

THE NORMANS IN CANTERBURY

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THE NORMANS IN CANTERBURY

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The title above summons up a vision of a vast range of subjects: the monastic discipline of Lanfranc, the theology of St. Anselm, the activities of Bishop Odo; the flowering of English Romanesque architecture; the Canterbury school of illumination and calligraphy; the development of a greater borough under the invaders, to name but some. The modest scope of a lecture, and the limitations of the speaker must confine discussion to a few points from the great number available.

Canterbury was the first inland borough entered by William. The Duke moved from the battlefield of Hastings eastwards from Sussex into Kent, his flank on the right well-protected by alternate series of cliffs and marshes, such as the salt swamps around Romney or the heights between Folkestone and Dover. Having taken the last-mentioned place, together with its stronghold, William turned away from the sea up the Roman road towards Canterbury. Very soon he was encountered by a deputation from the city offering submission. The deputation met William not far from Dover, swore faith to him and gave hostages. The city, says the chronicler, was full of fear, and rather than suffer destruction through resisting, hastened to maintain its condition by obedience.

Occurrunt ultro Cantuarii [says William Poitiers] haud procul a Dovera, jurant fidelitatem, dant obsides. Contremuit etiam potens metropolis metu, et, ne funditus caderet ullatenus resistendo, maturavit impetrare statum obediendo (1).

William of Poitiers goes on to say that the following day the Conqueror arrived *ad Fractam Turrim*. This has long been a puzzle, and is as yet unsolved. The "Broken Tower" can hardly be far from Canterbury, but no trace of such a name can be found in the not-unplentiful local records. Perhaps there was in 1066 some ruinous Roman building to which the term might apply. The complete disappearance of a structure of the kind is understandable in the neighbourhood of Canterbury where an immense amount of building in the Norman period and indeed all through

(1) *Histoire de Guillaume le Conquérant*. Editée et traduite par Raymonde Foreville, p. 212. The "metropolis" is Canterbury, the ecclesiastical metropolis of England.

the middle ages meant that there was a constant demand for rubble, resulting in the destruction of existing buildings and re-use of their materials.

The evidence of Domesday Book betrays events in Canterbury and Kent on the morrow of the Conquest. We can well imagine a joyous invasion of the county by Odo and his men, who between them succeeded in getting control of more than 200 manors and other properties, not merely those of dead or exiled English lords, but moreover those of the great churches such as Rochester and Canterbury Cathedrals, or St. Augustine's Abbey, and of secular institutions like gilds (2). The native lords *tempore regis Edwardi* were either dead in the recent bloody battles, or had fled overseas. The Bayeux Tapestry shows how Earl Leofwine fell, leaving his Kentish estates to be plundered by Odo and his satellites, while the Bishop himself got possession of his shire of Kent. The slaughter of the men of Kent at the Battle of Hastings must have been enormous. Wace says that they claimed their traditional right to be the first to strike a blow.

*Kar ço dient ke cil de Kent
Deivent férir primierement;
U ke li Reis auge en estor,
Li primier colp deit estre lor* (3).

They were therefore in the struggle from the start and later on in the day we hear of them in company with the men of Essex, their close neighbours from across the River Thames, right in the thick of it.

*Là ù la presse ert plus espesse;
Là cil de Kente è cil d'Esseste
A merveille se cumbateient* (4).

There can hardly have been many of the Kentish contingent alive at the end of the day. We know, however, the story of one refugee with Kentish and Canterbury connections. Unfortunately the chronicler does not give us his name, otherwise it might have been possible to find him among former landholders in Domesday Book.

There was, says the monk Goscelin in his *Miracles of St. Augustine of Canterbury*, a certain *vir honorificus* described as *de curia et nutritura B. Augustini*, from which we may assume that he had been brought up in the abbey of St. Augustine, Canterbury, though it is evident that he was not a clerk but a layman. Goscelin says that he fled when William took the kingdom, and in company

(2) It is difficult to arrive at an exact figure for Odo's holdings and those of his men, since the holdings are of such a miscellaneous character (manors, acres, fields, ploughs, burgesses, mills, etc.). The total in all categories in Kent alone must be far above 200. To these must be added Odo's possessions in other English shires. (See *Victoria County History, Kent*, III, p. 188).

(3) *Roman de Rou*, éd. Pluquet 1, 12957.

(4) *Ibid.*, I, 13874 ff.

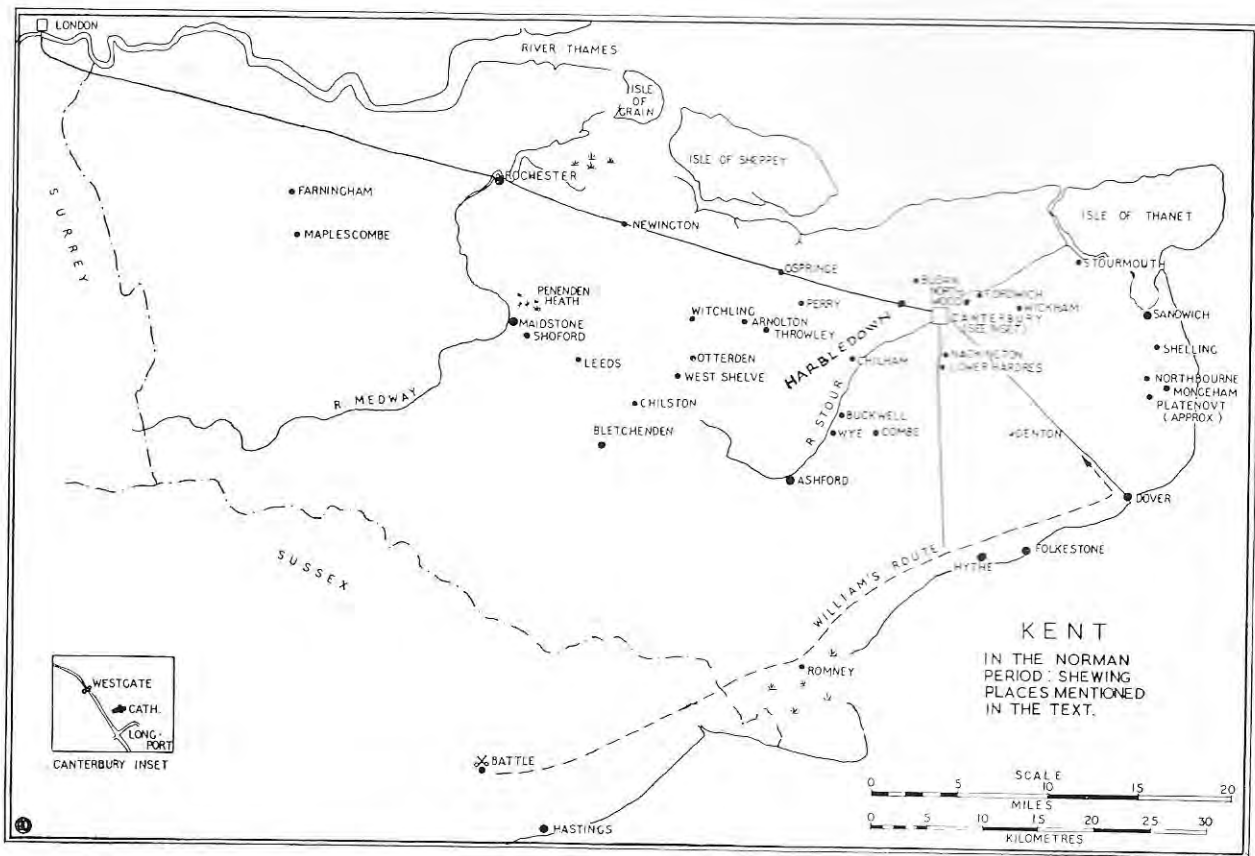
In civitate Cantuariensi habuit rex solida
 L. 71. burgenses redditores gabli. / alios. cc. 7 200.
 super quos habebat saca. 7 soca. 7 iii. molend. de xl. sol.
 Modo burgenses gabli redditores sunt. 200. De 2000.
 alii qui fuerant. sunt iusticiarii. xi. in fossato civitatis.
 7 archiepiscopus hunc exequi. vii. 7 abbas Augustini alios. xiiii.
 p. excubio castelli. / adhuc sunt. cc. 7 xii. burgenses. super
 quos hunc rex saca. 7 soca. / molend. reddit. c. 7 viii. sol.
 7 thelonei reddit. lxviii. sol. / ibi. viii. acres pre que
 solebant. ex. legatarii. regis. in reddit. de censu. xvi. sol.
 7 mille acres silue infructuosas de qua exant. xxiiii.
 solidi. inter regem. 7 hunc. ualuit. l. i. lib. / tenet qdo vice
 recepit. 7 in. l. lib. apparet. Tamen qui tenet ne reddit. xxx.
 lib. arsal. 7 pensat. 7 xxviii. lib. ad numquam. Super homina
 hunc vicecom. c. x. sol.
 Duas domos duorum burgensium. una foris alia inter civitatem. qda
 monachus ecclesie cantuariensis abstulit. hec quatuor posuit in calle ^{regis.}
 Burgenses habuerunt. xl. mansuras vice civitatis. de quibus
 ipsi habebant gabli. / quatuor. rex autem habebat saca. 7 soca.
 ipsi quoque burgenses habebant de rege. xxx. iii. denarios
 in quibusdam suis. has domos hanc quatuor tenet annuus de colu
 belis. 19 abet etiam quatuor. denarios super hec. quas tenebant
 burgenses in alodia de rege. Tenet quoque. v. denarios
 que iuste pertinent uni ecclesie de his omnibus. revocat
 idem Rannulfus ad preceptorem quoniam Baucensem.
 Rannulfus de Carbespigne hunc. iii. mansuras in civitate.
 quas tenent quidam cubina heraldi. de quibus est saca
 7 soca regis. sed usque nunc non habuit.
 Idem Rannulfus tenet alias. xi. mansuras de ipso in ipsa civitate.
 que fuerunt Sbern biga. reddit. xi. solidi 7 ii. denarii. 7 oboli

Per totam civitatem cantuariensem hunc rex saca. 7 soca. excepta
 una ecclesia. 7 xiiii. 7 Augustini. 7 Eddene regine. / Alios

Item
 De com
 uni sol
 In hac qda
 .xxii. solidi
 burgensium
 .viii. denarii
 ibi. vii. nulli
 .xvi. sol 7
 7 rannulfus
 7 reddit. x
 .v. denarii. 7
 .iiii. hunc
 sunt. ii. ubi
 illa. iii. sol
 interat inter
 Terra Norw
 .vii. denarii ad
 In miland s
 .lx. solidi ad
 Thelonei de
 Tres ecclesie a
 De pastura
 7 iii. denarii
 Ses oragru
 rannulfus reddit
 canonicorum
 Corabryce u
 De hac co
 ibi sunt v
 In comunit
 sunt. ii. sol
 rannulfus ad
 .lx. solidi
 ad quatuor
 que ad dec
 7 .xx. denarii
 burgensium
 modo nunc

THE BEGINNING OF THE CANTERBURY ENTRY IN
DOMESDAY BOOK.

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with many other *optimates* of the realm found his way to Constantinople, where he attained such favour with the Emperor and Empress that he was preferred to the rank of 'duke' (*ducatum acciperet*), an honour not achieved by any foreigner for long past. The English refugees provided a substantial reinforcement for the Varangian Guard, and though this is nowhere stated, it may fairly be assumed that the hero of this anecdote became a member of that body. He married a wealthy and noble wife named Eudoxia, and, mindful of the great benefits that he had received, built a basilica beside his house, dedicated in honour of St. Nicholas and of his own patron St. Augustine of Canterbury—*Agios Augustinus, apostolus anglorum*. The English exiles at Constantinople used to come together at the basilica, and in performing their devotions to St. Augustine, solaced in some measure their bitter homesickness and sorrowful exile (5).

The coming of the Normans can be read in the entries for Canterbury in Domesday Book. The city is happy in the possession of no less than three versions of the great Survey. It enjoys a description in the principal, Exchequer version, in the Public Record Office, London (6). The monks of Canterbury Cathedral produced a version covering their own estates, those of the Archbishop, and of the Bishop of Rochester. This is the Domesday Monachorum, which has been edited by Professor Douglas (7). The monks of St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, produced yet another version, dealing with the properties of that abbey (8). All three versions have been used in the notes below.

It is clear from Domesday Book that what had happened out in the county of Kent had happened in Canterbury. Bishop Odo and his men had seized the holdings of native institutions (lay and religious) and of native landowners. By 1087, there had been systematic destruction of housing. Canterbury by its prudent submission escaped the ravaging which can be detected in the Domesday entries for other boroughs, but William, in order to build his castle, had laid waste a considerable amount of housing in the southern quadrant of the city walls (9), while Archbishop Lanfranc for the purpose of constructing his palace had destroyed 27

(5) *Acta Sanctorum*, May, IV (1688), p. 410. Further details are provided by Goscelin on the career of the exile. Perhaps his *ducatus* was in the Guard.

(6) The principal entry for Canterbury in Domesday Book is to be found on fol. 2 r.

(7) There is not a principal entry for Canterbury in Domesday Monachorum, though manors owning dependent burgages in Canterbury are mentioned.

(8) Public Record Office, Misc. Book of Exchequer, E 164/27 (the White Book of St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury). The most important passage is headed *Excepta de compoto solingorum* (ff. 20 r. ff.). There are other texts in the volume of great importance for the study of Domesday Book. A sound edition of the texts is badly needed. Ballard's text of the *Excepta* is published in *British Academy Records of the Social and Economic History of England and Wales*, IV, 1920, part ii: *An Eleventh Century Inquisition of St. Augustine's, Canterbury*. The text, published posthumously, is unrevised and is hopelessly inaccurate.

(9) Domesday Book, I, fol. 2 r.—White Book, fol. 22 r.—Ed. Ballard, p. 9.

houses pertaining to the manor of Westgate (10) with (unquestionably) other housing of which the destruction is unrecorded. This housing can be sited north-west of the Cathedral centering round the present archiepiscopal palace and the great hall of the King's School.

Domesday Book affirms that the burgesses of Canterbury had 45 *mansuræ* outside the city, for which they themselves received *gablum* and *consueludines* while the king had sake and soke (11). The same burgesses had from the king 33 acres of land in *gildam suam* (12). These houses and this land are now (1087) held by Rannulf de Columbels. He also has 80 acres more than these which the burgesses used to hold *in alodia* from the king (13). He also holds five acres of land which of right belong to "one of the churches." For the possession of all this Rannulf appeals to the Bishop of Bayeux as his *protector* (14). The St. Augustine's abbey version of the Survey remarks in this context that 45 *mansiones terre* outside the city provided the burgesses with 53s. de gablo, *tempore regis Edwardi* (15). These *mansiones* are clearly the *mansuræ* in the Exchequer version of Domesday, but we are told that not only is Rannulf de Columbels involved, but that he holds with Vitalis "de Canterbire" *de feuodo episcopi Baiocensis*. The pair acknowledge, however, only 26 of the 45 *mansiones*. The St. Augustine's version goes on to affirm that Rannulf has five *agri terre* with a church belonging to St. Augustine's abbey, while the abbey thus proves to be the "church" named above in connection with five lost acres. The burgesses allege that Rannulf holds 80 *agri de allodiis eorum* while he himself says that he holds them from the bishop of Bayeux. He also has 33 *agri terre* which the burgesses always held *in gilda eorum de donis omnium regum* (16). These 80 acres and 33 acres may be identified with the same figures for ground specified in the Exchequer version (as above). The ground plundered in the county of Kent from the church by Odo and his men was largely disgorged by them under pressure at the famous *Placita* held in the county court of Kent at Pennenden Heath. The interest evoked by these mentions of the gild lies in the fact that it is clear that Odo and his clients have been plundering not only the monasteries but native secular institutions like the urban gild. There was a great difference in the outcome, for while we hear how the great churches, with powerful support from Lanfranc and sanction of the king, suc-

(10) Domesday Book, I, fol. 3 v.

(11) Domesday Book, I, fol. 2 r.

(12) Domesday Book, I, fol. 2 r.

(13) *Ibid.*

(14) *Ibid.*, White Book, fol. 22 v. — Ed. Ballard, p. 10.

(15) White Book, fol. 22 r. — Ed. Ballard, p. 10.

(16) White Book, fol. 22 v. — Ed. Ballard, p. 10.

ceeded in getting back most of their holdings (17) there is no news of such a success on the part of the gild. Either the gildsmen could count on so little support that they did not choose to make a case, or much more likely, they were too frightened of a powerful and violent neighbour like Odo to venture to do so.

The Exchequer version of Domesday observes that in the city there are four *mansuræ*, which had been in the hands of a certain concubine of "Herald" (i.e. without doubt the dead king). The sake and soke are due to king William, who, however, has not had the same. The *mansuræ* are now in the hands of Radulf de Curbespine, who holds eleven other *mansuræ* of the bishop of Bayeux. These eleven dwellings once belonged to Sbern Biga, a native owner, producing 11s. 2 1/2d. (18). Adam son of Hubert holds of the bishop "in the hundred and city of Canterbury" four houses with two outside the city, rendering eight shillings (19). Hamo the sheriff holds from Odo half a sulung at Nackington, a manor which lies south of Canterbury, having a common boundary for some distance with the city. *Has terras T.R.E. [says Domesday Book] tenuerunt burgenses Cantuariæ et usque ad episcopum Baioc' qui ab eis cepit* (19a). Are the burgesses mentioned here private holders of land, from whom Odo has filched their property, or has he torn off a stretch of ground forming part of the ancient hundred of Canterbury, belonging to the burgesses in a communal capacity?

The entry for "Ernoltun" (Arnolton? — eleven miles west of Canterbury) concludes by saying that Ansfrid who holds of Odo has of this manor a tract of ten acres which lie close to the city and used to pay 42d., T.R.E. (20).

The case of Canterbury provides an example of the great Domesday problem: what is the relationship between manors out in the countryside and the burgages, *mansuræ*, haws, houses and so forth said to belong to them in a borough? The phenomenon is found in very many boroughs, London and Leicester, Chichester and Oxford, with many more. Evidence for housing in Canterbury is by no means confined to the principal entry for the city in Domesday Book, since out in the country there are no less than seventeen manors said to have dwellings in the city (21). We shall find that the lord of the greater proportion of these manors, and therefore of the dwellings dependent upon them, is Odo of Bayeux. This need not surprise us, since it merely reflects the

(17) It is of interest to note that at the date of Domesday, well after the *Placita*, R. de Columbels holds five acres of land, plus a church, alleged to belong to St. Augustine's Abbey. See above.

(18) Domesday Book, I, fol. 2 r.

(19a) *Ibid.*

(20) Domesday Book, I, fol. 10 r.

(21) The manors with dependent tenements in Canterbury are set out with their dependencies in *Victoria County History, Kent*, III, p. 199, and in Ballard: *Domesday Boroughs*, pp. 12-3. In either case the list is in need of revision.

great preponderance of Odo and his men throughout the Kentish manors as a whole. Certain manors have or have had enormous dependencies in Canterbury, such as the suburban Longport (22), lying adjacent to the eastern walls. It forms the home farm of St. Augustine's abbey, and had T.R.E., no less than 70 burgesses. "Nordwde" (23) (Northgate, the home farm of the monks of Canterbury Cathedral?) has 97 burgesses in Canterbury. Owing to restrictions on space we will confine ourselves to the holdings of Odo and his clients. The lord of all the manorial tenants below is therefore Odo, apart from the case of Wickham, which he himself holds, as shown, in demesne.

The manor of Otterden (with two *mansure terræ* in Canterbury worth 12d. per annum) is held by Adam son of Hubert (24). West Shelve (New Shelve?) which had T.R.E. one house in Canterbury rendering 25d. is held by William son of Robert from the bishop (25). "Winchelesmere" (Wichling?) had three houses in Canterbury T.R.E. and is now (1087) in the hands of Hugh, nephew of Herbert (26). Wickham (Wickhambreaux) is held in demesne by Odo, and has three *mansuræ* in the city (27). Chilham is held by Fulbert, and possesses no less than thirteen *mansuræ* in Canterbury, rendering 15s. (28). Ospringe (29) is held by Hugh, nephew of Herbert, and has in Canterbury one *masura* worth 30d., as have "Ernolton" (30), and Perry (31), both in the hands of Ansfrid, the urban holdings being worth 21d. and 16d. respectively. Throwley (32) is in the control of Herfrid and has three *hage* in Canterbury worth 32d., while Denton (33), with four urban *masuræ* is in the possession of Radulf de Curbespina.

The possessions of Odo and his men in Canterbury are indeed very considerable. There are 66 dwellings entered under the principal heading for Canterbury plus 28 manorial dwellings, a total of 94. There are furthermore 113 acres of ground, to say nothing of territory at Nackington, or the ten acres connected with "Ernoltun," adjacent to the city. The dwellings must amount to a very substantial percentage of the city as a whole, and Odo must be ranked as one of the principal lords therein (34).

Can we identify any of the housing and acres stated to be in the hands of Odo and his vassals? It is difficult to point out the acres.

(22) Domesday Book, I, fol. 12 r. — White Book, fol. 22 r. — Ed. Ballard, p. 11.

(23) Domesday Book, I, fol. 5 r. — D. Mon. p. 88. — White Book, fol. 22 v. — Ed. Ballard, p. 12.

(24) Domesday Book, fol. 82.

(25) *Ibid.*

(26) *Ibid.*

(27) *Ibid.*, fol. 9 r.

(28) *Ibid.*, fol. 10 r.

(29) *Ibid.*

(30) *Ibid.*

(31) *Ibid.*

(32) *Ibid.*

(33) *Ibid.*, fol. 11 v.

(34) The figures for manorial houses, etc., in Canterbury do not, of course, comprise those of T.R.E.

The city of Canterbury embodies a wide tract of countryside as well as the built-up area, and the acres may have lain anywhere in the rural district. The problem seems easier in the case of some of the dwellings. Radulf de Curbespine has a block of eleven dwellings. Orderic remarks that Gilbert Maminot the physician, bishop of Lisieux, was the son of Robert de Curvaspina, and calls the last mentioned *strenuus miles* (35). It is therefore significant that the holdings of Radulf de Curbespine may be found registered in Domesday Monachorum (36) in close conjunction with those described as of the bishop of Lisieux, or of Gilbert Maminot. The great cartulary of St. Augustine's abbey preserved in the British Museum incorporates a charter of Henry I which may be assigned to the period 1109-1114, confirming *inter alia* to the monks of Canterbury Cathedral a grant made by Hugh Maminot, his wife and heirs of ground given by them to enlarge the cemetery of the monks (37). This grant by the Maminots can hardly be other than that annually commemorated in the Cathedral obituaries under 10 November, where a donation is recorded of eleven *measure* together with the Canterbury church of St. Mary Queningate (38). The enlargement of the monastic cemetery must be connected with the rebuilding of the Cathedral choir, which was enormously extended towards the east, demanding much ground in this direction. St. Mary Queningate church lay nearly in a direct line east of the Cathedral, and we may guess that the eleven *measure* of Hugh Maminot were close to it, lying today close to "Becket's Crown." We may with some confidence identify them with the eleven mentioned in Domesday Book in the hands of Radulf de Curbespine (alias Maminot), a generation earlier.

Radulf de Curbespine is a substantial landholder in Kent, enjoying nearly a score of holdings apart from his possessions in Canterbury. His place of origin in Normandy may readily be identified with Courbepine in the diocese of Lisieux, close to, and north of Bernay. He holds largely of Odo, who is his *protector* in respect of dwellings in another Kentish borough, Dover (39). At the celebrated session on Pennenden Heath, archbishop Lanfranc recovered property from Odo and his men, among whom is named Radulf de Curva Spina, who was compelled to surrender 60 *solidatæ* of pasture in the Isle of Grain (off the shores of north Kent) (40). A writ addressed to Lanfranc, count Robert of Mortain and Roger of Montgomery by king William I. announces the restora-

(35) *Historia Ecclesiastica*. Ed. Le Prévot, IV, p. 116.

(36) Ed. Douglas, p. 101.

(37) Cotton MS. Claudius D. X., fol. 72.

(38) Cotton MS. Galba E. III, printed in Dart: *Cathedral Church of Canterbury* (1726), appendix VIII, and Cotton MS. Nero C IX, printed in Dart, *op. cit.*, app. XII. The obituary in Galba E. III must be (on palæographical grounds) close in date to the death of Hugh Maminot.

(39) Domesday Book, fol. 1 r.

(40) *Studies in Medieval History presented to F.M Powicke* (J. Le Patourel, *The Reports of the Trial on Pennenden Heath*), p. 26.

tion to St. Augustine's abbey of eight prebends in Newington, Kent, and all their *consuetudines* as the county bore witness before archbishop Lanfranc, Eudo *dapifer* and William of Arques and Radulf de Curba Spina and other *optimates* of the same county (41). This classification of Radulf as an *optimas* and the fact that he is bracketed with such great men is a valuable index of his status.

About the year 1165 the monks of Christchurch, Canterbury, prepared a great and detailed survey (42) of their possessions in the borough. There is a curious reference in this survey to what is called *terra de Wicham* lying in the centre of the city, at or close to the point where Butchery Lane joins the main street. The only explanation which seems to be available, to account for the expression "land of Wickham" is that this ground takes its name from the manor of Wickham (breux), some four miles from Canterbury, and that it is (admittedly 80 years from Domesday) the same ground as that dependent upon this manor in 1087. If this explanation be accepted then the lord of the manor will be the lord of the ground in Canterbury, and therefore lord of the ground at Butchery Lane, that is, bishop Odo himself. There is curious evidence offering a strong pointer in this direction. During the priorate of Odo (later abbot of Battle) in the period 1167-1175, the monks of Christchurch Cathedral were paying 12d. *per annum* rent to one Simon de Valbadun (43), for ground in Butchery Lane, very close to, or perhaps next to, the *terra de Wicham* named above. At the end of the 12th century, the same rent was still being paid, not now to Simon de Valbadun, but to the heirs of Stephen of Denton (a village lying just off the Canterbury-Dover road, not many miles from Wickham) (44). This is suggestive that the Valbadun family bore a double surname, both English and continental, as did other families, such as the Crèvecoeurs (springing from the place of that name near Lisieux) who also bore the name "del Blen," from their manor of Blean on the hill-top just above Canterbury (45). Confirmation that the Valbaduns and the Dentons are the same family is offered by the evidence of the *carta* embodying the return (46) of the knights of Walkelin Maminot to the king in 1166, wherein we find Simon de Dentone, while in the corresponding return of 1211-1212 (in the list of knights

(41) Davis, *Regesta*, I, n° 66.

(42) Chapter Archives, Canterbury, Rental 31. Edition in W. Urry, unpublished Ph. D. thesis, University of London, 1956 ("Rental B," para. 221).

(43) Chapter Library, Canterbury, rental in Lit. MS, D 4 (ff. 17-20). — Urry, *Thesis*, "Rental C," para. 62. — *Ib.*, Charter XXIV.

(44) Chapter Archives, Register H, fol. 23 v. — Urry, *Thesis*, "Rental G," para. 61.

(45) Eastbridge Hospital, Canterbury, Charter no. 66. — Duncombe and Battely, *Three Archiepiscopal Hospitals*, p. 309.

(46) *Red Book of the Exchequer (Rolls Series)*, p. 194.

in the Maminot custody of Dover Castle) (47) we find no knight taking his name from Denton, though there is in the list a Richard de Vabadone. It is highly probable that the Simon de Dentone in the *carta* in 1166 is the Simon de Valbadun holding in Butchery Lane at the most a few years later. The most striking fact emerging from this material is that we discover Odo, bishop of Bayeux associated, so it appears, with ground at the corner of Butchery Lane in Canterbury, while next door, or no more than a few yards away there is ground two or three generations later in possession of members of the Valbadun family. Far away in Normandy, only six miles or ten kilometres from Odo's city of Bayeux there is to be found, on the road to Saint-Lô, the hamlet of Vaubadon.

Under the rubric "land of the bishop of Bayeux" in Domesday Book there is an entry indicating that Ranulf de Valbadon holds half a yoke of ground at a place called "Hamestede" (48). It is difficult to identify it, but it is clearly in East Kent, not far from the sea. Ranulf affirms that the bishop of Bayeux gave the ground to a certain brother of his. One of the brothers is probably ancestor of the Valbaduns holding in Butchery Lane, Canterbury, late in the next century. It is significant that the Hamestede entry in Domesday immediately follows an entry relating to a holding of Radulf de Curbespine. The last-mentioned may be claimed as a member of the Maminot family, and, as we have seen above, Simon de Denton (alias Vaubadon ?) is a knight of Walkelin Maminot in 1166, while Richard de Vaubadon is named in the return of knights in the Maminot custody in the reign of John.

The identification of Columbels, whence comes Rannulf bearing that quasi-surname is not easy owing to a profusion of places with similar name in Calvados. The Kentish section of Domesday Book indicates that Rannulf de Columbels holds in many places under Odo, including the boroughs of Canterbury and Dover, where he claims the bishop as *protector*. We may find Rannulf appearing in company with two others among Odo's men. At Dover (49), he is mentioned in company with Radulf de Curbespine and Wadard, while under the entry relating to the possessions of St. Martin's priory, Dover, we shall learn that he has been jointly accused with Radulf de Curbespine, Wadard, and others of having plundered the priory's property (50). Rannulf has many possessions in West Kent, such as West Farleigh (51) and Barming

(47) *Ibid.*, p. 617. The baronies or custodies comprising the castle-guard at Dover during the reigns of Henry II and his sons, largely represent groups of manors in the hands of tenants of Odo in Domesday Book. See F. W. Hardman, *Castleguard Service of Dover Castle*. (*Archaeologia Cantiana*, XLIX, pp. 96-107). — Stenton, *Feudal England*, p. 211.

(48) Domesday Book, I, fol. 11 v. — D. Mon. Ed. Douglas, p. 102, and see p. 29, of introduction. — Lloyd, *Anglo-Norman Families* (*Harleian Society*), p. 108.

(49) Domesday Book, I, fol. 16.

(50) Domesday Book, I, fol. 2 r.

(51) *Ibid.*, fol. 8 v.

(52), while in East Kent he holds "Hardes" (53) (Lower Hardres, very close to Canterbury?). Domesday Book states that there is a Ranulf "de Columbers" in control, under Odo, of Shelling (in Woodnesborough, close to the port of Sandwich (54) while the same man is found holding of the abbot of St. Augustine's one yoke of ground at Northbourne, near Dover, worth 50d. *per annum* (55). A man with the quasi-surname "Columbers" might be associated with Colombières (Calvados, arrond. Bayeux, canton Trévières) but it is worth pointing out that both Wadard and Radulf de Curbespine (whom we have found in company with Rannulf de Columbels) are both to be discovered holding within a mile or two of Northbourne, at Mongeham (56) and "Platenovt" (57) respectively. There seems to be the strongest reason for supposing that "Columbers" is a misrendering of "Columbels." Perhaps the soundest evidence for equating the two names is the fact that the St. Augustine's abbey version of Domesday incorporates an entry indicating that 4s. 2d. (i.e. 50d.) is being paid annually to the abbot of St. Augustine's in respect of a yoke of ground (from the context at or near Northbourne) not by Radulf de Columbers (as in the Exchequer text) but by Radulf de Columbels (58).

The final identification of Columbels may most safely be left to Norman historians, but it seems not improbable that Colombelles, on the Orne, just below Caen is a likely candidate.

Another of the holders, under Odo, of manorial tenements in Canterbury may be assigned to his place of origin in Normandy. "Adam son of Hubert [lord of Otterden with its two *mansure* in the city] proves . . . to be Adam de Ryes (within four miles of Bayeux) and the brother of Eudo *dapifer* who, himself a benefactor of Rochester [Cathedral], inherited many of the estates which Adam had held from Odo" (59).

A very remarkable connection between Canterbury and Normandy has recently been proposed. In the splendid new edition of the Bayeux Tapestry, Professor Wormald concludes his article on style and design by remarking that where the

"work of designing the composition was carried out will never be known. Yet it will be recalled that there was at this time an accomplished school of drawing at Canterbury

(52) *Ibid.*

(53) *Ibid.*, fol. 9 r.

(54) *Ibid.*, fol. 11 v.

(55) *Ibid.*, fol. 12 v.

(56) *Ibid.*

(57) This place is not identified but from the context must be near Northbourne and Mongeham. The rendering of the name as "Wlateholte" in the White Book of St. Augustine (fol. 15 v.) suggests that there is confusion arising from an initial O. E. *wén*.

(58) *Domesday Monachorum* (ed. Douglas, p. 101) offers an additional form "Columbes."

(59) Douglas: *D. Mon.*, p. 29, referring to Round: *C.D.F.*, nos. 656, 919, 920, 1435.

... By 1067 Odo was already Earl of Kent with his headquarters in the county. If he did order the embroidery in England, then Canterbury would be a good candidate" (60).

It may certainly be observed that anyone living in Canterbury in the age of the Conquest would have had ample opportunity of seeing many of the individuals depicted and named in the Tapestry. Archbishop Stigand, King Edward, Eustace of Boulogne, Odo of Bayeux, all appear at some juncture at Canterbury, while King Harold, Leofwine and Gyrth, members of a house having the closest connections with Kent must have been known by sight in the city. Among lesser figures depicted may be found Wadard and Vitalis. It is highly probable that the bearer of the former unusual name, given an unexplained prominence in the Tapestry, where he rides on horseback, labelled: *HIC EST WADARD*: is the man of Odo of Bayeux, found in Domesday Book holding manors and ground, as at Farningham (61) and Maplescombe (62) in West Kent, Combe (63) and Buckwell (64), near Wye, some few miles south-west of Canterbury, with ground or rights in East Kent at Mongeham (65) and Northbourne (66), not far from Dover, with his dwellings in that borough (67). This disposition of his property must have made him a familiar figure in Canterbury as he rode back and forth visiting it. He has another, more definite connection with Canterbury. Domesday says of Wadard (with other particulars) that he holds of St. Augustine's abbey (evidently at Northbourne) three sulungs all but 60 acres (68). He himself renders no service, except to pay to the abbot 30 shillings. William Thorne, the chronicler of St. Augustine's abbey, who wrote in the later 14th century, but had access to early material, now largely lost, remarks in a valuable but neglected passage (69) that abbot Scolland, the first Norman abbot of his house, assigned to Wadard a knight land of five sulungs around the *villa* of Northbourne, to the end of his life, on condition that the knight should pay every year on the feast of Pentecost 30 shillings, and give tithes of all his belongings which should come to him from them, and that after the death of Wadard it should return to the domain of St. Augustine's for ever. We have here "one of those contractual leases for the space of a life that

(60) *Bayeux Tapestry*, Phaidon Press (1957), p. 34. It is worth pointing out that a Canterbury obituary remarks of Wibert, prior of Christchurch 1153-67, among his many other achievements, *cortinam magnam depictam fecit*. (British Museum, Arundel MS. 68, fol. 43 r.).

(61) Domesday Book, I, fol. 6 r.

(62) *Ibid.*

(63) *Ibid.*, fol. 10 v.

(64) *Ibid.*

(65) *Ibid.*, fol. 12 v.

(66) *Ibid.*

(67) *Ibid.*, fol. 1 r.

(68) *Ibid.*, fol. 12 v.

(69) Thorne: *Chronicle*, in Twysden: *Scriptores X* (1652), col. 1789. — Ed. and trans. A. H. Davis (1934), p. 52.

were so marked a feature of the tenorial arrangements of both Normandy and England towards the close of the eleventh century" (70).

It will have been noticed that Wadard has only three sulungs minus 60 acres (i.e. rather more than two and a half sulungs) at Northbourne, while the chronicler credits him with five. Perhaps the balance of the five sulungs was made up from his rights and so forth at Mongeham, very close at hand, and perhaps the 30s. mentioned at Mongeham is the same figure mentioned twice.

When William landed in England a knight went forth on reconnaissance to locate the Saxon army. This knight, named Vitalis, may be seen in the Tapestry reporting back to the Duke, accompanied by the inscription :

HIC : VVILLELM : DVX INTERROGAT :
VITAL : SI VIDISSET EXERCITVM HAROLDI

'Here Duke William asks Vitalis if he had seen Harold's army.'

Vitalis may be found holding extensively in Kent, largely from Odo. He has a group of manors and holdings around Canterbury, including Estursete (or Westgate) just without the fortifications (71), and Stourmouth nine miles away, on the Kentish mainland, opposite the Isle of Thanet (72). As we have seen above, he is charged, in company with Radulf de Curbespine with having appropriated property of the Canterbury gild of burgesses. Vitalis and Radulf refer themselves to Odo as their *protector*. Vitalis has a divided allegiance, for he may be found in the list of knights of the see of Canterbury, liable for the duty of performing the archbishop's military obligations (73).

Vitalis had a son Hamo. This son is characterised by an interest in pious benefactions. He ceded the church of Stourmouth to Rochester Cathedral, together with pasture on that manor. This benefaction was made for the sake of the souls of himself, of his father and mother, and because his brother had become a monk, evidently at Rochester (74). It is patent therefore that Vitalis had a son in addition to Hamo. The charter, which is to be found in the *Textus Roffensis*, provides evidence that Hamo must have met St. Anselm himself on at least one occasion, since the grant is effected in the archbishop's presence. In the period 1116-1118 Hamo was required together with the *probi vicini* of Sandwich, to investigate certain business connected with a ship of the abbot of St. Augustine's (75). During the archiepiscopate of William of

(70) Douglas, *Domesday Monachorum*, p. 38.

(71) *Ibid.*, p. 81.

(72) *Ibid.*, p. 84.

(73) *Ibid.*, p. 105.

(74) Chapter MSS. Rochester, *Textus Roffensis*, fol. 108.

(75) Davis, *Regesta*, I. no. 188, where the document is dated 1078-83. — For revised dating see E.H.R. XXIX, p. 251. — Douglas, *D. Mon.*, p. 55.

Corbeil (1123-1136) he witnesses a grant to Leeds priory, Kent (near Rochester), made by Robert de Crèveceur (76).

Hamo son of Vitalis had a son William who imitated his father's religious benefactions by bestowing Chilston, near Maidstone, Kent, on Leeds priory, by a charter in which he refers to his son "H", indicating that he has other sons. He also grants Bletchenden in Kent to the same religious house in a further charter in which he names his brothers John and Gilbert (77). He himself is named as a knight of William Earl of Gloucester in 1166 (78) and is evidently dead by 1173 when Sybilla, wife of William, son of Hamo renders account of 40 marks 'to have her dowry at Stourmouth' (79), where, as will be recollected, both Vitalis and Hamo once held. The name of the heir of William, "H" may be expanded to Hamo, for Hamo son of William "of Stourmouth" abandoned claim in or before 1184 to St. Augustine's abbey to any right in the church of St. Edmund, Riddingate, Canterbury (80).

There is a curious note in the cartulary (81) of St. Laurence priory, Canterbury, which lies on the Dover Road, some half a mile from the Riddingate of Canterbury. The note runs as follows :

Hamo filius Viel de Soford qui fecit ecclesiam sancti Edmundi cui assignavit iijor acras terre ad panem benedictum. Qui venit conquestu Anglie et assignavit ecclesie sancti Laurentii vnam acram ad idem officium cuius filius dicebatur Willelmus qui fecit ecclesiam sancte Marie de Bredene et eius filius dicitur iste Willelmus de Soford miles comitis Gloucestr.

(Hamo son of Viel (Vitalis) of Shoford, who built the church of St. Edmund, to which he assigned four acres of ground to provide the Holy Bread. Who came at the Conquest of England, and assigned to the church of St. Laurence one acre for the same purpose, whose son was called William, who built the church of St. Mary 'de Bredene' [i.e., made of wood] and his son is named William of Shoford, a knight of the Earl of Gloucester. N.B. the insertion of *iste* in the last section does not facilitate translation).

The entry is preceeded by a note stating :

Hic subsequens scribitur in dorso carte predictae, vide in carta.

(The following is written on the back of the aforesaid charter. See in charter).

(76) Kent County Record Office, Cartulary of Leeds priory, Kent, fol. 3 v. Many charters in the MS are printed in full or in précis in *Cal. Charter Rolls*, II, pp. 295-302.

(77) Cartulary of Leeds priory, fol. 2 v.

(78) R.B.E., p. 189.

(79) Pipe Roll, 19 Henry II, p. 87.

(80) *Black Book of St. Augustine's, Canterbury*, (British Academy), p. 542.

(81) Cambridge University Library MS. Ee. V. 31, fol. 21 r.

The charter in question is a quitclaim to St. Laurence priory by Godard, priest both of St. Mary Bredin church and of St. Edmund Ridigate church, Canterbury, of certain tithes received in the parishes in question. Judged from the names occurring in the charter it must date to about A.D. 1200. Some precious item of family tradition still remembered nearly 150 years after the invasion has been committed to writing. It is easy to understand why the note has been written on the back of the charter since it clearly adds a valuable historical comment to the business recorded therein.

On the face of it, it would seem that the invader in 1066 *conquestu Anglie* was Hamo *filius Viel, Vitalis*. However, it is unlikely that Hamo the son can be the invader, since he is specifically named as benefactor to St. Laurence priory which was not founded (and the cartularies employ the expression *prima fundatio* in this context) until 1137 (82). The liberal use of relative pronouns confuses the issue and in any case confusion in the minds of a family about the precise part played by its members such a long time before is understandable.

We have, as has been seen, a sequence of names the same as that in the line of Vitalis. However, the name "Soford" is applied to the family. "Soford" is Shoford, the old name of the "Mote" close to Maidstone. There can be little doubt that the Shofords are in fact the same line as that of Vitalis, lord of Stourmouth and many other manors at the date of Domesday. Hamo, son of William of Stourmouth, surrenders claims upon St. Edmund Ridigate church in Canterbury (in or before 1184), a church founded by an earlier Hamo, son of Viel of Shoford, according to the St. Laurence cartulary. It is not rash to claim that the founders of two Canterbury churches may be identified with the son and grandson of a knight depicted in the Bayeux Tapestry (83).

There is evidence to connect an important Canterbury burgess family with the line of Vitalis. From the close of the eleventh century until far into the 13th century the name Cauvel, Calvel, may be found in the city as that of substantial holders of houses and land both within and around the city (84). About the year 1200 their mansion was the great house at the west end of St. Margaret's church (85). There is a famous charter (86) in Old English recording the exchange of housing at Burgate, Newing-

(82) St. Laurence cartulary, Chapter Library, Canterbury, MS. C 20, p. 9. — V.C.H. Kent, II, p. 212. — Thorne, *Chronicle* in Twysden: *Scr. X*, col. 1810.

(83) St. Edmund Ridigate church disappeared before the end of the middle ages. St. Mary Bredin church was destroyed in the air-raid on Canterbury 1 June, 1942, and has now (Sept. 1957) been re-opened on another site.

(84) They may be found in the great surveys of Cathedral possessions in Canterbury such as that in Register H in the Chapter Archives (c. 1200).

(85) Rental of c. 1200 in Register H in Chapter Archives. — Urry, *Thesis*, "Rental D," para. 267.

(86) Somner: *Canterbury*, 1640, p. 365; ed. of 1703, p. 179. — Gross: *Gild Merchant*, II, p. 37. — Urry, *Thesis*, Charter no. 1.

ton and Ridigate, Canterbury, between the "hired" of Christchurch on the one hand and the "cnihts" of the "cepmannegild" of Canterbury on the other. The former party, the monks, is headed by Archbishop Anselm, while the latter appears to be headed by Calveal the borough reeve with witness of the senior men of the "heap" of the gild. Calveal can hardly be other than Calvellus, also called William Calvellus, named as beneficiary with his sons in a charter (87) of Ernulf, prior of Christchurch and his monks, confirmed by Anselm as archbishop (in another charter) (88) of ground outside the city walls, near the castle. Among Anselm's correspondence there is a strongly-worded reproof addressed to William Calvellus:

Adhuc te saluto sicut amicum et filium, [says the archbishop] donec cognoscam, an sit pura et sincera amicitia tua an non. Hactenus enim sic te habuisti erga ecclesiam nostram et me, ut gratiam dei inde mereri videreris et nostram amicitiam haberes. Sed nunc audio quia mercatum nostrum de terra nostra transtulisti, et mihi et ecclesiae Christi, matri tuae, abstulisti. Omnia eiusdem ecclesiae sunt, et quae ecclesiae sunt, mea sunt. Moneo igitur te et precor sicut amicus amicum et sicut episcopus Christianum filium, quatenus restituas terrae nostrae mercatum suum . . . si non vis iram dei incurrere et amicitiam meam et totius ecclesiae . . . perdere, et gravissimae excommunicationi cum his, quorum hoc agis consilio et auxilio, subiacere (89).

(Anselm sends greetings to William Calvel, saying that hitherto he has regarded him as a friend and as a son. However, Calvel has shifted the site of the market to the detriment of the monks. Calvel is to shift it back again, under pain of excommunication).

The language of the letter is quite remarkable in its use of the terms "friend" and "friendship". Anselm for all his greatness and humility does not use the expressions very much, and the least that can be deduced is that William Calvellus was quite well-known personally to archbishop St. Anselm, in itself no mean distinction. The main theme of the letter seems to be that Calvellus with certain accomplices, in whom we may detect Haimo, sheriff of Kent (90), has transferred elsewhere the site of a local market to the detriment of the monks of Christchurch Cathedral. Since the market appears to have been conducted on ground belonging to the monks, we may guess that there has been a loss of revenue to the church. The letter is valuable in offering strong evidence for

(87) Chapter Archives, Canterbury, Charta Antiqua C 885. — Urry, *Thesis*, Charter no. III.

(88) Chapter Archives, Canterbury, Charta Antiqua C 1193. — Urry, *Thesis*, Charter no. 11.

(89) Anselm: *Opera*. Ed. Schmitt, V, *Epistolae*, no. 358. — Cf. nos. 356, 359.

(90) See Ep. no. 356.

the indentification of "Calveal" named in the Old English charter as borough reeve, with William Calvellus, for the last-mentioned is performing (even if unjustly) some administrative function attributable to a borough reeve. It may at this point be observed that in the same way that the Norman invaders stepped into the shoes of Old English sheriffs, so in a borough one of the newcomers has established himself as reeve.

There is record of a case in the *Curia Regis* in 1206 wherein a jury is required to determine whether Hamo, son of Vitalis, gave to William Cauvel one a carucate of land with appurtenances in *Cant'* in marriage with Matilda, sister of the said Hamo (91). At the date indicated a William Cauvel was suing his brother Richard Cauvel for ground at Iffin (just outside Canterbury, to the south). The jury affirmed.

quod Hamo dedit totam terram illam in maritagium cum ipsa Matillide tenendam per octavam partem j. militis; et Willelmus habuit plures filios, quorum primogenitus vocabatur Radulfus, qui tenuit tota vita sua sine clamio fratrum suorum; et ideo dicunt quod non fuit partita nec est partibilis.

(Hamo gave the whole ground in marriage with Matilda to be held as the eighth part of a knight's fee. William had many sons of whom the eldest was called Ralph, who held all his life without claim from his brothers; therefore they say the ground was not divided nor is divisible).

There is of course great risk in accepting the verdict of a jury in the reign of John for events which may have taken place over a century before, but it may be observed that the same familiar affiliation emerges: Vitalis with a son Hamo. That the events took place a long time before 1206 is patent since Ralph, the eldest son of William Cauvel has lived out his life. Is this Vitalis the knight of the Bayeux Tapestry and his son the founder of St. Edmund Ridigate church? Some light may be thrown on to the problem by an entry in the register of St. Gregory's priory, Canterbury (92). On 29 January, 1169, William son of Hamo bestowed on the priory the wardship of his kinsman Ralph Cavel, with his ground at Iffin, in the presence of an influential company of knights and burgesses. Among the former is to be found William FitzNeal, the steward of Becket, who was to forsake his master just before the murder, nearly two years later. Heading the list of burgesses is John son of Vivian, who is named as borough reeve in one of the anecdotes among the miracles of St. Thomas (93). A familiar sequence of names will have been observed in the family of the

(91) *Curia Regis Rolls*, 7-8 John, p. 243, and see *ibid.*, p. 202.

(92) *Cartulary of St. Gregory's priory, Canterbury*. Ed. A. Murray (*Camden Society*), no. 143.

(93) *Materials for the History of Archbishop Thomas Becket* (R. S.), II, p. 138.

grantor: Hamo, William. Admittedly the names are exceedingly common, but it is hard to believe that the family is other than that of Vitalis ("de Canterbire"), and we find it stated that his grandson has a kinsman named Ralph Cavel. It may be inferred that Vitalis has not merely two sons, Hamo and the monk (of Rochester?), but that he has a daughter Matilda who married William Cauvel, who may be equated, without straining the evidence, with the borough reeve of Canterbury *circa* 1100, the friend of St. Anselm.

A further distinction may be assigned to William Cauvel. At the end of the middle ages the nuns of the convent of Holy Sepulchre, Canterbury, which lay outside the Ridigate, opposite a tract of ground belonging in 12th century to the Cauvel family, were dispensing to the poor yearly upon Maundy Thursday, one seam of wheat for the sake of the soul of their founder, William Calwell, "citizen of Canterbury" and "first founder of this nunnery" (94). The foundation of this nunnery has been attributed to St. Anselm himself, and indeed the terms of his charter relating to the house would suggest this. However, there is apparently an institution, resembling a nunnery, comprising it must be admitted a modest total of four sisters, established by the date of Domesday Book (95) (and therefore before Anselm's accession to the archbishopric) according to the Survey outside the walls of Canterbury, on ground of St. Augustine's abbey. William Thorne the chronicler of the abbey says that the nunnery was sited *infra limites feodi beati Augustini . . . tamen in solo archiepiscopatus* (96). It may not unreasonably be inferred that William Cauvel, "friend" of St. Anselm, and son-in-law of Vitalis, a knight in the Bayeux Tapestry, was founder of the nunnery (at some date before 1087) and that the foundation was confirmed by the archbishop after his arrival in Canterbury, a few years later.

It is difficult to bring together a pedigree of the Cauvel family. In the first place, some of the relationships are (as will have been seen above) speculative. Moreover, they use and re-use the same Christian names over and over again. The first William Cauvel has (evidently) a son named Ralph. This Ralph cannot be the minor Ralph "Cavel" of 1169. At the middle of the 12th century one Baldwin Cauvel is selling the ground opposite the nunnery to Wibert, sub-prior and subsequently prior of Christchurch, Canterbury, in charters from which it appears that his father was a William Cauvel and that his sons are William and Stephen (97). There is a Baldwin Cauvel appearing in local charters (98) of the

(94) *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, I, p. 30. — Leland, *De Rebus Britannicis Collectanea* (ed. 2, 1774), p. 89. — Cf. *Monasticon* (ed. I, 1655), I, p. 545.

(95) Domesday Book, I, fol. 12 r.

(96) Thorne, *Chronicle in Scriptores X*, col. 1893. — Ed., and trans. Davis, p. 215.

(97) Urry, *Thesis*, Charters nos. VIII, IX, X.

(98) *Ibid.*, Charters XXXVIII, XLIII.

period 1167-1186, while some time after the death of Becket there is a Stephen Cauvel (99) who makes an appearance. In the days of archbishop Theobald one Robert Cauvel attests a charter relating to ground of Wibert, priest of St. Margaret's, Canterbury (100) while at the end of the 12th century another William Cauvel is dwelling at the west end of this church (101).

A discussion of the Anglo-Norman families connected with Canterbury can be prolonged indefinitely, and it must be emphasised that the above is very selective (102).

Considerations of space will not allow more than a brief note on what is today the most striking manifestation of Norman domination in Canterbury, namely, architectural remains. Some achievements in this field are outstanding by any scale, such as the vast Norman crypt beneath the Cathedral choir, or the huge dormitory, of which the battered fragments stand nearby. One anecdote may serve as a reminder of the close connection in the field of building between Normandy and England, telling as it does of the transport of stone from Caen to Canterbury.

The monk Goscelin (who provides us with the story of the refugee at Constantinople) tells how certain merchants sailed in a flotilla of fifteen ships from England in the days of William I across to Caen, where they affected their business and made ready to return home. However, their services were requisitioned by a royal *exactor* to carry back Caen stone into England for the king's new palace at Westminster. Goscelin says that the man "in charge of this work" was a *vir probus* called Vitalis, who had been received into confraternity by Scolland (abbot of St. Augustine's at Canterbury). This Vitalis, says the chronicler, showed himself very efficient in organising supplies of stone for the new building going on at St. Augustine's abbey, so it would seem that the work of which he was in charge was the export of the stone. Vitalis asked one of the masters of the ships to undertake carriage of a load of stone for the abbey at Canterbury. When the master agreed Vitalis gave him "sealed letters" (103) relating to the agreement about the ship and the stone.

The convey of fifteen ships set off in a fair dawn, making good progress with the help of a western wind. But when they were only a third of their way, the wind changed direction, blowing now

(99) *Ibid.*, Charter XLV.

(100) *Ibid.*, Charter VII.

(101) *Ibid.*, "Rental D", paras. 266, 267.

(102) A good deal of information may be recovered about the family of Fulbert of Chilham (or of Dover). He holds Chilham with its 13 dependent dwellings in Canterbury (see above), while Hugh of Chilham (Dover) has a mill in Canterbury in the 12th century. The Eynesford family (holding in Canterbury. — Urry, *Thesis*, "Rental B"), has been dealt with by Professor Douglas (*D. Mon.*, pp. 45 ff.). There are ample materials for the study of the Crèvecoeur family, holding around Canterbury.

(103) *Litteras sigillatas*. The mention of documents intervening in a commercial transaction at this date is of extreme interest.

from the south, and a violent gale developed. Very soon no less than fourteen of the ships, heavy laden with the stone, had foundered, the only one remaining afloat being the vessel bearing the cargo for Canterbury. In their desperate plight some of the crew poured forth prayers to God and St. Augustine (in whose service they might well claim to be) while others got ready to throw the stone overboard. The master stopped them, telling them that the fact they were serving God and his Saint was their one hope. So they set to work bailing, stuffing tow into places where the seams had started, or where there were wider gaps, packing them with cloth. After a fearful struggle they managed to get into the Sussex port of Bramber. Here the ship, after its unbearable straining, split in halves from end to end, and shot all the stone out on to the sands. The master, determined to deliver the cargo, bought another ship, reloaded the stone, and sailed round to Canterbury. He handed over the "sealed letters" mentioned above, and amid laughter and weeping told the story to the monks. Abbot Scoland not only paid the price of the stone specified in the letters, but added in addition a bonus of some shillings. The master (no mean spirit he) was full of gratitude for his escape and offered half the money he had received to God and to St. Augustine, the intercessor, demanding with tears that prayers should be offered up for his drowned mates (104).

It will hardly be possible to abandon the subject of Canterbury and the Normans without mentioning the story of Archbishop Thomas Becket, as much an episode in Norman, as in Canterbury history. The Saint had connections with Canterbury long before he became archbishop. As chancellor he attested the royal charter (1155?) conceding privileges to the citizens. As archdeacon of Canterbury, Becket had an official residence outside the northern walls of the city, though it can scarcely be supposed that he spent much time there. His predecessor in office as archdeacon, and therefore officially occupant of the house was none other than Roger, taking his name from the Norman Pont l'Evêque, the Saint's arch-enemy, later the archbishop of York who crowned the young king. After the murder Roger swore with supporting witnesses (105) that he had no part therein, yet Guernes de Pont Sainte-Maxence categorically states that Roger briefed the four knights before they set out for Canterbury, and gave them 60 marks each for their expenses.

*La cause e tuz les moz lur a dit e formez
Qu'il unt puis l'arcevesque en sa chambre mustrez.
A chascun des quatre ad sessante marz donez* (106).

(104) *Acta Sanctorum*, May, IV, pp. 401-2. The stone must have been brought into Fordwich, the little port of Canterbury, on the River Stour, about a mile from the abbey.

(105) *Materials for the Life of Thomas Becket* (*Rolls Series*) VII, 502.

(106) Guernes, ed. Walberg, II, 5131-3.

It was at Bur, close to Bayeux, that Henry II spoke the fatal words which sent the knights off on their journey. The king did penance at Avranches for the murder at Canterbury, and in July 1174 performed another and dramatic act of penance at Canterbury. Outside the city he dismounted at the leper hospital of Harbledown, founded just a century before by Lanfranc, now archbishop of Canterbury, and lately abbot of Caen.

*Dunc descendi li reis iluec, a Herbaldun,
E entra el mustier e ad fait s'oreisun;
De trestuz ses mesfaiz a requis Deu pardun.
Pur amur saint Thomas ad otrié en dun
Vint marchies de rente a la povre mesun (107).*

'For the love of St. Thomas he granted as gift, Twenty marks of income to the poor almshouse.'

Henry walked down into Canterbury and subjected himself to a fearful flogging at the hands of the clerks and monks. He managed to get to London, and there fell sick. About this time he confirmed by charter the verbal promise made to the hospital at Harbledown of twenty marks *per annum* (108). The yearly payment may be discovered in the Pipe Rolls for Kent. In 1234 the city of Canterbury was granted in fee-farm to its citizens, who now became responsible for the payment on behalf of the crown of the twenty marks (that is twenty marks at 13s. 4d., making £13. 6s. 8d.). The arrangement has never been terminated, and each year the Borough Treasurer of Canterbury sends to the Hospital (now an almshouse for aged folk) a cheque for the sum of £13. 6s. 8d. The modern citizen paying his rates is making a contribution (even if infinitesimal) to this sum, and is therefore in effect taking part in an act of penance for the murder of Archbishop St. Thomas Becket, committed 29th December, in the year 1170.

(107) *Ibid.*, II 5926-30.

(108) Eyton, *Court, Household and Itinerary of King Henry II*, p. 181.