

‘PRAESUL PRAECIPUE, ATQUE VENERANDE’:
THE CAREER OF ROBERT,
ARCHBISHOP OF ROUEN, 989–1037

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This paper analyses the career of Robert, Archbishop of Rouen, and his contributions to the development of ducal Normandy’s most important urban settlement. The son of Richard I, Duke of Normandy (942–96), and Gunnor, his second wife, Robert was a formidable figure who governed the city and metropolitan diocese of Rouen for almost fifty years during the reigns of five successive dukes. Invested with both secular (he was also Count of Évreux) and ecclesiastical power, his lengthy archiepiscopate was fundamental to the re-establishment of the Norman secular Church and key to the emergence of an increasingly confident Norman state.¹ Rouen also experienced a dramatic resurgence during his tenure, and although the city was already a site of some importance before his elevation to the episcopate, it was during his reign, and as a direct result of his activities, that it was transformed into a centre of political, religious, social, and cultural significance. The Archbishop not only restored the physical and territorial infrastructure of his cathedral, the most important institution in any medieval city, but also reintegrated Rouen within a network of wider ecclesiastical importance by cultivating links with cities such as Chartres and

* The Latin title of this essay is from Dudo of Saint-Quentin’s *De moribus* (Dudo of Saint-Quentin, *De moribus et actis primorum Normanniae ducum*, ed. by Lair, p. 126).

¹ Although many works refer to events during Robert’s archiepiscopate, there exists only one modern, and very short, published account of his archiepiscopate, Bouet and Dosdat, ‘Les Évêques normands’, p. 19. For his career as Count of Évreux, see Bauduin, *La Première Normandie*, pp. 325–30.

Winchester. The growth of Normandy's principal city also enabled the re-establishment of other episcopal cities within the duchy, many of which had suffered as a result of the Northmen incursions of the preceding centuries, while Robert's own activities were to have a direct impact on urban communities throughout the region, from Dieppe in the north-east to Avranches in the far west.

In spite of his later prominence, we know very little of the Archbishop's early life. He was presumably born sometime after 966, since this is the date at which his father's first wife, Emma, disappears from the historical record.² No extant charter bears his *signum* before he became Archbishop, and none of the Norman chroniclers refer to his life before his transferral to Rouen, except a late tradition which claims that there were problems with his investiture because of his parents' marital status.³ It is possible that Robert attended the translation of the relics of St Ouen, which his father performed at a date traditionally placed in the last years of the 980s,⁴ but he is not named personally and can only be seen among those 'other sons and daughters' of Richard I whom the author of the *translatio* claims were present at the event.⁵ It is also possible that he studied with a master of the liberal arts (*disciplinis liberalibus magistrum*) attached to the abbey of Saint-Ouen de Rouen, which if true, suggests he had been intended for the Church from an early age.⁶ Although various Norman annals record his accession to the archiepiscopate in 989,⁷ his first major act as Archbishop was his role in the foundation of Fécamp on 15 June 990, where he helped to consecrate the collegiate church and agreed to free it from episcopal customs.⁸ The significance of this event in the ecclesiastical revival of the

² She was present during a plea at Gisors, which took place in June or July 966, and which is referred to in a charter of Saint-Denis dated 18 March 968: *Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie*, ed. by Fauroux, no. 3.

³ *The Gesta Normannorum ducum*, ed. and trans. by van Houts, II, 266–68.

⁴ For a summary of the various arguments, and a proposal of a more accurate date of c. 967 × before 985, see Allen, 'The Norman Episcopate', I, 9–15.

⁵ 'Affuerunt huic tam felici obsequio et digno spectaculo, dux ipse egregius Ricardus, cum coniuge sua Albereda nomine, et filio Rotberto cognomine Dano, qui defunctus sepultus est apud sanctum Petrum Carnoti, et cum aliis filiis et filiabus ex eadem uxore': 'Translatio secunda corporis beati Audoeni', p. 824.

⁶ 'The Cathedral Miracles of Romanus', ed. by Lifshitz, p. 268. This text is translated in Lifshitz, 'The Dossier of Romanus of Rouen', pp. 388–410 (pp. 388–89).

⁷ 'Chronicon Rotomagensis sublati minus necessariis', ed. by Labbe, p. 366; *Les Annales de l'abbaye Saint-Pierre de Jumièges*, ed. by Laporte, p. 52; 'Annales Uticensis', ed. by Le Prévost, p. 156; Den Haag, KB, MS 128 E 14, fol. 9^r. I am extremely grateful to Alison Alexander for supplying me with a photocopy of the last of these.

⁸ *Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie*, ed. by Fauroux, no. 4.

late tenth century cannot be overstressed and, as a cardinal moment in early Norman history, has long held the attention of scholars.⁹

Nevertheless, circumstances in the Norman dioceses upon Robert's election left little to be desired. The destruction in the west of the duchy was so profound that the diocese of Avranches had lain vacant for over a century,¹⁰ while the bishops of Coutances, who had been translated to Rouen by the first Norman duke, Rollo,¹¹ continued to operate out of the church of Saint-Lô throughout the Archbishop's reign. The diocese of Rouen itself, on the other hand, had not suffered such upheaval, and its archbishops had been among the principal figures, either real or imagined,¹² in the formation of the new Norman realm. Robert's immediate predecessor in the archiepiscopal seat was Hugh (942–89), a former monk of Saint-Denis, who was chosen as archbishop by William Longsword (d. 942). By the mid-eleventh century, Hugh was regarded as anathema within the cathedral community of Rouen,¹³ but his legacy is not dissimilar to that of Robert himself, only on a slightly smaller scale.¹⁴ It is possible, in fact, that Hugh owes his negative reputation to little more than his association with the Franks, whose forces occupied the Norman capital during the minority of Richard I,¹⁵ and to his involvement with the abbey of Saint-Ouen de Rouen,¹⁶ one of the cathedral's great eleventh-century rivals.¹⁷

⁹ For bibliographical details, see Douglas, 'The First Ducal Charter for Fécamp', p. 45.

¹⁰ *Gallia Christiana in provincias ecclesiasticas distributa*, XI, col. 474.

¹¹ 'De statu huius ecclesiae ab anno 836 ad 1093', in *Gallia Christiana in provincias ecclesiasticas distributa*, XI, *instrumenta*, col. 218.

¹² For discussion of the alleged role of Franco, Archbishop of Rouen, in the baptism of Rollo, see Guillot, 'La Conversion des Normands peu après 911'.

¹³ For Hugh's reputation at the cathedral, see the metrical chronicle in elegiac distiches, which Orderic Vitalis incorporated into his famous chronicle (Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History*, ed. and trans. by Chibnall, III, 80), and a *gesta episcoporum* written c. 1070: Allen, 'The *Acta archiepiscoporum Rotomagensium*: Study and Edition', p. 38.

¹⁴ Lifshitz, 'La Normandie carolingienne', pp. 513–20.

¹⁵ Lauer, *Le Règne de Louis IV d'Outre-mer*, pp. 87–143.

¹⁶ Hugh, who also served as titular abbot of Saint-Ouen de Rouen, received gifts and privileges via this position from the king of the Franks. Jacques Le Maho has traced the ramifications of the association of the abbey of Saint-Ouen with the Frankish occupiers to the tenth-century hagiographical production of Jumièges, which is unusually cold towards the abbey's patron saint: Le Maho, 'La Production éditoriale à Jumièges', pp. 28–29. It is possible the cathedral authors harboured a similar sense of betrayal.

¹⁷ For discussion of one particular aspect of this rivalry, with reference to others, see Allen,

But if Hugh had helped Rouen become, by the end of the tenth century, a vibrant centre of commerce and trade,¹⁸ its religious infrastructure was still somewhat lacking. It seems, in particular, that parts of the cathedral quarter, which was subject to numerous Viking raids during the ninth century,¹⁹ had been sacrificed to accommodate certain commercial aspects of the new city established by the first Norman dukes.²⁰ It would not be until the end of the tenth century that the relevant authorities would concentrate their resources on improving the religious edifices within this part of the city, and although Archbishop Robert is known to have played a large part in this amelioration, his exact role in the reconstruction of the cathedral remains a subject of much controversy. In fact, despite the detailed excavations of Georges Lanfry and Jacques Le Maho, much of the early history of the cathedral remains largely unresolved, due in part to a site that one authority has described as ‘an archaeological nightmare’.²¹ Le Maho himself has argued that the accounts of Dudo of Saint-Quentin and Wace, both of whom claim that it was Richard I who reconstructed the cathedral, are merely recounting an addition made by the Duke (perhaps a porch on the western façade) to the Carolingian cathedral.²² This was previous to, and totally independent of, the work attributed to Archbishop Robert by Orderic Vitalis.²³ Maylis Baylé, on the other hand, has argued that the accounts of Dudo, Wace, and Orderic are not contradictory, but instead refer to the same building campaign, which was begun towards the end of Richard I’s reign when Robert was already Archbishop (that is, between 989 and 996).²⁴ Le Maho, however, remains unconvinced by some of her suggestions.²⁵

‘The *Acta archiepiscoporum Rotomagensium* and Urban Ecclesiastical Rivalry’.

¹⁸ Bates, *Normandy before 1066*, pp. 36, 128–29.

¹⁹ Le Maho, ‘Le Groupe épiscopal de Rouen’, pp. 169–72.

²⁰ Le Maho, ‘Les Fouilles de la cathédrale de Rouen’, pp. 31–36.

²¹ Grant, ‘Rouen Cathedral’, p. 60.

²² Dudo of Saint-Quentin, *De moribus et actis primorum Normanniae ducum*, ed. by Lair, p. 290; Wace, *The Roman de Rou*, trans. by Burgess, part III, ll. 691–96. Le Maho’s conclusions are summarized in Baylé, ‘Les Évêques et l’architecture normande’, p. 153; Baylé, ‘Norman Architecture around the Year 1000’, pp. 4–5; Baylé, ‘La Cathédrale romane’, pp. 182–85.

²³ Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History*, ed. and trans. by Chibnall, III, 85.

²⁴ Baylé, ‘Les Évêques et l’architecture normande’, p. 153; Baylé, ‘La Cathédrale romane’, p. 183.

²⁵ Le Maho, ‘Nouvelles hypothèses sur l’église Notre-Dame de Rouen’, pp. 297–99; Le Maho, ‘Grands travaux à la cathédrale de Rouen’.

Such matters of chronology aside, it is believed that Robert constructed the choir, transept, lantern tower, and crypt of his cathedral, although the last of these features is the only one attributable to him that still survives.²⁶ The crypt nevertheless typifies the way in which Robert rejuvenated and redefined those institutions in his charge. Its style recalls that at the cathedral of Chartres, upon which it may have been modelled.²⁷ This edifice was begun by Bishop Fulbert (1006–28), a prelate with whom Robert enjoyed a particularly close relationship. It is possible they met at least once at Compiègne on 9 June 1017 during the coronation of Hugh Magnus as co-regent of the Franks,²⁸ while they exchanged letters on at least two occasions.²⁹ The city of Chartres was also clearly important to the Archbishop, since he was an active patron of its ecclesiastical institutions, as one of the charters edited in the appendix to this article illustrates. But while Robert may have been inspired by work conducted elsewhere, his crypt remains one of the finest examples of its kind within Normandy, outshining many contemporary structures at the great monastic houses of the province. Beyond the borders of the duchy, the Archbishop's architectural ingenuity placed Rouen at the heart of a network of cities similarly influenced, which spread as far south as the Loire valley and as far east as the Bourgogne.³⁰

To complement the growing sophistication of the physical infrastructure of his cathedral, the Archbishop also took active steps to improve its temporal affluence. Like his architectural forays, these acquisitions helped bring Rouen into contact with neighbouring urban settlements and to extend the

²⁶ Lanfry, *La Cathédrale dans la cité romaine*, pp. 22, 26–33; Baylé, 'Les Évêques et l'architecture normande', p. 155; Le Maho, 'Les Fouilles de la cathédrale de Rouen', pp. 37–39.

²⁷ Le Maho, 'Nouvelles hypothèses sur l'église Notre-Dame de Rouen', p. 296 and n. 7; Le Maho, 'Les Fouilles de la cathédrale de Rouen', p. 39.

²⁸ The two men witnessed a charter for the abbey of Fruttuaria, which may have been associated with the coronation at Compiègne. For an edition of this act and arguments, not all of them convincing, against the signatures having been appended at this meeting, see Bulst, *Untersuchungen zu den Klosterreformen Wilhelms von Dijon*, pp. 223–36, 245–46. For the coronation, see Helgaud of Fleury, *Epitoma vitae regis Rotberti Pii*, ed. by Bautier and Labory, p. 91; Rodolfus Glaber, *Opera*, ed. by Bulst, France, and Reynolds, p. 152; *Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie*, ed. by Fauroux, no. 22.

²⁹ *The Letters and Poems of Fulbert of Chartres*, ed. and trans. by Behrends, nos 93 and 126.

³⁰ Other eleventh-century churches with which Rouen shares common features include those of Orléans, Tournus, Auxerre, and Nevers: Baylé, 'Les Évêques et l'architecture normande', pp. 157–58; Baylé, 'La Cathédrale romane', pp. 188–89.

city's influence well beyond the confines of its walls. Robert's first known endeavour concerned the domain of Douvrend, which had been given by his predecessor Hugh of Saint-Denis to his brother-in-law Odo. Upon Odo's death the land had passed to his sister, who was married to a certain Henry, whose kinsman (*consanguineus*) was Walter II, Count of Amiens-Valois-Vexin (992×98–1017×24). Walter then offered the domain to Archbishop Robert, who gave him 'a capful of coins' in return and promptly restored the land to his cathedral.³¹ Far more significantly, the Archbishop was able to secure two confirmations of cathedral land from Duke Robert I (1027–35),³² which were granted shortly after the two men had become reconciled following a dispute that had seen the Archbishop briefly exiled from the duchy.³³ Numbering just over fifty, the restitutions catalogued in these charters were predominantly located in Upper Normandy, especially in the Pays de Talou and the Pays de Bray, but were also found as far west as Falaise and Caen. Outside Normandy there were two benefices in the Beauvaisis and at least one in the region of Paris.³⁴ Unfortunately, the charters give no indication as to how the Archbishop came to acquire these holdings outside the duchy, but it is not impossible that he had been granted those near Paris by Robert the Pious, at whose court he had spent his exile.

The most significant expansion in possessions, however, occurred along the valley of the Seine in the *Vexin normand*. This volatile borderland, which was bounded by the rivers Epte, Andelle, and Seine, lay on the principal route between Paris and Rouen. Consequently, it was a constant battleground throughout the ducal period and witnessed everything from lightning cross-border raids to full-scale campaigns.³⁵ Since the archdiocese of Rouen took in the whole of the Vexin, both Norman and French, the archbishops had long been involved in the region, and as early as 979 there was an archdeacon

³¹ *Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie*, ed. by Fauroux, no. 10 (p. 82): 'postea redemit eam Robertus archiepiscopus qui eam sibi dederat pleno pillo de denariis'.

³² *Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie*, ed. by Fauroux, nos 66, 67.

³³ *The Gesta Normannorum ducum*, ed. and trans. by van Houts, II, 48.

³⁴ It is possible that the cathedral held two benefices near Paris, since Marie Fauroux claimed that the land of Vy mentioned in the first of the two charters issued in conjunction with Robert I is Vicq, Yvelines, canton Montfort-l'Amaury: *Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie*, ed. by Fauroux, p. 197, no. 66. Pierre Bauduin, however, believes that it is more likely to be Wy-dit-Joli-Village (Val-d'Oise, canton Magny-en-Vexin): Bauduin, *La Première Normandie*, p. 269, n. 128.

³⁵ Green, 'Lords of the Norman Vexin'.

responsible for its administration.³⁶ The restitutions made there by Archbishop Robert bear a striking resemblance to those undertaken in the same region by the great monasteries of Normandy, through which a deliberate ducal policy to secure Norman authority in the Vexin has been traced.³⁷ Robert's acquisitions included some key strategic locations (Ecos, Neaufles-Saint-Martin),³⁸ while a number of his successors contributed to these holdings in an effort to bolster ducal authority in the region.³⁹ It is possible that a similar strategy inspired the restoration of holdings along the banks — or in the vicinity — of the Béthune and the Eaulne,⁴⁰ since these two rivers lay near the border with Picardy, which was also particularly unstable during the early years of the eleventh century.⁴¹ The re-establishment of an archiepiscopal presence in the region may also have had an effect on the expansion of the harbour at Dieppe, which lies at the mouth of the Arques, the short watercourse formed by the confluence of the Béthune and the Eaulne with the Varenne. Dieppe appears for the first time in the historical record shortly after Robert issued his charters⁴² and soon became one of the premier ports linking the continent to England,⁴³ a kingdom in which the Archbishop of Rouen is known to have himself fostered connections.

³⁶ An archdeacon, Ornatus, is mentioned in a charter of Hugh of Saint-Denis for the abbey of Saint-Germain des Prés: *Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Saint-Germain des Prés*, ed. by Poupardin, I, no. xlv.

³⁷ Bauduin, *La Première Normandie*, pp. 250–51.

³⁸ For the castles later built at these sites, see 'Châteaux disparus', 'Neaufles-Saint-Martin', and 'Château-sur-Epte', in Châtelain, *Châteaux forts et féodalité en Île de France*, pp. 186, 191–94, 203–08.

³⁹ Bauduin, *La Première Normandie*, pp. 269–71.

⁴⁰ The cathedral held possessions at Envermeu, Douvrend, Angreville (all Seine-Maritime, canton Envermeu), Londinières, Clais, Baillolet, and Duranville (all Seine-Maritime, canton Londinières), which are located along the banks of the Eaulne, and at Saint-Vaast d'Équiqueville (Seine-Maritime, canton Envermeu) and Saint-Saire (Seine-Maritime, canton Neufchâtel-en-Bray), which are on the banks of the Béthune. The cathedral also owned land at Épinay, which may be that located on the banks of the Eaulne (Seine-Maritime, canton and commune Londinières) or that on the banks of the Béthune (Seine-Maritime, canton Londinières, com. Osmoy-Saint-Valéry).

⁴¹ Bauduin, *La Première Normandie*, pp. 285–318.

⁴² The earliest known reference to the port of Dieppe is found in a charter issued for La Trinité-du-Mont in 1030: *Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie*, ed. by Fauroux, no. 61.

⁴³ For its history during the Middle Ages, see Lardin, 'Le Pouvoir à Dieppe à la fin du Moyen Âge'.

Such links appear to have been cultivated primarily through the Archbishop's sister, Emma, the wife of two successive English kings (Æthelred II and Cnut), while the impact they were to have on the city of Rouen was to prove overwhelmingly artistic. Orderic Vitalis, for example, tells of Robert receiving a 'richly illuminated Psalter' as a gift from his sister,⁴⁴ while it may also have been through these channels that the Archbishop secured a tenth-century Winchester codex, which is known today as the *Benedictional of Archbishop Robert*.⁴⁵ Besides these acquisitions, which the Archbishop probably used to improve the burgeoning library of his cathedral, and which may have played a role in introducing the Normans to Anglo-Saxon illumination and sculpture,⁴⁶ Robert also acted as a literary patron in his own right. The most famous recipient of his benefaction remains Dudo of Saint-Quentin, who worked in the Norman court at Rouen and in whose famous history one finds dedicatory poems in honour of the Archbishop.⁴⁷ Robert can also be linked with the poet Warner and other satirists like him, who were active in the Norman capital during the early years of the eleventh century. Their distinctive work has not always been kindly viewed by modern authorities,⁴⁸ but its most recent editors have found much to admire therein, including the promotion of monastic reform ideals.⁴⁹ Warner's poems have, moreover, not only long been compared with those of Dudo of Saint-Quentin,⁵⁰ but also appear to have been influenced by English literary trends, in particular those of the

⁴⁴ 'magnum psalterium uariis picturis decoratum': Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History*, ed. and trans. by Chibnall, II, 42.

⁴⁵ The manuscript still survives today as Rouen, BM, MS Y 7 Omont 369. For a modern edition, and discussion as to the identity of the archbishop associated with the codex, see *The Benedictional of Archbishop Robert*, ed. by Wilson, pp. xiv–xvi. The most recent work on the manuscript is in favour of a connection with Archbishop Robert: Gameson, 'La Normandie et l'Angleterre au XI^e siècle', pp. 133, 158.

⁴⁶ Baylé, 'La Sculpture du XI^e siècle à Jumièges', pp. 81–83.

⁴⁷ Dudo of Saint-Quentin, *De moribus et actis primorum Normanniae ducum*, ed. by Lair, pp. 123–25, 126–28.

⁴⁸ Henri Omont condemned the poem *Moriuht* as 'd'une versification rude et barbare [... et] plus souvent encore grossier et obscur': Omont, 'Satire de Garnier de Rouen contre le poète Moriuht', p. 197. For similar views, see Dosdat, 'Les Évêques de la province de Rouen', p. 240.

⁴⁹ Warner of Rouen, *Moriuht*, ed. and trans. by McDonough, pp. 51–54. Jan Ziolkowski has similarly traced many different influences and styles in another of the Rouen poems, *Jezebel*, ed. by Ziolkowski, pp. 47–57.

⁵⁰ Musset, 'Le Satiriste Garnier de Rouen et son milieu', pp. 247–48.

school of Winchester.⁵¹ It is even possible that William of Jumièges, the great ducal chronicler, began his career under Robert's patronage, for it appears he was employed by the Archbishop to serve him as a *notarius* in his functions as Count of Évreux.⁵² Unfortunately, it is not possible to detect a fully functioning school at Rouen during the Archbishop's reign,⁵³ but the 'cénacle de lettres' that Robert nurtured in the city was certainly enough to provide the foundations on which such an institution would later rest.⁵⁴

The cathedral of Rouen also benefitted from the Archbishop's literary activities. The cathedral chapter, which under Robert witnessed the establishment of important positions such as the dean and treasurer,⁵⁵ the latter evidence in itself of the wealth Robert was bringing to his church, also began to welcome men of intellectual renown. Most famous among these is Hugh 'the Grammarian', an archdeacon, whose role in the burgeoning school of Rouen is already well known.⁵⁶ Men such as Hugh were equipped with an increasingly sophisticated library, which Robert not only augmented with the volumes noted above, but also began to furnish with a more impressive hagiographical dossier. The move to increase these possessions had begun under Robert's predecessor, Hugh of Saint-Denis. He had acquired a copy of the *vita* of St Romanus, the city's primary saint, from Gerard of Brogne and had also established important cults throughout the province.⁵⁷ To this Robert added the first known collection of miracles attributed to St Romanus, which were authored under his patronage

⁵¹ Lapidge, 'Three Latin Poems from Æthelwold's School at Winchester', pp. 101–02; Musset, 'Rouen et l'Angleterre vers l'an mil'.

⁵² Van Houts, 'Une hypothèse sur l'identification de *Willelmus notarius*'.

⁵³ Bouvris, 'L'École capitulaire de Rouen', pp. 91–92; Warner of Rouen, *Moriut*, ed. and trans. by McDonough, p. 8; Dosdat, 'Les Évêques de la province de Rouen', p. 240.

⁵⁴ Bouvris, 'L'École capitulaire de Rouen', p. 90.

⁵⁵ The evidence for the position of dean is inconsistent. An individual called Henry is accorded the title in the charter for Saint-Père de Chartres edited in the appendix below, although it should be noted that in one of the post-medieval transcripts, which may be taken from a lost original or from a copy thereof, the word *decanus* has been replaced with *canonicus*. A text of La Trinité-du-Mont de Rouen also claims that its second abbot, Rayner, was dean at the cathedral before becoming a monk in around 1030: Gazeau, *Normannia monastica*, II, 266. The treasurer Herluin is mentioned for the first time in the document recording the display of St Romanus, which is also edited in the appendix to this article.

⁵⁶ Bouvris, 'L'École capitulaire de Rouen', pp. 93–97.

⁵⁷ Lifshitz, 'The Dossier of Romanus of Rouen', pp. 71–72, 362–66; Lifshitz, *The Norman Conquest of Pious Neustria*, pp. 161–63; Lifshitz, 'La Normandie carolingienne', pp. 516–17.

by a clerk of the church of Saint-Godard de Rouen,⁵⁸ while on 26 May 1036 he presided over a display of the body of this same saint, the account of which is edited below. Robert also appears to have brought the relics of St Nicholas to Rouen from Brionne, where they had apparently performed many miracles,⁵⁹ while it is also possible the Archbishop tried to export the cult of Norman saints outside the duchy, which, in the case of that of St Taurin, may have been promoted by Robert in Chartres as part of an effort to foster relations between the dukes of Normandy and the counts of Blois.⁶⁰

It seems the Archbishop also helped translate to the cathedral of Rouen the relics of St Severus, a sixth-century Bishop of Avranches.⁶¹ This endeavour not only was related to the improvement of the hagiological credentials of the cathedral, which suffered from a noticeable shortfall in prestigious relics, but was also linked to the reconstitution of the Norman episcopal network, which, as already observed, had been severely disrupted by the Scandinavian incursions of the ninth and tenth centuries.⁶² Mathieu Arnoux has noted, in fact, how the decision to translate the relics of a Bishop of Avranches seems to reflect a deliberate policy through which the Archbishop of Rouen attempted to reunite his diocese with that of Avranches, which had been without a bishop since the end of the ninth century.⁶³ The re-establishment of an episcopal presence at Avranches had, of course, coincided with the election of Robert to the archiepiscopate.⁶⁴ But the hagiological appropriation of this westerly diocese, which lay well beyond the sphere of influence of the early Norman dukes, played an important part in the movement whereby ducal authority was re-established in the west, a process that one authority has described as 'an Upper Norman colonisation of Lower Normandy'.⁶⁵ This policy had been taken one

⁵⁸ Lifshitz, *The Norman Conquest of Pious Neustria*, p. 189.

⁵⁹ Le Maho, 'Recherches sur les origines de quelques églises de Rouen', pp. 160–61.

⁶⁰ Herrick, *Imagining the Sacred Past*, pp. 31, 33, 37, 53.

⁶¹ 'Beati Severi translatio Rotomagum anno 1089'. The account is dated no more accurately than to the reign of Richard I, and since the Archbishop of Rouen is unnamed, the author may be referring to Hugh of Saint-Denis. It is not unknown, however, for the event to be placed during the reign of Archbishop Robert: Violette, 'L'Église métropolitaine de Rouen', I, 101.

⁶² Musset, 'Un millénaire oublié'.

⁶³ Arnoux, 'Before the *Gesta Normannorum* and Beyond Dudo', pp. 37–38.

⁶⁴ The first Bishop of Avranches to be re-established in the see was Norgod. He first appears in the historical record on 15 June 990: *Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie*, ed. by Fauroux, no. 4.

⁶⁵ Bates, *Normandy before 1066*, p. 103.

step further with the bishops of Coutances, who were physically incorporated into the ambit of ducal power, having been translated from the west and established within the church of Saint-Lô de Rouen, an edifice that, perhaps with his financial support, was grandly rebuilt during the course of Robert's reign.⁶⁶

Such endeavours meant that Rouen, and its Archbishop, became the nuclei around which the regeneration of the episcopal network quickly centred. Robert is the first Norman bishop for whom a reasonable number of *acta* survives, and like his literary patronage, these texts, which are edited below, reveal how the Archbishop was committed to ensuring that even records of mundane achievement were successfully transferred from memory to written record. The coordination of large-scale gatherings involving the participation of multiple bishops, a thing of some rarity under Richard I, had, by the reign of Richard II, also become far more frequent, with these meetings taking place either in the Norman capital or in some nearby centre of ducal authority, such as Fécamp.⁶⁷ These events, of course, usually involved the participation of the Duke and were probably convened at his instigation. But it seems that Robert did not himself lack the authority to coordinate such reunions, as the charter issued for Saint-Père de Chartres, which is edited below, clearly demonstrates. It is possible that the Archbishop used these occasions to advise his suffragans on how best to reconstitute episcopal authority in their own dioceses, and it was certainly not unknown for other Norman bishops to look to Robert to confirm, by his authority, the possessions of their cathedrals.⁶⁸

This activity had a profound effect on the Norman capital. Rouen became an increasingly respected spiritual centre, which welcomed both established men of religion, such as Abbot Enguerrand of Saint-Riquier, a disciple of Fulbert of Chartres,⁶⁹ who received a pallium from the Archbishop,⁷⁰ as well as those seeking conversion to the faith, such as the Norwegian king Olaf Haraldsson, who was allegedly baptized by the Archbishop of Rouen during his visit to the city in

⁶⁶ Le Maho, 'Une église rouennaise autour de l'an mil'.

⁶⁷ Such arguments are based on charter subscriptions, which show Robert in the company of three of his suffragans on six occasions (*Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie*, ed. by Fauroux, nos 21, 31, 34, 36, 47, 69), with four on one (no. 64), with five on two (nos 33, 49), and with all six on three (nos 4, 35; Bulst, *Untersuchungen zu den Klosterreformen Wilhelms von Dijon*, pp. 223–36).

⁶⁸ *Antiquus cartularius ecclesiae Baiocensis*, ed. by Bourrienne, I, no. xxi.

⁶⁹ Enguerrand studied under Fulbert in the school of Chartres: Hariulf, *Chronique de l'Abbaye de Saint-Riquier*, ed. by Lot, p. 195.

⁷⁰ *Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie*, ed. by Fauroux, no. 20.

1014.⁷¹ This event alone demonstrates the respect accorded to the Archbishop and his city in the Scandinavian world and goes some way to confirm the portrait of Rouen painted by Dudo of Saint-Quentin as a vibrant cosmopolitan centre.⁷² The ducal court at Rouen was also staffed by men of religious renown, such as Arnulf, Abbot of Saint-Père de Chartres (c. 1022–33), who served Richard II as his confessor,⁷³ a position he perhaps owed to the influence of the Archbishop of Rouen, who was a generous benefactor of his house.⁷⁴ Foreign scholars, in particular Italians, were also imported into Rouen and other parts of Normandy,⁷⁵ and it was from Rouen that an increasingly sophisticated monastic network was administered and expanded, which by the end of Robert's archiepiscopate included abbeys newly restored or founded in all but one of the Norman dioceses. The diplomatic evidence reveals that Robert was frequently involved in the enrichment of these houses,⁷⁶ while the Archbishop also dedicated a number of the completed abbey churches, including that of La Trinité-du-Mont de Rouen on 15 August 1030.⁷⁷ Robert also seems to have exerted considerable influence over the abbey of Saint-Taurin d'Évreux, since Robert I sought to remove this from his control during the opening years of his reign.⁷⁸

⁷¹ *The Gesta Normannorum ducum*, ed. and trans. by van Houts, II, 26–28; Wace, *The Roman de Rou*, trans. by Burgess, part III, ll. 1823–24.

⁷² See in particular Dudo's famous statement that Rouen was a port 'quem vegetat Belgicus, et Celticus, Anglicus': Dudo of Saint-Quentin, *De moribus et actis primorum Normanniae ducum*, ed. by Lair, p. 224; Dudo of Saint-Quentin, *History of the Normans*, trans. by Christiansen, p. 100: 'The meeting place of the Belgian, Celt, and Angle'. See also Leonie Hicks's essay in this volume.

⁷³ 'Cuius vita et innocentia ea tempestate eo rutilabat, ut ab Odone, palatino comite, ad modum diligeretur, atque Richardi Normanniae comitis confessor fieret, cuius sepe honorificentis fruebatur': *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Père de Chartres*, ed. by Guérard, I, 119–20. The Duke can be identified as Richard II, since the author goes on to relate how he gave to Arnulf the church of Saint-Gervais et Saint-Protais de Rouen: *Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie*, ed. by Fauroux, p. 24. It is possible the Archbishop of Rouen also played a part in securing this donation for the Abbot.

⁷⁴ See below, no. 2 in the appendix.

⁷⁵ *Jezebel*, ed. by Ziolkowski, p. 40.

⁷⁶ For a full list of Robert's appearances in the diplomatic record, see Allen, 'The Norman Episcopate', I, 293–94.

⁷⁷ *Regesta regum Anglo-Normannorum*, ed. by Bates, no. 235. Robert also dedicated the abbey of Saint-Wandrille, to which he helped translate the relics of St Vulfran, on 12 September 1033: 'Inventio et miracula sancti Vulfranni', ed. by Laporte, pp. 44, 50–51.

⁷⁸ Gazeau, 'Monachisme et aristocratie autour de Saint-Taurin d'Évreux et du Bec', p. 95;

As this last statement suggests, however, the final years of Robert's archiepiscopate were not without their difficulties. Relations between the Archbishop and his young nephew, Robert I, could sometimes be fraught, often with adverse consequences for Rouen itself. It is possible, for example, that the Archbishop was at the head of those citizens of Rouen who, according to a chronicle compiled from various medieval *rouennais* texts, opposed the succession of Robert I, prompting the Duke to march his army to the Norman capital, in response to which the rebels burned the bridge across the Seine and blockaded the gates of the city walls.⁷⁹ The Archbishop of Rouen certainly seems to have angered the new Duke for some reason towards the beginning of his reign, since he was besieged at Évreux by Robert I and was exiled from the duchy shortly thereafter. The exact cause of the dispute between the two men is unknown,⁸⁰ although it is possible that Archbishop Robert was unhappy with the spoliation of church property that had accompanied the Duke's rise to power.⁸¹ It soon became clear, however, that the Archbishop's presence in the duchy was vital to its governance, and using the situation to his advantage, Robert secured from the Duke the confirmations of cathedral possessions discussed above, the issuance of which David Douglas described as 'a sort of treaty'.⁸²

Potts, *Monastic Revival and Regional Identity in Early Normandy*, p. 67.

⁷⁹ 'Defuncto namque praedicti Roberti germano, Richardo scilicet, quum ad Rotomagensis metropolim, quae caput Neustrie est, iam dictus Robertus cum suo exercitu devenisset, cives eiusdem urbis ad invicem conspirantes et eum ducem habere nolentes, arma corripunt, Sequanae pontem destruunt, portas omnesque aditus per circuitum civitatis occludunt': *Normanniae nova chronica*, ed. by Delisle, Charma, and Chéruef, p. 3. For discussion of this text, which is a compendium of material taken from the annals of Rouen cathedral, the annals of the priory of Saint-Lô de Rouen, and the annals of the abbey of La Trinité-du-Mont de Rouen, all of which were themselves based on earlier material, see *Les Annales de l'abbaye Saint-Pierre de Jumièges*, ed. by Laporte, pp. 19–20.

⁸⁰ William of Jumièges says no more than that the Duke became 'suspicious' of the Archbishop at the beginning of his reign: *The Gesta Normannorum ducum*, ed. and trans. by van Houts, II, 48. Contemporary reference to the hostilities can be found in the letter sent by Fulbert of Chartres to the Archbishop of Rouen: *The Letters and Poems of Fulbert of Chartres*, ed. and trans. by Behrends, no. 126.

⁸¹ Douglas, *William the Conqueror*, p. 32. It is also possible that there was some unease between the two men following the death of Richard III (5 or 6 August 1027), and posterity certainly wasted little time in accusing Robert of fratricide: William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum Anglorum*, ed. by Mynors, Thomson, and Winterbottom, I, 308.

⁸² Douglas, 'The Earliest Norman Counts', p. 132; Douglas, *William the Conqueror*, p. 33.

The rest of Robert I's reign passed for the Archbishop without similar confrontation,⁸³ and following his return from France, Robert quickly established a position of prominence within the court of his nephew similar to that which he had enjoyed in those of his father and his brother. The physical state of Rouen Cathedral may also have benefited from this improvement in ducal-archiepiscopal relations, as it is possible that a new phase of construction at the site was directly linked to the reconstitution of the cathedral's temporal possessions.⁸⁴

Robert, however, did not always act at this time to the benefit of the ducal capital. Perhaps aware that he was nearing the end of his life, the Archbishop began to prepare his children's inheritance, which he often augmented with possessions alienated from the cathedral and neighbouring abbeys. He gave the cathedral land of Martin-Église, for example, to his son Richard shortly after issuing the charters of restitution with Robert I,⁸⁵ while he would eventually do the same for the domain of Douvrend,⁸⁶ which was not restored to the cathedral until the time of Archbishop Geoffrey Brito (1111–28).⁸⁷ He also gave this same son the land of Trait, which he usurped from the abbey of Jumièges,⁸⁸ and the church of Gravigny, which he took from the monastery of La Trinité-du-Mont de Rouen.⁸⁹ It is also possible Robert alienated the cathedral land of Normanville to Humphrey of Vieilles, patriarch of the great Beaumont family.⁹⁰ But if institutions of Rouen had been impoverished by

⁸³ Indeed, having resolved his own problems with the Duke, the Archbishop adopted the role of peacemaker, brokering an agreement between the dukes of Normandy and Brittany at Mont-Saint-Michel in the early 1030s: *The Gesta Normannorum ducum*, ed. and trans. by van Houts, II, 78.

⁸⁴ Le Maho, 'Les Fouilles de la cathédrale de Rouen', p. 37, n. 79.

⁸⁵ *Regesta regum Anglo-Normannorum*, ed. by Bates, no. 230. For discussion of the date, see Violette, 'L'Église métropolitaine de Rouen', I, 20–22.

⁸⁶ *Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie*, ed. by Fauroux, no. 10. This usurpation probably occurred shortly before the Archbishop's death: Bauduin, *La Première Normandie*, p. 345, n. 124.

⁸⁷ Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, G 939; Rouen, BM, MS Y 44 Omont 1193, fol. 47^v.

⁸⁸ *Les Annales de l'abbaye Saint-Pierre de Jumièges*, ed. by Laporte, p. 84. Trait, Seine-Maritime, canton Duclair.

⁸⁹ *Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie*, ed. by Fauroux, no. 201. Gravigny, Eure, canton Évreux-nord.

⁹⁰ Bauduin, *La Première Normandie*, p. 330. Normanville, Eure, canton Évreux-nord.

these actions, those elsewhere in the duchy had been considerably improved. The alienations made in favour of his son Richard, for example, became part of the domain of the counts of Évreux, helping to increase the wealth of this *comté*, which in turn helped further stabilize the duchy's south-eastern frontier.⁹¹ Similarly, the alienation of Normanville may have been linked to a policy by which an allied lineage was implanted in the Évrecin to help consolidate the Norman presence there.⁹²

Robert's long archiepiscopate finally came to an end on 16 March 1037.⁹³ The minority of William the Conqueror, which had been occasioned by the death of his father on pilgrimage to Jerusalem, a journey the Archbishop himself helped prepare,⁹⁴ had allowed Robert to rise to a position of unrivalled power and influence within the duchy.⁹⁵ But in spite of all that he contributed to the life of the Norman realm, and to that of its principal city, it seems that Robert did not choose Rouen as his final resting place. Convention states instead that he was interred in the abbey of Saint-Père de Chartres,⁹⁶ a most appropriate place given that he had been an active patron of the house,⁹⁷ and that it was also the final resting place of his close friend and colleague Fulbert, Bishop of Chartres.⁹⁸ But arguments critical of this tradition, which seems to be an invention of the seventeenth century, have been voiced since the end of the nineteenth,⁹⁹ while modern scholars have long noted how a thirteenth-century

⁹¹ Bauduin, *La Première Normandie*, pp. 340–49.

⁹² Bauduin, *La Première Normandie*, p. 330.

⁹³ The day and month are given by the obituaries of Jumièges and Mont-Saint-Michel: 'Ex obituario Gemmeticensi', p. 418; 'Notae monasterii Montis Sancti Michaelis', p. 577. For discussion, see Douglas, *William the Conqueror*, p. 39, n. 4. The year is given by various Norman annals: *Les Annales de l'abbaye Saint-Pierre de Jumièges*, ed. by Laporte, p. 54; 'Annales Uticensis', ed. by Le Prévost, p. 156; 'Annalis historia brevis sive Chronica monasterii S. Stephani Cadomensis', ed. by Giles, p. 165; Den Haag, KB, MS 128 E 14, fol. 9^o.

⁹⁴ *The Gesta Normannorum ducum*, ed. and trans. by van Houts, II, 80.

⁹⁵ De Boüard, *Guillaume le Conquérant*, pp. 103–04; Douglas, *William the Conqueror*, p. 34.

⁹⁶ *Gallia Christiana in provincias ecclesiasticas distributa*, XI, col. 28; Bouquet, 'Építaphe d'un archevêque de Rouen'; Le Maho, 'Les Fouilles de la cathédrale de Rouen', p. 39.

⁹⁷ See below, no. 2 in the appendix.

⁹⁸ Fulbert's tomb, which is no longer visible, was probably near the principal entrance to the choir of the present church: Lecocq, 'Dissertation historique et archéologique sur la question', esp. pp. 321–56.

⁹⁹ Merlet, 'Le Tombeau attribué à Robert de Normandie'.

tomb, traditionally identified as that of the Archbishop,¹⁰⁰ looks more like that of an abbot.¹⁰¹ It seems, in fact, that a twelfth-century cartulary reference to a tomb in the abbey of 'a certain Robert, son of count Richard',¹⁰² which was once interpreted as an allusion to the tomb of the Archbishop of Rouen, actually relates to the burial of Robert Danus,¹⁰³ a brother of Robert who died as a young child.¹⁰⁴

It does seem, however, that Robert was buried outside the Norman capital, since there is no known tradition within the Rouen community for a burial within the city (or anywhere else).¹⁰⁵ The true location must, for the moment, remain unknown, but even if we can be fairly confident that Robert was not buried at Saint-Père de Chartres, it is important to note that its monks were

¹⁰⁰ Only a drawing of this tomb survives: Oxford, Bodl. Lib., MS Gough drawings-Gaignières, vol. 9, fol. 48^r.

¹⁰¹ Sauerländer, 'Zu einem unbekannten Fragment im Museum in Chartres', p. 302.

¹⁰² 'quidam Rodberti filii comitis Richardi': *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Père de Chartres*, ed. by Guérard, I, 121.

¹⁰³ 'Roberto cognomine Dano, qui defunctus sepultus est apud sanctum Petrum Carnoti': 'Translatio secunda corporis beati Audoeni', p. 824. He is remembered in the abbey's necrology: *Obituaires de la province de Sens*, ed. by Molinier and Longnon, p. 193.

¹⁰⁴ The point is essentially made by René Merlet, but his arguments are confused. Recognizing that the evidence for the Archbishop's burial in the abbey seemed to rest on a misinterpretation of the reference in the cartulary, he noted that a Robert, son of a Count Richard, was remembered in the necrology of Saint-Père and argued that this was the individual to whose tomb the author of the cartulary was referring. The individual in the necrology is, of course, Robert Danus, son of Richard I, but Merlet identified him as an unknown son of Richard II. The source of his confusion was a funerary plaque which was discovered in the abbey of Fécamp on 7 October 1710. This recalled the burial of another Robert, also identified as a young boy and also identified as a son of a Count Richard, which Merlet, unaware of the reference in the *translatio* of St Ouen to the burial of Robert Danus in Saint-Père (see previous note), believed was related to this son of Richard I: Merlet, 'Le Tombeau attribué à Robert de Normandie', p. 348, n. 2. To which Norman duke the Robert mentioned on the Fécamp plaque relates is unclear, but Richard I is known to have had five sons with his wife Gunnor, one whose identity is unknown. It is possible, therefore, that Richard I had three sons with Gunnor named Robert, two of whom died in childhood and who were buried in the abbeys of Fécamp and Saint-Père.

¹⁰⁵ The cathedral community did not even promote the idea that he was buried at Saint-Père, this tradition being entirely *chartrain* in origin. The true location seems to have been forgotten at Rouen by at least 1070, for a *gesta episcoporum*, which was written at the cathedral around this date, records the location of the tombs of all but two of the eleventh-century archbishops, one of whom is Robert: Allen, 'The *Acta archiepiscoporum Rotomagensium*: Study and Edition', pp. 38–41.

prepared, intentionally or not, to distort their own history in order to associate their house with the Archbishop of Rouen. It is unfortunate, however, that Robert should not have wanted to lend the authority of his memory to the city he had governed for almost half a century. But in choosing not to be buried in Rouen Cathedral, which would not be completed until 1063,¹⁰⁶ he followed an example set by the vast majority of his predecessors.¹⁰⁷ His contributions were enough, moreover, to ensure his reputation survived in the post-reform world, and although certain twelfth-century chroniclers still spoke of him critically,¹⁰⁸ Robert was certainly more than the prelate whom Jean-François Lemarignier dismissed as having little to be said in his favour.¹⁰⁹ He was an educated man, an apparent patron of the arts, a lover of literature, a possible promoter of monastic reforming ideals, and even an architect and designer far ahead of his contemporaries. His simultaneous position as metropolitan and count gave him a unique position to influence the destiny of the Norman capital, and it was an opportunity he never seems to have squandered. Robert's full importance could, of course, never be fully memorialized without a tomb around which such festivities could revolve, a fact emphasized by his absence from the obituary of Rouen Cathedral.¹¹⁰ But the spiritual and physical infrastructure that he left in place, many traces of which can still be seen today, is perhaps greater testament to the significance of his archiepiscopate than any sepulchral monument.

¹⁰⁶ Allen, 'The *Acta archiepiscoporum Rotomagensium*: Study and Edition', p. 40.

¹⁰⁷ It is only with the internment of Archbishop Maurilius (1055–67) that we can note with certainty the establishment of a tradition for burying former archbishops in the basilica itself. For details of the location of various other archbishops of Rouen, see Violette, 'L'Église métropolitaine de Rouen', I, 90–95.

¹⁰⁸ Orderic Vitalis complained Robert was a man who 'did not deny himself the delights of the flesh as a bishop should': Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History*, ed. and trans. by Chibnall, III, 84.

¹⁰⁹ Lemarignier, *Étude sur les privilèges d'exemption*, pp. 32–33.

¹¹⁰ 'E Rotomagensis ecclesiae necrologio', p. 361.

APPENDIX

The acta of Robert, Archbishop of Rouen

I have defined Robert's *acta*, for the purposes of this appendix, in a broad sense. Four charters and one document which was not issued by Robert himself, but which was most likely drawn up under his guidance, are still extant. Two of the charters were issued in conjunction with Duke Robert I, and have consequently been subject to critical editions elsewhere.¹ The remaining documents have never been edited to similar standards. The editorial method followed here is that of the *English Episcopal Acta* series,² with the exception that references are given to post-medieval transcripts. Variants of these transcripts are, however, not noted, unless their presumed exemplar appears to be no longer extant. In these cases only significant variant readings are recorded. A catalogue entry for a manuscript destroyed on 26 May 1944 seems to refer to two lost charters of the Archbishop, one of which was perhaps another copy of the Chartres text below, and the other a charter issued in favour of the abbey of Évron.³

¹ *Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie*, ed. by Fauroux, nos 66, 67.

² *English Episcopal Acta*, I, ed. by Smith, pp. lxi–lxiv.

³ The manuscript in question is Chartres, BM, MS 23. The catalogue entry for fols 5–8 begins, 'Chartes diverses pour l'abbaye de Saint-Père, parmi lesquelles nous signalerons deux privilèges de l'archevêque de Rouen, Robert, pour l'abbaye et pour Evron': Omont, *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, p. 10.

1. Robert, Archbishop of Rouen, gives to the abbey of Saint-Wandrille the tithe of the part that he receives for large fish caught on the banks of Saint-Marcouf;⁴ a hospes at [Saint-Martin-de]-Varreville,⁵ and the tithe of the sheep and pigs fed in this same place. [c. 989 × 1037]

B = Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, 16 H 14, fol. 325^v. Fourteenth-century cartulary.

C = BnF, MS lat. 17132, fol. 33^{r-v}. Fifteenth-century cartulary copy from a lost *vidimus* of Philip V, dated November 1319.

D = Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, 16 H 20, pp. 2088–89. Seventeenth-century cartulary.

E = BnF, Coll. Baluze, vol. 58, fol. 99^r. Seventeenth-century abbreviated copy by André Duchesne.

F = BnF, MS nouv. acq. lat. 1246, fol. 223^r. Eighteenth-century copy (from E).

G = BnF, MS nouv. acq. fr. 21816, fol. 149^r. Nineteenth-century abbreviated copy by Léopold Delisle (from B).

Ptd. Lot, *Études critiques sur l'abbaye de Saint-Wandrille*, no. 18 (from BC).

Note. Ferdinand Lot dated this act to the last two years of the Archbishop's reign because he felt this charter was related to another issued by William the Conqueror.⁶ His reasoning does not stand up to closer inspection, and since the act contains no other chronological reference point, it can only be broadly dated by the reign of Archbishop Robert.

⁴ Saint-Marcouf, Manche, canton Montebourg.

⁵ Saint-Martin de Varreville, Manche, canton Sainte-Mère-Église.

⁶ *Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie*, ed. by Fauroux, no. 128.

B

Omnibus hec^(a) lecturis presentibus et futuris Rob(er)tus Rothomagensium^(b) Dei nutu presul salutis ac pacis incrementum. Cum constet omnia Deum condidisse, nulli dubium preter^(c) cetera hominem quoque creasse, qui cum ex duobus constet, secundum unum immortalis^(d) est. Id vero anima est, que quanto pretiosior sit corpore liquet, cum corpus absque ea pene nichil extet. Quod vero melius est: pluris pendendum est, pauca^(e) igitur debentur corpori,^(f) plura vero anime salutis. Sed^(g) hic versa vice mos increvit^(h) ut pauca aut nulla, cui multa ac⁽ⁱ⁾ potius cuncta debentur, cui vero minima vel queque^(j) extrema debentur, plura et sepius omnia dependantur. Inde est quod ego Rob(er)tus Rothomagensium,^(k) divinitate propitia, archipresul, cum presentium pluribus affluam,^(l) pauca^(m) ob anime mee,⁽ⁿ⁾ pio^(o) Ihesu qui centuplicata rependere suevit superque^(p) usuram perhempnis^(q) vite de meis dono: potius vero de suis sibi reddo, pauperibus suis enim,^(r) id est fratribus Fontinelle cenobii quod sacratum habetur in honore beati Petri et omnium apostolorum almique patris Wand(regisili)^(s) simulque omnium sanctorum largior decimam partis que me contingit ex crasso pisse^(t) qui capitur^(u) in omni preripio Sancti Marculli et unum hospitem in Werethvilla,^(v) decimam quorum^(w) ovium^(x) mearum sed et^(y) porcorum in eadem villa alitorum.^(z)

a. hoc *D*.

b. Rothomag' *C*.

c. propter *D*.

d. mortalis *C*.

e. pauci *D*.

f. torperi (*sic*) *D*.

g. Set *C*.

h. merent (*sic*) *C*.

i. aut *D*.

j. quecumque *C*; queque queque (*sic*) *D*.

k. Rotho(ma)g' Rob(er)tus *C*.

l. affluam *D*.

m. pauci *D*.

n. salutem *add. C*.

o. *superscript above an erasure in B*.

p. supra quam *D*.

q. perhennis *C*; perhemnis *D*.

r. enim suis *C*.

s. Wa(n)dreg(isili) *C*; Wandregisilli *D*.

t. pisce *C*.

u. accipitur *C*.

v. Warethivilla *C*.

w. decimamque *C*; quoque *D*.

x. omnium *D*.

y. etiam *D*.

z. -i- *superscript in a later hand B*.

2. Robert, Archbishop of Rouen, with the consent of his suffragans, frees the church of Fontenay-[Saint-Père] and the priory of Juziers,⁷ which belong to the abbey of Saint-Père de Chartres, from the interference of bishops and archdeacons. [c. 1025 × c. 1026]

B = Chartres, BM, MS 1060 (H.1.49), fol. 76^r. Early twelfth-century cartulary (*Cartulaire d'Aganon*), destroyed 26 May 1944.⁸

C = Chartres, BM, MS 1061 (H.1.50), unknown folio. A second twelfth-century copy of the *Cartulaire d'Aganon*, destroyed 26 May 1944, of which two fragments containing the text of Robert's charter survive: cotes provisoires t. 1, frag. 15B and t. 2, frag. 7A.

D = Chartres, Arch. dép., Eure-et-Loir, H 507. Fourteenth-century *vidimus* by the *official de Chartres*, dated 27 September 1371 (from either B or C).

E = BnF, MS fr. 24133, p. 217. Seventeenth-century copy by Guillaume Laisné (no source given).

F = BnF, MS lat. 10048, fol. 160^r. Seventeenth-century copy by Arthur Du Monstier ('extat in Tabulario Aganonis S. Petri Carnotensis').

G = BnF, MS lat. 5417, p. 397. Seventeenth-century abbreviated copy (from B).

H = BnF, MS lat. 17044, p. 1. Seventeenth-century abbreviated copy by Gaignières (from B).

I = BnF, MS lat. 12779, fol. 189^{r-v}. Seventeenth-century copy (from B)

J = Chartres, BM, MS 1136, vol. 1, fol. 85^{r-v} (formerly pp. 157–58). Eighteenth-century copy (from B).

K = BnF, Coll. du Vexin, vol. 8, pp. 71–72. Eighteenth-century copy by Levrier ('Du chartrier de St Père en Vallée').

L = BnF, Coll. du Vexin, vol. 11, fol. 116^{r-v}. Eighteenth-century copy by Levrier (apparently from J).

⁷ Fontenay-Saint-Père and Juziers, Yvelines, canton Limay.

⁸ Like MS C, fragments of this manuscript survived the fire of 1944, although it seems that none contain the text of the Archbishop's act. The fragments have been restored and photographed as part of the project 'Chartres, restitution d'un fonds de manuscrits médiévaux', which is being organized at the Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes (IRHT) by Dominique Poirel, to whom I am extremely grateful for providing me with images of MS C. The photographs of the fragments of MSS B and C have since been made available via the Bibliothèque virtuelle des manuscrits médiévaux (BVMM; <<http://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr>>). The folio number for MS B is known from an eighteenth-century inventory: Chartres, Arch. dép., Eure-et-Loir, H 3, p. 2.

M = BnF, Coll. du. Vexin, vol. 20, fol. 23^v. Eighteenth-century copy by Levrier (from B).

N = BnF, Coll. Moreau, vol. 20, fols 30^r–31^r. Eighteenth-century abbreviated copy (from F).

Ptd. Gallia Christiana in provincias ecclesiasticas distributa, VIII, instrumenta, cols 297–98; *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Père de Chartres*, ed. by Guérard, I, no. IV, pp. 115–16 (from BC); *Patrologia Latina*, ed. by Migne, CLV, cols 268–69 (from Guérard).

Note. Although large fragments of **C** have survived, much of the text is still difficult to read due to a darkening of the parchment and a bleeding of the ink. The edition below is therefore based on **D**, although the variants of **C** are noted whenever possible. Levrier claimed that the second of his three transcriptions (**L**) was taken from 'Recueil de l'abbaye, p. 581', which seems to be a garbled reference to **J** in which the page numbers have been inverted. Certain features of **E** suggest it was copied from an original charter, or at least from a faithful copy of such a document. The text with which this transcription opens can be found in a slightly different version in the *Cartulaire d'Aganon*, which in Benjamin Guérard's edition appears after Robert's act.⁹ The surviving fragments of **C** confirm this was the case. Manuscript **E** also places the witnesses in two columns (seventeen names on the left, and thirteen on the right), and all but the last four attestations are preceded by a cross, while all the names are in the genitive case. The document from which **E** was made is perhaps the charter catalogued by Henri Omont, which is discussed above. Unfortunately, neither an unknown original charter, nor manuscripts **BC**, nor manuscript **D** are listed in the inventory of charters for the priory of Juziers,¹⁰ although **D** is recorded in an eighteenth-century inventory,¹¹ as is the cartulary copy **B**.¹² Levrier proposed that the three witnesses following the bishops (William, Richard, and Ralph) are the Archbishop's sons, which is not impossible.¹³ The act is dated by the election of Radbod, Bishop of Sées, and the end of the episcopate of Maugis, Bishop of Avranches.

⁹ *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Père de Chartres*, ed. by Guérard, I, no. v, pp. 116–17.

¹⁰ Chartres, Arch. dép., Eure-et-Loir, H 7, fols 139^r–254^r.

¹¹ Chartres, Arch. dép., Eure-et-Loir, H 1, fol. 333^v.

¹² Chartres, Arch. dép., Eure-et-Loir, H 3, p. 2.

¹³ BnF, Coll. du. Vexin, vol. 11, fol. 116^v.

D

Deo et domino nostro Ihesu^(a) Christo presidente. Decernimus, ego Rodbertus,^(b) gratia Dei Rothomagi^(c) archipresul, et coepiscopi nostri Herbertus Lisive civitatis, Rodbertus^(d) Constantie, Radbodus^(e) Saxie, Hugo civitatis Ebroice, decernimus, inquam, atque^(f) sancimus,^(g) ut ecclesia de Fontinido,^(h) pro amore et honore sancti Petri, apostolorum principis et magistri nostri, ab hac die imperpetuum⁽ⁱ⁾ ab omni sit inquietudine tam episcopi quam archidiaconi remota, eodem modo quo et Gesiaci^(j) cella Sancti Petri Carnoten(sis) cenobii, cui illa ecclesia est subiecta, ab omni, inquam, respectu et inquietudine permaneat segura, tribus hiis solummodo exceptis, videlicet ipsius ecclesie reconciliatione, olei^(k) et sacri crismatis^(l) perceptione, et penitentium reconciliatione.^(m) Que omnia, sicut opus fuerit, ab episcopo cuius est diocesis postulentur, et ab eodem gratis et absque ulla⁽ⁿ⁾ premii postulatione vel, datione, propter^(o) honorem sancti Petri, conferantur, ut et nos et successores nostros ab omni iugo peccati dignetur absolvere supradicti magistri nostri potestas et misericordia. Et ut hec notitia inconcussa permaneat,^(p) manibus nostris eam roborauimus, signo^(q) quoque et nominibus corroborauius, et Guascelino archidiacono, cui sub me propius intererat, consignandam et confirmandam et aliis clericis et laicis nostris^(r) proposuimus. Si quis vero antichristus hoc pietatis opus, quod in Dei nomine cudimus, attaminare temptaverit, ex ore veri Christi et nostrorum omnium, quos vocare dignatus est Christianos suos, anathematis gladio iuguletur. Hanc autem^(s) sugillationem^(t) vel, ut ita dicam,^(u) sigillationem singuli^(v)

a. Iesu *E*.

b. *E* has Rotbertus *throughout*

c. Rothomagensium *E*.

d. Rotbertus *C*.

e. Rabodus *C*; Ratbodus *E*.

f. adque *C*.

g. sancimus *E*.

h. Fonteneto *E*.

i. innperpetuum (*sic*) *C*.

j. Gesiacensis *E*.

k. *om. E*.

l. crismatis sacri *E*.

m. consolatione *E*.

n. ullius *E*.

o. Deum et *add. E*.

p. permaneat inconcussa *E*.

q. signis *E*.

r. nostrae *E*.

s. *om. E*.

t. suggillationem *E*.

u. ultimam *add. E*.

v. singulis *E*.

singulorum nominibus coepiscoporum subscribi decernimus.^(w) Rodbertus^(x) archipresul, qui hoc opus pietatis incepit et perfecit. Rodbertus^(y) Constantie, Rodbertus Lisive, Radbodus^(z) Saxie, Hugo Ebroas, Maingisus Abrincaru(m), Vuillelmus, Richardus, Rodulphus,^(aa) Hugo, Vuascelinus archidiaconus, Heinricus abbas Sancti Audoeni, Balduinus archidiaconus, Heinricus presbiter et decanus, Rodulphus capellanus, Herluinus levita et canonicus, Corbucio, Vuillelmus, Paschasius^(bb) capellanus, Rodulphus de Sancto Sancsone, Atto levita et capellanus, Odo prepositus, Odo levita et capellanus, Osmundus Tudeborti, Rogerius filius Hunfridi, Lescelinus, Guimundus parvus, Rogerius filius Odonis prepositi de Noiomo, Albertus hostiarius, Rodulphus filius Osberti.

w. *the witness list in E, which is in two columns, is as follows:*

+ S. Rotberti archipresulis, qui hoc opus pietatis incepit et perfecit. + S. Rotberti episcopi Constantiae. + S. Herberti episcopi Lisivae. + S. Ratbodi episcopi Saxiae. + S. Hugonis episcopi Ebroas. + S. Maingisi Apringarum. + S. Guillelmi. + S. Richardi. + S. Rodulfi. + S. Hugonis. + S. Guascelini archidiaconi. + S. Heinrici abbas S(ancti) Audoeni. + S. Balduini archidiaconi. + S. Heinrici presbiteri et canonici S(anctae) Mariae. + S. Herluini levitae et canonici. + S. Pascharii capellani. + S. Attoniae levitae et capellani. [*Second column*] + S. Odonis levitae et capellani. + S. Rotgerii filii Hufredi. + S. Rogerii filii Odonis praepositi de Noiomo. + S. Alberti ostiarii. + S. Radulfi capellani. + S. Corbutionis. + S. Guillelmi. + S. Rodulfi de S(ancto) Sancsone. + S. Odonis praepositi. S. Osmundi Tudeborti. S. Lescelini. S. Guimundi parvi. S. Rodulfi filii Osberi

x. Rotbertus C.

y. Rotbertus C.

z. Rabbodus *originally written* C.

aa. C has Rodulfus *throughout*

bb. Pascharius C.

3. Robert, Archbishop of Rouen, displays the whole body of St Romanus, which was found in a reliquary belonging to the cathedral.

26 May 1036

B = Rouen, Arch. dép. de la Seine-Maritime, G 3666. Eighteenth-century *procès-verbal*, which is dated 28 April 1777 (from originals now lost).

Ptd. de Beaurepaire, 'Notice sur les anciens reliquaires de la cathédrale de Rouen', p. 54 (from B).

Note. The details of this *translatio* are preserved in a five-page eighteenth-century *procès-verbal*, which is an inspection of three charters found in the chasse of St Romanus in Rouen. The text edited here is the first of these three, the other two dating from 24 August 1124 and 17 June 1179.¹⁴ It is an important witness to the growth of the beginnings of the cult of St Romanus at the cathedral, which was nurtured in other ways by Archbishop Robert, while the appearance of Herluin the treasurer precedes the next mention of this office by some fifty years.

B

Anno ab incarnatione Domini M.xxx.vi indictione iv. Rodberti praesulis tempore, vii kal(endas) Iunii, vigilia dominicae Ascensionis sollicitè quaesitum et in hac ipsa urna vere totum est corpus gloriosi praesulis sanctissimi Romani inventum, teste Gradulfo Fontinellae abbate cum quatuor monachis, praesente domino Hugone archidiacono et Herluino thesaurario cum aliis nonnullis canonicis et laicis testibus idoneis, hicque iterum reconditum devotioni futurorum.

¹⁴ For a critical edition of the first of these, see Spear, 'The Double Display of Saint Romanus of Rouen', p. 131.

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