. We do not know if Thomas maintained a chancery. No original charters, acta, or letters survive to reveal his hand, or that of his scribe. We may be certain that his *familia* included his nephew and eventual successor, Thomas II, brought up at Thomas of Bayeux's feet. But the sources tell us more about chapter officials than those of the archbishop. Domesday speaks of a house, and a court, but chroniclers tell us nothing.

Of Thomas' ecclesiastical court, we know very little. He is nonetheless sure to have had one. William I provided for the separation of spiritual and temporal courts, so that a person tried for an ecclesiastical crime would be judged not by the hundred court but by "the justice of God and bishop."<sup>403</sup> The survival of a letter to

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<sup>401</sup>HR, p. 188: *fames praevaluit, ut homines humanas, equinas, caninas, et catinas carnes, et quicquid usus abhorret, cogente inedia comederent... ita terra cultore destituta, lata ubique solitudo patebat per novem annos. Inter Eboracum et Dunelmum nusquam villa inhabitata; bestiarum tantum et latronum latibula magno itinerantibus fuere timori.*

<sup>402</sup>Janet Burton discusses the archiepiscopal households of York in the introduction to her volume of *Acta*.

<sup>403</sup>Writ cited above.

Thomas from Lanfranc concerning adultery suggests that the archbishop of York did exercise his right to hear cases. Only after Thomas' pontificate does written evidence directly testify to the court of St. Peter's. A text preserved in Southwell's *Liber Albus* records an answer by the chapter of York to Southwell's question concerning, among other things, cognizance of criminal cases.

Changes in chapter administration are better documented. Thomas' appointment of a provost, described by Hugh the Chanter, confirms that Thomas at first continued to administer the affairs of the canons as Aldred had done, that is, through a common fund derived from tithes and land revenues, pooled and then distributed to individual canons. The provost represented the archbishop's administrative deputy, responsible for the financial affairs of the chapter particularly in the prelate's absence. The office lapsed with the wide-spread institution of fixed prebends administered by their incumbents, and the early fourteenth-century York Statutes make no mention of a provost. Hugh mentions the appointment of this official as a post-Conquest departure from the earlier arrangement. Aldred's church, staffed only by a chapter of seven, could hardly have flourished financially. That Thomas' Minster required a provost's services heralded a new prosperity.

Hugh's statement that Thomas augmented the canons' living by bestowing manors and churches, some his own and some recovered from others, finds ample corroboration in contemporary sources. William of Malmesbury confirms that Thomas' generous donations of archiepiscopal territory drove his successors to despair. Even more explicit is the testimony of Domesday Book, discussed, in the context

of Thomas' administration of St. Peter's estates, in the following chapter.

Historians have long recognized that York participated in a "secular drift" which swept England in the last decades of the eleventh century.<sup>404</sup> But neither the impetus for this development nor the relationship between the participating churches has yet been adequately explained. Following the lead of Henry Bradshaw, a nineteenth-century canon of Lincoln with a personal veneration of Bishop Remigius, ecclesiastical historians have argued for a close connection between the earliest secular cathedrals. Though elements of Bradshaw's evidence have been disputed, few historians questioned that Thomas of York, Osmund of Salisbury, and Remigius of Lincoln worked together to design their new secular churches and few doubted that the combination of the four dignities with the establishment of fixed prebends, common in the twelfth century, derived its origins from eleventh-century institutions.

Recent work at Salisbury, however, has begun to controvert these suppositions. Yet because of the pervasive view that the English secular cathedrals sprang into being concurrently, York must be considered in the context of the other churches, in particular Salisbury and Lincoln, which were reorganized by their bishops at the same time that Thomas reconstituted St. Peter's.<sup>405</sup>

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<sup>404</sup>The term is Prof. Brooke's (*The Medieval Idea of Marriage*, p. 83).

<sup>405</sup>Bradshaw observed "the remarkable manner in which the three great Churches of York, Lincoln, and Salisbury are historically linked together, forming a triad of sister Churches" (*LS*, i, p. 33). London appears to have developed independently, perhaps with less of an eye to (or need for) reform. Fixed prebends are documented there c. 1090, and a dean 1086x1107, but the other three dignitaries do not appear until the mid-twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. See Greenway, "False *Institutio*," p. 84.

The "secular drift" posited by historians who search for mature secular cathedrals in the late eleventh century, consists of two parts. First, the replacement of ecclesiastical estates held in common and administered by a provost, by separate estates held by each canon. And second, the introduction of four new offices, or dignities, into the administrative structure of the church. According to Hugh the Chanter, both of these changes took place at York under Thomas of Bayeux. But Hugh provides no date more specific than Thomas' pontificate, so for a chronology of Thomas' innovations at St Peter's historians have typically looked, with limited success, to other sources.

The "four-square" system, so called because of the four dignitaries who take their stalls at the corners of the choir, consists of the dean, the president of the chapter, having cure of souls of all the cathedral clergy; the precentor or cantor, the master of the song school, responsible for music, liturgy, and, by extension, books; the chancellor, the secretary of the chapter, keeping archives and the chapter seal, and also the master of the schools of grammar and theology; and the treasurer, guardian of the treasure, responsible for candles and other materials for services.<sup>406</sup> The date of the introduction of these dignities remains problematic for most of the English secular cathedrals. But it is perhaps less so for York, because of the evidence of Hugh the Chanter.

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<sup>406</sup>The thirteenth-century customs of Salisbury provide details of the dignitaries' functions; they are summarized by Edwards, p. 136.

The evidence for the introduction of the four-square system at York begins with Hugh's account of Thomas' actions after dividing some of St. Peter's land into prebends:

He then appointed a dean, treasurer, and precentor, endowing each of them as befitted the church's dignity, his own, and theirs. He had already established a master of the schools.<sup>407</sup>

This passage is doubly significant. It reveals not only that Thomas introduced the four dignities to York, but also that he did not introduce them together. His first priority had been to reestablish St. Peter's once famous school. It is not necessary to conclude, with Greenway, that the dignity of *magister scholarum* was of a different, inferior, order than the other three.<sup>408</sup> For though Thomas installed a master of schools before the dean, treasurer, and precentor, Hugh clearly links all four officials together in the text. Moreover, the apparent difficulty in reconciling the *magister scholarum* with the *cancellarius* of the twelfth century, the only obstacle to admitting the existence of the four-square system under Thomas, is easily overcome.<sup>409</sup> The York Statutes, compiled as the result of an order of

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<sup>407</sup>Hugh, p. 18: *Tunc enim statuit decanum, thesaurarium, cantorum, dans cuique digne et ecclesie et suo et personarum honore; magistrum scholarum iam ante statuerat.*

<sup>408</sup>Much of Greenway's analysis of the authenticity of the *Institutio* attributed to Osmund is devoted to the question of the *cancellarius* and his position in the eleventh century at Salisbury, Lincoln, and York. Of the sources for the latter two churches before 1093, she finds that "each gives the order-- dean, treasurer, cantor-- and each seems to treat the *magister* as a different kind of official." (Greenway, "False *Institutio*," p. 83). Against this, Henry of Huntingdon lists the four dignitaries in exactly the same order as Hugh in his *Letter to Walter*.

<sup>409</sup>Greenway, "False *Institutio*," pp. 83-5: "A major difficulty in accepting the idea of the 'four-square' pattern as early as 1091 lies in the history of the office of schoolmaster/chancellor. The title and office of *cancellarius* first appear in the English cathedrals only after the middle of the twelfth century." Greenway appears to suggest that because no extant evidence documents particular holders of the office of master of schools from the 1090s until 1167

May 1307, explicitly state that the chancellor of York was formerly called the master of schools.<sup>410</sup> The office of chancellor did not replace the office of master of schools: only the title of the office changed. Thus the evidence of Hugh the Chanter places the four-square arrangement securely at York in the pontificate of Thomas I.

As in the case of fixed prebends, Hugh provides no date for the institution of the four dignities. But in his account of the consecration of Anselm on 4 December 1093, the historian includes among a list of those present "from the church of York Hugh the dean, Ranulf the treasurer, Durand the archdeacon, Gilbert the precentor and some of the canons."<sup>411</sup> The creation of the three dignities other than the master of schools (which Hugh says Thomas instituted earlier) must pre-date December 1093. The controversial confirmation of Durham's privileges also bears the names and titles of Ranulf, Durand, and Gilbert. But the Durham text includes among its witnesses *magister Suirus*, *magister scholarum*, and dean Aldred. Of Suirus we know nothing; the name is perhaps corrupt. But the dean's name suggests that Thomas promoted one of the Anglo-Saxon canons to hold the first dignity of St. Peter's.

Similar transformations were taking place at Thomas' neighboring churches. Since the nineteenth century, ecclesiastical historians have speculated about the connection between the English

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at York, and the term *cancellarius* only appears in 1190, the *magister scholarum* could not have been the fourth dignitary. It is interesting to note that although Greenway cites Clay here, she comes to precisely the opposite conclusion. See Clay, "Precentors and Chancellors," p. 128

<sup>410</sup>YS, p. 95.

<sup>411</sup>Hugh, p. 12: *Erant cum archiepiscopo de Eboracensi ecclesia Hugo decanus, Ran<ulfus> thesaurius, Duran<dus> archidiaconus, Gill<ebertus> cantor, et aliqui ex canonicis.*

secular cathedrals founded or refounded at the end of the eleventh century. That there is a connection is not in doubt. The bishops of the early secular cathedrals witnessed each other's charters, attended councils together, and even journeyed to Rome in each other's company. Yet the nature of their relationship, once thought firmly established, is again in question. The more evidence that comes to light, the less certain are the conclusions of Bradshaw that Thomas of York (1070-1100), Remigius of Lincoln (1067-92), and Osmund of Salisbury (1078-99), organized their cathedrals along exactly the same lines, at exactly the same time.<sup>412</sup> In fact, thanks especially to the recent work of Diana Greenway, it is now evident that the case for a massive shift to a mature 'four-square' system at the end of the eleventh century has been greatly overstated.

Greenway has shown the so-called *Institutio* of Osmund, long supposed to have detailed the bishop's scheme for a 'four-square' chapter at Salisbury in 1091, to be a twelfth- and thirteenth-century compilation.<sup>413</sup> The evidence of the *Institutio* for the existence of the four dignities as well as fixed prebends in a secular cathedral in the last decade of the eleventh century must then be discarded. Even

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<sup>412</sup>Bradshaw, in *LS*, i, p. 33: "Now the point which I am at this moment most anxious to bring forward, is the remarkable manner in which the three great Churches of York, Lincoln, and Salisbury are historically linked together, forming a triad of sister Churches, which of necessity exercised a vast influence over the constitution and development of the Chapters of their neighbouring Churches. These three Chapters seem all to have been constituted within a few months of one another."

<sup>413</sup>She argues compellingly that the text was written in three phases, the first of which occurred shortly before c. 1160, and that the compiler took the date "1091" and the appropriate witness clause from Osmund's authentic foundation charter (Greenway, "False *Institutio*," pp. 77-101, esp. p. 86). The foundation charter and the *Institutio* are printed in the *RS* and in *LS*; the charter is in the *Regesta*; and both documents are printed at the end of Greenway's article.

the thesis put forth by Edwards, that Osmund promulgated the *Institutio* as a blue-print for a constitution which was as yet theoretical, has become untenable.<sup>414</sup> This severely tests the grounds of the argument for collaboration between Thomas, Osmund, and Remigius: historians for over a century have pointed to the witness clause of "Osmund's" text, which bears the names not only of the king, but also of Thomas of York and Remigius of Lincoln.<sup>415</sup> Yet the case for collaboration has not been exploded. For although the *Institutio* is a forgery, the text on which it drew is not: the foundation charter of Salisbury, given 1091 at Hastings, remains of undoubted authenticity.<sup>416</sup>

In January of 1091, before William Rufus embarked for Normandy, the greatest prelates and nobles of the realm met at Hastings. A charter witnessed by thirty-eight of them attests to Osmund's foundation of a church at Sailisbury, and the installation of some canons there.<sup>417</sup> Osmund further testifies to his donation to the canons of six manors, twenty-one churches, and half the oblations of the high altar. This endowment later comprised twenty-nine of the

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<sup>414</sup>Edwards, p. 19: "It may well have been a statement of principles, forecasting the lines on which he hoped his chapter would develop, rather than a statement of a constitution in being."

<sup>415</sup>The witness clause of the *Institutio* bears twelve signatures, excerpted from the charter's list of thirty-eight. Greenway's thesis explains the fact that in all the MSS the *Institutio* has "Martinus" for Mauricius, Bishop of London. Bradshaw, thinking he had the authentic original, was at a loss.

<sup>416</sup>Or as Brooke puts it, "sound in wind and limb" (Brooke, 1989, p. 80). Vide Greenway, "False *Institutio*", pp. 79-80, 88. The charter is most recently printed in Greenway, pp. 97-100, with a list of extant MSS.

<sup>417</sup>*Ego Osmundus Seriberiensis ecclesie episcopus... tam posteris notifico quam presentibus ecclesiam Seriberiensem me construxisse et in ea canonicos constituisse...*

fifty-two prebends at Salisbury.<sup>418</sup> But the 1091 text, it must be noted, nowhere refers to these lands as prebends.<sup>419</sup> The lands are given to the canons as a corporation, not as individuals. At least one prebend is known to have been established under Osmund, from a gift by a lay patron.<sup>420</sup> But this single known prebend was endowed not by Osmund but by a lay patron who wished to provide for a canon connected to his household. As the evidence now stands, it does not appear that Osmund envisioned a system of prebends that would support the chapter as a whole.

Moreover, Osmund's foundation charter contains no evidence of the dignities of dean, precentor, chancellor, or treasurer. No other source survives to counter this omission. Thus, after the disqualification of the 'false' *Institutio*, there exists no evidence for the 'four-square' system at Salisbury in the pontificate of Osmund, and only limited evidence of the foundation of prebends.<sup>421</sup> If Thomas indeed took advice on the reconstitution of York, as Hugh the Chanter claimed, Osmund of Salisbury did not supply it.

Lincoln, the other church presumed connected with the reconstitution of York, presents a more encouraging picture. A charter dating to September 1090, granted by William Rufus to Bishop Remigius and witnessed by Thomas of York and Osmund of Salisbury, confirms the grant of privileges made to Remigius by

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<sup>418</sup>Greenway, "False *Institutio*," p. 80.

<sup>419</sup>Clause 45, which refers to "*duas partes prebende canonici*," is shown by Greenway (pp. 80, 88-9) to be a twelfth-century interpolation.

<sup>420</sup>Greenway, p. 90. No date is given other than Osmund's pontificate.

<sup>421</sup>According to D. Spear's research into cathedral dignities (printed in Greenway's "False *Institutio*," p. 84), there is no evidence for the four-square system until "probably" 1122.

William I.<sup>422</sup> This charter mentions not only prebends (in particular the abuse of buying and selling them), but the dignity of dean.<sup>423</sup> The authenticity of the text has in part been impugned by Professor Stenton, who argues in a note to the text that "a genuine charter of confirmation issued by William II has been conflated with a set of precepts relating to canonical discipline... and that witnesses derived from these... documents... have been run together."<sup>424</sup> Stenton is quick to point out that the charter rests on actual texts, and must not be cast aside as a complete fabrication. But the institution of prebends, documented as well established enough to be abused, is mentioned only in the last section of the text, which appears to be a later treatise on the customs of Lincoln.<sup>425</sup> Moreover, the charter provides no confirmation of a complete 'four-square' system, as the dean is the only dignity specified.

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<sup>422</sup>Printed in *LS*, 2.1, pp. 1-4 from the *Registrum Antiquissimum* of Lincoln, A, 1, 5, #111. Also in Dugdale, vi, pp 1270-71, from an *inspeximus* of Henry VI. The dating clause in the *Reg. Ant.* reads, "*anno ab incarnatione eiusdem domini MXCo indictione xij.*" Bradshaw prints "*Signum Dorobernensis Archiepiscopi*" i.e. "of the archbishop of Canterbury " This is clearly impossible as Lanfranc died in May of the previous year, and Anselm would not be appointed for three more years. Furthermore, Bradshaw states elsewhere that this charter was witnessed by Thomas (*LS*, 1, p. 34). A transcription error may be at fault, but it is not Bradshaw's. The *Reg. Ant.* printed by the Lincoln Record Society supplies a photograph of the witness list, vol 1, frontispiece. Bradshaw's reading is accurate. The editor of the *Reg. Ant.* for the LRS, p. xvii, speculates that the thirteenth-century compiler misread "*Dorobernensis*" for "*Eboracensis*." The LRS text is given in the first of nine volumes of the *Reg. Ant.*, #3, pp 4-9.

<sup>423</sup>*LS*, 2.1, p. 4; *Reg. Ant.*, #3, p. 7: *In qua uidelicet matre ecclesia canonici deo seruietes caste et catholice uiuant, nullaue inter eos prebenda ematur uel uendatur, depulsa omni heresi symoniaca. Siquis autem, quod absit, aliter uoluerit uiuere et canonicis preceptis obedire noluerit,... a Decano et fratribus ceteris corrigatur...*

<sup>424</sup>*Reg. Ant.* #3, note pp. 9-11.

<sup>425</sup>There is a clear shift in tone and purpose of the text in the last quarter of the document. According to Stenton, this section circulated independently at Lincoln under the title "*De Castitate.*"

Henry of Huntingdon, however, provides good evidence for the four dignitaries at Lincoln under Remigius (1067-1092). In his *Letter to Walter*, possibly an archdeacon of Oxford, Henry, himself archdeacon of Huntingdon, describes Remigius' reforms. The chronicler credits Remigius with appointing a dean, a treasurer, a precentor, and a master, and establishing seven territorial archdeaconries.<sup>426</sup> Gerald of Wales, who researched his *Vita Sancti Remigii* over three years at Lincoln, recorded that the bishop endowed his canons with twenty-one prebends.<sup>427</sup> Like York, then, Lincoln combined fixed prebends and the four dignities in the last decade of the eleventh century.

York and Lincoln have much in common. Thomas renovated and then reconstituted the church of his predecessor; Remigius moved his. The controversial translation of the see from Dorchester to Lincoln, dating to 1072 or 1073, offered Remigius much of the opportunity for reform that Thomas enjoyed at York.<sup>428</sup> But as at York, the refoundation of Lincoln probably took place close to three decades later. Moreover, Salisbury, also translated earlier, nonetheless sought to establish its foundation in writing within a year of the charter of Lincoln. The concurrence of time and place is no coincidence.

Although the date of the refoundations is by no means as certain as historians once thought, the evidence of York creeps back to the traditional view held by Bradshaw. Bradshaw's argument that

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<sup>426</sup>*Epistola ad Walterum de Contemptu Mundi*, p. 301.

<sup>427</sup>*Vita S. Remigii*, p. 19.

<sup>428</sup>*Lincoln Acta*, p. xxxii, for the date of the translation.

the year 1090/91 saw similar reforms at York, Lincoln, and Salisbury, has rightfully lost currency. As discussed above, the Salisbury evidence at least suggests only limited reconstitution. It is clear that the case for a common scheme among Thomas, Osmund, and Remigius has in the past been overstated. No evidence remains that Osmund instituted the four dignities or sponsored fixed prebends on a large scale. Thomas and Remigius made similar changes to their chapters, but no collaboration can be established. Gerald of Wales claimed that Remigius looked to Rouen for a model for his new chapter, and Lincoln's later liturgical customs were indeed influenced by Maurilius of Rouen's adaptation of the *De Officiis Ecclesiasticis*.<sup>429</sup> But York's use cannot be traced to Rouen.

Unlike Lincoln or Salisbury, York preserves no documents pointing to 1090-91 as a watershed. The reconstruction of York can be dated only to 1086x1093. The combined evidence of Hugh the Chanter and Domesday Book reveals that [1] Thomas had made only limited changes in estate administration by the Survey of 1086 [2] Fixed prebends were instituted after 1086 but before the installation of the four dignitaries; and [3] The last three of the four dignities were instituted after fixed prebends but before Anselm's consecration in 1093.<sup>430</sup> The window for York's reconstitution might perhaps be narrowed to 1089-93, for Lanfranc's death removed a

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<sup>429</sup>See D. Owen, "The Norman Cathedral at Lincoln," p. 198, and E. Bishop, *Liturgica Historica*, passim.

<sup>430</sup>Durham DCDCM I.I Archiep. i cannot be dated securely enough to be helpful, although it makes clear that the dean Hugh of 1093 was at least the second canon to hold the dignity in Thomas' period.

stubborn obstacle to secular foundations, and for four years Thomas of Bayeux reigned as England's senior prelate.

Lanfranc's opposition to secular cathedrals is notorious. If, early in his pontificate, the archbishop of Canterbury appears to have flirted with the idea of supporting secular foundations, their condemnation by the pope soon changed his course.<sup>431</sup> Lanfranc vigorously promoted what Brooke calls "monastic coups" at Winchester, Canterbury, and Durham, and the tide of his support was strong enough to sustain, immediately following his death, the foundation of monastic cathedrals at Bath, Norwich, Coventry, and Ely.<sup>432</sup> The four-year vacancy from the death of Lanfranc in May, 1089 to the consecration of Anselm, December, 1093, thus offered an opportunity to establish secular chapters with no opposition from Canterbury. But it is not necessary to retard Thomas' reconstitution of York to the period of the vacancy. As his role in the primacy dispute reveals, Thomas did not shrink from a battle with Lanfranc.

Moreover, another fierce opponent of the archbishop of Canterbury had long proved a friend to Thomas, and provided a powerful model for secular reform well before the period of the vacancy. Hugh the Chanter remarked that Thomas took advice for his reconstitution. The bishop of Salisbury seems to have lagged behind Thomas in reforming, and the sources suggest Thomas' contact with Remigius was largely disputatious. But a possible

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<sup>431</sup>See Brooke, *Marriage*, pp. 82-3, and Southern, *Portrait*, pp. 308-10.

<sup>432</sup>Simeon of Durham claims that William of St. Calais enlisted Lanfranc's support so that no one could later overturn his monastic reforms, such was Lanfranc's authority. *LDE*, p. 121.

advisor presents himself in the person of Thomas' old patron, Odo of Bayeux.

The Bayeux Inquest of 1133, undertaken to determine the cathedral's assets at the death of Thomas' nephew, Richard FitzSamson, reveals that as early as 1074, Odo had created seven prebends at Bayeux.<sup>433</sup> That Odo introduced the custom of fixed prebends to an English church which had not seen them is established by Domesday Book. An entry for St. Martin's, Dover, testifies that in the time of King Edward the church held twelve pounds worth of lands as *praebendae communes* and that in 1086, "now they are divided into single prebends by the bishop of Bayeux."<sup>434</sup> Into the churches of the territory he held as earl of Kent, Odo introduced the system he had only recently established at Bayeux. It would be remarkable indeed if Odo failed to discuss his new arrangements with his former protégé, now an English metropolitan.

Precedents for the reconstitution of the English cathedrals were once sought in the secular cathedrals of northern France. All three of the prelates of York, Lincoln, and Salisbury maintained continental connections and had held dignities in Normandy. But the opinions of Bradshaw and even Edwards have been overset by more recent work showing the Norman cathedrals themselves in a state of flux in the

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<sup>433</sup>"L'enquête de 1133 sur les fiefs de l'évêché de Bayeux," ed. H. Navel, BSAN 42 (1935), pp. 16, 21.

<sup>434</sup>I am indebted to Barlow for this reference, *EC1000-66*, n. 7, p. 259, citing DB i I b I: *TRE erant praebendae communes et reddebant lxi libras inter totam. Modo sunt divisae per singulos per episcopum Baioc'*. There prove to be many examples at St. Martin's, Dover linking Odo to prebends.

second half of the eleventh century. Little evidence of the mature secular system appears before the time of the Conquest.<sup>435</sup>

But historians have sometimes overstated the case against a Norman precedent, at least for York. Assumed by Bradshaw to stand as Thomas' inspiration, the church of Bayeux has recently been discarded as a model for the cathedral to which it supplied an archbishop.<sup>436</sup> But Bayeux had appointed a dean and a precentor by 1079, and a treasurer before 1070 (Thomas himself); according to Edwards and Greenway, however, the *scholasticus* evident by 1050 was not the fourth dignitary, but a minister of lower rank.<sup>437</sup> The office of master of schools, they argue, appears to differ in continental and insular foundations: where the York Statutes record that the office of *magister scholarum* developed into the dignity of chancellor, the chancellorship at Bayeux derived not from the *scholasticus* but from the bishop's *archicapellanus*. Thus the 'four-square' system which partially defines a secular cathedral did not exist at Bayeux in the last quarter of the eleventh century, and could

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<sup>435</sup>Bates, *Normandy Before 1066*, pp. 214ff.

<sup>436</sup>See *LS*, 2.1, p. 106, Edwards, p. 13ff, and following her, Greenway, "False *Institutio*," pp. 81ff, and Brooke, *Marriage*, p. 79.

<sup>437</sup>Based on the research of D. Spear, printed Greenway, p. 82, and that of Bradshaw, *LS*, p. 106. Edwards, p. 15, argues on the basis of the thirteenth-century statutes of Bayeux, written by Canon Raoul Langevin, that the *scholasticus* was the seventh dignitary of the cathedral, and that the chancellor proper (the fourth dignitary) developed not out of the master of schools, but out of the bishop's chaplain. Influenced by Edwards, Greenway also perceives a difference between the insular and continental chancellorship: the fourth dignitary in France was the bishop's chancellor, in England, the cathedral chancellor, Greenway, p. 83. However, the evidence as they rehearse it is not entirely convincing. Witness lists are not always the best measure of precedence, and the *York Statutes'* statement that the chancellor was formerly called the *magister scholarum* could perhaps apply in other cathedrals.

not have provided an exact model for Thomas.<sup>438</sup> However, the fixed prebends which existed there, in combination with the existence of at least three, and very possibly four, of the dignities which also distinguished York, suggests that the identification of Bayeux as a model for York should not be dismissed out of hand.

Ecclesiastical historians have moved away from identifying strict institutional frameworks for the period before 1100, and even the term "four-square system" may mislead. No concrete "system" existed. We now know, for example, that capitular innovations appeared only gradually in Normandy, and that no single pattern of change predominated.<sup>439</sup> Thomas of Bayeux's introduction of dignities at York parallels near-contemporary circumstances in Normandy and elsewhere in England, and, the archbishop's regular interactions with other prelates afforded frequent opportunities for discussion. Osmund of Salisbury and Remigius of Lincoln must surely have consulted with Thomas about the administration of their secular cathedrals, and Odo of Bayeux in particular perhaps influenced his one-time protégé.<sup>440</sup> Odo in Normandy and Thomas in England seem to have worked towards a new system of administration at much the same time, and with the same methods. Ultimately, the combination of fixed prebends with the four dignities

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<sup>438</sup>The earlier studies have been superseded by D. Spear, "L'administration épiscopale normande: Archidiacres et dignitaires des chapitres", *Les évêques normands du XIe siècle*, ed. P. Bonet and F. Neveux (Caen, 1995), pp. 81-102. Spear tabulates references to Norman dignitaries, and argues for a gradual evolution in capitular structures, with a burgeoning around the year 1080.

<sup>439</sup>See D. Spear, "L'administration épiscopale normande: archidiacres et dignitaires des chapitres", *passim*,

<sup>440</sup>Odo may even have visited York, for he witnesses one of Thomas' grants to Selby. BL 37771, f. 93v.

of dean, precentor, chancellor, and treasurer became the defining characteristics of secular cathedrals in both realms.

By the end of Thomas' thirty-year archiepiscopate, St. Peter's would not have been recognizable by its last Anglo-Saxon bishop. Aldred's church had been physically eradicated, replaced by one of the most structurally daring edifices in England. From the three refugees whom Thomas found in his burnt-out church, the chapter had grown to perhaps a dozen. Twelve canons witnessed Thomas' confirmation of Durham's privileges in Yorkshire: perhaps York's full company.<sup>441</sup> Most dramatically, the canons no longer lived in common. Thomas rejected the idea of the *vita apostolica* as the highest form of religious life for his canons, and instead raided the archiepiscopal *mensa* to endow his canons individually. To this development we now turn.

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<sup>441</sup>See the appendices for Durham DCDCM I.I. Archiep. i, and a list of canons 1070x1100.

## 7. The Archbishop II: The Lands of St. Peter's

In addition to his canonical authority, Thomas of Bayeux exercised seigneurial jurisdiction in his capacity as tenant-in-chief of the vast holdings of St. Peter's, York. For much of his pontificate, the archbishop's fee was coterminous with the lands of St. Peter's: Thomas could make a grant *de feudo sancti petri eboracensis et meo*.<sup>442</sup> But the archbishop set in motion a transfer of power that would result, by the early years of the twelfth century, in the chapter enjoying independent rights and jurisdictions. The later liberty of the dean and chapter of York owed its existence to Thomas, and particularly to his policy of administering the lands of St. Peter's. This chapter reviews Thomas' proprietary rights in York and Yorkshire, and contrasts the arrangements of 1070 with those prevailing early in his successor's term. Thomas' strategy of endowing the canons with fixed territorial prebends will be analyzed, and the issue of the divided *mensa* addressed.

William I's harrying of the north in the winter of 1069/70 left such an indelible impression on Yorkshire that of the 1,830 place-names listed sixteen years later in the Domesday Survey, 794 were wholly or partly waste.<sup>443</sup> Between 1066 and 1086, the value of the lands of the archbishop of York plummeted from £320 to £160.

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<sup>442</sup>BL Add. 37771, f. 93v. See the appendix for the text.

<sup>443</sup>Figures derived from *DGNE*, pp. 496-500. The usual cautions about DB statistics apply. The problem of waste is discussed below.

Orderic Vitalis, usually the most partisan of William's supporters, roundly condemns the king for his actions.

Nowhere else had William shown such cruelty. Shamefully he succumbed to this vice, for he made no effort to restrain his fury and punished the innocent with the guilty. In his anger he commanded that all crops and herds, chattels and food of every kind should be brought together and burned to ashes with consuming fire, so that the whole region north of the Humber might be stripped of all means of sustenance.<sup>444</sup>

The artificial famine had the short-term effect of winning the submission of the surviving English leaders, and drove off for good the Danish forces, themselves in danger of starvation.<sup>445</sup>

The long-term effects of the harrying were greater still. Symeon of Durham testifies that William's campaign reduced the lands north of the Humber to a desert for the next nine years.<sup>446</sup> Orderic Vitalis puts the figure of the dead at 100,000.<sup>447</sup> If that figure exaggerates, we may at least believe Hugh the Chanter's

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<sup>444</sup>*OV*, 2, pp. 230-32: *Nusquam tanta crudelitate usus est Guillelmus. Hic turpiter uitio succubuit; dum iram suam rege recontempsit, et reos innocuosque pari animaduersione peremit. Iussit enim ira stimulante segetibus et pecoribus cum uasis et omni genere alimentorum repleri, et igne iniecto penitus omnia simul comburi, et sic omnem alimoniam per totam regionem Transhumbranam pariter deuastari.*

<sup>445</sup>*OV*, 2, pp. 232-4

<sup>446</sup>*HR*, p. 188: *Normannis Angliam vastantibus, in Northimbria et in quibusdam aliis provinciis anno praecedenti, sed praesenti et subsequente fere per totam Angliam, maxime per Northymbriam, et per contiguas illi provincias, adeo fames praevaluit, ut homines humanas, equinas, caninas, et catinas carnes, et quicquid usus abhorret, cogente inedia comederent. Alii vero in servitutum perpetuam sese venderent, dummodo qualitercumque miserabilem vitam sustenarent, alii extra patriam profecturi in exilium, medio itinere deficientes, animas emiserunt. Erat horror ad intuendum per domos, plateas, et itinera cadavera humana dissolvi, et tabescentia putredine cum foetore horrendo scaturire vermibus. Neque enim superat qui ea humo cooperiret, omnibus vel extinctis gladio et fame, vel propter famem paternum solum reliquentibus. Inter Eboracum et Dunelmum nusquam villa inhabitata; bestiarum tantum et latronum latibula magno itinerantibus fuere timori.*

<sup>447</sup>*OV*, 2, p. 232.

statement that when Thomas of Bayeux took up his see, "he found everything laid waste as a result of hostilities."<sup>448</sup> Yet the picture for Thomas was in some ways not as bleak as the chroniclers have painted it. For instance, the new archbishop of York found himself one of the greatest landowners in the north of England.

Domesday Book attests to Thomas' eminence in the city of York. The returns identify seven districts, or shires, in existence within the city in 1066. In 1086 only six shires remained, divided among three great landholders, the king, the earl of Northumbria, and the archbishop of York. Domesday Book credits the archbishop with the "full customary dues " of his own shire, and "the third part of one of [the other]... shires..."<sup>449</sup> The prose is elliptical, but there can be little doubt that "the third part" of a shire that Thomas held in addition to his own, represents not a geographical but a financial division: the third penny of revenue received.

The archbishop's shire seems to have comprised about one-seventh of the city of York.<sup>450</sup> The *Clamores* reveal that in the time of King Edward, the shire contained 189 messuages, but in 1086 only 100 remained, plus the archbishop's court and the houses of the canons.<sup>451</sup> The shire's location has been much disputed, but almost certainly included the Minster and its close, much of the area north-east of Petergate, and other fragments of property throughout the

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<sup>448</sup>Hugh, p. 18: *Quando archiepiscopatum suscepit, cuncta hostili uastacione depopulata inuenit.* Digby apparently felt that Hugh made too little of the disaster facing the archbishop, for he adds a section emphasizing the depredations suffered by the estates of St. Peter's, p. 362.

<sup>449</sup>DB, fo. 298a.

<sup>450</sup>1,418 dwellings in five shires TRE (DB, fo. 298a); the archbishop had 189.

<sup>451</sup>DB, fo. 298b.

city.<sup>452</sup> But less significant for the present purpose than the geographical extent of the shire is the political importance with which Domesday Book credits the archbishop.

The jurisdictions of the earl, the king, and the archbishop are strictly delimited.

In the demesne manors the earl had nothing at all, nor the king in the earl's manors, beyond what belongs to the spiritual jurisdiction, which belongs to the archbishop. In all the land of St. Peter of York... similarly neither the king nor the earl, nor anyone else, had customary dues there. The king has three ways by land, and a fourth by water. On these, every forfeiture is the king's and the earl's wherever the ways lead, whether through the land of the king or of the archbishop or of the earl.<sup>453</sup>

Thomas maintained spiritual authority over the whole city, but also enjoyed the power to exclude the king and the earl from the profits of his own shire. He was prevented from collecting fines, or forfeits, subject to wrongdoers on the king's roads, even if they led through his own shire.

Thomas also derived revenue from outside the city walls. A Domesday entry suggests his extramural property proved lucrative.

The archbishop has near the city 15 carucates for geld, which fifteen ploughs can plough. He has there in demesne two ploughs and 60 acres of meadow. This land [is] one league in length and one in breadth. That, and the whole of what he has in the city, was worth £8 in the time of King Edward; now £10.<sup>454</sup>

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<sup>452</sup>DB, fo. 298b assigns 100 dwellings to the shire in addition to the Archbishop's court and the houses of the canons. Palliser, "Domesday York," pp. 11-13 reviews the scholarship on the bishop's shire; see especially Rees-Jones, PhD.

<sup>453</sup>DB, fo. 298c.

<sup>454</sup>DB, fo. 302c; the 15 carucates of land and 60 acres of meadow are similarly noted in the Summary, fo. 379d.

The deficient ploughlands in no way detracted from the property's value. The total worth of the holdings of the archbishop in and around the city of York from 1066 to 1086 rose from £8 to £10. A twenty-five percent rise in value from 1066 to 1086 is remarkable anywhere in Domesday Book, but especially so in Yorkshire.

Another source supplements the account of Domesday Book, but its date and purpose remain unclear. York's fourteenth-century *Magistrum Registrum Album* preserves a copy, in French and Old English, of a text of an earlier but uncertain date, describing the rights and laws of an "Archbishop T" of York.<sup>455</sup> The witness clause places the text within the pontificate of Thomas I, but attempts to date the text more securely have proved contentious.<sup>456</sup> Professor Palliser would like to see the text as a Domesday Book satellite, perhaps even as a preliminary return, but his argument lacks force.<sup>457</sup> The witness clause names one Hugh the Sheriff, while Hugh fitz Baldric can not be shown to have held York after c. 1080.<sup>458</sup>

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<sup>455</sup>MRA I, ff. 61r-v. The charter appears in Part I of the cartulary, which contains Hugh the Chanter's history and other documents relating to Thomas' archiepiscopate. It appears well after Thomas' pallium letter (f. 41r), and just before William II's grant of lands to the canons (f. 62r). Too much should not be inferred by position, however, for the scribe was minimally organized. Documents were more likely arranged thematically than chronologically.

<sup>456</sup>These are witnesses to this: Arngrim the monk, and Oudergrim, and Clibern, and Wulfstan, and Oudulf, and Ulfkil, and Ouderbern, and Hardolf, and Lisolf, and Gluneorn, and Beornolf, and Ulf, and all the inhabitants of the city of York, and the archbishop and his household (?), and Hugh the sheriff, and William of Snotingham (Nottingham), and Berengar the king's messenger, and Ilbert of Hittawuda, and William de Percy, and William Tisun, and all the king's men.

<sup>457</sup>Palliser, p. 7. Palliser usefully entitles the work *Rights and Laws*, after its opening words.

<sup>458</sup>Palliser, p. 19, notes in a postscript that J. Green's *English Sheriffs to 1154* (PRO Handbooks 24, HMSO, 1990), p. 89 dates Hugh fitz Baldric c. 1069x1080; but reports that Dr. Green told him that "the dating of Yorkshire sheriffs in the 1080s remains tentative, and that it need not prevent *Rights and Laws* from

Textual evidence also argues for a date before c. 1086. Although the document bears in part on the king's survey of land-ownership and revenue (Maitland's "geld-book"), it reads more like an inquest commissioned by the archbishop himself. The text deals not with revenue from manors, Domesday's central concern, but judicial privileges. Revenue is a merely by-product of the rights enumerated. The text answers vital questions to which Thomas himself would have required answers as soon as possible after taking up his new post. Despite the substantial number of attestors to *Rights and Laws* who also appear in the Yorkshire Domesday, a date c. 1070 x c. 1080, and probably near the early edge of that range, looks more likely than 1086.<sup>459</sup>

The text opens with the declaration that "These are the rights and laws which Archbishop T. has throughout York, within the borough (burh) and without..." The geographical limits of Thomas' jurisdiction are defined: from Layerthorpe north to Monkgate, and from "Thurbrand's house" to Walmgate, Clementhorpe and the

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being placed fairly close in date to Domesday Book." Faull and Stinson provide a brief biography of Hugh in DB, York. Hugh is a major DB tenant in 1086.<sup>459</sup>Twelve English and six Normans attest. Of the English, nine bear names which appear among the DB tenants (Arngrim the monk, Clibern [Clibert], Wulfstan, Ulfkil [Ulfketill], Hardolf, Lisolf [Ligulfr], Gluneorn [Gluniarinn], Beornulf [Bjornulfr], and Ulf [Ulfr]. This congruence of course means little. Of the Norman witnesses, Hugh the Sheriff holds lands as Hugh fitz Baldric. The rights text could possibly use the title anachronistically. If Berengar *regis nuncius* is Berengar de Tosny, he appears in both sources as well. Similarly in the case of Ilbert "de Hittawuda" and Ilbert de Lacy. William de Percy appears in both texts. The last witness is problematic: William Tison. Gilbert Tison is a major landholder in DB; could William be his father? Gilbert Tison is generally considered to have acquired his DB estates after the rising of the north in 1069 (see Dalton, p. 69).

environs of St. Mary's.<sup>460</sup> The document further ascribes to Thomas the third penny of the tolls for Walmgate and Fishergate, and the third penny from the fishery and from Layer Gildgarth. The mention of the third penny corroborates the reading of the "third part" of Thomas' Domesday Book shire as a financial not a geographical description. *Rights and Laws* further notes that Thomas maintained two moneys; Domesday omits this information.

Most importantly, *Rights and Laws* departs from the Domesday account by suggesting a different division of rights in the city. Where Domesday Book depicts a threefold division, *Rights and Laws* downplays the position of the earl. The king and the archbishop divide the city between them.

And every man who should come to York with merchandise, from east or north, south or west, with horses or wagons, let them pay their toll to those to whom by right they should pay, to the king what he has by right, and to the bishop what he has. And let every man travel where he wants, either to king's shire or bishop's shire, by God's leave and the king's. And whatever merchant comes into bishop's shire, and buys in king's shire, shall give the king toll, if there be anything liable to toll. And the man who comes into king's shire and buys in bishop's shire shall give the bishop the toll.<sup>461</sup>

Only the king and the archbishop are endowed with shires: the text mentions the earl's rights only indirectly. The archbishop also seems endowed with greater rights of toll than the Domesday survey allowed him.

The earl appears in *Rights and Laws* only by proxy:

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<sup>460</sup>The author is as yet unable to establish which of Thurbrand's houses is meant. Thurbrand seems to have been killed at Settringham by earl Waltheolf in 1073.

<sup>461</sup>MRA, I, fo. 61r (OE) and v (F).

All offences committed, whether by clerk or layman, that is, if the clerk wrongly announces a feast day or a fast day, and if a layman offends by perjury, or fornication, or injustice, which he comits within the borough and without, *no reeve of the king or the earl* shall have any profit at all from receiving fines for these offences, but only the bishop and the archdeacon, by God's blessing and the bishop's.<sup>462</sup>

The relative insignificance of the earl within the text may provide a clue to the date of *Rights and Laws*. The document must derive from a period when no Northumbrian earl held much sway in the city of York, or his rights would have been explicitly stated in comparison with the archbishop's, as they were in Domesday. Yet that an earl did exist is confirmed by the mention of his reeve. The text seems likely to have been drawn up early in Thomas' pontificate, and perhaps as early as 1070 x 1072, when the Conqueror was duelling with the sometime-rebel Gospatric.

An early date for the text further suggests itself by the reference to the rights of the archbishop and his archdeacon to the profits of ecclesiastical judgements, a theme which notably parallels William I's legislation (c. 1072) regarding the separation of temporal and spiritual courts.<sup>463</sup> Mention of an archdeacon of St. Peter's might further help establish the provenance of *Rights and Laws*, but given the present state of the evidence the reverse is more likely: *Rights and Laws* can perhaps give insight into the course of Thomas' administrative reforms.

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<sup>462</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>463</sup>William's writ prohibits secular interference in spiritual proceedings, except in bringing fugitives to justice.

Hugh the Chanter summarizes Thomas' early reforms at York thus:

He appointed a provost to preside over the others and to manage their affairs; he gave manors, lands, and churches himself, and restored those which others had taken away. He bestowed much of his own property on the canons; he apportioned wise and diligent men *to be archdeacons* in the diocese.<sup>464</sup>

The appointment of archdeacons seems to be central to Thomas' policy, although Hugh's Latin does not specify whether the office of archdeacon was itself an innovation, or whether Thomas deserves praise for appointing particularly effective incumbents. Certainly the legatine council at Windsor, on 24 May 1070 (at which William appointed Thomas to York), had decreed that bishops should appoint archdeacons, implying that the office had lapsed.<sup>465</sup> The early eleventh-century Laws of Northumbrian priests had described the duties of an archdeacon, but it is not clear that the post had ever been filled at York.

In *Rights and Laws*, one archdeacon at least existed, as he is shown receiving the profits of justice alongside his archbishop.<sup>466</sup>

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<sup>464</sup>Hugh, p. 18:... *prepositum constituit qui ceteris preesset et eos procuraret; uillas aliquas et terras et ecclesias dedit, et ab aliis ablatas reddidit; plurima de suo proprio canonicis necessaria administrabat; archidiaconos quoque sapientes et industrios per diocesim diuisit.*

<sup>465</sup>Legatine Council at Winchester, 24 May 1070: 5. *ut episcopi archidiaconos et ceteros sacri ordinis ministros in aecclesiis suis ordinent.* Printed in C&S, ii, #87, III, from Cambridge, Corpus Christi MS 190, p. 292, "probably among the mss presented to Exeter Cathedral by Bishop Leofric before his death in February, 1072." The editors note that the canons of the council are possibly a later addition, though pre-1100, p. 567.

<sup>466</sup>The diocese of York eventually comprised five archdeaconries, which perhaps came into existence by the end of Thomas' pontificate: the archdeaconry of York, which comprised the West Riding as well as the city; the East Riding; Cleveland, which included the easternmost part of the North Riding and one wapentake of the East Riding; Richmond, a huge territory

But the archdeacon of this text appears not as a territorial minister, responsible for capitular administration of property, but as the reeve of the archbishop.<sup>467</sup> This situation reflects the Anglo-Saxon arrangement that Thomas at first preserved at York. We know from Hugh the Chanter that Thomas undertook in his early years at York to restore Aldred's arrangements.<sup>468</sup>

*Rights and Laws* represents the circumstances at York before Thomas began to make dramatic changes. The archbishop appears as landlord and justiciar, with one archdeacon as his minister. The chapter is never mentioned, and evidently has not yet received any rights of its own. But by the time of Domesday Book, the first changes in York's administration may be discerned.

Hugh the Chanter reported that Thomas augmented the canons' living by bestowing on them manors and churches, some recovered from others, and some his own property.<sup>469</sup> Contemporary sources provide ample corroboration. William of Malmesbury confirms that Thomas' generous donations of episcopal lands for the use of his

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covering sections of the North and West Ridings and parts of Lancashire, Cumberland and Westmorland; and Nottingham, contiguous with Nottinghamshire. Although *Rights and Laws* text mentions only one archdeacon, the possibility that more than one such officer existed must not be ruled out: the archdeacon stipulated could refer to the archdeacon of York, later the senior archdeacon of St. Peter's and the archbishop's reeve in the city. Clay thought that Thomas instituted the divisions; he notes the earliest incumbents in YAJ 36 (1944-7), pp. 269-87, 409-34. He notes, p. 269, that textual evidence identifies all five archdeaconries by 1135. Smith's Borthwick guide, pp. 86-7, continues Clay's work by noting the history of the archdeaconries down to the twentieth century.

<sup>467</sup>For a comparison with the situation in Normandy, see the useful recent article by D. Spear, "L'administration épiscopale normande: archidiacones et dignitaires des chapitres", especially pp. 89-93.

<sup>468</sup>Specifically in regard to the living arrangements of the canons, discussed in the previous chapter.

<sup>469</sup>Hugh, p. 18: *...uillas aliquas et terras et ecclesias dedit, et ab aliis ablatas reddidit; plurima de suo proprio canonicis necessaria administrabat.*

clergy drove his successors to despair.<sup>470</sup> But even more explicit is the testimony of Domesday Book.

The Domesday Inquest of 1086 left Yorkshire not with one survey, but with three. Yet though the relationship between the Claims, the Briefs, and the Summary has yet to be satisfactorily explained, the Yorkshire section of Domesday Book provides abundant documentation for Thomas' tenurial lordship.<sup>471</sup> The Archbishop of York is the second landholder listed in the text proper, and his holdings are detailed in 107 entries.<sup>472</sup> These entries not only bear out Hugh's claim that Thomas gave some of his own lands to the canons, but reveal that sixteen years after his appointment to the archbishopric, the canons were still being supported by a common fund.

Six manors held by Archbishop Thomas are listed in the *Breves* as subinfeudated to the Canons of St. Peters.<sup>473</sup> Of these, four were held by Archbishop Aldred in the time of King Edward, and thus passed to Thomas as part of his episcopal fee. It seems likely that these four manors fall into the category of the lands described by Hugh as *plurima de suo proprio* which the archbishop bestowed on the canons. Of the remaining two manors held by the canons, one

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<sup>470</sup>GP, p. 258: *Liberalitate sua successores contristavit, ut qui multum episcopatum terrarum partem in clericorum usum nimie, ut dicunt, prodigus distraxerit.*

<sup>471</sup>See especially R.W. Finn's article and Palliser's introduction to *Yorkshire Domesday* for theories about the composition of the Yorkshire Domesday.

<sup>472</sup>The first 23 manors are located almost exclusively (2 exceptions) in the East Riding, the next 30 in the North Riding, the next 13 in the West Riding, and the last 41 in the East Riding.

<sup>473</sup>The usual language is, "Now, under Archbishop Thomas, the Canons of St. Peter's have in lordship (*in dominio*)..." DB, fo. 302d, for (North and South) Newbald. Five of these manors are located in the East Riding, one in the West Riding.

bears no name of its holder TRE and thus reveals nothing of its tenurial history. But the last manor was held by two thegns in the time of King Edward, and was thus added to the lands of St Peter's under Thomas (or possibly Aldred) and granted to the canons between 1066 and 1086. Again, Domesday Book bears out Hugh's contention that Thomas acquired lands and gave them to the canons.

But the most crucial piece of evidence which the Domesday Survey provides regarding Thomas' arrangements for his canons is a statement concerning the status of one of their seven manors. Grafton, a manor in the West Riding wholly wasted in 1086, is expressly stated in the Briefs to pertain to the land allocated for the sustenance of the canons: "*Hoc pertinet ad uictum canonicorum.*"<sup>474</sup> This terminology reveals that at the time of the Domesday Inquest the canons were still sustained by a common fund.<sup>475</sup> No individual named as a canon appears among the tenants of the archbishop's fee.

A.G. Dickens points out that the compilers of Domesday Book, concerned with feudal tenure relevant to taxation, looked upon the canons of St. Peter's merely as Thomas' subtenants. "In the penultimate decade of the century the canons were still [the archbishop's] poor clients and protegés. If at this moment a canon had urged his prescriptive rights... he would have aroused singularly

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<sup>474</sup>DB, fo. 303c

<sup>475</sup>The appearance of a "*prebendarius*" in (Upper) Poppleton, a manor in the archbishop's fee, initially caused this writer some qualms; Clay, and Burton following him, have assumed this *prebendarius* to be a canon of St. Peter's. Upper Poppleton does indeed become a fixed prebend of St. Peter's; it may even have become one under Thomas (through the gift of Durand the archdeacon). But as this *prebendarius* appears in the text after two *villani*, and appears to hold no land himself, I feel reasonably secure in following Latham's identification ['(?) 1086'] of a *prebendarius* as a purveyor of fodder. Prebendaries who are canons do appear elsewhere in DB (e.g. at Stafford).

little emotion in the breast of a Domesday commissioner."<sup>476</sup> In other words, the Domesday compilers might have classified the fee of an individual canon as if it belonged to the entire body of canons. One the whole, however, it seems preferable to trust the text. In any event, the entries of Domesday Book imply no difference in status between the canons of St. Peter's and lay tenants: both hold their lands *sub archiepiscopo*.

The Domesday *Clamores* supplement the Survey's information concerning the canon's lands. The Claims confirm the Survey's depiction of St. Peter's canons as Thomas' "poor clients," but with one important distinction. One entry in the Claims seems to display the canons functioning as an independent corporate body. Ralph Paynel holds three carucates of waste at Sandburn (House), near the city of York. But "the canons say that they had it in the time of King Edward."<sup>477</sup> The canons seem to act as a corporation here, but it is important not to overstate the case. The entry, and four others like it, appears alongside the claims brought by the archbishop. The canons' claims are brought as part of Thomas' complaints regarding the wasting of some of the archiepiscopal fee.<sup>478</sup> The capitular *mensa* exists largely as an aspect of the archbishop's holdings.

Moreover, the capitular *mensa* at this time comprised no individual holdings. The canons' claims regarding Osbaldwick, Murton, Stockton (on the Forest), Sandburn (House), and Clifton,

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<sup>476</sup>Dickens, pp. 144-45.

<sup>477</sup>DB, fo. 298b. ...*Radulfus Pagenel tenet. Canonici dicunt se eam habuisse TRE.*

<sup>478</sup>Construction of the king's pool destroyed 2 new mills worth 20 shillings, together with one carucate of gardens and arable land belonging to the archbishop; DB, fo. 298b.

suggest that lands in these manors belonged to the canons in support of their common fund in 1086.<sup>479</sup> Land in Osbaldwick appears as "*terra canonicorum*," which seems to place it in the same category as Grafton, discussed above. These entries confirm the evidence of the Breves that in 1086 the canons held their lands as a body.

Ultimately, the Yorkshire Domesday reveals that Thomas waited at least sixteen years before changing the system of ecclesiastical estates administered in common. But this delay in shifting away from the policy of his Anglo-Saxon predecessor need not be explained by administrative hesitation. It may not have taken Thomas the better part of twenty years to make up his mind what kind of a cathedral he wished to head. Thomas could hardly have restructured the church he inherited before restoring it first.

The harrying of the north, long recognised by political historians as determining the social and economic course of Yorkshire in the decades after the Conquest, disturbed the ecclesiastical sphere as well. The northern archbishopric suffered the repeated destruction of its church, the obliteration of its charters and other records, and the annihilation of its clergy. So dangerous were the lands of the diocese that Thomas, who spoke no English, called upon Wulfstan of Worcester, York's ancient chorepiscopus, to help administer them.<sup>480</sup> Thomas inherited a church in ruins. He could make no change in a program that did not exist.

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<sup>479</sup>See the appendices for a summary of the canons' holdings.

<sup>480</sup>*GP*, p. 285: *...ab archiepiscopo supliciter rogaretur ut suas dignaretur lustrare, quo ipse pro timore hostium vel sermonis ignorantia cavebat acceder.*

At the making of Domesday Book, then, the canons of the Minster held their lands in common. Yet the evidence suggests that soon after 1086 Thomas abandoned this arrangement in favour of a system of fixed prebends in which each canon maintained and was maintained by his own estate. Hugh elaborates:

The canons had long lived in common, but the archbishop, after taking advice, determined to divide some of the lands of St Peter's which were still waste into separate prebends, to leave room for a growing number of canons; in this way each of them might be eager to build on and cultivate his own share for his own sake.<sup>481</sup>

Hugh the Chanter's account has been interpreted to mean that Thomas' motivation was two-fold: to move canons out of York to make room for new recruits, and to redevelop wasted estates. The first part of this premise is straightforward. The growth of the chapter rendered the rebuilt dormitory and refectory inadequate. But the claim that Thomas specifically turned over worthless property to his canons as a strategy for land-development requires examination.<sup>482</sup>

Before addressing the issue of individual prebends, it is helpful to examine the extent to which the canons as a body held land specified as waste in Domesday Book. It is true that the five manors which appear in the *Clamores* as *terra canonicorum* are waste in

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<sup>481</sup>Hugh, p. 18: *Annis pluribus canonicis communiter sic uescentibus, consilio quorundam placuit archiepiscopo de terra sancti Petri, que multum adhuc uasta erat, singulis prebendas partiri; ita enim et canonicorum numerus crescere posset, et quisque, sicut pro se, partem suam studiosus et edificaret et excoleret.*

<sup>482</sup>See, for instance, Crosby, p. 347: 'The easiest and quickest way to restore the productivity of the estates was to assign individual shares which the holder would then have the incentive to improve to his own advantage.'

1086. However, the fact that the manors are waste explains why they appear in the claims (at least in part), it does not explain why the canons hold them. The canons appear to have held them in 1066, before they were waste. In the case of Sandburn (House) the canons specifically claim to have done so. The Osbaldwick, Murton, and Stockton entries do not specify the TRE holder, but the context suggests *terrae canonicorum* in both 1066 and 1086. The entry for Clifton is more obscure. The text suggests that the canons hold land there of the archbishop; it is not clear if it is or was considered *terra canonicorum*. The eight and a half carucates the canons hold in Clifton in 1086 is certainly waste, but the claim does not reveal if the land was historically part of the estates allocated for the common fund, or if Thomas donated them out of his archiepiscopal fee. But four out of the five entries in the Claims dealing with the canons' holdings do not support the premise that Thomas specifically endowed his canons with waste.<sup>483</sup>

Unlike the Claims, the Domesday Survey itself does reveal a number of archiepiscopal estates granted by Thomas of Bayeux to support his canons, at least one of which was waste.<sup>484</sup> Of six estates subinfeudated to the canons, four certainly belonged to archbishop Aldred's fee in 1066, and three are listed as wholly or partially waste. But even here, it is not possible to be certain that Thomas viewed his canons as entrepreneurs. Again, the estates containing or

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<sup>483</sup>Of these five manors, only Osbaldwick was a prebend by the *Taxatio* of 1291.

<sup>484</sup>Thomas' grant of these lands was discussed briefly above, in the context of Hugh the Chanter's statement regarding the archbishop's endowment.

comprising waste seem to have been given to the canons for reasons to which waste was incidental.

In the East Riding, the canons held the manors of Walkington, (North) Cave, and (North and South) Newbald in 1086.<sup>485</sup> Archbishop Aldred held these manors in 1066, and although he may have donated them to the canons before his death in 1069, the balance of probability is that the gift was Thomas'. North Cave is listed as waste in 1086. Did Thomas endow the chapter with worthless property? Not in this case. First of all, though the land is waste, a tributary (*ensorius*) there pays 10s8d. The canons at least have some prospect of revenue. In the second place, North Cave lies within a few miles of the other two manors, which render a total of £11 10s; Newbald also contained four mills. North Cave's low revenue is offset by the assests of its neighboring manors.

Of the three remaining manors in the archiepiscopal fee held by the canons in 1086, one was waste and two were lucrative. Riccall was a profitable property (100s TRE, 30s TRW) lying to the south of York.<sup>486</sup> Despite a decline in geld assessment, the canons would have had every reason to be delighted with the grant of a manor with twenty villagers, half a league square of meadow and a woodland pasture of one league by one-half leagues. In 1086, the canons had two carucates in demesne.

Dunnington, in the East Riding just outside York, was similarly valuable.<sup>487</sup> In 1066 the thanes Slettan and Edwin held the manor,

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<sup>485</sup>DB, fo. 302c, d.

<sup>486</sup>DB, fo. 302d.

<sup>487</sup>DB, fo. 302d.

when it paid 10s. By 1086, Dunnington had come into the hands of the archbishop of York, and either Aldred or Thomas gave it to the canons. This gift was the more remarkable because the manor's assessment rose by 50 percent by 1086. Far from endowing waste, Thomas (we presume it was Thomas, and not Aldred) appears to have parted with profitable property not far from the edges of his archiepiscopal shire, which he might well have retained for himself.

Grafton, in the West Riding on the way to Ripon, presents a different picture.<sup>488</sup> Grafton seems to return us to the situation familiar from the Claims: the entry specifies that the manor is allocated for the sustenance of the canons. The text does not specify the TRE holder, but it seems reasonable to infer that the manor was held *ad uictum canonicorum* in both 1066 and 1086, as in the case of the *terra canonicorum* of the Claims. Again, this is no example of Thomas granting waste to his canons. They seem to have held Grafton already in 1066, when it paid 10s.

Thus we see that out of the eleven manors which the canons of St. Peter's held of the archbishop, in no case did that Thomas deliberately endowed the chapter with waste. On the contrary, he granted his canons lands with assets such as mills, meadow, and woodland, and in some cases endowed them with property which could offset the losses incurred on estates held since 1066.

The Domesday evidence tells us only of lands held in common. Hugh the Chanter specifically claimed that Thomas gave lands which were waste as *prebends*. This has led modern historians to credit

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<sup>488</sup>DB, fo. 303c.

Thomas with a precocious entrepreneurial streak.<sup>489</sup> Most recently, Everett Crosby supposed that Thomas gave underdeveloped property to individuals in order to improve it. But on the contrary, the best evidence suggests that Thomas refrained from granting waste as prebends.

No source provides the names of all the prebends founded by Thomas, or even their number. But one prebend at least was certainly constituted in Thomas pontificate, two others are probable, and two possible. Thomas certainly founded the prebend of Holme "Archiepiscopi," near Fridaythorpe in the East Riding.<sup>490</sup> This prebend, possibly York's earliest, comprised the village of Holme and the church of Hexham in Northumberland.<sup>491</sup> Prior Richard of Hexham records that "the same archbishop gave [the church of Hexham] with a certain manor by the name of Holme to a certain canon of the Church of Beverley called Richard de Maton, as a prebend of the Church of York."<sup>492</sup> As Clay points out, this is the earliest named prebendary of St Peter's.<sup>493</sup> That he is a canon of St John's, Beverley, indicates that Thomas recruited clerks from

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<sup>489</sup>See Crosby, cited above, and also the much more thoughtful analysis of T.A.M. Bishop.

<sup>490</sup>*Prior Richard*, p. 50.

<sup>491</sup>In Domesday Book, according to Clay, Holme may belong to the thirteen-and-a-half carucates listed under the archbishop's fee for Wetwang. Clay, *Fasti*, ii, p. 38, cites a document "of uncertain date" that places the lost village of Holme in the parish of Wetwang. Vide M. Beresford, "The Lost Villages of Yorkshire," *YAJ* 38, p. 63; also DB 302d for Wetwang. Holme Archiepiscopi, which does not appear in DB, has often been confused with Holme on the Wolds, which does.

<sup>492</sup>*Prior Richard*, p. 50: *idem archi-presul eam [Hagustaldensis videlicet ecclesia], cum quadam villa nomine Holm, dedit, in prebendam Eboracensi ecclesiae, cuidam canonico ecclesiae Sancti Johannis Beveriacensis, qui Ricardus de Maton vocabatur.*

<sup>493</sup>*Fasti*, ii, p. 38.

flourishing collegiate churches in Yorkshire to administer new posts. This chronicle provides the only evidence of the provenance of Thomas new recruits.

Prior Richard further records that Richard de Maton was assisted in his administration of Hexham by a priest called Eilaf, and the identity of this man provides a clue to the date of the prebend's foundation. Aelred of Rievaulx's History of the Church of Hexham supplements Prior Richard's account, and suggests a foundation date after 1085.<sup>494</sup> According to Aelred, his grandfather, Eilaf, treasurer of Durham, left St Cuthbert's in the wake of William of St. Calais' reform, and took up residence at Hexham. William's replacement of Walcher's secular clerks with the monks of Wearmouth and Jarrow traditionally dates to May, 1083. The Durham canons were given an ultimatum:

And as for those who had hitherto resided therein (canons by name, but in no way following canonical rule), them [Bishop William] commanded henceforth to lead a monastic life along with the monks, if they wished to reside within the church. But they preferred to abandon the church rather than to retain it in such a way...<sup>495</sup>

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<sup>494</sup>Aelred, p. 191ff.

<sup>495</sup>The one exception was the dean, who was persuaded to remain by his son, a monk. *LDE*, p. 122: *Eis vero qui prius inibi habitaverant, nomen tantum canonicorum habentes, sed in nullo canonicorum regulam sequentes, praecepit, ut si in ipsa ecclesia residere vellent, deinceps in monachio proposito cum monachis vitam agerent. At illi de ecclesia exire quam taliter ingredi maluerunt.* A York version of the text (discussed in a previous chapter) records that the pope assigned four "prebends" for the support of the canons who left. These prebends are not likely to have been fixed, as they are presumably supposed to support a number of canons. None of them is Hexham. Simeon's account of William of St. Calais' introduction of monks has received some recent attention, see especially Rollason in *AND*.

Treasurer Eilaf left St. Cuthbert's, then, in the summer or 1083.

Aelred records that Eilaf eked out an existence at Hexham for the two years before his death, which must then date to 1085 at the earliest.<sup>496</sup> Furthermore, Prior Richard asserts that "not much after" the time when Eilaf came to Hexham "*sub Primo Thoma, Eboracensi archiepiscopo,*" Thomas then gave the church as a prebend to Richard de Maton, "under whom a certain priest named Eilaf, son of the aforementioned Eilaf, administered the church and for his service received part of the benefice."<sup>497</sup> Thus, when considered together, the two Hexham accounts suggest the following chronology: [1] Eilaf I receives the care of Hexham from Thomas of York in or soon after 1083, when William of St. Calais initiated his monastic program. [2] Not long afterward, and perhaps when Eilaf dies in or after 1085, Richard de Maton receives Hexham as a prebend of York, and shares its revenues with Eilaf II, who continues his father's tradition of care for the church.<sup>498</sup> This chronology largely agrees with the combined testimony of Hugh the Chanter and Domesday Book, that Thomas' constitution of prebends began soon after 1086. But only the Hexham histories preserve a record of Thomas' foundation of the prebend; the York sources are silent.

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<sup>496</sup>Aelred, p. 191.

<sup>497</sup>Prior Richard, p. 50: *Hujus autem ecclesia tanto caelesti thesauro ditatae, sub Primo Thoma, Eboracensi archiepiscopo, quidam saecularis presbyter, nomine AEllavus, curam egit. Sed, non multo post, idem archi-presul eam, cum quadam villa nomine Holm, dedit, in praebendam Eboracensi ecclesiae, cuidam canonico ecclesiae Sancti Johannis Beverlacensis, qui Ricardus de Maton vocabatur, sub quo quidem presbyter, nomine AEllavus, praedicti AEllavi filius, eidem ecclesiae sumministravit, et pro suo servitio parte beneficiorum habuit.*

<sup>498</sup>Eilaf II would later work with Thomas II (Aelred, p. 192).

Evidence for other early prebends is slight, and rarely supplemented to any purpose by sources outside the Minster Library. The prebends of Grindale and Warthill purport to date to the reign of William I, which, in conjunction with Hugh's statement that fixed prebends were new to York under Thomas, would place them between 1070 and 1087.<sup>499</sup> But evidence for these two prebends rests on documents drawn up for a fourteenth-century dispute between York and the church of Axminster, in Devon, and historians have reasonably tended to dismiss the claim to foundation under William I as spurious. Grindale, a manor of four carucates in the North Riding, and Warthill, three carucates in the East Riding, certainly belonged to the archbishop's fee in 1086, but the evidence that Thomas constituted them as prebends is not compelling.

However two other prebends are likely to have been founded by Thomas. A manuscript in the Minster Library preserves a record of the creation of two prebends in the church of St Peter's from the fee of Durand the archdeacon, to be held by Durand for life.<sup>500</sup> The diplomatic of the document is problematic: the Latin is corrupt, and some terminology appears irregular.<sup>501</sup> Moreover, the date of the

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<sup>499</sup>A notification of the grant of the church of Axminster, Devon, to the prebendaries of Grindale and Warthill by William Rufus is listed as spurious by Davis, *Reg.*, i, #487. The witness clause is impossible. The text is given in full in the *Reg.* Appendix #3, LXXXIV.

<sup>500</sup>York Minster Library MS M2(2)a fo. 61v., s. xvi, printed *Acta* #8, with notes by J. Burton. See the appendix for a transcription from the manuscript.

<sup>501</sup>As Burton notes, the phrase "*in habuit*" is peculiar. The sense seems to be that Durand should continue to have the lands as prebends with the same rights that he had when he held them as a fee. Perhaps "*et habuit*" is better. Waters' transcriptions are extremely fast and sloppy, but very few early originals survive at York. Burton does not remark upon it, but "*Eboracensium archiepiscopus*" is also unusual [Waters writes this out carefully; it is not a misreading of Ebor']. This is also the only case I know of the use of the term "*congregatio sancti petri*" (rather than "*ecclesia*") in this period. The term

document remains open to question, as the "Thomas by grace of God archbishop of York" could signify either Thomas I or his nephew Thomas II (1109-14). But the evidence for placing the foundation of these two prebends in the pontificate of the first Thomas proves more compelling. Durand the archdeacon, according to Hugh the Chanter, attended Anselm's consecration in December 1093, and, sometime before that date, also witnessed the Durham confirmation charter.<sup>502</sup>

Clay and Burton identify the archdeacon Durand of the charter, however, not with the archdeacon Durand of 1093, but with one Dinand, who appears on a mortuary roll for Maud, Abbess of Caen (Ob 1113).<sup>503</sup> If Durand of the charter and Dinand of the mortuary roll are the same man, which seems likely, then the charter could date to the pontificate of Thomas II: (1109-1114). But it is also possible that archdeacon Durand could have served at York under both Thomases: Gilbert the precentor, another of the witnesses at Anselm's consecration, witnessed a charter for Thomas II.<sup>504</sup> The balance of probability lies with Thomas I as the charter's author.

The charter grants Durand the power of placing and, if they die, of replacing parsons in the churches of his prebends, which consist of [1] four carucates of land in Goodmanham, nine carucates in Fridaythorpe, five carucates in York near Tang Hall, and half a carucate in "Suchon"; and [2] the church of Sherburn (in Elmet) with

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commonly refers to a collegiate church, which indeed St. Peter's was, and not usually to a bishopric. This perhaps suggests a date early in Thomas' term.

<sup>502</sup>The date of Durham DCDCM I.I Archiep. i. is discussed in previous chapters.

<sup>503</sup>Vide *Acta*, note following #8, and Clay, "Archdeacons," p. 274.

<sup>504</sup>*EYC* I, #46.

its possessions, Newthorpe, half a carucate in Micklefield, half a carucate in Huddleston, six and one half carucates in (Upper) Poppleton, two carucates in York near Acomb, and the village in York called Monkgate. The proportion of these lands which comprise part of the archbishop's fee in Domesday Book is immediately striking. According to the Survey, the archbishop held a "shire" within the city of York itself,<sup>505</sup> and his fee contained Fridaythorpe,<sup>506</sup> Sherburn-in-Elmet,<sup>507</sup> and Upper Poppleton.<sup>508</sup> It is in keeping with Thomas' policy as stated by Hugh to find prebends constructed out of the archbishop's fee.

Again, each of the prebends which Thomas founded was valuable. Hexham might not have been financially lucrative, but the prestige of having sole charge of a parish church of historical importance must have outweighed immediate monetary concerns. Durand's property in the city of York must have been extremely valuable, and it is to Thomas' credit that he managed to annex it permanently to the chapter in the form of prebends. The evidence contradicts the modern assumption that Thomas granted waste as prebends in order to foster development. Thomas of Bayeux endowed prebends not for the improvement of his property, but for the good of his canons.

Regardless of how many prebends Thomas established, it is certain that the archbishop did not wholly upset St. Peter's system of tenure. For even long after some canons held individual estates

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<sup>505</sup>DB Claims, 298a.

<sup>506</sup>East Riding, DB 302d, as an outlier of (Bishop) Wilton

<sup>507</sup>West Riding, DB 302c.

<sup>508</sup>West Riding, DB 303c.

the chapter continued to receive lands to be held in common. Thomas II granted the town of Helperby "*in communitatem canonicis*", and as late as the 1150s, the canons received common right at Patrington.<sup>509</sup> The common fund continued until the dissolution, although its distribution became progressively more narrowly defined. New prescriptions concerning prebends appear in decrees and charters from the first half of the twelfth century.<sup>510</sup> But even in 1100, the rule whereby a canon required a prebend to obtain a seat in the chapterhouse lay far in the future.

The date of the first fixed prebends remains obscure. Hugh gives no dates for any of Thomas' innovations, though sequence can sometimes be deduced from his text. The Survey of 1086 provides a *terminus a quo*, indicating that the canons' funds were then still administered in common. If Hugh's implicit chronology can be relied upon, the *terminus ad quem* is not far removed. Hugh implies that fixed prebends were established before Thomas instituted dignitaries, and dignitaries are known to have attended Anselm's consecration in December 1093.

Loss of the primacy dispute cost Thomas dearly in property. Lands that Aldred had held in his capacity as "*chorepiscopus*" of Worcester and York were lost to Thomas as soon as Wulfstan professed to Canterbury, and Remigius' profession in the end had

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<sup>509</sup>EYC #142, from MRA I, fo. 68 b; EYC #145, from MRA III, fo. 17d. Keeping some common property was standard practice for the secular cathedrals.

<sup>510</sup>Thurstan in particular sought to codify York's practice. See EYC #149 and #150, from MRA II, fos. 34 and 33d, which permit appropriation of the rent of a canon's prebend for one year after his death "for the good of his soul and the discharge of his debts," and allow a canon who becomes a monk or canon regular to bequeath 2/3 of his prebend for a year to his new institution.

similar consequences for Thomas. Hugh's statement that the archbishop recovered lands which others had usurped seems largely wishful thinking, or at least a misperception of what Thomas actually achieved. Hugh would be more accurate in claiming that Thomas of Bayeux won compensation from the crown for lands largely lost as a result of Lanfranc's construction of the southern province. Previous chapters have outlined Thomas' ability to keep disputes alive sometimes for upwards of twenty years, in order to maximize the returns for his church.

The lands for which Thomas fought so persistently frequently found their way into the *mensa* of his canons. Hugh the Chanter lauds the archbishop for endowing his clergy with both his own lands and those he obtained elsewhere, and records a telling phrase in Thomas' epitaph:

This house of clergy, happy 'neath his sway,  
Owes to him all it is, or has, today.<sup>511</sup>

But where Hugh the canon appreciated Thomas' policy, future archbishops of York repented. William of Malmesbury remarked that Thomas "distressed his successors with his liberality, for, as they say, he dispersed a great part of the episcopal lands for the use of the chapter."<sup>512</sup> The policy appeared short-sighted to later archbishops jealous of their rights against increasingly powerful chapters, but Thomas' method was deliberate.

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<sup>511</sup>Hugh, p. 20: *Hec domus et clerus, sub tanto presule felix,/ Pene quod est et habet muneris omne sui est.*

<sup>512</sup>GP, p. 257: *Liberalitate sua succesores contristavit, ut qui multam episcopalium terrarum partem in clericorum usum nimie, ut dicunt, prodigus distraxeret.*

It is probable that Thomas looked to protect the security of the chapter in the event of his own death, since, *sede vacante*, archiepiscopal revenue remained at the disposal of the king. He was not to know that bishops would later develop into rivals of their own chapters, or that the dean and chapters would seek and win the right to exclude their superior from interference. Everything Thomas did militated against such circumstances. He enriched his chapter at his own expense, not from blindness but on purpose.

A text from the pontificate of York's next archbishop, Gerard, shows that in the thirty years of his pontificate Thomas had gone a long way towards augmenting the rights of the chapter at the expense of the archiepiscopal fee. The document, copied into Southwell Minster's *Liber Albus*, dates from an Inquest of Henry I in 1106; it has been conjectured that the York Chapter sent it to Southwell in support of the Minster in the *Quo Warranto* proceedings in the reign of Edward III.<sup>513</sup> The inquest of 1106 accords with *Rights and Laws* in regard to the physical extent of the archbishop's jurisdiction and the right to the third penny of certain tolls. But the inquest portrays the chapter of St. Peter's for the first time as a power in itself. Where *Rights and Laws* mentions only an archdeacon, and clergy only in regard to their sins, the Inquest represents the chapter as itself enjoying rights. The "bishop's shire"

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<sup>513</sup>Dickens discusses the text in his article on the bishop's shire, vide esp. pp. 131 and 139-41. It is very often cited (e.g. by Crosby, see above, and Hudson, *Lands*, pp. 235-6), with varying opinions as to its reliability.

has devolved merely into "the lands of the archbishop;" and this terminology represents more than a semantic difference.<sup>514</sup>

St. Peter's pre-Conquest chapter consisted of seven canons. Thomas found only three at his accession, recalled the few others who survived, and imported new recruits. The chapter owed Thomas its existence, and its dependence finds expression in Domesday Book, where the canons of St. Peter's mingle with the archbishop's other dependent landholders. But by 1106, the canons hold property of their own

with soke and sake, toll and team, and infangtheif and in-toll and out-toll, and all the customs of honour and liberty which the king has in his lands, and which the archbishop has in his, by the Lord God and the king.<sup>515</sup>

By 1106, the canons are equal in status to their archbishop. Archiepiscopal rights are sharply curtailed: the archbishop has "only this right in the affairs of the canons, that when a canon is dead, he presents the prebend to another, but even so, not without the advice and assent of the chapter." The balance of power has shifted drastically, and the credit, or the responsibility, must lie with Thomas of Bayeux.

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<sup>514</sup>As Dickens points out. Any discussion of the York chapter of the period must be indebted to his article.

<sup>515</sup>*Liber Albus*, p. 193.

## 8. Thomas and his Kings

It is all too easy to overlook Thomas of Bayeux's role as a national figure. Thomas' biographers laud him for his reform of St. Peter's and his vigorous defense of the rights of the northern province. But despite their partiality, Hugh the Chanter and Digby make no attempt to characterize Thomas as of national importance. Other chroniclers do consider Thomas at least in the wider context of Anglo-Norman ecclesiastical affairs, but they tend to restrict their focus to the primacy dispute. Narrative sources in general betray only indirect interest in Thomas' political functions and his relationships with William the Conqueror and William Rufus.

Charter evidence proves more helpful. The hazards of using charters are well known: even when authenticity can be established in a relatively high proportion of documents, attestations supply only a limited and impersonal picture of Thomas' involvement in royal affairs.<sup>516</sup> Nonetheless, Thomas of Bayeux's regular appearance in official records allows us some insight into the archbishop's role outside of York.

The evidence shows Thomas consistently present on important royal occasions, and not only in England. Twice (at least) the Conqueror required Thomas of Bayeux's presence in Normandy, and the archbishop's attendance at the dedications of the region's most

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<sup>516</sup>For the problems of the *Regesta* for the reign of William I, see D. Bates, "The Conqueror's Charters," in *England in the Eleventh Century*, pp. 1-15. Bates corrects Davis' itinerary for William (*Reg. i*, pp. xxi-xxii), pp. 5-9.

prestigious churches denotes high status. William Rufus inherited Thomas' services from his father, and Thomas exhibited striking loyalty even to this most difficult of kings. It seems that every instance of ecclesiastical or political significance from 1070 until 1100 found Thomas present.

It is not possible to be too specific about Thomas' participation in national affairs. One suspects, for example, that like several of his peers Thomas played some role in the Domesday survey; but we have no proof. Whatever his role in the north during the circuits of the Domesday commissioners, the evidence strongly suggests that Thomas remained aloof from Yorkshire's political turbulence. We shall see that unlike his suffragan at Durham, military administration formed no part of Thomas of Bayeux's duties.

No firm evidence links Thomas to Duke William before 1066, and yet it is nearly certain that they met. William's half-brother, Odo, funded an education for Thomas which sent the young clerk from Normandy (almost certainly Bec), to "Gaul" (possibly Liège) to Spain (perhaps Toledo). Odo proved a generous and consistent patron, making Thomas a canon of Bayeux and a member of his *familia*, and ultimately creating him treasurer of the cathedral chapter. Odo similarly sponsored Thomas' younger brother Samson and several other young clerks. One wonders how the young Thomas initially attracted Odo's notice. The Hexham tradition that Thomas II, nephew of Thomas of Bayeux and son of Samson of Worcester, came from "noble" stock, is late and difficult to justify. Anglo-Norman chroniclers divulge no connection between Thomas and the ducal family. But Bayeux's propensity for drawing canons from prominent

local families is well-documented, and it seems likely that Thomas' birth was more than respectable.

Thomas of Bayeux typifies the sort of person with whom the new king chose to surround himself: men with a high degree of education, proven records of service, and youth. Thomas probably entered William's service in his mid-twenties, for he may safely be taken to have been aged at least thirty when the Conqueror appointed him archbishop of York. No chronicler, however hostile, condemns the new archbishop for uncanonical age; and although some unlawfully young prelates do escape criticism, if Thomas had been less than thirty Eadmer at least would certainly have mentioned it.<sup>517</sup> Moreover, the fact that the archbishop was "old" and "white-haired" at his death seems to add weight to the presumption that he had attained a canonical age at his accession.<sup>518</sup> He must have been at least sixty in 1100. On the other hand, Thomas seems unlikely to have been much older than thirty at his consecration as archbishop in 1070. Hugh the Chanter refers to Thomas' youth on more than one occasion, a description hard to reconcile with a more advanced age. Moreover, the Conqueror's practice of filling important posts with men young enough to promise long service is well known; thirty years old seems to accord with William's general practice.<sup>519</sup> A birthdate c. 1040 for Thomas of

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<sup>517</sup>Eadmer would have welcomed another opportunity to comment on Thomas' unfitness for his archiepiscopate. Note, however, that Odo of Bayeux apparently accepted his bishopric about the age of fourteen, without attracting adverse attention. See Bates, "Character," p. 5. A sharply contrasting view may be found in Douglas, *WC*, p. 381.

<sup>518</sup>Hugh reports that Thomas was an ill old man at his death; his epitaph speaks of his shining white hair.

<sup>519</sup>See, for example, Bates, *Remigius*, p. 3 and n. 3.

Bayeux seems likely, then, which would make him perhaps a dozen years younger than his new master.

Based on what we can guess of his age, Thomas had probably not long served long as treasurer of Bayeux when William brought him into his chapel, presumably on Odo's recommendation. It is impossible to say with certainty, but it seems very likely that Thomas entered William's chapel only after the Conquest. A Jumièges memorandum of 1080 x 1084 shows that Thomas received the grant of a Norman church before 1068 x 1069.<sup>520</sup> The complicated text seems to suggest that William granted the church after he became king of England, but the Latin is elliptical. The Jumièges memorandum allows the possibility that Thomas did enter William's service before 1066, but certainly does not establish the fact.

Thomas of Bayeux's service in the royal chapel has left few traces. In fact, a number of twelfth-century sources omit any mention of Thomas' chaplaincy, merely terming him "canon" or "treasurer of Bayeux," and reserving the title of chaplain for the bishop-elect of Winchester, Walchelin.<sup>521</sup> Modern historians have also been careless about Thomas' early career, omitting him from lists of William's early chaplains (like Fauroux) or fixing him too certainly in the ducal chapel (Brooke).<sup>522</sup> But Thomas appears quite clearly at Westminster in the company of the other chaplains on

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<sup>520</sup>This charter was discussed at length in the "Family" chapter.

<sup>521</sup>For example, *HR*, s.a. 1070.

<sup>522</sup>Fauroux leaves him out entirely; Brooke seems more certain than the evidence will bear that Thomas served Duke William; but Haskins correctly includes Thomas in his list of royal chaplains from Bayeux, *NI*, pp. 51-2.

Whitsunday, 1068, witnessing a royal confirmation to St. Martin-le-Grand, London.<sup>523</sup> The bilingual diploma places Thomas' name dead center in the rank of the Conqueror's chaplains, and though it would be unwise to draw conclusions about hierarchy on the basis of one witness list, it accords with what we can guess about the cleric's early character and career to find him neither first nor last. Competent and reliable, personable enough to attract the attention of Odo of Bayeux and his brother, and probably already careful to make no enemies, Thomas performed his early duties adequately, and with the minimum of fuss.

V.H. Galbraith, in a memorable article on Thomas' brother Samson, emphasized that the the king staffed his chapel not with pious clerks, but "F.O. types," who served his political ends.<sup>524</sup> Thomas' later conduct as archbishop reveals him as a shrewd diplomat and a patient opponent, and William must have found him useful. The royal chapel has aptly been termed "the nursery of bishops," and Thomas and Samson must have greatly augmented the lessons of their continental school-rooms.<sup>525</sup> One wonders if the king brought a chaplain or two north for the punitive Yorkshhire campaign of 1069/70. It is tempting to conjecture Thomas' presence at the triumphant Christmas festivities in York. Perhaps it was then that the royal chaplain impressed the king as just the man for the

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<sup>523</sup>Reg. #22.

<sup>524</sup>"Notes on the Career of Samson, Bishop of Worcester (1096-1112)", EHR 82 (1967), pp. 86-101, at pp. 86-7.

<sup>525</sup>Gleason, p. 36, for the nursery, and for the Bayeux "*cursus honorem*" of probation in the royal entourage, royal chaplain, bishop.

formidable job of filling the vacancy left by Archbishop Ealdred's death.

It is difficult to overstate the difficulties into which William catapulted the new archbishop of York. The king sent Thomas, completely ignorant of the native language, to a cathedral with no treasure, no roof, and only three surviving canons, in a district still seething from its brutal punishment for supporting the Scandinavian invaders. Although York's previous incumbent had died of natural causes, Thomas had every reason to fear for his life; the bishop of Durham had been murdered the year before. William must have had unusual confidence in Thomas' competence, and his sang-froid.

Interestingly, and perhaps surprisingly, given the north's unsettled political state, the virtues that recommended Thomas of Bayeux to William I do not seem to have been military. Although we have no direct evidence against Thomas' mobilization of Yorkshire's Norman forces after he accepted the archiepiscopate, his prolonged absences from the city during his first two years suggest that he left the physical defense of York to the castellans.<sup>526</sup> Further, we know that Thomas chose to participate in the council of London of 1074/5, rather than mustering fortifications at York. Thomas' suffragan, on the other hand, the bishop of Durham, remained at home to counter the threat of further Scandinavian invasions.<sup>527</sup> When William and Lanfranc required the presence of the northern metropolitan in

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<sup>526</sup>The matter of the primacy kept Thomas out of York for much of 1070x1072: Thomas travelled to Rome in 1071, and seems to have spent several months of 1072 negotiating the settlement.

<sup>527</sup>Like Thomas, Remigius of Lincoln also left the defense of his district to others and went to London. See Bates, *Remigius*, p. 12 and n. 45.

London, Thomas went; he was wholly dispensable at home. This quashes any speculation that the Conqueror required Thomas or his Minster to function in any military capacity. York's two castles, on opposite sides of the Ouse, could protect St. Peter's in his absence.

In defense of York, Thomas of Bayeux mustered not soldiers, but arguments. Thomas' efforts to protect the spiritual rights of his new see have supplied us with more evidence than for any other aspect of his career, and the primacy sources can be used to uncover something of Thomas' relations with William I. But texts generated by the contest must be used on this point with perhaps more than usual caution.

The chroniclers' nearly universal obsession with the primacy leads them, inadvertantly or not, to obscure unrelated or subsequent events. The crisis occurred during the archbishop's first two years at York, and the chroniclers tend to view Thomas' subsequent fifteen years of service to William I as anticlimactic. Moreover, even using the accounts as evidence for Thomas' early interaction with the king is itself hazardous, for the king tends to appear only peripherally, as an interlocutor of the rival claimants, Thomas and Lanfranc. William's own position is defined exclusively in response to the plaintiff's arguments. Convention portrays Lanfranc as the king's confidante, deliberately excluding Thomas from the royal confidence. One suspects that the chroniclers deliberately downplay communication between Thomas and William in order to heighten the contrast with the intimacy which Lanfranc shared with the king. But less partial evidence counters the impression that William found

Lanfranc essential and Thomas dispensable. Both metropolitans attended their king on matters of importance.

Nonetheless, narratives of the primacy contest from 1070 to 1072 convey one valuable point that bears on the relationship between Thomas of Bayeux and the Conqueror. Although Eadmer and Hugh the Chanter disagree on most points, they concur that William was initially hostile to Lanfranc's requests, but soon acceded. Hugh is understandably bitter about Lanfranc's influence, but other sources agree with the substance of his complaint. William of Malmesbury reports that the king was the servant of the archbishop's advice, conceding whatever Lanfranc asserted ought to be done.<sup>528</sup> Lanfranc's persuasion was effective almost at once: William dropped his defense of Thomas and compelled him to submit to Canterbury.

Partisan reporting perhaps exaggerates William's ambivalence towards Thomas at the time of his consecration as archbishop. We know that William chose Thomas for York before appointing Lanfranc to Canterbury, and that only York's lack of the requisite number of suffragans postponed Thomas' consecration. According to the Canterbury accounts, William protected the rights of his former chaplain by preventing Lanfranc from extracting an oath of obedience. Hugh the Chanter, however, records no royal indulgence of Thomas once William took Lanfranc's part; despite the king's initial tolerance of Thomas' position, the king soon changed his tack and threatened to banish Thomas and all his kinsmen if he would not

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<sup>528</sup>GR, p. 269.

relent. Given the temperament of the king, the two accounts are not incompatible. Though inclined at first to support his former chaplain, Thomas' intransigence must have frustrated the king once he had made up his mind in the other direction. The king may very well both have used coercion himself in negotiating the primacy settlement with Thomas, and still have protected him from the threat of being coerced in the future by someone else. If Thomas had been forced to profess obedience on oath, he would be sworn to obey Lanfranc even if his conscience dictated otherwise. One is inclined to trust Eadmer that the idea of an oath was mooted, which ultimately suggests that although William ruled against Thomas on the major primacy issue, the king deliberately left the new archbishop of York with room to manoeuvre. Thomas' circumspection in dealing with Lanfranc after the 1072 Winchester resolution may in the end have persuaded William to reconsider the necessity of a primacy at all.

If Hugh the Chanter is to be believed, William suffered second thoughts about the primacy settlement.<sup>529</sup> Hugh tells us that Thomas of Bayeux met with William on the Isle of Wight before the king's final embarkation from England in the autumn of 1086. William promised Thomas to look into charges that the Canterbury monks were circulating false charters. The probability of this episode is considered in an earlier chapter. It does seem likely that around this time Thomas would have tried to establish royal support for a challenge to Canterbury's primacy upon Lanfranc's death. Unfortunately for Thomas, the Conqueror died before Lanfranc did.

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<sup>529</sup>For a full discussion, see the primacy chapter.

Although William would not have welcomed an open resurgence of the quarrel, he might certainly have supported the seniority of Thomas of Bayeux over a new incumbent at Canterbury. Although the episode's bearing on the primacy question raises suspicions, Thomas of Bayeux's consistent record of public service at least renders such a meeting highly probable. We shall see Thomas again on the south coast, five years later, participating in the similarly solemn departure arrangements of William Rufus.

We do not know how much Thomas involved the king in his reforms at York Minster. After the Winchester resolution in 1072, and throughout Thomas' pontificate, William I seems to have left the prelate largely to his own devices in the north, for all any written evidence speaks to the contrary. As far as we can tell, Thomas' reconstitution of his church seems to have taken place without reference to royal desire. If William is unanimously agreed to have taken a particular interest in church appointments and ecclesiastical justice, he seems unconcerned with the debate between the secular and monastic cathedrals. It is possible that the conflict arose only towards the very end of his reign, when the king was preoccupied with the question of succession.

One modern York historian saw William I as encouraging Thomas as a bulwark against a rising tide of monasticism. This canon of St. Peter's argued that Thomas' secular chapter had royal backing, and that William I perhaps sought at least

...to prevent one-half of the English Cathedrals from becoming monastic. ...It is... difficult to resist the conclusion that, in this

important matter of ecclesiastical policy, Thomas of Bayeux was inspired by the king, even if not acting on his orders.<sup>530</sup>

Harrison perhaps indulges in wishful thinking here, hoping to establish royal validation for the secular way of life. Evidence is not forthcoming.

Again, the paucity of the sources regarding Thomas' motivation may mislead. The complete absence of correspondence between the archbishop and his monarch hinders a final judgement. But Hugh the Chanter and the Digby chronicler would have been only too happy to record, and indeed exaggerate, any hint of royal patronage. It is completely absent from their texts. Thomas ceded lands which York had historically held, and if he won some compensation in his long battles, no sign of a royal ally appears in the sources.<sup>531</sup> William confirmed grants of compensation, but Thomas worked long and hard to win them, and neither the charters nor the chronicles give any sign that William thought Thomas' forced renunciations unjust. Nonetheless, the fact that Thomas granted property to St. German, Selby for the souls of himself and King William, argues for a continued close relationship.<sup>532</sup>

Perhaps Thomas looked for advice or approval of his reforms at St. Peter's not from the king but from William's half-brother, Thomas' old patron, Odo of Bayeux. We can only speculate. William certainly knew, and presumably approved, of Odo's reforms at

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<sup>530</sup>F. Harrison, *Life in a Medieval College: The Story of the Vicars Choral of York Minster* (London, 1952), pp. 20-1. For Harrison, the prestige of the secular cathedrals was a living issue.

<sup>531</sup>His losses are discussed in previous chapters; but see especially *Reg.* #36, for Gloucester, and Hugh the Chanter, at p. 18, for Worcester.

<sup>532</sup>This grant may be dated 1070 x 1082; Odo witnesses. See *Select Documents* #3 in the appendices.

Bayeux Cathedral, but again, we hear nothing in the sources. The formation of the secular cathedrals in general receives only passing mention, and changes are usually identifiable only by incidental references to new dignitaries. If Thomas looked to Bayeux and bishop Odo for inspiration, with or without the knowledge of Odo's royal brother, no chronicler makes anything of the fact. But it seems likely at the very least that the bishop of Bayeux visited York and witnessed the changes Thomas instituted, for he attests one of the archbishop's grants to Selby.

One wonders if Thomas occasionally downplayed his ties to Odo of Bayeux. The circumstances of Odo's fall from the Conqueror's favour have never been fully elucidated, and we have no way of knowing if they posed any pitfalls for Thomas, the one-time servant of each of the brothers. The twelfth-century chronicles assign partial blame for Odo's fall at Lanfranc's door, for the canon lawyer drew the distinction between trying the prelate and trying the earl. As Lanfranc's former pupil, Thomas may well have conceded the distinction, but it is hard to imagine the archbishop of York relishing the proceedings against Odo. It is not at all clear that Thomas played any part in the trial.

Lanfranc and Odo had inherited a property dispute that predated the Conquest, and it was Odo's capacity as Earl of Kent that most frustrated the archbishop of Canterbury. William I appears to have sided with Lanfranc against Odo unconditionally, both in the property cases, and in the political arena. Odo did not forget it;

during his rebellion against the second William, Odo made a point of ravaging the Canterbury estates in revenge.<sup>533</sup>

Thomas of Bayeux is absent from contemporary sources regarding Odo's fall from favour and eventual imprisonment.<sup>534</sup> Even Eadmer, who would gladly have used an ongoing alliance between Thomas and Odo, has nothing to say on the subject. Although the *Vita Wulfstani* suggests that Odo had strongly backed the York case in the primacy contest, no source reveals any further links between Thomas and his former bishop.<sup>535</sup> Odo's arrest in 1082 apparently affected the archbishop of York not at all.<sup>536</sup> Thomas had either cut his ties with Odo or kept them circumspect enough to draw no unwanted attention. Nether in William I's reign nor in Rufus' is Thomas implicated in Odo's machinations.<sup>537</sup>

In the end, then, the evidence shows that Thomas of Bayeux provided consistent service to the Conqueror. Two texts document Thomas' role as William's chaplain, in addition to chronicle references.<sup>538</sup> After his preferment to York, Thomas appears in the sources with regularity. The evidence places him in William's company on at least sixteen occasions, and indicates that Thomas

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<sup>533</sup>GR, p. 306. Also see the *DIV*, discussed below. Eadmer took especial pains to traduce Odo. See Bates, "Character and Career...", p. 3, and LePatourel, "The Reports of the Trial on Penenden Heath," p.p 20-26.

<sup>534</sup>Galbraith found no evidence that Samson suffered either, "Notes...", p. 88.

<sup>535</sup>The *VW*, p. 25, emphasizes that Odo's support of Thomas in the primacy dispute did Thomas no good.

<sup>536</sup>For Odo's portrayal in the sources dealing with the 1082 episode, see Bates, "Character," p. 15. It seems unlikely that even Odo thought he could buy the papacy.

<sup>537</sup>Odo witnessed one of Thomas' grants to Selby, but there are few occasions where the two are documented together.

<sup>538</sup>The Jumièges memorandum and the St. Martin-le-Grand diploma add weight to chronicle references to Thomas' position in the chapel.

attended his monarch regularly and maintained a position of some importance at the itinerant court. Charter attestations show Thomas and William dealing with ecclesiastical business in England and, significantly, in Normandy.<sup>539</sup> Unlike some of his peers, the archbishop of York did not confine his role in ecclesiastical affairs to England. Thomas is reported to have attended the dedications of the most important Norman churches in 1077, when William brought both of his English metropolitans to Normandy to enhance the dignity and solemnity of the continental ceremonies. Thomas consistently attended official ecclesiastical gatherings and ceremonial crown-wearings, despite the sometimes precarious political situation in the north. Although after 1072 William visited England hardly at all, Thomas appears in the royal presence on every important occasion. The picture of Thomas that emerges simply from synchronizing his itinerary with that of William I is that of continuous service and regular contact. Thomas appears in the sources everywhere we ought to expect one of William's two senior prelates, and at the Conqueror's death, Thomas had held York for seventeen years.

The circumstances become more complicated, and perhaps more interesting, in the reign of the Conqueror's son. A comparative itinerary shows Thomas to be in the royal presence on probably fewer occasions than in the previous reign. The same caveats about evidence apply here, but it seems that after 1091, Thomas can be found with Rufus only once.<sup>540</sup> At the beginning of the reign Thomas

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<sup>539</sup>Reg. #111 (1072-8); Reg. #232 (1080-86); Reg. #269 (1070-87); CDF #919 (Caen, 1080); CDF#114/ Reg. #220 (1086).

<sup>540</sup>29 May 1099 (Reg. #414a).

appears several times in the sources: he attended William II's first Christmas court in London,<sup>541</sup> took an active role in the trial of William of St. Calais at Salisbury in November of the following year,<sup>542</sup> and attended that year's Christmas court at Gloucester.<sup>543</sup> Thomas clearly transferred his allegiance quite smoothly to the new king, and continued to carry out for Rufus the same duties he had performed for his father.

After the funeral of Lanfranc (which Thomas is known to have attended but Rufus not<sup>544</sup>), Thomas next appears in the royal presence twice in 1091: first in January on the south coast,<sup>545</sup> and then towards the end of the year in an unspecified place.<sup>546</sup> After 1091 Thomas appears in the south on a number of occasions where it is possible he and Rufus could have met, but sources are scarce. However, Thomas' presence at Rufus' departure from England in 1091 deserves emphasis. As in the reign of William I, Thomas takes part in the solemn arrangements surrounding the royal embarkation. By 1091, the archbishop of York is one of England's most long-serving royal councillors.

William Rufus is consistently villified for encroaching on ecclesiastical territory and holding vacant benefices. But many sees fared worse than York between 1087 and 1100. Although Thomas finally lost some property disputes he had managed to keep in the

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<sup>541</sup>*HH*, p. 211.

<sup>542</sup>*HR*, p. 183.

<sup>543</sup>*Mon. Ang.*, iii, 546, #1.

<sup>544</sup>*HCY*, iii, p. 14.

<sup>545</sup>He witnessed charters at Dover and Hastings (*Reg.* #s 315, 319).

<sup>546</sup>August-December, *Reg.* #318.

air under William I, St. Peter's, York, ultimately prospered under Rufus. Several documents testify to grants to Thomas' canons, and prohibit lay encroachments of ecclesiastical property.

Probably most importantly from Thomas of Bayeux's point of view, Rufus confided the care of St. German, Selby, to the archbishop of York. Thomas' cooperation with a king in the interests of the abbey had begun when the Conqueror ordered the archbishop to consecrate Benedict of Auxerre as abbot. Both Thomas and William I endowed the abbey; Thomas, "for the good of my soul and that of my lord the king."<sup>547</sup> The abbey had become something of a headache for Rufus, however, as Benedict's community did not share the abbot's severe asceticism and apparently plotted insurrection. Rufus cleverly washed his hands of the problem in 1093 by decreeing that Thomas of Bayeux should hold Selby in the same fashion as the archbishop of Canterbury held Rochester. This grant has been used as an example of Rufus' brutality, but probably without cause.<sup>548</sup> It is true that the terms of the grant reveal no concern for the abbey's welfare. Rufus' charter describes a bargain between himself and

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<sup>547</sup>The text of this grant is given in the appendix. The best analysis of Selby's early history is R.B. Dobson's "The First Norman Abbey in Northern England," *Ampleforth Journal* (1969), pp. 161-76. For Thomas' role, see especially pp. 167-72.

<sup>548</sup>*Reg.* #341. Barrie Dobson writes, "At first sight it seems as if Rufus had deliberately sacrificed the independence and welfare of Benedict's abbey on the altar of political and financial profit. Although this in fact proved not to be the case (medieval archbishops of York rarely intervened at Selby in ways unwarranted by their normal rights as ordinaries), one can hardly resist the conclusion that in Rufus' reign the abbey was under pressure from powerful external forces which threatened its autonomy and hence its future" (p. 174). The implication is that if Thomas' oversight of Selby turned out all right, it was no thanks to Rufus. But it is at least possible that Rufus gave Thomas Selby because he knew it was the best chance of solving the abbey's persistent problems.

Thomas of Bayeux: Thomas finally agreed to abandon claims of jurisdiction over Lincoln (with which he had persisted even after the settlement of 1072), and in exchange was to be given the rights to Selby and the (then) collegiate church of St. Oswald's, Gloucester, another community in disarray. The charter certainly indicates that Rufus sought to solve several sticky problems at once, at no real cost to himself. But it might be unjust not to credit Rufus with some concern for the welfare of the churches he consigned to Thomas of Bayeux. The king had every reason to recognize Thomas' capacity as an administrator, and as a diplomat.

It is also worth noting that at about this time Thomas and Rufus also settled the long York property dispute involving Thomas, Count Alan, and St. Mary's abbey. Both the archbishop of York and the count owned land in Clifton, just outside of the city walls, and the count had donated land for the construction of an abbey. Thomas claimed that the land, however, belonged to St. Peter's. Rufus' court finally settled the affair, and Thomas acquired St. Stephen's, York, in return for dropping his claim.<sup>549</sup>

Again we find a problem festering since the Conqueror's reign finding a solution in Rufus' court. Thomas and Rufus worked together extremely effectively, and the archbishop seems especially adept at using Rufus to arrange bargains. Two royal charters involving Thomas speak in terms of an exchange.<sup>550</sup> Repeatedly, the evidence demonstrates Thomas' tenacity and skill in extracting

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<sup>549</sup>Reg. #338. Count Alan also won compensation, St. Olav's, Clifton.

<sup>550</sup>Reg. #338, 341.

compensation for cases that had been settled *de facto* long ago.<sup>551</sup> Thomas may have proved even better at arranging deals with Rufus than with the king's father.

The trial of William of St. Calais in November, 1088, provides partial insight into Thomas' working relationship with Rufus. For once Thomas appears in the chronicles acting in concert with the character usually (mis)represented as his opponent, Lanfranc of Canterbury. During the events of 1088, Thomas bore some responsibility for the bishop of Durham as his metropolitan, but he seems to have stood squarely in the royal camp. Thomas refused, along with the other prelates, to offer counsel to William of St. Calais when the king requested him to plead as a layman.<sup>552</sup> At the pleadings at Salisbury on 2 November, according to the Durham account, William of St. Calais found that none of his fellows "dared either to kiss him or to speak with him, which the bishop had already experienced with his own metropolitan [Thomas of Bayeux}."<sup>553</sup> Either Thomas had simply been careful not to antagonize Rufus, or he had good reason to regard bishop William as a traitor.

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<sup>551</sup>St. Mary's, after all, had already been built; and, more remarkably still, Thomas had technically lost all rights to Lincoln in 1072. That case had been re-opened, it seems, before Robert Bloet's consecration.

<sup>552</sup>*DIV*, pp. 174-5. Only Geoffrey of Coutances ventured any support for William of St. Calais (as well he might, since he was implicated, too), but Lanfranc over-ruled him. See *DIV*, pp. 190-91, and, for Geoffrey's role in the revolt and William's trial, LePatourel, "Geoffrey of Montbray," pp. 147-54. Gibson plausibly posits that Geoffrey's family connections ensured that he was pardoned where William was not, *Lanfranc*, p. 160.

<sup>553</sup>*DIV*, p. 179: *Nemo enim illorum, ut aiebant, audebat eum osculari vel alloqui, quod episcopus jam de ipso metropolitano suo expertus erat.*

Although the Durham chronicler represents Thomas of York as conducting the proceedings, the archbishop seems to have taken only a limited judicial role. Perhaps Thomas acted as an impartial mediator; one suspects that whatever his views on the bishop's actions, outside his provincial court the archbishop could hardly participate in the prosecution of a suffragan. If the Durham account is accurate, Thomas related the judgement but did not help to reach it:

Thomas, the archbishop of York, said, "My lord bishops, our archbishop and the court of the king have decided that you ought to do right to the king before he reinvests you in your fief...<sup>554</sup>

There is no "we have decided." Thomas stood with the king in denying counsel to his suffragan, but Lanfranc and Rufus heard the pleas and rendered judgment. We do not know if it pained Thomas to withhold support from a fellow former canon of Bayeux, and a confidant of his former patron, Odo. Thomas must have felt some ambivalence at the trial, for he displayed technical, but hardly outspoken, loyalty to the king. Nonetheless, Rufus could have found nothing to quarrel with in Thomas' actions.

Thomas of Bayeux found himself the senior prelate in England two years into Rufus' reign, for Lanfranc died in May of 1089. William of Malmesbury claimed that Lanfranc's death unleashed the full depravity of the king, who had seemed a model prince when the archbishop was there to guide him.<sup>555</sup> But St. Peter's escaped

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<sup>554</sup>*DIV*, p. 183: ...*Thomas Eboracensis archiepiscopus ait, 'Domine episcope, dominus noster archiepiscopus, et regis curia, vobis iudicat quod rectitudinem regi facere debetis antequam de vestro feodo revestiat.'*

<sup>555</sup>*GR*, p. 312.

misfortune at Rufus' hands. York fulfilled the role of primatial church for the four years in which the king held Christ Church, and perhaps Thomas relished his new prestige.<sup>556</sup> It is possible, but not necessary, that the royal grants to York took place before Rufus filled Canterbury's long vacancy in 1093.

Anselm's appointment deprived Thomas of his seniority, but affected his relationship with Rufus hardly at all. The resurgence of the primacy issue at the consecration ceremony in December, 1093, seems to have escaped the royal notice. It seems unlikely that Thomas looked to William II for the same support his father had provided. Anselm and Rufus never established the working rapport that their predecessors enjoyed, and the chroniclers no longer contrast the archbishops of York and Canterbury with reference to the royal favour. Indeed, the lack of conflict between Thomas and Rufus is striking.

Again, the state of the evidence may distort the conclusion that Rufus posed no great difficulties for Thomas. The chroniclers catalogue royal abuses, but only indirectly in regard to York. It is impossible to tell if this is true because there were no abuses, or because the chroniclers were uninformed or unconcerned about St. Peter's. York's main complaint against Rufus seems rather empty: namely that the king allowed Robert Bloet to purchase Lincoln and declare its independence of Thomas' metropolitan jurisdiction.<sup>557</sup>

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<sup>556</sup>Simeon says that Thomas "held the primacy," *HR*, s.a. 1093. Eadmer notwithstanding, the primacy appears to have been mobile.

<sup>557</sup>Henry of Huntingdon (pp. 216-17) conflicts with Hugh (p. 14) in regard to the amount of the bribe (Henry sets it higher) and to responsibility for the simony. Henry blames Rufus alone; Hugh blames each of them.

York, however, had technically lost this case in the time of William I and Remigius.

Rufus made no new threats against St. Peter's. The chroniclers' catalogue William II's vices at length, culminating in the king's ecclesiastical abuses. Henry of Huntingdon excoriates Rufus for holding Canterbury, Winchester and Salisbury vacant and farming out eleven abbeys before his death in 1100.<sup>558</sup> Lincoln's archdeacon terms the king "hateful to God and the people alike", but York had little reason to share this view.

In the end, the evidence suggests that Thomas of Bayeux maintained excellent working relationships with both William I and William II. Thomas must have shown exceptional promise and energy as a young man, as well as diplomacy, for the Conqueror sent him to cope with a dangerously chaotic situation in the north. William's confidence was not misplaced. Thomas performed no military functions, it seems, but what York needed most was an administrator and a mediator. In his early years especially, Thomas frequently left his city to deal with national affairs, and he continued to attend both his kings regularly in England, and at least twice in Normandy during the reign of William I.

Evidence for Thomas of Bayeux's interactions with his monarchs is largely impersonal. We know approximately how often he appeared at the itinerant Norman court, and what sort of business he transacted. One source perhaps hints at a personal relationship with the Conqueror: an archiepiscopal charter in favour of Selby

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<sup>558</sup>*HH*, p. 233.

abbey links Thomas' spiritual welfare with that of his lord the king. That this regard was not one-sided may be inferred by Eadmer's testimony that William I prevented Lanfranc from extorting an oath in support of Thomas of Bayeux's profession of obedience. Crucially, the king's indulgence on this point left the archbishop free to act as his conscience dictated in the matter of the primacy.

William Rufus also appears to have held Thomas in high regard. Thomas of Bayeux participated in the final arrangements surrounding Rufus' departure from England in 1091, and other evidence suggests that Rufus sought Thomas' involvement in his affairs not merely out of respect for his father's royal councillors. Thomas had placed loyalty to the king above his metropolitan instincts, and had proven himself loyal to Rufus in 1088, at the trial of York's suffragan bishop, William of St. Calais, whom he had consecrated with his own hands. That the king relied on Thomas as a peacemaker and problem-solver we know from Rufus' transfer to Thomas of the administration of the royal abbey of Selby.

Evidence for royal sanction of the reconstitution of York Minster is not forthcoming. Thomas used his kings' patronage to obtain grants for his canons at York, although the rather meager evidence represents neither William I nor his son as unduly lavish with direct grants to the community of St. Peter's. It is important, however, to recognize that surviving charter evidence does not fully reflect royal interest in Thomas' administration of his province. We have seen, for example, that the text of Rufus' grant of Selby gives no hint of the fact that Thomas' proprietary interest in the abbey benefited the community probably more than Thomas. No

conclusions are possible about the Conqueror's attitude to the reconstitution of York Minster; and Rufus' grants to the reformed chapter may say less about his support of Thomas' program than his faith in the archbishop's ability to sort out sticky situations.

Above all, the evidence testifies to Thomas' remarkable ability to avoid entrapment in the conflicts that destroyed his former patron at Bayeux, and his suffragan at Durham. The Conqueror's appointment of Thomas of Bayeux to York in May of 1070 proved to be one of William's greatest legacies, for Thomas served both of his kings consistently and loyally, and ultimately became the longest-serving prelate among the first generation of Norman bishops.

## 9. Conclusion

At the very end of his archiepiscopate, chance robbed Thomas of Bayeux of the greatest dignity his career had afforded. When William Rufus died in the New Forest, Anselm's absence rendered Thomas England's senior prelate.<sup>559</sup> It ought to have fallen to him to crown Henry I. But it was not to be. Hugh the Chanter relates the tale:

When Archbishop Thomas, who was then at Ripon, heard of the king's death, he hastened towards London, only to hear that Henry had been consecrated king. Indignant at this he reached London, and finding the new king and the bishops there, complained of the wrong done to him in the matter of the king's consecration, which was beyond doubt his province by church law, since the archbishop of Canterbury was absent...

Anselm was in exile, at Lyons.

The king and the bishops could not dispute this, but humbly begged him not to be offended, saying that the consecration had been hastened for fear that the kingdom might be disturbed while they awaited his coming from a distance. This satisfied the archbishop, who was a mild man, and by now much weakened by illness and age.<sup>560</sup>

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<sup>559</sup>C.W. Hollister summarizes the "entertaining but wrong-headed" scholarship that argues for murder instead of accident in *The Making of England, 55 B.C. to 1399* (seventh ed., Lexington, MA, 1996), p. 132n.

<sup>560</sup>Hugh, pp. 16-18: *Audito T<homas> archiepiscopus, qui tunc erat in Ripun, de morte regis, accelerans uersus Lundoniam, obtunc audivit Henricum regem esse consecratum; quod egre ferens Lundoniam peruenit, inuentoque ibi nouo rege et episcopis, conquestus est iniuriam sibi factam de regis consecracione, quam ex iure ecclesie sibi competer certum erat, cum Cantuariensis archiepiscopus non adesset... Quod nequaquam refellere ualentes, rex et episcopi humiliter deprecati sunt eum ne grauius acciperet, dicentes festinam esse consecracionem, ne prestolando eum qui de longe erat regnum fortasse turbaretur. Quibus uerbis placatus est. Erat enim satis mansueti animi, et morbo et senio tunc plurimum debilitatus.*

The argument for rushing Henry's consecration was plausible enough: his brother William Rufus had been killed under mysterious circumstances only three days before, and there were rumours of insurrection.<sup>561</sup> Hugh's account, not improbably based on eyewitness reports, shows Thomas in the last months of his life still jealous of his archiepiscopal honour, but less willing to fight for it.

The final years of the pontificate had seen Thomas subjected to a number of jurisdictional setbacks not all of which can be ascribed to Canterbury. Thomas found Robert Bloet a formidable rival, and finally lost the battle for Lincoln and Lindsey he had initiated against Remigius. The lands Thomas acquired in return for his renunciation could not compensate him for the loss of prestige, but concrete returns perhaps mattered more. The archbishop won endowments for his canons from William Rufus, and lands in York would prove more valuable to the growing chapter than manors in other counties. If Thomas lost some of his holdings outside Yorkshire, he not only preserved his new, secular chapter, but enriched it.

Thomas of Bayeux's alterations to the fabric and clergy of St. Peter's can hardly be overstated. His transformation of the Anglo-Saxon church into the structurally daring Anglo-Norman Minster can be appreciated only partially, for little evidence of the Saxon fabric survives. But archaeological evidence suggests that Thopmas re-used little of the previous structure. He physically eradicated the church of his predecessors.

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<sup>561</sup>William Rufus was slain by an arrow on 2 August 1100 while hunting in the New Forest; Henry I was crowned on 5 August.

Nor did Thomas spare the arrangements of the Anglo-Saxon chapter. The college of seven canons, enjoined to live in common, gave way to a chapter no less collegiate, but certainly less apostolic. Prebends rewarded canons who demonstrated administrative capability with their own income and a measure of autonomy. Although they were answerable to the dean and ultimately the archbishop, in their prebends they were landlord and priest.<sup>562</sup>

It has been argued that granting lands as prebends gave individual canons incentive to develop land that was currently unprofitable. We have seen, however, that Thomas allocated valuable lands to his new prebendaries, carefully offsetting wasteland with resources such as mills. While attention to individual estates holds obvious benefits for St. Peter's as a whole, not least because rich prebends attracted more clergy to the church, Thomas did not cast his canons out of the Minster primarily as a business venture, as some modern accounts suggest.

Perhaps most importantly, the introduction of prebends encouraged closer contact with parishioners in districts out of easy reach of the Minster. The system fostered personal responsibility to a particular district, and almost certainly allowed members of St. Peter's to function as parish priests. Although no positive evidence of the early prebendaries' spiritual activities survives, it would be

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<sup>562</sup>During the early stages, it is not clear whether prebendaries maintained clerks in minor orders to perform their functions at the mother church. Perhaps in Thomas' time the canons who remained at St. Peter's, supported by the common fund, proved sufficient to the church's needs. York's statutes do not specify the date of the introduction of vicars choral, who were paid by prebendaries to carry out their liturgical duties.

unwise to exaggerate the economic aspects of prebendal administration at the expense of the pastoral benefits.

That part of Thomas' motivation was pastoral is more than likely. We have seen that he redesigned the fabric of York minster to downplay the separation of laity and clergy, and to open a vast space for the public to witness services. Thomas' attitude contrasts starkly with Lanfranc's, mirroring the traditional divide between canons and monks. Lanfranc abridged his canon law collection, as Gibson has shown, by excising virtually every reference to pastoral matters.<sup>563</sup> He sought to keep his monks in their cloister, and to emphasize the mystical separation between the laity and his monks. Thomas sought instead to thrust his canons out into the world, and to bring the world into his church. At the beginning of his archiepiscopate ignorance of English and fear of Saxon rebels forced him to call on Wulfstan of Worcester to dispense chrism in his diocese.<sup>564</sup> But this hesitance must have been temporary.

There are few signs of a "corporation" of St. Peter's even by the end of Thomas' long archiepiscopate. Evidence purporting to document practice early in the twelfth century, specifically the privilege charter preserved in Southwell's *Liber Albus*, suggests that York's chapter enjoyed rights independent of its archbishop. It is certainly true that Thomas' endowments of the chapter, particularly the grants from his own fee, served to enhance the canons' security. But it would stretch the evidence to read Thomas' actions as a

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<sup>563</sup>Gibson, *Lanfranc*, p. 139.

<sup>564</sup>VW, p. 44.

strategy to ensure the chapter's future independence from its archbishop. It is not clear that Thomas foresaw the trouble ahead.

In all likelihood, Thomas thought that his nephew would succeed him. Hugh the Chanter writes that the chapter had hoped for such an eventuality, and Thomas I had certainly trained his nephew from youth to be worthy of the post. He had educated Thomas the Younger at his feet in York, and installed him the administrative head of St. Peter's sister church, St. John's, Beverley.

The translation to York of Gerard of Hereford, at Epiphany, 1101, forestalled this plan. But in his seven-year episcopate, Gerard, chancellor to William the Conqueror and Rufus, served York as faithfully as Thomas I, and in much the same manner. He resisted professing obedience to Anselm in his new capacity, although he had pledged on behalf of Hereford. He continued to obtain royal grants in order to endow prebends.<sup>565</sup> Also like Thomas, Gerard maintained an interest in Selby Abbey: of six churches on royal manors which Gerard obtained from Henry, he gave one to St. German.<sup>566</sup> Hugh the Chanter and the Digby chronicler have little good to say of Gerard, but it seems that in some important respects he sought to follow the example of his predecessor.

If Thomas I had thought that his work at York would find completion under the direction of his nephew, he was not far wrong. Thomas II's best work as archbishop consisted of continuing the

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<sup>565</sup>*Hugh*, p. 24: Gerard obtained Laughton-en-le-Morthen from Henry I, and established it as a prebend. The king also gave him "*de uillis suis*" Driffield, Kilham, Pocklington, Pickering, Aldborough, for St. Peter's, and Snaith, for St. German, Selby.

<sup>566</sup>No church at Snaith appears in DB, so it is impossible to guess at the worth of the endowment.

projects of his uncle, resisting Canterbury's pretensions as far as he could, adding prebends at York, working to reform Hexham (although not in the way Thomas I had envisioned), and consecrating Scottish suffragans. Chroniclers sometimes speak ill of Thomas II's personal character. Hugh the Chanter portrays him as too torpid to fight the primacy contest effectively, and Aelred of Rievaulx has nothing good to say at all. It is easy to overlook the fact that in every respect but the introduction of regular canons into Hexham, which was not an option in his uncle's time, Thomas II consistently sought to continue the policy of his uncle. Hugh the Chanter wrote that the chapter felt that the young archbishop "seemed to have brought his uncle back to us," and that seems to have been exactly what Thomas II hoped.<sup>567</sup>

The system that Thomas I established at York, with a core of four dignitaries presiding over a chapter sustained by fixed prebends, continued until the Reformation. Later modifications would culminate in the chapter's right to exclude the archbishop from capitular affairs. It is difficult to know if Thomas of Bayeux envisioned circumstances in which the chapter would need to assert its rights against an exploitative or absentee prelate. He may possibly have been working rather to secure the chapter's viability *sede vacante*. Unwittingly or deliberately, Thomas of Bayeux created the grounds at York for the chapter to exist as an independent corporation.

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<sup>567</sup> Hugh, p. 26: *Erat enim apud nos sub patruo suo amabili et amicabili educatus et decenter eruditus, moribus et conuersacione gratus, ipseque archiepiscopus factus pro sanguinitate et nominis similitudine et aliqua morum consuetudine patrum suum nobis in se ex parte reddidisse uisus est.*

Hugh the Chanter was the first to give York's chapter a voice. On his evidence, and that of his continuator, Digby, it appears that Thomas achieved what he set out to do: not only to endow the chapter in terms of wealth, but to shape it as a body which could serve and protect its own ends. When Hugh writes of the course of the primacy dispute in the pontificates that succeeded Thomas, it is the chapter, not the archbishop, which does the fighting. The archbishop is the head of the church, but it is the chapter which gives him authority. Thomas II acts only as the chapter directs him.<sup>568</sup> The canons have come a long way since 1070, when, as Leach wrote, "they were nothing more than the archbishop's poor clients."

But great as were Thomas' changes at St. Peter's, they were part of a larger program. York was the mother church of his diocese. As diocesan, Thomas strengthened the ties with the northern collegiate churches at Beverley, Ripon, and Southwell, endowing canons and moving clerks within the many chapters under his control. The evidence is limited, but suggestive. We know that he raised his nephew at his feet in York, and then sent him to Beverley. We may assume he foresaw, or at least hoped for, his namesake's eventual appointment to York. He also drew on Beverley's flourishing chapter to augment his own. He called a canon of St. John's to York, and granted him the parish church of Hexham as a

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<sup>568</sup>Hugh, p. 26, has the chapter forbidding Thomas to profess (*interdicentes ne professionem faceret*), and asserts, p. 46, that the archbishop eventually conceded "without either our consent or refusal" (*nobis nec concedentibus nec contradicentibus*).

prebend. Clearly, Thomas viewed the various bodies of clergy under him as part of a wider whole.

Thomas functioned not merely as archbishop, but as metropolitan. He professed his obedience to Lanfranc as "metropolitan of the church of York," and his actions gave meaning to the term. As metropolitan, Thomas of Bayeux evinced the same traits that distinguished him as a diocesan: flexibility, generosity, and organization. He preserved the autonomy of his suffragan, Durham, countenancing its development along lines increasingly foreign to York. The chapter of St. Cuthbert's had at one time been on the verge of the same reorganization that Thomas effected at York. But when William of St. Calais opted to displace the embryonic secular arrangement, Thomas allowed the monastic reform to go forward.

Notwithstanding the notorious vagaries of the Durham evidence, it is impossible to find Thomas in any way protesting at the expulsion of St. Cuthbert's clerks. One would like to think that Thomas provided for the welfare of those who left Durham rather than take monastic vows.<sup>569</sup> In at least one case, he did. He installed Eilaf, cathedral treasurer (as Thomas had himself been, at Bayeux) at Hexham. Of the other displaced canons we know next to nothing. But just as he had endowed monastic institutions in his diocese, he encouraged the growth of the monastic cathedral in his province.

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<sup>569</sup>On this point see Rollason, "Simeon... and the Community...," p. 191. The earliest manuscript of the *LDE* has an erasure of perhaps fourteen lines following the account of William of St. Calais' decree that the canons of Durham must become monks if they wished to remain at St. Cuthbert's. York's fourteenth-century copy inserts a note that the canons were granted prebends. This is too late to constitute reliable evidence of Thomas' intercession, but, as specific towns were mentioned, it seems that York preserved a tradition that the canons were cared for.

Thomas of Bayeux presumably viewed the ecclesiastical world in the same light as the clerk of Liège, who wrote his *Libellus de Diversis Ordinibus* perhaps as much as a century after Thomas studied there.<sup>570</sup> The clerk considered the variety of religious orders to reflect society's natural diversity: each type of religious institution served a particular purpose, and if none was ideal, each was necessary. Thomas' actions suggest he held much the same opinion. He undertook one type of administration at York, modified it to fit the specific circumstances of the northern collegiate churches, but did not seek to impose it universally. He was comfortable not only holding a proprietary interest in a monastery (Selby), but also endowing it with lands he might otherwise have granted to secular canons. He does not seem, moreover, to have sought to influence events at Durham. He could easily have withheld his permission from William of St. Calais. But Bishop William had been a canon before he was a monk (and at Bayeux, as well), and the line between secular and monastic has too often been overdrawn. A heated

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<sup>570</sup>Canon R. of Liège seems to have written his text 1121x1161 (Smalley, p. 120, cited below). *Libellus de Diuersis Ordinibus*, ed. G. Constable, B. Smith (Oxford, 1972). For discussions of differences and similarities between canons and monk see C.N.L. Brooke, "Monk and Canon: Some Patterns in the Religious Life of the Twelfth Century," *Studies in Church History* 22 (1985), pp. 109-29; C.W. Bynum, 1982; B. Smalley, "Ecclesiastical Attitudes to Novelty c. 1100-c. 1250," *Studies in Church History* 12 (1975), p. 113-31, especially pp. 120-1 on claims to apostolic predecessors; A. Gransden, "Traditionalism and Continuity during the Last Century of Anglo-Saxon Monasticism," *JEH* 40 (1989), pp. 150-207, valuable especially for the topoi used to describe each order. J.C. Dickinson, *Origins of the Austin Canons*, remains the seminal work for historians from Knowles (*M.O.*, p. 139) to Brooke ("Monk and Canon," p. 122) and beyond. For another proponent of diversity, see Anselm of Havelberg's *Epistola ad Egbertum*, PL 183 (1858), cols. 1119-20, and the discussions by Smalley, cited above, pp. 124-25, and R.W. Southern, "Aspects of the European Tradition of Historical Writing: 2. Hugh of St. Victor and the Idea of Historical Development," *TRHS* 5th Series, 21 (1971), pp. 159-79.

debate obviously took place. One has only to read Hugh the Chanter's asides on the subject of Canterbury's monks to be reminded of it. But there were prelates who could see beyond the polemics to embrace the plurality of religious experience, and Thomas of Bayeux was one of them.

Thomas also worked to validate his metropolitan authority over Scotland. Jurisdiction over the Scottish bishoprics had been granted him as a palliative for losing his claims to Worcester and Lincoln. If Lanfranc had thought in 1072 that Thomas had a hope of imposing actual, as opposed to theoretical authority, he would never have allowed it. But the evidence suggests that Thomas used every diplomatic method at his disposal to win the recognition of the Scottish bishops, and the Scottish king. By the time Lanfranc regretted this aspect of the primacy settlement (as the evidence suggests he did), it was too late. Thomas had obtained the obedience of the bishops of Orkney and St. Andrews, and perhaps Glasgow, too, looked to York.

Above all, Thomas was careful to leave his successors with grounds to continue to fight against Canterbury's primacy. As far as we know, he never wrote to Lanfranc as "primate." If Thomas had ever used the term in a letter, Canterbury's monks would have preserved it. Perhaps it is no coincidence that the Lanfranc's letter collection contains only one note from his co-metropolitan. Moreover, Thomas seems to have tried to re-open the issue of the profession with William the Conqueror shortly before the king's death. Hugh the Chanter's story suggests that Thomas planned to appeal the judgement based in the element of coercion. Certainly (or

almost certainly), he never designated Anselm primate at his consecration. He consecrated Anselm "metropolitan of Canterbury," as Lanfranc had consecrated him "metropolitan of York." If York's claim to equal status with Canterbury proved unsuccessful in the long term, Thomas nonetheless laid the ground for the sustained fight ahead.

The career of Thomas of Bayeux was in many ways typical of an ambitious Norman prelate. His birth was probably good, or at least good enough. He attracted the attention of an influential patron, Odo of Bayeux, who paid for at least part of a wide-ranging education. He studied with some of Europe's finest teachers, and then entered the *familia* of his patron. His training in the liberal arts equipped him with more than an ability to write the poetry for which he was famous, for as a young man Thomas served as treasurer of Bayeux, and then as chaplain to the new king William. After a few years of service (no more than four), he won still greater preferment, and took up the direction of an entire province. There he not only restructured and endowed his church but ultimately turned the boundary disputes inherited from his Anglo-Saxon predecessor to his own advantage. He refused to accept defeat if cases initially went against him, and maintained claims, sometimes for decades, until he could wangle generous compensation from the royal court. The length of his thirty-year term ensured that Thomas of Bayeux left an imprint not only on York Minster, but on the Anglo-Norman church.

Appendix 1.  
Select Documents Issued by Thomas of Bayeux<sup>571</sup>

1. Profession of obedience to Lanfranc, 8 April x 27 May, 1072  
From BL Cotton Nero A.vii, f. 5r.

*Decet christianum quenque christianis legibus subiacere, nec his quae a sanctis patribus salubriter instituta sunt quibuslibet rationibus contraire.<sup>572</sup> Hinc nanque irae, dissensiones, inuidiae, contentiones, ceteraque procedunt, quae amatores suos in poenas aeternas demergunt. Et quanto quisque altioris est ordinis,<sup>573</sup> tanto impensius diuinis debet obtemperare preceptis; propterea ego thomas ordinatus iam eboracensis aecclesiae metropolitanus antistes, auditis cognitisque rationibus absolutam tibi lanfrance dorobernensis archiepiscopo tuisque successoribus de canonica oboedentia professionem facio, et quicquid a te uel ab eis iuste et canonice iniunctum michi fuerit seruaturum me esse promitto. De hac autem re dum a te adhuc ordinandus essem dubius fui, ideoque tibi quidem sine conditione, successoribus uero tuis conditionaliter, obtemperaturum me esse promisi.*

2. Letter to Lanfranc, 27 May 1072 x February 1073  
From BL Cotton Nero A.vii, f. 15r-15v.

*Piissimo et sanctissimo cantuariorum archiepiscopo, totius quoque britanniae summo pastori, L. thomas fidelis suus et nisi praesumptuosum sanctitati suae uideatur, eboracensis aecclesiae archiepiscopus, coeli portas petri uice iustis et iniustis iuste aperire et claudere. Ecce pater sanctissime filius tuus ad te clamat, sed magis filia eboracensis uidelicet aecclesia ad eam cui dispositione diuina praesides aecclesiam tanquam ad maternam recurrens sinum pie postulat ut ex abundantia maternarum deliciarum reparetur inopia suarum se deserentium immo longe et inter barbaras nationes positarum uirium. Siquidem uenit ad nos quidam clericus quem misit paulus comes cum litteris sigillatis de orchaum partibus, significans in eis episcopatum suae terrae eidem clerico se concessisse. At ille antecessorum suorum ordine custodito, postulat a nobis episcopum se consecrari. Cui quos iuste petit iniuste denegare non possumus. Precamur ergo ut nobis duos episcopos dirigat*

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<sup>571</sup>Transcripts from the mss, except as noted.

<sup>572</sup>This sentence was keyed with an asterisk and written in the same hand at the bottom of the folio.

<sup>573</sup>est ordinis written over an erasure.

*paternitas uestra, quorum fulti orationibus et auxilio, tante rei sacramentum canonicè compleamus. Illa autem procul arceatur suspicio quam nuperrime nobis noster frater et coepiscopus subintulit [15v] Remigius, me scilicet in posterum quaesiturum dorcestrensis uel wigornensis episcopi hac de causa subiectionem. Dico enim coram deo me nunquam hoc facturum. Si placet igitur sanctitati uestrae ut iuxta petitionem nostram nobis facere dignemini, locum eboracum tempus quinto nonas martias nobis immutabiliter constituimus, et uobis significamus. Ergo uiuas et ualeas, et spiritualibus incrementis usquequaque proficias.*

3. Notification of grant to St. German, Selby, 1070 x 1082  
From BL Add. 37771 f. 93r.

*Notum volo fieri omnibus sancte matris ecclesie cultoribus quod ego Thomas Eboracensis ecclesie dei gratia Archipresul de salute anime domini mei regis Willelmi pariterque mei, necnon omnibus in Christo fidelium in futurum preuidens has terras, Ffriston [et] Salebyam, ab omni consuetudine liberas et quitas, clericorum meorum consensu consilioque communi, ecclesie que in honore beatissimi confessoris Germani in diocesi mea fundata est donaverim ita libere sicut superius dixi, excepta Christianis causa et celebratione aniversarii quod celebraturi sunt eisdem ecclesie fratres singulos annos pro peccatorum meorum remissione. Hoc autem rogo et humiliter meos successores admoneo, ne hanc caritatis donationem violare vel adnullare aliquatenus presumant, set imperpetuum supradicte ecclesie eiusque seruiantibus pro remunerationis eterne gloria adiacere permittant. Huius donationis testes sunt: Odo Baiocensis episcopus etc.<sup>574</sup>*

4 Notification of grant to St. German, Selby, 1070 x 1096  
From BL MS Add. 37771 f. 93v.

*Notum volo fieri omnibus sancte matris ecclesie cultoribus quod ego Thomas Eboracensis ecclesie dei gratia Archiepiscopus, de salute anime domini mei regis Willelmi pariterque mei, necnon omnium in Christo fidelium in futurum preuidens has terras, Friston, Hillum, Salebiam, clericorum meorum consensu consilioque comuni Ecclesie sancti Petri Eboracensis cenobiali ecclesie Salebiensi que in honore beatissimi Germani confessoris in diocesi mea fundata est, ab*

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<sup>574</sup>It is extremely unfortunate that the scribe abbreviated the witness list: some of Thomas' canons would have been listed here, and might have provided a clue about the date of Thomas' introduction of dignitaries.

*omnibus consuetudinis tam ecclesiasticis quam aliis liberas et quietas in puram Elemosinam donaverim. Hoc autem rogo et humiliter successores meos commendo ammonens auctoritate divina pontificalique qua possum precipio ne hanc caritatis donationem a se vel a qualibet subposita persona minorari violari vel adnullari aliquatenus pati presumant, set inperpetuum supredicte ecclesie, et eius servientibus, pro remunerationis eterne gloria, et pro remissione peccatorum meorum, adiacere permittant, huius donationis sunt tam commonitores quam testes: Willelmus de Percy, Erneis de Buron, Osbernus de Arcys, etc.*

5. Letter to Algar the clerk, 1070 x 1099

From Acta #6. from HCY iii 97, from Durham, D & C Cartulary III, f. 248r s. xv in.

*Thomas dei gratia Eboracensis archiepiscopus Alg' clerico salutem. Ipse tibi ore ad os prohibui cum per te crisma vel oleum ad Glasguensem ecclesiam nisi ne crisma vel oleum illud dares in parrochiam Dunelmensis episcopi. Tu vero illud contra defensionem meam in Tevegetedale dedisti de qua ecclesiam Dunelmensem saisitam inveni. Mando igitur tibi et episcopali auctoritate prohibeo et omnibus presbiteris de Tevegetedale ne de crismate et oleo aliquod ministerium amodo faciatis nisi per octo dies tantum postquam breve istud videritis ut interim requirere possitis crisma a Dunelmensi ecclesia que vobis illud dare solita est. Quod si post illos octo dies de crismate quod nisi aliquam Christianitatem facere presumeritis a divino officio vos suspendo nec diratiocinatum sit ad quam ecclesiam pertineat. Valet.*

6. Notification of formation of two prebends from the fee of archdeacon Durand, 1070 x 1100

From YML M2(2)b, f. 64v s. xvi in.

*Scriptum. Th. dei gratia Eboracensium archiepiscopus omnibus in Christo fidelibus congregationisque sancti petri successoribus salutem. Notificamus vobis fratres karissimi quam prebendas ex feudo Durandi archidiaconi ipsius intercessione duas in ecclesia sancti petri fecimus. Personas ab eo in ipsius nostro concessisse positis. Quarum potestatem restituendi si defecerint, nostra misericordia requisita, quoadusque ipse vixerit, permittimus. Ipsasque praeendas quam ex suo sunt, in habuit, in manu habeat, dum vixerit. Una autem ex prebendis quatuor karruchatas habet in Gotmundegam, novemque in friedestorp et quinque apud Eboracum, iuxta tangam, dimidiam vero apud Suthon. Altera autem ecclesiam*

*Scireborne, cum illis que possidet, at neutorp, et in litel michelfelt, dimidiam carrucatum, in holdestona vero dimidiam et in poplitora sex carrucatas et dimidiam. Apud Eboracum autem, duas iuxta hacum, et simil adhuc in eboraco habuit vicum qui dicitur monethgata et hoc confirmatum est, testimonio omnium fratrum.*

7. Confirmation of privileges of Durham, 1070 x 4 December 1093. From Durham D & C I.I. Archiep I. ante 1187.<sup>575</sup>

*Thomas dei gratia Eboracensis archchiepiscopus omnibus archiepis, episcopis et abbatibus per Angliam tam constitutis quam in posterum successuris et omnibus sibi in Eboraco archiepis successuris in perpetuum salutem. Cum nostrum sit officium omnibus prestare pietatis obsequium, his tamen maxime sanctorum dei debemus obsequium nostre devotionis impendere a quibus co[n]stat nos peculiare muneris beneficium percepisse. Nos quidem dei flagello castigati et febrium languoribus per biennium modo incredibili exusti cum omnes medici solius mortis exitum nobis prominere promitterent, nil unquam fuit in quo continue noxam egritudinis temperarent. Per visum ergo commonitus ad tumbam sancti Cuthberti gemens et fremens pernoctavi qui morbo simul et mole fatigatus dum sompnum surripui in visu mihi beatus Cuthbertus astitit qui manu sua singula mea membra explorando de infirmitate mea percurrens mox evigilantem ab omni infirmitate sanum reddidit et me sibi in omnibus devotum fore et quecumque in mea diocesi ipse vel sui possessuri essent ab omni fatigatione secunda et libera esse precepit. Quibus beati confessoris adiutis beneficiis eo ei et suis devotior<sup>576</sup> extiti quo maiora persolvere debui. Willelmo interim Dunelmensi episcopo de sede apostolica litteras Gregorii papae vii ad Guillelmi concilium apud Westmonasterium deferens canonicos de ecclesia sua amovere et monachos substituere omnium consensu impetravit. Quibus plurimum gavisus ex precepto prefati papae, et ex imperio domini regis Guillelmi et beati Cuthberti amore debito subscriptas libertates sancto Cuthberto et eius episcopo et omnibus monachis ei servituris consensu et permissione capituli Eboracensis et totius synodi confirmatione dedi, concessi et presenti carta confirmavi et post manu propria super altare sancto Cuthberto obtuli. Sciant igitur tam*

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<sup>575</sup>This text was discussed in detail in Chapter 5. The passages which appear to be later interpolations into a genuine grant are printed in a smaller font. The long interpolation at the end of the document is omitted. Burton prints the complete text (from other printed sources) as Acta #3.

<sup>576</sup>*devotior* in MS; corrected from DCDCM I.I. Archiep. 8, also ante 1187, a copy of Thurstan's confirmation of this grant.

*presentes omnes quam futuri quod ego Thomas Eboracensis archiepiscopus ex precepto Gregorii papae vii et confirmatione domini regis Guillelmi sub testimonio universalis Anglorum concili et consensu Eboracensis capituli do et concedo deo et sancto Cuthberto et omnibus eius episcopis successuris et omnibus monachis in posterum ibidem futuris ut omnes ecclesias quascunque in presenti in diocesiana parrochia mea possident vel in posterum canonice acquirere poterint concessione regum, largitione fidelium vel edificaverint in proprio fundo terrarum liberas et quitas omnino in perpetuum a me et omnibus successoribus meis ab omnibus quae ad me vel ad successores meos pertinent. Quare volo et precipio ut omnes ecclesias suas in manu sua teneant et quiete eas possideant<sup>577</sup> et vicarios suos in eis libere ponant, qui mihi et meis successoribus de cura tantum intendant animarum ipsis vero de omnibus ceteris beneficiis elemosinarum. Concedo insuper, confirmo et precipio ut tam ipsi quam ipsorum vicarii liberi et quieti in perpetuum sint ab omni redditu sinodali et ab omnibus auxiliis gravaminibus vel redditibus exactionibus vel hospitiis tam a me quam ab decanis, archidiaconis vel omnium nostrorum vicariis et ministris. Sub anathemate etiam prohibeo ne aliquis ulterius ipsos vel eorum clericos aliqua sub occasione fatiget vel ad sinoda vel capitula ire nisi velint sponte compellat. Sed si quis erga eos vel suos aliquam querelam habuerit ad curiam sancti Cuthberti Dunelmum veniat ut ibi qualem debuerit rectitudinem percipiat. Omnes enim libertates et dignitates quas ego et mei sequaces in ecclesiis propriis vel terris nostris possederimus ipsis et sancto Cuthberto in omnibus ecclesiis et terris suis libere in perpetuum concedimus et absque omni tergiversatione sive calumpnia a me meisque successoribus liberas et quietas confirmamus.... [There follows an interpolation regarding the inviolability of the body of St. Cuthbert, the boundaries of the diocese of Durham, the rights of the convent and prior. ] Teste Aldredo decano, Durando archidiacono, Willelmo filio Durandi, Willelmo de Dunintune, Ranulfo tesorario, Fulco, Serlone, Tusti, magistro Suiro, Magistro scholarum, Laurentio, Hugone de Soteueim, Lamberto Flandrensi, Gileberto cantore, Ketel filio Godman et Giroldo canonico.<sup>578</sup>*

<sup>577</sup> *quiete eas possideant* written in different ink; Burton, Acta #5, printing from EYC ii, no. 926, says "written in a later hand."

<sup>578</sup> Burton notes (Acta #3, note) that Professor Brooke suggested that the scribe copied the original witness list horizontally. This seems likely, as the columns would then place the dignitaries in their proper order.

Aldred, dean	Durand, archd.	William f. Durand	William de Dunington
Ranuif, treas.	Fulco	Serlo	Tusti
Suirus, m.s.	Laurence	Hugh de Sotevein	Lambert of Flanders
Gilbert, cant.	Ketel f. Godman	Girold the canon	

It further seems probable that the diploma had "*can*" after Gerald's name, which should have been extended to "*canonicis*." The confirmation is said to have been made "*consensu et permissione capituli Eboracensis*." This text

8. Notification to W., hosteler, of the grant of care and the archdeaconry of Carlisle to the bishop of Durham, 1092 x January 1096 or 28 May 1099 X 18 November 1100.

From *Acta* #2. from H.H.E. Craster, "A Contemporary Record of the Pontificate of Ranulf Flambard," *Archaeologia Aeliana* 4th Series 7 (1930) 38, no. iv, from Bodl. MS. Laud. Misc. 748 fo. 30r. s. xv in.

*Thomas dei gratia Eboracensis archiepiscopus W. hostillario salutem. Scias me concessisse episcopo Dunelmensi curam et archidiaconatum de Caerleon et provincie illius. Et volo et precipio ut amodo sibi suisque intendatis.*

9. Obituary for William the Conqueror<sup>579</sup>

From *OV*, 3, p. 112.

*Qui rexit rigidos Normannos, atque Britannos  
Audacter uicit fortiter optinuit,  
Et Cenomannensis uirtute cohercuit enses,  
Imperiique sui legibus aplicuit,  
Rex magnus parua iacet hac Guillelmus in urna  
Sufficit et magno parua domus domino.  
Per septem gradibus se uoluerat atque duobus  
Virginibus in gremiis Phebus et hic obiit.*

---

provides the most detailed evidence for the members of the chapter of York in Thomas' archiepiscopate. For further discussion, see the chapter on Thomas' diocesan authority.

<sup>579</sup>Dr. Jim Binns kindly noted in a private conversation that this elegiac couplet sports only one false quantity (*gremiis* scans as two syllables, not three).

Appendix 2.  
Canons and Dignitaries of St. Peter's, 1070-1100

*Dean*

Aldred           Witness to Durham DCDCM I.I Archiep. i.  
Hugh             At Anselm's consecration, 4 December, 1093 (*Hugh*).

*Precentor*

Gilbert          Present at Anselm's consecration; witness to Durham DCDCM I.I.  
Archiep. i; BL Add. 37771 f.93v.

*Magister Scholarum*

Suirus          Witness to Durham DCDCM I.I Archiep. i.

*Treasurer*

William         Witness to BL Add. 37771, f. 93v.  
Ranulf          Present at Anselm's consecration; witness to Durham DCDCM I.I  
Archiep. i.

*Archdeacons*

Durand          Present at Anselm's consecration, witness to Durham DCDCM I.I  
Archiep. i; subject of YML M2(2)b f. 64v.

*Canons*

Seven canons before the Conquest; three in 1070 (*Hugh*); perhaps about a dozen by 1100?

Hugh (the Chanter)    In chapter by 1100; refers to Thomas II's education  
under Thomas I as "*apud nos*;" Digby says Hugh knew  
Thomas I well; witness (as Hugh de Sotteueim) to Durham  
DCDCM I.I Archiep. i.  
Thomas (II)           (the Younger) Educated in chapter under his uncle  
Thomas (*Hugh*).  
Richard de Maton     Former canon of Beverley; given Hexham as "prebend in  
the church of York" (*Prior Richard*).  
Girolld               Witness to Durham DCDCM I.I Archiep. i.  
Fulco                 *ibid.*, in a position suggesting that he was a canon.  
Laurence             *ibid.*  
Ketel fitz Godman    *ibid.*  
William fitz Durand   *ibid.* (Possibly holder of one of two prebends founded by  
his father, YML M2(2)b, f. 64v).  
Serlo                 *ibid.*

Appendix 3.  
The Fee of The Archbishop of York, 1086

<u>Location</u>	<u>Manor</u>	<u>Tenant</u> <sup>1</sup>	<u>Holder TRE</u>
ER	Patrington (o) <sup>2</sup>		Abp. York
ER	Swine (o)		Abp. York
ER	Burby	Geoffrey	Abp. York
NR	Coulton		(not given)
WR	Sherburn (in Elmet) (o)	Abp.'s soldiers, 2 clerics, Abt. Selby	Abp. York
	"near the city"		not given
ER	Elloughton, Wauldby	Godwine	Abp. Aldred
ER	Walkington	Canons of St. Peter's	Abp. Aldred
ER	(N.) Cave	Canons of St. Peter's	Abp. Aldred
ER	(N.,S.) Newbald	Canons of St. Peter's	Abp. Aldred
ER	Riccall	Canons of St. Peter's	Abp. Aldred
ER	Dunnington	Canons of St. Peter's	Slettan, Edwin (thanes)
ER	Everingham (o)	2 clerics, 1 soldier	Abp. Aldred

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<sup>1</sup>Peasants omitted.

<sup>2</sup>(o) signifies that outliers pertain to the manor.

ER	Wetwang		Abp. Aldred
ER	(Bishop) Wilton (o)		Abp. Aldred
ER	Grindale		St. Peter's of York
ER	Barmby (Moor), Millington		Abp. Aldred
ER	Aike		(not given)
ER	(Low) Caythorpe	St. Peter's	St. Peter's
ER	Langtoft	St. Peter's	Ulfr
ER	Cottam	St. Peter's	Ulfr
ER	Weaverthorpe (o)	Walchelin (soldier)	Abp. Aldred
ER	Bugthorpe		Clibert
NR	Wykeham (Hill)	St. Peter's	St. Peter's
NR	Salton	St. Peter's	Ulfr
NR	Brawby	St. Peter's	Ulfr
NR	(Great, Little) Barugh	St. Peter's	Ulfr
NR	(East) Newton		St. Peter's <sup>3</sup>
NR	Nawton	St. Peter's	Ulfr
NR	(Old) Malton		Ulfr
NR	Wombleton		Ulfr

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<sup>3</sup>Gamall gave it to St. Peter's before 1066.

NR	Pockley		Ulfr
NR	Ampleforth		Ulfr
NR	Flaxton		Ulfr
NR	Murton (Farm)		Ulfr
NR	Baxby		Ulfr
NR	Carlton (Husthwaite)	St. Peter's	Ulfr
NR	Stonegrave	St. Peter's	Ulfr <sup>4</sup>
NR	Belthorpe		(not given)
NR	(Gate) Helmsley		(not given)
NR	Warthill		(not given)
NR	Carlton (Farm)	St. Peter's of York	St. Peter's of York
NR	Marton	St. Peter's	St. Peter's
NR	Stillington	St. Peter's	St. Peter's
NR	Haxby	St. Peter's	St. Peter's
NR	Tollerton	St. Peter's	St. Peter's
NR	Alne	St. Peter's	St. Peter's
NR	Helperby	Rainer	St. Peter's

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<sup>4</sup>He gave it to St. Peter's

NR	(Same) Helperby	St. Peter's	St. Peter's <sup>5</sup>
NR	Strensall		St. Peter's <sup>6</sup>
NR	Towthorpe		St. Peter's <sup>7</sup>
NR	Earswick		St. Peter's <sup>8</sup>
?	'Corburn'		St. Peter's <sup>9</sup>
WR	Warmfield	Ilbert	St. Peter's
WR	(Upper) Poppleton		St. Peter's
WR	Acomb	St. Peter's	St. Peter's
WR	Otley (o)		Abp. Aldred
WR	Grafton	Canons <sup>10</sup>	(not given)
WR	Ulleskelf (o)	William of Verly	Abp. Aldred
WR	Ripon (o)	Canons	Abp. Aldred
WR	Aldfield		(not given)
WR	Nunwick	Rainald	(not given)
WR	(Bridge) Hewick		(not given)

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<sup>5</sup>Held TRE by Saexfrith from St. Peter's.

<sup>6</sup>Held TRE by Saexfrith and Thorketill from St. Peter's.

<sup>7</sup>Held TRE by Saexfrith from St. Peter's.

<sup>8</sup>Held TRE by Saexfrith and Godric from St Peter's.

<sup>9</sup>Held TRE by the same Saexfrith from St. Peter's.

<sup>10</sup>*Hoc pertinet ad uictum canonicorum.*

WR	(Copt) Hewick		(not given)
WR	Givendale (o)		(not given)
WR ?	Howgrave, Hutton (Conyers), Hashundeby, Markington, (South) Stanley	St. Peter's <sup>11</sup>	(not given)
ER	Beverley (St. John's) (o)	Canons	Abp. <sup>12</sup>
ER	(South) Dalton	St. John's	Abp. Aldred
ER	(E., W) Flotmanby	Clerics of Beverley	(not given)
ER	Risby		(not given)
ER	Lockington	St. John's	St. John's
ER	Etton	St. John's	St. John's
ER	Raventhorpe	St. John's	St. John's
ER	(Cherry) Burton	St. John's	Wulfgeat
ER	Molescroft	St. John's <sup>13</sup>	(not given)
ER	Kelleythorpe	St. John's	(not given)
ER	Kipling Cotes	St. John's <sup>14</sup>	St. John's
ER	Middleton (on the Wolds)	St. John's	Abp. Aldred

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<sup>11</sup>This land of St. Peter's is free of the King's tax.

<sup>12</sup>TRW the Canons received revenue from this land, but its status is not given in DB.

<sup>13</sup>One half is the Archbishop's, the other St. John's.

<sup>14</sup>Ketill holds it (from St. John's).

ER	Leconfield	St. John's	(not given)
ER	(Great) Kelk (o)	St. John's	Wulfgeat
ER	Garton (on the Wolds)	St. John's	St. John's, Wulfgeat <sup>15</sup>
ER	Lowthorpe (o)		St. John's
ER	Bentley		St. John's

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<sup>15</sup>TRE St. John's had 1 manor there and Wulfgeat another manor; now St. John's has both.

#### Appendix 4.

#### Lands held of the Archbishop by the Canons of St. Peter's, 1086

<u>Location</u>	<u>Manor</u>	<u>Holder TRE</u>	<u>TRE Value</u>	<u>TRW Value</u>
ER	Walkington	Aldred	40s	30s
ER	(N.) Cave	Aldred	(not given)	waste; 10s8d
ER	(N.,S.) Newbald	Aldred	£24	£10
ER	Riccall	Aldred	100s	30s
ER	Dunnington	Slettan,Edwin (thanes)	10s	15s
WR	Grafton <sup>595</sup>	(not given)	10s	waste
NR	Osbaldwick <sup>596</sup> ( <i>terra canonicorum</i> )	Canons		
NR	Murton	Canons?		waste
NR	Stockton (on the Forest)	Canons?		waste
NR	Sandburn (House)	Canons <sup>597</sup>		waste
NR	Clifton <sup>598</sup>	Morcar?		waste

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<sup>595</sup>*Hoc pertinet ad uictum canonicorum.*

<sup>596</sup>This and the following derive from the *Clamores*, which preserve less information than entries in the Survey. The context suggests that these lands (*terra canonicorum*) are located in the archbishop's shire in York.

<sup>597</sup>*Radulfus Pagenel tenet. Canonici dicunt se eam habuisse TRE.*

<sup>598</sup>*...habet archiepiscopus ibi viii acras prati. Hoc manerium 1 leuga longa et alia latera. TRE ualuit xx solidi, modo similiter. Canonici habent viii carucatas et dimidium. Vasta est.* It is not clear why the canons' land is waste, while the archbishop's held its value.

Appendix 5.  
Domesday Origins of the Prebends of St. Peter's, 1291

[\* denotes manors constituted or possibly constituted as prebends by Thomas]

	<u>Prebend 1291</u> <sup>599</sup>	<u>Holder 1086</u>
North Riding:	Masham	Count Alan
	Husthwaite	Abp. Thomas
	Ampleforth	Abp. Thomas
	Salton	Abp. Thomas
	Stillington	Abp. Thomas
	Strensall	Abp. Thomas
	Warthill*	Abp. Thomas
West Riding:	Osbaldwick	Canons of St. Peter's <sup>600</sup>
	Knaresborough	King William
	Bilton	Abp. Thomas
	Bramham	William de Percy
	Ulleskelf	Abp. Thomas
	Fenton	Ilbert de Lacy
	Wistow	? <sup>601</sup>
	Newthorpe*	? <sup>602</sup>
East Riding:	Laughton	Roger de Busli

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<sup>599</sup>Clay supplies a list of the c. 1291 prebends (Clay, *York Mister Fasti*, 2); my reading of the *Taxatio Ecclesiastica* yields three prebends not listed by Clay: "Bolom" (or Bolum), Apesthorp, and the "*prebenda que vocatur Botavaunt*." None of these appears in Domesday Book, and as they appear to have disappeared from St. Peter's by the fourteenth century, I follow Clay, and omit them.

<sup>600</sup>According to the Claims.

<sup>601</sup>Not listed in DB.

<sup>602</sup>Not listed in DB.

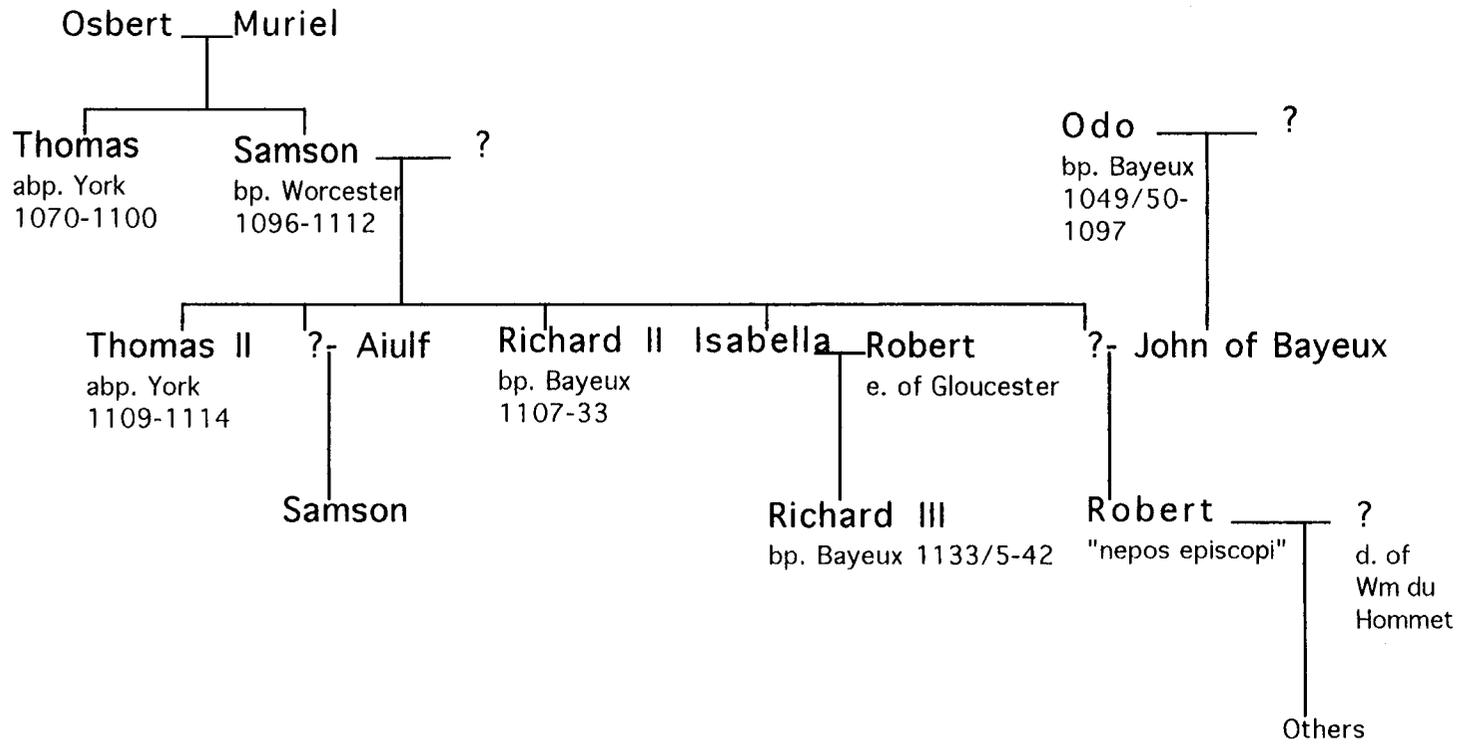
Grindale*	Abp. Thomas
Langtoft	Abp. Thomas
Driffeld	King William
Fridaythorpe*	Abp. Thomas <sup>603</sup>
Wetwang	Abp. Thomas
Holme*	?Abp. Thomas <sup>604</sup>
Bugthorpe	Abp. Thomas
Wilton	Abp. Thomas
Givendale	Abp. Thomas
Barmby	Robert of Mortain
Dunnington	Abp. Thomas (held by Canons)
Weighton	King William
Riccall	Abp. Thomas (held by Canons)
North Newbald	Abp. Thomas (held by Canons)
South Newbald	Abp. Thomas (held by Canons)
South Cave	Robert Malet

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<sup>603</sup>As an outlier of (Bishop) Wilton.

<sup>604</sup>Vide the discussion of Holme Archiepiscopi in the text, and in Clay, *Fasti*, ii, p. 38.

# 1. The Family of Thomas of Bayeux





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