

Mills, Manuscripts and Monastic Archives: The Phillipps

Charters of Mont Saint-Michel

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Abstract

This article examines three medieval charters of the Norman abbey of Mont Saint-Michel, today preserved among the collections of the John Rylands Research Institute and Library. Rare survivors of the destruction of the abbey's archives in 1944, these charters previously formed part of the enormous private library assembled by Sir Thomas Phillipps (1792–1872), antiquarian and bibliophile. They are here studied in detail for the first time, showcasing them not just for what they can tell us about the property to which they relate and the celebrated abbey to which it once belonged, but, more importantly, for what they reveal about the structure and organisation of the lost institutional archive of which they formed a part in the Middle Ages. This article also contextualises these charters within the wider Phillipps collection, exploring questions associated with the antiquarian practice of preserving and presenting medieval documents, a subject which has only recently begun to receive the scholarly attention it deserves.

Keywords: Mont Saint-Michel; Thomas Phillipps; charters; archives; inventory; thirteenth century; fourteenth century

Introduction

This article offers a study, critical edition, and translation of three charters of the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries now housed at Manchester among the collections of the John Rylands Research Institute and Library. Ordinarily, to pay such close attention to these documents might be seen as excessive, given that they are small in number and concern just a

single watermill located in the parish of Carolles, in what is today western Normandy.¹ However, neither the monastic institution in whose archives these charters were once found, nor the history of these archives themselves, nor that of the private collection of which they once formed a part, can be considered in any way ordinary. The abbey of Mont Saint-Michel, which was founded, according to legend, in 708 by St Aubert, bishop of Avranches, is one of the most celebrated medieval monasteries north of the Alps.² It was not only a major site of pilgrimage, but also a significant landholder in both France and England, as well as an important centre of scholarship and learning. Much of what we know of the medieval abbey's intellectual life has been gleaned from its superb library, the extant volumes of which are today largely housed at the municipal library of Avranches and frequently exhibited in the nearby Scriptorial museum.³ The abbey's enormous archive, one of the richest of any religious house in medieval France, has not similarly survived. Transferred from Mont Saint-Michel in the wake of the French Revolution to the departmental archives then taking shape at Saint-Lô, the entirety of the abbey's administrative records, including almost all its medieval charters, were destroyed in the Allied bombing of Saint-Lô on 6 June 1944. In the years since, the sheer scale of this loss has been further compounded by the fact that the records of Mont Saint-Michel were still uncatalogued at the time of their destruction, meaning that, while scholars have long had a general idea of how much was lost,⁴ it is often difficult to get a precise sense of what exactly perished in the flames of that fateful night.⁵

— The three charters now at the John Rylands Library are important survivors of this tragedy. This article examines them in detail for the first time,⁶ showcasing them not only for what they can tell us about the property to which they relate and the celebrated abbey to which it once belonged, but also for what they reveal about the structure and organisation of the lost institutional archive of which they formed a part in the Middle Ages. The article is divided into three main parts. The first briefly sets the charters in their current archival milieu

by examining how they came to be acquired initially by Sir Thomas Phillipps (1792–1872), antiquary and bibliophile, and then, subsequently, by the John Rylands Library. This helps contextualise the three charters and the album in which they appear within the wider Phillipps collection, which was easily one of the largest private manuscript libraries ever assembled, and addresses important questions of provenance, preservation, and presentation. The second part focuses on the monastic archive in which these charters were previously housed by bringing them into conversation with a medieval inventory of Mont Saint-Michel's muniment collection (*chartrier*). It shows how the Rylands charters can help shed light on the creation of this inventory, long known to antiquaries and scholars alike but hitherto little studied, and thus on the organisation of the abbey's later medieval archives. The third and final part then examines the charters themselves and the mill to which they relate, highlighting the wider ways in which a powerful monastic institution like Mont Saint-Michel used such structures to shape and control both the surrounding landscape and its inhabitants. The three charters are edited to critical standards and translated in an appendix, thereby making their texts available both to scholars and students.

Thomas Phillipps, the John Rylands Library, and the Charters of Mont Saint-Michel

The three charters that constitute the focus of this article are today part of the Rylands collection known as the Phillipps Charters (PHC). Comprised of over 500 acts and other administrative records dating from the twelfth to the seventeenth century, the documents contained therein once formed part of the staggeringly large private library of manuscripts compiled by Sir Thomas Phillipps at Middle Hill, Broadway, in Worcestershire, which was subsequently broken up by sale in the wake of his death in 1872.⁷ The Mont Saint-Michel acts are bound in a single, large album, on the leaves of which are fastened ~~40~~ forty

documents of various kinds and origin but which mainly relate to French ecclesiastical institutions (PHC/28–67). It was one of two such albums acquired by the John Rylands Library during a sale of Phillipps manuscripts held on 6 June 1910 (the other is now PHC/68–125), the Sotheby's catalogue for which describes them as '*Chartæ antiquæ ad monasteria diversa spectantes*'.⁸ Assigned the Rylands accession number R23196 (1/2), the album was subsequently described to item level by Robert Fawtier in a hand-list published in this journal in 1924, and in book-form the following year.⁹

The story of how the three Mont Saint-Michel charters arrived at the John Rylands Library is, therefore, a relatively straightforward one to relate. The same cannot be said for how Thomas Phillipps first acquired them. The sheer scale of the Phillipps collection – which at some 60,000 individual items was significantly larger than those of most public institutions – and the somewhat unorthodox ways in which it was administered both during and after Phillipps' lifetime, mean that anyone attempting to trace the provenance of a particular manuscript (or, alternatively, its current resting place) must navigate a labyrinthine archival and bibliographical landscape.¹⁰ In fact, one of the only apparent certainties in our case is the Phillipps manuscript number assigned to the album in which the Mont Saint-Michel charters are now bound: 32,288.¹¹ Such a high number in the Phillipps sequence means it is not among the items catalogued in the 'living text' that is the *Catalogus librorum manuscriptorum in bibliotheca D. Thomae Phillipps*, which was printed in fascicules by Phillipps himself, ending with item 23,837 at the time of his death.¹² Nor is it among the three inventories made for probate after 1872, one of which goes up to 26,365.¹³ Those manuscripts that are described in the printed catalogue had been numbered by Phillipps consecutively in approximate order of acquisition, with the album's number suggesting that it came into his possession towards the end of his life. Such was the scale and mania of his collecting, however, that it is equally possible that the album was acquired at an earlier date and only

numbered by Phillipps much later (items purchased on the Continent did not always arrive promptly at Middle Hill);¹⁴ or that its contents were acquired across time in piecemeal fashion and only bound together at a later date; or that it was among those items acquired and numbered earlier, only to be renumbered by Phillipps' ps's grandson, Thomas Fitzroy Fenwick (1856–1938);¹⁵ or that it was among those uncatalogued manuscripts to which numbers were seemingly assigned by those responsible for compiling the abovementioned probate inventories.¹⁶

Anyone wanting to try and shed further light on such matters can turn to the Phillipps-Robinson papers, today conserved at the Bodleian Libraries, Oxford, which contain records relating to the Phillipps collection.¹⁷ Rather than offering an ordered list of acquisitions, however, the Phillipps-Robinson papers represent in themselves much of the obsessive – and, at times, quite disordered – mania behind the Phillipps collection, with many volumes being comprised of hundreds of scrappy and difficult-to-contextualise notes, written on everything from old envelopes to invitation cards, which have often been brought together in no discernible chronological order. A thorough search of these papers has revealed no apparent explicit mention of either the Mont Saint-Michel charters or the album in which they are now bound. There is also no apparent note from which one might reasonably infer mention of either the charters or the album. That said, the Phillipps-Robinson papers do help illuminate Phillipps' ps's collecting activities, including the provenance of large parts of his library. They also provide important clues as to when, where, and at-on whose initiative the Rylands album acquired its present form. The answers to such questions may not help resolve the central issue of provenance, but they do allow us to contextualise this particular object not just within the Phillipps collection itself, but also within the wider antiquarian practice of preserving and presenting medieval documents in albums and scrapbooks, a subject which has only recently begun to receive the scholarly attention it deserves.¹⁸

Unsurprisingly, given the size and scope of the Phillipps collection, both the Phillipps-Robinson papers and the incomplete catalogue show that Phillipps regularly acquired individual charters, such as the thirteenth-century act of Andrew, abbot of Santo Stefano del Bosco (*fl.* 1240), listed by Phillipps on 3 June 1869 and described in the final part of the catalogue printed before his death,¹⁹ as well as pre-bound albums of diplomatic material ~~like such as~~ the ‘Cartæ antiquæ (68) pasted into a vol.’, which apparently included documents from the reign of Elizabeth I (1558–1603) to 1789.²⁰ Determining anything in relation to the Rylands manuscript, therefore, may seem like an impossible task. Fortunately, a previously unknown inventory, which is bound into a volume of miscellaneous lists, ~~c.~~ ~~1830–1866~~, helps provide important context. Titled ‘Catalogue of ancient charters at Middle Hill, 1848’, it is a short list in Phillipps’ ~~ps’s~~ handwriting of twenty-three eleventh- and twelfth-century charters relating to a range of French ecclesiastical institutions.²¹ The items in question are described in sufficient detail so as to allow ~~for~~ their current location to be identified, with the majority today being conserved at the Bibliothèque nationale de France (hereafter BnF) in MS nouv. acq. lat. 2588.²² At the beginning of the twentieth century, the items in this manuscript were still at Thirlestaine House, Cheltenham, to which Phillipps had moved from Middle Hill in the latter part of his life, and were among 272 of his manuscripts acquired by the BnF in 1908.²³ Although the abovementioned list shows that some of the Paris charters were in Phillipps’ ~~ps’s~~ possession as early as 1848, suggesting he perhaps acquired them during one of his collecting trips to the Continent in 1822–23 and 1827–29,²⁴ the reverse of four of them bear the Phillipps manuscript number 24,807.²⁵ This means that not only are they ~~not among missing from~~ those manuscripts described in the unfinished printed catalogue, but also that we should not necessarily take the high number of the Rylands albums to suggest that they were acquired by Phillipps towards the end of his life. Some charters in MS nouv. acq. lat. 2588 bear equally high numbers,²⁶ with at least one being

higher than that of the Rylands manuscripts,²⁷ while those with numbers low enough to be in the unfinished catalogue are not described in the corresponding entry found therein.²⁸ As for the Paris manuscript's binding, it is unclear whether its contents were brought together by Phillipps himself or by staff at the BnF, although the latter seems more likely, given that many charters have been fixed into the album in such a way as to obscure information written on their reverse, including Phillipps manuscript numbers, which one imagines Phillipps himself would have wanted to leave visible.²⁹ Whatever the case may be, the numbers that are still legible on the back of the Paris charters act as a useful guide as to how Phillipps administered those charters which he had acquired individually, or in small batches, and thus help tell us something about the Rylands manuscripts. Indeed, had their contents been acquired as individual items, subsequently bound together by Phillipps, then one could reasonably expect to see his manuscript numbers on their reverse. Instead, no such numbering appears on any of the charters pasted into either of the two Rylands albums, suggesting – in the absence of concrete evidence to the contrary – that Phillipps acquired them in their current state.

[Figure 1 near here]

Figure 1 The Mont Saint-Michel charters at the John Rylands Library (PHC/32–34).

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While the identity of the person who first compiled and assembled the Rylands manuscripts must, for the time being, remain unknown, one thing we can say with certainty is that the documents they contain are presented neither haphazardly nor randomly, much less accidentally, but selectively according to 'themes'.³⁰ This is true of the internal sequencing of items within each album and their particular arrangement and juxtaposition, with individual pages or page sequences sometimes representing different 'sub-themes' – indeed, the three closely related Mont Saint-Michel charters are themselves a perfect example of this (**Figure 1**). Similarly, while Phillipps' desire to collect was driven by a seemingly inexhaustible

mania, he by no means acquired items like the Rylands albums as mere curiosities or status symbols, but instead as objects whose contents might be shared with other likeminded individuals. As is well documented, these regularly included antiquarians and historians, such as Sir Frederic Madden (1801–1873), whose musings on the chaotic state of Middle Hill are well known,³¹ and the renowned German medievalist Georg Heinrich Pertz (1795–1876), whom the Phillipps-Robinson papers show consulted almost 270 manuscripts during a visit to Middle Hill in 1845 (the Rylands albums were not among them).³² Voracious though Phillipps' collecting habits may have been, it was not an obsession he kept to himself, with items like the Rylands albums preserving and presenting their contents in such a way as to become finding aids through which readers like Pertz and others, some of whom continued to be granted access to Phillipps' collection after his death, might engage with material that, prior to their collation and compilation, had been in far less accessible private collections or religious archives.³³ Even if it seems that Phillipps may not necessarily have been responsible for compiling the two Rylands albums himself, it is certainly not unreasonable to say that they are just the sort of objects he would nevertheless have been happy to create and make available for consultation by his peers.

The Monastic Archives of Mont Saint-Michel and Their Medieval

Organisation

It is important to note that Phillipps began amassing his collection at a propitious time. The 1820s and 1830s saw many private libraries come on the market, with Phillipps able to purchase large collections containing manuscripts of French origin from fellow collectors and bibliophiles, such as Charles Chardin (1742–1826), Luigi Celotti (1759–1843), and Frederick North, later 5th Earl of Guilford (1766–1827), to name but a few.³⁴ Not all of these collections had been legitimately acquired by their previous owners, however, and Phillipps

was among those English antiquarians and bibliophiles able to profit from the still-chaotic post-revolutionary state of the provincial archives in France, where Norman repositories like the nascent Archives départementales du Calvados were at the mercy of men such as the abbé Gervase de la Rue (1751–1835),³⁵ who had few qualms about ‘borrowing’ items for his own private library from the collections under his self-appointed protection, some of which eventually made their way into Phillipps’~~ps’~~ps’s hands.³⁶ It was via such channels that the compiler of the Rylands volumes most likely acquired their contents, although the precise point at which the three Mont Saint-Michel charters in 32,288 (PHC/28–67) were extracted from the abbey’s archives can only be reasonably guessed at. While still housed at Mont Saint-Michel, the abbey’s muniment collection seems to have suffered relatively few losses to borrowing or theft, although there is evidence of at least one charter being removed before the French Revolution, or so it would seem.³⁷ What is more, unlike the Archives du Calvados, those for the neighbouring department of La Manche, housed first at Coutances and then, from 1800, at Saint-Lô, were administered during their early years by the reputable figures of Jérôme-Jean Costin (1759–1825) and François-Nicolas Dubosc (1815–86), neither of whom are known to have engaged in the sort of malfeasance practised by de la Rue. That said, the experiences of collectors like Jeremiah Holmes Wiffen (1792–1836) show that English antiquarians could still have unfettered access to the rich collections at Saint-Lô even as late as the second half of the 1820s, allowing them to purloin items (including charters of Mont Saint-Michel) as a result.³⁸

With this in mind, let us now turn to look at an important but little studied fourteenth-century inventory of the abbey’s archive, and at the ways in which the Rylands charters, which are listed therein, help shed new light on its creation. Before turning to the inventory in earnest, however, a brief recapitulation of the history of the Mont Saint-Michel archives between the eleventh and fourteenth centuries is required. For the earlier part of this period,

nothing is known about either the organisation of the abbey's archival records or the location in which they were kept. No extant document from the eleventh and twelfth centuries refers explicitly to Mont Saint-Michel's collection of charters (*chartrier*), while no part of the Romanesque monastic complex has ever been definitively identified as the space in which this collection was housed. That said, the abbey's famous cartulary, begun most likely under Abbot Bernard (1131–49) or Abbot Geoffrey (1149–50/51), provides evidence of the monastic community's care and maintenance of its archive in the first half of the twelfth century,³⁹ while it has recently been argued that Geoffrey's celebrated successor, Robert of Torigni (1154–86), may have kept his community's charter collection, which was then most probably a portable affair stored in a single chest, in his abbatial chambers.⁴⁰ It is not until the later Middle Ages, however, that we have explicit evidence relating to the ways in which the abbey's archives were organised and conserved. The most obvious is the abbey's two-storey muniment tower (*tour du chartrier*), which is attached to the north-western corner of the structure today known as '*la Merveille*' (Fig. [Figure 2](#)). According to the monk-historian Thomas Le Roy (1618–83), this tower was built in 1406 by Abbot Pierre Le Roy (1384–1411) as part of a systematic re-organisation of the abbey's archives, although architectural historians have long noted the presence of certain thirteenth-century features in the tower's lower chamber that suggest a much earlier date of construction.⁴¹

The other major extant record of activity ~~with regards~~[with regard](#) to the archives is the fourteenth-century inventory itself, which refers to the small cupboards or chests (*armariola*) in which the charters were then kept.⁴² It is difficult to know precisely what prompted the inventory's creation at this point in time, but it is worth ~~pointing mentioning out~~ that the early fourteenth century was a period in which troubles between England and France had a material impact on the abbey's possessions, which might well have prompted a 'stocktaking' of its existing rights and privileges.⁴³ It is also possible that the inventory was drawn up in the

context of moving the archives permanently into the muniment tower, and/or reorganising them in preparation for the creation of a register or cartulary. This was certainly the case during the abbacy of Pierre Le Roy, who, according to a short in-house *gesta*, went through the archives himself in preparation for making various inventories and registers, including a now lost cartulary, known as the *Livre blanc*, and a lost rental, known as the *Quanandrier*.⁴⁴ As we shall see in the conclusion, it is possible that a second inventory, itself also lost, was produced at around the same time.

[Figure 2 near here] **Figure 2** The muniment tower (*tour du chartrier*) of Mont Saint-Michel. Copyright © Richard Allen.

The surviving inventory ~~under consideration~~ here is today housed at the municipal library at Avranches in MS_211, a composite volume, the first part of which is formed of historiographical texts.⁴⁵ If one is to believe a note found at the bottom of its final folio, the inventory was written in 1326,⁴⁶ although there are at least two acts listed with dates after this *terminus ad quem*.⁴⁷ Largely the work of a single scribe, the inventory lists 1,490 acts in total and is divided into twenty-seven sections, four of which are general (e.g., *Emptiones*) and the rest geographical, relating to places where the abbey had a priory.⁴⁸ Three of the four general sections specifically identify the name of the cupboard/chest (*armarium*) in which the corresponding acts were kept (the ‘*armarium Montis*’ for royal/ducal acts and purchases, and the ‘*armarium privilegiorum*’ for papal bulls), while a note at the inventory’s beginning, and another found next to a charter listed under the heading for ‘*Sanctus Paternus*’ (that is, Saint-Pair-sur-Mer),⁴⁹ suggest that the inventory reflects not an original ordering made in the process of its creation but rather an existing system of organisation similar to that still found in the muniment tower of Magdalen College, Oxford, where deeds from the early twelfth century to the early sixteenth are kept in fifteenth-century wooden boxes labelled by place (~~Fig-~~ **Figure 3**).⁵⁰

–Whatever the case may be, ordering items geographically was not without its complications, since even a quick glance reveals that certain acts have been listed twice because their content related to benefices situated in different places. Moreover, the same act is sometimes listed twice under the same heading since the abbey’s archives were home to two copies of it. Alongside the uncertainties caused by duplicate entries, it is also worth noting that only 399 acts are listed with a specific date (27.7-per cent of the total), of which 307 (that is, 77.7-per cent of the dated total) are for the period after 1250. It is therefore difficult to know precisely which period many acts belong to, as the descriptions can sometimes be both vague and laconic (e.g., *Littera confirmationis donationum d’Aufains*). It is finally worth remarking that the inventory seems to have been designed to be something of a ‘living text’. Significant gaps are left between the final act listed in a section and the next section’s heading, suggesting that the inventorist envisaged further entries being made (fol. 123r is left entirely blank, since the final entry in the section for Saint-Pair, where Mont Saint-Michel had many possessions, appears towards the bottom of fol. 122v). In some instances, later scribes did indeed return to add new entries (e.g., fol. 116v), while others added dates and numbers (some Arabic, some Roman) next to certain entries.

[Figure 3 near here] **Figure 3** Fifteenth-century deed boxes in the muniment tower of Magdalen College, Oxford. Copyright © Richard Allen.

One issue that has never been properly explored, however, is the way in which the charters are described. Various terms are employed, both general (*cyrographum*, *carta*, *littera*, *copia*) and specific (*donatio*, *compositio*, *financia*), with no obvious rationale behind their usage. That said, in her edition of the abbey’s celebrated twelfth-century cartulary, Katharine Keats-Rohan notes how the word ‘*cyrographum*’ seems to have been used by the inventorist not to reflect an act’s actual diplomatic form but rather to describe ‘charters which bestowed churches that then or later became a priory [...] or other important early

endowments'.⁵¹ The use of this term is by no means consistent, however, with one twice-inventoried act being styled first as '*cyrographum*' and then as '*littera*'.⁵² As for later acts, these are sometimes described extremely tersely (see the example cited above for Auffains, which is actually an 1192 charter of Reginald, bishop of Chartres), and other times in much greater detail.⁵³ It is this element that the Rylands charters help illuminate, via nothing more complicated than the endorsements found on their reverse, which, in two instances, echo exactly the corresponding entry found in the fourteenth-century inventory. As ~~the table below illustrates~~ (Table 1) illustrates, they are by no means unique in this respect. Nevertheless, this simple yet ~~heretofore~~ previously unnoticed connection allows us to examine the reverse of other extant originals afresh and similarly compare them with the corresponding descriptions in the inventory of 1326.

With regards to the Rylands charters themselves, two out of the three (PHC/33 and PHC/34) have a single description of the act's contents on their reverse, which, in both cases, is written in a thirteenth-century hand in dark brown ink. The same hand – or a very similar one – can also be seen penning the descriptions on the reverse of nos. 5, 9–10, 13, 15, 18, 20–24 (~~Fig. Figure 4~~). A second scribe, writing in a much lighter ink, then returned to add above each of these descriptions a Roman numeral that mirrors the numeral assigned to the corresponding entry in the inventory. The third Rylands charter (PHC/32) also has a brief description written in the same hand and ink colour as the other two, above which a second scribe has similarly added a Roman numeral (corresponding, once again, with that found next to the inventory entry) and also a brief – but now almost illegible – addendum to the main description. The most likely reason why the endorsement on this third act does not appear verbatim in the inventory is that its entry follows on directly from that of a now lost charter relating to the same issue, prompting the inventorist to describe its contents in a curtailed form.⁵⁴

[Figure 4 near here]

Figure 4 Thirteenth-century endorsements from extant Mont Saint-Michel originals.

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A survey of surviving originals conserved elsewhere shows that the inventorist also copied other charter endorsements, the tenor of which is sometimes the result of multiple scribes working across the centuries. Thus, an eleventh-century original at the Archives de la Manche, which is one of a handful of charters that survived the destruction of 1944 because they were then on loan to another repository,⁵⁵ and another of the twelfth century, which is among a collection of Mont Saint-Michel acts acquired by the BnF in the early nineteenth century from sources unclear,⁵⁶ both have terse twelfth-century endorsements to which the same fourteenth-century scribe has added further precisions, the combination of which has been copied verbatim by the inventorist ([nos:nos](#) 4, 13). The same fourteenth-century scribe also made additions to the earlier endorsements found on at least six other originals ([nos:nos](#) 5, 16, 18, 20, 23–24). In other instances, however, when the inventorist found nothing on the reverse of a charter but a brief description from an earlier century, he was happy simply to copy this into his inventory (e.g., [nos:nos](#) 17, 19). What is more, a number of modern copies, along with a charter now in Paris (no. 25), suggest that the inventorist occasionally came across nothing at all on a charter's reverse, thereby requiring him to describe things in his own terms.⁵⁷ It is therefore this apparent adherence to the endorsements that explains the discrepancy between the length of each entry in the inventory and the range of terms it uses. Unfortunately, none of the charters it describes as '*cyrographum*' is known to survive as an original, such that we cannot say for certain whether these descriptions were inspired by their endorsements. That said, two originals do contain later endorsements describing each act as a '*cirographum*', one of which (no. 22) is written in the same thirteenth-century hand found on the reverse of the Rylands charters.⁵⁸ It is possible, therefore, that similar endorsements were

found on the originals since lost or destroyed and described in the inventory using these terms.

The endorsements on the surviving originals found at the John Rylands Library and elsewhere also allow us to say something about the numbering systems used in certain parts of the inventory. Eight of the twenty-seven sections have numbers written next to their entries.⁵⁹ Like the dates that also appear there, it is clear that some of these numbers have been added to the inventory after the fact by scribes other than the main inventorist. In the case of the royal/ducal acts and purchases listed in the ‘*armariolum Montis*’, therefore, the position on the page of the inventory’s various textual elements allows us to say that the main entries were, by and large, written first (some were added by later scribes), after which a second scribe added dates in Roman numerals, squeezing these in wherever possible. A third scribe, working in the fifteenth century, then returned to write Arabic numerals next to almost every entry. These are again squeezed in wherever possible, including around the already-present dates. The same pattern of composition is evident in the subsequent section for the acts relating to Ardevon.⁶⁰ In this instance, one of the charters inventoried under this heading still survives as an original, on the reverse of which is written the same Arabic numeral as appears next to it in the inventory (no. 6). Given the date at which these numerals must have been added, both to the inventory and to the reverse of this particular charter, it is possible that what we have here is a remnant of the work of Abbot Pierre Le Roy, who, as ~~was~~ noted ~~above~~, went through the abbey’s archives himself in preparing the lost cartulary known as the *Livre blanc*. As for the entries numbered using Roman numerals, these numbers appear to have been added before the dates found in these sections, since they almost always appear in the generous left-hand margin in front of the description, while the dates (also in Roman numerals) appear either at the end of a description or are inserted interlineally. By contrast, in the sections with Arabic numerals, the dates are at times written in the left-hand margin,

something which happens almost consistently in one section without any numbering whatsoever.⁶¹

It is difficult to say whether all these numbers were added at the same time as the descriptions, but the sections in which the Rylands charters are listed, where the numbering and descriptions could easily be by the same scribe (and definitely show no major difference in ink colour, which is not the case elsewhere), suggest this is likely. If so, then this would imply that the inventorist simply copied a numbering system that ~~was~~could already ~~to~~ be found on the reverse of these charters, with this system standing as evidence of a previously unknown attempt to arrange a part of the abbey's archive. If not, then it is possible that the inventory was used to help establish this arrangement. Interestingly, seven of the eight sections with a numbering system list the abbey's most prestigious charters or its largest collections thereof, suggesting that priority had been given to their systemisation.⁶²

Mills, Monks, and Landscape in the Bay of Mont Saint-Michel

Let us lastly turn to examine the contents of the three Rylands charters. Although Robert Fawtier's brief description of them has been in print for a century, the acts have garnered little scholarly attention beyond occasional cursory references.⁶³ At first glance, this may seem entirely appropriate, given that, as ~~was~~ noted at the outset, they concern but a single watermill in western Normandy, located in the parish of Carolles, just fifteen kilometres (as the crow flies) from Mont Saint-Michel. Such apparent disinterest, however, stands in stark contrast to scholarly examination of Mont Saint-Michel's charters in general, which has long been informed by the abbey's celebrated cartulary and the well-known copies of its acts made by Roger de Gaignières (1642–1715), Amédée-Louis Léchaudé d'Anisy (1772–1857), and Léopold Delisle (1826–1910).⁶⁴ These modern copies are today of much greater value than when first created, but they by no means capture the totality of the abbey's charter collection at that time (the same can also be said of the cartulary in relation to Mont Saint-Michel's

twelfth-century archive). For the period before 1250, copyists like de Gaignières also gave priority less to what we might call ‘everyday’ acts, into which category the charters at the John Rylands Library can be placed, and more to those issued by popes, kings, dukes, leading aristocrats, bishops, and well-respected abbots (especially the almost omnipresent Robert of Torigni). Heretofore unnoticed by both medieval and modern copyists, the Rylands charters therefore offer further important perspective on the ways in which Mont Saint-Michel both managed its vast estates and shaped the landscape of the frontier diocese in which it was located, much like the copies of the abbey’s acts recently rediscovered among the Henry Chanteux (1904–95) collection at the Archives du Calvados.⁶⁵

— The Rylands charters are also worthy of detailed study because two of them date from the reign of Abbot Jordan (1191–1212), a somewhat enigmatic but nevertheless important figure in Mont Saint-Michel’s history. Formerly a monk of the abbey, Jordan was the first person to occupy the abbacy for any considerable length of time after his illustrious predecessor, Robert of Torigni, in whose imposing memory and shadow he perhaps then lived and certainly lives today.⁶⁶ In fact, Jordan’s abbacy is commonly remembered for two things: the destruction of the abbey by fire in 1204 at the hands of Breton troops, and the serious accusations brought against him before the pope by his monks a few years later. Given such circumstances, scholars have long painted Jordan in a less than favourable light.⁶⁷ But, if the final years of his abbacy were no doubt troubled, the diplomatic sources nevertheless show Jordan to have been an active administrator not too dissimilar to Robert of Torigni. His extant – and heretofore little studied – acts relate to a range of Mont Saint-Michel’s possessions, though it is the abbey’s mills that figure most regularly and prominently, especially during the first decade of his abbacy. Two acts of 1194 and 1196 therefore concern the agreements reached under Jordan ~~with regards~~with regard to the mill of Mont Rouault, in Brittany, and those of Saint-Jean, located just outside Le Mans on the River

Sarthe.⁶⁸ Another, of 1202, relates to the mill at Bacilly, known as Moulin-le-Comte, in the bay of Mont Saint-Michel.⁶⁹ It is to this same period that Jordan's two acts for the mill at Carolles (PHC/32 and 33) likely date, as both make mention of the local lord, Nicholas de Verdun (1199–1231), head of an Anglo-Norman family whose estates in Normandy were lost to Philip Augustus in 1204.⁷⁰

—Mills were an important source of revenue for any monastic institution, even if not every abbey or priory necessarily chose to exploit them in exactly the same way.⁷¹ The region in and around the parish of Carolles was one given over heavily to cereal cultivation, while its concentrated network of river valleys lent itself particularly well to the installation of watermills, such that Mont Saint-Michel was not the only monastery to have mills there in the twelfth century.⁷² To some extent, therefore, it is hardly surprising to find frequent mentions of such structures among the abbey's charters. That said, the medieval mill was, to borrow the expression of Daniel Pichot, an 'instrument of domination' (*instrument de domination*) in the locality,⁷³ one that played a key role in what Robert Fossier called the '*encellulement*' of medieval society.⁷⁴ Mills are therefore of central importance to our understanding of medieval landscapes (including monastic estates) and their management, especially since a mill's associated due, known as suit of mill (*multure*), was one whose pervasiveness and frequency of exaction made it a point of special anxiety for the local population. Technologically complex, mills also required a significant amount of investment, both in terms of initial construction and subsequent upkeep, such that they represented a constant source of dispute, settlement, and (re-)negotiation across the medieval European map, including Normandy.⁷⁵ As Thomas Roche has recently noted, they were, therefore, a 'place' (*lieu*) in the landscape around which norms were negotiated and social hierarchies and physical boundaries defined, the study of which helps shed light on the ecclesiastical and secular networks within which an abbey operated and those which it mobilised.⁷⁶

—It is precisely these networks to which the three Mont Saint-Michel charters at the John Rylands Library bear witness. The first two, which have been mistakenly affixed into the Rylands album in reverse chronological order, deal with the consequences arising from the abbey's erection of a new mill at Carolles. Although the subsequent negotiations concerning this mill did not require the intervention of royal authority through the king's court, as was the case with disputes during this part of Abbot Jordan's reign in relation to the aforementioned Moulin-le-Comte, its construction nevertheless provoked a series of chain reactions in the locality, implicating a dozen individuals of various social ranks, all of whom were linked by feudal and/or familial bonds.⁷⁷ The first concerned the erection of the mill itself, which the first act, issued in the form of an undated chirograph charter-notice (Appendix, no. 1), tells us required the involvement of ~~the abovementioned~~ Nicholas de Verdun, with whom the monks had built the mill and its pond 'in common' (*communiter*). Once erected, a mill (as well as the distribution of its revenues, be it in grain or produce from its pond) relied, in part, on the control its owners exercised over members of the local population, to whom they granted rights for its exclusive use. The initial agreement negotiated to this effect under Abbot Jordan ~~with regards~~with regard to the new mill at Carolles therefore explicitly names those fiefs and men who depended upon it. Medieval mills were also the place in which the particular rights of the miller were established, with the same agreement stipulating that his installation at the new mill at Carolles was to take place 'by the common choice and consent' (*communi [...] electione et voluntate*) of the monks of Mont Saint-Michel and the lord of Verdun.

—The fact that different individuals (or groups thereof) were associated with a mill regularly gave rise to tensions ~~with regards~~ings to the distribution of their rights and obligations both there and elsewhere in the vicinity. At Carolles, the new mill built 'in common' with Nicholas de Verdun soon began encroaching upon the workings of an older,

neighbouring mill, thereby pushing nearly a dozen men, including Radulf de Carolles, to bring a complaint against the monks of Mont Saint-Michel. Interestingly, while Nicholas de Verdun is named at the beginning of the charter in the list of those in dispute with the abbey, the phrasing of the subsequent agreement, which is once again recorded in an undated chirograph charter-notice (Appendix, no. 2), seems to imply that the older mill did not belong to him, or to the abbey, but to the eleven individuals of lower social rank named alongside Nicholas, suggesting that what we have here is an example of a mill owned not by a lord (either ecclesiastical or secular) but by tenants.⁷⁸

Whatever the case may be, the agreement negotiated in this regard under Abbot Jordan resulted in the division both of the revenues associated with these mills and the physical division of this part of the bay of Mont Saint-Michel. Circumscribing the abbey's authority to the area between the stream known as Le Crapeux and the sea, the agreement further divided the grain revenues between the three parties (the abbey, Nicholas de Verdun, the local men), and established their respective rights over the fishpond, the installation of the millers in both the old and new mills, and even access to pasture on the cliffs and banks where a plough could not furrow nor shelter be made.⁷⁹ A few years later, the third Rylands charter records how Reginald de Carolles confirmed the donation made to Mont Saint-Michel by his father Radulf, one of the claimants in the earlier suit who had subsequently become a monk there, of everything he possessed in the mills at Carolles and the nearby pond of La Cage. However, the fourteenth-century inventory reveals that it was necessary for the abbey to come to yet another agreement with Nicholas de Verdun in relation to the mill at Carolles, negotiated in 1219, the text of which is today unfortunately lost.⁸⁰ The resulting documentary landscape, of which the Rylands charters form a central part, is therefore one that opens a window on the ways in which mills were administered, both generally and in relation to the specific circumstances in the bay of Mont Saint-Michel, and on the complexity of the local

customs surrounding them. Given the constant wrangling involved with their mill holdings, it is not surprising that many abbeys, suffering from litigious exhaustion, were prepared to transfer their mills in fief to local laymen, as Abbot Jordan did with the mill of Moulin-le-Comte in 1202.⁸¹

Conclusion

When viewed in isolation, the three Mont Saint-Michel charters now at the John Rylands Library (PHC/32–34) present little out of the ordinary. As ~~has been~~ noted, medieval mills were frequently the subject of disputes throughout the Middle Ages, while their role in the domination and division of the medieval landscape has long been a subject of study. However, it is the process by which this mechanism played out in practice with regard to Mont Saint-Michel and its wider estates that the destruction of the abbey's archives in 1944 renders obscure by comparison with many of its twelfth- and thirteenth-century contemporaries. The three Rylands charters studied, edited, and translated here therefore stand as important witnesses to the ways in which Mont Saint-Michel and its abbots managed their possessions in the period either side of the loss of Normandy to the Capetians, from major assets located in far-flung territories down to a single yet highly valuable (and thus fiercely and repeatedly contested) watermill located a mere stone's throw from the abbey itself.

As rare originals, these acts can also be brought into fruitful conversation with other contemporary or near-contemporaneous documents, as well as with the abbey's fourteenth-century inventory, shedding light on the means by which the monks managed more than just their estates in the Middle Ages. Study of them here has thus not only helped contextualise both their endorsements and those found on surviving originals elsewhere, thereby allowing us to better understand ~~better~~ the ways in which the monks of Mont Saint-Michel organised their now lost archives but may also encourage further work in this regard. Indeed, six of the

Mont Saint-Michel charters today at the BnF are endorsed with a fifteenth-century note reading '*In registrata est*' (or something very similar).⁸² Since only two of these acts are listed in the fourteenth-century inventory, it would seem that these notes refer to yet another document, perhaps a now lost inventory drawn up in the early fifteenth-century when Abbot Pierre Le Roy is known to have been working with Mont Saint-Michel's archives, or perhaps to their inclusion in the lost cartulary or rental produced under his supervision. Whatever the case may be, just as the three Rylands charters are today but a tiny fragment of Mont Saint-Michel's lost archive, so the album in which they are now bound represents just one item in the enormous Phillipps collection of which it once formed a part, whose organisation, cultural-literary contexts, and usage by the wider scholarly community and emerging academy it reflects. Despite the near total destruction of Mont Saint-Michel's once enormous archive, there still remains much to be uncovered in relation to that which was seemingly lost to us on 6 June 1944, beginning with the hitherto little-known documents at the heart of this article.

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Table 1—Mont Saint-Michel charters: endorsements and inventory entries

	Original charter	Endorsement(s)	Inventory [with folio]
1	Manchester, Rylands, PHC/ 32	[Litt]era concordiaē inter abbatem Mont(is) et Nich(olaum) de <i>Verdun</i> et participes (s.xiii); .VII. (s.xiv); [...]p[...] [m]olend[ini] de <i>C(r)apot</i> (s.xiv).	VII. Item littera concordie de eodem. ⁸³ [fol. 128v]
2	Manchester, Rylands, PHC/ 33	Littera stagni et molend(ini) de <i>Carol(es)</i> (s.xiii); .LVI. (s.xiv).	LVI. Littera stagni et molendini de <i>Karoles</i> . Non quotatur. ⁸⁴ [fol. 127v]
3	Manchester, Rylands, PHC/ 34	[Ca]rta Rag(inaldi) de Carolis de confirmatione donationis patris sui (s.xiii); .XIII. (s.xiv).	XIII. Carta Rag(inaldi) de <i>Caroles</i> de confirmatione donationis patris sui. Non quotatur. [fol. 128v]
4	BnF, MS lat. 9215, ⁸⁵ no. 59	Carta de <i>Escay</i> (s.xii) pro decima quod duo milites nobis ipsum donaverunt inspiciente tota parrochia quam injuste diu tenerant (s.xiv); .x. (s.xiv).	Carta de <i>Escay</i> pro decima quod duo milites nobis ipsum donaverunt inspiciente tota parrochia quam injuste

			diu tenerant. [fol. 134r]
5	BnF, MS lat. 9215, no. 62	Recognitio Thome de piscibus ad lardum (s.xiii), videlicet balena, porpes, graspes, [luttes, espaart] (s.xiv). ⁸⁶	XI. Recognitio Th(om)e de piscibus ad lardum, videlicet balena, porpeis, graspess, lut(tes), espaart. [fol. 120r]
6	BnF, MS lat. 9215, no. 65	Littera Ph(ilippi) et Petronill(e) ejus uxoris facta Col(ino) de II sol(idos) r(edditus) cum Guillelmo <i>Beleng(er)</i> (s.xiv); .109. (s.xv).	109. Item alia littera de venditionis dicti Ph(ilippi) et ejus uxoris videlicet II s(olidos) redditus facta dicto Col(ino) cum Guill(elmo) <i>Beleng(er)</i> . M ^o CCC ^o XIII ^o . [fol. 116r]
7	BnF, MS lat. 9215, no. 69	Venditionio Rog(er)i <i>Le Lonc</i> de .II. qu(ar)t(eria) fr(ument)i r(edditus) sit(a) in parrochia Sancti Albini (s.xiv); .XCI. (s.xiv); .XXX. (s.xiv).	XCI. Littera venditionis Rog(er)i <i>Le Lonc</i> , videlicet II quarteria frumenti in parrochia Sancti Albini sita prout in littera continetur. MCCCXVIII. [fol. 132r]
8	BnF, MS lat. 9215, no. 70	LVII. Compositio inter nos et heredes Pet(ri) <i>Le Ge(n)till</i> de Sancto Pat(erno) super hiis que dictus	LVII. Compositio inter nos et heredes Pet(ri) <i>Le Ge(n)til</i> de Sancto Pat(erno)

		Petrus nobis dederat (s.xiv).	super hiis que dictus Petrus nobis dederat. MCCCXVIII. Suta cum XIII. [fol. 131v]
9	BnF, MS lat. 9215, no. 77	Littera Rog(er)i <i>Murdac</i> de quatuor sol(idos) qui nobis debentur pro molta measure <i>Angot</i> (s.xiii); .XLV. (s.xiv); Carta Rog(er)i <i>Murdac</i> de mouta measure <i>Angot</i> (s.xiii) pro que debent[ur] nobis IIII ^{or} solidorum (s.xiv); .xiii. ^{xx} et xv (s. xiv).	XLV. Littera Rog(er)i <i>Murdac</i> de quatuor solid(os) qui nobis debentur pro mouta measure <i>Angot</i> . [fol. 120v]
1 0	BnF, MS lat. 9215, no. 79	Littera regis pro Nich(olao) preposito de Donno Joh(ann)e (s.xiii) de compositione inter nos et ipsum super hiis que debet habere (s.xiv); Littera regis pro Nich(olao) preposito de Domno Joh(ann)e (s.xiii).	Littera regis pro Nich(ola)o preposito de Domno Joh(ann)e de compositione inter nos et ipsum super hiis que debet habere. [fol. 135r]
1 1	BnF, MS lat. 9215, no. 84	Financia quod non cogamur vendere nec extra al(iud) ponere manerium de Cureceyo et de Acigneo et cetera que hic co(n)tine(n)t(ur) (s.xiv).	Financia quam non cogamur vendere nec extra aliud ponere manerium de Cureio et de Acigneio et cetera que hic continentur. M ^o CC ^o nonagesimo VI.

			[fol. 115v]
1	BnF, MS lat. 9215, no. 89	CCIII. Littera ven(ditionis) Guill(elmi) Jord(ani) de grangia de Sancto Albino (s.xiv); Littera vend(itionis) Guill(elm)i <i>Jourdan</i> de grangia de Sancto Albino (s.xv).	CCIII. Item littera grangie de Sancto Albino empta a Guill(elm)o <i>Jord(an)</i> . [fol. 122v]
2			
1	Arch. dép. Manche, 1 H 1	Carta de Perrella (s.xii) quam dedit nobis G. <i>Pichenout</i> cum assensu Guill(elm)i comitis Normann(ie) (s.xiv); De Perrevilla (s.xii); De P(er)rella in Guernerreyo (s.xiii).	Carta de Perrella quam dedit nobis G. <i>Pichenout</i> cum assensu Guill(elm)i comitis Norma(n)n(ie). [fol. 136r]
3			
1	Arch. dép. Manche, 1 H 2	De Silleio (s.xii); Littera vinearum de Silleio (s.xiv).	Littera vinearum de Sylleyo. [fol. 119r]
4			
1	Arch. dép. Manche, 1 H 3	Carta Gaufredi comitis Andeg(avensis) (s.xii) de celario Sancti Victur(ii) (s.xiii).	Carta Gaufredi comitis Andeg(avensis) de celario Sancti Victurii. [fol. 119r]
5			

6	1 Arch. dép. Manche, 1 H 4	Insula de Guernercio (s.xii); Carta Pet(r)i filii Desid(er)ie (s.xii) qui sese obtulit cum tota heredit(ate) sua et factus fuit monachus cum concessu ux(or)is sue (s.xiv).	Carta Pet(r)i filii Desiderie qui sese obtulit cum tota hereditate sua et factus fuit monachus cum concessu uxoris sue. [fol. 136r]
7	1 Arch. dép. p. Manche, 1 H 5	Carta Symonis de Ballolio (s.xii); Carta Symonis de Ballolio (s.xiii).	Carta Symonis de Baillolio. [fol. 119r]
8	1 Arch. dép. p. Manche, 1 H 6	Carta Algari episcopi de eclesia sancti Germani de Carteraio (s.xii); Littera Reymardi de Quartereio de decima ejusdem ville (s.xiii) et dono ecclesie et confirmatio Ph(ilipp)i filii sui qui nobis dedit cum predictis decimam molend(inorum) suorum et duas plateas terre in G(er)seyo (s.xiv).	Littera Raymardi de Qu(ar)tereio de decima ejusdem ville et dono ecclesie et confirmatio Philippi filii sui qui nobis dedit cum predictis decimam molendinorum suorum et duas plateas terre in Gerseio. [fol. 135v]
9	1 Arch. dép. Manche, 1 H 11	Carta Ric(ardi) filii Ricoloni de Bouceio (s.xii); Pro decima de <i>Boucey</i> (s.xv) et pro III ^{or} acris terre (s.xv).	Carta Richardi filii Ricoloni de <i>Boucey</i> . [fol. 116v]
0	2 Arch. dép. Manche, 1 H 12	Carta decime de P(er)rela in Guernerreyo (s.xiii); Littera quod W(i)ll(eltu)s sacerdos de <i>Ivetot</i> cum fratre	Littera quod Will(elm)us sacerdos de <i>Yvetot</i> cum fratre suo et filio quitaverunt

		suo et filio quitaverunt nobis quicquid clamabant super decimam de P(er)rela et omnes pertin(entes) ejus in terra et melagio (s.xiv).	nobis quidquid clamabant super decimam de P(er)rela et omnes pertin(entes) ejus in terra et melagio. [fol. 136r]
1	2 Arch. dép. Manche, 1 H 13	Carta ecclesie de Ponte Ursonis (s.xiii).	Item confirmatio easdem a Rothomag(ensi) archiepiscopo. [fol. 116v]
2	2 BL, Add. Ch. 66980	De Thoma de Sancto Joh(ann)e (s.xii); Cirographum Th(om)e de Sancto Joh(anne) (s.xiii); .IX. (s.xiv)	IX. Carta de reconciliatione inter nos et Th(om)am de Sancto Joh(ann)e de Th(om)as. MCXXI. IX. Item alia sub eodem tenore. MCXXI. [fol. 128v]
3	2 BL, Add. Ch. 15284	Littera messerie de <i>Genez</i> (s.xiii) quam Garn(er)ius <i>Rossel</i> et uxor ejus vendiderunt nobis (s.xiv); .XCII. (s.xiv); III ^{CC} XLIII (s.xiv/s.xv).	XCII. Littera messerie de <i>Genez</i> quam Garneri(us) <i>Roussel</i> et uxor ejus vendiderunt nobis. MCCXXXVII. [fol. 128r]
	2 BL, Add. Ch. 15287	Littera Rob(er)to [<i>sic</i>] Patricii de terra de Rosello de	Carta Roberti Patricii et ejus uxoris

4		Grener' (s.xiii) quam [dedit] nobis (s.xiv).	quod dederunt nobis in Guernerreio terram que fuit Hugoni de Rosello. Item alia de eodem. [fol. 135v]
5	2 BnF, MS lat. 5430A, p. 294	Compositionem inter episcopum et capitulum Abr(incense), ex una parte, et abbatem et conventum Mo(n)tis, ex altera, super juribus in villa Montis et intra secta monasterii (s.xv).	29. Item littere agentes inter episcopum et capit(ulum) Ab(r)inc(ensis) et nos, videlicet due compositiones unius tenoris, unius episcopus et unius dati et die. M ^o CC ^o XXXVI. [fol. 114r]
		Modern Copy	Inventory [with folio]
6	2 Allen, 'Unknown copies', Appendix II, no. 5	Littera Rad[ulfi] de Argogiis presbiteri de manerio de <i>Cruce</i> (s.xiii) et pluribus aliis (s.xiv).	Littera Rad(u)lphi de Argogiis presbiteri de manerio de <i>Cruce</i> et pluribus aliis. [fol. 116v]
7	2 Arch. dép. Calvados, 1 J 3	Compromissum inter episcopum, capitulum et nos (n.d.).	37. Item compromissio inter episcopum Ab(r)inc(ensem), capitulum et nos. M ^o CC ^o XXXII ^o . [fol. 114r]
	2 Arch. dép. Calvados, 1 J 3	Littera quod abbas non potest cogi ut sine monachi	38. Item quod abbas non potest cogi ut

8		residentes apud <i>Ardevon</i> nec apud Sanctum Clementem (n.d.).* ⁸⁷	sine monachi residentes apud <i>Ardevo(n)</i> nec apud Sanctum Cleme(n)te(m) et de portione altalgii Po(n)tis Ursonis. M ^o CC ^{mo} XXXII ^o . [fol. 114r]
9	2 Arch. dép. Calvados, 1 J 4	Littera Hamonis de Bello Visu de redditibus de Bello Visu et de Passibus (s.xii).	11. Item littera Hamonis de B(e)llo Visu super donatione redditus de B(e)llo Visu et de Passibus. [fol. 115r]
0	3 Arch. dép. Calvados, 1 J 4	Littera Guillelmi de Valle <i>Grente</i> pro viridaria (n.d.).	16. Littera Guill(elm)i de B(e)llo Visu de Viridaria et aliis. [fol. 115r]
1	3 Arch. dép. Calvados, 1 J 4	Littera domini de Bello Visu (n.d.).	35. Littera domini de Bello Visu. [fol. - 115r]
2	3 Arch. dép. Calvados, 1 J 4	Donatio Petri de Sancto Hylario de ecclesia de <i>Boce</i> (n.d.).*	Donatio Pet(r)i de Sancto Hyllario de ecclesia de <i>Bouce</i> . [fol. 116v]
3	3 Arch. dép. Calvados, 1 J 4	Littera regis de ecclesia de Ponte Ursonis (n.d.).*	Littera regis Anglie de ecclesia de Po(n)te Urs(onis). [fol. 116v]
	3 Arch. dép. Calvados, 1 J 4	Carta Roberti de Grandivilla pro patronatu de <i>Breville</i>	XVII. Carta Rob(er)ti de Gr(a)ndivilla

4		(n.d.).	pro patronatu de <i>Breville</i> super duobus quarteriis frumenti per manum Nicholai de <i>Maleis</i> . [fol. 120r]
3	Arch. dép. Calvados, 1 J 4	Carta Nielli de Sancta Columba cum consuetudinibus a G. Normannorum duce confirmata (n.d.).*	Carta Nielli de Sancta Colu(m)ba cum consuetudinibus a G. Norman(n)or(um) duce confirmata. [fol. 123v]
5			
3	Arch. dép. Calvados, 1 J 4	Carta Guillelmi prepositi de <i>Fouquereville</i> (n.d.).*	Carta Guill(elm)i prepositi de <i>Fouquereville</i> . [fol. 123v]
6			
3	Arch. dép. Calvados, 1 J 4	Littera captionis aguillarum de Molendino Comitum (n.d.).*	L. Littera captionis aguillarum de Molendino Comitum et de Alneto pro reparatione predicti molendini. MCXCVIII. [fol. 127v]
7			
3	Arch. dép. Calvados, 1 J 4	Littera Petri comitis B(r)itannie de custodia terrarum nostrarum Britannie (n.d.).*	7. Littera Pet(r)i comitis de <i>Richemo(n)t</i> et ducis B(r)ita(n)nie de custodia terrarum nostrarum de B(ri)ta(n)nia.
8			

9	3 Arch. dép. Calvados, 1 J 4	Littera Symonis <i>Crasseteste</i> et Jacobi fratris ejus (n.d.).*	[fol. 133r] Littera Symonis <i>Grasseteste</i> et Jacobi fratris ejus super inundationem aque que cadit a vivario Do(m)ni Joh(ann)is. [fol. 134v]
0	4 Arch. dép. Calvados, 1 J 4	Carta Henrici de Altaribus de vivario Donni Johannis (n.d.).*	Carta He(n)rici de Altaribus de vivario Do(m)ni Joh(ann)is quod si aliquo dampnum eveneret ei super inundatione aque magistri vivarii condonat nobis et quod tenetur nobis aque ductum de nostro vivario cadentis per terram suam garantizare. [fol. 135r]
1	4 Arch. dép. Calvados, 1 J 4	Carta Balduini filii <i>Homenes</i> (n.d.).*	Carta Balduini filii <i>Homenes</i> qui nobis reddidit terram sitam inter culturam sancti Mich(ael)is et <i>Torpol</i> quamdiu injuste <i>Homenes</i> . [fol. 135v]

2	4 Arch. dép. Calvados, 1 J 4	Littera Philippi de <i>Carteret</i> pro prioratu de <i>la Vic</i> (n.d.).*	Littera Ph(ilipp)i de Cartereto pro prioratu de <i>Layc</i> quod dedit nobis XXIX pertic(atas) terre que modo sita est juxta magnum clausum monachorum. [fol. - 135v]
3	4 Arch. dép. Manche, 6 J 70, M2	Littera donationis Sancti Broeladrii (n.d.).	Littera donationis Sancti Broel(adrii) super pluribus terris et decimis ac partibus ecclesiarum et continet in se duo dona sub duobus nominibus. [fol. - 124r]

Appendix

Editorial note. In the editions below, all abbreviated proper nouns are expanded using parentheses. Letters omitted by the scribe are provided by the editors in angled brackets (< >). In terms of orthography, ‘u/v’ and ‘i/j’ are kept as distinct vowels and consonants, respectively. In the translations, the modern canton and commune (when appropriate) is given for all identifiable place names, except those already identified in the main text above. Personal toponyms are preceded by ‘de/du/de la’ rather than ‘of’.

1.

[1191 × 1212, and most probably 1191 × 1204].

A. Manchester, John Rylands Research Institute and Library, PHC/33. Endorsed: *Littera stagni et molend(ini) de Carol(es)* (s.xiii); *.LVI.* (s.xiv). Approx. 133 × 139 + 18 mm. Sealed *sur double queue, repli redoublé*, slits for one tag, tag and seal impression missing.

Inventory: no. 917.⁸⁸

A

CYROGRAPHUM;

CYROGRAPHUM;

Scripto presenti^(a) presentium memorie futurorumque noticie commendatur, quod cum^(b) Jord(anus) abbas et monachi Montis |¹| sancti Mich(aelis) de periculo maris, ex una parte, et domnus Nich(olaus) de *V(er)dum* et heredes ejus, ex alia, haberent |²| locum aptum in dominicis suis ad construendum stagnum et molendinum, scilicet inter villa de *Karol(es)* et Sanctum |³| Clem(en)te(m), utroque concordia concurrente, fecerunt communiter stagnum et molendinum, ita quod dicti abbas et mo-|⁴|nachi ad moltam ejusdem molendini continuo attornaverunt omnes homines quos tantum habebant,^(c) et quos ha-|⁵|bituri sunt, a torrente de *Crapout* usque ad mare, et in perpetuum concesserunt. Dictus vero Nich(olaus) et heredes ejus |⁶| similiter ad moltam ejusdem molendini attornaverunt omnes homines quos tantum habebant^(d) et quos habituri sunt in feo-|⁷|dis istis: in feodo Gellini de *Karol(es)*; in feodo *Ansgot Brient*; in feodo *Escollant*; in feodo Joh(ann)is de |⁸| Platea; in feodo Petri *Ansgot*; in feodo Will(elm)i *Picoul*, ubi manet; in feodo Hugonis de Capella, |⁹| et in perpetuum concesserunt, utpote qui de sua propria molta^(e) erant. Et si abbas, monachi et dictus Nich(olaus) et heredes |¹⁰| ejus in confinio plures homines de sua molta rationabiliter habere poterunt, ad idem molendinum venire facient. |¹¹| Stagnum itaque et molendinum utriusque communia et omnes profectus qui de stagno et molendino poterunt prove-|¹²|nire, inter eos per medium partientur. Sed et in opera et necessaria stagni et molendini mittent abbas et |¹³| monachi medietatem et sepedictus Nich(olaus) et heredes ejus aliam medietatem. Molendinarius etiam communi utriusque |¹⁴| partis electione et voluntate in molendino mittetur. Si autem quoquomodo molendinum per abbatem et monachos |¹⁵| vel per Nich(olaum) vel per heredes ejus molere non poterit, ille per cujus defectum molendinum jacuerit, alii tenebitur emen-|¹⁶|dare super exitibus molendini qui ad eum pertinebunt. Hujus conditionis tenorem se servaturum in verbo Domini et |¹⁷| sacerdotis dixit abbas pro se et pro monachis sacrosanctum euvangelium tangendo et osculando, et sepedictus Nich(olaus) |¹⁸|

super idem evangelium hoc ipsum juravit. Fulco etiam clericus, frater dicti Nich(olai), juravit hanc pactionem |¹⁹| se fideliter pro posse suo servaturum.

(a) presentu *corrected to* presenti *by erasure of final minim*, A. — (b) cum *inserted in interline*, A. — (c) hebebant *corrected to* habebant *by stroke on right side of first e*, A. — (d) hebebant, *sic* A. — (e) molltam *corrected to* moltam *by an expunging dot under the second l*, A.

Translation

CYROGRAPH;

CYROGRAPH;

With this present document notice is entrusted to the memory of those present and future that when Abbot Jordan and the monks of Mont Saint-Michel in peril of the sea, on the one side, and lord Nicholas de Verdun and his heirs, on the other, [have] had a suitable place in their demesnes for the construction of a pond and a mill, namely between the vill of Carolles and Saint-Clément,⁸⁹ they together built in mutually concurring agreement a pond and a mill, on condition that the said abbot and monks immediately attorned to the multure of the same mill all the men they so have and will have from the stream of Le Crapeux up to the sea, and have conceded [this] in perpetuity. The said Nicholas and his heirs have likewise attorned to the multure of the same mill all the men they so have and will have in these fiefs: the fief of Gellin de Carolles, the fief of Ansgot Brient, the Escollant fief, the fief of John de Platea, the fief of Peter Ansgot, the fief of William Picoul, where he lives, [and] the fief of Hugh de la

Chapelle, and have conceded [this] in perpetuity, as if they were of their own multure. And if the abbot, monks, and the said Nicholas and his heirs are able reasonably to have more men of their multure in the neighbouring territory, they will make [them] go to the same mill. The pond and mill are therefore common to both, and all the proceeds that come forth from the pond and mill are to be shared between them in half. But of the works and needs of the pond and mill the abbot and monks will provide [one] half, and the aforesaid Nicholas and his heirs the other half. Moreover, the miller will be placed in the mill by the common choice and consent of both parties. If, however, the mill is in any way made unable to grind by the abbot and monks or by Nicholas and his heirs, he through whom the defective mill is inactive will be held to make amends to the other through the mill revenues that pertain to him. The abbot said he would keep the tenor of this agreement for himself and the monks, in the word of the Lord and of a priest, by touching and kissing the holy gospels, and the oft-mentioned Nicholas swore this thing on the same gospels. Fulk the clerk, brother of the said Nicholas,⁹⁰ also swore that he would faithfully keep this agreement to the best of his ability.

2.

[1191 × 1212, and most probably 1191 × 1204].

A. Manchester, John Rylands Research Institute and Library, PHC/32. Endorsed: [*Litt*]era concordia inter abbatem Mont(is) et Nich(olaum) de Verdun et participes (s.xiii); .VII. (s.xiv); [.....]p[.....] [m]olend[ini] de C(r)apot (s.xiv). Approx. 233 × 157 + 9 mm. Sealed sur double queue, repli redoublé, slits for two tags, tags and seal impressions missing.

Inventory: no. 971.

A

CYROGRAPHUM:

CYROGRAPHUM:

Noverint omnes ad quos presens scriptura pervenerit, quod cum longa contentio verteretur inter Jord(anum) abbatem et conventum Montis sancti Michaelis de periculo ¹ maris, ex una parte, et Nicholau(m) de *V(er)dun*, Rad(ulfum) de *Karoles*, Joh(ann)em *le Hungre*, Rog(erum) *Jolif*, Philipp(um) *Heudeart*, Rob(ertum) de *G(r)antville*, Ans-²-chetill(um) Malnorri, W. Malnorri, Rob(ertum) Malnorri, Rob(ertum) de Mota, Nich(olaum) filium P<h>ilippi, et Ric(ardum) de *Beslu(m)*, ex altera, super quodam molendino et viva-³-rio quod predictus abbas et Nich(olaus) de *V(er)dun* fecerant apud *Karoles*, et predicti homines in illis calumpniam faciebant, et super pastura quam idem Nich(olaus) ⁴ et homines sui super eundem abbatem clamabant, tandem in hunc modum concordie pervenerunt: in illo siquidem molendino quod abbas et Nich(olaus) fe-⁵-cerant et in altero molendino quod primitus erat predictorum hominum percipient integre abbas et conventus terciam partem, prefatus Nich(olaus) de *V(er)dun* ⁶ terciam partem, et memorati homines terciam partem. Et similiter in omnibus emendatis que per illos communiter fient super illam aquam. Nec aliquis eo-⁷-rundem quietus erit de moltura in illis molendinis. Primum tamen nominatum vivarium remanebit sepredictis abbati et Nich(olai) de *Verdun* cum omni pisca-⁸-ria et cum omnibus exitibus ejusdem vivarii. Predicti vero Nich(olaus) de *V(er)dun* et homines adducent totam moltam de parrochia de *Karoles* ad illa molendina et predicti ⁹ abbas et conventus totam moltam suam quam habent inter doitum de *C(r)apot* et mare adjacens. Predictis autem Nich(olao) de *V(er)dun* et hominibus remanebit pastura quam ¹⁰ ipsi clamabant super

abbatem et conventum in falesiis et costilibus in quibus carrucca non poterit arare, vel ubi non poterit herbergagium fieri, et abbati ^{|11|} similiter et conventui et hominibus suis remanebit pastura in falesiis et costilibus predictorum Nich(olai) et hominum suorum. In refactionibus vero et expen-^{|12|}-sis oportebit mittere singulos ad terciam partem sicut ipsi percipiunt ad terciam partem. Unusquisque etiam tenetur cogere suam moltam venire ad predicta molen-^{|13|}-dina. Et siquis eorum super hec defecerit, ad legitimam probationem reliquis partibus hec emendabit. Preterea molendinarii ponentur vel removebuntur ^{|14|} in illis molendinis per communem assensum et consilium illarum trium partium. T(estibus) hiis: W. de *Leisels*, Oliv(er)o de *Leisels*, Ric(ardo) de *Leisels*, Guar(ino) ^{|15|} *Tyrel*, Fulc(one) de Bosco, Joh(ann)e *Malh(er)be*, Rann(ulfo) de *Guastign'*, W. de *Valleg(r)ente*, W. de Sancto Pet(r)o, Thom(e) de *Leisels*, Thom(e) de Bosco, ^{|16|} Fulc(one) de *Guastign'*, Rob(erto) de Mesnillo, Hugon(e) de *Boillon*, et multis aliis.

Translation

CYROGRAPH:

CYROGRAPH:

Let all those whom this present document may reach know that when a lengthy dispute arose between Abbot Jordan and the convent of Mont Saint-Michel in peril of the sea, on the one side, and Nicholas de Verdun, Radulf de Carolles, John le Hungre, Roger Jolif, Philip Heudeart, Robert de Granville,⁹¹ Ansketil Malnorri, W. Malnorri, Robert Malnorri, Robert de *Mota*, Nicholas son of Philip, and Richard de *Beslum*, on the other, with regards to a certain mill and a fishpond that the aforesaid abbot and Nicholas de Verdun had built near Carolles, and about which the aforesaid men were making a claim, as well as with regards to

the pasture that the same Nicholas and his men were claiming against the same abbot, they have at last come to an agreement in this form: indeed, in that mill which the abbot and Nicholas had built, and in the other mill that was originally that of the aforementioned men, the abbot and convent will receive a third part, in full, the aforesaid Nicholas a third part, and the aforesaid men a third part. And likewise [shall be shared] all the repairs made by them in common with regards to that water [i.e., the fishpond], nor will any of them be quit from multure in those mills. The aforementioned fishpond, however, along with all its fish and produce, will remain to the aforementioned abbot and Nicholas de Verdun. The aforementioned men and Nicholas de Verdun will take all the multure of the parish of Carolles to those mills, and the aforementioned abbot and convent will take [there] all the multure that they have between the stream of Le Crapeux and the adjacent sea. On the other hand, the pasture that the aforementioned men and Nicholas de Verdun were claiming against the abbot and convent will remain to them on the cliffs and banks where a plough cannot furrow, or where no shelter can be made, and likewise the pasture on the cliffs and banks of the aforementioned Nicholas and his men shall remain to the abbot and convent and their men. In repairs and expenses, however, it will be required for each to contribute a third part just as they receive a third part. Each [party] is also held to compel their multure to come to the aforesaid mills. And if any one of them falls short in this regard, he shall make amends to the other parties by legitimate proof. Moreover, the millers will be established or removed in these mills by the common consent and counsel of the three parties. With these witnesses: W. de Lézeaux,⁹² Oliver de Lézeaux, Richard de Lézeaux, Warin Tirel, Fulk du Bois, John Malherbe, Rannulf de Gatigny,⁹³ W. du Vau Grante,⁹⁴ W. de Saint-Pierre, Thomas de Lézeaux, Thomas du Bois, Fulk de Gatigny, Robert du Mesnil, Hugh de Bouillon,⁹⁵ and many others.

3.

[?-1216, 21 March.] — Avranches.

A. Manchester, John Rylands Research Institute and Library, PHC/34. Endorsed: [*Ca*]rta Rag(inaldi) de Carolis de confirmatione donationis patris sui (s.xiii); .XIII. (s.xiv). Approx. 200 × 154 + 34mm. Sealed *sur double queue, repli redoublé*, slit and four holes for cords, cords and seal impression missing.

Inventory: no. 978.

The witnesses Fulk de Gatigny, John Malherbe and Warin Tirel are all known to have been at the king's assize held at Avranches on 21 March 1216, which gives us the possible date of Reginald's charter.⁹⁶

A

Omnibus ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit, Raginald(us) de Carolis, salutem. Noverit universitas vestra quod ego, pro salute ^[1] anime mee et antecessorum meorum, dedi et concessi et confirmavi ecclesie beati Mich(ael)is de periculo maris et monachis ibidem ^[2] Deo servientibus, in puram et perpetuam elemosinam, quicquid Radulfus pater meus eidem ecclesie donavit quando mo-^[3]-nachicum habitum suscepit, nichil inde mihi vel heredibus meis retinens, preter orationes ecclesie, videlicet quicquid ha-^[4]-bebat in molendinis de Carolis. Dividuntur autem molendina illa in tres portiones, quarum altera ad predictam ^[5]

ecclesiam pertinet, reliqua vero ad dominum meum Nicholaum de Verduno et ad heredes ejus. Tertia autem portione in ^[6] quatuor portiunculas divisa, dimidia pars trium portiuncularum ad prefatum patrem meum pertinebat, quam me-^[7]-morate ecclesie in perpetuum integre possidendam concessit. Et preterea concessit eidem ecclesie situm stagni in Cagia, ^[8] in quantum terra sua protendebatur. Hanc siquidem donationem patris mei et concessionem meam concessit ^[9] et approbavit dominus Nicholaus de Verduno qui capitalis dominus est feodi in assisiis domini regis apud Abrinc(as). ^[10] Et ut hec donatio mea et concessio rata et irrevocabilis habeatur in posterum, presens scriptum sigilli mei muni-^[11]-mine roboravi. Testibus: Radulfo *Herloin*, Philippo de Rupela, Will(el)mo de *Valgrente*, Garino *Tirel*, ^[12] Will(el)mo de *Leiseaus*, Olivero filio ejus, Hugone de *Boillon*, Fulcone de Gasteigni, Joh(ann)e *Malerbe*, ^[13] et multis aliis.

Translation

Reginald de Carolles [sends his] greeting to all whom this present document may reach. May you all know that I have given and conceded and confirmed, for the salvation of my soul and [the souls] of my ancestors, to the church of blessed Michael in peril of the sea and the monks who serve God there, in pure and perpetual alms, everything that my father Radulf gave to the same church when he accepted the monastic habit, namely, whatever he had in the mills of Carolles, retaining nothing for myself or my heirs, except the church's prayers. Those mills are now divided in three parts, another one of which belongs to the aforesaid church [and] the remaining [one] to my lord, Nicholas de Verdun, and his heirs. The third part [is] divided into four smaller parts, however. Half of three smaller parts pertained to my aforementioned father, which he conceded to the [afore]mentioned church to be held wholly,

in perpetuity. And he also conceded to the same church the site of the pond at La Cage,⁹⁷ insofar as it extended in his land. Nicholas de Verdun, who is the chief lord of the fief, has since conceded and endorsed this my father's donation and my concession in the lord king's assizes at Avranches. And so that this my donation and concession remain valid and irreversible in the future, I have reinforced the present document with the strength of my seal. With [these] witnesses: Radulf Herloin, Philip de la Rochelle, William du Vau Grante, Warin Tirel, William de Lézeaux, his son Oliver, Hugh de Bouillon, Fulk de Gatigny, John Malherbe, and many others.

¹Notes

Manche, cant. Avranches.

² The foundation of Mont Saint-Michel is recited in a legendary text known as the *Revelatio ecclesiae sancti Michaelis*, which was written, in all likelihood, in the early ninth century. For discussion, along with a critical edition and translation, see P. Bouet and O. Desbordes, *Chroniques latines du Mont Saint-Michel (IX^e–XII^e siècle)* (Caen: Presses universitaires de Caen, 2009), pp. 29–103; also P. Bouet and O. Desbordes, *Le Mont Saint-Michel: Enluminures et textes fondateurs* (Rennes: Éditions Ouest-France, 2018), pp. 20–37. Not everyone agrees with the early ninth century date, however. For a summary of the debate, see I. Rosé, ‘Fondations et réformes à l’époque carolingienne’, in *Monachesimi d’orient e d’occidente nell’alto medioevo* (Spoleto, 31 marzo-6 aprile 2016), 2 vols (Spoleto: Fondazione Centro italiano di studi sull’alto Medioevo, 2017), I, pp. 397–462, at p. 452, n. 183.

³ The 205 manuscripts from the abbey’s medieval library now housed at Avranches were digitised in the early 2000s. These images, along with catalogue descriptions, can today be consulted online via the *Bibliothèque virtuelle du Mont Saint-Michel*: <https://emmsm.unicaen.fr/emmsm/bvmsm/accueil.html> [accessed 30 July 2023].

⁴ For a description of what was destroyed on 6 June 1944, with estimates of numbers, see Y. Nédélec, ‘Répertoire des bibliothèques et archives de la Manche’, *Revue du département de la Manche*, 4 (1962), 357–441, at 395. For a preliminary survey of what survives, see M. Bisson, ‘Où sont les archives du Mont Saint-Michel?’, in P. Bauduin *et al.* (eds), *Sur les pas de Lanfranc, du Bec à Caen: Recueil d’études en hommage à Véronique Gazeau* (Caen: Annales de Normandie, 2018), pp. 453–63.

⁵ For further discussion, see R. Allen, ‘Le charrier perdu du Mont Saint-Michel: réseaux, échanges et construction spatiale dans le diocèse d’Avranches (XI^e–XIII^e s.)’, in F. Paquet and M. Labatut (eds), *1023–2023. Le Mont Saint-Michel en Normandie et en Europe*.

Nouvelles découvertes et nouvelles perspectives de recherche (Actes du colloque de Cerisy-la-Salle, 31 mai–4 juin 2023) (Caen: Presses universitaires de Caen, forthcoming).

⁶ The only other study to discuss these three charters, alongside others, in the specific context of their physical preservation and compilation is B. Pohl, ‘Scholarly Pursuit or *Sammelwut*? (Re-)Framing Medieval Manuscripts in Two Nineteenth-Century Albums (Bristol Archives, 08153/1, and Manchester, University Library–John Rylands Research Library, PHC/28–67)’, in S. Brähler *et al.* (eds), *Memorial Volume for Prof. Dr. Christoph Houswitschka* (Bamberg: University of Bamberg Press, forthcoming).

⁷ On Phillipps and Middle Hill, see A. Munby, *Portrait of an Obsession: The Life of Sir Thomas Phillipps, the World’s Greatest Book Collector* (London: Constable, 1967); more recently C. De Hamel, *The Posthumous Papers of the Manuscripts Club* (London: Allen Lane, 2022), pp. 339–43.

⁸ *Bibliotheca Phillipica: Catalogue of a Further Portion of the Classical, Historical, Topographical, Genealogical and Other Manuscripts and Autograph Letters of the Late Sir Thomas Phillipps. 6–9 June 1910* (London: Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge,

1910), p. 34 (lot 186). [the font size of the endnote number needs to be increased to 12 and the final line indented]

⁹ R. Fawtier, ‘Hand-Lists of Charters and Deeds in the Possession of the John Rylands Library. IV. The Phillipps Charters’, *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 8:2 (1924), 456–508, at 472; R. Fawtier, *Hand-List of Charters, Deeds, and Similar Documents in the Possession of the John Rylands Library*, 3 vols (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1925–1937), I, p. 57.

¹⁰ T. Burrows, “‘There Never Was Such a Collector Since the World Began’: A New Look at Sir Thomas Phillipps”, in T. Burrows and C. Johnston (eds), *Collecting the Past: British Collectors and Their Collections from the 18th to the 20th Centuries* (London: Routledge, 2018), pp. 45–62, at p. 45.

¹¹ The number is manually inscribed, in ink, on the inside of its front cover, with the ‘sister album’, PHC/68–125, carrying the manuscript number 32,289 in the same place. On Phillipps’ [ps’s](#) custom of numbering and inscribing his books, see A. Munby, *The Catalogues of Manuscripts and Printed Books of Sir Thomas Phillipps* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951), pp. 1–17.

¹² On the complexities of the Phillipps catalogue, see R. Folter, ‘Catalogues of the Library of Sir Thomas Phillipps: A Chronological Checklist’, in J.H. Marrow *et al.* (eds), *The Medieval Book: Glosses from Friends and Colleagues of Christopher De Hamel* (‘t-Goy-Houten: Hes & De Graaf, 2010), pp. 355–65.

¹³ For these inventories, see Burrows, “‘Never Such a Collector’”, p. 50.

¹⁴ A note in one of the Phillipps-Robinson manuscripts ([see below](#)) contains a list of manuscripts, including those of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, which Phillipps ‘bought in France between 1827 & 1830, but [which] were left with many printed books in [the] care of old Mr de Rheims of Calais untill [*sic*] I returned home to Middle Hill, but he & and his son detained them until the year 1859, during which time (near 30 years) he had put them on his own shelves & enjoyed the use of them, & then wanted me to pay for keeping them’: Oxford, Bodleian Libraries (hereafter OBL), MS Phillipps-Robinson d. 309, fol. 36r.

¹⁵ Fenwick, whose mother had been left the whole of Phillipps’ [ps’s](#) library, rationalised parts of his grandfather’s collection and continued numbering up to 38,628: A. Munby, *The Formation of the Phillipps Library from 1841 to 1872* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1956), p. 166.

¹⁶ Burrows, “‘Never Such a Collector’”, p. 50.

¹⁷ OBL, MSS Phillipps-Robinson b. 207–~~2~~15, c. 670–~~6~~92, c. 696, d. 288–312, d. 323–~~3~~25, e. ~~4~~456–~~4~~77, f. 72–82.

¹⁸ For recent discussion, see Pohl, ‘Scholarly Pursuit or *Sammelwut*?’; M. Connolly, ‘The Album and the Scrapbook’, *Florilegium*, 35 (2018), 31–51.

¹⁹ ‘Carta Andrea abbatis S. Stephani de Bosco, a[nn]o 1240, Rogero de Amica, imperiali capitaneo. In a black case. fol. V. s. xiii’: OBL, MS Phillipps-Robinson c. 678, fol. 33r. The charter was accorded the manuscript number 22,768 in the final part of the catalogue published in 1871: *Catalogus librorum manuscriptorum in bibliotheca d. Thomæ Phillipps, bart.* (Impressum Typis in Medio-Montanis, 1837–1871), p. 421.

²⁰ OBL, MS Phillipps-Robinson d. 297, fol. 33r.

²¹ The list is to be found in OBL, MS Phillipps-Robinson c. 679, fol. 87r–v, as follows:

Catalogue of ancient charters at Middle Hill, 1848

1. Bulla p. Alexandri abbati Silvæ Marjoris Burdegal, 15 kal nov.

2. Carta Frumaldi Atrebatens. ministri de redditibus de Raisa, ~~AD~~AD 1181.

3. Ditto Ademari Xanton. episcopi de ecclesia B.M. de Insula.

4. Ditto Bertranni Mettens. episcopi de patronatu Gaufridi de Asperomonte in ecclesia de Sivereio. ~~AD~~AD 1200.

5. Ditto Frederici ducis de Bites abbatis [sic] Vallis S. Mariæ de Sturceleburnan de ecclesiis Walespure et Werde. ~~AD~~AD 1196.

6. Ditto Bertrammi Mettensis episcopi Willelmo abbate [sic] S. Vincentii (de Metz) et Richero presbytero de vicario sancti Germani de ecclesia de Castello. ~~AD~~AD 1181.

7. Ditto Gosleni Suessorum episcopi Petro abbati Cluniacensis monasterii pro ecclesia Consiacensi de ecclesiis S. Petri de Calce, Bruellio, S. M. de Cruce Spalt [?], Estrepilli, Terri [?] Wesli, Masiaco, Roothcurte, Cartobrio, Hermentario et Curtfabro. ~~AD~~AD 1139.

8. Ditto Symonis Noviomensis episcopi de ecclesia de Valle Secreta in territorio de Fillanis. ~~AD~~AD 1143.

[Genealogical tree of Robert de Fillanis and his wife Elizabeth]

9. Bulla Alex[and]ri papæ ... decano et canonicis sancti Quintini. Dat. Anagninæ 4 kal. junii.

10. Carta Roberti decani Laudunensis de vinea dicta Les Perchies. ~~AD~~AD 1186.

[Genealogical tree of five brothers: Hugo de Hayles, Drogo, Albert, Everard and Morisius]

11. Ditto Lamberti de Masereh et Thom. filii ejus pro ecclesia S. M. de Wauera quo est cella S. Petri de Haffligem. [AD-AD 1125](#).

12. Ditto Rotberti de Sablullio et Hazuisa uxor. ejus dat. S. Martini Majoris Monasterii ecclesiam S. Macuti, cum confirmatione Philippi regis Francorum dum esset ipse rex in obsidione castelli Calvimontis. Circa [AD-AD 1080](#).

[Genealogical tree of Robert de Sablullio and his wife Hazuisa]

13. Ditto Desiderii Morinorum episcopi Roberto abbati Liskensis de ecclesia de Liskis in qua Milo Morinensis episcopus ordinavit abbatiam Ecchis [?]. Data 1170.

14. Carta Hel. Burdegal archiepiscopi pro abb. Silvae Majoris. [AD-AD 1196](#).

15. Ditto Nivelonis Sussionens episcopi de donatione ecclesiae S. Johannis de Vineis per Galterum Cathalancensem et Pentecosten uxorem ejus et eorum filios Theodosium et Galterum. [AD-AD 1197](#).

16. Ditto Theoderici electi Mettensis Mathildi abbatissae sancti Petri Mettensis de ecclesia S. Viti in Mettensi. [AD-AD 1176](#).

17. Ditto Hugonis Cluniacensis abbatis de fundacione de Marcigny. [AD-AD 1102](#).

18. Ditto Alberonis Trevirorum episcopi Ebembardo abbati S. Vincenti (Mettensis) de ecclesia S. Germani de Castollo. [AD-AD 1141](#).

19. Ernalis Cenomannensium abbati de S. Martino Maioris monasterii, confirmat ecclesias sancti Guingualoei, Vivonium, Valle Guidonis et locum S. Macuti de Sablolio. Dat. [AD-AD 1068](#).

20. Testamentum Johannis Cruel granting donations to the town of Lens. No date but saec. XII.

21. Carta Manassis Suessor. episcopi de altari villae de Lostria dato ecclesiae S. Johannis. Circa 1080.

22. Bulla p. Alexandri 3tii anno VI Roberto abbati S. Mar de Liskes. [AD-AD 1164](#).

23. Ditto p. Alexandri 3 anno V Petro abbati S. Mar Silvæ Majoris. ~~AD-AD~~ 1163.

²² In the list above, the following charters are found in the Paris manuscript: 1 (= BnF, MS nouv. acq. lat. 2588, no. 13); 2 (= ~~ibid~~*ibid.*, no. 14); 3 (= ~~ibid~~*ibid.*, no. 15); 11 (= ~~ibid~~*ibid.*, no. 4); 12 (= ~~ibid~~*ibid.*, no. 2); 13 (= ~~ibid~~*ibid.*, no. 10); 14 (= ~~ibid~~*ibid.*, no. 16); 17 (= ~~ibid~~*ibid.*, no. 3); 19 (= ~~ibid~~*ibid.*, no. 1); 20 (= ~~ibid~~*ibid.*, no. 18); 22 (= ~~ibid~~*ibid.*, no. 8); 23 (= ~~ibid~~*ibid.*, no. 7).

²³ H. Omont, *Catalogue des manuscrits latins et français de la Collection Phillipps acquis en 1908 pour la Bibliothèque nationale* (Paris: E. Leroux, 1909), pp. i, viii, and 95–9, no. XCV.

²⁴ For Phillipps' ~~ps's~~ travels to France, see A. Munby, *The Formation of the Phillipps Library up to the Year 1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954), pp. 19–41.

²⁵ BnF, MS nouv. acq. lat. 2588, nos. 1, 3, 7–8.

²⁶ ~~Ibid.~~, no. 12 (= 26,098); nos. 21, 23, 59, 63, 75 (= 25,104); nos. 27, 83, 86 (= 25,674); nos. 48, 76bis (= 27,928); no. 73 (= 27,015); no. 94 (= 25,098).

²⁷ ~~Ibid.~~, no. 17 (= 33,812). It is possible that no. 38 has the same number on its reverse, of which only the first two digits are visible, the others being obscured by the way in which the act has been pasted into the volume.

²⁸ For example, ~~ibid~~*ibid.*, nos. nos. 57, 85, 95, 96, 97, 98 all have the Phillipps number 17,089 on their reverse. In contrast, the corresponding number in the catalogue is among those manuscripts acquired from William Monk Mason's Dublin collection, where it is described as 'Bearla Feine sm. 4tor ch. s. xviii, brn.cf. gt': *Catalogus librorum Phillipps*, p. 329. The same is true for BnF, MS nouv. acq. lat. 2588, nos. nos. 25 (= 18,676), 30 (= 22,305), nos. nos. 41, 74, 77 (= 22,309), nos. nos. 42, 44-45, 55 (= 23,113), and nos. nos. 60–61, 67 (= 23,115), while no. 52 (= 23,114) is described correctly.

²⁹ While some charters have been bound into the Paris manuscript so that their reverse is entirely visible, many have been pasted directly onto the album's paper pages. Small

windows have been cut so that medieval and early modern endorsements are visible, but certain Phillipps numbers are either partially obscured (see [above](#), n. 27) or, in some instances, presumably completely hidden from sight.

³⁰ For much of what follows and further discussion, see Pohl, ‘Scholarly Pursuit or *Sammelwut?*’:

³¹ De Hamel, *Posthumous Papers*, pp. 321–3.

³² OBL, MS Phillipps-Robinson c. 679, fos 36r–41v.

³³ This was the case with another German medievalist, Theodor Mommsen (1817–1903), who visited Cheltenham at the invitation of Thomas Fitzroy Fenwick to study (and subsequently publish) selected manuscripts from Phillipps’s vast library: De Hamel, *Posthumous Papers*, pp. 400–1. On Phillipps’s other visitors, see Munby, *Formation up to 1840*, pp. 138–42; Munby, *Formation from 1841 to 1872*, pp. 29–42 and 86–93.

³⁴ For a full list of the large private collections bought by Phillipps between 1824 and 1869/70, see Burrows, “‘Never Such a Collector’”, p. 46.

³⁵ For de la Rue, see N. Vincent, *Norman Charters from English Sources: Antiquaries, Archives and the Rediscovery of the Anglo-Norman Past* (London: Pipe Roll Society, 2013), pp. 72–5. For some other Norman charters that eventually made their way to the John Rylands Library via Gervase de la Rue, see L. Gathagan, ‘Abbess, Judge, Jailor: Authority and Imprisonment at Holy Trinity, Caen’, *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 99:2 (2023), 25–46.

³⁶ Phillipps acquired two Bayeux cartularies from de la Rue’s library, which became Phillipps MSS 10,337 and 21,709 (*Catalogus librorum Phillipps*, pp. 166, 403). These manuscripts were subsequently acquired by the BnF, where they are now MSS nouv. acq. lat. 925 and 926.

³⁷ An original charter of 1237 (n.-s.) can be found today pasted into a manuscript with copies of Mont Saint-Michel acts made by or for François Roger de Gaignières (1642–1715): BnF,

MS lat. 5430A, p. 294.

³⁸ For Jeremiah Wiffen, who acquired two Mont Saint-Michel charters now at the British Library, see N. Vincent, ‘A Collection of Early Norman Charters in the British Library: The Case of Jeremiah Holmes Wiffen’, *Cahiers Léopold Delisle*, 53 (2004), 21–45, at 26–30. The Mont Saint-Michel charters in BnF, MS lat. 9215, on which more below, may also have been extracted from the archives at Saint-Lô at this time.

³⁹ Avranches, Bibliothèque municipale (hereafter ABM), MS 210. A modern edition of the cartulary’s twelfth-century portion can be found in K. S. B. Keats-Rohan (ed.), *The Cartulary of the Abbey of Mont-Saint-Michel* (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2006).

⁴⁰ B. Pohl, ‘L’«atelier historique» de l’abbé-historien Robert de Torigni: où a-t-il écrit?’, in Paquet and Labatut (eds), *1023—2023. Le Mont Saint-Michel*. please check my correction.
Please restore the word ‘historique’ and the French guillemets

⁴¹ P. Gout, *Le Mont-Saint-Michel: histoire de l’abbaye et de la ville: étude archéologique et architecturale des monuments*, 2 vols (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1910), II, p. 535. Others have retained the 1406 date but have argued that Pierre Le Roy was responsible not necessarily for building the tower but instead for fitting it out or remodelling it: M. Reulos, ‘L’organisation et l’administration de l’abbaye à partir de l’abbé Pierre le Roi jusqu’à l’application du Concordat’, in J. Laporte *et al.* (eds), *Millénaire monastique du Mont Saint-Michel*, 5 vols (Paris: P. Lethiellieux, 1967–2001), I, pp. 191–209, at p. 194.

⁴² ‘In armariolo privilegiorum. In subsequentibus signatur littere efficaces contente in armariolis cartarii, et pro de armariolo in quo privilegia apostolica continentur’: ABM, MS 211, fol. 113v.

⁴³ N. Simon, ‘Le Mont Saint-Michel dans les trois premiers quarts du XIV^e siècle’, in Laporte *et al.* (eds), *Millénaire monastique*, I, pp. 151–90, at pp. 152–60.

⁴⁴ Reulos, ‘L’organisation et l’administration’, p. 204. On the *Livre blanc*, see Keats-Rohan (ed.), *Cartulary*, pp. 31–2. For the *Quanandrier*, see Reulos, ‘L’organisation et

l'administration', p. 193.

⁴⁵ ABM, MS 211, fos 113v–137r. A transcription can be found in C. Coutant, 'Le cartulaire de l'abbaye du Mont-Saint-Michel et ses additions. Étude et édition critique' (unpublished thesis, l'École des chartes, Paris, 2009), pp. 150–217.

⁴⁶ 'Hec extractio facta fuit anno Domini Mo CCCo vicesimo VIo die martis post octavam nativitatis Beate Marie virginis per aliquos fratres de istius et quorum multa in continentur forte inutilia vel defectiva in aliquo ipsi rogant legentes ut eos habeant excusatos nam ipsi collegerunt harum cyrographarum seu cartarum istarum breviter pro ut melius potuere': ABM, MS 211, fol. 137v.

⁴⁷ There is an act of 1341 ('LX. Littera quod Philippe de *Rouel* quitavit unum mercatum burse factum cum Martino de Vincelois ratione uxoris sue, videlicet de II quarteriis frumenti cum Johanne de Dolo, Johanne *Gelin* et Hamone *Letecense*. MCCCXLI.': [ibidibid.](#), fol. 130r), and another of 1381 ('XXXVII. Littera regis facta per Johan relictam au noteor de *Dragé* de VI s. redditus cum Guillemo *Coston* super peciam terre a *la Bequemie*. MCCCLXXXI.': [ibidibid.](#), fol. 130v).

⁴⁸ For much of what follows, see Allen, 'Le charrier perdu'.

⁴⁹ Manche, cant. Granville.

⁵⁰ For the note at the beginning, see n. 42. The second note, which is underlined and appears next to the entry for an act of Richard II, duke of Normandy (996–1026), instructs those interested 'to look in the chest/cupboard of the Mont' ('Quere in armariolo Montis': ABM, MS 211, fol. 120), which suggests that it had been moved from the Saint-Pair chest/cupboard to be alongside the abbey's other ducal acts kept in the '*armariolum Montis*'.

⁵¹ Keats-Rohan (ed.), *Cartulary*, p. 40.

⁵² 'Littera Gervasii filii Hehie [*sic*] de pistrino de Genez. MCLXVI.' and 'Cyrographum Gervasii filii Helie de excambio pistrini de Genez. MCLXVI.': ABM, MS 211, fos 127v and 128r.

⁵³ Auffains, Eure-et-Loir, cant. Les Villages Vovéens, com. Éole-en-Beauce. For a critical edition of Reginald's act, see Coutant, 'Le cartulaire', no. 82, pp. 284–5.

⁵⁴ PHC/32 is one half of a chirograph. It would seem that the abbey's archives also possessed the other half, since the fourteenth-century inventory contains another entry that describes its contents precisely: 'Littera vivarii et molendini de *Karoles* quod habeamus terciam partem, Nicholaus du *Verdun* aliam et plures alii aliam partem. Non quotatur': ABM, MS 211, fol. 128v.

⁵⁵ See the finding aid *1 H – Fonds de l'abbaye du Mont-Saint-Michel. Épaves des archives de l'abbaye du Mont-Saint-Michel* (Saint-Lô: Archives de la Manche, undated), p. 2. Available online at https://www.archives-manche.fr/_depot_ad50/_depot_fonds/inventaires/ancien/1_H.pdf [(accessed 2 July 2023)].

⁵⁶ These charters are today bound into a composite volume containing original acts from other Norman religious institutions (BnF, MS lat. 9215). Those relating to the Cistercian abbey of Aunay were acquired from Denis Désiré Riocreux (1791–1872), director of the museum of Sèvres: L. Delisle, *Le cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque impériale*, 4 vols (Paris: Impr. impériale [puis] nationale, 1868–1881), II, p. 289. He does not appear to have been behind the donation of the Mont Saint-Michel acts, however, which Léopold Delisle's unpublished *Inventaire des chartes. Fonds latins*, pp. 375–81 seems to suggest arrived at the BnF in two parts ([available online at http://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb42195807m](http://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb42195807m) [(accessed 2 July 2023)]). This collection of 36 acts, one of which was repurposed as a powder cartridge, most likely escaped the abbey's archives before the French Revolution or in its very immediate aftermath.

⁵⁷ The only endorsement visible today on the Paris charter is from the fifteenth century. That said, the charter has been affixed into the album in which it is now found in such a way as to render part of the reverse illegible. It is therefore possible that an earlier endorsement has been obscured. The inventory entry has been numbered by a fifteenth-century scribe,

possibly Abbot Pierre Le Roy-(see, [p. 0000 below](#) [which section/](#). Using 'below' here [doesn't really make sense anymore, as these are now endnotes rather than footnotes. It would therefore be easier to put a page reference, which will have to be added when the article is typeset](#)), using an Arabic numeral, which may also have been obscured along with an earlier endorsement. Modern copies do show, however, that not every Mont Saint-Michel act had a medieval endorsement (or only had them from the fifteenth century). See, for example, R. Allen, 'Unknown Copies of the Lost Charters of Le Mont Saint-Michel (11th–13th [centuries: \[please restore to 'c.', as this is what the published title of this article contains\]](#)): The Henry Chanteux Collection at the Archives départementales du Calvados', *Revue Mabillon*, 29 (2018), 45–82, at Appendix II, ~~nos-~~[nos](#) 2, 7 and 9, 75, 79–80.

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Unlike the charters in the abbey's cartulary described by the inventory as chirographs, this charter, now in the British Library, is an actual chirograph, two copies of which were once kept in the monastic archives. These are both described in the inventory, one after the other. Since the first entry describes the charter in terms not found on the reverse of the surviving original in London, we can reasonably conclude that this charter is the one described by the inventorist in curtailed form ('Item alia sub eodem tenore. MCXXI': ABM, MS 211, fol. 128v). Another original with an endorsement that uses the term '*cirographum*' is now among the handful of Mont Saint-Michel originals at Saint-Lô (Saint-Lô, Archives départementales de la Manche (hereafter ADM), 1 H 7: 'Cirographum pro furno sancti Johannis et prato apud Milleciam'). At first glance, this would appear not to be a strict chirograph since it contains neither a device in its margins nor shows any sign of being indented. Its twin, however, survives as ADM, 1 H 8. It has the device 'CIROGRAPHUM' across its upper margin but is described in the only endorsement as 'De furno in parrochia sancti Johannis juxta furnum nostrum et de prato apud Mileciam'. It would appear, therefore, that the top edge of the first of these charters has been trimmed. These acts are not listed in the inventory.

⁵⁹ The sections with numbers next to their entries are as follows: ‘Dona et confirmationes regis Francorum et ducis Normannorum factum et datum abbacie Montis sanctis Michaelis’ [fol. 114r, Arabic]; ‘Emptiones’ [fol. 114v, Arabic]; ‘Ardevon’ [fos 115r–r–116r, Arabic]; ‘Sanctus Paternus’ [fos 120r–r–122r, Roman]; ‘Genez’ [fos 127r–r–128v, Roman]; ‘Saint Jehan de Thomas’ [fol. 128v, Roman]; ‘Pitancia’ [fos 129r–r–132v, largely Roman with some Arabic]; and ‘Mons Rouaudi’ [fol. 133r, Arabic].

⁶⁰ Manche, cant. Ponterson.

⁶¹ This is the section in which the papal bulls are listed: ABM, MS 211, fol. 113v.

⁶² Besides the royal/ducal acts and purchases, the remaining sections contain the following number of acts: Ardevon (113 acts), Saint-Pair (228 acts), Genêts and Saint-Jean-le-Thomas (130 acts), and Pitances (212 acts). The exception is the section for Mont Rouault (Ille-et-Vilaine, cant. Dol-de-Bretagne, com. Pleine-Fougères), which contains only 24 acts.

⁶³ M. Hagger, *The Fortunes of a Norman Family: The de Verduns in England, Ireland, and Wales, 1066–1316* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2001), p. 60; Vincent, ‘Jeremiah Wiffen’, 23 n. 6; Vincent, *Norman Charters*, p. 78 n. 277.

⁶⁴ BnF, MS lat. 5430A (Gaignières); *ibid.*, MS lat. 10072 and Kew, The National Archives, PRO 31/8/140B (d’Anisy); BnF, MS nouv. acq. fr. 21821–21822 (Delisle).

⁶⁵ Allen, ‘Unknown Copies’, 45–82. See also Allen, ‘Le chartrier perdu’.

⁶⁶ Robert’s immediate successor, Martin de Furmendi, was abbot only for around three and a half years. Very little is known of his abbacy: V. Gazeau, *Normannia monastica*, 2 vols (Caen: Publications du CRAHM), II, pp. 225–6. On the imposing memory of Robert of Torigni’s abbacy at Mont Saint-Michel and beyond, see B. Pohl, ‘The Memory of Robert of Torigni: From the Twelfth Century to the Present Day’, in F. Paquet (ed.), *Maîtriser le temps et façonner l’histoire. Les historiens normands aux époques médiévale et moderne* (Caen: Presses universitaires de Caen, 2022), pp. 111–34; B. Pohl, ‘Robert of Torigni and Le Bec: The Man and the Myth’, in B. Pohl and L. Gathagan (eds), *A Companion to the*

Abbey of Le Bec in the Central Middle Ages (11th–13th Centuries) (Leiden: Brill, 2017), pp. 94–124.

⁶⁷ J. Chazelas, ‘La vie monastique au Mont Saint-Michel au XIII^e siècle’, in Laporte *et al.* (eds), *Millénaire monastique*, I, pp. 127–50, at p. 140–3; M. Nortier, ‘La construction de la Merveille. Nouvelle datation proposée’, in *ibid.*, V, pp. 81–96, at p. 84.

⁶⁸ Allen, ‘Unknown Copies’, Appendix I, no. 74, 70 (an act of Guimond, prior of Mont Saint-Michel, issued ‘cum precepto et voluntate donni Jordani abbatis’, which is mistakenly attributed by Allen to Abbot Jordan), Mont Rouault, Ille-et-Vilaine, cant. Dol-de-Bretagne, com. Pleine-Fougères; P. de Farcy, *Cartulaire de Saint-Victeur au Mans, prieuré de l’abbaye du Mont-Saint-Michel (994–1400)* (Paris: A. Picard et fils, 1895), pp. 29–31, no. XXVIII.

⁶⁹ Allen, ‘Le chartrier perdu’, Annexe, no. 7. Bacilly, Manche, cant. Avranches.

⁷⁰ On the family of Verdun (Manche, cant. and com. Pontorson), and on Nicholas in particular, see Hagger, *The Fortunes*, pp. 59–71.

⁷¹ For recent discussion in an English context, see A. Lucas, *Ecclesiastical Lordship, Seigneurial Power and the Commercialization of Milling in Medieval England* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014).

⁷² The Premonstratensian abbey of La Lucerne, for example, had mills at places such as Saint-Pierre-Langers, Saint-Jean-le-Thomas, and Sartilly (all Manche, cant. Avranches), to name but a few, which were located within a seven-kilometre radius of Carolles. For discussion, see D. Ducœur, ‘Les moulins de l’abbaye de La Lucerne’, *Revue de l’Avranchin et du pays de Granville*, 84 (2007), 223–84, at 227–9.

⁷³ D. Pichot, ‘Le moulin et l’encellulement dans l’Ouest français (XI^e–XIII^e siècle)’, in M. Mousnier (ed.), *Moulins et meuniers dans les Campagnes européennes (IX^e–XVIII^e siècle)* (Toulouse: Presses universitaires du Midi, 2002), pp. 110–29, at p. 122.

⁷⁴ R. Fossier, *L'enfance de l'Europe, Xe–XIIe siècles: aspects économiques et sociaux*, 2 vols (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1982), I, pp. 288–595.

⁷⁵ See, for example, the agreement reached between Abbot William (II) of Saint-Étienne de Caen (1156–81) and one Radulf of Cairon (Calvados, cant. Bretteville-l'Orgueilleuse) concerning a jointly-held mill in *Bauduchonville*, evidence of which survives in the abbey's twelfth-century cartulary as well as in an original charter now kept at the British Library in London: B. Pohl, 'Eight Twelfth-Century Charters from the Norman Abbey of Saint-Étienne de Caen, c.1120–1204 (London, British Library, Add. Chs. 67574–67581) – A Catalogue and Commentary', *Electronic British Library Journal* (2017), 1–52, at 9–10 (edition and translation) and 26–27 (discussion); the mill of *Bauduchonville* was confirmed to the abbot and monks of Saint-Étienne, along with all other mills the monastery held within the diocese of Bayeux, by Archbishop Rotrou of Rouen (1165–84): B. Pohl, 'Processions, Power and Public Display: Ecclesiastical Rivalry and Ritual in Ducal Normandy,' *Journal of Medieval Monastic Studies*, 6 (2017), 1–49, at 39.

⁷⁶ T. Roche, 'Les moines de Jumièges et les moulins de Montataire', in D. Hanquiez and A. Petit (eds), *Saint-Leu-d'Esserent et l'implantation monastique dans la basse vallée de l'Oise* (Actes du colloque de Saint-Leu-d'Esserent, 27–29 octobre 2011) (Amiens: CAHMER, Laboratoire d'archéologie, Université de Picardie, 2012), pp. 37–58.

⁷⁷ For discussion, see Allen, 'Le chartrier perdu'.

⁷⁸ Although mills are commonly associated with peasants' obligations to their lords, some were held by tenants: G. White, *The Medieval English Landscape, 1000–1540* (London: Bloomsbury, 2012), p. 51.

⁷⁹ The Crapeux flows from its source in the village of Saint-Michel-des-Loups (Manche, cant. Avranches, com. Jullouville) to the sea.

⁸⁰ 'VI. Carta Nicholai de Verduno de molendino de *Karoles*, videlicet de compositione acta inter nos et ipsum. MCCXIX. Alia non quotatur': ABM, MS 211, fol. 128v.

⁸¹ Allen, ‘Le chartrier perdu’.

⁸² BnF, MS lat. 9215, ~~nos-~~nos 69 (‘In registr(ata) [e]st’); 70 (‘Inregistrata’); 80 (‘In regist(rata) est’); 81 (‘In registrata est’); 82 (‘In regist(ra)ta est’); 83 (‘In registrata est’).

⁸³ It would seem that there were two copies of this charter conserved in the abbey’s archives (see above, n. 55).

⁸⁴ Although the verb *quotare* literally means ‘to mark with numerical reference’ (R. Latham, D. Howlett and R. Ashdowne (eds), *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources* (London: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 1975–2013), fasc. 13. Pro-Reg, p. 2642), the inventorist appears to use ‘*non quotatur*’ throughout to mean ‘not dated’.

⁸⁵ Sadly, three thirteenth-century Mont Saint-Michel charters in this manuscript (~~nos-~~nos 75–76, 78) have been affixed to the page in such a way as to render the reverse illegible.

⁸⁶ The final words of this endorsement are hidden by the way this charter has been affixed into this album. It is possible the Roman numeral ‘XI’, which is found in the inventory entry, has also been obscured in this way.

⁸⁷ An asterisk denotes when the modern copy does not specifically identify this text, which is almost always found at the head of the transcription, as an endorsement.

⁸⁸ This number is that assigned to the corresponding entry in Coraline Coutant’s transcription of the fourteenth-century inventory.

⁸⁹ The place called Saint-Clément was home to a hospital, which an agreement of 1232 shows was reserved exclusively for the use of leprous monks of Mont Saint-Michel: Allen, ‘Unknown Copies’, Appendix I, no. 13, 61. Its precise location is difficult to determine, although it was likely towards the cliffs of Carolles near the place now known as the Rocher du Sard: E.-A. Pigeon, *Le diocèse d’Avranches, sa topographie, ses origines, ses évêques, sa cathédrale, ses églises, ses comtes et ses châteaux*, 2 vols (Coutances: Salettes, 1888), I, p. 105.

⁹⁰ Fulk is a previously unknown member of the de Verdun family.

- ⁹¹ Manche, chef-lieu de cant.
- ⁹² Either Manche, cant. Avranches, com. Jullouville or Manche, cant. Granville, com. Saint-Pair-sur-Mer.
- ⁹³ Manche, cant. Granville, com. Saint-Pair-sur-Mer.
- ⁹⁴ Manche, cant. Isigny-le-Buat, com. Tirepied-sur-Sée.
- ⁹⁵ Manche, cant. Avranches, com. Jullouville.
- ⁹⁶ Coutant, 'Le cartulaire', no. 128, pp. 324–5.
- ⁹⁷ Manche, cant. Avranches, com. Carolles.