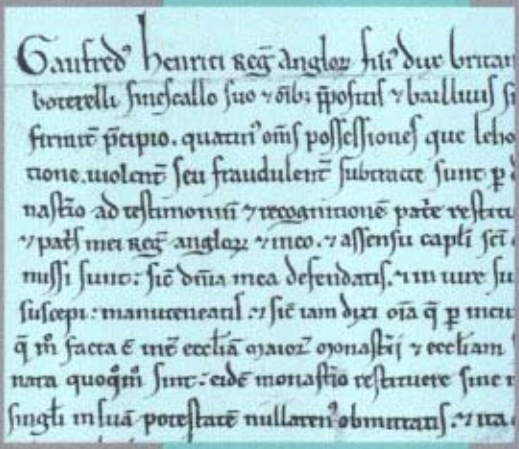


Brittany and the Angevins

Province and Empire 1158–1203

J. A. Everard

CAMBRIDGE

more information - www.cambridge.org/0521660718

This page intentionally left blank

The rule of the Angevins in Brittany is characterised usually as opening an isolated 'Celtic' society to a wider world and imposing new and alien institutions. This study, the first on the subject of Brittany under the Angevins, demonstrates that the opposite is true: that before the advent of Henry II in 1158, the Bretons were already active participants in Anglo-Norman and French society. Indeed those Bretons with landholdings in England, Normandy and Anjou were already accustomed to Angevin rule.

The book examines in detail the means by which Henry II gained sovereignty over Brittany, and how it was governed subsequently by the Angevin kings of England from 1158 to 1203. In particular, it examines the extent to which the Angevins ruled Brittany directly, or delegated authority either to native dukes or royal ministers, and shows that in this respect the nature of Angevin rule changed and evolved over the period.

JUDITH EVERARD is co-editor (with Michael Jones) of *The Charters of Constance, Duchess of Brittany, and her Family (1171–1221)* (1999).

Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought

BRITTANY AND THE ANGEVINS

Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought
Fourth Series

The series Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought was inaugurated by G. G. Coulton in 1921; Professor D. E. Luscombe now acts as General Editor of the Fourth Series, with Dr Christine Carpenter and Professor Rosamond McKitterick as Advisory Editors. The series brings together outstanding work by medieval scholars over a wide range of human endeavour extending from political economy to the history of ideas.

For a list of titles in the series, see end of book.

.

BRITTANY AND THE ANGEVINS

Province and Empire
1158–1203

J. A. EVERARD

CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

PUBLISHED BY THE PRESS SYNDICATE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE
The Pitt Building, Trumpington Street, Cambridge, United Kingdom

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS
The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 2RU, UK
40 West 20th Street, New York, NY 10011-4211, USA
477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia
Ruiz de Alarcón 13, 28014 Madrid, Spain
Dock House, The Waterfront, Cape Town 8001, South Africa

http://www.cambridge.org

First published in printed format 2000

ISBN 0-511-03336-2 eBook (Adobe Reader)
ISBN 0-521-66071-8 hardback

CONTENTS

List of figures and maps *page* viii
Preface ix
List of abbreviations xi

Introduction 1

1 Ducal Brittany, 1066–1166 17

2 Henry II and Brittany 34

3 The government of Brittany under Henry II 76

4 Duke Geoffrey and Brittany, 1166–1186 93

5 Duke Geoffrey, Henry II and the Angevin empire 123

6 The end of Angevin Brittany, 1186–1203 146

Conclusion 176

Appendices

1 The 'Assize of Count Geoffrey' 182

2 The hereditary seneschals of Rennes 204

3 Angevin officers in Brittany 207

4 The right of wreck and ducal *brefs de mer* 213

Bibliography 216
Index 237

FIGURES AND MAPS

Figure 1	Genealogy of the dukes of Brittany, 1066–1203	*page* xv
Map 1	The principal political divisions of Brittany, c.1066	xvi
Map 2	Ducal domains, *c.* 1066–1186	xvii
Figure 2	Genealogy of the Seneschals of Rennes	206

PREFACE

> By [the twelfth-century], Brittany was a central player in the feudal politics of the Anglo-Norman world, partaking of the cosmopolitan Latin culture of the day and economically transformed by the growth of towns. It was no longer a peripheral society . . . Distinctive still in cultural and linguistic terms, Brittany was nevertheless taking its place among the territorial principalities which clustered under the mantle of the Capetian monarchy.[1]

Thus, in the epilogue of *Province and Empire: Carolingian Brittany*, Dr Julia Smith elegantly summarised Brittany in the hundred years or so preceding the advent of Angevin rule.

The aim of this study is to examine Brittany as a province of the Angevin empire from the perspective of the duchy as a participant in the contemporary culture and politics of western France and the Anglo-Norman realm. I hope to dispel the notion that twelfth-century Brittany was 'Celtic' and different, backward and atypical, and therefore not relevant to any discussion of Capetian France or of Anglo-Norman society. This notion has fostered the view that Angevin rule in Brittany, between 1158 and 1203, involved the autocratic imposition of Anglo-Norman or Angevin institutions which were alien to the Bretons. Since, on closer inspection, these institutions prove to be anything but alien to Brittany by the mid-twelfth century, a thorough reconsideration of Angevin rule in Brittany is called for.

This study provides such a reconsideration, examining in detail both Brittany's place within the Angevin empire, and the mechanisms of Angevin rule in Brittany. 'Angevin rule', it will be stressed, was not a monolithic phenomenon, unchanging over a period of nearly half a century. On the contrary, one can trace the changes in the nature of

[1] J. M. H. Smith, *Province and Empire: Carolingian Brittany*, Cambridge, 1992, p. 203.

Angevin rule in Brittany under the succession of Angevin rulers down to King John.

This book is derived from my doctoral thesis, completed in 1995 under the supervision of Professor Sir James Holt. My primary debt of gratitude is to Professor Holt, whose patient supervision and good advice were responsible for the production of the thesis. Professor R. B. Dobson has been and I hope will continue to be a valued mentor, whether official or unofficial, and has shown great forbearance in his capacity (until his retirement very shortly before publication) as the Advisory Editor to the 'Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought' series charged with overseeing production of this book. I would also like to take this opportunity to express my gratitude to Professor Michael Jones, Professor Rosamond McKitterick, M. Hubert Guillotel, Dr Elisabeth van Houts, Dr Katharine Keats-Rohan, Dr Daniel Power and Dr Karen Jankulak for their advice and encouragement.

My research trips to France would have been far less productive without the assistance of the staff of the various libraries and archives I visited. I am particularly indebted to those of the *salle des manuscrits* at the Bibliothèque nationale and of the Archives départementales of Ille-et-Vilaine (Rennes), Côtes-d'Armor (Saint-Brieuc) and Loire-Atlantique (Nantes).

Completion of my doctoral thesis was made possible by generous financial assistance from the Coles-Myer Scholarship, the Cambridge Commonwealth Trust, the Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals' Overseas Students Research Awards scheme and the Principal and Fellows of Newnham College, Cambridge. Completion of the book was undertaken as a British Academy post-doctoral fellow, and in this capacity I have greatly benefited from the hospitality of the Master and Fellows of Fitzwilliam College, Cambridge.

Finally, I wish to thank my husband, Nicholas Syms, for first tolerating the absences of his new wife, then taking a prolonged sabbatical from his own work to care for the two sons who arrived while this work was in progress.

ABBREVIATIONS

AB	*Annales de Bretagne*
Actes d'Henri II	L. Delisle and E. Berger (eds.), *Recueil des Actes d'Henri II, roi d'Angleterre et duc de Normandie, concernant les provinces françaises et les affaires de France*, 4 vols., Paris, 1916–1927.
AD	Archives départementales
AN	Archives nationales
'Actes de Buzay'	J.-L. Sarrazin (ed.), 'Recueil et Catalogue des actes de l'abbaye cistercienne de Buzay en pays de Rais (1135–1474)' ('Université de Nantes, thèse du IIIe cycle', 4 vols., 1977).
Actes inédits	A. de la Borderie (ed.), *Recueil d'actes inédits des ducs et princes de Bretagne (*XIe, XIIe, XIIIe siècles), Rennes, 1888.
AE	J. Geslin de Bourgogne and A. de Barthélemy, *Anciens évêchés de Bretagne*, 6 vols., Saint-Brieuc, 1864–79.
Ann. ang.	L. Halphen (ed.), *Recueil d'annales angevines et vendômoises*, Paris, 1903.
Ann. mon.	H.R. Luard (ed.), *Annales monastici*, Rolls Series, 5 vols. London, 1864–1869.
Bibl. mun.	Bibliothèque municipale
BM	British Museum
BN	Bibliothèque nationale
BSAN	*Bulletin de la société archéologique de Nantes*
BSAIV	*Bulletins et mémoires de la société archéologique d'Ille-et-Vilaine*
Cart. Laval	A. Bertrand de Brousillon (ed.), *La Maison de Laval (1020–1605): Étude historique accompagnée du cartulaire de Laval*, I and V, Paris, 1895 and 1803.
Cart. Morb.	L. Rosenzweig (ed.), *Cartulaire général du Morbihan; Recueil de documents authentiques pour servir à l'histoire des pays qui forment ce département*, Vannes, 1895.

Cart. Quimper	P. Peyron (ed.), *Cartulaire de l'église de Quimper*, Quimper, 1909.
Cart. Quimperlé	L. Maître and P. de Berthou (eds.), *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Sainte-Croix de Quimperlé*, Bibliothèque bretonne armoricaine, fascicule IV, 2nd edn, Rennes and Paris, *c.* 1902.
Cart. Redon	A. de Courson (ed.), *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Redon en Bretagne*, Paris, 1863.
'Cart. St-Georges'	P. de la Bigne-Villeneuve (ed.), 'Cartulaire de St-Georges de Rennes', *BSAIV* 9 (1876), 127–311.
'Cart. St-Melaine'	Ms. cartulary of the abbey of Saint-Melaine de Rennes, Bibl. mun. de Rennes, ms 15820.
Cart. St-Sulpice	P. Anger (ed.), *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Sulpice-la-Forêt*, Rennes, 1911.
Cart. St-Victeur au Mans	A. Bertrand de Brousillon (ed.), *Cartulaire de Saint-Victeur au Mans, prieuré de l'abbaye du Mont Saint-Michel (999–1400)*, Paris, 1895.
Charters	J. Everard and M. Jones (eds.), *The Charters of Duchess Constance of Brittany and her family, 1171–1221*, Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1999.
'Communes petitiones Britonum'	A. de la Borderie (ed.), 'Nouveau recueil d'actes inédits des ducs de Bretagne', *BSAIV* 21 (1892), 97–134 at 97–105.
'Coutume de Normandie'	E. J. Tardif (ed.), *Coutumiers de Normandie, première* partie: 'Le Très Ancien Coutumier de Normandie'. Rouen, 1881.
'Coutume de Touraine-Anjou'	Akehurst, F.R.P. (trans.), *The Etablissements de Saint Louis: Thirteenth-Century Law Texts from Tours, Orléans and Paris*, Philadelphia, 1996.
'*De principis instructione*'	G. F. Werner (ed.), *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera, VIII, De Principis Instructione Liber*, Rolls Series, London, 1891.
DRF	'De Reliquiarum Furto: De corpore Sancti Petroci furato et restituto', in P. Grosjean, 'Vies et miracles de S. Petroc; I. Le dossier du manuscrit de Gotha', *Analecta Bollandiana* 74 (1956), 131–88 at 174–88. Published in English translation by G. H. Doble, 'The Relics of Saint Petroc', *Antiquity* 13 (1939), 403–15.
EYC	C. T. Clay (ed.), *Early Yorkshire Charters, IV and V: The Honour of Richmond*, Yorkshire Archæological Society Record Series, Extra Series, Wakefield, 1935 and 1936.
Enquête	J. Allenou (ed.), *Histoire féodale des marais, territoire et église de Dol: Enquête par tourbe ordonée par Henri II, roi d'Angleterre, La Bretagne et les pays celtiques*, XIII, Paris, 1917.

Gallia Christiana	B. Hauréau (ed.), *Gallia Christiana in provincias ecclesiasticas distributa . . .* , XIV, 'Provincia Turonensi', Paris, 1856.
GC	W. Stubbs (ed.), *The historical works of Gervase of Canterbury*, Rolls Series, London, 1879.
Gesta	W. Stubbs (ed.), *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi Benedicti abbatis: The chronicle of the reigns of Henry II and Richard I, AD 1169–1192, known commonly under the name of Benedict of Peterborough*, 2 vols., Rolls Series, London, 1867.
Hist. Quimperlé	R.-F. Le Men (ed.), *Histoire de l'abbaye de Sainte-Croix de Quimperlé . . . par Dom Placide Le Duc*, Quimperlé,1863.
'Inquisitio . . . de Avaugour'	A. de la Borderie (ed.), 'Nouveau recueil d'actes inédits des ducs de Bretagne', *BSAIV* 21 (1892), 97–134 at 106–21.
Itinerary	R. W. Eyton, *Court, household and itinerary of King Henry II*, London, 1878.
Monasticon	J. Caley, H. Ellis, and B. Bandinel (eds.), *Monasticon Anglicanum: A history of the abbeys and other monasteries . . . in England and Wales . . .* originally published in Latin by Sir William Dugdale, Kt., 6 vols. (vol. VI in 3 parts), London, 1817–30, reprinted Farnborough, Hants., 1970.
Le Baud, *Histoire de Bretagne*	C. d'Hozier (ed.), *Histoire de Bretagne, avec les chroniques des maisons de Vitré et de Laval par Pierre Le Baud*, Paris, 1638.
MSHAB	*Mémoires de la Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Bretagne*.
PL	J. P. Migne (ed.), *Patrologiae Cursus Completus, series Latina*, 221 vols., Paris, 1844–64.
Preuves	H. Morice (ed.), *Mémoires pour servir des preuves à l'histoire ecclésiastique et civile de Bretagne*, vol. I, Paris 1742, reprinted Farnborough, Hants. 1968.
Pipe Roll . . . Henry II	*The Great Rolls of the Pipe of the reign of King Henry the second, AD 1156 to 1189*, Pipe Roll Society, 30 vols. London, 1884–1925.
RD	W. Stubbs (ed.), *Radulfi de Diceto: Ymagines Historiarum*, 2 vols., Rolls Series, London, 1876.
RH	W. Stubbs (ed.), *Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Hoveden*, 4 vols., Rolls Series, London, 1868–71.
RHD	*[Nouvelle] Revue historique de droit français et étranger.*
RHF	*Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France . . . nouvelle edition*, ed. L. Delisle, XII-XVIII. Paris, 1867–79.

Rigord	Rigord, 'Gesta Philippi Augusti', in H. F. Delaborde (ed.), *Œuvres de Rigord et de Guillaume le Breton, historiens de Philippe-Auguste*, 2 vols, Paris, 1882 and 1885, I. 'Tome premier, Chroniques de Rigord et de Guillaume le Breton', pp. 1–167.
Rot. Chart.	T. D. Hardy (ed.), *Rotuli Chartarum in Turri Londinensi asservati*, London, 1837.
Rot. Liberate	T. D. Hardy (ed.), *Rotuli de Liberate ac de Misis et de Praestitis regnante Johanne*, London, 1844.
Rot. Litt. Pat.	T. D. Hardy (ed.), *Rotuli litterarum patentium in Turri Londinensi asservati*, I, London, 1835.
Rot. Norm.	T. D. Hardy (ed.), *Rotuli Normanniae in Turri Londinensi asservati*, I. *1199–1216*, London, 1837.
RT	L. Delisle (ed.), *Chronique de Robert de Torigni, abbé du Mont Saint-Michel, suivie de divers opuscules historiques de cet Auteur et de plusieurs Religieux de la même Abbaye*, 2 vols., Rouen, 1872 and 1873.
RW	H. G. Hewlett (ed.), *Rogeri de Wendover: Liber qui dicitur Flores Historiarum: ab MCLIV annoque Henrici Anglorum Regis Secundi primo*, Rolls Series, London, 1886.
TAC	M. Planiol (ed.), *La Très Ancienne Coutume de Bretagne*, Rennes, 1896.
VCH	*The Victoria history of the counties of England*.
WB	William the Breton, 'Gesta Philippi Augusti', in H.-F. Delaborde (ed.), *Œuvres de Rigord et de Guillaume le Breton, historiens de Philippe-Auguste*, 2 vols., Paris 1882 and 1885, I. 'Tome premier, Chroniques de Rigord et de Guillaume le Breton', pp. 168–333.
WN	William of Newburgh, 'Historia rerum Anglicarum', in R. Howlett (ed.), *Chronicles of the reigns of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I*, I, Rolls Series, London, 1884.

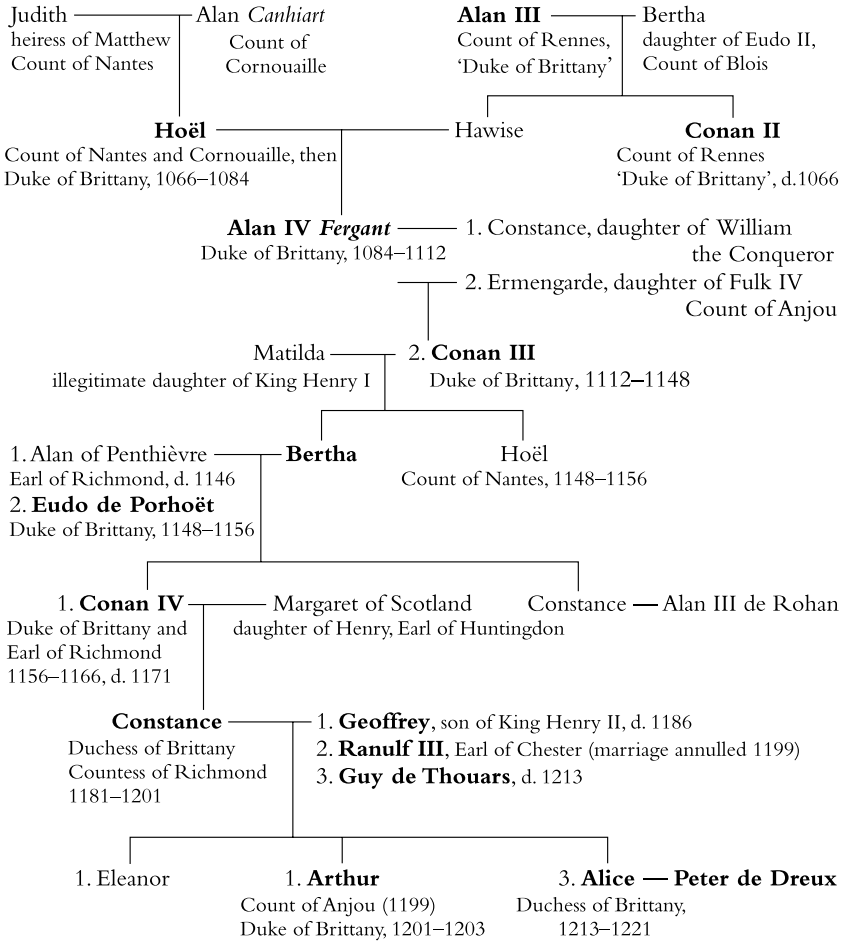
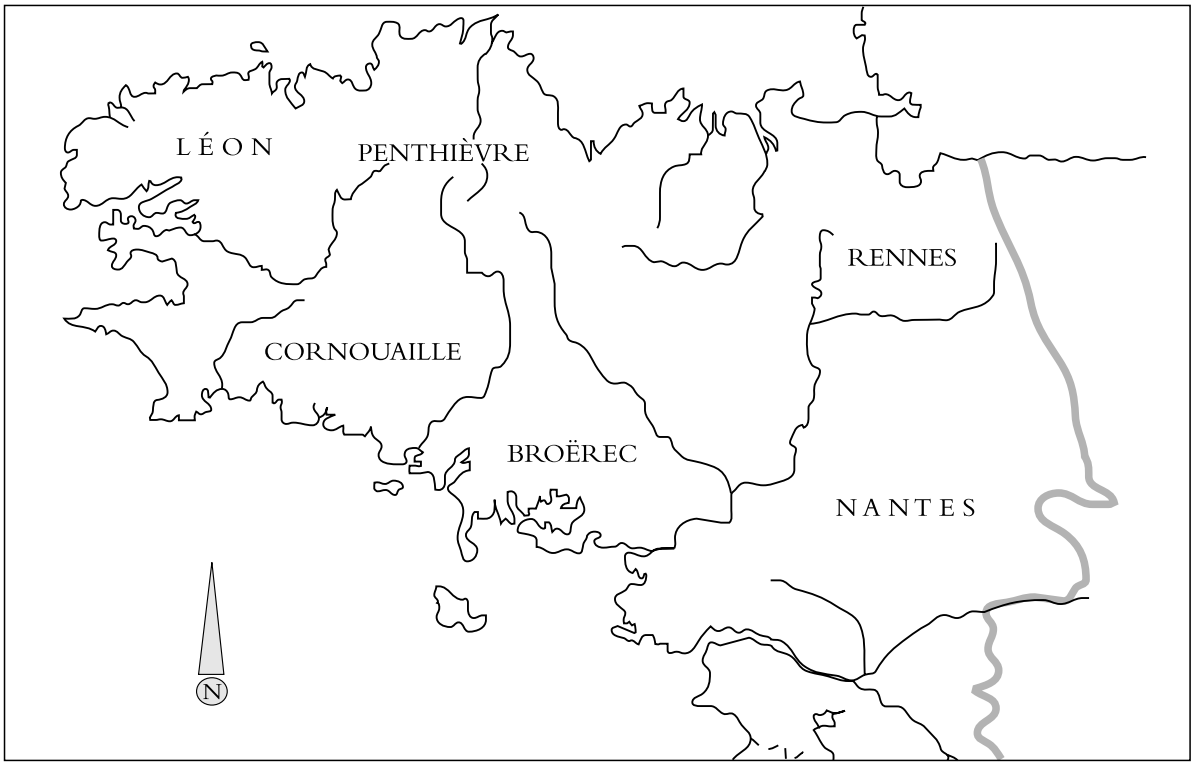
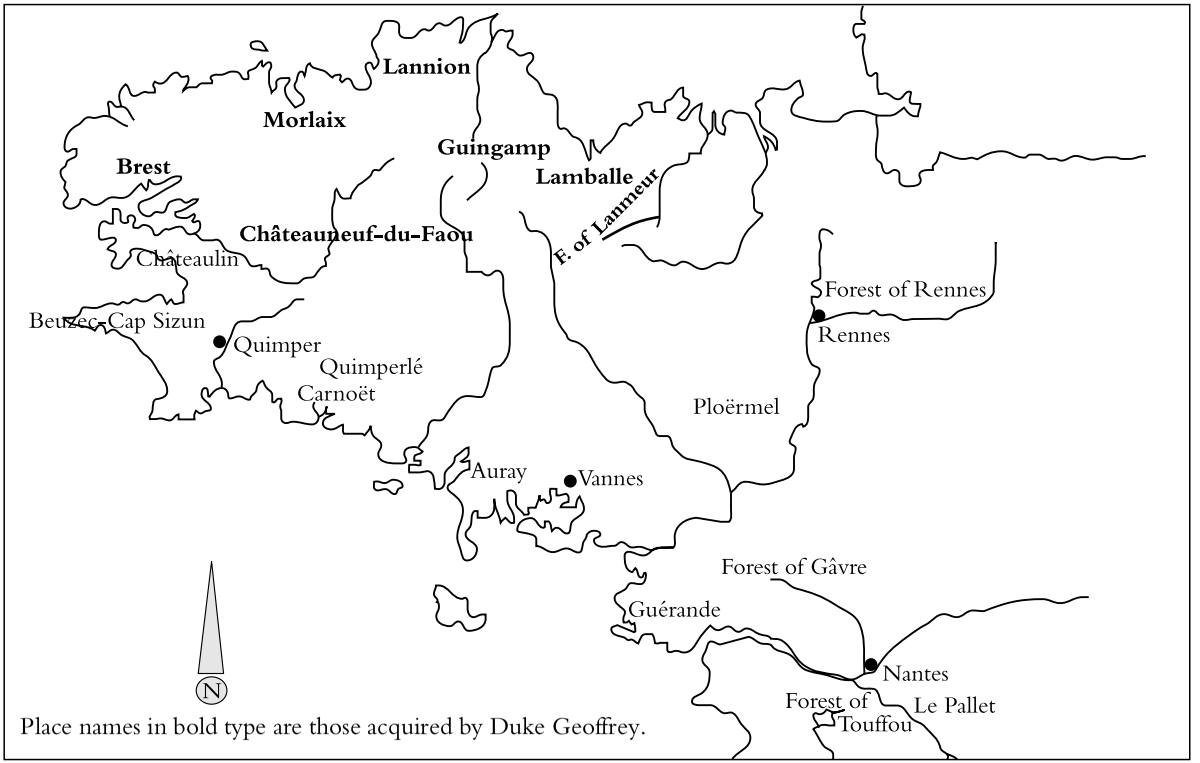


Figure 1 Genealogy of the dukes of Brittany, 1066–1203



Map 1 The principal political divisions of Brittany, *c.*1066



Map 2 Ducal domains, *c.*1066–1186

INTRODUCTION

It is well-known that Henry II, king of England, duke of Normandy and Aquitaine and count of Anjou, added the duchy of Brittany to the 'Angevin empire' and granted it to his third son, Geoffrey. As the necessary background to the conflict between the young Arthur of Brittany, Geoffrey's posthumous son, and his uncle King John over the succession to Richard the Lionheart, this is about as much as British historians have felt they needed to know about Brittany in the twelfth century.

The history of the Angevin regime in Brittany has received only scant attention from historians. This neglect has two causes; firstly, the relative scarcity of contemporary sources, which makes the history of Brittany in this period quite obscure, and secondly, the sentiments of historians. Both British and French historians tend to overlook Brittany as peripheral, backward, and, because of its Celtic history, different and atypical. Whether the subject is the Anglo-Norman realm, the Angevin empire or the Capetian monarchy, Brittany appears marginal, both geographically and culturally.

Breton historians, for their part, have tended to avoid the period of Angevin rule, passing over it as a shameful episode of foreign, and worse, 'English', domination best overlooked. When the topic cannot be avoided, they have tended to emphasise baronial rebellion against Henry II, characterising it as the heroic resistance of Breton patriots.[1] In the otherwise excellent A. Chédeville and N.-Y. Tonnerre, *La Bretagne*

[1] Among the more impartial Breton writers on this subject are C. de la Lande de Calan, B. A. Pocquet du Haut-Jussé and N.-Y. Tonnerre. Honourable mention must be made also of J. Le Patourel, whose Channel Islands heritage enabled him to take a uniquely balanced view of Anglo-Norman and Breton affairs (see Bibliography). I am extremely grateful to Professor Sir James Holt for permitting me to consult in addition the following works from the unpublished papers of Professor Le Patourel: 'Plantagenet rule in Brittany to 1205' (1978) and 'Guillaume Filshamon, premier sénéchal de Bretagne (1171–2)', paper delivered at 15th 'Journées d'Histoire du Droit des Pays de l'Ouest', Dinard, May 1978.

féodale, XIe-XIIIe siècle (Rennes, 1987) the subject of 'La mainmise progressive d'Henri II sur la Bretagne' is dealt with in two pages (pp. 86–8), while five pages are devoted to baronial resistance ('Un pouvoir difficilement accepté', pp. 88–93). Although these attitudes are understandable, the central argument of this book is that they are unjustified.

Furthermore, the effect of Brittany's near-absence from the historiography on the Angevin empire has been positively misleading. The politics of Henry II and his sons cannot be understood without regard to the time and resources they invested in acquiring and maintaining lordship over Brittany. In particular, the political career of Henry II's son Geoffrey is incomprehensible, an apparently irrational series of plots and betrayals, if one ignores his career as duke of Brittany. Without an understanding of the institutions of Breton government before Angevin rule, it is impossible to judge whether Henry II and Geoffrey deliberately introduced Anglo-Norman or Angevin institutions in Brittany.

In contrast with the dearth of material on Brittany under the Angevins, the historiography of Brittany in the earlier middle ages, even up to the late eleventh century, is thriving. Two monographs have recently appeared on Carolingian Brittany.[2] At the same time, several Breton historians have focused their research on Brittany in the tenth and eleventh centuries, and especially on the subject of the formation of the nobility.[3] The result of this work is to emphasise continuity in Breton society through the ninth and tenth centuries.

The twelfth century represents something of a lacuna in the historiography of Brittany. There is no monograph on the subject of Brittany in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and few published articles. Recent scholarship resumes at the end of the Angevin period, with two articles on the life and reign of Duchess Constance.[4]

This lacuna can be explained, at least in part, because the twelfth century falls in between two periods. It is too late for the period of the formation of the post-Carolingian feudal society, which so interests the current school of Breton medieval historians, and too early for the

[2] J. M. H. Smith, *Province and Empire: Carolingian Brittany*, Cambridge, 1992, and W. Davies, *Small Worlds: The village community in early medieval Brittany*, London, 1988.

[3] The doyen of this subject is Hubert Guillotel, along with A. Chédeville, N.-Y. Tonnerre, J. Quaghebeur, M. Brand'honneur and J.-C. Meuret, to which may be added the work of Dr Katherine Keats-Rohan on the cross-channel interests of Breton families (see Bibliography).

[4] Y. Hillion, 'La Bretagne et la rivalité Capétiens-Plantagenêts, un exemple: la duchesse Constance (1186–1202)', *AB* 92 (1985), 111–44; M. Jones, 'La vie familiale de la duchesse Constance: Le temoignage des chartes', in G. Le Menn and J.-Y. Le Moing (eds.), *Bretagne et pays celtiques: Langues, histoire, civilisation. Mélanges offerts à la mémoire de Leon Fleuriot, 1923–1987*, Saint-Brieuc and Rennes, 1992, 349–60.

'golden age' of ducal Brittany. This book aims to go some way towards bridging the gap. Although there has been some work on Brittany and the Angevins, no work has appeared on Angevin rule in Brittany in its own right, rather than for the purposes of comparison with other provinces or periods.[5]

Primary sources for Brittany in the twelfth century are scarce. The scarcity is particularly conspicuous in literary sources. In contrast with the eleventh-century 'chronicles' of Nantes and Dol, no Breton chronicles written in the twelfth century have survived, only monastic annals.[6] Breton historiography was revived in the late middle ages, but the late 'chronicles' or 'histories' of Pierre Le Baud, Alain Bouchard and the 'anonymous of Saint-Brieuc' obviously are not reliable as primary sources for the twelfth century.[7] Yet it has recently been argued that these authors were serious scholars, albeit politically motivated, and, more importantly, they had privileged access to ducal and baronial archives and drew on documentary sources which are no longer extant.[8] In this study, especially in Chapter 6, I have used Le Baud's 'Histoire de Bretagne' (1505) and 'Chroniques de Vitré' selectively, citing Le Baud where it is probable that his account is based upon a documentary source, and adding corroborative evidence as far as possible.

Contemporary literary evidence, therefore, derives solely from sources written outside Brittany. The limitations of this are obvious; a writer residing elsewhere and having only a passing interest in Brittany could not be expected to describe Breton current affairs accurately or in detail. This is illustrated by the work of William the Breton, who wrote his *Gesta Philippi Augusti* around 1214.[9] In a brief digression from his royal subject-matter, William records an important event in the history

[5] E.g. J. Boussard, *Le gouvernement d'Henri II Plantegenêt*, Paris, 1956; A. Oheix, *Essai sur les sénéchaux de Bretagne des origines au XIVe siècle*, Paris, 1913.

[6] R. Merlet (ed.), *La chronique de Nantes, 570 environ – 1049*, Paris, 1896; F. Duine (ed.), *La Bretagne et les pays celtiques*. XII, *La métropole de Bretagne: 'Chronique de Dol' composée au XIe siècle et catalogues des dignitaires jusqu'à la révolution*, Paris, 1916. Annals for the twelfth century exist from the abbeys of Sainte-Croix de Quimperlé (*Cart. Quimperlé*, pp. 93–101), Saint-Gildas de Rhuys (*Preuves*, cols. 150–2) and Saint-Jacques de Montfort (*Preuves*, col. 153). *Preuves* also contains annals from 593 to 1463 under the heading 'Chronicon Britannicum' (cols. 101–17), compiled from several manuscripts, including the annals of the abbey of Melleray.

[7] Le Baud, *Histoire de Bretagne*; M.-L. Auger, G. Jeanneau and B. Guenée (eds.), *Alain Bouchard: Grandes chroniques de Bretaigne*, 2 vols., Paris, 1986; *Preuves*, cols. 7–102 (chronicle of Saint-Brieuc).

[8] J. Kerhervé, 'La naissance de l'histoire en Bretagne (milieu XIVe siècle-fin XIVe siècle)', in J. Balcou and Y. Le Gallo (eds.), *Histoire littéraire et culturelle de la Bretagne*, 3 vols., Paris and Geneva, 1987, I, pp. 245–71 (for Pierre Le Baud, see especially pp. 266–7).

[9] H. F. Delaborde (ed.), *Œuvres de Rigord et de Guillaume le Breton, historiens de Philippe-Auguste*. 'Tome premier. Notice sur Rigord et sur Guillaume le Breton', Paris, 1885, pp. 77–80.

of Brittany: the end of the succession contest which followed the death of Duke Conan III, with Conan IV's triumph over Eudo de Porhoët in 1156. William relates this in a way which would interest his French audience, describing Eudo's period of exile at the court of Louis VII. This chronicle is the only source for some of the matters it records, and there is no reason to doubt William's veracity. The lack of Breton chronicle material is illustrated by the fact that this material was included by William in his chronicle merely as 'incidentia'.[10] It is ironic that we are obliged to rely upon 'incidentia' in a chronicle written for other purposes as an important contemporary source for Brittany.

William was writing many years after the events occurred, and from Paris, but at least he was a native of Brittany, and possibly an eye-witness to some of the events he describes. The well-known British chroniclers of Henry II and Richard also make some references to Breton affairs, but only insofar as they concern the Angevin royal family, mainly Henry II's and Geoffrey's visits and military campaigns there. The most detail is provided by Roger of Howden, and it is unfortunate that his chronicles do not begin until 1169 (coincidentally, with Henry II's Christmas court at Nantes).

The most valuable chronicle is that of Robert de Torigni, who knew Henry II personally and enjoyed royal favour. As abbot of Mont Saint-Michel, Torigni was in an excellent position to record events in north-eastern Brittany. In contrast, he does not seem to have been well informed about events in southern Brittany. This is well illustrated in his account of the 1173 revolt. Torigni gives a detailed account of the siege of Dol, the cathedral town just across the bay from Mont Saint-Michel, but as to rebellion around the borders of Nantes and Anjou, Torigni's account is sketchy and garbled.[11]

Other literary sources provide evidence of Breton affairs. Henry II's military campaigns in 1167 and 1168 are mentioned in Stephen of Rouen's epic poem, 'Draco Normannicus', and in the *vita* of Hamo of Savigny.[12] The siege of Dol in 1173 is described in Jordan Fantosme's verse 'chronicle'.[13] An especially valuable source is a narrative account of the theft and recovery of the relics of Saint Petroc which occurred in

[10] WB, p. 177.

[11] RT, II, pp. 42–6.

[12] 'Stephani Rothomagensis monachi Beccensis poema, cui titulus, 'Draco Normannicus',' in R. Howlett (ed.), *Chronicles of the reigns of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I.* Rolls Series, London 1885, II, pp. 695–708; H. Omont (ed.), *Le dragon normand et autres poemes d'Etienne de Rouen*, Rouen, 1884, pp. 105–119; E. P. Sauvage (ed.), 'Vitae B. Petri Abrincensis et B. Hamonis monachorum coenobii Saviniacensis in Normannia', *Analecta Bollandiana* 2 (1883), 475–560 at 523.

[13] R. C. Johnston (ed.), *Jordan Fantosme's chronicle*, Oxford, 1981.

1177.[14] Written soon after the events it describes, this remarkable narrative contains much material about the workings of Henry II's chancery, about life in Brittany, and not least about the administration of Brittany (or at least north-eastern Brittany) under Henry II at this date.

The literary sources are valuable for the politics of Henry II and Geoffrey regarding Brittany. Being concerned with events like births, deaths and marriages, warfare and treaties, they are, however, a poor source for anything routine and generally contain little evidence for the administration of Brittany. I have given them so much emphasis, however, because the diplomatic sources are so limited.

In the use of written records, the government of Brittany resembled that of the neighbouring counties of Anjou and Poitou much more than that of England and Normandy. There were no routine records of financial accounting or justice, equivalent to pipe rolls or plea rolls, created and preserved by an office of royal/ducal government.[15] The principal sources for the administration of Brittany are charters and notices recording property transactions. Some of these were created by royal/ducal officials in the conduct of their duties; more indicate the participation of a ducal officer, usually as a witness. There are also ducal *acta*, including a small number of charters of Henry II and Geoffrey concerning Brittany.

The common characteristic of all this diplomatic material is that its subject-matter concerns ecclesiastical institutions, or lands which ultimately came into their possession. The church remained solely responsible for the preservation, if not the creation, of legal documents in Brittany even in the last quarter of the twelfth century.

Given that all the administrative records which have survived, whether produced by officials or by the ecclesiastical beneficiaries of their actions, were preserved by the latter, the survival of episcopal and monastic archives is of paramount importance to the study of the administration of Brittany in the twelfth century. Here, unfortunately, we are not well served. Most of the extant cartularies containing Breton material were those of the great Benedictine houses: Redon and Quimperlé in Brittany, Mont Saint-Michel, Marmoutier, Saint-Florent de Saumur and the great abbeys of Angers outside. By the late twelfth century, patronage of Benedictine monasteries had become unfashion-

[14] DRF. See K. A. Jankulak, *The medieval cult of St Petroc*, Woodbridge, Suffolk, 2000.

[15] There is no evidence to suggest that such documents were created but since destroyed. The earliest known roll of ducal accounts is from the second-half of the thirteenth century (B. A. Pocquet du Haut-Jussé (ed.), 'Le plus ancien rôle des comptes du duché, 1262, document inédit', *MSHAB*, 26 (1946), 49–68).

able and the Benedictine abbeys and priories of Brittany were in decline, or at least had ceased to expand. The cartularies of Redon, Quimperlé and Mont Saint-Michel are principally eleventh-century works. Twelfth-century charters which were not included in the cartularies have not all survived. There are thus relatively few charters relevant to this study in Benedictine cartularies.

By the mid-twelfth century, patronage of the new religious orders was much more fashionable, in Brittany as elsewhere.[16] For these, though, the survival of documents is even less reliable. How much material is missing or lost is illustrated by comparison with the few extant twelfth-century cartularies. For instance, the cartulary of Savigny contained three charters of Duke Geoffrey. The Cistercian abbey of Buzay did not produce a cartulary but preserved its original charters, including two of Duke Geoffrey. Another Cistercian abbey, La Vieuville, preserved the written record of a dispute determined on the orders of Henry II around 1167 (in La Vieuville's favour, of course), and a confirmation charter of Duke Geoffrey. The twelfth-century cartularies or archives which have survived, even if only as copies, contain not only ducal charters but documents providing valuable evidence for the administration of Brittany under the Angevins, such as charters for Buzay and Fontevraud made by Henry II's seneschals of Nantes, or a charter made for Savigny recording that Ralph de Fougères, as 'Seneschal of Brittany', presided over the ducal *curia* at Rennes.[17]

Other Breton monasteries which Henry II and Geoffrey are known, or are likely, to have patronised, such as Begard, Langonnet, Saint-Maurice de Carnoët, La Blanche Couronne and Melleray (all Cistercian), had all suffered almost total loss of their archives before the eighteenth century. Cathedral archives have also suffered serious losses, for instance, the archives of the cathedral of Dol were destroyed when the cathedral was attacked by King John in 1203.[18] The scarcity of documents from the monasteries, which were in their heyday in the second half of the twelfth century, and from the cathedrals is particularly unfortunate.

Apart from ducal *acta*, the only official records of the Angevin administration are charters of the ducal seneschals recording proceedings in the ducal *curia*. Even these were produced *ad hoc*, at the request of the parties, and not as a matter of routine.

[16] A. Dufief, *Les Cisterciens en Bretagne aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles*, Rennes, 1997, pp. 86–91.

[17] See chapters 3 and 4.

[18] Dufief, *Cisterciens*, p. 191; F. Duine (ed.), *Inventaire liturgique de l'hagiographie bretonne. La Bretagne et les pays celtique*. XVI, Paris, 1922, p. 125; W. L. Warren, *King John*, 2nd edn, New Haven and London, 1997, p. 87.

Transactions between laymen were not customarily recorded in writing in Brittany before the mid-twelfth century. The extant charters and notices from before this date were all produced to record transactions in which a religious institution had an interest. The practice of recording transactions between laymen first appears during the reign of Duke Conan IV (1156–66).[19] It is likely that this material is significantly under-represented in the historical record, in comparison with written records of transactions involving churches. The relative rarity of extant written records of transactions between laymen is probably explained by failure of preservation. It is significant that some of the earliest documents made on behalf of laymen pertain to the greatest baronial families, principally Fougères and Vitré, who were the leaders, among the barons, in beginning both to produce and to preserve documents themselves.[20]

The main diplomatic sources for this study, then, are the *acta* of Henry II and Duke Geoffrey pertaining to Brittany, the *acta* of royal/ducal officers produced in the exercise of their duties, and documents produced by religious institutions who were the beneficiaries of the exercise of these duties.

The remainder of this introductory chapter will pursue the theme of Brittany's integration in the wider Frankish and Anglo-Norman world. This issue would not arise in a study of any of the neighbouring regions, such as Maine or Anjou, and the reason why it arises in respect of Brittany is the conventional characterisation of Brittany as a Celtic region. As a preliminary matter, then, I would emphasise that medieval Brittany was not culturally homogeneous. The immigrants from the British Isles who began to colonise Brittany in the fifth century joined a population similar to that in other parts of the former Roman Gaul, combining Gallo-Romans and more recent Germanic arrivals in the east. The Bretons, naturally, did not colonise Brittany uniformly, rather they were concentrated in the west, on the Armorican peninsula, and along the littoral. Although later military success would extend the hegemony of the peninsular Bretons eastwards beyond even the boundaries of the medieval duchy of Brittany, this proved ephemeral,

[19] *EYC*, IV, no. 58. Since Conan made numerous charters, some in Brittany, in respect of grants to laymen in the honour of Richmond, it is probable that he adopted the practice in England and introduced it in Brittany after 1156 (*EYC*, IV, nos. 40, 41, 47, 52, 55, 65, and 79; *Charters*, Ge6).

[20] J. Aubergé (ed.), *Le cartulaire de la seigneurie de Fougères connu sous le nom de Cartulaire d'Alençon*, Rennes, 1913; A. Bertrand de Brousillon (ed.), *La maison de Laval (1020–1605): Etude historique accompagnée du cartulaire de Laval*, I, Paris, 1895. The testament of Andrew II de Vitré, dated 1184, is the earliest known for Brittany, although it was made in Jerusalem (A. Bertrand de Brousillon, 'La charte d'André II de Vitré et le siège de Kerak en 1184', *Bulletin historique et philologique de la comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques* (1899), 47–53).

both politically and culturally, even in the future counties of Rennes and Nantes. By the twelfth century, Frankish cultural influence predominated east of a zone running north–south, corresponding, very approximately, with the courses of the Rance and the Vilaine.[21] Hence there is no question about the integration of at least the eastern part of Brittany with the neighbouring regions of Francia. They belonged to the same cultural and political world.

One would expect to find a distinction between the east and the west of Brittany in this regard, and indeed, around 1100, contemporaries might describe men of Cornouaille as 'Britones', as distinct from men of Nantes.[22] Yet the sources do not yield any visible cultural difference between east and west, at least among the clergy and the aristocracy. The exclusive use of Latin for writing, and its monopoly by the clergy, certainly disguises such differences, but this in itself is a manifestation of how ecclesiastical institutions were a force for integration between east and west, Frankish and Breton.

Cultural influences may be seen as working in both directions. The aristocracy of eastern Brittany, while integrated in Frankish society, as is demonstrated for example by their personal names (*Radulfus*, *Gaufridus*, *Willelmus*), were evidently conscious of, and proud of, their separate Celtic cultural and literary heritage.[23] The aristocracy of western Brittany, although they ruled over a society that was geographically isolated and where the vernacular language was Breton,[24] were perfectly capable of participating in Frankish and Anglo-Norman affairs when they chose to, as the examples discussed below demonstrate.

The second matter to be emphasised is that, prior to the advent of Henry II, Brittany was not an autonomous region. Since the Merovingian period, rulers of Brittany had been subject, at least in theory, to the rulers of Francia.[25] After the collapse of Carolingian authority, the

[21] The question of the topographical limits of Breton settlement, and its long-term influence, is one that has been debated by Breton scholars for over a hundred years. See A. Chédeville and H. Guillotel, *La Bretagne des saints et des rois Ve-Xe siècle*, Rennes, 1984, pp. 33–47; P. Galliou and M. Jones, *The Bretons*, Oxford, 1991, chapter six; Smith, *Province and empire*, p. 43; N.-Y. Tonnerre, *Naissance de la Bretagne: Géographie historique et structures sociales de la Bretagne méridionale (Nantais et Vannetais) de la fin du XIIIe à la fin du XIIe siècle*, Angers, 1994, chapter 2.

[22] *Cart. Quimperlé*, no. xxxv, *c.*1100.

[23] N.-Y. Tonnerre, 'Celtic literary tradition and the development of a feudal principality in Brittany', in H. Pryce (ed.), *Literacy in medieval celtic societies*, Cambridge, 1998, pp. 166–82.

[24] *Cart. Quimperlé*, pp. 19–21, and 36–37; AD Finistère, 1H79 (copies of twelfth- and early thirteenth-century charters of the abbey of Daoulas). See C. Brett, 'Breton latin literature as evidence for literature in the vernacular, AD 800–1300', *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies* 18 (1989), 1–25.

[25] Chédeville and Guillotel, *Bretagne des saints*, pp. 51–68; Smith, *Province and empire*, pp. 18–19. The Capetian kings extended their influence in Brittany in the first half of the twelfth century. In 1123, the bishop of Nantes obtained a charter of protection from Louis VI (N.-Y. Tonnerre,

dukes and counts of Brittany from time to time came under the political influence of the counts of Blois-Chartres, Maine and Anjou and of the dukes of Normandy.[26] Thus, when Henry II asserted his lordship over all of Brittany, he was not exercising some new and unheard of rapacity, but was following the example of his Norman and Angevin ancestors. In exercising direct lordship over Brittany, he was merely fulfilling their ambitions. The fact that the counts and dukes of Brittany had been effectively independent of external lordship since the end of the Carolingian era was not a manifestation of some ancient autonomy; it was rather due to the fragmentation of political authority which was occurring throughout Francia at the time.

The incidence of Frankish institutions in eleventh-century and early twelfth-century Brittany may be traced to two causes. The first was Brittany's relationship with the Carolingian empire, which necessarily involved the importation of Frankish institutions west of the Breton march. Even the westernmost regions were incorporated in the ninth-century province of Brittany, which was unified under Carolingian authority.[27] The demise of the Carolingian empire did not extinguish these institutions. As elsewhere in Francia, they evolved and mutated in the course of the tenth and eleventh centuries.

A second phase of importation of Frankish institutions occurred in the tenth and eleventh centuries.[28] During the Viking attacks on Brittany in the first half of the tenth century, many leaders, lay and ecclesiastical, went into exile in the French hinterland. Inevitably they were influenced by the society they encountered there, and these influences were felt when they returned to Brittany. This is exemplified by the drive to revive and reform Benedictine monasticism which took place in Brittany from the late tenth century. New abbeys were founded, and the few that had survived from the Carolingian period were reformed. In all cases, this involved the introduction of an abbot and monks from an established monastery outside Brittany.[29] As well as reforming ideals, the monks brought with them Frankish institutions for the administration of the monastic estates. These, in turn, influenced the estate-management practices of their lay neighbours. Arguably, this is the origin of the offices of *senescallus*, *prepositus* and *vicarius* character-

'XIe-XIIe siècles', in Y. Durand (ed.), *Histoire des diocèses de France*. XVIII, *Le diocèse de Nantes*, Paris, 1985, p. 39). Between 1148 and 1153, it appears that Eudo de Porhoët sought the support of Louis VII for his régime as duke of Brittany (B. S. James (ed.), *The letters of St. Bernard of Clairvaux*, London, 1953, pp. 439–40).

[26] A. Chédeville and N.-Y. Tonnerre, *La Bretagne féodale*, Rennes, 1987, pp. 21–82, *passim*.

[27] Smith, *Province and empire*, chs. 3, 4, and 5, especially pp. 88, 115, and 144.

[28] Tonnerre, *Naissance de Bretagne*, p. 287.

[29] See below, p. 14.

istic of the administration of both lay and ecclesiastical estates in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Significantly, in Cornouaille, where Breton was the vernacular language, a Frankish term was employed for the office of seneschal, presumably because the institution itself was a Frankish importation [30]

There were thus two separate currents of Frankish influence operating throughout Brittany in the eleventh and early twelfth centuries. One derived from the survival of Carolingian institutions, the other from the importation from Francia of post-Carolingian institutions in the tenth and eleventh centuries.

It would be satisfying to list all the manifestations of Brittany's integration with the politics and culture of neighbouring regions. This would, however, involve a lengthy description of all aspects of contemporary politics and culture. Instead, I have selected some specific topics by way of illustration. These are marital alliances with neighbouring regions, relations with England, crusading, coinage and the church.

Prior to the mid-eleventh century, the comital family of Rennes had formed marriage alliances with the dukes of Normandy (Geoffrey I (992–1008) and Richard II, duke of Normandy, had each married the other's sister) and the counts of Blois (Alan III (1008–40) married Bertha, daughter of Eudo II, count of Blois). From the late eleventh century, the dukes of the newly forged ducal dynasty always married brides from outside the duchy. Duke Alan IV (1084–1112) married Constance, daughter of William the Conqueror, in 1087.[31] After her early death, Alan married Ermengard, the daughter of Fulk IV of Anjou. Ermengard provided a son and heir, Conan III, and survived her husband by many years. She was a formidable influence throughout most of Conan's reign, and especially ensured that the counties of Nantes and Rennes enjoyed close relations with Anjou.[32] Conan III himself married an illegitimate daughter of King Henry I. These marriages indicate that the dukes of Brittany had sufficient prestige to enter into marriage alliances with the counts, dukes and even kings of neighbouring regions, but the marriages are also significant for the familial connections they created. The marriage of a daughter of Duke Alan IV to Baldwin VII, count of Flanders, around 1101, was dissolved

[30] 'Dungualonus echonomus qui vulgo seneschal appellabatur', *Cart. Quimperlé*, no. LXXII, see also nos. XXV, and XC.

[31] *Cart. Quimperlé*, p. 105, and no. CXI.

[32] Y. Hillion, 'Mariage et mécénat: Deux aspects de la condition féminine aristocratique en Bretagne, au milieu du XIIe siècle', in *Etudes sur la Bretagne et les pays celtiques: Mélanges offerts à Yves Le Gallo*. Centre de Recherche Bretonne et Celtique, Brest, 1991, pp. 162, and 165.

by papal decree on the grounds of consanguinity, the parties being within the prohibited degrees of relationship on at least two counts.[33]

Although it was unusual for the Breton nobility to marry outside Brittany, the occasions when they did also indicate involvement in French and Anglo-Norman politics at a high level. In the mid-eleventh century, Rivallon, the first lord of Combour, married Aremburga du Puiset.[34] Harvey, lord of Léon, married an illegitimate daughter of Stephen of Blois at a time when the latter seemed secure on the throne of England.[35] In 1151, Henry, lord of Tréguier, married Matilda, daughter of John, count of Vendôme.[36]

Links between the Armorican peninsula and the south-west of Britain were of course fundamental to the creation of Breton society in the early middle ages. I will begin this discussion, though, with contacts in the tenth century. While Breton monks notoriously sought refuge from Viking attacks in more easterly parts of France, at least some of the Breton nobility went into exile in southern England. It was from England that Alan 'Barbetorte' launched his campaign to reunite Brittany under his authority. Thus the Breton aristocracy also experienced Anglo-Saxon culture and institutions.[37] In contrast with the Carolingian influence, there is now little evidence for Anglo-Saxon influence on Breton society, although the identification of Anglo-Saxon motifs in the ornament of the tenth-century crypt of the church of Lanmeur (Finistère) is tantalising.[38]

These contacts did not cease in the eleventh century. Bretons were among the foreigners received in England by Edward the Confessor.[39] Recent research has revealed the extent to which Bretons participated in the Norman conquest of England, and subsequently held cross-channel estates as tenants-in-chief of the English crown.[40] Two different

[33] F. Vercauteren (ed.), *Actes des comtes de Flandre, 1071–1128*, Brussels, 1938, p. xviii; *Preuves*, cols. 512–3; 'Genealogiæ comitum Flandriæ', in L. C. Bethmann (ed.), *Monumenta Germaniæ historica . . . Scriptorum*, IX, Hanover, 1851, pp. 302–36 at 323; *RHF*, XIII, p. 411, note (e).

[34] H. Guillotel, 'Des vicomtes d'Alet aux vicomtes de Poudouvre (Ille-et-Vilaine)', *Annales de la Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de l'arrondissement de Saint-Malo* (1988), 201–15 at 214. This marriage was no doubt connected with the alliance between the count of Rennes and the counts of Blois.

[35] See below, p. 16.

[36] See below, p. 62.

[37] Jankulak, *St Petroc*, ch. 3, 'The tenth century and Breton exiles'.

[38] Jankulak, *ibid.*; P. Guigon, 'Lanmeur (Finistère), Crypte', in X. Barral i Altet (ed.), *Le paysage monumental de la France autour de l'an mil*, Paris, 1987, pp. 239–41 at 240.

[39] K. S. B. Keats-Rohan, 'Le rôle des Bretons dans la politique de colonisation normande de l'Angleterre (vers 1042–1135)', *MSHAB* 74 (1996),181–215 at 182–5.

[40] This was observed by Sir Frank Stenton (*The first century of English feudalism, 1066–1166*, 2nd edn, Oxford, 1961, pp. 25–6) and elaborated by K. S. B. Keats-Rohan in a series of recent articles (see Bibliography).

contingents of Breton settlers have been identified. The most conspicuous was from the north-west of Brittany, under the leadership of the sons of Eudo *comes Britannorum*, younger brother of Duke Alan III and autonomous lord of Penthièvre. At least two of Eudo's younger sons, Brian and Alan Rufus, took part in the 1066 expedition. Alan was rewarded with large estates in eastern England. With additional grants of land stretching from northern Yorkshire to Essex and Hertfordshire, these formed the honour of Richmond, retained by Eudo's descendants into the thirteenth century. Numerous Bretons, principally from the lands controlled by the Penthièvre family, settled on these estates. The other contingent lacked the unity of the Richmond tenants. These were Bretons from the north-east of the duchy who received grants of land in the midlands, the south-west and the Welsh Marches, mainly from Henry I.

It is self-evident that these Bretons, who were so involved in Anglo-Norman and Angevin society through landholding and marriage, cannot have been monolingual in Breton or in any way insular in their culture and politics. It is surely significant that in establishing the *caput* of his honour near Gilling (North Yorks.), Alan Rufus gave it the Romance name of Richmond, rather than a name derived from Brittany or the Breton language.

In addition to their participation in the Norman conquest of England, Bretons joined in the other contemporary Frankish movement of the First Crusade. A Breton contingent, led by Duke Alan IV, fought alongside the Normans.[41] One source (albeit probably a partisan one) accords Alan IV a prominent role, describing him as the first lay magnate to take the cross at Clermont in 1095, and as leading the Frankish delegation to meet the emperor at Byzantium.[42] In joining the first crusade, Bretons shared an experience common to other contemporary French nobles and knights. After 1099, Bretons continued to make pilgrimages, armed and unarmed, to Jerusalem.[43]

As to coinage, Brittany followed the pattern common to western Francia following the breakdown of Carolingian royal authority. The royal prerogative of minting coins devolved to the level of the dukes but no further. The only coins minted in Brittany other than at ducal mints were those of the lords of Penthièvre, a cadet branch of the ducal

[41] M. Jones, 'Les Bretons et les croisades', *MSHAB* 71 (1994) 367–80; J. Riley-Smith, *The first crusaders, 1095–1131*, Cambridge, 1997, Appendix 1.

[42] Academie des Inscriptiens et Belles-Lettres, 'Li estoire de Jerusalem et d'Antioche', *Recueil des historiens des croisades: Historiens occidentaux*, 5 vols., v, Academie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Paris, 1844–95, p. 625–37.

[43] *Preuves*, cols. 588, 603, 622, 647, 672.

dynasty which did not acknowledge ducal authority. Breton coinage was consistent with that of neighbouring regions in terms of its design and value.[44]

There is some evidence for the circulation of 'foreign' coinage in Brittany before the mid-twelfth century. A coin-hoard from the 1080s deposited at Bain is predominantly composed of Breton ducal coinage, but also contains some coins minted by the counts of Anjou and one specimen of French royal coinage minted at Mantes. There is more evidence for Breton coins circulating outside Brittany in this period, mainly in Normandy. Among these are specimens of the coinage of Penthièvre, minted at Guingamp by Stephen, lord of Penthièvre (1098–*c.* 1136), if not before.[45] *Deniers* of Guingamp were common currency within the continental domains of the Angevin empire. As such, they were included in an Angevin royal ordonnance on exchange rates, which indicates that *deniers* of Guingamp were of approximately the same value as those of Angers and Tours.[46]

On the subject of the integration of Brittany into the Frankish world, one cannot overestimate the role of the church. All nine dioceses of Brittany were within the ecclesiastical province of Tours, which, through provincial councils and archiepiscopal acts, ensured a degree of co-ordination between the Breton dioceses and the other, Frankish, dioceses of the province (Tours, Angers and Le Mans).

The dispute with Tours over the claims of the archbishop of Dol to metropolitan status, pursued from the mid-eleventh century and throughout the twelfth, is deceptive because it suggests that the Breton church had a national identity and that it sought independence from the 'French' archbishop of Tours.[47] Not all of the dioceses of Brittany recognised Dol's metropolitan status, however. In fact the dukes do not seem to have supported Dol, and the dioceses which were in comital/ducal hands (Rennes, Nantes, Vannes and Cornouaille) were not suffragans of Dol in this period. From 1122 until its final demise in 1199, the archbishopric of Dol in fact had only two suffragans, the bishops of Saint-Brieuc and Tréguier, with the remaining six dioceses of Brittany accepting the supremacy of Tours. The dioceses of Saint-

[44] F. Poey d'Avant, *Monnaies féodales de France*, 3 vols., Paris, 1858, I, pp. 38–9.

[45] J. Duplessy, *Les trésors monétaires médiévaux et modernes découverts en France*, I, *751–1223*, Paris 1985, no. 30 (Bain) and, outside Brittany, nos. 138, 220, 223, and 239; A. Bigot, *Essai sur les monnaies du royaume et duché de Bretagne*, Paris 1857, pp. 65–73.

[46] Bigot, *Monnaies de Bretagne*, p. 354.

[47] For accounts of this conflict, see G. Conklin, 'Les Capétiens et l'affaire de Dol de Bretagne 1179–1199', *Revue d'histoire de l'église de France* 78 (1992) 241–63; P. de Fougerolles, 'Pope Gregory VII, the Archbishopric of Dol and the Normans', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 21 (1999 for 1998), 47–66. See below, pp. 69–75.

Brieuc and Tréguier were controlled by the lords of Penthièvre, who, throughout the period of the Dol dispute, maintained a policy of independence from the dukes of Brittany. The decision of their bishops to support the archbishop of Dol, contrary to ducal policy, was a manifestation of their dependence upon the lords of Penthièvre.

Gregorian reform was at first stubbornly resisted in Brittany, where the counts and other magnates treated the bishoprics within their territories as family property.[48] By the twelfth century, though, the reform movement began to take effect. Bishops from outside Brittany were appointed, such as the Angevin Marbod, bishop of Rennes (1093–1123), and Baldric of Bourgeuil, archbishop of Dol (1107–30). Native Breton bishops shared the education and values of their brother bishops, no doubt due to the fact that the Breton clergy moved freely between Brittany and Francia. Peter Abelard, for instance, was born at Le Pallet in the county of Nantes. After the downfall of his scholastic career, Abelard was elected abbot of the ancient Breton abbey of Saint-Gildas de Rhuys. Bernard de Moëlan was chancellor of the cathedral of Chartres before returning to his native Cornouaille as bishop of Quimper (1159–67). Bernard d'Escoublac was a monk at Clairvaux before becoming bishop of Nantes (*c.* 1148–70). Josce, bishop of Saint-Brieuc (1150–1157), became archbishop of Tours (1157–74). William the Breton was educated at Mantes, returned to his native diocese of Saint-Pol de Léon, then entered the service of Philip Augustus. Breton clerics enjoyed a high reputation as scholars. [49]

As to the regular clergy, no Breton monastery survived unscathed the Viking attacks of the early tenth century. All the Breton monasteries of the eleventh century were, therefore, refounded, or were new foundations, initially with monks from outside Brittany. Similarly, at this time many smaller monasteries were founded or refounded as priories directly dependent upon these 'foreign' abbeys.[50]

From the turn of the twelfth century, Brittany was at the forefront in the growth of the new religious orders. Initially, the forests which formed the marches of Brittany, Normandy and Maine attracted hermits and ascetic communities. The abbey of Savigny was founded there under the patronage of the lords of Fougères. Ralph I de Fougères also offered property to Bernard, the founder of Tiron, but apparently

[48] Chédeville and Tonnerre, *Bretagne féodale*, pp. 239–54; L. Maître, 'Le situation du diocèse de Nantes au XIe et au XIIe siècles', *AB* 26 (1910–11), 489–518; G. Devailly, 'Une enquête en cours: L'application de la réforme grégorienne en Bretagne', *AB* 75 (1968), 293–316.

[49] R. L. Poole, 'The masters of the schools at Paris and Chartres in John of Salisbury's time', *English Historical Review* 139 (1920), 321–42 at 338–42.

[50] Chédeville and Tonnerre, *Bretagne féodale*, pp. 223–9; R. Grand, *L'art roman en Bretagne*, Paris, 1958; D. Andrejewski (ed.), *Les abbayes bretonnes*, Paris, 1982.

there was not room in the forest for both holy men, and Bernard and his followers moved on.[51] Robert of Arbrissel, the founder of Fontevraud, originated in this area. One of his followers, Ralph de la Fustaye, founded the abbey of Saint-Sulpice-la-Forêt, north-east of Rennes, modelled on Fontevraud.[52] The Cistercian order enjoyed early and rapid success, under the patronage of both the ducal family and the lords of Penthièvre.[53] The Angevin Ermengard, especially as dowager-duchess, seems to have played an important role in religious reform in Brittany. She was in correspondence not only with Marbod, the reformist bishop of Rennes, but also Gerard of Angoulême, Robert of Arbrissel, Bernard of Clairvaux and Geoffrey of Vendôme.[54] All were, no doubt, eager to benefit from Ermengard's patronage and her influence with her son, Duke Conan III, to implement their reforming ideals in the duchy. Apart from liturgies containing some obscure Celtic saints,[55] by the mid-twelfth century there was nothing to distinguish the church in Brittany from that of the neighbouring provinces.

Finally, as an example of integration, I would cite the seignorial family of Léon. While most of the evidence of relationships between the Breton aristocracy and that of neighbouring provinces derives from the eastern parts of Brittany, the case of the lords of Léon, from the extreme north-west, proves that geographical situation was not a conclusive factor. The populace of the barony of Léon was culturally Breton and spoke the Breton language. The lords themselves continued to use Breton personal names.[56] In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, institutions of Carolingian origin were present in Léon. The lords of Léon themselves seem to have been descendants of the Carolingian *vicecomes* of that *pagus*, who usurped the public authority of their office. Their baronial administration had Carolingian aspects

[51] 'Gaufridus Grossus, monachus Tironiensis, Vita Beati Bernardi', in J.-P. Migne (ed.), *Patrologiæ cursus completus . . . series latinæ*, CLXXII, Paris, 1854, cols. 1363–1446, at 1404–5.

[52] H. Guillotel, 'Les premiers temps de l'abbaye de Saint-Sulpice-la-Forêt', *Bulletins de la Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Bretagne* (1971–1974), 60–2.

[53] Dufief, *Cisterciens*, pp. 81–8.

[54] *PL*, 171, cols. 1659–60; *PL*, 172, cols. 1324–5; *PL*, 157, cols. 205–6; B. S. James (ed. and trans.), *The letters of St Bernard of Clairvaux*, London, 1753, nos. 119 and 120; J. de Petigny, 'Lettre inédite de Robert d'Arbrissel à la comtesse Ermengarde', *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*, 3rd ser., 5 (1854), 225–35. I am very grateful to Elisabeth Bos for these references.

[55] Duine, *Inventaire liturgique*, *passim*.

[56] The lords were named Guihomar or Herveus. While the latter is usually the Latin version of the Frankish Hervé, in this case it may be for the Breton name 'Hoarvei' (or variants thereof). A Breton saint of this name was particularly associated with the north-west of Brittany (Duine, *Inventaire liturgique*, pp. 52, 60, 214, 217, and 229). See also A.-Y. Bourgés, 'Guillaume le Breton et l'hagiographie bretonne aux XIIe-XIIIe siècles', *AB* 102 (1995), 35–45 at 43.

and they employed typically Frankish household officers such as a seneschal.[57]

In terms of external relations, the lords of Léon seem to have followed a policy of splendid isolation. Effectively independent of the dukes of Brittany, they eschewed participation in the Norman conquest of England, and Harvey de Léon was said to have declined an invitation to the court of Henry I. Making it very clear that he did so only of his own free will, he later crossed to England in support of King Stephen.[58] Stephen rewarded Harvey with marriage to his illegitimate daughter and endowed him with the earldom of Wiltshire and the honour of Eye, around 1139. Harvey showed his interest in the long-term future of his English estates in his attempt to make Eye priory an abbey, ending its dependence on the Norman abbey of Bernay.[59] If a lord of Léon was involved to this extent with Anglo-Norman affairs, it is safe to say that no part of Brittany was isolated from the currents of English and French politics and culture.

Angevin rule did not introduce completely new and alien institutions into Breton society. It is misconceived to attempt to understand Breton/Angevin relations in terms of Celtic *versus* Frankish culture. Rather, the Angevin government of Brittany was another phase in the long history of close political and cultural relations between Brittany and its neighbours, especially Normandy and Anjou. To understand the Angevin regime in Brittany, and in particular the extent to which it was innovative, it is necessary to consider the politics and government of the duchy immediately before it came under Angevin rule, and that is the subject of chapter one.

[57] H. Guillotel, 'Les vicomtes de Léon aux XIe et XIIe siècles', *MSHAB* 51 (1971), 29–51 at 37–41, and 45–6; *Preuves*, col. 669.

[58] K. R. Potter (ed. and trans.), *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis monachi: Historia novella*, London, 1955, p. 31.

[59] V. Brown (ed.), *Eye priory cartulary and charters, Part II*, Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1994, pp. 16–17, and 26; K. R. Potter and R. H. C. Davis (eds.), *Gesta Stephani: The deeds of King Stephen*, 2nd edn., Oxford, 1976, pp. 108–9, and 116–17. In 1141 Harvey suffered an ignominious defeat and returned to Brittany for good, his English lands forfeit (*Gesta Stephani*, pp. 71–2, and 77).

1

DUCAL BRITTANY, 1066–1166

Brittany, as a political unit, was a creation of the Carolingian empire, but during the tenth and the first half of the eleventh centuries, the former Carolingian *regnum* experienced political fragmentation.[1] Although individuals vied for the title of 'dux Britannie', in fact none exercised authority over the whole of the Armorican peninsula and its hinterland. By the mid-eleventh century, the peninsula was divided into six main political units; the county of Rennes, the lordships of Penthièvre and Léon, the county of Cornouaille, the Broërec (or the Vannetais) and the county of Nantes (see map 1).

At this point, the process of political fragmentation was halted by a series of marriages which united the comital families of Rennes, Nantes and Cornouaille to form a single ducal dynasty.[2] Duke Hoël I (1066–84) and his descendants now had the potential to consolidate ducal authority, winning back the exercise of public authority from those who had usurped it. This chapter will present a brief survey of political conditions in Brittany for the 100 years from 1066 to the advent of Henry II from the perspective of ducal authority.

Around 1066, the position of the dukes of Brittany was analogous to that of the contemporary kings of France, the first among equals, having prestige and no internal rival for the ducal title, but no real authority outside their own domains.[3] In terms of the exercise of ducal authority, three different categories of territory may be identified. First, in the north-west, the lordships of Penthièvre and Léon completely escaped ducal authority. The remainder of the duchy was notionally subject to

[1] J. M. H. Smith, *Province and empire: Carolingian Brittany*, Cambridge, 1992, pp. 144–5; H. Guillotel, 'Le premier siècle du pouvoir ducal breton (936–1040)', in *Actes du 103e congrès national des sociétés savantes*, Paris, 1979, pp. 63–84.

[2] A. Chédeville and N.-Y. Tonnerre, *La Bretagne féodale, XIe-XIIIe siècle*, Rennes, 1987, pp. 30–62, and see fig. 1.

[3] B. A. Pocquet du Haut-Jussé, 'Les Plantagenêts et la Bretagne', *AB* 53 (1946), 1–27 at 3.

ducal sovereignty. Here, though, there is a distinction between ducal domains, which were subject to direct ducal authority and administration, and the remaining territory, which was divided into numerous baronies. The duke did not exercise any direct authority within the baronies, but had some influence by virtue of the personal loyalty of individual barons and possibly also the physical proximity of ducal domains. Ducal domain and baronies coexisted in the counties of Rennes, Cornouaille and Nantes and the Broërec.[4]

PENTHIÈVRE AND LÉON

The absence of ducal authority in these regions is indicated by the fact that the dukes never went there, and their lords never attested ducal charters. Fortunately, it is not necessary to argue entirely from silence, because of the evidence of the 'Communes petitiones Britonum'. This is the record of an inquest, one in a series conducted in 1235 by order of King Louis IX to investigate complaints about the maladministration of the then duke, Peter de Dreux (1213–37). The inquest was held at Saint-Brieuc. The lay-witnesses (so far as they can be identified) were all vassals and tenants of the lords of Léon and Penthièvre; the ecclesiastical witnesses were all members of churches in the dioceses of Léon, Saint-Brieuc and Tréguier.

As recorded in the inquest proceedings, the 'petitiones' were that, before the time of Peter de Dreux:

- No duke of Brittany took custody of or relief from lands in Léon and Penthièvre;
- The barons of Léon and Penthièvre could construct fortifications without the permission of the duke;
- The barons of Léon and Penthièvre had the right of wreck on the shores of their lands;
- The barons of Léon and Penthièvre were accustomed to make wills ('testamenta') and to make arrangements freely regarding their debts and alms;
- The duke could not take homage from the barons' men;
- The barons of Léon and Penthièvre had jurisdiction in 'pleas of the sword' ('placitum spade').[5]

The 'petitiones' thus depict a situation in which ducal authority was non-existent. The basic elements of public authority (jurisdiction and

[4] See A. de la Borderie, *Essai sur la géographie féodale de la Bretagne*, Rennes, 1889, for a survey of both ducal domain and baronies. For ducal domains, see Map 2.

[5] This was not listed as one of the 'petitiones', but see 'Communes petitiones britonum', pp. 100–1.

control of castle-building) and even feudal lordship (the right to custody of lands and infant heirs, the right to receive relief and homage) were exercised by barons rather than by the duke of Brittany.

What circumstances predisposed and enabled the lords of Léon and Penthièvre to resist ducal authority? In the case of Léon, the answer is probably simply remoteness from the centres of ducal power. There was also the history of the baronial dynasty, originally *vicecomites* of the *comites* of Cornouaille who had usurped the public authority delegated to them. By the late eleventh century they were therefore able to exercise public authority within their lands with a semblance of legitimacy.[6]

The lords of Penthièvre held an even stronger position, necessarily since their lands adjoined the county of Rennes. The barony was created in the early eleventh century by Eudo, the younger brother of Duke Alan III (1008–40). Instead of acknowledging that the barony was in any way subject to the senior, ducal line, Eudo and his descendants adopted a resolutely autonomous policy, evoking their ducal pedigree to rule Penthièvre under the title *comes* or even *comes Britannorum*.[7] In addition to the evidence of the 'Communes petitiones Britonum', their exercise of public authority is exemplified by the fact that the lords of Penthièvre minted their own coins, the notorious *deniers* of Guingamp.[8] No other 'feudal coinage' is known to have been minted in Brittany other than the ducal coinage itself.

THE BARONIES

In the absence of such explicit evidence as the 'Communes petitiones Britonum', the exercise of ducal authority within the baronies is less clear. It would seem that the rights and immunities enjoyed by the lords of Léon and Penthièvre were also enjoyed by the barons of the other regions of Brittany. There is no evidence that barons (as distinguished from tenants of ducal domain) regarded themselves as holding their lands 'of the duke'. There is no evidence that they rendered homage to the duke for their lands, or that the duke in any way regulated succession to the baronies, and for this reason I have avoided calling them 'tenants-in-chief' or 'vassals' of the duke.

[6] H. Guillotel, 'Les vicomtes de Léon aux XIe et XIIe siècles', *MSHAB* 51 (1971), 29–51; P. Kernévez, 'Les châteaux du Léon au XIIIe siècle', *MSHAB* 69 (1992), 95–127.

[7] H. Guillotel, 'Les origines de Guingamp: Sa place dans la géographie féodale bretonne', *MSHAB* 56 (1979), 81–100; H. Guillotel (ed.), 'Les actes des ducs de Bretagne (944–1148)' (thèse pour le Doctorat en Droit, Université de Droit d'Economie et des sciences sociales de Paris (Paris II), 1973).

[8] See above, p. 13.

The duke could not summon barons to his court, and hence he could not exercise jurisdiction over them. Barons did however attend the ducal *curia*, as can be seen from the lists of witnesses to ducal *acta*.[9] They seem to have attended voluntarily, when it suited them to associate with the duke. As might be expected, the more powerful the duke, the more barons attended his court. As an example of the converse, during the civil war of 1148–56, the *acta* of the rival claimants to the duchy, Eudo de Porhoët and Hoël, count of Nantes, are almost free of baronial attestations.[10]

There is also some evidence for the existence of two rights which would indicate the exercise of ducal authority: the right to summon the host and the right to levy a general impost (*tallia*). Some of the barons were, theoretically at least, liable to the military duty of *ost* or *exercitus*. Examples come from the baronies of Pontchâteau and Hennebont in the first quarter of the twelfth century.[11] Both baronies were relatively recent creations, however, and had perhaps escaped less completely from ducal authority than had older baronies.[12] Counts/dukes undertook military campaigns within Brittany in this period, but their armies could have comprised household knights, the tenants of domainal lands and any barons who voluntarily lent their support. Hence there is no evidence that the barons were ever actually obliged to join the ducal host; neither are the precise military obligations of any baron specified.

There is even less evidence of the dukes levying a general impost, as distinct from the customary dues payable by the inhabitants of ducal domains. The only instance I have found of ducal *tallia* levied on the inhabitants of a barony is at Pontchâteau. There, Jarnogon de Pontchâteau made a gift of immunity from *tallia* but not from 'talliaca comitis',[13] presumably because it was not within Jarnogon's power to waive a ducal impost. There is still no evidence that the 'tallia comitis' was actually collected or even levied. This reference may represent no more than the recognition that 'tallia comitis' might be levied, and, as noted above, Pontchâteau was not a typical barony; its proximity to Nantes and recent creation made it vulnerable to ducal authority.

In general, the exercise of ducal authority depended upon the relative strength of the duke and of each individual baron from time to time.

[9] E.g. *Cart. Redon*, no. CCXC; *Preuves*, cols. 465–6, and 470; *Actes inédits*, nos. XXXI and XL.

[10] *Actes inédits*, nos. XLV–XLVII.

[11] M. de Brehier, 'Chartes relatives au prieuré de Pontchâteau', *BSAN* 3 (1863), 17–40 at 23, no. III; *Cart. Quimperlé*, no. LXVIII.

[12] N.-Y. Tonnerre, *Naissance de la Bretagne: Géographie historique et structures sociales de la Bretagne méridionale (Nantais et Vannetais) de la fin du VIIIe à la fin du XIIe siècle*, Angers, 1994, pp. 317 and 345–6.

[13] de Brehier, 'Pontchâteau', p. 23 no. III.

The relative strength of the dukes increased during the long and stable reigns of Alan IV and Conan III. The latter was able to take punitive action against some defiant barons; Conan imprisoned Oliver, the son of Jarnogon de Pontchâteau, disinherited Savary de Donges, and also pursued a vigorous campaign against Robert de Vitré.[14]

THE DUCAL DOMAINS

Ducal domain was not, of course, permanently fixed and stable. Domains, or portions of them, were alienated to the church and to laymen, who might escape ducal control and hold their lands autonomously, although this was unlikely to occur after the early twelfth century. New domains were added when the duke took baronial lands into his own hand. Lack of detailed evidence makes it impossible to determine the exact extent of ducal domains in this period; one can identify their locations but not their boundaries (see Map 2).

Only within the lands which constituted the ducal domains could the dukes exercise authority whether seignorial or ducal, such as levying a general impost (*tallia*) and summoning the host. A charter of Redon, albeit probably a twelfth-century forgery, records that the dukes levied 'quandam consuetudinem . . . quam vulgo tallia nuncupatur', in their domains of Piriac and Guérande.[15] Conan III granted immunity to Savigny from 'hostico et tallia et corvea' in ducal forests. Conan IV granted twenty *solidi* of the *tallia* of Guingamp to the abbey of Beaulieu and also made a grant in respect of the *tallia* of Cap-Sizun.[16] When Duke Hoel I gave 'Treu Ridiern' to Sainte-Croix de Quimperlé, he granted it free from 'ostagium', 'tali pacto ut quod homines in exercitu expenderent, ad opus ecclesie reddere non differant'. An inquest held in Nantes in 1206 describes elaborate customary procedures, dating at least from the early twelfth century, for the summoning of the ducal host in the city.[17]

There was nothing in principle to distinguish the administration of the ducal domains from baronial administration. The only difference was that even the greatest of the barons held lands limited to a particular region of the duchy, whereas, in consequence of the dynastic history of the ducal family, the ducal domain consisted of parcels of land scattered

[14] *Cart. Redon*, no. CCCXLVIII; *Preuves*, col. 553; H. Guillotel, 'Les origines du bourg de Donges', *AB* 84 (1977), 541–52 at 544; M. Brand'honneur, 'La lignage, point de cristillisation d'une nouvelle cohésion sociale. Les Goranton-Hervé de Vitré aux XIe, XIIe et XIIIe siècles', *MSHAB* 70 (1993), 65–87 at 74–5.

[15] *Cart. Redon*, no. CCCLXX, Guillotel, 'Actes', no. 115.

[16] *Actes inédits*, no. XXXIX, Guillotel, 'Actes', no. 171, *Actes inédits*, no. LI, *Cart. Quimper*, pp. 45–6.

[17] *Cart. Quimperlé*, no. LV; *Preuves*, cols. 802–4.

throughout Brittany, excepting Léon and Penthièvre in the north-west. This was particularly advantageous in enabling the dukes to control the principal routes of transport and communication, both by land and by water.[18]

The counts had retained control of the principal urban centres in their counties. Thus the ducal domains featured profitable rights in and around the largest towns of Brittany, Nantes, Rennes, and Vannes. In Nantes, the duke held half of the town in domain, the other half being held by the bishop.[19] The ducal domain was even more extensive in Rennes.[20]

The county of Cornouaille represented an exception. Here, the principal town, Quimper, was dominated by the bishop, with the count/duke possessing only a suburb outside the town walls. Nevertheless, the majority of comital/ducal *acta* made in Cornouaille were made at Quimper, which suggests it was the principal seat of the counts/dukes in that county. Quimperlé, originally comital domain, grew into a substantial town during the eleventh century, but it was controlled by the abbey of Sainte-Croix, which the counts of Cornouaille had founded there early in the eleventh century.[21] On the other hand, comital rule in Cornouaille had been effective during the eleventh century, and the count/dukes retained extensive and strategic domains in the county. For instance, these included the eastern forest of Carnoët, used to found the abbeys of Sainte-Croix de Quimperlé and Saint-Maurice de Carnoët, and the north-western castellany of Châteaulin, retained as a buffer against Léon to the north.[22]

In contrast, in the county of Rennes, the dukes possessed little beyond the city of Rennes and its environs, with the forest which extended to the north-east of the city as far as the frontier baronies of Fougères, Châteaugiron and Vitré. By 1066, the counts of Rennes also possessed the Broërec, where extensive domains were retained. Consequently, the dukes controlled the town of Vannes, which like Nantes was an important focus for marine and river trade, and the castellanies of Auray and Ploërmel. Most of the extensive coastline of the Broërec was also comital/ducal domain, but apart from Ploërmel and some lesser baronies (Rochefort, Malestroit, Elven), the hinterland of the Broërec was occupied by the barony of Porhoët.[23]

[18] Tonnerre, *Naissance de Bretagne*, pp. 496, 515, and 538.
[19] Chédeville and Tonnerre, *Bretagne féodale*, p. 77; Tonnerre, *Naissance de Bretagne*, p. 525.
[20] Chédeville and Tonnerre, *Bretagne féodale*, pp. 419–20.
[21] *Charters*, no. C3; *Cart. Quimperlé*, no. LXXIV; *Actes inédits*, no. XXVIII.
[22] Chédeville and Tonnerre, *Bretagne féodale*, p. 60.
[23] Tonnerre, *Naissance de Bretagne*, pp. 349–50, 357, 515–20; H. Guillotel, 'De la vicomté de Rennes à la vicomté de Porhoët (fin du Xe-milieu du XIIe siècle)', *MSHAB* 73 (1995), 5–23.

The ducal domain in the county of Nantes was more extensive. Apart from the city of Nantes, north of the Loire, the dukes possessed Guérande, with its profitable salt-works, the castellany of Blain and the forest of Le Gâvre.[24] South of the Loire, ducal domains included the castellany of Le Pallet,[25] estates on the south bank of the Loire and another in the extreme south-west of the county.[26] The ducal forest of Touffou was particularly valuable from a strategic point-of-view, as it monopolised access to Nantes from the south. At the northern end of the crossing, entrance to the city of Nantes was secured by the ducal castle.[27] Additionally, the alluvial islands which formed in the lower reaches of the Loire were a ducal prerogative.[28]

While control of land was economically important for the proceeds of agriculture and forestry, towns were also increasingly important as centres of commercial activity. Tolls were levied on the routes leading to the towns, by land and by water, and on commercial activity therein, such as rental for market-stalls and levies on produce traded such as wine.[29]

Also significant was the minting of coins. Coinage was a source of both revenue and prestige. The only ducal mint for which there is evidence in the eleventh and twelfth centuries was at Rennes, but coins minted there were current in Cornouaille. Although there was a mint at Nantes in the Carolingian period, there is no record of coins being minted there again until the late twelfth century.[30]

The ducal administration was rudimentary and centred upon the itinerant household. Ducal government was largely personal. A tenant seeking ducal authorisation for a transaction, or ducal determination of a dispute, could have it on the duke's next visit to the area.[31] In addition to the duke's extended family, the itinerant household comprised various officers and servants. These may be described in general terms as

[24] Tonnerre, *Naissance de Bretagne*, pp. 415, 488.

[25] *Actes inédits*, no. XLI, p. 86 note 3; see Guillotel, 'Actes', no. 161.

[26] Ducal domain near Nantes was used by Conan III to found the abbey of Buzay ('Actes de Buzay', nos. 1, and 2). Another, near the mouth of the Loire, included Corsept, where Conan III founded a priory of Tiron (L. Merlet (ed.), *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de la Sainté-Trinité de Tiron*, ed. L. Merlet, Chartres, 1883, nos. CLXVI and CCXVI); *Actes inédits*, no. XL; see Guillotel, 'Actes', no. 160.

[27] M. Lopez, 'Un domaine ducal en pays de Retz: La châtellenie de Touffou', *Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes et de Recherches Historiques du Pays de Retz* (1984), 47–52 at 47–9; Tonnerre, *Naissance de Bretagne*, pp. 412–5, 538; S. de la Nicollière, 'Une charte de Conan III et le prieuré de la Madeleine des ponts de Nantes', *BSAN* (1863), 196–209 at 196.

[28] H. Guillotel, 'Administration et finances ducales en Bretagne sous le règne de Conan III', *MSHAB* 68 (1991), 19–43 at 27–8.

[29] Guillotel, 'Conan III', pp. 21, 29, and 30.

[30] Guillotel, 'Conan III', pp. 24–5; Tonnerre, *Naissance de Bretagne*, p. 539.

[31] *Cart. Quimperlé*, no. LXXXV; *Actes inédits*, no. XLI; Guillotel, 'Actes', no. 161.

'serviens' or 'famulus',[32] or specifically as steward or seneschal, chamberlain, pantler, butler, usher, chaplain.[33] There was no ducal chancellor until the reign of Conan IV, but the chaplains performed clerical functions as required.[34]

At times the household, wherever situated, was the venue for a session of the ducal *curia*, attended by the household officers, tenants of the ducal domain, and any barons, bishops and abbots who felt it was in their interests to attend. The formality of such occasions varied. The duke could convene his court to determine a legal dispute whenever and wherever he chose, assisted by whichever household officers, domainal tenants and other magnates happened to be present. There also seem to have been more formal sessions of the ducal *curia* which were customarily held at particular places, such as Redon.[35] Such a court, attended by lay and ecclesiastical magnates, would have been an occasion both to discuss important business and to do justice.

While the ducal household itinerated between ducal domains, the administration of each domain was conducted by a variety of local officials. Sometimes their specific titles indicate their functions, such as 'forestarius' and 'venator',[36] but these local officials are typically styled *prepositus* and *vicarius*.

There is so little evidence for the offices of *prepositus* and *vicarius* that it is difficult to distinguish the two in terms of duties and functions, a question upon which much ink has been spilt.[37] Nevertheless, the two offices were distinguishable by contemporaries, since references to *prepositi* and *vicarii* may occur in the same text.[38] The matter has been satisfactorily resolved by Jacques Boussard, who argues that the *prepositus*

[32] For example, 'Men serviens meus de Garranda' (*Preuves*, col. 560; Guillotel, 'Actes', no. 135), probably to be identified with Main de Guérande, who attested several *acta* of Conan III (*Actes inédits*, nos. XXXV, XXXVI, XL, XLI; Guillotel, 'Actes', nos. 166, 168, 160, 161). See Guillotel, 'Conan III', p. 34; *Actes inédits*, no. XLII; Guillotel, 'Actes', no. 151.

[33] *Preuves*, cols. 528, and 635; *Cart. Quimperlé*, nos. XLIII, LXXV, and LXXVII; *Actes inédits*, no. XXVII; Guillotel, 'Actes', no. 93; *Cart. Quimperlé*, nos. IV, IX, LXXV, and CXI; *Cart. Redon*, no. CCXC; Guillotel, 'Actes', no. 99, *Actes inédits*, nos. I; *Preuves*, cols. 523 and 617. For seneschals, see pp. 26–7.

[34] *Actes inédits*, no. XV; Guillotel, 'Actes', no. 79. *Preuves*, cols. 566–7.

[35] *Cart. Redon*, nos. CCXC, and CCCLXXVII.

[36] *Actes inédits*, no. XXIII; Guillotel, 'Actes', no. 96. *Cart. Quimperlé*, nos. III, LIV, and LXXXII.

[37] See, for instance: A. de la Borderie, *Histoire de Bretagne*, Rennes, 1899, III, pp. 105–15; A. Oheix, *Essai sur les sénéchaux de Bretagne des origines au XIVe siècle*, Paris, 1913; R. Delaporte, 'Les Sergents, Prévôts et Voyers féodés en Bretagne des origines au debut du XVe siècle' Université de Rennes, Faculté de Droit, doctoral thesis, 1938; J.-L. Montigny, *Essai sur les institutions du duché de Bretagne à l'epoque de Pierre Mauclerc et sur la politique de ce prince (1213–1237)*, Paris, 1961.

[38] E.g., *Actes inédits*, no. XV; Guillotel, 'Actes', no. 79; *Preuves*, col. 455; '. . . nec prepositi nec vicarii aliquam habeant in ea potestatem . . .' (grant by Conan III to the Knights Templar, 1141; *Preuves*, cols. 583–4; Guillotel, 'Actes' no. 152).

was the superior of the *vicarius* and had a range of important functions, principally judicial.[39] Although Boussard's evidence is from other regions of western France, there are examples of *prepositi* administering justice in Brittany. The ducal *prefectus* at Quimperlé sat in judgment there with the abbot of Sainte-Croix de Quimperlé.[40] The *prepositus* of the abbey of Saint-Georges de Rennes at Pleubihan was designated the 'defensor et protector' of this *plebs*, 'latronum etiam malefactor, justissimusque malefactorum persecutor, universorumque placitorum rectissimus judicator'.[41]

The office of *vicarius* is more problematical because of the potential for confusion with the Carolingian administrative office.[42] Most of the evidence for *vicarii* in Brittany in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, however, indicates that these officers were much more lowly than Carolingian *vicarii*. As Boussard has argued, the term *vicaria* had survived from the Carolingian administration, but with a changed meaning. It had come to describe certain rights once pertaining to the public administration, but since usurped by private individuals.[43] Specifically, by the eleventh century, *vicaria* had come to describe the right of the lord or his agent to enter land and there seize property or arrest persons accused of various offences (sometimes only the four serious offences of theft, murder, arson and rape) and to keep them in custody until they were tried or until a financial settlement was agreed. For instance, the 'villici' of both the abbey of Sainte-Croix de Quimperlé and of the count of Cornouaille at Quimperlé had responsibilities in the execution of distraints ('Ad preceptum abbatis et cellerarii, invasionem vulgari vocabulo saisiam dictam, propria manu facere, deinde villico comitis indilate tradendam').[44] The agent employed by the lord to exercise this right acquired the title *vicarius*. Thus the relative importance of a *vicarius* depended upon the extent of his lord's right of *vicaria*. The hereditary *vicarii* of the ducal domain of Guérande, for instance, seem to have been important and wealthy men, no doubt due to the commercial value of this domain. In contrast, in baronial charters, there often seems nothing to distinguish a witness styled *vicarius* from the other tenants attesting with him. Some of the duties of the 'villicus' of the abbey of Sainte-

[39] J. Boussard, *Le gouvernement d'Henri II Plantagenêt*, Paris, 1956, pp. 311–29.

[40] *Cart. Quimperlé*, no. LXX.

[41] *Preuves*, col. 409, from the cartulary of Saint-Georges de Rennes.

[42] J. Dunbabin, *France in the making, 843–1180*, Oxford, 1985, p. 41; Oheix, *Sénéchaux*, pp. 133, and 146.

[43] Boussard, *Gouvernement*, pp. 312–9; e.g., a grant of land to Marmoutier by some 'alodiarii' (*sic*) with the consent of their two lords, exempt from 'omni consuetudine exactionis vel vicarie seu ceterorum vectigalium' (*Preuves*, cols. 452–3).

[44] *Cart. Quimperlé*, no. XXXIII, cf. note c., pp. 170–1.

Croix indicate a rather humble status.[45] Lords with extensive lands, such as the dukes with their widespread domainal estates, no doubt employed numerous *vicarii*, each with responsibility for a particular estate.

As far as the exercise of jurisdiction was concerned, *vicarii* were the equivalent of modern police and bailiffs, while *prepositi* actually administered justice in the name of the duke or baron (or church). The functions of both *prepositi* and *vicarii* were not, however, limited to the exercise of jurisdiction.[46] In their other administrative functions, it is not possible to draw a distinction between the two offices. Boussard concluded, 'Dans l'ensemble, le prévôt, comme le voyer . . . est un agent d'administration domaniale chargé de percevoir les revenus et de veiller sur tous les droits qui appartiennent à son maître: paiement des redevances, droits de monneyage, droits sur les trésors trouvés, droits de passage, etc.'[47]

I have left discussion of the office of seneschal until last, because this office appeared late in the history of domainal administration. Although the office appears in charters in Brittany in the early eleventh century, at that time, the seneschal was a household officer. The office was not restricted to comital households. In the first half of the twelfth century the lords of Porhoët were served by a seneschal (or perhaps a succession of seneschals) named Philip. Seneschals were employed in ecclesiastical establishments in the eleventh century. The hereditary seneschals of the archbishops of Dol are particularly well recorded, starting with Alan, who held the office between about 1075 and 1095. Seneschals of the bishops of Rennes and Nantes are attested around the same time.[48] The office of household seneschal of the count of Rennes was certainly established by the middle of the eleventh century.[49] The evidence is less clear for the other counties, although the office also appears in Nantes at this time.[50]

During the reign of Duke Conan III (1112–48), a significant

[45] *Cart. Quimperlé*, no. xxxiii.

[46] E.g., the *villicus* of Sainte-Croix de Quimperlé was charged with rendering the 'communem pastum' owed to the abbey each January (*Cart. Quimperlé*, no. xxxiii).

[47] Boussard, *Gouvernement*, p. 321.

[48] *Cart. Morb.*, nos. cxciii, ccxiii, ccxxiv; *Enquête*, pp. 66–7; 'Cart. St-Georges', no. lviii; *Cart. Quimperlé*, no. lxxvi.

[49] See Appendix 2.

[50] In 1075, Geoffrey son of Aldroen 'dapifer' attested a charter of the dowager-duchess Bertha at Nantes (*Cart. Quimperlé*, no. lxxv). It is not clear whether he was the household seneschal of Bertha or of the count of Nantes (Bertha's son-in-law, Hoël I). Warin 'dapifer' attested a charter of Duke Alan IV, made at Nantes, between 1084 and 1103 (*Cart. Quimperlé*, no. xxxv). Listed among the 'Nannetenses', he may have been the seneschal of the count of Nantes, at this time Alan's younger brother Matthew. See Oheix, *Sénéchaux*, p. 32, note 10.

development occurred in the office of ducal seneschal. The then seneschal, William, was detached from the household and became the duke's representative in the county of Rennes. There is no obvious reason for this development, but it may have occurred because Conan III spent more of his time in the county of Nantes than in other parts of the duchy. Two later acts of Conan III, dated 1136 and 1141, are attested by William, styled 'dapifer meus Redonensis', with the 1136 act describing William performing the administrative function of perambulating the bounds of the land the subject of the ducal grant.[51] As the duke's representative in Rennes, the seneschal probably began to exercise ducal jurisdiction on a regular basis, but there is no documentary evidence for his functions in Rennes beyond the 1136 charter.

Since the dukes did not exercise authority beyond their own domains, the responsibilities of the seneschal of Rennes must have been limited to enforcing ducal authority in respect of the ducal domains in the county of Rennes. These, as discussed above, were already staffed with *prepositi*, *vicarii* and other officers such as foresters. The relationship between these officers and the seneschal is obscure, but it is most probable that Conan III simply superimposed a new level of administration onto the existing system.

This brief discussion of the ducal household and regional administration of the ducal domains demonstrates the similarity between ducal government in Brittany and that in neighbouring parts of Francia. The similarity is so close that the identical process of the comital/ducal seneschal leaving the household to become a superior administrative officer can be detected at about the same time in the counties of Anjou and Poitou.[52]

THE COUNTY OF NANTES AND THE SUCCESSION CRISIS OF 1148–1156

At the beginning of this chapter, the political situation in Brittany was described in terms of unity under a single ducal dynasty from the mid-eleventh century. Nevertheless, the county of Nantes had a somewhat anomalous position in the Breton polity. Since this had important consequences in terms of the Angevin domination of Brittany, it is worth more detailed consideration at this point.

[51] *Preuves*, col. 574; *AE*, VI, pp. 121–2; Guillotel, 'Actes', nos. 145, 146.

[52] L. Halphen, *Le comté d'Anjou au XIe siècle*, Paris, 1906, p. 192; J. Boussard, *Le comté d'Anjou sous Henri II Plantagenêt et ses fils (1151–1204)*, Paris, 1938, pp. 113–27; J. Boussard, *Gouvernement*, p. 354. For Poitou – A. Richard, *Les comtes de Poitou*, 2 vols., Paris, 1903, I, pp. 414, and 420, II, pp. 48, 66, 71, 83, 87–88.

Although Nantes was the capital of the duchy of Brittany in the later Middle Ages, this union was not inevitable or permanent. 'Brittany' is generally defined by the Armorican peninsula. The limits of Brittany only become defined by politics, rather than by geography, at the eastern border, where the peninsula meets the mainland. The county of Nantes is the only part of the historical duchy of Brittany which is not on the peninsula, and its eastern and southern borders, marching with Maine, Anjou and Poitou, lack any geographical definition and therefore have shifted over the centuries according to political circumstances.[53]

The county of Nantes has always been involved in the politics of the regions to its south and east. Instead of being physically separated from neighbouring provinces by ocean, river or forest like other parts of Brittany, Nantes was connected to Anjou by the great thoroughfare of the Loire. The population was Frankish, with only the most north-westerly parts of the county experiencing Breton immigration and settlement.[54] It follows, then, that Nantes was culturally more akin to Anjou and Poitou than to Armorican Brittany. This is recognised in the modern administrative arrangement whereby the *département* of Loire-Atlantique, coterminous with the old county of Nantes, is not included in the region of Bretagne, but in the Pays de Loire.

Until the late twelfth century, Nantes was regarded as separate or severable from the rest of the duchy. Duke Hoël I (1066–84) inherited the county of Nantes from his mother, Judith. He had two sons; the elder was the future Duke Alan IV, and the younger, Matthew, was given the county of Nantes as his portion.[55] When Matthew died without issue, Alan IV succeeded him and the county of Nantes was reunited with the parts of Brittany under ducal authority. We do not know the terms on which Matthew held Nantes, or whether, if he had left issue, they would have inherited the county. It is significant, though, that the name Matthew came from the family of the counts of Nantes. The last count of that line was Matthew, who died in 1050, the comital title passing in default of male heirs to his aunt Judith, the mother of Hoël I.[56] Hoël therefore named his younger son after his first-cousin, who had been the hereditary count of Nantes.

N.-Y. Tonnerre has argued that Duke Alan IV himself gave Nantes

[53] See E. Chénon, 'Les marches séparantes d'Anjou, Bretagne et Poitou', *RHD* 16 (1892), 18–62, and 165–211, and 21 (1897), 62–80; J.-C. Meuret, *Peuplement, pouvoir et paysage sur la marche Anjou-Bretagne (des origines au Moyen-Age)*, Laval, 1993.

[54] Tonnerre, *Naissance de Bretagne*, pp. 62–8.

[55] *Preuves*, cols. 36, 102–3, 431, 433, 440, 466, 474, 487; *Actes inédits*, nos. XXV and XXIX.

[56] *Preuves*, col. 127.

to Matthew, his brother, to administer on his behalf with the aid of the bishop, Benedict, who was their paternal uncle, while he concentrated his own efforts on restoring ducal authority in Rennes. This is plausible, but there seems to me no basis for the assertion that Matthew did not receive any hereditary right in Nantes, and it ignores the significance of his name. The chronicles and diplomatic sources cited above demonstrate that Hoël I granted Nantes to his younger son, that Matthew was accorded the title 'comes Nannetensis' (or equivalents), and that he authorised dispositions of property by landholders of the county of Nantes, and himself made grants of land within the county, without requiring the consent of his elder brother.[57] Hoël must have intended Matthew to continue the dynasty of the counts of Nantes, which would continue to be ruled independently of the rest of the duchy. It was pure chance that Nantes reverted to the senior line upon Matthew's death without issue, around 1103.[58]

After nearly fifty years of union with the rest of the duchy, the county of Nantes once again became contentious in the succession crisis following the death of Duke Conan III in 1148. There ought to have been no difficulty about the succession. Conan left a son apparently fit to succeed him, but within a year or so after the duke's death, his son Hoël was acknowledged only as count of Nantes. His sister Bertha and her husband, Eudo de Porhoët, based at Rennes, were acknowledged as duchess and duke *jure uxoris* throughout most of Brittany.[59]

This extraordinary turn of events requires some explanation. Contemporary Breton annals record that, Conan III having disowned Hoël as his son ('suum esse filium Conanus abnegaverat'), by popular will Hoël succeeded as count of Nantes.[60] This was elaborated by Pierre Le Baud, to the effect that Conan was persuaded on his deathbed that Hoël was not his son and disinherited him. The readiness with which this version has been accepted and repeated in the historiography is no doubt due to the fact that it impugns the character of Conan III's wife, Matilda, an illegitimate daughter of King Henry I, and thus satisfies both the anti-English and misogynistic sentiments of Le Baud's successors.[61] The sheer sufficiency of this tradition has prevented historians from examining the succession to Conan III more closely.

[57] Chédeville and Tonnerre, *Bretagne féodale*, p. 65; *Preuves*, col. 36.

[58] Breton annals give the date of Matthew's death variously as 1101, 1103 and 1104 (*Preuves*, cols. 36, 102–103 and 151, cf *Preuves*, col. 775).

[59] *Preuves*, cols. 622–4 (Rennes); RT, II, 6 (eastern Cornouaille).

[60] *Preuves*, col. 103.

[61] Le Band, *Histoire de Bretagne*, p. 103. E.g., de la Borderie, *Histoire de Bretagne*, pp. 42, and 269–72. The strength of the tradition is indicated by its repetition in Chédeville and Tonnerre, *Bretagne féodale*, p. 72.

In 1908, *le vicomte* Charles de la Lande de Calan reviewed the evidence and suggested that Hoël was Conan's illegitimate son.[62] This theory has some appeal. It may be argued, for instance, that Conan intended to provide for his illegitimate son by giving him the county of Nantes. This is supported by the choice of the name Hoël, which is associated both with illegitimate sons of Breton dukes and also with the counts of Nantes. The name was used by the counts of Nantes from the tenth century, beginning with an illegitimate son of Alan 'Barbetorte'.[63] The name was given to Duke Hoël I (whose mother was the granddaughter of the first Hoël), instead of a name from the stock used by his paternal ancestors, the counts of Cornouaille, no doubt to reinforce his title to the county of Nantes. Additionally, there was a precedent for severing Nantes from the rest of the duchy for the sake of providing for a son (albeit a cadet, rather than an illegitimate or disinherited son) in the case of Conan III's uncle Matthew, the younger son of Hoël I. It is arguable that Conan III named his son Hoël both because he was illegitimate (recalling his ancestor, the illegitimate son of Alan 'Barbetorte') and to add weight to his plan to install him as count of Nantes.

La Lande de Calan's article was a welcome exercise in reviewing the evidence for the succession crisis, but a more satisfactory explanation is that advanced by Katharine Keats-Rohan, that Conan III disinherited his (legitimate) son in the interests of unifying the duchy through the marriage of his daughter, Bertha, to Alan, earl of Richmond.[64] On this interpretation, Hoël's legitimacy or otherwise is not in issue, and indeed the original annal-record does not comment on Hoël's parentage, merely that Conan disowned him, which was tantamount to disinheriting him.

The most cogent evidence for this theory is an obituary notice for Alan, earl of Richmond, which commemorates his attempt to reunite Brittany. Other evidence is an 1138 charter of Conan III, concerning property in Nantes, recording the consent of Alan 'gener meus', but making no mention of Hoël.[65] Contrary to the traditional death-bed disinheritance, this arrangement was certainly made some years before Conan's death, perhaps even before Hoël was born. Extraordinary as it may seem, in view of the strength of the custom of male succession, a similar arrangement occurred almost contemporaneously in the county

[62] C. de la Lande de Calan, 'Mélanges historiques, XIX. Le duc Hoël II', *Revue de Bretagne* 40 (1908), 180–3.

[63] Chédeville and Tonnerre, *Bretagne féodale*, pp. 29–31.

[64] K. S. B. Keats-Rohan, 'Le rôle des Bretons dans la politique de colonisation normande de l'Angleterre (vers 1042–1135)', *MSHAB* 74 (1996), 181–215 at 205, note 98.

[65] *Preuves*, cols. 5, and 576–7.

of Namur. In the 1130s, Godfrey, count of Namur, disinherited his son Henry the Blind, and gave Namur in marriage with his daughter to Baldwin IV, count of Hainault, thus uniting the two counties, while Henry was given a life-interest in Namur.[66]

Such an ambitious policy required sacrifices. Hoël was obliged to sacrifice his claim to the ducal title in favour of his sister. He is not known to have married, and his only known child became a nun at Saint-Sulpice-la-Forêt.[67] In view of the significance of the name Hoël outlined above, and the Namur precedent, it may be that Conan intended to compensate his son with the county of Nantes for his life. Indeed, the subsequent conflict between Hoël and Bertha may have been limited to a dispute about the degree of Hoël's independence as count of Nantes.

Similarly, for Alan to succeed to the lordship of Penthièvre meant that one or both of Alan's brothers would have to designate him as their heir. In the 1120s, Stephen of Penthièvre had divided his lands between his three sons; the eldest, Geoffrey Boterel II, received the eastern portion (henceforth known as Penthièvre or Lamballe), the youngest, Henry, received the western portion (Tréguier or Guingamp), and Alan, the middle son, received the English lands, the honour of Richmond. On this basis, Alan had no hereditary right to any of the Penthièvre lands in Brittany. Geoffrey Boterel evidently was not compliant, as is indicated by his active support for the Empress Matilda in the English civil war, while Alan fought on the side of King Stephen. The youngest brother, Henry, on the other hand, seems to have been persuaded to sacrifice his independent and potentially hereditary possession of Tréguier in favour of Alan, and to remain unmarried.[68] In 1145, both Alan and Henry were at Conan III's court at Quimper, when Alan confirmed their father's grants to a priory in Guingamp, indicating Alan's lordship of Tréguier.[69]

In fact, Alan predeceased his father-in-law by two years, bringing Conan's scheme of reunification to nought. Alan's death in 1146 meant that both Hoël's and Henry's sacrifices were unnecessary. Henry, at least, must have decided that the deal was off. Aged nearly fifty, he married for the first time and henceforth regarded Tréguier as his son's

[66] L. Vanderkindere (ed.), *La chronique de Gislebert de Mons*, Brussels, 1904, pp. 60–2; J. Falmagne, *Baudouin V, comte de Hainaut 1150–1195*, Montreal, 1966, pp. 75, 78; L. Vanderkindere, *La formation territoriale des principautés Belges au moyen âge*, I, Brussels, 1902, p. 308. I am very grateful to Laura Napran for this information.

[67] *Cart. St-Sulpice*, no. LVIII.

[68] *Preuves*, col. 681.

[69] *Preuves*, col. 595.

inheritance.[70] Hoël, in contrast, does not seem to have seriously attempted to claim the duchy. The situation was complicated by the fact that Alan and Bertha had an infant son, the future Duke Conan IV, who inherited his father's claims to the duchy of Brittany (including Tréguier) and the honour of Richmond. Bertha promptly remarried, to Eudo de Porhoët, apparently on the basis that he was well suited to fight for her son's cause.

By 1155 the balance of power was clearly in favour of Bertha and Eudo, and Hoël acknowledged that he held the county of Nantes of his sister.[71] The peace did not last. For reasons which are not clear, but may have to do with his capitulation to Bertha, in 1156 Hoël was deposed as count of Nantes. He was immediately replaced as count by Geoffrey, the younger brother of Henry II. Several chronicles independently record that the citizens of Nantes chose Geoffrey to be their count.[72] This should not be surprising. In view of the circumstances outlined above, Nantes was culturally more akin to Anjou than to Armorican Brittany. At the same time, the county of Nantes was extremely attractive to the counts of Anjou, for both strategic and financial reasons. From the point-of-view of the Angevin heartland, the fact that Nantes controlled the mouth of the Loire made it important that it should be under the political control of the count of Anjou,[73] whether directly or indirectly. It is not so remarkable, then, that in 1156 a cadet of the comital family of Anjou became count of Nantes and was accepted by the populace.

Eudo de Porhoët failed to respond to the events occurring in Nantes in 1156, no doubt because he was by then engaged in a struggle with his stepson, the young Conan. Conan had grown up in England, where, as early as 1153, Henry II recognised him as heir to the honour of Richmond.[74] Conan was anxious to enter into his maternal inheritance in Brittany, and must have demanded that Eudo deliver the duchy to him. Presumably Eudo refused, because in the summer of 1156 Conan

[70] See below, p. 54.

[71] In 1155, Hoël made a grant of land in the county of Nantes to the abbey of Buzay, with Bertha's consent ('Actes de Buzay', no. 9). Similarly, Fontevraud obtained confirmations of a grant by Conan III of an island in the Loire from both Hoël (1153) and Bertha (undated) (*Preuves*, cols. 617, and 624; BN ms latin 5840, p. 120).

[72] *Preuves*, col. 103; WN, p. 114; RT, I, p. 298. Hoël does not appear again in Breton sources, but attested an act of his nephew, Conan IV, in England, *c.*1164 (BN ms fr. 22362, f. 7; *EYC*, IV, pp. 67–8).

[73] J. Gillingham, *Richard the Lionheart*, 2nd edn, London, 1989, p. 28.

[74] M. Jones, 'The house of Brittany and the honour of Richmond in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries: Some new charter evidence', in K. Borchardt and E. Bünz (eds.), *Forschungen zur Reichs-, Papst- und Landesgeschichte*, Stuttgart, 1998, 161–73 at 170.

landed in Brittany and proceeded to take the county of Rennes by force.

Conan was strongly supported by the baronage of north-eastern Brittany, including Ralph de Fougères and Rolland de Dinan. The only Breton magnate known to have opposed Conan's lordship (outside Eudo's personal *mouvance*) was John de Dol, lord of Combour. The outcome, at the end of 1156, was that Conan IV was generally acknowledged as duke of Brittany, but the county of Nantes remained completely independent of the duchy and was ruled by Geoffrey of Anjou.

Thus for nearly ten years in the mid-twelfth century Brittany was in state of civil war. The consequences were disastrous from the point-of-view of Breton independence. The advances in ducal authority achieved by Alan IV and Conan III were checked as barons took advantage of the near-anarchy to usurp ducal and ecclesiastical possessions. The ancient divisions of Brittany again came to the fore. In the succession crisis, the counties of Nantes and Cornouaille chose to support one ruler, Rennes, and the Broërec another, and the baronies of Penthièvre and Léon remained aloof from ducal affairs as usual. These divisions had, of course, been alive all the time, especially in the case of the county of Nantes. The loss of the county of Nantes to the duchy would prove the most damaging long-term consequence, enabling Henry II to gain his first foothold in Brittany. The fact that Nantes was already under Angevin control explains why this county was the first part of Brittany to be acquired by Henry II in 1158. The tradition of severability of the county, furthermore, would enable Henry II to retain it in his own hand even after his son Geoffrey had become duke of Brittany in 1181.

2

HENRY II AND BRITTANY

Brittany was the only one of Henry II's continental dominions to be acquired by his own efforts, rather than by inheritance or marriage. The fact that Henry II had to acquire Brittany by his own efforts explains the disproportionately large amount of his own time and resources the king invested in this province.

Henry II did not, initially, plan to conquer Brittany. He would have been satisfied with recognition of his sovereignty by the native ruler. At the beginning of his reign, the king adopted the same policy towards Brittany as he did towards Wales, Scotland and later Ireland. That is, a native ruler was allowed to rule the province, subject only to his loyalty and possibly the payment of some form of tribute.[1] In the case of Brittany, Henry II sponsored the young Duke Conan IV from as early as 1153. Even after the king seized the county of Nantes in 1158, his policy towards Conan as native ruler of the rest of Brittany remained unchanged.

From 1156, Angevin possession of the county of Nantes secured the borders of Brittany with the neighbouring provinces of Anjou and Poitou, which were already under Henry II's lordship. Further north, the king also pursued a policy of neutralising the potential threat to his lordship in Maine and Normandy posed by the marcher baronies of Vitré, Fougères and Combour. On these terms, Henry II was prepared to allow Conan IV to rule as duke of Brittany.

Henry II's policy changed completely in the next few years, however, when it became apparent that his client-duke was unable to maintain order in Brittany. In 1166, Conan was forced to abdicate, having agreed to the marriage of his heiress, Constance, to Henry II's

[1] W. L. Warren, *Henry II*, London, 1973, ch. 4; R. Frame, *The political development of the British Isles 1100–1400*, Oxford, 1990, part 1, chs. 1–3; R. R. Davies, *The age of conquest: Wales 1063–1415*, Oxford, 1991, p. 52.

then youngest son, Geoffrey. As guardian of Constance and her inheritance, Henry II became *de facto* duke of Brittany.

I have deliberately avoided describing Henry II's acquisition of Brittany as a 'conquest'. The king's several military campaigns in Brittany, undertaken in person or by Geoffrey as his lieutenant, were not campaigns of conquest followed by redistribution of land to the king's followers, but campaigns against certain individual barons, who at particular times and for particular reasons, rebelled against Henry II's authority. The king also employed diplomatic and (arguably, at least) lawful methods, such as the exercise of his feudal rights of wardship and marriage of heiresses, to control the duchy. In fact, the population of Brittany seems to have accepted Angevin rule.

Henry II's interest in Brittany was derived from three principal factors. First, there was the strategic consideration that Brittany should not be a threat to the security of the other Angevin dominions, second, the king's policy of restoring the rights enjoyed by his grandfather Henry I, king of England and duke of Normandy, and third, the need to acquire territory to provide for a younger son.

It may seem to the modern observer that Brittany's maritime situation would have been significant to Henry II. The Armorican peninsula intersected the shipping routes between the northern and southern provinces of the Angevin empire, and approached the British Isles to the north-west. In fact, this was of secondary importance in the twelfth century. Brittany's strategic importance lay primarily in its common borders with nearly all the continental provinces of the Angevin empire – Normandy, Maine, Anjou and Poitou.

Henry II probably perceived Brittany as having most in common with Wales, and with Scotland and Ireland to a lesser extent. That is, it was a province in an isolated position on the western fringes of his 'empire', and of interest only insofar as its common, and inconveniently long and ill-defined, borders with his continental dominions posed a threat to the security and order of these regions. Hence, like Wales, Scotland and Ireland, it was sufficient for Henry II's purposes that Brittany should be ruled by a trustworthy native ruler, provided the frontiers were secure. If not, it would represent a haven for rebellious subjects of the adjacent provinces, who might easily slip across into Brittany to escape royal authority. The importance of this consideration is demonstrated by the incidence of rebellion among Breton barons in 1173–4, and Henry II's strategy against them, which concentrated on securing the frontiers of Brittany with Normandy, Maine and Anjou.

At its southern borders, the county of Nantes marched with Poitou, another region of independent barons whose loyalty to Henry II could

not be relied upon. The strategic factor was probably the single consideration which determined Henry's policy towards Brittany from the very beginning of his reign.[2]

Secondly, Henry II's passion for restoring and enjoying the rights of his royal grandfather motivated him to seek to exercise sovereignty over Brittany from an early stage in his political career.[3] There was ample precedent for the duke of Normandy to assert sovereignty over the duke of Brittany. Duke Alan IV (1084–1112) rendered homage to Henry I as duke of Normandy. In 1113, King Louis VI of France acknowledged that Brittany was held of the dukes of Normandy.[4]

Brittany again bears comparison with Wales in this respect. In Wales, Henry I had made real acquisitions, in terms of territory brought under royal control and administration, which were lost after his death.[5] Although Henry I never invaded Brittany and never directly intervened in its internal politics, he had the dukes' active loyalty. During the civil war following Henry I's death, Anglo-Norman control in both Wales and Brittany dissolved.[6] At least some of the Bretons had actively supported the Angevin cause in Normandy. In 1140, a contingent of Bretons including Henry de Fougères aided Geoffrey Plantagenet in his conquest of Normandy, and in 1151 Bretons also campaigned with his son, the future Henry II, in Normandy against a coalition of King Louis VII and Eustace, son of King Stephen.[7]

In particular, interference in the contest between the archbishops of Dol and Tours over metropolitan status was something of a tradition of the Anglo-Norman kings of England. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the diocese of Dol and the barony of Combour were subject to Norman influence, at the expense of the authority of the duke of Brittany in the region. It is no coincidence that Henry II's first action in relation to Brittany, as early as 1155, was to intervene on behalf of the archbishop of Dol in this matter.[8]

Henry II was certainly aware of the tradition of Norman suzerainty over Brittany, since in 1169 he arranged for his eldest son, the young

[2] Warren, *Henry II*, pp. 71–2, and 203–4; J. Le Patourel, 'Henri II Plantagenêt et la Bretagne', *MSHAB* 58 (1981), 99–116 at 100; J.-C. Meuret, *Peuplement, pouvoir et paysage sur la marche Anjou-Bretagne (des origines au Moyen-Age)*, Laval, 1993; E. Chénon, 'Les marches séparantes d'Anjou, Bretagne et Poitou', *RHD* 16 (1892), 18–62, 165–211 and 21 (1897), 62–80.

[3] Warren, *Henry II*, pp. 219–20; Le Patourel, 'Henri II', pp. 99–100.

[4] P. Jeulin, 'L'hommage de la Bretagne en droit et dans les faits', *AB* 41 (1934), 380–473 at 411–8; J.-F. Lemarignier, *Recherches sur l'hommage en marche et les frontières féodales*, Lille, 1945, pp. 115–22; D. Bates, *Normandy before 1066*, London, 1982, pp. 66, 70, 83.

[5] Warren, *Henry II*, pp. 68–9; Frame, *British Isles*, pp. 25–6; Davies, *Wales*, pp. 36–52.

[6] Frame, *British Isles*, pp. 28–9; Davies, *Wales*, pp. 45–51.

[7] P. Marchégay and A. Salmon (eds.), *Chroniques d'Anjou*, I, Paris, 1856, pp. 296–8; RT, I, p. 254.

[8] See below, pp. 69–75.

King Henry, as duke of Normandy, to do homage to King Louis VII for Brittany, and thence for Geoffrey to do homage to his brother. Henry II had also inherited from his Angevin ancestors a tradition of close interest, if not outright claims to sovereignty, in the county of Nantes.[9] Henry II thus inherited two historic claims to sovereignty over Brittany. As can be seen from the different policies he implemented regarding the county of Nantes and the rest of Brittany, he pursued both. Henry II's acquisition of Brittany was, therefore, the fulfilment of ambitions long held by both the dukes of Normandy and the counts of Anjou.

The third factor, the acquisition of lands for a younger son, would not have been an issue until 1158. Until then, Henry had not had more than two surviving sons. With two sons, succession would have been a simple matter of the elder inheriting the patrimony of England, Normandy, Maine and Anjou, and the younger the lands acquired by marriage, the duchy of Aquitaine. To provide for more sons without dividing these estates required further acquisitions. A third son, Geoffrey, was born in September 1158, the same month that Henry II laid claim to the county of Nantes.

Henry's changing policy towards Ireland is analogous in this respect. Whatever his original motives in intervening in Ireland, by as early as 1177, Henry had designated it as the inheritance of his youngest son John, then aged nine. This conveniently made provision for a younger son and ensured (in theory) a stable and loyal Angevin government in that province.[10] Similarly, in 1158, the vacant county of Nantes represented suitable provision for a younger son, and, from Henry II's point-of-view, needed to be under Angevin control. Further evidence is afforded by Geoffrey's name. Since he was born only weeks after the death of his younger brother had provided Henry II with his opportunity to claim Nantes, it is probable that the infant Geoffrey was named after his uncle, and that the county of Nantes was designated as his inheritance from birth. Provision for a younger son was not a concern of Henry II before September 1158, but would have become relevant to his policy towards Brittany thereafter.

The first two considerations discussed here were perfectly consistent with Henry II's initial policy of allowing Brittany to be ruled by its native duke, provided he acted in accordance with Angevin interests.

[9] J. Dunbabin, *France in the making: 843–1180*, Oxford, 1985, pp. 184 -5; A. Chédeville and N. Tonnerre, *La Bretagne féodale XIe-XIIIe siècle*, Rennes, 1987, pp. 34–5, 39, 67–8; see also J. Boussard, *Le comté d'Anjou sous Henri II Plantagenêt et ses fils (1151–1204)*, Paris, 1938, pp. 73–4; P. Galliou and M. Jones, *The Bretons*, Oxford, 1991, pp. 187–90.

[10] Warren, *Henry II*, pp. 203–4.

Even the third, the need to provide for a younger son, could have been met by the county of Nantes alone. In the years between 1158 and 1166, it appears that there was a convergence of circumstances in which, on the one hand, Duke Conan IV proved unsatisfactory, and on the other, Henry II had a healthy younger son to provide for. The fact that Conan IV's only child was a daughter, who could be married to Geoffrey in order to reinforce his title to the duchy, may have further commended to Henry the policy he made public in 1166.

A further relevant factor is that Henry II could influence the political situation in Brittany because some Breton barons held substantial estates in England. The king thus had a powerful means of coercing them by threatening direct action against their English lands.[11] The most substantial English estate in Breton hands was the honour of Richmond, held by the lords of Penthièvre, latterly by Alan the Black, who died in 1146. When Henry II became king of England it happened that Alan's son Conan, the heir to the honour of Richmond, was also heir to the duchy of Brittany through his mother, Bertha. The union of tenure of the honour of Richmond and the duchy of Brittany in one individual for the first time gave the king of England an unprecedented opportunity to intervene in Breton affairs. This was especially the case since Conan was a minor who was exiled in England while his stepfather Eudo de Porhoët ruled Brittany, refusing to hand the duchy over to him. The young Conan needed Henry II's support to pursue his claim to his maternal inheritance. At this stage, the king was satisfied to see Conan installed as duke of Brittany, knowing that his loyalty would be assured by the king's power to dispossess him of the honour of Richmond.

In the summer of 1156, Conan crossed to northern Brittany, undertook a short but effective campaign against Eudo de Porhoët, and was recognised as duke by most of the Bretons.[12] Neither Eudo nor Conan ever exercised direct authority over the county of Nantes, however. As noted in the previous chapter, since the death of Duke Conan III in 1148, his son Hoël had ruled Nantes more or less independently of the rest of Brittany. In 1156, Hoël was deposed and replaced, not by Conan IV, but by Henry II's younger brother, Geoffrey. There is no evidence that Henry II had any involvement in this, but it would certainly have been in his interests. Since Henry II had allegedly disinherited his younger brother of a share of the Angevin patrimony, the county of

[11] Le Patourel, 'Henri II', pp. 100–1.

[12] RT, 1, p. 302; WB, p. 177; *Preuves*, col. 615 (after BN ms fr. 22325, p. 420).

Nantes represented some recompense, but did not give Geoffrey sufficient means to challenge Henry II in the future.

The situation changed dramatically with Geoffrey's premature death in July 1158.[13] At first, Conan IV asserted his right to the county of Nantes as duke of Brittany and actually took possession of the city of Nantes for a few days. Henry II challenged him, according to William of Newburgh, on the ground that the king was the heir of his deceased younger brother. Henry II then simply seized the county of Nantes by means of his superior force, both military and diplomatic, playing the trump-card of his control of Conan's English estates.[14]

At Michaelmas 1158, Conan IV met the king at Avranches and surrendered to him the city of Nantes and the 'comitatus Medie'.[15] 'Media' was a region of the county of Nantes north of the Loire. Place-name evidence locates it at the north of the county, where it marched with the county of Rennes. 'Media' may also have comprised the marches of Nantes with the county of Anjou to the east and the Broërec to the west.[16]

Upon Conan's submission, Henry II's next action was to hurry south. He formally took possession of the city of Nantes, staying there only a few days before setting out to besiege Thouars. He took the castle within three days, and thence retained it in his own hands.[17] Henry II's sense of urgency may be explained on the basis that Conan had only yielded parts of the county of Nantes north of the Loire; the city of Nantes and the 'Media'. The barons holding lands south of the Loire may not have recognised Conan's authority during the brief period when he occupied Nantes; consequently, they would not regard themselves as bound by his submission to Henry II. The immediate purpose of Henry II's decisive action against Thouars, therefore, was to prevent these barons from uniting with their Poitevin neighbours.

Henry II's itinerary in September/October 1158 emphasised, for the benefit of the Bretons, the fact of Angevin control of all the lands adjacent to Brittany, from north to south. The seizure of the county of Nantes does not, however, represent the first stage of an Angevin

[13] Geoffrey died on 26 or 28 July 1158 (RT, II, p. 166; BN ms fr. 22329 p. 604). He was born in 1134 (*Ann. ang.*, p. 9) and was thus only twenty-four years of age at his death.

[14] RT, I, p. 311–12, and II, p. 169; GC, p. 166; *Preuves*, cols. 103–4; *Ann. ang.*, pp. 14–5; WN, p. 114; RW, p. 17.

[15] RT, I, p. 312.

[16] A. Bourdeaut, 'La Mée: Étude de géographie féodale et ecclésiastique nantaise', *BSAN* 71(*bis*) (1933), 5–26; N.-Y. Tonnerre, *Naissance de la Bretagne: Géographie historique et structures sociales de la Bretagne méridionale (Nantais et Vannetais) de la fin du VIIIe à la fin du XIIe siècle*, Angers, 1994, pp. 449–50.

[17] RT, I, p. 313 and II, p. 169; *Ann. ang.*, p. 14; Richard of Poitiers (*RHF*, XII, p. 411); Boussard, *Anjou sous Henri II*, pp. 72–3.

invasion of Brittany, since the county continued to be politically independent of the rest of Brittany. It appears that Henry II's authority was accepted in the county of Nantes.[18] There is no record of resistance or rebellion there until the revolt of 1173, and even then the revolt was limited to the Angevin frontier.

Although Henry II's policy at this stage was to allow Conan IV to remain in power as duke of Brittany, it made good sense to diminish the resources available to him by depriving him of the county of Nantes. Robert de Torigni conveys this in the otherwise rather anomalous statement, made in the context of Conan IV yielding to Henry II in September 1158, that the city of Nantes and the 'comitatus Medie' combined were worth 60,000 Angevin *solidi*.[19]

Meanwhile, Henry II undertook a policy of securing the marches of Brittany with Normandy and Maine. On the Norman side, the king ordered the castle of Pontorson to be rebuilt.[20] On the Breton side, he made or renewed alliances with two of the greatest marcher-barons, the lords of Vitré and Combour. The barony of Fougères represented a significant presence between the two, but at this stage, Henry II may have had no reason to doubt the loyalty of the ageing Henry de Fougères and his son and heir Ralph, especially because they also held land in Normandy and England.

Conan IV continued to exercise ducal authority throughout most of Brittany. A charter of Ralph de Fougères is dated 2 April 1157 or 1158, 'dominatus vero Conani comitis Britannie et Richemontis anno II, regnante in Anglia Henrico rege . . .', another is dated 29 March 1158 or 1159, 'dominatus vero Conani ducis Britannie et comitis Richemondie'. Ralph de Fougères was decidedly partisan, but a charter of Robert de Vitré is dated 24 July 1157, 'tempore . . . Conani comitis Britannie IIII'.[21] Conan IV made ducal *acta* at Quimper (1162) and Rennes (1162–3).[22] In 1163, he led a military campaign to the extreme west of the duchy in aid of Harvey de Léon.[23] The young duke also maintained his position at Henry II's court. In 1160 he married Margaret, sister of Malcolm IV, king of Scotland, almost certainly with

[18] RT, I, p. 313. For instance, a charter of Bernard, bishop of Nantes, for the abbey of Pontron is dated 1160, 'Henrico rege presidente Nannetis' (BN ms fr. 22329, p. 644). A notice from the cartulary of the abbey of Ronceray of the same year styles Henry II, 'comes Andegavensium et Nannetensium' (*Actes d'Henri II*, no. CXXXVI).

[19] RT, I, p. 312. [20] RT, I, p. 313 and II, p. 169.

[21] *Preuves*, col. 631; BN ms fr. 22325, pp. 238–9; AD Ille-et-Vilaine, 1F83 f. 8r; AD Ille-et-Vilaine, 1F70.

[22] *Hist. Quimperlé*, p. 600; *EYC*, IV, pp. 65, 71.

[23] WB, p. 178; H. Guillotel, 'Les vicomtes de Léon aux XIe et XIIe siècles', *MSHAB* 51 (1971), 29–51 at 31.

Henry II's consent.[24] In January 1164, Conan attested the 'Constitutions of Clarendon', styled 'comes Britannie'.[25]

Henry II meanwhile kept himself informed of developments in Brittany. As early as 1156 the king had attached his own *curiales* to the ducal household, and sent others on missions to Conan's court. These included Hamo Boterel, Josce de Dinan and William fitzHamo. All three attested a charter of Henry II made at Vitré between 1158 and early 1162 which seems, from the other witnesses named, to have been made on an occasion when the political future of Brittany was being discussed. These three may have been assembled as those most able to advise the king on Breton matters.[26]

By the 1160s, the king's policy towards Brittany had started to change. A turning-point was the death of John de Dol in July 1162. John left an infant heiress, Isolde, having appointed Ralph de Fougères to act as guardian.[27] The union of the neighbouring baronies of Combour and Fougères greatly enhanced Ralph's position. The creation of such a strategic barony, occupying the entire common border of Brittany and Normandy, was a threat both to ducal authority and to the security of Normandy, and John de Dol must have realised that the king would not approve of this arrangement. Since Henry II had taken over John's regalian right in appointing his own candidate as archbishop of Dol in March 1161,[28] it is surprising that the king did not also dictate the choice of custodian of the honour of Combour.

It is perhaps a measure of reasonably good relations between Henry II and Ralph de Fougères that, initially, the king allowed Ralph to take up his charge as guardian. He merely ensured, no doubt with the aid of his loyal archbishop, that Ralph surrendered the castle of the lords of Combour in the town of Dol.[29] But two years later, in August 1164, Henry II's constable Richard du Hommet, with a force of Norman and Breton knights, seized the castle of Combour and took the barony into the king's hand.[30] Henry II gave custody of the heiress and her lands to

[24] RH, I, 217; Le Patourel, 'Henri II', p. 101. Malcolm IV joined the Toulouse campaign in 1159 and was then knighted by Henry II (Warren, *Henry II*, p. 179). The marriage was surely intended to strengthen this alliance. Since the 'exercitum Britonum' also joined the campaign (RT, I, p. 310 and II, p. 192), it is possible Conan IV was present.

[25] GC, I, 178–80; D. C. Douglas and G. W. Greenaway (eds.), *English Historical Documents*, II, *(1042–1189)*, London, 1953, 718–22.

[26] BM mss Lansdowne 229, f. 114r and 259, f. 70r. See below, p. 54 and Appendix 3.

[27] RT, I, p. 340. A disposition by John de Dol, perhaps on his deathbed, was made with the consent of Ralph de Fougères 'qui meum heredem et terram meam in custodia accepit' (BN ms fr. 22319, p. 103).

[28] RT, I, p. 332–3. [29] RT, I, p. 340.

[30] RT, I, p. 353. It may be significant that Conan IV attended Henry II's court in England in January 1164. Perhaps the situation in the honour of Combour was discussed (Warren, *Henry II*,

a Norman of the Avranchin, John de Subligny. John was answerable directly to Henry II in his administration of Combour, which necessarily implies that Conan IV had no authority in the barony.[31] Thus from August 1164, Henry II possessed an enclave in the duchy of Brittany which was of the greatest strategic importance as it formed part of the frontier with Normandy.

In the summer of 1165, Henry II campaigned in Wales, having left Eleanor of Aquitaine in France to act as viceroy of his continental dominions. There is no record of Eleanor visiting Brittany or having any part in its administration. Indeed, there is no reason why she should have, since Brittany was still ruled by Conan IV. Robert de Torigni, however, records that, in Henry's absence, certain barons of the county of Maine and of Brittany had refused to obey Eleanor's orders and had conspired together to revolt. Whatever the truth of this, for Robert de Torigni, it was the justification for Henry II to enter the marches of Brittany and Maine and undertake a punitive campaign which involved the destruction of the castle of Fougères in July 1166.[32] The king thus demonstrated that he had abandoned his policy of supporting Conan IV as duke of Brittany.

William of Newburgh places Conan's demise in the context that Henry II had already made two substantial inroads into Brittany, 'civitatem scilicet Namnetensem et castrum Dolense'.[33] There is no record of Conan IV having attempted to resist Henry II's intervention in the barony of Combour as he had in the case of Nantes. Similarly, there is no evidence that Conan was involved in the defence of the castle of Fougères. Conan had no excuse for any failure to aid his cousin and most loyal supporter, Ralph de Fougères, and the fact that he lacked either the will or the means to do so almost certainly precipitated his abdication, if it had not already been negotiated, since Conan was with Henry II at Angers on 31 July 1166.[34]

In 1166, probably soon after the siege of Fougères, Henry II and Conan IV announced a new settlement of the duchy's affairs, which involved Conan's abdication. Henry's young son Geoffrey was to marry Conan's only child, Constance, and, under a collateral agreement, Conan 'granted' to Henry II the duchy of Brittany, except the barony

p. 101, note 4). Professor Warren suggests that Henry II had summoned him for this reason, but Conan had reason to visit England at any time in his capacity as earl of Richmond.

[31] See below, pp. 82–5 and Appendix 3.

[32] RT, I, p. 356–7, 361; *Ann. ang.*, pp. 15, 36, 123; W. J. Millor and C. N. L. Brooke (eds. and trans.), *The letters of John of Salisbury*, Oxford, 1979, II, no. 173. For charters made by Henry II at Fougères, 'in exercitu' see RT, II, pp. 284–6, nos. XX, XXI; *Actes d'Henri II*, nos. CCLVI, CCLVII; *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1247–1258*, pp. 382–3.

[33] WN, p. 146. [34] *Actes d'Henri II*, no. CCLVIII.

of Tréguier.[35] The grant to Henry II was his maternal inheritance; Conan retained Tréguier and the honour of Richmond, which represented his paternal inheritance.

This settlement was extraordinary in contravening contemporary customs regarding succession. Conan and Margaret had been married for nearly six years, yet apparently had produced only one child. The chronicles unanimously recite that Constance was Conan's only daughter ('unica filia'). But Constance was not the heiress in 1166; her father was still alive, and contemporaries could not have been certain that Conan and Margaret would not produce a son in the future, assuming they were permitted to continue to cohabit. Margaret, at least, was capable of childbearing after 1166, since she gave birth to a son in her second marriage. In fact, there may have been sons of her marriage to Conan. A charter of Margaret's includes a prayer for the souls of Conan and of 'our boys', possibly 'our children' (*puerorum nostrorum*).[36] One can only assume that these did not survive infancy and were not alive in 1166, but who was William *clericus*, described in two charters of *c.* 1200 as the brother of Duchess Constance?[37] Although the obvious conclusion is that he was an illegitimate son of Duke Conan, William would have been an appropriate name for a son of Margaret, celebrating her royal kin. Whether or not any legitimate son was born or survived after 1166, the effect of the agreement of 1166 was to disinherit him, although possibly Conan retained the barony of Tréguier for this purpose. In short, it suited Henry II's purposes that Conan IV should be succeeded by a sole heiress, and this was arranged without waiting for Conan's actual death.

The terms of the settlement were carefully considered. If the whole duchy had been constituted as Constance's *maritagium*, then her marriage during her father's lifetime, which would have been anticipated in the normal course of things, would have left Conan a duke without a duchy. The actual arrangement avoided this difficult situation. Conan was a duke without a duchy, but at least his position was clear; he could legitimately retain the barony of Tréguier, and Henry II also granted him the honour of Richmond.

In default of sons, the whole of the duchy of Brittany and the honour of Richmond was Constance's inheritance in any event, but Conan was still alive and it might be many years before Geoffrey would enjoy his wife's inheritance. Again, the agreement avoided this. Conan gave his lands to Henry II, and his infant heiress was in the custody of Henry II

[35] RT, I, p. 361. The agreements were recorded in a charter of Conan IV which has not survived, mentioned in the treaty of Falaise (*Gesta*, p. 75).

[36] *Charters*, no. M6. [37] *Charters*, nos. C45, A16.

pending her marriage. Henry II acquired possession of most of the duchy and its revenues immediately, and hence could grant it to Geoffrey whenever he chose. Only the remainder of Constance's inheritance, the barony of Tréguier and the honour of Richmond, now depended on Conan's death.[38] These circumstances explain the fact that Henry II never added 'Dux Britannie' to his official title. The king always acknowledged that he ruled Brittany as guardian of Constance and Geoffrey.

Immediately after Conan's abdication, Henry II did two things of the greatest symbolic importance, carefully recorded by Robert de Torigni. First, at Thouars, he received the homage of 'nearly all' of the barons of Brittany. Hitherto the barons had owed their homage, in theory at least, to Duke Conan, who in turn owed homage for Brittany to Henry II as duke of Normandy. The barons' homage to Henry II confirmed Conan's abdication and their recognition of the king as their immediate lord. Next, Henry II re-entered Brittany to take possession of the city of Rennes, and symbolically the whole of the duchy, since dukes were traditionally invested in the city's cathedral.[39]

It was probably on this occasion that Henry II appointed one of his *curiales*, William de Lanvallay, to head the new royal administration in Rennes. The next year, the king's chaplain, Stephen de Fougères, was appointed bishop of Rennes. Finally, Henry II celebrated his acquisition of Brittany with his first visit to Dol and Combour, *en route* to Mont Saint-Michel.[40]

After 1166, Conan continued to use the title 'dux Britannie et comes Richemundie' although he had ceased to exercise ducal authority. He nevertheless remained an important magnate and an active participant in Henry II's regime. Conan still exercised seignorial authority over the barony of Tréguier and also the honour of Richmond. In 1168, he attended Henry II's court at Angers. In 1169 or 1170 he led a military campaign against Guihomar de Léon.[41] There is also evidence that Conan was permitted to exercise comital

[38] WN, p. 146; RT, II, pp. 25–6.

[39] RT, I, p. 361. For the tradition of investiture at Rennes, see Chédeville and Tonnerre, *Bretagne féodale*, pp. 47, 65 and *Preuves*, cols. 395, 915. Although none of the chroniclers mention the presence of Geoffrey in Brittany in 1166, the Pipe Roll for the year ending Michaelmas 1166 records that Geoffrey crossed to Normandy that year (*Pipe Roll 12 Henry II, 1165–1166*, pp. 100–1, 109), and it is probable that he was summoned, if not for a formal betrothal to Constance, then to be present when Henry II took the homage of the barons at Thouars and entered Rennes.

[40] RT, I, pp. 361–2, and II, p. 2.

[41] *Actes d'Henri II*, nos. CCLXVII and CCLXVIII; WB, p. 178; *Cart. Quimperlé*, p. 108 (1170); *Preuves*, col. 104. Conan's barony of Tréguier marched with Léon, so Conan was the logical person to lead this campaign, probably at the behest of Henry II.

authority in the county of Cornouaille in this period: his foundation of the Cistercian abbey of Carnoët (after 1167), and a confirmation of his predecessors' grants of comital rights in *Treverner* to Mont Saint-Michel (1170).[42]

Henry II did not depose the native duke of Brittany with impunity. The next two years saw the most widespread and serious uprising against Angevin authority to occur in Brittany. In 1167, Eudo de Porhoët, the ageing Harvey de Léon and his son Guihomar and other Breton barons rebelled, allegedly in alliance with the viscount of Thouars, and with the connivance of some Aquitanian barons and King Louis VII.[43] Henry II was so determined to quash the rebellion that he first negotiated a truce with Louis VII so that he might attend to this business without distraction. His campaign in August 1167 was so effective that, according to Robert de Torigni, all the Bretons were reduced to subjection, even Guihomar de Léon, who gave hostages after his strongest castle was taken and razed. The poem 'Draco Normannicus' reflects the desperation of the Bretons, with a fantastic account of Rolland de Dinan despatching a letter to King Arthur seeking his aid. Henry II was still in Brittany when he received news of the death of his mother, who had died at Rouen on 10 September, and it was only this that prevented him from prosecuting the campaign further.[44]

Returning to the Breton problem early in 1168, Henry II summoned Eudo de Porhoët, Rolland de Dinan and his cousin Oliver de Dinan, who all defied the summons. After meeting Louis VII and making a truce to last from 7 April to 1 July, Henry II launched a new campaign in Brittany. He began with the possessions of Eudo de Porhoët, who still retained ducal domains in the Broërec and Cornouaille. Henry II first destroyed the Porhoët *caput*, Josselin, then seized the usurped ducal domains, including the castle of Auray. The king next turned north-east, taking the castles of Hédé, Tinténiac and Becherel. Two charters of Henry II made at 'Sanctum Touvianum in Britannia in exercitu' may be attributed to this campaign.[45] It is not possible to identify 'Sanctum Touvianum' with any certainty, but an interesting possibility is the modern Saint-Thual (canton Tinténiac, arrond. Saint-Malo, dép. Ille-

[42] *Preuves*, cols. 662, 664–5; A. Dufief, *Les Cisterciens en Bretagne, aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles*, Rennes, 1997, pp. 78–9; *EYC*, iv, no. 78.

[43] P. Marchégay and E. Mabille (eds.), *Chroniques des églises d'Anjou*, Paris, 1869, 'Chronice Sancti Albini Andegavensis in unum congeste' (entry for 1167).

[44] RT, i, p. 367; 'Stephani Rothomagensis monachi Beccensis poema, cui titulus 'Draco Normannicus'', in R. Howlett, *Chronicles of the reigns of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I*, Rolls Series, London, 1885, book ii, chs. xvii–xxii and book iii, ch. i.

[45] RT, ii, pp. 5–7; *Ann. ang.*, p. 15; *Actes d'Henri II*, nos. cclxxii and cclxxiii.

et-Vilaine).[46] This would have been a suitable location for a camp while the king's forces attacked Hédé and Tinténiac. Meanwhile, royal forces attacked 'Giguon' (Jugon?), and, north of Rennes, Gahard, *Chahane*, the lands of William de Saint-Gilles and the barony of Montfort.[47]

According to Robert de Torigni, the king next planned to besiege the castle of Lehon, upon which Rolland was relying for the defence of Dinan. The truce with Louis VII was due to expire, though, so the king merely set his forces to pillage the area around Lehon and lands along both sides of the Rance towards the north, sparing only the ancient monastery of Saint-Magloire de Lehon.[48]

In July, Eudo de Porhoët and Rolland de Dinan, in league with Louis VII, attended the conference between the kings at La Ferté-Bernard. There they attempted to shame Henry II with allegations, *inter alia*, that the king had abused Eudo's daughter whom he held as a hostage. The girl was almost certainly Adelaide, Eudo's only known daughter by Duchess Bertha.[49] It is possible that Eudo had given hostages to Henry II as a condition of his return from exile in 1164, or as a sign of his good faith at some time between 1164 and 1167. While Eudo had custody of Adelaide she might have been used as a figurehead for revolt, as the daughter of Bertha, the daughter and heiress of Duke Conan III.[50]

At around this time, all of Bertha's offspring were in some way prevented from assuming this role. In addition to her son Conan, Bertha had two daughters from her first marriage: Constance, who was married off to Alan de Rohan, and Ennoguent, who became a nun at Saint-Sulpice-la-Forêt. Bertha also had a son from her marriage to

[46] *Actes d'Henri II*, I, p. 421 note (a), 'sans doute pour Touriavum' (Saint-Thuriau, commune and canton of Quintin, arrond. Saint-Brieuc, dép. Côtes-d'Armor). Cf. *ibid.* p. 420, 'Saint-Thuriau . . . se trouve dans le voisinage de Josselin'. There is also a place-name 'Saint-Thurial' on the route between the ducal castle of Ploërmel and Rennes (canton Plélan-le-Grand, arrond. Rennes, dép. Ille-et-Vilaine), which Henry II might equally have taken in the course of this campaign, between Josselin and Montfort.

[47] A. Bertrand de Brousillon, 'La charte d'André II de Vitré et le siège de Kerak en 1184', *Bulletin Historique et Philologique* (1899), 47–53 at 52.

[48] While one Breton source credits William fitzHamo with having persuaded the king to spare the monastery at Lehon ('Chronicon Britannicum', *Preuves*, col. 104), the *vita* of Hamo of Savigny credits the monk Hamo with curbing the depredations of Henry II's army (E.P. Sauvage (ed.), 'Vitæ B. Petri Abrincensis et B. Hamonis monachorum cœnobii Saviniacensis in Normannia', *Analecta Bollandiana* 2 (1883), 475–560 at 523).

[49] Millor and Brooke (eds. and trans.), *Letters of John of Salisbury*, II, no. 279. Adelaide, abbess of Fontevraud, 'Eudonis comitis Britannie filia', died in 1220. Her obituary records that she was, 'a primoevo juventutis sue in aula regis Anglorum et regine venerabiliter educata' (BN ms latin 5480, pp. 5–6; *Preuves*, col. 845).

[50] *Cart. St-Sulpice*, no. I; *Preuves*, col. 623.

Eudo, Geoffrey, who was alive in 1155 but who must have died young since nothing more is known of him.

When a settlement was negotiated between Louis VII and Henry II at Montmirail early in 1169, the young King Henry did homage to Louis VII for Anjou and Brittany, and in turn, Geoffrey did homage to his eldest brother for Brittany.[51] The effect was that the Breton barons' pact with Louis VII was nullified and they were obliged to submit to Angevin rule.

Notwithstanding the events of 1166, contemporary sources variously place the submission of Brittany to the direct rule of Henry II between the years 1167 and 1170. According to the chronicle of Saint-Etienne de Caen, in 1167, 'subjugavit sibi rex Henricus totam Britanniam'. The chronicle of the Breton abbey of Saint-Gildas de Rhuys recorded, for 1168, 'Henricus rex Anglie minorem Britanniam subjugat dominio'. Sometimes, not unreasonably considering the extraordinary fact of Conan's abdication, chroniclers conflate Henry II's domination of Brittany with the death of Conan IV, placing both around 1168–69, as for example, Ralph of Diss and the annals of the abbey of Saint-Serge d'Angers, 'MCLXIX . . . Conanus junior comes Britannie . . . moriuntur. Unde Henricus rex Anglie totam Britanniam sue ditioni subjugavit . . .'.[52]

The duchy of Brittany was now recognised as forming part of the Angevin empire. This is demonstrated by the fact that, when he seemed mortally ill in 1170, Henry II included the duchy amongst the lands to be divided between his sons. Specifically, he bequeathed Brittany, with its heiress, to Geoffrey.[53] 'Jordan Fantosme's Chronicle' has Henry II declare, at the outbreak of the revolt in 1173, 'Les baruns de Bretaine . . . Tresqu'en Finebusterre sunt en mes poestez'.[54]

The extent of the submission of Brittany after the treaty of Montmirail is illustrated by the fact that no further military action was necessary and Henry II was confident enough to send Geoffrey to Brittany by himself, although he was only ten years of age. In May 1169, Geoffrey visited Rennes and was received in the cathedral by Stephen de Fougères, now bishop of Rennes, Albert, bishop of Saint-Malo, and Robert de Torigni, the abbot of Mont Saint-Michel. There Geoffrey received the homage of the barons of Brittany. That August, the Bretons obeyed Henry II's summons to muster in Normandy.[55]

[51] RT, II, pp. 11–2.
[52] *RHF*, XII, p. 780; *Preuves*, col. 151; RD, p. 332; *Ann. ang.*, p. 104 (events of 1169–71).
[53] RH, II, pp. 5–6; *Gesta*, p. 7; *Ann. ang.*, p. 16.
[54] R. C. Johnston (ed.), *Jordan Fantosme's chronicle*, Oxford, 1981, pp. 12–3, lines 139–40.
[55] RT, II, pp. 13–14.

Henry II held his Christmas court of 1169 at Nantes, with Geoffrey present, and there the bishops and barons of Brittany swore their fidelity. After Christmas, Henry II and Geoffrey 'circuierunt castella Britannie, accipientes fidelitates et obligantias a comitibus et baronibus et liberis hominibus Britannie de quibus antea non acceperant'. Presumably, Eudo de Porhoët declined to render this homage because, according to Roger of Howden, Henry II impleaded him and seized 'fere . . . tote honore et potestate quam prius in Britannia habuit'.[56] Other contemporary sources indicate that Henry II actually took military action against Eudo in the early months of 1170.[57]

Conan IV's death in February 1171 must have come as a relief to Henry II. 'Conanus dux Britannie moritur', wrote Robert de Torigni, 'et tota Brittannia . . . in dominio regis transierunt'.[58] Although there is no evidence that Conan organised or even inspired any of the opposition between 1166 and 1171, his continued presence within the duchy and use of the ducal title must have been awkward. Henry II hastened to Pontorson, on the threshold of the duchy, and stayed there for fourteen days. He was probably joined by the young Geoffrey.[59] From Pontorson, the king launched a campaign against Guihomar de Léon, destroying his castles and retaining three in his own hand.[60] Either Conan IV had been unsuccessful in suppressing Guihomar the previous year, or the latter had been ready to rebel as soon as Conan died. *En route* to the barony of Léon, Henry II probably visited Guingamp to attend to other matters arising from Conan's death.[61] Back at Pontorson, in early May, he received Guihomar's formal submission. The king ordered Guihomar to give back the lands he had taken from his neighbours ('de feudis vicinorum') or submit to judgement 'coram rege' over these, and to give back the lands he had taken from his own men or do right to them in his own court if the king should so order by royal writ.[62] Subsequent events

[56] *Gesta*, p. 5; RD, I, p. 337; RW, p. 64.

[57] RH, II, p. 3; *RHF*, XII, p. 564; *Preuves*, col. 153. The latter source, the annals of the abbey of Paimpont, seems to describe the 1168 campaign. Whatever action Henry took against Eudo de Porhoët in 1170 must have been brief, because the king was in Normandy by 2 February (*Gesta*, p. 5).

[58] Conan died on 18 or 20 February 1171 (*Cart. Quimperlé*, p. 108; necrology of the abbey of Landevennec (BN ms fr. 22337, f. 55v)). Torigni (II, p. 25–6) records Conan's death in 1171, and the context of the entry suggests that Conan died before Lent.

[59] *Charters*, pp. 6–7.

[60] J. C. Robertson (ed.), *Materials for the history of Thomas Becket*, Rolls Series, London, 1885, VII, pp. 485–6, letter no. DCCLVI.

[61] The editors of the *Actes d'Henri II* attributed a charter made by Henry II at Guingamp (no. CCLXXIV) to the 1168 campaign. There is no evidence that Henry travelled so far to the north-west in 1168, and arguably this charter was made in 1171, when Henry's route towards Léon would have taken in Guingamp.

[62] RT, II, p. 26; Robertson (ed.), *Materials for the history of Thomas Becket*, letter no. DCCLVI.

would prove that Guihomar had no intention of respecting these terms, but for the time being Henry II could feel that the Léon problem was solved and that Brittany was settling down under Angevin rule.

The king's sense of relief is manifested by the fact that, within a few months, he had withdrawn William de Lanvallay back to England, replacing him with a seneschal of Rennes who was not a royal *curialis*.[63] Henry II visited Brittany again in September 1172, apparently with entirely peaceful purposes. He left just before Michaelmas, having convened a council of the bishops of Normandy and Brittany at Avranches, on the frontier between the two duchies. In the same year, at Le Mans, Henry II confirmed the privileges of the nunnery of Locmaria at Quimper in the presence of the bishops of Rennes, Nantes and Quimper.[64]

After two years of apparent peace in Brittany, the marches with Normandy, Maine and Anjou became a major theatre of the 1173 revolt.[65] According to Roger of Howden, Henry II sent orders to his castellans, including those in Brittany, to strengthen and hold their castles.[66] The Breton whose participation in the revolt is best recorded is Ralph de Fougères. First he planned to hold the castle of Fougères against the king, but fled when Henry II arrived there. Ralph escaped to the barony of Combour, where the castle of Combour was handed over to the rebels by the king's men, as was the town of Dol. In August 1173, Henry II sent a formidable contingent consisting of Norman knights and mercenaries, led by William du Hommet, against the rebels at Dol. The rebels sortied out to meet them on 20 August, but were overwhelmed, and those unable to flee withdrew into the keep of Dol, where they were besieged. The siege lasted until Henry II himself arrived from Rouen on 26 August, whereupon the defenders surrendered to him.[67]

Meanwhile, Eudo de Porhoët had returned from the Ile-de-France. Instead of joining the rebels at Dol, he returned to his own lands, refortifying the castle of Josselin and taking the ducal castle of

[63] William de Lanvallay became castellan of Winchester between September 1171 and September 1172 (*Pipe Roll 18 Henry II*, pp. 78, 84).

[64] *Gesta*, p. 31; RT, II, p. 33; *Actes d'Henri II*, no. CCCCXLIX; C. Fagnen, 'Etude d'un privilège d'Henri II en faveur du prieuré de Locmaria, à Quimper', *Gwéchall, le Finisterre Autrefois: Bulletin de la Société Finisterienne d'Histoire et d'Archéologie* I (1978), 37–64.

[65] Ralph de Fougères, William de Tinténiac, Guethenoc d'Ancenis and 'Gwenis' de Palvel are the only Bretons named in the two lists of supporters of the young King Henry at the beginning of the revolt given in *Gesta* (pp. 45–7).

[66] *Gesta*, p. 42.

[67] RT, II, pp. 42–6; *Gesta*, pp. 56–8; RH, pp. 51–3. The siege of Dol is described in 'Jordan Fantosme's Chronicle' (pp. 13–9). See also the briefer accounts in Roger of Wendover (RW, pp. 96–7) and the annals of the abbey of St-Aubin d'Angers (*Ann. ang.*, p. 37).

Ploërmel.[68] Henry II did not, however, take action against Eudo at this stage. His priority was the security of the Breton marches.

Having secured Combour and Fougères, the two Breton baronies marching with Normandy, the king's action in Brittany for the remainder of the revolt was concentrated on the frontier south of the barony of Vitré. Probably in 1173, Henry II's mercenaries destroyed the marcher castle of La Guerche. According to Robert de Torigni, Geoffrey de Pouancé-La Guerche, Bonabbé de Rougé 'et alii exheredati de Media', then carried on a guerilla campaign from the forests.[69] Further south still, in the spring of 1174, Henry II launched an attack from Anjou against the barony of Ancenis. In mid-June, the king took the castle of Ancenis, refortified it and appointed Maurice de Craon royal castellan. Royal troops ravaged the surrounding 'provincia', destroying vineyards and orchards.[70]

There is no evidence that the young Geoffrey led, or was even involved with, those Breton barons who joined the revolt, spending this period with his brothers at the Capetian court. Since the death of Conan IV, however, Geoffrey's situation had come to resemble that of his eldest brother, in that he had been associated with Henry II in ruling the duchy of Brittany since 1169, but lacked any land or independent authority.

When the kings met at Gisors in September 1173, Henry II offered Geoffrey the land which was Constance's inheritance, provided papal dispensation was granted for their marriage, so at least this much must have been demanded by Geoffrey or on his behalf.[71] Unfortunately for Geoffrey, the final settlement in fact was less favourable to him than the terms of this initial offer. The Treaty of Falaise provided only that Geoffrey should receive the revenues of half of Constance's *maritagium* in Brittany until their marriage, and all the revenues of the *maritagium* in Brittany after the marriage.[72] The final settlement was especially unfavourable to Geoffrey since Constance's inheritance was the duchy of Brittany (including Tréguier) and the honour of Richmond. Her *maritagium*, in contrast, was limited to the territory granted by Conan IV

[68] RT, II, p. 44; *Preuves*, col. 104.

[69] RT, II, pp. 45–6. A third rebel named by Robert de Torigni, Raher de 'Haia Normannus', is tentatively identified by Meuret as a castellan of the barony of La Guerche (Meuret, *Marche Anjou-Bretagne*, pp. 448–9). See also *Gesta*, I, pp. 62–3 for rebels including a Walter de Pouancé and his man, Brito.

[70] *Gesta*, p. 71; N.-Y. Tonnerre, 'Les débuts de la seigneurie d'Ancenis', *BSAN* 123 (1987), 47–68 at 59.

[71] *Gesta*, p. 59; RH, II, p. 53. See also B.A. Pocquet du Haut-Jussé, 'Les Plantagenêts et la Bretagne', *AB* 53 (1946), 2–27 at 11.

[72] RH, II, p. 69; *Gesta*, p. 78.

to Henry II in 1166, that is, only the duchy of Brittany (less Tréguier). This would explain the express grant, in the Treaty of Falaise, of revenues from the *maritagium* 'in Britannia'. Another version of the treaty allowed Geoffrey half of the revenues of Brittany, except 'Media'.[73] 'Media' was presumably excepted because it was not in Conan IV's possession in 1166 and therefore could not form part of his daughter's *maritagium* or inheritance. As will be seen, Henry II later relented, because Geoffrey ultimately enjoyed considerably more than just the revenues of parts of Brittany.

After the 1173 revolt, Henry II retired from campaigning in Brittany. Henceforth he relied upon Geoffrey to undertake military campaigns on his orders. In April 1175 the king sent Geoffrey to Brittany, with orders to restore castles to the condition they were in fifteen days before the revolt. This campaign was apparently directed against Eudo de Porhoët, because Robert de Torigni records that Geoffrey recovered Vannes, Ploërmel, Auray and half the county of Cornouaille,[74] the ducal domains usurped by Eudo pursuant to his claim to the ducal title. Although they had been recovered by Henry II in 1168, they must have been seized by Eudo again during the revolt.

Although Henry II did not visit Brittany in this period, his authority there is confirmed by contemporary royal *acta*. In September 1177, at Verneuil, Henry II made a 'statutum' regarding debt, to be observed 'in omnibus villis suis, et ubique in potestate sua, scilicet in Normannia et Aquitania, et Andegavia et Britannia'. Between 1172 and 1182, a royal writ was addressed, 'omnibus justiciis, vicecomitibus et omnibus prepositis et ministris suis Normannie et Andegavie et Aquitanie et Pictavie et Britannie . . .'.[75]

Contemporary accounts of the theft of the relics of Saint Petroc illustrate the exercise of royal authority in Brittany.[76] In January 1177, Martin, a canon of the priory of Bodmin, stole the relics from the Cornish church and took them to the ancient abbey of Saint-Méen in Brittany. Henry II was moved to order their return, which he did by letters addressed to Rolland de Dinan, described by Roger of Howden as 'justiciarius Britannie' and by Robert of *Tantona* as both 'vicecomes domini Galfridi filii regis Anglie comitis Britannie' and 'minister regis'.[77] The monks of Saint-Méen were reluctant to give up the relics,

[73] RD, 394. Both versions are published at *Actes d'Henri II*, nos. CCCLXVIII and CCCLXIX.

[74] *Gesta*, p. 101; RH, II, p. 72; RT, II, p. 56.

[75] *Gesta*, p. 194; *Actes d'Henri II*, nos. DVII, DLXXXV.

[76] There are three contemporary accounts: RH, II, p. 136; *Gesta*, pp. 178–80, and an independent and more detailed narrative by Robert of *Tantona* (DRF). I am very grateful to Professor C.N.L. Brooke for these references.

[77] RH, II, p. 136; DRF, pp. 178, 183.

but they surrendered when Rolland de Dinan threatened to execute his royal orders using force if necessary.

Henry II and Geoffrey crossed from England together in August 1177 and, according to Robert de Torigni, Henry II despatched Geoffrey 'cum ceteris Brittonibus' to campaign against Guihomar de Léon. What action Geoffrey took is not recorded, but later in the year Guihomar came to Henry II and surrendered his lands to the king. In April 1179, Henry II again ordered Geoffrey to lead a military expedition against Guihomar.[78]

The previous pages have demonstrated the extent to which Henry II's activities in Brittany between 1158 and 1179 were characterised by military campaigns against rebellious barons. The king had other ways of dealing with the Breton barons, involving diplomacy and the exercise of feudal rights. He offered gifts and rewards to some, including John de Dol and Eudo de Porhoët.[79] He arranged the marriages of heiresses of Breton baronies to men of assured loyalty from other provinces. Isolde, the heiress of John de Dol, was married to John de Subligny's son. Another example is the marriage of the heiress of Rolland de Rieux, to a younger son of the king's cousin, Roscelin, viscount of Beaumont (Maine), no later than 1168.[80]

Henry II's policy also involved winning the loyalty of the ordinary people, including perhaps lesser barons and knights, by bringing the peace and prosperity of royal government. 'In brevi', William of Newburgh concluded, 'Britannia tota potitus, turbatoribus vel expulsis vel domitis, eam in cunctis finibus suis ita disposuit atque composuit, ut, populis in pace agentibus, deserta paulatim in ubertatem verterentur'. The value of the betrothal of Geoffrey to Constance, the rightful heiress, is explained by Ralph of Diss in similar terms, '. . . rex Anglorum filio suo Gaufrido uxorem accipiens, et in pace passim per Britanniam statuenda studiosus existens, clerum terre illius sibi conciliavit et populum'.[81]

It is certainly not the case that all the barons of Brittany were continually in a state of rebellion against Angevin rule, any more than

[78] RT, II, pp. 67–8, 71; *Gesta*, pp. 190, 239; RH, II, p. 192.

[79] In the Pipe Roll of 1158/9, the sheriff of Hampshire accounted for £16 13s. 4d. given to John de Dol, 'de dono' (*Pipe Roll 5 Henry II, 1158–1159*, p. 45). According to Robert de Torigni (II, p. 5) the king gave Eudo generous gifts to secure his loyalty. Eudo may have received a grant of revenues in Devonshire (*Pipe Roll 11 Henry II, 1164–1165*, p. 80).

[80] RT, II, p. 3. On the strategic importance of the barony of Rieux, see Tonnerre, *Naissance de Bretagne*, pp. 312, 317, 355–6. Nothing else is known of the heiress of Rieux or her husband, but no doubt this is due to the fact that, from their marriage, the barony was held for Henry II, and therefore does not appear in accounts of baronial rebellions.

[81] WN, pp. 146–7; RD, p. 332.

was the general populace. The significance of the rebellious barons tends to be exaggerated because contemporary chroniclers often name them, if only to vilify them. In contrast, barons fighting in the royal host, or doing homage to the king, are seldom named, but merely referred to in general terms, as 'the barons' or 'the Bretons', which makes them easier to overlook and impossible to identify or even quantify.

The acceptance of Angevin rule by the majority of the Bretons may be demonstrated by their actions when Henry II campaigned in Brittany. The royal force which ousted Ralph de Fougères from Combour in 1164 included Bretons. Henry II's order for a tax in aid of the Holy Land was made in May 1166 with the counsel of magnates including the bishop of Vannes and barons from various provinces including Brittany, although at the time the king must have been preparing his campaign against Ralph de Fougères. According to Robert de Torigni, at an early stage of the 1173 revolt, Henry II was able to summon the barons of Brittany and make them take an oath of fidelity.[82] When Geoffrey campaigned in Léon in 1177, his army consisted of 'Britones'. This evidence indicates that there were barons who supported the Angevins even when called upon to campaign against one of their own number.

According to William of Newburgh, 'Erant autem in Britannia quidam nobiles tantarum opum et virium, ut nullius unquam dignarentur subjacere dominio'.[83] Henry II's hostile actions were, when one analyses them, directed specifically against these rebellious barons. Who were the rebellious barons, and why were they rebellious? It is obviously an over-simplification to assert that they rebelled because 'like all medieval barons they resented the imposition of effective authority'. In fact, the particular motivations of each of the known rebels can be surmised from their personal circumstances.

Eudo de Porhoët had an obvious motive for opposing Henry II; his attempt to retain the ducal title had been thwarted by his stepson, Conan IV, with the king's support. Connected with this grievance is the enmity which apparently existed between Eudo and Ralph de Fougères, no doubt stemming from the fact that Ralph championed the cause of Conan IV in the 1150s. They never united in the common cause of resisting the Angevins. In fact Eudo was with Henry II at the siege of Fougères in 1166 and declined to join Ralph in the 1173 revolt,

[82] *Actes d'Henri II*, no. CCLV, p. 401; RT, II, p. 42.
[83] WN, p. 146.

keeping to his own estates instead.[84] Henry II had no need to 'divide and conquer'; the native opposition was divided of its own volition.

Eudo went into exile first in 1156 and did not return to his estates until 1164.[85] At some time between 1158 and early 1162, Eudo met Henry II at Vitré.[86] With Eudo were his brothers Alan de la Zouche and Josce *vicecomes*, his cousin Alan de Rohan and his ally Oliver de Dinan ('Oliverus filius alterius'). Conan IV was represented by Alan fitzRoald, the ducal constable. Henry II was attended by Thomas Becket, Richard du Hommet, Josce de Dinan, Hamo Boterel and William fitzHamo, the last two being the royal ministers who were most involved in Breton affairs at this date. It is possible that the occasion was a meeting to negotiate Eudo's return from exile, with the frontier castle of Vitré being a suitably neutral venue. Eudo's actual return must have marked a *rapprochement* with Henry II, who may have felt that the best way to control Eudo was to win him over as an ally. As noted above, Eudo was with Henry II at the siege of Fougères in 1166.[87] I would suggest that, knowing the king had decided to remove Conan IV as duke of Brittany, Eudo had put himself forward as a replacement. Eudo's subsequent rebellion, in 1167–8, may then be explained by Henry's rejection of his candidacy. By August 1167, Eudo had entered into an alliance with Guihomar de Léon, the most recalcitrant of Breton barons, sealed by Eudo's marriage to Guihomar's daughter.[88]

After Henry II had taken violent action against his possessions in 1168, Eudo's failure to do homage to Henry II at Nantes at Christmas 1169 may be explained by simple grievance against such punishment. After being defeated once more in a brief campaign undertaken by Henry II in early 1170, Eudo went into exile for a second time, returning to Brittany in 1173, when the revolt was at its height. Eudo was finally subjugated by Geoffrey in 1175. There is no further evidence of his rebelling and, in 1185 at Rennes, he participated in the 'Assize of count Geoffrey'.

Ralph de Fougères has typically been painted by Breton historians as

[84] *Letters of John of Salisbury*, II, no. 173.

[85] This is indicated by a charter dated 1164. The grant recorded was first made at Tours, in the presence of Eudo's companions, described as his 'itineris socios', and confirmed at Josselin not long afterwards (*Preuves*, cols. 653–5; *Cart. Morb.*, no. 227).

[86] BM Lansdowne mss 229, f. 114r and 259, f. 70r. The date of this charter is limited by the appointment of Alan as constable of Conan IV in 1158 (*EYC*, V, p. 90) and Thomas Becket's return to England early in 1162.

[87] Eudo attested a charter of Henry II made at Fougères 'in exercitu' (RT, II, pp. 285–6, no.XXI; *Actes d'Henri II*, no.CCLVII), styled 'comes Eudo'.

[88] RT, I, p. 367. Guihomar's son was one of Eudo's companions at Tours in 1164 (see note 85 above).

a staunch Breton nationalist, resisting Plantagenet rule as a matter of principle.[89] There is, however, no evidence that he rebelled before the mid-1160s. Ralph's first loyalty was to the young Duke Conan. Loyalty to Conan would have entailed loyalty to Henry II, especially since Ralph also held lands in England and Normandy.[90]

The first hint of rebellion by Ralph de Fougères arose out of his custody of the barony of Combour. Robert de Torigni merely tells us that Henry II took the keep of Dol from Ralph after John de Dol's death, but this does not necessarily mean that Ralph rebelliously withheld it from the king.[91] Ralph's real motive for future rebellion arose when Henry II dispossessed him of Combour in August 1164, possibly while Ralph was absent on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem.[92] Ralph must have been so aggrieved by this blow to his own and his family's fortunes that he would have had sufficient motive for rebellion. Indeed, the first reference to Ralph being rebellious is the next year, 1165, when he allegedly conspired with barons of Maine who were taking advantage of the king's absence in Wales to defy royal authority. This led directly to a violent campaign against Fougères in July 1166, and the deposition of Conan IV. Ralph thus became a bitter enemy of Henry II, on account of his own personal misfortunes and the fate of Conan.

Ralph must have spent the next few years rebuilding and restoring his estates, since he is not recorded as having rebelled again until the 1173 revolt; in fact he attested a royal charter at Mortain between 1168 and 1173.[93] After the rebels surrendered the keep of Dol to Henry II, Ralph made peace with the king, pre-empting the treaty of Falaise. Henry II dealt remarkably leniently with him, allowing Ralph to keep all his lands in Brittany, and merely requiring him to give his sons as hostages.[94] The king was rewarded by Ralph's future loyalty.[95] After 1182, Ralph emerged as an important figure in the administration of Geoffrey and Constance. Thus the period in which Ralph resisted Henry II was in fact only between 1164 and 1173.

Two members of the baronial family of Dinan, Rolland and Oliver, rebelled against Henry II from 1167 to 1169. Their motives, and the

[89] E.g., A. de la Borderie, *Histoire de Bretagne*, III, Rennes and Paris 1899, pp. 274, 277.

[90] N. Vincent, 'Twyford under the Bretons 1066–1250', *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 41 (1997), 80–99 at 80–3.

[91] RT, I, p. 340. The 'turris' to which Torigni consistently refers was a castle within the town of Dol, constructed, against the archbishop's will, on land forming part of the archiepiscopal domain, possibly by John II de Dol himself (*Enquête*, pp. 36–7, 46–7, 66–7; F. Duine (ed.), *La Bretagne et les pays celtiques. XII, La métropole de Bretagne: 'Chronique de Dol' composée au XIe siècle et catalogues des dignitaires jusqu'à la révolution*, Paris, 1916, pp. 128–9).

[92] *Preuves*, col. 588.

[93] *Actes d'Henri II*, no. CCLXXI.

[94] 'Jordan Fantosme's Chronicle', pp. 18, 19; WN, p. 176; RT, II, pp. 44–5; *Gesta*, pp. 57–8.

[95] *Actes d'Henri II*, nos. DXCI, DCCXLV.

consequences of their rebellion, are obscured by uncertainties surrounding the genealogy of the Dinan family in this period.[96] It is sufficient to note that around 1120 the barony of Dinan was divided between the two elder sons of Geoffrey I de Dinan, Oliver II and Alan. Alan received the southern lands of the barony, with part of the town of Dinan, and established his *caput* at Becherel.[97]

The rebel Oliver must have been a younger son of Oliver II de Dinan. Robert de Torigni's account of the events of 1167–8 is the only record of Oliver in this period, and his motives for rebelling are unknown. Oliver later received all the English estates of both the Becherel branch and the senior branch of the Dinan family, apparently by agreement with his nephew, Oliver III, son of Geoffrey II, but this did not occur until the 1190s.[98] This chronology resolves the difficulty encountered by historians, who knew of Oliver's English interests, but had to explain his presence in Brittany in the 1160s. Presumably, in the 1160s, Oliver was a landless younger son who had nothing to lose from allying with Eudo de Porhoët against Henry II.[99]

Rolland de Dinan is much better known, and the evidence indicates that his rebellion was an isolated event, probably in reaction to the deposition of Conan IV. Rolland was the son and heir of Alan son of Geoffrey I de Dinan, and hence the lord of Becherel, and also had substantial estates in England.[100] Some of Rolland's English lands were taken into the king's hand for six months between Michaelmas 1160 and Michaelmas 1161, but the reasons for this forfeiture are not recorded.[101] No particular motive can be discerned for his rebellion of 1167 either, but the timing suggests Rolland was protesting against Henry II's actions of 1166.

In June 1168, the king destroyed the castle of Becherel, and was only prevented from besieging Lehon, which also pertained to Becherel, by the expiry of his truce with Louis VII. Meanwhile, all of Rolland's English lands had been taken into the king's hand. Rolland must have admitted the futility of further resistance to Henry II's superior military force, although he and Eudo de Porhoët maintained the diplomatic offensive in the immediate aftermath of the 1168 campaign.

[96] K. Jankulak, *The medieval cult of St Petroc*, Woodbridge, Suffolk, 2000, ch. 5, 'Roland de Dinan and the rebellion of 1167–8'.

[97] See Appendix 1, note 29.

[98] M. Jones, *The Family of Dinan in England in the Middle Ages*, Dinan, 1987, p. 28.

[99] Assuming he is to be identified with 'Oliverius filius alterius', who attested the charter at Vitré with Eudo de Porhoët (see above, note 86). An Oliver de Dinan also attested a charter with Eudo de Porhoët in 1165 (*Preuves*, col. 656; *AE*, IV, 279).

[100] K. Jankulak, *St Petroc*, Appendix III, 'Lands of Roland de Dinan in the Pipe Rolls'.

[101] *Pipe Roll 7 Henry II, 1160–1161*, pp. 34, 46, 48, 52–3.

Rolland made peace with Henry II soon afterwards, probably in 1169.[102] The 'Chronicle of Saint-Brieuc' records that the terms of the settlement were that Henry II retained half of the 'villa' of Dinan in his hand, allowing Rolland the other half.[103] This may be the attempt of a chronicler ignorant of the earlier division of the barony of Dinan to explain the fact that the great Rolland de Dinan was not lord of the whole barony. There is certainly no evidence that half of Dinan was henceforth held as ducal domain, and it would be curious if Henry II had seized the lands of the senior branch of the family (then headed by Geoffrey II de Dinan, who is not recorded as having rebelled) but failed to punish Rolland. Indeed, in England in this period, the senior branch recovered manors which had been held by Rolland.

It was in Henry II's interest, however, that the barony of Dinan should remain divided, as to both its Breton and English lands. Thus, when it became apparent that Rolland de Dinan would have no legitimate issue, there was no question of permitting the lordship of Becherel to revert to the senior branch. Instead, Rolland adopted as his heir his nephew Alan, a younger son of Robert de Vitré. Robert de Torigni specifically states that Rolland adopted Alan in the presence of the king.[104] While this may be seen as merely a token of Rolland's loyalty to Henry II, it may equally indicate that the king had dictated to Rolland his choice of heir. Alan's suitability as heir of Becherel from Henry II's point-of-view suggests in itself that he was the king's choice. He could rely upon the loyalty of a member of the Vitré family, since both Alan's father and elder brother had proved themselves consistently loyal to the Angevin cause.

The king dealt very generously with Rolland de Dinan, evidently restoring his lands upon his submission in 1169. As with Ralph de Fougères, this policy successfully turned an aggrieved and rebellious baron into a loyal ally.

The last of the magnates to resist Henry II was the lord of Léon; in fact three generations of the family actively resisted Angevin rule. Harvey de Léon and his son and heir, Guihomar, had joined the widespread Breton rebellion in 1167. Although he was obliged to submit to Henry II in 1167, and was defeated in battle by Conan IV in 1169 or 1170, Guihomar de Léon was not chastened. In January 1171,

[102] *Preuves*, col. 104. The pipe roll for 1169/70 indicates that some of Rolland's English lands were restored to him that year (*Pipe Roll 16 Henry II, 1169–70*, pp. 23, 97–8, 125) .

[103] *RHF*, XII, p. 567.

[104] RT, II, p. 46. This is recorded under the rubric for 1173, but the event Torigni records for 1173 is the death of Robert de Vitré and the succession of his eldest son, Andrew. Torigni then adds that Rolland named Andrew's younger brother Alan his heir in the presence of the king. Andrew's succession and Alan's adoption need not have occurred at the same time.

Hamo, bishop of Saint-Pol de Léon, was murdered, allegedly at the behest of Guihomar, his elder brother. The circumstances naturally invited comparison with the murder of Thomas Becket the month before. Henry II no doubt wished to be seen to act decisively against Guihomar for fear of being identified with him. In the spring of 1171, Henry II personally led a campaign into Léon, destroying all of Guihomar's castles and taking three into the king's hand. Guihomar himself came to Pontorson in May and surrendered to the king.[105]

The role of Guihomar de Léon during the 1173 revolt is not recorded. After 1175, any support he received even from his most powerful ally, Eudo de Porhoët, can have been only tacit, but he continued to rebel. In 1177, Geoffrey campaigned against Guihomar, who later that year submitted his lands to Henry II. Not surprisingly, when Henry II was obliged to send Geoffrey into Léon again in April 1179, Geoffrey acted harshly, taking the whole barony into his own hand. Guihomar agreed to go to Jerusalem and was permitted to receive the revenues of two parishes until the next Christmas, but he died in the meantime.[106] Guihomar's sons were disinherited, but rebelled again soon after Geoffrey's death in 1186.[107]

Hubert Guillotel has argued that, since the lords of Léon had not been under effective ducal authority at all during the twelfth century, their grievance was not with Angevin rule in particular, but with being subjected to any authority in general.[108] I do not think this is the complete explanation for their resistance to Henry II. The family also had a history of opposing the Anglo-Normans and Angevins. Harvey de Léon had ignored a summons of Henry I, and had then actively supported King Stephen in England during the civil war. Harvey's marriage to Stephen's illegitimate daughter, who presumably returned to Brittany with him in 1141, meant that Harvey and his descendants were permanently reminded of their hostility to the Angevins.

In terms of opposition to the exercise of royal authority, the lords of Léon may have been particularly anxious about their customary right of wreck. Guihomar liked to boast that he possessed 'the most valuable of precious stones', a rock which was worth one hundred thousand *solidi* each year in ship-wrecks. The conflict of interests between the lords of Léon in exercising their right of wreck and Henry II in curbing them, and ultimately receiving the proceeds of wreck himself, may have been a significant factor in the hostilities.[109]

The lords of Léon are certainly distinguished from the other Breton

[105] RT, II, p. 26. [106] RT, II, p. 81. [107] Guillotel, 'Léon', *MSHAB* 51 (1971), p. 33.
[108] Guillotel, 'Léon', p. 34. [109] 'Communes petitiones Britonum', p. 102. See Appendix 4.

barons in their persistent and unrepentant resistance to Angevin rule. The other barons discussed above made their displeasure at Henry II's policies felt at some stage, then settled with him on the most favourable terms possible and even profited from his lordship. The distinction must be that the other barons had close ties with ducal government; they or their fathers had rendered homage to the duke, or at least attended his court. In contrast, the involvement of Conan IV in a neighbourly skirmish between the lords of Léon and of Faou represented an extreme novelty. If Harvey and Guihomar joined the protest over Conan's deposition in 1167, it was because they saw, in Conan's passing, the end of the long period in which the native duke of Brittany had been their remote sovereign lord but had refrained from actually exercising any authority over them. To a much greater extent than for the other barons, the replacement of Conan IV with Henry II meant not so much a change of masters, but the change from no master at all to a very strong one.

Other Breton barons are named in contemporary sources as resisting Henry II, but their actions and motivations remain more obscure. Geoffrey de Montfort held the castle of Hédé against Henry II in 1168 and his barony was attacked by royal forces. At that time, he was allied with Eudo de Porhoët, who was his maternal uncle.[110] The lords of Montfort had supported Eudo as duke of Brittany even, it seems, after Conan IV crossed to Brittany in 1156.[111] Geoffrey de Montfort is not recorded as having rebelled again, and his loyalty was presumably assured by his marriage to the daughter of a Norman baron, Rualen de Say,[112] and the capitulation of Rolland de Dinan. In 1177, Geoffrey obligingly assisted Rolland, now Henry II's principal agent in Brittany, to execute royal orders against the abbey of Saint-Méen, of which Geoffrey was lay-advocate.[113]

In the 1168 rebellion, William de Saint-Gilles is linked with the barony of Montfort. The Saint-Gilles family were tenants of both Montfort and Vitré.[114] Alan de Tinténiac, whose castle was destroyed in the 1168 campaign, was probably a member of the same alliance. He

[110] Eudo's sister Amicia had married William de Montfort (1142–1157) (*Preuves*, cols. 615, 821–2). It is possible that Geoffrey, their second son, was named after his maternal grandfather. Geoffrey himself named a younger son Eudo and a daughter Amicia (*Actes d'Henri II*, no. DLI).

[111] A charter of Ralph de Montfort (1157–62), recorded an agreement made in the presence of Eudo 'dux Britannie' (*Actes inédits*, no. XLVI). Geoffrey, who was Ralph's younger brother and heir, was among Eudo's 'itineris socios' in 1164 (*Preuves*, cols. 653–4; *Cart. Morb.*, no. 227).

[112] RT, II, p. 97; *Actes d'Henri II*, no. DLI; BN ms fr. 22337, f. 121. Since Geoffrey had at least six children by Gervasia before 1180 (*Actes d'Henri II*, no. DLI), and the eldest was of age in 1181, the marriage must have taken place before 1168.

[113] DRF, p. 184.

[114] Bertrand de Brousillon, 'Charte d'André de Vitré', p. 52; *Charters*, Ge24, Gu15.

was with the exiled Eudo de Porhoët at Tours in 1164. Not surprisingly, a William de Tinténiac was one of the first to join the young King Henry's revolt in 1173.[115]

Numerous Bretons are named by Roger of Howden in his lists of the rebels taken prisoner at Dol in 1173, but of those I have been able to identify, all were either tenants of the barony of Fougères or local knights. Ralph de Fougères' younger brother, William, and his eldest son, Juhel, were present. Amongst his tenants were Leones, Oliver de Roche (Ralph's seneschal), Harvey de Vitré, Hamelin d'Iné, William de Saint-Brice, William de Chatellier and William de 'Orenga'.[116] A thorough analysis of the tenants of the barony of Fougères at this time would probably lead to the identification of more of the knights named in the list. A possible exception is Giro de Châteaugiron, a younger son of Conan de Châteaugiron,[117] although as a younger son, he might have taken service with Ralph de Fougères.

As to the local knights, the fact of the military activity in the Dol area in August 1173 meant that they could not avoid the conflict and were obliged to declare themselves for one side or the other. Additionally, men who had been tenants of John de Dol may have been aggrieved by the events of 1164.[118] Further light is shed on the identity of the rebels by an inquest conducted in 1181, on the orders of Henry II, into the temporal rights of the archbishop of Dol in the marshes around Dol.[119] The inquest was primarily intended to reveal usurpations of the archbishop's lands and rights in the area. Since some of the rebels named by Howden, or at least their families, are also named in the inquest as possessing lands or rights which had been usurped from the archiepiscopal domain, they clearly had a motive for resisting Henry II's intervention in the area on behalf of the archbishop.

Apart from those involved in the siege of Dol, and Eudo de Porhoët, the only Bretons named as having joined in the 1173 revolt are

[115] *Gesta*, p. 46.

[116] E.g., named as witnesses to Ralph's charters for the abbey of Savigny (AN mss L970, L972, L973).

[117] *Preuves*, col. 602.

[118] Geoffrey 'Farsi' was a tenant of Combour (BN ms latin 5476, pp. 57, 88; BN ms fr. 22325, p. 593; *Preuves*, col. 726, but see below, pp. 84, 211–12), John 'Pincerna' was an officer of Combour (BN ms latin 5476, p. 92; BN ms fr.22325, pp. 519, 591), Geoffrey 'Vicarius de Dolo' was an officer of the archbishop of Dol (*Enquête*, pp. 64–5; BN ms latin 5476, pp. 60–1, 91; BN ms fr.22325, p. 524). Hamo Spina, Guegon Goion ('Gwigain Gwiun') and Gelduin Goion ('Jeldewinus Gwiun') were prominent landholders in the north-west of the Dol area. These, and other members of the Spina and Goion families, appear frequently in the documents of the abbeys of Mont Saint-Michel and La Vieuville (e.g., BN ms fr. 22325, pp. 524, 526, 666–7). Jordan de la Massue ('Maszua') held his fee of the archbishop of Dol (*Enquête*, pp. 58, note 120b, 74, note 186) .

[119] *Enquête*, especially pp. 10–12.

Guethenoc d'Ancenis, Geoffrey de Pouancé, lord of La Guerche, and Bonabbé de Rougé.[120] All were barons of the Angevin-Breton march, and the conflict here was the playing-out of ancient disputes between these barons and the count of Anjou.[121] Again, their rebellion turned out to be short-lived. Although Henry II took the barony of Ancenis into his own hand in June 1174, by 1177, he had restored it to its hereditary lord, Guethenoc.[122] Geoffrey de Pouancé-La Guerche submitted to the jurisdiction of Duke Geoffrey, and Bonabbé de Rougé attested ducal *acta*.[123]

Another rebellious baron was Jarnogon de Rochefort, who surrendered his castle to Henry II in 1177.[124] So little is known of this incident that it would be unsafe to speculate as to Jarnogon's motives for rebelling.

It is easy to exaggerate the extent of baronial rebellion against Henry II because more barons are known by name as rebels than as royal supporters. Ironically, among the few Breton barons who attested any royal charters were the most prominent 'rebels', Eudo de Porhoët and Ralph de Fougères,[125] the latter, admittedly, in his capacity as a tenant in Normandy. Barons who certainly did support Henry II, and are not known to have rebelled at any stage are *comes* Henry of Tréguier, Robert and Andrew de Vitré and Alan de Rohan.

Henry was the youngest son of Stephen, lord of Penthièvre and Richmond, born around 1100. During his lifetime, Stephen had divided his lands between his three sons.[126] Before 1123, he gave his Breton lands to the eldest, Geoffrey Boterel II, and his English lands to the second son, Alan, the father of Duke Conan IV. Stephen kept Henry with him and gave him the soke of Waltham (Lincs.) from his English lands.[127] Later, Stephen seems to have altered the disposition, so

[120] *Gesta*, p. 71; RT, II, pp. 45–6.

[121] See J.-C. Meuret, 'Le poids des familles seigneuriales aux confins de l'Anjou et de la Bretagne: Martigné-Pouancé-La Guerche', *MSHAB* 70 (1993), 89–129 and Meuret, *Marche Anjou-Bretagne*.

[122] BN ms fr. 22319, p. 197.

[123] *Charters*, Ge7, 18, 23.

[124] RT, II, p. 71. Jarnogon has been identified as lord of La Roche-Bernard (RT, II, p. 71, note 3, also Chédeville and Tonnerre, *Bretagne féodale*, p. 93). The name of the lord of La Roche-Bernard in the third quarter of the twelfth century is not known, but no members of the seignorial family were named Jarnogon. (See P. de Berthou, 'Cartulaire de Notre-Dame de Montonac, prieuré Augustin en la paroisse de Nivillac, diocèse de Nantes', *Bulletin de la Société Polymathique du Morbihan* (1957–58), 3–64 and (1961–62), 65–144.) A more probable identification is with one of the Jarnogons, lords of Rochefort-en-Terre (*Cart. Morb.*, nos. 236 and 237).

[125] BM mss Lansdowne 229, f. 114r and 259, f. 70r; *Actes d'Henri II*, nos. CCLVII, CCLXXI, DXCI, DCCXLV.

[126] 'Inquisitio . . . Avaugour', pp. 116 and 119–20.

[127] BM mss Lansdowne 229, f. 114r and 259, f. 70r.

that the Breton lands were divided between his eldest and youngest sons. Geoffrey received the eastern half, with its *caput* at Lamballe, Henry the western half, the barony of Tréguier, whose *caput* was Guingamp.[128] Subsequently, Alan claimed lordship of Tréguier and returned to Brittany not long before his death in 1146 to pursue his interests there.[129] Alan's campaign against Henry was perpetuated by his son, Conan IV, who ejected his uncle from Tréguier and kept it as ducal domain.[130]

It is against this background of hostility from his brother and his nephew, as earls of Richmond, that Henry sought the king's confirmation of his rights in the soke of Waltham, at some time between 1158 and early 1162. Furthermore, Henry's marriage to the daughter of John, count of Vendôme, in 1151, demonstrates that he had supported the Angevins before the advent of Henry II in Brittany.[131]

Alan II de Rohan was a first-cousin of Eudo de Porhoët, and the fact that the barony of Rohan was a recent subdivision of Porhoët meant that they had some common tenurial interests. Between 1156 and 1166, Alan seems to have been a loyal supporter of Duke Conan IV. He is said to have aided Conan in ejecting *comes* Henry from Tréguier, around 1160.[132] In March 1168, both Alan and Conan were present at the court of Henry II at Angers.[133] Between 1160 and 1167, Alan was married to Conan's sister, Constance, and received as her *maritagium* lands in the honour of Richmond.[134] This marriage was almost certainly arranged by Henry II to reward Alan and to subdue Constance, who had personally requested King Louis VII to arrange her marriage, or even to marry her himself (plausible if Constance's request was made following the death of Louis' second wife in 1160).[135]

[128] See H. Guillotel, 'Les origines de Guingamp: Sa place dans la géographie féodale bretonne', *MSHAB* 56 (1979), 81–100.

[129] *EYC*, IV, p. 90.

[130] The witnesses testifying in the 'Inquest of Avaugour' disagreed as to whether Henry was ousted by Alan or Conan (pp. 111, 117 and 119–20). Their testimony may be reconciled on the basis that Henry was ousted twice, by father and son in turn. Alan may have defeated his brother in 1145 or 1146 (*Preuves*, col. 595; *EYC*, IV, pp. 27 and 31), but Henry took advantage of the anarchy following the death of Duke Conan III in 1148 and Conan IV's minority to regain possession of Tréguier. He was lord of Tréguier in 1151–2 (*Preuves*, cols. 610–11), but Conan had acquired the barony before his abdication in 1166.

[131] *Preuves*, cols. 610–11; C. Métais (ed.), *Cartulaire De l'abbaye cardinale de La Trinité de Vendôme*, 4 vols., Paris, 1893, II, p. 371, note 1 and no. DXLV'.

[132] *EYC*, IV, pp. 59–61. ('Inquisitio . . . Avaugour', p. 117).

[133] *Actes d'Henri II*, nos. CCLXVII and CCLXVIII.

[134] *EYC*, IV, p. 91.

[135] *RHF*, XVI, p. 23. See C.S. Jaeger, 'L'amour des rois: Structure sociale d'une forme de sensibilité aristocratique', *Annales* 46 (1991), 547–71 at 559–61, 570 (note 50) for a French translation of Constance's letter and further references.

The lords of Vitré, Robert and his son Andrew, were consistently loyal to Henry II. Henry II made a charter at Vitré between 1158 and 1162, presumably staying there as Robert's guest.[136] An agreement made between Robert and his tenant, Robert de Serigné, between 1156 and 1161, was confirmed in the king's presence. The agreement provided that Robert de Serigné should have the right of refuge (receptacula) in the barony of Vitré against anyone but the king of England. Robert de Vitré also attested an undated charter of Henry II made at Mortain.[137]

Andrew de Vitré, who succeeded his father in 1173, took part in military action in Brittany in support of Henry II, probably in the 1168 campaign.[138] After 1181, Andrew actively supported the regime of Duke Geoffrey. In a letter, Andrew addresses the duke, 'Dominus suus karissimus Gaufredus, Deo gracia Britannie dux'.[139]

This account of three major barons who supported Angevin rule in Brittany demonstrates that it is not safe to assert that 'all the Breton barons' opposed Henry II, and the preceding account of rebellious barons establishes that most of them rebelled only for limited periods and over specific grievances.

The support of the Church was an extremely important factor in the Angevins' success in Brittany. The first instance of Henry II acting in relation to Brittany is his intervention in the contest over the metropolitan status of Dol, in 1155. In spite of this beginning, the king subsequently played little active role in the church in Brittany, neither patronising monasteries nor interfering in the elections of abbots and bishops to any great extent.

The king appears to have been unconcerned with the internal operations of the Breton church. He was interested only when there was an 'extra-Breton' element, as in the Dol case. This is further illustrated by his patronage of the abbey of Saint-Sulpice-la-Forêt, discussed below. This was the only Breton monastery which the king actually patronised; he made only single grants or confirmations to a handful of other Breton monasteries. Henry II patronised Saint-Sulpice, however, not as lord of Brittany, but as count of Anjou and king of England. Yet when the relics of Saint Petroc were recovered and shown

[136] BM Lansdowne mss 229, f. 114r and 259, f. 70r.

[137] A. Bertrand de Brousillon (ed.), *La Maison de Laval, 1020–1605*, I, Paris, 1895, pp. 114–5; M. Brand'honneur, 'Le lignage, point de cristillisation d'une nouvelle cohésion sociale: Les Goranton-Hervé de Vitré aux XI, XIIe et XIIIe siècles', *MSHAB* 70 (1993), 65–87 at 80–1; *Actes d'Henri II*, no. CCLXXI.

[138] Bertrand de Brousillon, 'Testament', p. 53.

[139] Bertrand de Brousillon, *Maison de Laval*, I, p. 123. See *Charters*, Ge24.

to Henry II in England, the king took a rib, which he had encased in silver and sent it back to the abbey of Saint-Méen, an act which shows some regard for this otherwise obscure Breton establishment.[140]

There are few known *acta* of Henry II concerning Breton monasteries. The earliest is a charter for the abbey of Redon, confirming its possessions in 'Media' and in Guérande, made at Thouars.[141] It was probably made in October 1158, when Henry II visited Thouars immediately after taking possession of Nantes.[142] The king also granted a charter of confirmation to the abbey of Saint-Pierre de Rillé, near Fougères, in 1166.[143] Another confirmation, for the nunnery of Locmaria at Quimper, was made at Le Mans in 1172.[144] In addition to these confirmations, there is a single record of Henry II initiating a grant to a Breton monastery, an undated charter recording the king's grant of a fair to the abbey of Le Tronchet.[145]

The confirmations for Redon and Rillé and the grant to Le Tronchet were all, no doubt, politically motivated. The charter for Redon was an opportunity for the king to exercise his new-found authority in the county of Nantes. The confirmation for Rillé was given at the siege of Fougères, when Henry II defeated the abbey's lay-protector and patron. The canons needed royal assurance that their rights would be preserved, and at the same time offered Henry II the opportunity to be seen as a merciful victor and protector of the church. The grant to Le Tronchet may be seen in the context of the king's seizure of nearby Combour from Ralph de Fougères in 1164. The undated charter could have been made at any time after Combour was taken into the king's hand. The most likely scenario, though, is that the monks petitioned Henry II for this grant in the late summer of 1166, when he visited Dol in the course of his triumphal progress from Rennes to Mont Saint-Michel.[146] Although by this time Henry II was *de facto* duke of Brittany, he still needed support in the Dol area. The events of 1173 demonstrate that Ralph de Fougères had not abandoned his claims there.

[140] DRF, p. 186.

[141] *Preuves*, col. 657 (the source for *Cart. Redon*, p. 744, note 2, and *Actes d'Henri II*, no. CCLIX); Redon, Hotel de la Ville ms AA1, f. 165v, no. 523.

[142] Delisle (*Actes d'Henri II*, no. CCLIX) attributed this charter to 1166, when Henry II stayed at Thouars after Conan IV's abdication. The earlier date is preferable, as the monks of Redon would have hastened to obtain a confirmation from the new 'count of Nantes'.

[143] *Calendar of Patent Rolls, Henry III*, 1247–58, pp. 382–3.

[144] AD Finistère 27H 2; C. Fagnen, 'Etude d'un privilège d'Henri II en faveur du prieuré de Locmaria, à Quimper', *Gwechall, le Finisterre autrefois: Bulletin de la société finisterienne d'histoire et d'archéologie* 1 (1978), 37–64.

[145] BN mss fr. 22319, p. 238 and 22325, p. 621 (both after a 1279 *vidimus* of John, bishop of Dol); *Actes d'Henri II*, no. CCCCXXXV.

[146] RT, 1, pp. 361–2.

There are also two charters of Henry II regarding the subordination of the Breton monastery of Saint-Magloire de Lehon to Marmoutier. Both were made at Chinon, at a full assembly of the royal *curia*, in 1182.[147] In one charter, the king formally grants to Marmoutier the priory of Saint-Magloire de Lehon and its possessions.[148] The other charter records the settlement of disputes between Albert, bishop of Saint-Malo, and Harvey, abbot of Marmoutier, over Saint-Magloire de Lehon and other matters.[149] In this charter, the king nominates himself 'conservator et protector' of the settlement. Since the transaction took place after Geoffrey had become duke of Brittany in 1181, these charters do not pertain to the government of the duchy under Henry II. They do, however, reflect the pattern of Henry II's interest in Breton monasteries only when there was an 'extra-Breton' element.

As to the first charter, it is not obvious how the king had title to grant the possessions of Lehon to Marmoutier, since, with the exception of one church in England and one in Normandy, all the possessions were situated in Brittany.[150] It is probable that negotiations regarding the transaction began before Geoffrey became duke of Brittany, since one of the relevant documents is dated February 1181.[151] Henry II may have taken a close interest in the matter from its beginnings, before he transferred control of Brittany to Geoffrey. Alternatively, by 1182, although Geoffrey was duke of Brittany, the king could have authorised his son's acts, in his capacity as duke of Normandy. The charter, however, nowhere alludes to this. In my opinion, one should not attach too great significance to the source of the authority for this royal act, since it appears that anyone, lay or ecclesiastical, who was in a position of authority over the three monasteries involved, (Saint-Magloire de Lehon in Brittany, Saint-Magloire de Paris, and Marmoutier in Tours) or their relevant possessions, gave written confirmation of this settlement.[152]

147 BN ms latin 12879, f. 176; *Actes d'Henri II*, no. DCXVI; *Preuves*, col. 688. The date is established by a dated charter of Albert, bishop of Saint-Malo, made on the same occasion (*Actes d'Henri II*, no. DCXVII).

148 BN ms latin 12879, fos 174v, no. 166 and 76r, no. 170; *Actes d'Henri II*, no. DCXV; *Preuves*, col. 688.

149 BN ms latin 12879, f. 176r, no. 169; *Actes d'Henri II*, no. DCXVI; *Preuves* col. 688.

150 These are named in a forged, but nearly contemporary, charter enumerating the possessions of Saint-Magloire de Lehon (*Charters*, Ge32).

151 BN ms latin 12879, f. 175r, no. 167.

152 BN ms latin 12879, folios 173–82. The settlement was confirmed by Pope Lucius III, Bartholomew archbishop of Tours, Albert bishop of Saint-Malo, Elias abbot of Saint-Magloire de Paris, Hugo abbot of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, Philip Augustus, Henry II and Duke Geoffrey. In fact, the confirmations of Duke Geoffrey, Bishop Albert and Abbot Elias were given in 1181, those of the two kings in 1182.

In February 1182, Henry II made his last will and testament. Among many pious bequests, the king bequeathed one hundred marcs to the nuns of 'Sanctus Sulpicius Britannie',[153] the nunnery of Saint-Sulpice-la-Forêt. This is the only bequest in the will to a beneficiary in Brittany, but it was merely the latest of the king's acts of patronage towards this abbey.

Saint-Sulpice was founded, around 1112, by Ralph de la Fustaye, a disciple of Robert d'Arbrissel.[154] It was thus part of the fashionable monastic movement epitomised by the abbey of Fontevraud. Although it was situated within the diocese of Rennes, Saint-Sulpice was towards the east of the diocese, in the forest which separated Brittany from Maine, and from its foundation, attracted the patronage of the aristocracy of Maine and Anjou as well as Brittany. In 1117, Fulk V, count of Anjou, founded the priory of La Fontaine Saint-Martin in the diocese of Le Mans. His son, Geoffrey Plantagenet, granted to this priory sixty *l.* angevin from his revenues of Angers and Tours, a grant which was confirmed by Geoffrey's son, the future Henry II, in 1151.[155]

In the early years of his reign as king of England, Henry II issued a charter of confirmation for Saint-Sulpice's priory of Lillechurch in Higham (Kent).[156] It is clear, therefore, that Henry II was a benefactor of Saint-Sulpice in his capacity as count of Anjou and king of England, and would have patronised the nunnery regardless of whether he had become lord of Brittany.

Finally, patronage of Saint-Sulpice may explain Henry II's confirmation for Locmaria, when he otherwise showed no interest in the diocese of Quimper. Although Locmaria was founded as a Benedictine nunnery by the counts of Cornouaille in the first half of the eleventh century, around 1124 it was reformed and subordinated to Saint-Sulpice.[157] Despite the fact that the document recording the royal confirmation assiduously fails to mention Saint-Sulpice, if one regards an act of patronage towards its priory of Locmaria as the equivalent of patronising Saint-Sulpice itself, Henry II's confirmation for Locmaria is explained.

Turning from the regular clergy to the secular, there is similarly little evidence of Henry II interfering with the election of bishops in Brittany, except the archbishop of Dol. The simple explanation is that

[153] *Actes d'Henri II*, no. DCXII.

[154] H. Guillotel, 'Les premiers temps de l'abbaye de Saint-Sulpice', *Bulletins de la société d'histoire et d'archéologie de Bretagne* (1971–1974), 60–2.

[155] *Cart. Saint-Sulpice*, nos. LIV, CCXXV.

[156] *Cart. Saint-Sulpice*, no. LXV; *Actes d'Henri II*, no. XLII; S. Thompson, *Women religious: The founding of English nunneries after the Norman Conquest*, Oxford, 1991, pp. 131–2, 166.

[157] *Actes inédits*, no. VIII; J. Quaghebur, 'Strategie lignagère et pouvoir politique en Cornouaille au XIe siècle', *MSHAB* 68 (1991), 7–18; *Cart. Saint-Sulpice*, no. CCXVIII.

he did not need to intervene, since the bishops of Brittany readily accepted Angevin lordship.[158]

The duchy of Brittany comprised nine dioceses, each of which was under the control of a local magnate in the eleventh century. The result of the Gregorian reform movement was that the same seignorial families retained the regalian right and the right to present candidates for election. Thus the regalian right for the archbishopric of Dol belonged to the lord of Combour, for Saint-Brieuc to the lord of Lamballe, for Tréguier to the lord of Tréguier, for Saint-Pol de Léon to the lord of Léon. Only the dioceses of Nantes, Rennes, Quimper and possibly Vannes pertained to the duke of Brittany, as descendant of the relevant comital families.[159] It is in these dioceses, then, that one would expect to find the influence of Henry II in episcopal elections.

In 1158, Henry II was welcomed in Nantes by the bishop, Bernard d'Escoublac. Although Bernard, according to custom, refused to swear fealty or any other oath to the king as count of Nantes, he directed his men to swear fealty ('fidelitas') to him.[160] Henry II can have had no concerns about Bernard's loyalty. Upon his death, he immediately approved the election of Bernard's nephew, Robert, archdeacon of Nantes, as his successor.[161] After his election, Robert was often at the king's court, in Normandy and even in England, and was evidently one of the king's most trusted bishops.[162] In the 1177 treaty between Henry II and Louis VII, Robert was named as one of three bishops chosen by Henry II to oversee the truce, and he was reappointed when Henry II renewed the treaty with Philip Augustus in 1180.[163]

In Rennes, a vacancy occurred soon after Henry II became lord of Brittany. Here, Henry II intervened to secure the election of his chaplain, Stephen de Fougères, as bishop of Rennes.[164] There can be no doubt of the role Stephen played in reinforcing royal authority in the county of Rennes in the first years after the abdication of Conan IV.

[158] Pocquet du Haut-Jussé (1946), pp. 15–17.

[159] In Nantes, Hoël had surrendered the count's regalian right in 1148, presumably as the price of recognition of his comital regime by the church (*Preuves*, cols. 602–3).

[160] *Preuves*, col. 803.

[161] RT, II, p. 16; *Preuves*, col. 104.

[162] Between 1170 and 1173, Robert attested charters of Henry II at Chinon (*Actes d'Henri II*, no. CCCCXLIV) and Le Mans (the confirmation for Locmaria). He attested the 'Treaty of Falaise' in October 1174 (*Actes d'Henri II*, no.CCCCLXVIII). Thereafter, he attested royal charters at Caen (*Actes d'Henri II*, nos. CCCCLXXIII, CCCCLXXIV), Angers (*Actes d'Henri II*, nos. DIII and DIX), Le Mans (*Actes d'Henri II*, no. DXX) and Winchester (*Actes d'Henri II*, no.DLXXXVII). Robert also attested a charter of Duke Geoffrey, at Rennes (*Charters*, Ge6).

[163] *Actes d'Henri II*, nos. DVI and DL.

[164] T. A. M. Bishop, 'Stephen de Fougères – a chancery scribe', *Cambridge Historical Journal* (1950), 106–7; R. A. Lodge (ed.), *Etienne de Fougères, Le Livre des Manières*, Geneva, 1979, 'Introduction', pp. 13–16.

In his charters, Stephen is consistently styled 'episcopus Redonensis et capellanus regis Anglie'.[165] The attestation of one of Stephen's acts by Henry II's seneschal of Rennes, William de Lanvallay, is probably merely the isolated surviving record of what must have been an active partnership between the heads of the civil and ecclesiastical administrations in Rennes, cooperating to consolidate royal authority. When Stephen died in 1178, however, he was not replaced by another royal courtier. Stephen's successor was Philip, abbot of the Cistercian abbey of Clermont.[166] Philip's relative detachment from royal politics is indicated by the fact that he did not attest any acts of Henry II.

As for Quimper, the picture is less clear. From 1159 to 1167, the bishop was Bernard de Moëlan, formerly chancellor of the cathedral of Chartres. The origins of his successor, Geoffrey (*c.* 1167–84) are unknown. According to the notice recording Henry II's confirmation for the priory of Locmaria, Bishop Geoffrey was present at the royal *curia* at Le Mans in 1172, with Stephen, bishop of Rennes, and Robert, bishop of Nantes. In contrast with the other two bishops, Geoffrey may have been present only because of his interest in the subject-matter of the royal act.

Additionally, the Angevins recovered control of some dioceses from lay-magnates. Henry II certainly exercised the regalian right for the archbishopric of Dol from 1161, in place of the lords of Combour. After the defeat of Eudo de Porhoët in 1175, Henry II potentially had authority over the bishop of Vannes. The saintly Breton bishop of Vannes, Rotald, died in 1177, but the circumstances of the election of his successor, Geoffrey (1177–82) are unfortunately unknown.[167] Thirdly, the bishopric of Saint-Pol de Léon ceased to be controlled by the lords of Léon, but here the small amount of evidence does not indicate Angevin interference.[168]

Even in the dioceses under baronial control, there is evidence that the bishops supported Henry II's regime. The support of Albert, bishop

[165] E.g. AN mss L967, L977.

[166] Since Philip's successor was Herbert, also abbot of Clermont (see pp. 118–19), there seems to have been some connection between the chapter of Rennes and the Angevin abbey. If this was not the result of the direct influence of Henry II, it is at least further evidence of Angevin influence in eastern Brittany.

[167] *Gallia Christiana*, XIV, col. 925; J.-F. Le Mené, *Abbayes et prieurés du diocèse de Vannes*, Vannes, 1902, p. 109.

[168] According to Robert de Torigni (RT, II, pp. 47–8), after the assassination of Bishop Hamo, an archdeacon of the chapter was elected, being the popular choice of the clergy and the people (except Torigni rather contrarily alleges that the election was secured by simony), and sought consecration from the archbishop of Tours around the time of the death of Archbishop Josce (1173–4). This was probably Bishop Guy II, who was bishop in 1179 (*Gallia Christiana*, XIV, cols. 976–7).

of Saint-Malo (1163–*c.* 1184) is indicated by his presence at the ceremonial reception of the young Geoffrey in the cathedral of Rennes in May 1169, alongside Stephen de Fougères, bishop of Rennes, and Robert de Torigni.[169] His loyalty is further indicated by his presence at the royal *curia* at Chinon in 1182, when he accepted the king's patronage of the settlement between his church and Marmoutier.

The extent of episcopal support for Henry II is most strikingly demonstrated by the career of Hamo, bishop of Léon.[170] Even though he was the younger son of Harvey de Léon, instead of following the family's policy of autonomy from the dukes of Brittany, and active hostility towards Henry II, Hamo seems to have accepted Angevin authority. In 1163, he was responsible for the military intervention of Duke Conan IV in a dispute between his father and a neighbouring baron. In 1169 or 1170, Hamo was expelled from his see by his brother Guihomar, now lord of Léon. On Hamo's petition, probably to Henry II himself, Conan IV led a military campaign into Léon and defeated Guihomar in battle in 1170. This only made Hamo's position more insecure, though, and in January 1171 he was murdered at the behest of his brother.[171] Hamo's reliance upon Angevin authority on two occasions, once on behalf of his father, the second time on his own behalf, indicates his desire to abandon his family's policy of autonomy and accept Angevin rule. Indeed, his Angevin sympathies were probably the cause of his expulsion and finally his death.[172]

There is thus no reason to presume that Breton bishops were hostile to Henry II; in fact the contrary is indicated. In 1159, according to Robert de Torigni, the bishops and abbots of Brittany made financial contributions towards Henry II's campaign in Toulouse. At Nantes, at Christmas 1169, at least some of the bishops were present at Henry II's court, when they are said to have sworn fealty to the king.[173]

The king's interest in the archbishopric of Dol is a different matter altogether. Archbishops of Dol had been engaged since the mid-eleventh century in seeking papal recognition of their metropolitan status and independence from the archbishop of Tours. If Dol's claim to metropolitan status was acknowledged, then some, at least, of the other Breton dioceses would be subject to Dol and be removed from the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Tours. To diminish the authority of

[169] RT, II, p. 13. *Gallia christiana*, XIV, cols. 1003–4. The dates of Albert's episcopacy will indicate that no vacancy occurred in the diocese of Saint-Malo during the period (1166–81) when Henry II might have intervened in an episcopal election.

[170] *Gallia Christiana*, XIV, col. 986.

[171] WB, p. 178; RT, II, p. 25; *Cart. Quimperlé*, p. 108; Guillotel, 'Léon', p. 32.

[172] Guillotel, 'Léon', p. 32.

[173] *Gesta*, p. 3; RT, II, p. 16.

the archbishop of Tours was to diminish the authority of the king of France, who exercised the regalian right in Tours.[174] It was, therefore, very much in Henry II's interest to give his active support to the archbishop of Dol's case.

Dol's fortunes in the case ebbed and flowed over the decades, depending principally on the politics of the pope from time to time. At the end of 1154, the fortunes of the archbishopric of Dol were at their very lowest. Having sought consecration in Rome, Archbishop Hugo was directed by Pope Anastasius IV to go to Tours for his consecration. The archbishop of Tours could, arguably, have given Hugo a *pallium* with which to consecrate Breton bishops as his suffragans.[175] Unfortunately, the then archbishop of Tours, Engelbald, was particularly hostile to Dol, and, in December 1154, Hugo returned from Tours after his consecration empty-handed. Accounts of the subsequent events vary. It seems that Hugo returned to Dol and was initially received there by the clergy, at least. John de Dol was gravely offended, however, and drove Hugo from the cathedral city. Hugo first retreated to a chapel at La Fontanelle, near the Norman border, then to Mont Saint-Michel. An alternative account is that, on the advice of the canons who had accompanied him to Tours, Hugo avoided Dol and went directly to Mont Saint-Michel.

At this point, circumstances changed dramatically with the advent of the English pope, Adrian IV, who was consecrated in December 1154. By May 1155, Hugo had returned to Rome and received papal consecration. In a series of letters issued in 1155, Pope Adrian gave his support to Hugo, exhorted laymen and clergy to respect his authority and directed the archbishop of Tours to make peace.

According to one canon, William, whilst at Mont Saint-Michel, Archbishop Hugo had summoned his canons to him, and announced his intention to return to Rome and obtain papal absolution from the vows he had made to the archbishop of Tours. First, though, Hugo told them he intended to seek out Henry II and obtain from him letters recommending his cause to the new pope. This was what the canons wanted to hear. Hugo duly obtained letters from the king and presented them to Adrian IV, with the anticipated successful results.[176]

This testimony is the only direct evidence of Henry II interfering in this matter, but although uncorroborated, it was not challenged. Assuming its veracity, it leaves doubt as to when the idea of interfering

[174] RT, I, pp. 363–4; F. Duine (ed.), *La Bretagne et les pays celtiques* XVI, *Métropole de Bretagne*, '*Chronique de Dol' composée au XIe siècle et catalogues des dignitaires jusqu'à la révolution*, Paris, 1916, p. 131.

[175] Duine, *Métropole de Bretagne*, p. 126.

[176] *Preuves*, cols. 739–40.

on behalf of Dol first occurred to the young king. William's testimony implies that returning to Rome with royal letters of recommendation was Hugo's own idea. It is more likely, however, that Hugo was persuaded to take this course by Robert de Torigni, the new abbot of Mont Saint-Michel. Robert, in turn, may have acted either of his own volition, or on the instructions of Henry II, who saw an opportunity to intervene in this contest.

Although it was clearly in his interest to support Dol to the detriment of the archbishop of Tours and hence the king of France, since Henry II had no rights in Brittany at this stage, how could such interference be justified? The explanation lies in the influence of the dukes of Normandy in the diocese of Dol.[177] In the mid-eleventh century, Rivallon, the first lord of Combour, had allied himself with William the Conqueror against the count of Rennes. Among other benefits, this alliance had helped to preserve the metropolitan status of Dol. In 1076, Pope Gregory VII took the unprecedented step of recognising the metropolitan status of Dol by choosing and consecrating archbishop Evan. The pope apparently had more confidence in Evan's ability as a reformer than he had in either the then archbishop-elect of Dol or the archbishop of Tours. In preferring Dol over Tours at this time, Gregory VII was also manifesting his favour towards the duke of Normandy and his lack of any particular favour towards the king of France. Pope Gregory VII wrote two letters to William the Conqueror on the subject of the archbishop of Dol, which indicate recognition that William had some authority in the matter. Later, in the early 1130s, the consecration of Rolland, bishop of Saint-Brieuc, as a suffragan by Geoffrey archbishop of Dol, was attended by the bishop of Coutances, 'de gratia' of Henry I, king of England and duke of Normandy.

In contrast with this Norman patronage of the archbishop of Dol, there is no evidence of involvement in the dispute by the counts of Rennes/dukes of Brittany from the mid-eleventh to the mid-twelfth century. This is due to the fact that the counts/dukes did not control the metropolitan or its suffragans. Dol and its suffragan bishoprics – Alet (later Saint-Malo), Saint-Brieuc, Tréguier and Saint-Pol de Léon – were all under the control of lay-magnates. Alet (Saint-Malo), which seems to have been the least subject to lay-control of the four, abandoned Dol for Tours around 1120, when Bishop Donoal chose not to wait for his consecration by Archbishop Baldric and travelled to

[177] K. S. B. Keats-Rohan, 'The Bretons and Normans of England, 1066–1154: The family, the fief and the feudal monarchy', *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 36 (1992), pp. 51–3.

Tours instead. Donoal is said to have been persuaded to do this by his kinswoman Noga, wife of the lord of Combour. At this stage in her life, Noga appears to have been more interested in advancing her own family than that of her husband's, since the loss of Alet as a suffragan was a serious loss to Dol. Léon also abandoned Dol around the same time, although the circumstances are not known. The most loyal suffragans of Dol – Saint-Brieuc and Tréguier – were still under baronial control in 1235.[178] This was no coincidence, since there were good relations between the lords of Saint-Brieuc and Combour, evidenced by the marriage of Geoffrey Boterel II and Hawise, sister of John de Dol, and the affection in which their younger son Stephen was held by his grandmother, Noga, and uncle.[179]

The role of these barons is indicated by the letters addressed by various popes to the lay-magnates concerned with the contest. A letter of 1077 was addressed to the counts of Rennes, Nantes and Penthièvre. Thereafter, none are addressed to counts. For instance, a letter dated 1144 is addressed to Geoffrey Boterel II, lord of Lamballe, and his brother Henry, lord of Tréguier, and to all the barons of the dioceses of Dol, Saint-Brieuc and Tréguier. On the other hand, the bishops whose dioceses were controlled by the counts/dukes (Rennes, Nantes, Vannes and Quimper) were all loyal to Tours.

By the twelfth century, the metropolitan of Dol was not a manifestation of Breton separatism under its native ruler, but of its disunity. There was no longer consonance between Brittany as a political unit and as an ecclesiastical province. Although they asserted authority over Brittany as a political entity, the dukes acknowledged the ecclesiastical primacy of Tours over the dioceses within their control. The supporters of the metropolitan of Dol, in contrast, were the great barons who had, during the eleventh century, usurped comital authority over the northern half of Brittany, that is, the lords of Combour, Dinan, Lamballe, Tréguier and Léon.

A change is perceptible only after the deaths of both King Henry I and Duke Conan III. Eudo de Porhoët, Conan III's successor in northern Brittany, actively supported archbishop Oliver (1147–*c.* December 1153) and thus may also have been involved in the election of Hugo as Oliver's successor early in 1154.[180] It is not clear how Eudo

[178] 'Inquest of Avaugour', *passim*.

[179] BN mss latin 5441(3), p. 438, 5476, pp. 98–9 and ms fr.22325, p. 523.

[180] Duine (*Métropole de Bretagne*, p. 125) asserts that Eudo de Porhoët was involved in the election of archbishop Oliver. This cannot be correct, because Duine implies that Oliver was elected before Easter 1147, whereas Eudo de Porhoët cannot have acted as duke of Brittany until after the death of Conan III in 1148.

succeeded in interfering in Dol, when previous dukes had lacked either the authority or the will to do so. His alliance with the lord of Combour, John de Dol, would certainly have helped. Eudo's intervention, furthermore, coincides with the disappearance of strong rule in Normandy and England following the death of Henry I. It seems that Eudo de Porhoët took over the patronage of Dol in the absence of patronage by the duke of Normandy for the first time in nearly one hundred years. Eudo's patronage, as events showed, was of no avail to either Oliver or Hugo. Oliver was the first archbishop-elect since the time of Archbishop Evan whom the pope had refused to consecrate. This marked the beginning of the phase which was to reach its nadir with Archbishop Hugo's submission to Tours in 1154.

One cannot be sure at what point Henry II became interested in the archbishopric of Dol and decided to intervene. Whatever the precise timing, Henry II saw in the archbishopric of Dol an opportunity to assert his rights as duke of Normandy. Relying on the historical relationship between the archbishop of Dol, the lord of Combour and the duke of Normandy, Henry II intervened, early in 1155, to support Hugo's ailing archiepiscopacy. At the same time as supporting Hugo, Henry II secured the alliance of John de Dol. By the late 1150s, Henry II had removed John de Dol from the alliance of Eudo de Porhoët, possibly received his homage, and assumed the right to approve the election of the archbishop of Dol.

Pope Adrian IV died in September 1159, and Archbishop Hugo did not long outlast his support. In 1161, Hugo resigned on the grounds of ill-health. Since his resignation was made in Henry II's presence it is likely that he chose, or was obliged, to retire in favour of one more equal to the challenge.[181] Henry II approved the election of a Norman, Roger du Hommet, archdeacon of Bayeux.[182]

With the certain loyalty of this archbishop, Henry II was prepared to allow Ralph de Fougères to hold the barony of Combour in wardship after John de Dol's death in 1162. Circumstances changed when Roger died, within only a year or two of his election, before 1164.[183] He was succeeded by archbishop John II (*c.* 1163–1177), the circumstances of whose election, and origins, are unknown. That John did not submit to the archbishop of Tours is indicated by the fact that he had not yet been

[181] RT, I, p. 332.

[182] Before his appointment to the archbishopric, Roger du Hommet attested several royal charters in Normandy (*Actes d'Henri II*, nos. LXXX, CLXII CLXXXII, CXCIV). He was probably related to Richard du Hommet, Henry II's constable of Normandy (who also attested no. CXCIV).

[183] Since John II is attested in a document recording an act which cannot be dated later than 1163, when he confirmed a settlement with John, bishop of Saint-Malo, who died in that year (Duine, *Métropole de Bretagne*, p. 130).

consecrated by 1170.[184] In any event, the uncertainty produced by the death of Archbishop Roger may have prompted Henry II to send his kinsman, Richard du Hommet, the constable of Normandy, to take the barony of Combour into the king's hand in August 1164.

After the appointment of Roger du Hommet, there is no further record of Henry II interfering in the election of the archbishop of Dol, although there would be two more elections before 1181, that of John II around 1163, and of Rolland of Pisa in 1177. The election of Rolland of Pisa may represent the renewed exercise of regalian right by the lord of Combour. Between 1164 and around 1173–5, Combour was held by John de Subligny in wardship of the gift of Henry II. Soon after the 1173 revolt, John's son Hasculf became lord of Combour by marriage to the heiress, Isolde. Thus Archbishop Rolland was elected during the period when either John de Subligny or (more probably) his son was lord of Combour. Before becoming archbishop, Rolland had been a canon of the cathedral chapter of Avranches. The Subligny family must have had regular contact with the cathedral chapter. John's paternal uncle, Richard, was dean, then bishop of Avranches.[185] It is thus not surprising that the new archbishop was sought there. On the other hand, Robert de Torigni portrays this election as dominated not by the Norman lord of Combour, but by the Norman clergy; in the persons of Robert himself, as abbot of Mont Saint-Michel, and the bishops of Bayeux and Avranches.[186] This is not a significant dichotomy; rather it is illustrative of the Norman influence, both lay and ecclesiastical, in the diocese of Dol which had begun under William the Conqueror.

If it seems curious that there is no record of Henry II actively intervening in the dispute between 1161 and 1181, there are two explanations. As mentioned above, after around 1164, the king's interests in the archbishop of Dol were overseen by John de Subligny and his son, Hasculf. Secondly, the dispute was less intense between 1157 and around 1173, when the archbishop of Tours was Josce, a Breton who was formerly the bishop of Saint-Brieuc. Henry II continued to be interested in the case. As noted above, in 1181 he ordered an inquest into the possessions of the archbishop of Dol in the marshes of Dol.[187] The aim of the inquest was to establish which property had been unlawfully alienated by previous archbishops, or otherwise usurped by laymen, and thus to reconstitute the archiepiscopal domain and improve the archbishop's financial resources. The fact

[184] Duine, *Métropole de Bretagne*, p. 130; *Preuves*, col. 666.

[185] A charter of Hasculf de Subligny describes Richard, bishop of Avranches, as his brother (*Preuves*, col. 587), thus he was the uncle of John de Subligny.

[186] RT, II, p. 72. [187] *Enquête*, pp. 32–77.

that the inquest was conducted by royal officers, under the seneschal of Rennes, must also have demonstrated the king's support for the archbishop.

The claims of Dol were ultimately a total failure, Pope Innocent III finally deciding in favour of Tours, and, in effect, the king of France, in 1199. Throughout the period from 1155 at least until 1181, however, Dol's case was arguable and was upheld by a succession of popes. In this period, it was a real political issue, and the concern of the king of France is indicated by the active intervention of Louis VII and Philip Augustus, in turn, in support of Tours.[188] It was in view of the potential for success, and in any event for causing considerable discomfiture to Louis VII, that Henry II first involved himself with the archbishopric of Dol.

This chapter has demonstrated the considerable amount of time and resources Henry II invested in acquiring Brittany. This expenditure of time and resources was, however, less than it might have been because various groups in Breton society either tolerated or actively welcomed Angevin rule. These were, most notably, the Church, also some great barons such as Henry of Tréguier and Andrew de Vitré, and finally, apparently, the populace at large. The rebellious barons were in the minority.

There is, however, very little evidence of the king being personally involved in Brittany other than on military and diplomatic business. Once a military campaign or political negotiation was finished, the king moved on to another of his provinces. Henry II clearly did not govern Brittany in person. Instead he delegated his authority to agents, trusted ministers like William fitzHamo and Rolland de Dinan. The administration Henry II created to govern Brittany in his absence will be discussed in the next chapter.

[188] Duine, *Métropole de Bretagne*, pp. 131–4.

3

THE GOVERNMENT OF BRITTANY UNDER HENRY II

The characteristic feature of Henry II's regime in Brittany is that the king never purported to govern Brittany in person. Royal authority was delegated to certain trusted ministers who governed the province in the king's absence. There is, for instance, no evidence of Henry II personally judging any legal dispute concerning Brittany. The king himself only acted when petitioned in a particular matter. In response to such petitions, he would give his consent or confirmation to a transaction, or order an inquest or trial to be conducted by a royal agent in Brittany.

The extent to which the administration was left to the discretion of royal ministers is demonstrated by the fact that there are only three known writs concerning Brittany issued in the king's own name for the whole period from 1158 to 1189. These are known only from mentions and all seem to have been addressed to the king's resident officers ordering them to initiate legal processes in Brittany. The first, *c.*1167, to John de Subligny ordered him to do justice to the abbey of La Vieuville in a particular dispute. In his return to Henry II, John states, 'mandaveratis per breve vestram quatinus abbatiam Veteris villa omnesque possessiones illius manuteneram et defenderam'. The second writ was issued to Rolland de Dinan in the case of the relics of St Petroc in 1177. The third, issued in 1181, ordered the seneschal of Rennes to conduct an inquest into the temporal rights of the archbishop of Dol in the marshes of Dol.[1]

The texts survive of only six acts of Henry II concerning property situated in Brittany, of which two are not relevant to this discussion because they were made in 1182, after Duke Geoffrey's accession. All record grants to monasteries or confirmations of their rights, and were

[1] BN ms latin 5476, pp. 97–8 and ms fr. 22325, pp. 522–3; DRF, p. 181; *Enquête*, p. 77.

discussed in the previous chapter in the context of Henry II and the Breton church.[2]

The total record of Henry II's acts in relation to the royal administration of Brittany between 1158 and 1181 thus consists of four grants or confirmations to monasteries (at least two of which were made outside Brittany), and three writs.[3] Evidently, Henry II did not govern Brittany in person, or even have any regular involvement in its government.

Neither was royal government of Brittany comprehensive. Royal authority was exercised in the counties of Nantes (from 1158), Rennes and Cornouaille (from 1166) and the Broërec (from as late as 1175). Léon was subjected to Angevin rule only in 1179, so discussion of this region is postponed to a later chapter on the reign of Duke Geoffrey.

There is no evidence that royal authority was exercised at all in Tréguier and Lamballe, where there were no ducal domains. Henry II left the internal government of these two major baronies to their trustworthy lords: the loyal *comes* Henry and, in Lamballe, the descendants of Geoffrey Boterel II.

In each of the counties of Nantes, Rennes and Cornouaille, a separate royal administration was established. The chief royal officer in each county, the seneschal, was answerable directly to the king. The situation in the Broërec is more obscure, due to a lack of contemporary documents. There is no reference to a seneschal of the Broërec earlier than the reign of Duke Geoffrey.

Discussions of Henry II's government of Brittany tend to focus on Angevin innovation, and the innovation most commonly cited is the creation of the office of 'seneschal of Brittany'. As I have argued previously, I do not attribute the creation of this office to Henry II. Rather, it seems to me that Henry II's government of Brittany was characterised by considerable flexibility of personnel and their duties. This is epitomised by the role played in Brittany, and elsewhere, by a succession of trusted ministers as 'principal royal agent', that is, being the king's general representative in a province, and expert on that province, along with discharging other duties in royal service. Henry II's principal agents for Brittany were William fitzHamo, from *c.*1169 to

[2] Confirmation for Redon (*Cart. Redon*, p. 744, note 2; *Actes d'Henri II*, no. CCLIX); confirmation for Rillé (*Calendar of Patent Rolls, Henry III, 1247–1258*, London, 1908, pp. 382–3); charter for Le Tronchet (BN ms fr. 22319, p.238; *Actes d'Henri II*, no. CCCXXXV); confirmation for Locmaria (AD Finistère, 27H 2); determination of dispute concerning Saint-Magloire de Lehon (see above, p. 65).

[3] The charter for Redon, given at Thouars, and the confirmation for Locmaria, given at Le Mans. The charter for Le Tronchet has no place-date.

his death in 1172, and Rolland de Dinan, from 1175 to 1181.[4] The principal agent had an important role in Henry II's court, but arguably more influential for Breton law and society was the regional government under the Angevins.

THE COUNTY OF NANTES

Between 1158 and 1166, the county of Nantes was the only part of Brittany subject to the king's immediate lordship and government.

To what extent the administration of the county of Nantes was altered during the successive reigns of Counts Hoël (1148–56) and Geoffrey (1156–58) is unknown. Possibly some change of personnel had occurred, since the *prepositus* of Nantes under Count Hoël was not a member of the family of hereditary *prepositi*.[5] Alfred de Sion was a minor baron, whose estates were situated at the extreme north of the county of Nantes.[6] Nothing at all is known of the administration of Nantes under Count Geoffrey.

The administration was shaped by the presence in the county of the count/duke. After Duke Alan IV succeeded his younger brother as count of Nantes, around 1103, he and his son Conan III seem to have made Nantes their principal residence.[7] The mid-twelfth-century counts, Hoël and Geoffrey, had no territorial possessions outside the county. The administration was thus designed to function under the personal supervision of the count/duke. This, too, had been the situation in the counties of Anjou and Poitou until the mid-twelfth century. When the count was obliged to reside outside the county, in both cases, the solution was to delegate comital powers to the count's household seneschal. In the case of Anjou, a seneschal attached to the comital household first appears between 1060 and 1085, about the same time as in Brittany. J. Boussard charts the evolution of the 'seneschal of Anjou' from a household officer to 'un véritable vice-comte'. Boussard ascribes the transformation to the reign of Henry II, specifically around 1165–80. It was in this period that a count of Anjou, Geoffrey

[4] J. Everard, 'The Justiciarship in Brittany and Ireland under Henry II', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 20 (1998), 87–105.

[5] N.-Y. Tonnerre, *Naissance de la Bretagne: Géographie historique et structures sociales de la Bretagne méridionale (Nantais et Vannetais) de la fin du VIIIe à la fin du XIIe siècle*. Angers, 1994, p. 532; *Preuves*, cols. 453–4, 468–9, 472, 487 and 524. This family is last recorded in office in 1133 (*Cart. Redon*, no. LXXIV).

[6] *Preuves*, col. 617. Since Alfred de Sion witnessed a charter of Conan III (*Actes inédits*, no. XXXV), it is possible the change had occurred before 1148. The family also had interests in the Nantes area, possibly as the result of ducal grants ('Actes de Buzay', no. 49; AIV, 1F456).

[7] Tonnerre, *Naissance de la Bretagne*, p. 533.

Plantagenet, first began to govern another province, as duke of Normandy from 1144. In the case of Poitou, William de Mauzé, father and son, had been seneschals of the counts of Poitou since at least 1096. Eleanor of Aquitaine ceased to reside in Poitou when her husband became King Louis VII. In *c.*1138, Louis VII provided for the government of Poitou in their absence by appointing William de Mauzé 'seneschal of Poitou'. William de Mauzé probably died in 1148 or 1149, and when Poitou passed from Louis VII to Henry II in 1152, a new 'seneschal of Poitou' was appointed, Eble de Mauléon.[8] Thus the 'seneschal of Anjou' and the 'seneschal of Poitou' became the superior officer in the administration of each county.

The appearance of a 'seneschal of Rennes' under Duke Conan III represents a similar development occurring in Brittany at about the same time. No such officer was required in Nantes before 1158 due to the presence of the count. The administration of the county of Nantes in 1158, therefore, probably closely resembled the administration of Anjou of a generation earlier.

After Conan IV yielded the city of Nantes and 'Media' at Avranches in September 1158, the king hurried south to take possession of his new acquisition. Robert de Torigni records, with unfortunate vagueness, that Henry II took possession of the city of Nantes, 'qua accepta et disposita ad libitum'.[9] Whatever this means, it can be surmised that the king made such arrangements as were necessary for the county to be governed in his absence. It certainly involved a reform which would have seemed obvious to the Angevin king: the creation of the office of 'seneschal of Nantes', a royal delegate who would represent the king in the county of Nantes. It has been asserted that Henry initially appointed a baron of the county, John de Goulaine, as 'gouverneur de Nantes', but not upon any reliable authority.[10] Henry II's charter for the abbey of Redon, probably made in October 1158, was addressed to the king's 'dapifer' and 'ministris', and attested by William fitzHamo, styled 'dapifer Nannetensis'.[11]

The king's charter for Redon is the only known document in which

[8] L. Halphen, *Le comté d'Anjou au XIe siècle*. Paris, 1906, p. 192; J. Boussard, *Le comté d'Anjou sous Henri II Plantagenêt et ses fils (1151–1204)*, Paris, 1938, pp. 113–27; A. Richard, *Les comtes de Poitou* (Paris, 1903) I, pp. 414 and 420, II, pp. 48–9, 66, 71, 83, 87–8, 95–6, 115–6.

[9] RT, I, p. 313.

[10] A. Guillotin de Courson, *Les grandes seigneuries de Haute-Bretagne*, III (Rennes, 1899), pp. 151–2; R. Kerviler, *Répertoire général de bio-bibliographie bretonne*, 11 vols., VIII (Rennes, 1886–1908, reprinted Mayenne, 1985), 'De Goulaine'. John de Goulaine attested a charter of Count Hoël at Nantes in 1149, and may have supported the Angevin regime since his younger son, Matthew, was a courtier of Geoffrey and Constance (*Charters*, nos. Ge7, Ge28, C4, C17, C70; *Preuves*, cols. 603, 711).

[11] *Cart. Redon*, p. 744, note 2; *Actes d'Henri II*, no. CCLIX. For William fitzHamo, see Appendix III.

William fitzHamo is accorded this title, and the authenticity of the charter is questionable. Nevertheless, a contemporary forgery would reflect the scribe's understanding of William fitzHamo's actual status, even if he was mistaken as to the official title. William was indisputably the principal royal agent in the county of Nantes.

Several undated documents record the exercise of official duties by William fitzHamo, styled simply 'senescallus'. In all cases, they record the exercise of judicial functions. It is unlikely that William's duties were limited to the administration of justice; rather this was the only one of his duties whose exercise was recorded in writing. The first document, the king's charter for Redon, gives orders to the bishop and the seneschal of Nantes that, if anyone should injure the abbey of Redon in respect of its rights in Guérande and the whole of 'Media', 'vos ei plenariam justitiam faciatis'.

The important role of Bernard d'Escoublac as bishop of Nantes is also indicated in the two other documents which record William exercising his judicial functions. A notice of the abbey of Melleray records a dispute which was settled in the presence of Bishop Bernard and William fitzHamo 'senescallus' at the Bouffay, the ducal castle in the city of Nantes.[12]

Second, a charter of Bishop Bernard records how William fitzHamo 'senescalcus' conducted an inquest at Nantes into the right of the abbey of Saint-Georges de Rennes to receive a certain part of ducal tolls on the shipment of salt and wheat on the Loire.[13] The editor of the cartulary of Saint-Georges de Rennes dated this charter to 1169, apparently on the basis that the abbess concerned ('A.') was Adelaide de Vitré (1169–89), who was abbess for only a short time before the death of Bernard, bishop of Nantes (January 1170). However, the abbess could have been Adelaide de Mathefelon (1153–March 1164), as argued by R. Blanchard. I do not, however, agree with Blanchard that the inquest, and hence this charter, date from shortly before a confirmation charter issued by Conan IV at Rennes on 22 September 1158, because it is highly unlikely that William fitzHamo was acting as seneschal of Nantes before Conan IV yielded the city to Henry II on 29 September 1158.[14] There are two possible ranges of dates for the charter: 29 September 1158–March 1164, and late 1169–5 January 1170. I prefer the earlier, on the grounds that the nuns were moved to petition Henry

[12] BN ms fr. 22319, p. 207. For the Bouffay, see A. Chédeville and N. Tonnerre, *La Bretagne féodale XIe-XIIIe siècle*, Rennes, 1987, pp. 34, 202, and 421.

[13] 'Cart. St-Georges', p. 309.

[14] R. Blanchard (ed.), *Cartulaire des sires de Rays 1160–1449*, I, Poitiers, 1898, p. lxvii; 'Cart. St-Georges', pp. 309–11 and *EYC*, IV, no. 49.

II or William fitzHamo soon after Conan IV's capitulation. No doubt they felt their title was vulnerable, since the abbey of Saint-Georges was in Rennes and the toll was paid in Nantes, and Nantes, it now appeared, was going to be under different lordship from Rennes for the foreseeable future.

How long William remained in the office cannot be determined. His three acts, just described, must all date from before 1170 since Bernard d'Escoublac, bishop of Nantes, died on 5 January 1170.[15] Around 1164, William was the royal 'seneschal of Angers', which may imply he had left Nantes, but probably he held the offices concurrently.[16] From around 1170 William seems to have been Henry II's principal royal agent for all of Brittany, until his death in November 1172.[17]

There is more evidence for William's successor as 'seneschal of Nantes', Peter fitzGuy, another of Henry II's professional ministers. The first dated record of Peter as seneschal is a charter of 1181, which refers to Peter fitzGuy and Robert Doisnel (*de Doniol*), 'senescalli domini regis Anglie tunc Nannetensis'.[18] This leaves a period of some eight years after William fitzHamo's death unaccounted for, but an undated charter of Robert, bishop of Nantes, and Peter fitzGuy, styled 'senescallus Nannetensis', could have been made at any time after Robert's election in January 1170.[19]

I have found five contemporary records of Peter fitzGuy exercising his official duties as seneschal of Nantes. They record settlements of disputes or other transactions witnessed by Peter and certified by his seal. It is significant that all five derive from only two abbeys, three from Buzay and two from Fontevraud.[20] It is reasonable to assume that, as seneschal of Nantes, Peter made many more charters, for the benefit of other parties, which have not survived.

Peter was seneschal of Nantes at least until 1183. After leaving this office, he returned to the court of Henry II, attesting a charter made at Chinon between 1187 and 1189, and continued to be active in royal

[15] 'Actes de Buzay', 'Introduction' p. xxxxi.

[16] Y. Chauvin (ed.), *Cartulaires de l'abbaye Saint-Serge et Saint-Bach d'Angers*, Angers, 1997, I, pp. 313–4; BN ms fr. 22353, p. 299 (publ. *RHF*, XVI, pp. 97–8); P. Marchegay (ed.), 'Cartularium monasterii Beate Marie Andegavensis', in P. Marchegay (ed.), *Archives d'Anjou*, III, Angers, 1854, pp. 82–3, 316–17.

[17] See Appendix 3.

[18] BN ms latin 5480, p.117; *Actes d'Henri II*, 'Introduction', p. 413. See Appendix 3.

[19] 'Actes de Buzay', no. A2, p. 529. Also, Peter is styled 'dapifer' in an attestation to a royal charter made 1172 x 1175 (*Actes d'Henri II*, no. CCCCLXXXI).

[20] 'Actes de Buzay', nos. 24 (1182), 25 (1183), and A2 (1170 x 1184), A. Oheix (1913), *Essai sur les sénéchaux de Bretagne des origines au XIVe siècle*, Paris, 1913, pp. 193–5; Fontevraud, BN ms latin 5480, pp.117 (1181), and 115–6 ('1193', probably an error for 1183).

government in Le Mans after Henry II's death.[21] There is no other record of Robert *de Doniol* in relation to Nantes. The fact that he appears in one document, apparently sharing the office of seneschal with Peter fitzGuy, is typical of the flexible, even *ad hoc*, character of Henry II's government of Nantes. It is also possible that Robert was Peter's subordinate and deputy, as the use of deputies by the seneschals of Nantes is well attested. Peter was probably succeeded by another *curialis*, Eudo fitzErneis, who appears in a charter dated 1185 styled 'signescallus domini regis Nannet''.[22]

Henry II's seneschals of Nantes themselves employed deputies, since the seneschals were all *curiales* of Henry II and consequently were often absent from Nantes on other royal business. William Barbot was a subordinate in the royal administration of Nantes under both William fitzHamo and Peter fitzGuy. In July 1167 he attested a charter styled 'cliens regis'.[23] A settlement between the abbey of Buzay and Judicael de 'Bomalo' was made in the presence of William Barbot, 'qui loco Petri Guidonis senescalli Nannetensis . . . aderat'. A chirograph charter recording the terms of this settlement, and William's role, was later sealed by Robert, bishop of Nantes, and Peter fitzGuy.[24] A charter of Eudo fitzErneis, dated 1185, records a financial transaction made in the presence of Simon de Saint-Léger, 'qui erat in loco meo apud Nannet''.[25] The degree to which royal authority was delegated to such deputies is unknown, but it may have been quite limited, since their acts are, in each recorded case, confirmed by the seneschal himself and sealed with the seneschal's own seal.

Thus it appears that there was no office of 'seneschal of the county of Nantes' before 1158. Henry II appointed William fitzHamo his representative in the county of Nantes, with the title 'dapifer' or 'senescallus'. After William's death in 1172, the office continued to be filled by the king's trusted ministers who apparently had no connections with the county of Nantes.

Below the rank of seneschal, there is little evidence of the lesser administrative officers in the county. There is no record of a *prepositus*

[21] *Actes d'Henri II*, no. DCCLXVI, see Appendix 3.

[22] BN ms latin 5480, p. 118, cited at *Actes d'Henri II*, 'Introduction', p. 367 note 4, and Oheix (1913), pp. 33, and 180. See Appendix 3.

[23] BN ms fr. 22319, p. 229, publ. L. Maître, 'Situation de la diocèse de Nantes au XIe et au XIIe siècle', *AB* 27 (1911–12), at 350–1.

[24] 'Actes de Buzay', no. A2. William Barbot also witnessed Peter fitzGuy's charter dated 1182 ('Actes de Buzay', no. 24).

[25] BN ms latin 5480, p. 118. Simon's toponym probably derives from Saint-Léger-les-Vignes, within the ducal domain of Touffou (Tonnerre, *Naissance de la Bretagne*, p. 412, note 1).

of Nantes from 1153 to 1186.[26] This contrasts with the eleventh and early twelfth century, when the *prepositus* of Nantes was a prominent ducal officer. It is possible that Henry II suppressed the office; the king's charter for Redon merely addresses his 'ministri'. However, since the urban *prepositus* was an office with which the king was familiar, there is no reason why he should have suppressed it in Nantes. I would suggest that Henry II retained the office of *prepositus* of Nantes, and also the inferior officers, such as *vicarii*, who constituted the ducal administration of the county, but superimposed a royal seneschal as their superior. The *prepositi* and *vicarii* did not disappear except from the written record. The seneschal of Nantes took over those functions of the *prepositus* which might have been recorded in writing in the third quarter of the twelfth century, such as witnessing 'comital' *acta*, exercising comital jurisdiction and conducting inquests.

THE BARONY OF COMBOUR

At this point, it is appropriate to consider the barony of Combour under Angevin rule. Since Henry II took the barony into his own hand in 1164, it follows that it must have been governed in the king's name before Conan IV's abdication. Between 1164 and 1166, Combour represented an *enclave* of royal authority within the county of Rennes.

Combour was not an ancient political or administrative unit, but a barony which originated in the alienation of episcopal lands by Jungenoë, archbishop of Dol, in the mid-eleventh century.[27] For this reason, Henry II did not install a seneschal, but instead acted as feudal lord and gave the wardship and marriage of the infant heiress of the barony to one of his courtiers, John de Subligny. In his own words (or at least, those of his clerk) addressed to Henry II, John described his charge, 'Ex benignitate vestra contigit ut mihi honorem Dolensem [ie Combour] regendum committeritis'. A charter of John's son, Hasculf, recalls that his father, 'ex precepto regis terram custodiebat'.[28]

As a member of a cadet branch of the Subligny family, John had little prospect of an inheritance; he thus sought advancement through royal service and depended on the king's patronage for his position. Like William fitzHamo, John was a *curialis* and his term as custodian of

[26] Robert *Giraldi*, 'prefectus' of Nantes in 1185/6 (*Charters*, nos. Ge28, and 29), attested a charter of Peter fitzGuy in 1181 (BN ms latin 5480, p. 117), but without any official title.

[27] *Enquête*, pp. 38–41; H. Guillotel, 'Des vicomtes d'Alet aux vicomtes de Poudouvre', *Annales de la Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de l'arrondissement de St-Malo* (1988) 201–215 at 203–6.

[28] BN ms latin 5476, pp. 97–8, 102, and ms fr. 22325, p. 522–3, 525.

Combour was only one of the various services he fulfilled for Henry II.[29]

John benefited from this act of royal favour by marrying his son, Hasculf, to the heiress, Isolde and thereby securing Hasculf's position as lord of Combour. He also used the lands at his disposal in the barony to benefit his Norman kinsmen, including his brother Adam, and his nephews of the families of Farcy and *de Flacheio*.[30]

The only known document made in the name of John de Subligny in his capacity as custodian of Combour is a report to the king, probably made in 1167, upon the determination of a dispute over land given to the abbey of La Vieuville by the late John de Dol, lord of Combour, in which certain knights claimed the right of 'forestagium'.[31] The report indicates that John was exercising jurisdiction pursuant to a royal writ ordering him to do justice to the abbey. Hence, John's report, and other documents recording the dispute, refer to his court as the 'curia regis'. The subject matter of the dispute, however, could have been determined by John within the jurisdiction of his baronial court. The royal writ presumably came about because the abbey had petitioned the king, possibly when he visited Combour and Dol in 1166.

In practice, John de Subligny delegated the seignorial administration of Combour to his brother Adam, presumably to enable him to remain with the royal court.[32] Neither did he attempt to retain custody of Combour after Hasculf and Isolde had reached marriageable age. They were married, and succeeded to the barony, before Hasculf had been knighted or acquired a seal of his own.[33]

This interpretation of the government of Combour in this period may be objected to on the grounds that there is evidence for royal officers acting there. Robert de *Misoart*, 'justitia regis', was at Combour during the 1166 siege of Fougères,[34] and in or before 1174, 'H. ballivus domini regis' authorised a grant of land to the priory of Marmoutier at Combour.[35] As to Robert de *Misoart*, I suspect he was a servant of John

[29] See Appendix 3.

[30] Adam de Subligny (BN ms latin 5476, p. 92–3 and ms fr. 22325, p. 519–20); Ranulf and Geoffrey Farcy (M. Dubosc (ed.), *Cartulaires de la Manche: Abbaye de Montmorel*, Saint-Lô, 1878, nos. CCVI, CCVII, *Preuves*, col. 726); Ruallen *de Flacheio* (BN ms latin, 5476, p. 9, 81–2, 84, 149).

[31] BN ms latin 5476, pp. 97–8, and ms fr. 22325, pp. 522–3; *Preuves*, cols. 658–9. For the date, see BN ms latin 5476, p. 150 and ms fr. 22325, p. 591.

[32] BN ms latin 5476, pp. 33, 97–8, and 149–50, ms fr. 22325, pp.522–523, and 589. Adam apparently resided at the castle of Combour in the capacity of tutor ('nutritius') of John's son Hasculf (BN ms latin 5476, p. 93; *Preuves*, col. 647) and continued to witness charters made by Hasculf after he had become lord of Combour (BN ms latin 5476, pp. 27, and 149).

[33] BN ms latin 5476, p. 99 and fr. 22325 p. 523.

[34] *Preuves*, cols. 642–3.

[35] BN ms latin 5331(3), p. 241.

de Subligny, who was accorded the grand title of 'justitia regis' by a monastic scribe wishing to add authority to a transaction made in Robert's presence.[36] If John de Subligny's court could be described as a 'curia regis', then perhaps his servant could be described as 'royal' also. As to the 'ballivus regis', the land in question was not part of the barony of Combour, except insofar as it appears to have been the *maritagium* of Noga, mother of John de Dol. It may thus have been administered separately by royal officers, especially in the course of the 1173 revolt.[37]

The royal administration of Combour must have been severely disrupted by the siege of Dol in 1173. Some of the officials of the archbishop of Dol and the lord of Combour joined the rebels, along with many of the tenants.[38] The archbishop of Dol and John de Subligny are conspicuously absent from the records of the siege of Dol; John, at least, spent the rebellion in the royal entourage.[39] No dated document refers to John de Subligny in the context of Combour after 1173, so it possible that the rebellion marked a turning-point. When Dol and Combour were back in Henry II's hands and peace was restored, Hasculf de Subligny and Isolde were married and allowed to enter Isolde's inheritance. The interim period of about nine years, in which the barony was governed for Henry II by John de Subligny, had come to an end.[40]

In the last quarter of the twelfth century, Combour was within the civil jurisdiction of the seneschal of Rennes.[41] The lords of Combour continued to exercise seignorial jurisdiction, as did lords in other parts of Brittany, but henceforth there were no specially constituted royal courts or royal justices at Combour.

[36] Robert's toponym may derive from Misouard (*commune* Montviron, near Avranches) (*Nomenclature des hameaux, écarts et lieux-dits du département de la Manche*, Institut National de la statistique et des études économiques, Rouen, 1961). See Everard, 'Justiciarship', p. 95 note 57.

[37] An earlier grant from the same lands was made with the consent of Noga 'que tunc illius territorii domina erat'. Noga gave this land to her grandson Stephen, a younger son of Geoffrey Boterel II, to hold as *vicarius* and 'custos' (BN ms latin 5441(3), p. 438). Noga's *maritagium* came from the castellany of Tinténiac, adjacent to Combour to the south-west. The lords of Tinténiac rebelled and were punished by Henry II both in 1168 and 1173. Hence the king may have been especially anxious to maintain authority in this area in the aftermath of the 1173 revolt.

[38] *Enquête*, p.11. See above, p. 60.

[39] John de Subligny was at Henry II's court at Caen at Christmas 1173 (*Itinerary*, p. 177). He was still with the king in October 1174 when he witnessed the Treaty of Falaise (*Actes d'Henri II*, no. CCCCLXVIII).

[40] None of their earlier charters are dated, but Hasculf and Isolde's two sons were of an age to give their consent to a donation by 1183 (BN ms latin 5476, p. 87), and the elder son, John, succeeded between 1196 and 1203 (BN ms latin, pp. 84–5, and 93). This evidence suggests that Hasculf and Isolde were old enough to be married around 1173.

[41] E.g., *Enquête, passim*; 'Cart. St-Georges', Appendix, no. IX.

THE COUNTY OF RENNES

As noted in the previous chapter, Henry II acquired lordship of the county of Rennes upon the abdication of Duke Conan IV in 1166. Here, he did not much alter the existing administrative system. In contrast with the county of Nantes, Rennes already had an administrative system designed to function in the count's/duke's absence. During the reign of Duke Conan III, William, the hereditary ducal seneschal, left the household and became the duke's representative in Rennes. With a possible interruption during the reign of Eudo de Porhoët, the office continued in the same family until 1166. William's grandson, Guy, was seneschal of Rennes under Conan IV.[42] It appears that Henry II's only innovation, upon taking possession of Rennes in 1166, was to appoint a new seneschal, the *curialis* William de Lanvallay.[43]

Even so, Guy the hereditary seneschal was not removed from office. Styled 'senescallus de Redonia', he attested at least one charter of William de Lanvallay. In 1170, styled 'dapifer', Guy attested a charter of Stephen de Fougères, bishop of Rennes.[44] The coexistence of the two seneschals is probably explained by the appointment of William de Lanvallay as Guy's superior. Significantly, there is no record of Guy presiding in any legal process.

The seneschal of Rennes under Dukes Conan III and Conan IV was the chief officer responsible for the ducal domain in the county of Rennes. Whether his circumscription was the entire county of Rennes or the city of Rennes is somewhat academic, because ducal domain in the county of Rennes was limited to the city of Rennes and its environs. The seneschal appointed by Henry II, in contrast, was the chief officer responsible for the administration of the county of Rennes. His jurisdiction extended throughout the county, not just within the ducal domains. William de Lanvallay witnessed a transaction in which the bishop of Rennes bought land from the abbey of Melleray, which obviously was not ducal domain.[45] It is no coincidence that the bishop who thus acknowledged William's authority was Stephen de Fougères, chaplain of Henry II. As noted in the previous chapter, in the early years of Angevin rule in the county of Rennes, the bishop and the seneschal worked together to reinforce royal authority. Henry II's authority was more firmly established in 1181, when the seneschal of Rennes conducted an inquest into the temporal rights of the archbishop of Dol in the environs of Dol.[46]

[42] See Appendix 2. [43] See Appendix 3. [44] AN ms L977.
[45] Bibl. mun. de Rennes ms 242, fols. 206v–7r; *Preuves*, col. 672.
[46] *Enquête*, pp. 32–77.

Another innovation under Angevin rule was the practice of recording in writing official acts of the seneschal of Rennes. Before 1166 seneschals of Rennes are recorded only as witnesses to ducal charters. William de Lanvallay, in contrast, appears in written records holding the king's court at Rennes, and also attesting a transaction of the bishop of Rennes in his official capacity.

Even in William's case, most of the extant records of his activities (that is, two out of three) were made by the churches which benefited from them. One is the notice written by Stephen de Fougères, bishop of Rennes, mentioned above, attested by William de Lanvallay 'Redon' senescallus'.[47] The second is an undated notice of the abbey of Saint-Melaine de Rennes recording the settlement of a dispute which was made 'in curia Guillermi de Lanvallai, qui tunc temporis senescallus Redonensis erat'.[48]

The most remarkable document is William de Lanvallay's own charter, recording the mortgage of unidentified land by William *Pingnard* to Esveillard de Cesson:

Ego Guillermus de Lanvalei senescallus Redonie presentibus et futuris notum facio quod Esveillardus de Seisson in curia domini regis Redonie recepit a domino Guillelmo Pingnardo in gagium suam terram pro .lxxx.i. libris coram me concessione amicorum et consanguineorum memorati Willelmi et dominorum feodi. Et predictus Esveillardus tenebit predictam terram donec prenominatum debitum ei persolvatur. Et *si* aliq*ui*d in servicio ejusdem terre de suo expend*er*it, supradictus Willelmus hoc *totum* ei persolvet antequam terram recup*er*et. Testibus Guarino decano de Redonis, Petro filio Milesent, Reginaldo Crocun, Roberto de Lenci, Gabillardo et Herveo de Sesson, et Guidone senescallo de Redonis, et Acario de Muscuns et Reinero de Gahart.[49]

In its brief, economical form and language, this document appears to have been produced as a matter of routine. It is the formal record of a contract between two laymen, which may have been brought to the 'curia domini regis Redonie' specifically so that it could be witnessed by the seneschal and recorded in writing in his name. The fact that a transaction between two laymen (rather than between a layman and a religious house) has been recorded in writing is remarkable in itself in Brittany in this period. From the circumstances of the making of this charter, and its form, it is unlikely that it was an isolated document. It is

[47] Bibl. mun. de Rennes, ms 242, fols. 206v–7r. As noted above, Guy 'dapifer' also witnessed an episcopal charter, in 1170.

[48] 'Cart. St-Melaine', f. 14v.

[49] After 'Cart. St-Melaine', f. 64r. Esveillard de Cesson was alive in 1177 (see note below), but both Esveillard and William *Pingnard* were active in the early 1150s (AN ms L977; *Preuves*, cols. 602, and 623), hence it is unlikely that this charter is dated much later than 1170.

more probable that William de Lanvallay routinely produced such documents at the behest of laymen who, as parties to the proceedings, sought a written record made under the authority of the seneschal.

In the three documents involving William de Lanvallay, two describe civil court proceedings. There is no evidence, from these records, that William exercised any compulsory jurisdiction which would have required cases to be brought before him. Both cases were brought before William because one or both of the parties wished the final settlement of the matter to be witnessed in open court and by the royal seneschal. Esveillard de Cesson, at least, was enthusiastic about the Angevin regime, because in 1177 Henry II gave him land in England for his service.[50]

Although none of the three documents is dated, William de Lanvallay's tenure of the office of seneschal of Rennes can be determined quite closely. It seems reasonable to assume that he was appointed by Henry II immediately after Conan IV's abdication in 1166. William de Lanvallay was with Henry II at Portsea in March 1166,[51] which suggests he crossed with the king and joined in the campaign against Fougères, being then on the spot to take possession of Rennes.

Between Michaelmas 1171 and Michaelmas 1172, William was appointed castellan of Winchester, whereupon he must have given up the office of seneschal of Rennes and returned to England.[52] Subsequently, William de Lanvallay was a royal justice in England and does not appear to have returned to Brittany.[53] He thus held the office of seneschal of Rennes for no more than five years, between mid-1166 and Michaelmas 1172.

A single reference to Robert de Lanvallay, seneschal of Rennes, is difficult to explain, since there is no other record of this individual, who presumably was an otherwise unknown younger brother of William. An undated charter of 'Robertus de Lanvalai senescallus Redonensis' records the settlement of a dispute in his presence, 'in curia domini regis'; the original was sealed by Robert's own seal.[54] This renders it unlikely that Robert was merely acting as William's deputy, and suggests that Robert succeeded William as seneschal of Rennes.

The next record of a royal seneschal of Rennes is the 1181 'Inquest of Dol' conducted by Reginald Boterel, 'eo tempore senescallus Redonensis'.[55] Since this inquest was probably ordered by Henry II before

[50] *Pipe Roll 23 Henry II*, p.180. See also W. Farrer, *Feudal Cambridgeshire* (Cambridge, 1920), p. 225.
[51] *Itinerary*, p. 91. [52] *Pipe Roll 18 Henry II*, p. 78.
[53] *Itinerary*, pp.195, 198, 203, 210, 224, and 228.
[54] *Actes de Henri II*, I, p. 350 (edition, after the cartulary of Savigny, f. 74) and II, p. 487.
[55] *Enquête*, pp. 76–7.

Geoffrey became duke of Brittany, it is likely that Reginald Boterel was appointed seneschal of Rennes by the king at some time before 1181. Reginald Boterel was related to William de Lanvallay, and his family had a history of loyalty to Henry II, but he was not a royal *curialis*.[56]

This appointment indicates a certain relaxation in Henry II's policy towards the county of Rennes. William de Lanvallay, one of the 'top' *curiales*, was removed to an office where his abilities were more needed, and the office of seneschal of Rennes was then entrusted to a man who, although his loyalty and abilities were not in question, was not one of the king's trusted professional ministers.

THE COUNTY OF CORNOUAILLE

There is very little evidence for the administration of Cornouaille in this period. Sources are scarce, but it may also be that this denotes an absence of royal administration before about 1175. First, it appears that Conan IV continued to exercise comital authority in Cornouaille between 1166 and his death in 1171. Added to this was the difficulty that Eudo de Porhoët had usurped ducal domains in the east of the county in the 1150s. These were recovered by Henry II in 1168, but usurped once more by Eudo in the 1173 revolt and not recovered until 1175. The troubled history of the ducal domains on the frontier between Cornouaille and the Broërec at this time synchronises perfectly with the chronology of the foundation of the abbey of Notre-Dame de Carnoet.[57] This dislocation would have prevented wholesale reform of the administration in any event.

Henry II may have reformed the administration of Cornouaille, as in Nantes and Rennes, by introducing a seneschal whose duties extended beyond the ducal domain, but the evidence for this is very tenuous. A charter of Conan IV dated 1170, confirming Mont Saint-Michel's rights

[56] See *EYC*, IV, pp. 35, 51–3. Reginald Boterel, like William de Lanvallay, was a descendant of Aimeric fitzGeoffrey (see below, p. 209, also K. S. B. Keats-Rohan, 'The Bretons and Normans of England, 1066–1154: The family, the fief and the feudal monarchy', *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 36 (1992), 42–78 at 58). Reginald's father, Peter Boterel, and William de Lanvallay were first-cousins, and the Boterel family held honour of Richmond land in Abington, Cambs., of the Lanvallay family (R. Ransford (ed.), *The Early Charters of the Augustinian canons of Waltham Abbey, Essex, 1062–1230*, nos. 164, and 166). It is, therefore, possible that William de Lanvallay secured Reginald's appointment. On the other hand, Reginald's family also had a history of service to Henry II. His father attested at least one charter of Henry, as duke of Normandy, in 1149/50 (*Actes d'Henri II*, no. x). Hamo Boterel (p. 210) may have been an uncle. Prior to 1181, Reginald himself is only recorded in the service of Conan IV (*EYC*, IV, nos. 30, 30A, 52, 55 and 58).

[57] See chapter 2, pp. 44–5, 51, 116.

in land in Cornouaille, was attested by a Henry 'dapifer'.[58] Henry was not a member of Conan IV's household, since Conan's charters were more often attested by another seneschal, associated with Guingamp, Geoffrey son of Rivallon.[59] Henry may, therefore, have been 'seneschal of Cornouaille', but whether he was accountable to Conan IV or Henry II is unknown.

BAILLIES

Having discussed the government of Brittany under Henry II region-by-region, this is an appropriate point to discuss the theory that Henry II was responsible for the creation of the eight *baillies* of Brittany.[60] This administrative system appears in the 'Livre des Ostz', a manuscript dated 1294, which prescribes the military service owed to the duke of Brittany by various tenants. The list shows the duchy divided into eight regions called *baillies*: Rennes, Nantes, Ploërmel, Broërec, Penthièvre, Tréguier, Cornouaille and Léon. Later sources indicate that these were administrative divisions, each of which was headed by a ducal seneschal, who was responsible for collecting all that was owed to the duke by the residents of his *baillie*. The seneschal's seat was a ducal castle or town, where he held the ducal *curia* and where tenants who held lands situated in the *baillie* directly of the duke rendered their homage.[61]

The above discussion, I hope, makes it clear that Henry II cannot have created this system because his administration was limited to the counties of Nantes and Rennes until 1175. Cornouaille and Broërec did not fall under Angevin control until at least 1175, Léon not until 1179. Penthièvre (that is, the barony of Lamballe) and Tréguier may have been held by lords who were not hostile to Henry II, but equally there is no evidence that Henry II attempted to exercise any authority there.

Several decades later, in the first quarter of the thirteenth century, the system was still not established in its final form. In 1206, Cornouaille and Broërec were united under one ducal seneschal. By 1214, they had split again, and there was a seneschal of Cornouaille and Poher.[62] The

[58] Cartulary of Mont Saint-Michel, Bibl. mun. d'Avranches ms 210, f. 118r, published in *Preuves*, col. 662 (from the original, no longer extant) and *EYC*, IV, no. 78. The date of this charter fits the dates of one of the witnesses, Rivallon, abbot of Sainte-Croix de Quimperlé (1163–87) (*Cart. Quimperlé*, p. 108). For the reasons given above, I do not share the doubts about its authenticity expressed by C.T. Clay (*EYC*, IV, p. 72).

[59] *EYC*, IV, nos. 58, and 64; *Preuves*, cols. 661–2.

[60] Oheix, *Sénéchaux*, pp. 37–9; J. Kerhervé, *L'Etat breton aux 14e et 15e siècles: Les Ducs, l'argent et les hommes*, Paris, 1987, I, p. 42.

[61] Oheix, *Sénéchaux*, pp. 22–3, 41, 45–50 and 52ff; A. de la Borderie, *Essai sur la géographie féodale de la Bretagne*, Rennes, 1889, p. 77.

[62] *Hist. Quimperlé*, pp. 604–5, 608.

seneschalcy of Poher, based at Carhaix, then disappeared, while the seneschalcy of Cornouaille flourished.

It is safer to say that the initial reforms effected by Henry II in the third quarter of the twelfth century sowed the seeds for the development of the *baillies*.[63] It was Henry II who created the office of a ducal seneschal, in each of the counties of Nantes, Rennes and Cornouaille, responsible for exercising ducal authority over the inhabitants of the whole county, not just those of ducal domain. This was, of course, an innovation in Brittany, where the native dukes had not previously sought to exercise authority outside their domains. Henry II thus set a pattern for the future of the ducal administration. I do not, however, believe that the king ever had in mind a grand design of dividing Brittany into eight *baillies* each with its own seneschal.

In this account of the royal administration of Brittany under Henry II, I have attempted to take a prosopographical approach to the evidence of the personnel involved, summarised in Appendix 3. It is notable that a large proportion of Henry II's agents in Brittany were themselves either Breton by birth or belonged to families holding land in the honour of Richmond, many of which originated in Brittany. The exception seems to be the county of Nantes. Apart from William fitzHamo, who was a tenant of the honour of Richmond, the named seneschals (Peter fitzGuy, Robert Doisnel, Eudo fitzErneis) are not known to have had any connections with Nantes, before or after holding the office. In contrast, in Rennes, William de Lanvallay (and, presumably, Robert de Lanvallay) and Reginald Boterel represented two branches of the same Breton family, possessing land in the county of Rennes itself and in the honour of Richmond. Similarly, Henry II's principal royal agent from 1172 × 75 to 1181 was Rolland de Dinan, a Breton baron (whose estates were in the county of Rennes) and English tenant-in-chief. Naturally, these men had permanent connections with the county, from landholding and personal relationships such as marriage alliances. One conclusion that can be drawn from this is that, at least in Rennes, Henry II did not introduce 'foreign' royal officials to oppress the Bretons and impose 'foreign' institutions on them. More interestingly, insofar as this is evidence for a deliberate policy of Henry II regarding personnel, it indicates that the king had different policies towards the counties of Nantes and Rennes. The latter was to be administered by 'natives' who were, nevertheless, royal trustees. The former was oriented more towards the Angevin heartlands, as is evidenced by William fitzHamo acting as seneschal of Nantes and of

[63] Kerhervé, *L'Etat breton*, I, pp. 41–2.

Anjou simultaneously, and Peter fitzGuy's Manceau origins. This reflects the history of Nantes, and also the fact that Henry II perceived his regime in Nantes to be different and separate from that in Rennes. Rennes (with the rest of Brittany) was due to pass to the direct rule of Geoffrey and Constance as soon as they married; Nantes was not held by Henry II subject to any such condition, so he could rule Nantes indefinitely.

In general terms, by the time Henry II handed over the government of Brittany to Geoffrey and Constance in 1181, a system of royal administration was established, at least for the counties of Nantes and Rennes, and probably also Cornouaille and the Broërec. A royal seneschal presided over each county and was directly answerable to the king, on the model of the seneschals of Anjou and Poitou. Increasingly, these seneschals were recording their official acts in writing. Beneath them, the old ducal administration continued as before, with subordinate officers administering parcels of ducal domain. Additionally, the king had a permanent representative in the person of Rolland de Dinan, although how Rolland's office co-ordinated with those of the regional seneschals, and indeed whether he had any authority in the county of Nantes, is not clear. Brittany was a province, or group of provinces, within the Angevin empire, having an administrative system which operated in the king's absence but which responded to royal orders whenever they were issued.

4

DUKE GEOFFREY AND BRITTANY, 1166–1186

The two previous chapters have examined Henry II's acquisition and government of Brittany. Throughout most of the period discussed, from 1166, Henry II's younger son Geoffrey was universally acknowledged to be the future duke of Brittany, but he did not assume the government of the duchy until 1181. There was thus a period of fifteen years in which Geoffrey's position in respect of Brittany was somewhat ambiguous.

The conventional wisdom is that Geoffrey never ruled Brittany independently of Henry II, thus there is no significant distinction between the periods before and after 1181. On the contrary, 1181 is an important turning-point in the history of the Angevin regime in Brittany. This chapter will demonstrate that, although Geoffrey had no authority in Brittany before 1181, he ruled effectively independently of Henry II from 1181.

GEOFFREY 'COMES BRITANNIE', 1166–1181

That Geoffrey did not have any authority in Brittany before 1181, except in carrying out his father's orders, is indicated by the fact that there are no known *acta* of Geoffrey before he became duke of Brittany, except the writs of Henry II issued in their joint names. Neither is there any evidence that Geoffrey had a seal of his own before 1181.

Notwithstanding Geoffrey's lack of independent authority, he was closely involved with Brittany and Breton affairs. There are two aspects to this involvement. From the point-of-view of Henry II, Geoffrey played an active role in the Angevin regime, asserting royal authority in Brittany. From Geoffrey's point-of-view, the period from 1166 to 1181 was spent preparing the way for his accession by gaining experience of Breton politics and government and forming relationships with the Breton magnates and courtiers who would serve him as duke of Brittany.

John Le Patourel, emphasising the authority of Henry II, stated that before 1181, 'le role de Geoffroi en Bretagne ne fut que purement nominal. Il ne se trouva dans le duché que pendant les campagnes militaires de 1175, 1177 et 1179'.[1] This summary significantly underestimates Geoffrey's role in Henry II's regime, especially in political terms.

Henry II exercised a policy of associating Geoffrey in royal administrative acts concerning Brittany. At least two of the three known writs issued to royal agents in Brittany after 1166 were issued in the joint names of Henry II and Geoffrey.[2] Assuming that more such writs were in fact issued between 1166 and 1181, this suggests that it was the general practice of the royal chancery to issue writs to Brittany in joint names. Between 1166 and 1181, Geoffrey was usually styled 'comes Britannie'.[3] At least two charters made by Henry II concerning lands in the honour of Richmond were attested by Geoffrey 'filius regis, comes Britannie'.[4]

Henry II took pains to associate Geoffrey with his regime in Brittany. This policy may have been dictated by Henry II's need to legitimate his own regime by associating it with his son who was to marry the heiress, or it may have been for Geoffrey's benefit, to establish precedents for government in his name prior to his formal accession, or both.

Geoffrey was present in Brittany before 1181 more often, and for more extended periods, than Professor Le Patourel would allow.[5] He probably visited Brittany with Henry II as early as the summer of 1166, when he was not quite eight years of age. In May 1169, he undertook some sort of investiture ceremony, when he was 'received' in Rennes cathedral by the bishop of Rennes and the abbot of Mont Saint-Michel, both loyal supporters of Henry II. That Christmas, at Nantes, and in the first weeks of 1170, the Breton barons rendered homage to Geoffrey as well as to Henry II. Geoffrey probably accompanied his father to Brittany again in the early months of 1171, after the death of Conan IV. Up to this time, Geoffrey's role was preeminently symbolic. He was too young to undertake any practical role in the administration of Brittany, but, as the betrothed of the heiress, was valuable as a figurehead to encourage Breton support for the Angevin regime.

[1] J. Le Patourel, 'Henri II Plantagenêt et la Bretagne', *MSHAB* (1981), 99–116 at 104.

[2] See p. 76.

[3] Eg. J. H. Round (ed.), *Calendar of documents preserved in France*, 1 *AD 918–1206*, London, 1899, reprinted 1967, nos. 349, and 686; *Actes d'Henri II*, nos. CCCCLXX, DV, DXLIV, and DXLVII.

[4] *Actes d'Henri II*, nos. DXLIV, and DXLVI; B. A. Lees (ed.), *Records of the Templars in England in the twelfth century*, London, 1935, pp. 224–6.

[5] For Geoffrey's movements between 1166 and 1181, as outlined in the next few paragraphs, see the itinerary at *Charters*, pp. 7–10.

After the 1173 revolt and the reconciliation of the king with his sons, Geoffrey assumed a new role. Having turned sixteen in September 1174, he had attained an age at which he could act without direct supervision. Henry II now seems to have retired from campaigning in Brittany. Henceforth, military campaigns to enforce Angevin authority in the duchy were undertaken by Geoffrey on the king's behalf. Early in 1175, Geoffrey was sent into Brittany to restore the pre-revolt order. Although Rolland de Dinan was appointed 'procurator' of the duchy, when the king left for England in May 1175, according to Roger of Howden, he despatched his sons Richard and Geoffrey 'ad terras suas custodiendas'.[6] Geoffrey probably remained in Brittany until he and Richard crossed to England at Easter 1176. They returned to their respective provinces immediately after Easter, with Geoffrey remaining abroad for some months.

Again, in August 1177 Geoffrey was sent into Brittany and probably stayed for almost a year, because he next appears in the contemporary sources on the occasion of his knighthood by Henry II at Woodstock on 6 August 1178. If Geoffrey stayed in Brittany over winter in 1175/6 and 1177/8, this would suggest he was not engaged in military campaigns all the time, and that he had the opportunity to gain experience in government and knowledge of Breton affairs. Documents from Nantes dated 1172 and 1177 refer to Geoffrey as 'consul Nannetensis',[7] and it is possible that Geoffrey acted as Henry II's representative in Nantes at times in the 1170s.

After his knighthood, Henry II seems to have given his son a holiday, because Geoffrey spent a few months engaging in tournaments before returning to court in England in time for Christmas. In April 1179, Henry II sent Geoffrey to Brittany again, with the chroniclers once more recording only the military aspect of the visit. Geoffrey interrupted his activities in Léon to join his brothers at the coronation of Philip Augustus at Reims in November 1179. There is no record of Geoffrey's movements between this occasion and his accession in 1181, and it is therefore possible that he spent part of this period in Brittany also.

In summary, Geoffrey was, or may have been, in Brittany in 1166, 1169 (twice), 1171, 1175/6, 1177/8 and 1179–81. Although the recorded visits were made at his father's behest, with specific royal

[6] *Gesta*, p.114; RH, II, p. 72.

[7] '. . . in tempore Roberti episcopi Nannetarum et in tempore Gaufridi consulis Nannetarum filii regis Henrici Anglorum' (BN ms latin 5840, pp. 236–7, dated 1172); 'MCLXXVII, Henrico regnante in Anglia et filio suo Gaufrido consule Nannetensi et Roberto episcopo apud eandem urbem . . . ' (BN ms 22319, p. 197).

orders, Geoffrey's presence in Brittany must nevertheless have been conspicuous. Furthermore, as Geoffrey matured and proved himself competent and reliable, it is reasonable to assume that Henry II allowed him considerable discretion in the actual execution of his orders, such as campaigning strategies, the mustering of troops and provisions and so on.

From Geoffrey's point-of-view, these periods spent in Brittany enabled him to acquaint himself with the Breton political situation and with individuals. He may have acquired the followers who would be his ducal courtiers. Alan and Richard the twins, Reginald Boterel and Gerard de Fournival were already courtiers at the time of Geoffrey's first-known ducal act in 1181.

Henry II's efforts in associating Geoffrey with his rule of Brittany, both diplomatically and militarily, were effective in that contemporaries also attributed lordship in Brittany to Geoffrey before 1181. Indeed, contemporary sources create some difficulty because they attribute titles and even authority to Geoffrey that he did not hold or exercise in practice. Robert de Torigni, for instance, in addition to the usual 'comes Britannie', sometimes styles Geoffrey 'dux Britannie' from as early as 1171, and describes Geoffrey as 'dominus' of William fitzHamo 'senescallus Britannie'.[8]

Geoffrey is similarly described in the narrative account of the theft of the relics of Saint Petroc in 1177. Anticipating demands for the return of the relics to England, the thief obtained an interview with Rolland de Dinan, 'vicecomes domini Galfridi, filii regis Anglie, comitis Britannie'. He tried to persuade Rolland that the relics should stay in Brittany because Geoffrey ('dominus suus, comes Britannie') might use them to rally support in a campaign to be made earl of Cornwall.[9] Rolland's reply is not recorded, but he was not placed in a position of conflict of interest because he soon received orders to recover the relics, issued in the names of both Henry II and Geoffrey.

In short, Geoffrey was acknowledged as heir-apparent to the duchy from 1166. Although he was titled 'comes Britannie', he had no authority independently of his father. After 1175, however, he was entrusted with conducting military campaigns, probably with a more or less free hand, and was named in the king's *acta* concerning the duchy. After the lengths to which Henry II had gone to have Geoffrey recognised as the future duke of Brittany, including betrothal to the

[8] RT, II, pp. 31, 56, 67, 73 and 81. Torigni uses *dux* and *comes* interchangeably with reference to Geoffrey, before 1181, and also with reference to Duke Conan IV (I, p. 361; II, pp. 26, 104)

[9] DRF, pp. 178–9. For a discussion of this remarkable assertion, see K. Jankulak, *The medieval cult of Saint Petroc*, Woodbridge, Suffolk, 2000, ch 6, 'Martin and his plot'.

heiress, he could not easily have removed Geoffrey from his acknowledged position as future duke.

Geoffrey was, nevertheless, kept waiting to enter his estates as duke of Brittany and earl of Richmond for a remarkably long time. Henry II has been criticised for delaying Geoffrey's accession for his own ends, but perhaps unjustly. Constance may have been less than one year old at the date of the betrothal in 1166, in which case she would not have been of marriageable age until about 1181. It is unlikely that Geoffrey would have been accepted as duke of Brittany merely because Henry II had placed him in that position; marriage to the heiress was a necessary prerequisite to Geoffrey's accession. The fact that Geoffrey was a mature twenty-three years of age by the time this became possible was merely an unfortunate side-effect of Henry II's otherwise well-laid plan to secure the duchy for him. The delay also no doubt suited Henry II's desire to enjoy the revenues of Brittany and the honour of Richmond, less only the amounts allowed to Geoffrey, for as long as he decently could.

The extent of Henry II's continued involvement in the government of Brittany after 1181, apart from the county of Nantes, is a matter for debate.[10] In support of the argument that Geoffrey did not govern Brittany independently, several examples may be cited of Henry II's apparent interference after 1181. The first is the inquest into the temporal possessions of the archbishop of Dol, completed by October 1181.[11] The return giving the results of the inquest is specifically dated after the marriage of Geoffrey and Constance. It is possible, however, that the writ ordering the inquest was issued by Henry II and Geoffrey before the marriage and hence before Geoffrey began to rule Brittany independently. If so, it would have been consistent with the policy adopted by the royal chancery, of issuing writs containing Henry II's orders to agents in Brittany in the joint names of the king and Geoffrey 'comes Britannie'. The inquest must be understood, in any event, in the wider context of Henry II's support for the cause of the archbishop of Dol against the archbishop of Tours, which had less to do with Henry's policy towards Brittany than with his relations with the king of France.[12]

The second example is the subjection of the monastery of Saint-Magloire de Lehon to the abbey of Marmoutier, which was negotiated during 1181 and was confirmed by a charter of Henry II made at Chinon in 1182. Although the monastery of Saint-Magloire de Lehon

[10] Le Patourel, 'Henri II', p. 104–5; cf. B.A. Pocquet du Haut-Jussé, 'Les Plantagenêts et la Bretagne', *AB* 53 (1946), 2–27 at 11–12.

[11] *Enquête*, pp. 32–77. [12] See pp. 69–75.

was situated in Brittany, the other parties were in Tours (the abbey of Marmoutier) and the French royal principality (the abbey of Saint-Magloire de Paris). This fact alone explains the involvement of Henry II, along with Philip Augustus, in ratifying and confirming the final settlement. Henry II also acted as arbitrator in a subsidiary dispute between Albert, bishop of Saint-Malo, and the abbot of Marmoutier. Comparison of the charters of Henry II, Philip Augustus and Geoffrey, all confirming the agreed terms of the transfer, indicates that Geoffrey was the lord who had the closest interest in the subject-matter of the agreement and the enforcement of its terms. Geoffrey's charter was issued in 1181, notifying all concerned of the agreement. The confirmation charters of the two kings, in contrast, were not issued until 1182.[13]

Subsequently, there are two occasions on which Henry II appears to have used or threatened military sanctions against Geoffrey within Brittany. Around 1182, according to Robert de Torigni, the city of Rennes was seized and occupied by royal troops, then forcibly retaken by Geoffrey. Torigni unfortunately gives no explanation of these events. All that can be said is that, since Geoffrey also attacked Becherel in the course of these hostilities, Rolland de Dinan may have been involved in an assertion of royal authority which conflicted with Geoffrey's authority. Torigni receives some corroboration from a miracle-story cited by Le Baud, which describes the burning of a village 'outre Dinan' at the time when Geoffrey 'embrassa' the city of Rennes.[14]

Roger of Howden records that, after Geoffrey had made peace with his father following the 1183 rebellion, Henry II seized all of Geoffrey's castles and fortifications in Brittany 'in misericordia sua'.[15] It is difficult to see how the king could, in practice, have disseised Geoffrey of all of his castles in Brittany. Moreover, by Michaelmas that year, they were reconciled to the extent that Henry had allowed Geoffrey into possession of the honour of Richmond.[16] It is more likely that the seizure was ordered in theory, or threatened, but not carried out in practice.

Henry II's point must have been that his sons ultimately held their lands of him, with Geoffrey holding Brittany of the king as duke of Normandy. This does not prove that, after 1181, Henry II normally had any involvement in the government of Brittany beyond sovereignty over the duke. It seems more probable that, as Henry II granted to

[13] *Actes d'Henri II*, nos. DCXV and DCXVI; BN ms latin 12879, f. 182; *Preuves*, col. 690; *Charters*, nos. Ge4 and 5.

[14] RT, II, p. 115; C. d'Hozier (ed.), *Histoire de Bretagne, avec les chroniques des maisons de Vitré et de Laval par Pierre Le Baud*, Paris, 1638, p. 196.

[15] *Gesta*, p. 304. [16] See p. 128.

Geoffrey each piece of the ducal inheritance, starting with most of Brittany in 1181, he granted the right to govern autonomously, without paternal interference, at least as long as Geoffrey's exercise of authority did not conflict with the king's interests.

GEOFFREY 'DUX BRITANNIE', 1181–1186

'The [grand] ceremony which marked Geoffrey's accession to the county of Brittany in 1180 (*sic*) – for which Chrétien de Troyes wrote *Erec*,' remains, alas, a historical fantasy.[17] Details of the marriage and any investiture ceremony are completely lacking, but there is firm evidence that Geoffrey and Constance were married in 1181, before the end of August. The only contemporary chronicler to record the event is Robert de Torigni, who records it briefly under the rubric for 1182, but following immediately after a record of Henry II's crossing to England in late July 1181.[18] A charter of Fontevraud, dated '1181' and during the pontificate of Alexander III (died 30 August 1181) refers to Geoffrey as 'dux Britannie'.[19] The wedding had certainly taken place by October, since an act of the seneschal of Rennes is dated 'MCLXXXI mense Octobri . . . anno videlicet quo predictus comes [Britannie] duxit uxorem'.[20]

It is also certain that in 1181 Geoffrey became duke of Brittany, *jure uxoris*. This is made clear from the terms of a charter which is the earliest known to have been issued by Geoffrey as duke, in the last months of 1181. Although it is issued under Geoffrey's ducal authority, and with his seal attached, the consent of Constance to the act is expressly recorded, 'Hanc . . . compositionem Constantia uxor mea Britannie comitissa, ad quam comitatus Britannie jure hereditario pertinebat, et per eam ad me interveniente matrimonio devenerat, concessit'.[21] In none of Geoffrey's subsequent ducal acts would his source of authority be so emphatically stated, and it is tempting to see this as Geoffrey's first ducal act.

The early years of Duke Geoffrey's reign, especially, are characterised by a revival of ducal government as it was in the days of Dukes Conan

[17] J. Dunbabin, *France in the making, 843–1180*, Oxford, 1985, pp. 130, and 416. *cf.* G.S. Burgess, *Chrétien de Troyes, Erec et Eneide*, London, 1984, p. 9.

[18] RT, II, p. 104; *cf. Gesta*, p. 277 and *RH*, p. 260.

[19] AD Maine-et-Loire, 158H1, no. 3; BN ms latin 5840, p. 117. Geoffrey is referred to as 'dux existente in Britannia' in a charter of Philip, bishop of Rennes, dated 9 January 1181 (AN, ms L974), but reference to Pope Lucius [III], who was not elected until September 1181, indicates that the episcopal chancery was using the new style, hence the charter was made in January 1182.

[20] *Enquête*, p. 77. [21] *Charters*, no. Ge4.

III and Conan IV. Partly, this was an inevitable consequence of the return of a resident duke and ducal household. In other respects, though, it was a conscious and deliberate policy. Throughout his reign, Geoffrey strove to appease the Breton magnates, and restoring the institutions of the 'good old days' of native rule was one aspect of this.

The reason for this policy may be consciousness that he owed his position to his marriage to Duchess Constance. This is apparent from Geoffrey's first known charter, cited above. Several of Geoffrey's charters disposing of property in Brittany record Constance's assent.[22] Constance in fact exercised ducal authority in her own name and under her own seal during Geoffrey's lifetime.[23] It is possible that many Bretons, laymen and clerics, owed their personal loyalty to Constance as heiress of the native ducal dynasty, and merely tolerated Duke Geoffrey. According to the 'Chronicle of Saint-Brieuc', Geoffrey 'ratione illius matrimonii, populum Britannicum, quamdiu vitam duxit, dulciter tractavit'.[24]

Without wishing to detract from the important role of Constance as duchess of Brittany, I do not think this consideration alone explains Duke Geoffey's policy of imitating the native dukes. Rather, I would argue that Geoffrey deliberately adopted this policy to identify himself with the native dukes and with the Breton people, and to distinguish his regime from that of Henry II. Geoffrey did not merely identify himself with the Bretons, he positively intended to placate them, in order to win their support for his personal lordship.

This self-conscious imitation of the native dukes is manifested in the iconography and diplomatic of the new regime. In 1181, Duke Geoffrey adopted the designs of Conan IV's seal and his ducal coinage.[25] He also adopted Conan IV's title, 'dux Britannie et comes Richmundie'. The 'comes Richmundie' was not a reality until 1183, but then neither had Conan been 'dux Britannie' from 1166 to 1171.

The principal seat of ducal government remained at Rennes. Like the native dukes, Geoffrey was resident in the duchy, exercising ducal authority personally and correspondingly relying less upon officials than had the absentee Henry II.

There are many more records of ducal grants and confirmations, and

[22] *Charters*, nos. Ge 4, 19, 20, 21, 28.

[23] *Charters*, nos. C3, and 4.

[24] BN ms latin 6003 f. 92v; *RHF*, XII, p. 567. Since the 'Chronicle of Saint-Brieuc' was composed in the late fourteenth century (*ibid.*, p. 565, note a), one cannot be certain that this judgment is based on any contemporary source.

[25] For the seal, see *Charters*, p. 6. For the coins, see A. Bigot, *Essai sur les monnaies du royaume et duché de Bretagne*, Paris 1857, pp. 52–3, plate VII; F. Poey d'Avant, *Monnaies féodales de France*, Paris 1858, I, p. 54, plate IX, nos. 19–21.

matters determined in the duke's presence under Geoffrey for the five years from 1181 to 1186 than there were under Henry II for the twenty-three years from 1158 to 1181.

On the other hand, the rarity of recorded acts of Henry II concerning Brittany is compensated for by the extant records of acts of his ministers, as discussed in chapter three. The opposite applies to the reign of Duke Geoffrey. While there are many more ducal acts, there are no records of acts of ducal officials. There are no acts of the seneschal of Rennes which can be attributed with certainty to the period between 1181 and 1186. Similarly, Geoffrey's seneschal and *prepositus* of Nantes are identifiable only from their attestations to ducal charters.[26]

The more important functions of the seneschal, or at least those most likely to be recorded in writing, were assumed by the resident duke and duchess. For instance, Reginald Boterel was probably present in the capacity of seneschal of Rennes at the settlement of a dispute between the abbeys of Saint-Melaine and Beaulieu by Duke Geoffrey and his *curia*.[27] Reginald may have sat as a member of the ducal *curia* to determine the case, and/or been present when the terms of the settlement were written down, to authorise the record.

The ducal household was revived and restored to an important place among Breton institutions. The composition of the household remained the same as that of the native dukes. The household officers mentioned in Geoffrey's *acta* are the chamberlain,[28] the chancellor (also chaplains and clerks) and an almoner.[29] To emphasise the element of continuity, Geoffrey even retained some of the same courtiers who had attended Conan IV: the twins Alan and Richard of Moulton and Reginald Boterel. The ducal chancery was restored by Duke Geoffrey, whose *acta* provide diplomatic evidence that they were composed and written by a body of ducal clerks and not by their beneficiaries.[30]

Duke Geoffrey's court was composed almost exclusively of Bretons and Richmond tenants. As noted above, some were the same courtiers who had served Conan IV. The only 'foreigners' were Gerard de Fournival and Ivo de la Jaille. Gerard, apparently from the Beauvaisis, joined Geoffrey's court in or before 1181 and was endowed by Geoffrey with the manor of Great Munden (Herts.) in the honour of

[26] *Charters*, nos. Ge 28, and 29.

[27] 'Cart. St-Melaine', f. 186.

[28] Ralph the chamberlain attested two charters of Duke Geoffrey in England, probably in 1184 (*Charters*, nos. Ge 8, and 9) and one charter of Duchess Constance made at Nantes, probably around 1187 (*Charters*, no. C19). He may be identified with Ralph of Middleton who was chamberlain under Conan IV, since he was still alive in 1184 x 1189 (*EYC*, v, p. 356).

[29] Brother Jarnogon (*Charters*, no. Ge30, and C17).

[30] See *Charters*, pp. 3–6.

Richmond.[31] Ivo was a baron associated with the Breton-Angevin frontier and apparently having interests in Brittany before 1181.[32] Otherwise, Duke Geoffrey attracted to his court Breton barons and the younger sons of baronial families, such as Matthew de Goulaine, building a solid following of Bretons who would support him with their counsel and their military resources.

In the regional administration, Geoffrey respected the institutions employed by Henry II, retaining the county seneschals. As discussed in chapters one and two, this office had been evolving under the native dukes in any event. Geoffrey's administration soon developed a different character from his father's, though, since whenever Henry II's men were replaced, the appointees were natives, and even the heirs to hereditary offices. Duke Geoffrey's policy of relying upon, and working with, the Bretons is amply demonstrated in his appointments to offices. This policy is exemplified in the creation of the office of seneschal of Brittany for Ralph de Fougères. The office of seneschal of Brittany ('senescallus Britannie') was an innovation of Duke Geoffrey, introduced not before 1183.[33]

At every opportunity Geoffrey replaced one of his father's officers with a man who was a native of the territory he was to administer. In Rennes, he went so far as to restore the hereditary seneschal. At first, as noted above, Geoffrey retained Reginald Boterel as seneschal. Reginald was, in any case, a tenant of the honour of Richmond and of Breton descent, who established himself in the county of Rennes through landholding and marriage alliances. Ceasing to be seneschal of Rennes, Reginald Boterel continued as a ducal courtier in the 1180s.[34] The hereditary seneschal, Guy, was last heard of in 1170, still in office but subordinate to Henry II's minister, William de Lanvallay. Between 1181 and 1192, Guy's son William was restored to the office of 'seneschal of Rennes'.[35]

Similarly, in Cornouaille, Henry son of Henry remained in office until 1185 at least, but was replaced by Harvey Agomar, a courtier of

[31] Fournival (commune in canton Saint-Just-en-Chaussée, arrond. Clermont, dép. Oise). *Charters*, nos. Ge 8, and 17; H. C. Maxwell Lyte (ed.), *The Book of Fees* (commonly called *Testa de Nevill*), 3 vols., London, 1920–31, I, p. 124; *VCH, Herts.*, III, pp. 124–6. Well-known as a courtier of Richard I and John, Gerard's earlier adherence to Duke Geoffrey does not seem to have been noted until recently (D. J. Power, 'The Norman Frontier in the Twelfth and Early Thirteenth Centuries', Ph.D. thesis, University of Cambridge (1994) p. 62; cf. F. M. Powicke, *The Loss of Normandy*, 2nd edn, 1961, pp. 71, 125, 221–2, 245–6). See below, p. 140.

[32] *Charters*, 'Biographical Notes', p. 192

[33] See J. Everard, 'The "Justiciarship" in Ireland and Brittany under Henry II', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 20 (1998), 87–105 at 103–4.

[34] *Charters*, pp. 185–6.

[35] See Appendix 2.

Duke Geoffrey and a native of Cornouaille, before 1200.[36] Thus, in both Rennes and Cornouaille, after a period of months or even years, Henry II's seneschals were replaced by men who had close connections with the territory to be administered, even hereditary rights in the office.

Duke Geoffrey was less tolerant upon his acquisition of the county of Nantes, possibly because, as noted in chapter three, Henry II had not appointed natives of the county to the office of seneschal, but men from elsewhere in his dominions. In 1185, the Norman Eudo fitzErneis was 'seneschal of the king at Nantes'. By the next year, Eudo had been replaced by Maurice de Liré, a baron of the county.[37] The office of seneschal of Nantes having been Henry II's creation, there was no hereditary seneschal to restore. In 1186, too, the *prepositus* of Nantes appears for the first time since the 1150s. This had been a hereditary office under the native dukes, but in this instance there is no evidence connecting the *prepositus* under Duke Geoffrey, Robert Geraldi, with any previous holders of the office.

On establishing new ducal administrations in regions he brought into ducal domain, Geoffrey probably appointed local men from the beginning. Nothing is known of the backgrounds of seneschal of the Broërec or the *baillivi* of Morlaix and Tréguier, but their names, Rodald son of Derian, Derian and Merian son of Guihomar, indicate their Breton origins.[38]

Innovation: consolidation and extension of ducal authority

Geoffrey's regime was not wholly imitative or derivative of the native dukes. He also achieved advances in ducal authority which had never been enjoyed by his predecessors. In exercising extended ducal

[36] For Henry as seneschal under Geoffrey and Constance, see *Charters*, C3. Harvey Agomar may be identified as a younger son of Haelgomar, the tenant of substantial estates of the abbey of Sainte-Croix de Quimperlé. These were formerly comital domain and the twelfth-century dukes retained interests in them. Haelgomar was succeeded by his son, Bernard *miles* (*Cart. Quimperlé*, nos. XXX, LXXXIII, LXXXIV; *Charters*, C3). Harvey was a courtier of Geoffrey and Constance by the end of 1184 (*Charters*, Ge6, Ge7, Ge20, C4, C18, C19) and seneschal at some time between 1192 and 1201 (C28).

[37] BN ms latin 5840, p. 118. There are no extant charters made by Maurice as seneschal of Nantes. He only appears with this title once (*Charters*, no. Ge29). See also *Charters*, nos. Ge28, and C19.

[38] See below, pp. 104, 109. 'Derian' occurs often enough, in central Brittany (e.g., *Cart. Morb.*, nos. 239, and 244; *Cart. Quimperlé*, no. LX), to discourage identification of Rodald son of Derian as the son of Derian 'baillivus'. Likewise Geoffrey son of Derian, *prepositus* of Broërec in 1208 (*Cart. Quimperlé*, no. LIII). See also Tonnerre, *Naissance de la Bretagne: Géographie historique et structures sociales de la Bretagne méridionale (Nantais et Vannetais) de la fin du VIIIe à la fin du XIIe siècle*, Angers, 1994, p. 382 ('Ruaud'). E.g.. *Cart. Morb.*, no. 194; *Cart. Quimperlé*, nos. LX, LXVII, LXXV, and CII).

authority, though, Geoffrey still did not innovate radically, but rather used and adapted existing institutions, as Henry II had done in establishing Angevin rule in Brittany.

Territorial expansion of ducal authority

The territorial expansion of ducal authority was one of Geoffrey's most conspicuous achievements. He extended his administration to parts of Brittany where ducal authority had not been effective for over a century, and which were not subjugated even by Henry II. By military and diplomatic means, Geoffrey recovered the extensive ducal domains in the Broërec, and, in seizing Léon and Tréguier, acquired control of the whole north-western quadrant of the duchy. By the end of Geoffrey's reign, ducal domains existed in all corners of Brittany, so that no part of the duchy could escape at least the influence of ducal authority (see Map 2).

Much of the coast of the Broërec consisted of ducal domains, with the hinterland occupied by the baronies of Porhoët and Rohan. The various ducal domains, of course, had a history of ducal administration, but there is no evidence that there was any ducal administration pertaining to the Broërec as a whole, nor any ducal seneschal. The seneschal of the Broërec is first recorded only after 1186, when the office was held by Rodald son of Derian.[39] It is reasonable to assume, however, that the office had been in existence since the Angevin defeat of Eudo de Porhoët in 1175.

Next, in 1179, Geoffrey defeated the recalcitrant Guihomar de Léon and took the barony into his own hands, taking Guihomar's younger son, Harvey, as a hostage and allowing the elder son, Guihomar, possession of only eleven parishes. Arthur de la Borderie's assertion that Geoffrey divided Léon in three, retaining only the castellany of Morlaix as ducal domain, and dividing the rest of Léon unequally between Guihomar and Hervey, is ill-founded. The Angevins did, however, attach particular value to the castellany of Morlaix, strategically situated at the border with the barony of Tréguier and thus useful as a buffer to contain Léon.[40] In 1186, when Guihomar and Hervey rebelled following Geoffrey's death, they attacked the castles of Morlaix and Châteauneuf-du-Faou (at the south-eastern limit of Léon) which were then held by ducal castellans.[41]

Duke Geoffrey's final acquisition was the barony of Tréguier. This

[39] *Charters*, nos. C27, and 28.

[40] RT, II, p. 81; 'Communes petitiones Britonum', pp. 103, and 105; H. Guillotel, 'Les vicomtes de Léon aux XIe au XIIe siècles', *MSHAB* 51 (1971), 29–51 at 33.

[41] *Gesta*, I, p. 357; Guillotel, 'Léon', p. 33.

time, the acquisition was not by military force, but by the purported exercise of ducal authority. Henry II had restored Tréguier to *comes* Henry on the death of Conan IV in 1171. Geoffrey appears to have seized Tréguier around the time of Henry's death in 1182/3, refusing to allow his son to enter his inheritance.[42] Whether the duke had any legal justification for this action is not recorded, but there were certainly good strategic reasons for acquiring Tréguier. Combined with Léon, it created a substantial block of territory in the north-west of the duchy, where ducal authority had been nonexistent for over two centuries. There were also reasons of sentiment. Conan IV had successfully asserted his father's claim and won Tréguier from his uncle Henry, then retained it following his abdication. Duchess Constance is unlikely to have approved of Henry II restoring Tréguier to *comes* Henry as soon as her father was dead.

Influence of ducal authority beyond the ducal domains

Much of the evidence for the consolidation and extension of ducal authority comes from attestations by barons to ducal acts. As noted in chapter one, the extent to which barons attended, or avoided, the ducal court is a good measure of ducal authority. The barons who apparently most often attended Duke Geoffrey's court were Rolland de Dinan, Ralph de Fougères and Alan de Rohan.[43] These were active supporters of both Duke Conan IV and Henry II, so their attendance at Duke Geoffrey's court does not signify any increase in ducal authority. More significantly, Geoffrey enjoyed the loyalty of another great frontier baron, Andrew de Vitré.[44]

The influence of ducal authority throughout the county of Rennes and beyond is indicated by the attendance at court of barons such as Alemann d'Aubigny, Waleran de Châteaugiron, William de Lohéac, Bonabbé de Rougé and William de Tinténiac, as well as Rolland de Dinan, Ralph de Fougères and Andrew de Vitré.[45] Perhaps most striking is the attestation of a ducal charter at Rennes by William 'Vigerius', the lord of Minihi-Briac in Tréguier.[46] At the session of the

[42] *Pipe Roll, 29 Henry II*, p. 57; *EYC*, IV, pp. 88–9; 'Inquisitio . . . de Avaugour', pp. 112–13, 117, 120.

[43] Alan de Rohan attested two of Duke Geoffrey's charters (*Charters*, nos. Ge4, and 20). He also attested the 'Assize of Count Geoffrey' and acquired a copy of the Assize. Most significantly, he obtained the confirmation of both Geoffrey and Constance for his foundation of the abbey of Bonrepos (*Charters*, nos. Ge19, and C5).

[44] See pp. 63, 107 and *Charters*, 'Biographical notes', pp. 195–7.

[45] *Charters*, nos. Ge 6, 7, 18, and 24 and 'Biographical Notes' (p. 193) for William de Lohéac.

[46] *Charters*, no. Ge 6. See R. Largillière, 'Le Minihi-Briac', *AB: Mélanges bretons et celtiques offerts à M. J. Loth* (1927) 99–107.

ducal *curia* at Rennes in 1185, when the 'Assize of Count Geoffrey' was promulgated, barons attended from all parts of the duchy, even Cornouaille. Duke Geoffrey's successes in the Broërec and Tréguier are reflected in the presence of Eudo de Porhoët and Alan, son of *comes* Henry.[47]

As to the county of Nantes, the two charters of Duke Geoffrey made there probably do not provide a representative sample of the barons who attended the ducal *curia*, since all the barons who attested these two charters were lords of the county's frontier-baronies. Maurice de Montague's estates were on the borders of the county of Nantes with Poitou and Anjou. Those of other named barons, Oliver de Vritz, Brient de Varades, Maurice de Liré and William de Clisson, were all on the border with Anjou.[48] The significance of this will be discussed in the next chapter. Two other barons of the county were associated with Duke Geoffrey. Daniel de Pontchâteau was involved in a ducal grant, probably of property which was in contention between the duke and the baron, to the abbey of La Blanche Couronne, and Geoffrey de Châteaubriant acquired a copy of the 'Assize of Count Geoffrey'.[49]

Attestations to ducal charters by barons indicate only their presence at court. Ducal confirmations of baronial transactions provide stronger evidence for the acknowledgement of ducal authority over baronial affairs. Duke Geoffrey's acts demonstrate some success in this regard. Geoffrey confirmed dispositions by barons out of their own estates, principally the foundation by Alan de Rohan of the abbey of Bonrepos and the foundation by Rolland de Dinan of the abbey of Beaulieu.[50] Geoffrey and Constance also issued a confirmation charter for the abbey of Boquen, which was under the patronage of Rolland de Dinan.[51]

Another manifestation of ducal authority is the power to levy military service from the barons. Duke Geoffrey mustered an 'exercitus' for his campaign against Léon in 1179, and in January 1183, he assembled a 'magnus . . . exercitus . . . hominum terrarum suarum'.[52] It is unclear, however, whether the 'exercitus' in these instances included barons and their men, or whether it was composed exclusively of the tenants of ducal domains. At least some of the latter held their lands of the duke with specific military obligations.[53] Geoffrey also used his revenues from the ducal domains to hire mercenaries. In January 1183, for

[47] Appendix 1. [48] *Charters*, nos. Ge 28, and 29.
[49] See *Charters*, no. Ge 27. [50] *Charters*, nos. Ge19, and 20.
[51] *Charters*, nos. Ge25, and C7; *AE*, III, p.205; AD Côtes-d'Armor, H210; *Preuves*, col. 602.
[52] *Gesta*, pp. 239, and 292–3.
[53] An undated charter of Duke Conan IV records a grant of land in Brittany to Henry son of Harvey (a Richmond tenant) for a quarter of one knight's service, 'in exercitu et chevalche' (*EYC*, IV, no. 58).

instance, Geoffrey's great 'exercitus' included Brabançons and other 'solidarii'.[54]

Although evidence is lacking for Duke Geoffrey's reign, by the end of the century there is evidence that barons acknowledged not only the duke's right to levy the host, but also their specific military obligations in this respect. In the Inquest of Dol (1181), it is recorded that the lord of Combour holds twelve knights' fees of the archbishop of Dol. Such an arrangement could have existed independently, and in the absence, of any specific military obligations to the duke, and may reflect the Norman influence in the region. In 1226, however, evidence given at an inquest into the knight-service owed by the archbishop to the duke of Brittany indicates that the specific military obligations were not a recent development and dated from the 1190s if not earlier.[55] An agreement between the lord of Goulaine and the priory of Saint-Martin de Vertou, dated 1189, refers to obligations owed to the 'dominus Nannetensis', 'vel de exercitu, vel de custodia castelli'.[56] In 1198, the lord of Fougères acknowledged that his fee of Martigné-Ferchaud owed two knights for 'exercitus', 'ad servitium ejus qui dominium habebit Britannie'.[57] There is no direct evidence that Henry II or Duke Geoffrey systematically imposed or reorganised military obligations in Brittany, although it is possible that evidence only exists from after 1186 because of the increase in the use of writing by laymen at that time.

The extension of ducal authority is, however, clearly manifested in Geoffrey's exercise of jurisdiction in matters involving subject-matter which was not within the ducal domains. This represented a departure from the experience of the native dukes of Brittany, but a continuation of the exercise of such jurisdiction by Henry II's seneschals.

Under Duke Geoffrey, the ducal *curia* heard and determined disputes involving property which pertained to Rolland de Dinan,[58] Andrew de Vitré.[59] the 'viscount of Poudouvre'[60] and Geoffrey de La Guerche.[61]

[54] *Gesta*, pp. 292–3.
[55] *Enquête*, p. 39; *Preuves*, col. 857–8.
[56] *Preuves*, col. 711.
[57] *Preuves*, cols. 729–30.
[58] 'Cart. St-Melaine', f. 186r, publ. *Actes inédits*, no. LVIII. The grant by Hamo Spina of the 'abbatia de Cancaura' to Mont Saint-Michel in 1182, in the presence of Duke Geoffrey and Rolland de Dinan (BN ms latin 5430A, pp. 38, and 197–8; BN mss fr. 22325, pp. 666, and 22357, fol. 46r; *Preuves*, col. 695), may also have been the consequence of determination of a legal dispute by the ducal *curia*.
[59] *Charters*, no. Ge25.
[60] A charter of Alan son of Brient, dated 1184, records that a dispute between Saint-Magloire de Lehon and the heirs of the toll-collectors of Corseul, over the tithe of the parish of Corseul which was given to the abbey by his ancestors, the viscounts of Poudouvre, was settled 'per industriam et solicitudinem' of Duke Geoffrey (*Preuves* col. 701; *AE*, IV, p. 360). See H. Guillotel, 'Des vicomtes d'Alet aux vicomtes de Poudouvre (Ille-et-Vilaine)', *Annales de la Société d'histoire et d'archéologie de l'arrondissement de St-Malo* (1988), 201–213.
[61] *Charters*, no. Ge18. In this case, the prior of Saint-Cyr de Rennes had petitioned both Duke

In each of these cases, the property had been granted by the baron in question or his ancestors to a monastery, and the property was now in dispute. In each case, it was the monastery defending its property which brought the matter before the ducal *curia*. The basis of the ducal jurisdiction in such cases is unclear. Did these monasteries submit their disputes to the ducal *curia* because it had some jurisdiction in ecclesiastical matters which baronial courts lacked? Were they appealing against determinations of baronial courts? Whatever the basis for his jurisdiction, Duke Geoffrey succeeded in bringing before his *curia* the barons who were involved in these disputes, even as defendants.

Acknowledgement of the extended jurisdiction of the ducal *curia* was developing amongst the barons. In an agreement between William de Fougères and his great-nephew Geoffrey, made in 1204, one of the terms was that, if a dispute should be transferred from the court of William to the court of Geoffrey, and not determined within eight days, it could be transferred to the 'curia comitis Britannie'. If William should refuse the judgment of his court to any of his men, this default would be a matter for the duke or his seneschal.[62] This agreement, therefore, contemplates that the ducal *curia* may have jurisdiction, in certain circumstances, to deal with matters concerning vassals of the barony of Fougères on a regular basis and not only if a particular case is voluntarily submitted to it, albeit that the *curia* only has this jurisdiction because the lords have expressly consented to it by the terms of this agreement.

Regional administration

As discussed above, in the counties of Rennes, Nantes and Cornouaille, which had now been subject to Angevin administration for some decades, Geoffrey retained the institutions and even the individuals employed by Henry II. The seneschal remained the superior officer of the ducal administration in each. Individuals such as Laurence Borguel and Robert son of Rolland, who were inferior officers or owed suit of court under Henry II's seneschals, continued to attend the ducal court in 1186.[63]

Geoffrey and the archbishop of Tours (who seems to have referred the matter to the bishop of Rennes and the abbot of Saint-Melaine). There is no record of the lord of La Guerche being summoned, only that, by the counsel of friends, the parties came to an agreement. A postscript to Geoffrey's charter states that the duke attended to this matter, and confirmed the record with his seal, 'quia res de feodo meo erat'. The case was, in fact, tenuously connected with the ducal domain of Rennes, since the property in dispute was given to the priory, around 1037, with the authority of Alan III, count of Rennes (AD Indre-et-Loire, H495; L.-J. Denis (ed.), *Chartes de l'abbaye de St-Julien de Tours (1002–1227)*, Paris, 1912, no. 13).

[62] J. Aubergé (ed.), *Le Cartulaire de la Seigneurie de Fougères, connu sous le nom de cartulaire d'Alençon*, Rennes, 1913, nos. XLII–XLIV.

[63] *Charters*, nos. Ge28, and 29. See above, p. 82.

In contrast with regions which had been governed by Henry II's ministers, in the regions brought under ducal control by Geoffrey himself, Léon (1179) and Tréguier (1182–3), it appears the duke pursued a different policy. The evidence, however, is frustratingly meagre. It should be noted that Map 2 gives a 'minimalist' representation of the new ducal domains. The lords of Léon and Tréguier no doubt had other parcels of seignorial domain, even castellanies, which became ducal domain when they were taken into ducal hands, but only those places referred to in contemporary sources are shown on the map.

Only one document has survived regarding the ducal administration of Léon. In an undated charter, Ivo, bishop of Léon, records a dispute between the priory of Saint-Melaine de Rennes and the officers of Duke Geoffrey over rights in the revenues from bread-ovens at Morlaix.[64] Since there was no pre-existing ducal administration anywhere in Léon, Geoffrey must have established a new administration in Morlaix. The charter terms the ducal officers, *baillii*. The charter also names a superior ducal officer, Derian, although it also styles him 'baillius'. Derian had a judicial function, holding the court of the *baillii* (in effect, the ducal *curia*), and had his own seal. From this context, it would appear that the *baillii* were officers fulfilling the same functions as those of a seneschal, *prepositus* or *vicarius*. There may have been a different *baillius* responsible for each of the five castellanies which comprised the barony of Léon.[65]

The administration of Tréguier corresponds with this, except that possibly a single superior *baillius* was responsible for the whole barony. Again, there is only one documentary source, an undated charter of Duchess Constance which refers to Merian son of Guihomar, 'baillivus meus tunc temporis de Trecor'. Merian's circumscription must have included Lannion, in the north-west of the barony, as this was the subject-matter of the charter.[66]

The apparent substitution of *baillii* for seneschals and other officers in these two territories annexed by Duke Geoffrey may be explained by the fact that a 'seneschal', from the Angevin point-of-view, was the principal officer of a county, whereas Léon and Tréguier were not counties but merely baronies which happened to be in the duke's hand for the time being. The appearance here of *baillii* corresponds with Henry II's treatment of the barony of Combour from 1164 and, more specifically, the appearance of a 'baillivus regis' there in 1174. The *baillii* were the officers charged with exercising the duke's rights while the

[64] 'Cart. St-Melaine', f. 89r.; *Preuves*, col. 705.

[65] A. de la Borderie, *Essai sur la géographie féodale de la Bretagne*, Rennes, 1889, pp. 46–7

[66] *Charters*, no. C55.

barony was in ducal hands, until such time as it should be regranted to the baronial family or other beneficiary.

Notwithstanding their different titles, the superior *baillii* of Duke Geoffrey appear to have had the same functions and responsibilities as the seneschals of the counties. Within their circumscriptions, Derian and Merian son of Guihomar, like the seneschals of Henry II, presided over the ducal *curia* and conducted inquests upon ducal orders. Any other functions they may have had were not recorded in writing.

Coinage

Once his authority was established, Geoffrey issued new coins. As noted above, initially, Geoffrey's coins were the same as those of Conan IV with only the duke's name changed. The second issue has a similar obverse, but on the reverse, instead of the word 'DVX' occupying the whole field with '+BRITANNIE' as legend, the field is occupied by a design resembling a *fleur-de-lys*, and '+DVX BRITANI' as legend.[67] The design is unlike any previously issued in Brittany. These coins have been attributed to Geoffrey, count of Nantes (1156–58), principally on the ground that Duke Geoffrey is unlikely to have made two completely different issues of coins in his short reign.[68] A serious objection to this theory, however, is that Geoffrey, count of Nantes, would never have styled himself 'dux Britannie' on coins or elsewhere.

Dieudonné asserts that this coin is associated with Nantes, but without any supporting evidence.[69] The place of minting is not stated on the coins. The appearance of specimens in coin-hoards in Brittany does not demonstrate any connection with Nantes.[70] Furthermore, Duke Geoffrey had ample opportunity and occasion to change his coinage. Perhaps it was to celebrate the reunion of Penthièvre and/or Nantes with the rest of the duchy under ducal authority. If the design is indeed a *fleur-de-lys*, it may signify Geoffrey's transfer of allegiance to Philip Augustus in 1186. In any event, such a dramatic change in the design of ducal coinage would have sent a clear message, within Brittany and beyond, that Duke Geoffrey had the confidence to assert his ducal authority.

[67] Bigot, *Monnaies de Bretagne*, p. 51, plate VII, no. 8; Poey d'Avant, *Monnaies*, I, p. 53–4, plate IX, no. 18.

[68] Bigot, *Monnaies de Bretagne*, p. 51; Poey d'Avant, *Monnaies*, I, p. 53–4. Cf. J. Duplessy (*Les Trésors monétaires médievaux et modernes découverts en France*, I, *751–1223*, Paris 1985) who attributes this coin to Duke Geoffrey (nos. 31, 71, 153, 165, 271, 273, 303, 315, and 365).

[69] A. Dieudonné, *Manuel de numismatique française*, IV, *Monnaies féodales françaises*, Paris, 1936, p. 123.

[70] Duplessy, *Les Trésors*, nos. 31 (Bais, arrond. Rennes), 71 (Caro, arrond. Vannes), 271 (Liminec, arrond. Quimper), and 273 (Rennes).

The 'Assize of Count Geoffrey'

Similarly innovative is the 'Assize of Count Geoffrey', a ducal act which deserves close examination, as to both its form and its substance.[71] Here, I wish to discuss it solely in the context of Geoffrey's ducal policy. My interpretation of the Assize in this context is that, as a ducal act, it was intended to appease the Breton barons and to demonstrate Geoffrey's solidarity with them.

The Assize appears to have been promulgated at a session of the ducal *curia* at Rennes which occurred between Easter 1185 and Easter 1186. The principal provision of the Assize is that baronies and knights' fees are to pass undivided to the tenant's eldest son. Subsidiary provisions provide for succession in the event of default of sons, or a minority, and for arrangements between heirs and their cadets.

Discussion of the Assize has focused on the question of whether it is legislative in character, that is, mandatory and compulsive, or contractual and consensual. On the 'legislative' side of the argument, there is the very form of the Assize, a ducal act, in which Geoffrey declares, 'assisiam feci, tempore meo et successorum meorum permansuram . . .'. By his simple declaration, Duke Geoffrey purports to regulate succession to baronies and knights' fees henceforth. It is intended that the provisions of the Assize will have the force of law. In this sense, the Assize represents ducal legislation.

This interpretation of the Assize depends upon the form of the act rather than its substance. On its face, as a legislative act of Duke Geoffrey, the Assize demonstrates the extent of his ducal authority, and the efficacy of Angevin administrative efficiency (or the yoke of Angevin tyranny). Since the Assize must then be seen as forming part of a legislative programme, and as having the highest priority, since it was the first piece of ducal 'legislation' to be made, it becomes necessary to assert that the subject-matter of the Assize was extremely important to Duke Geoffrey.

Those who have thus interpreted the Assize have found its *raison-d'être* in the duke's alleged concern as to the ability of barons and knights to fulfil their obligations to perform military service.[72] There is, however, no other evidence to suggest that this was a particular concern of Duke Geoffrey. As discussed above, there is scant evidence that military service was strictly regulated in Brittany before 1185, and

[71] M. Planiol, 'L'Assise au Comte Geffroi: Etude sur les successions féodales en Bretagne', *RHD* 11 (1887), 117–162, and 652–708 remains the best work in print on the Assize. For another edition of the 'Assize' and discussion of its substantive provisions, see Appendix 1.

[72] Most recently, Tonnerre, *Naissance de la Bretagne*, p. 404.

Geoffrey never had any difficulty in mustering sufficient armed forces when he required them. Further, it is probable that Geoffrey would not have seen division of baronies as inherently a bad thing. In Brittany the Angevins used division as an instrument of policy to diminish the power of certain barons, notably the lords of Dinan and Léon.

On the contrary, Marcel Planiol was right in concluding that the Assize is, in fact, contractual in nature.[73] It is as much an act of baronial as of ducal will, involving the balancing of ducal and baronial interests. Compared with the phrase quoted above, more of the text of the Assize indicates the central role of the barons' counsel and consent. Duke Geoffrey states that he has made the Assize, 'petitioni episcoporum et baronum omnium Britannie satisfaciens, communi assensu eorum'. Arguably, it is unsafe to interpret such a phrase completely literally, but why should it be any more of a fiction than the 'legislative' language quoted above?

The repeated use of the verb 'concedo' is significant in this regard. Usage of this verb in Duke Geoffrey's charters is 'to give', and more specifically, 'to grant in response to a request'.[74] The use of the verb 'concedo' therefore suggests that Geoffrey 'gave' or 'granted' the provisions of the Assize to the barons. There is no implication of compulsion in this language.

There is also the institution of the oath to keep the Assize. In the text of the Assize itself, Geoffrey declares that he and Duchess Constance and all the barons of Brittany swear to uphold this 'assisia'. The importance of the individual swearing to uphold the Assize is apparent from the next clause, which states that all future heirs and their cadets must also swear to uphold the Assize. A sanction is prescribed for any cadets who refuse to take the oath. If the Assize represented an act of sovereign power, then it would apply to all the lands described, that is, to all the baronies and knights' fees of Brittany. Individuals would not be required to swear to uphold a ducal act which was mandatory in character in order to be bound by it. Nor would the duke himself be required to swear to keep the terms he had just ordered. In fact, the Assize only applied to those barons and knights who agreed to it, and these had to swear that they and their heirs would henceforth abide by the provisions of the Assize. In return, the duke had to swear to do the same. To fail to so swear was to cease to be bound, hence the emphasis on ensuring that the cadets in each generation should take the oath.

[73] M. Planiol, 'L'Assise au Comte Geffroi: Etude sur les successions féodales en Bretagne', *RHD* II (1887), 117–62, 652–708. See also B.-A. Pocquet du Haut-Jussé, 'La genèse du législatif dans le duché de Bretagne', *RHD* 4th ser., 40 (1962), 351–72 at 355–6.

[74] *Charters*, nos. Ge 6, 7, 8, 9, 13, 14, 16, 19, 20, 22, 28, 29, 30.

The same reasoning applies to the original manuscripts of the Assize. Our record of the Assize is derived from seven texts, each addressed to a different baron. No text has survived which might be interpreted as an original, 'official' text, that is, one not addressed to any particular baron. It would seem that only those barons who agreed to the terms of the Assize were bound by it, and only they acquired written records of the terms.

If the Assize was contractual, it must have conveyed a benefit to both parties, the barons and the duke. As to the benefit derived by the barons, a clue lies in the substantive provisions of the Assize. Succession by male primogeniture, and by female primogeniture in default of male heirs, was in fact the custom for baronies in Brittany long before 1185. The Assize did not, therefore, represent an innovation, but the confirmation of Breton customary law. By formally declaring and sanctioning their customary law, Geoffrey reassured the barons that he did not intend to impose any conflicting Anglo-Norman or Angevin law.

The Assize was in the interests of the barons in other respects. First, although the principle of primogeniture, at least in succession to baronial estates, was well established, there were probably difficulties with its practical operation. A principle which dictates that the eldest son (or daughter) shall inherit all of the patrimonial estate does not inherently provide any rules governing provision for younger sons and for daughters, or for procedure in the event of a minority. This is demonstrated by the statements of the customary law of neighbouring provinces: the 'Coutume de Normandie' and the 'Coutume de Touraine-Anjou', and 'Glanvill' for England, all of which give extremely detailed provisions for the different circumstances which might befall an inheritance. These matters needed to be resolved for the sake of baronial family harmony, and the Assize was the vehicle for this. Possibly the barons who did not swear to keep the Assize were those who felt that their own familial customs as to these 'subsidiary' issues were satisfactory and did not need clarifying or altering.

The other respect in which the Assize favoured the barons was in curbing the arbitrary exercise of ducal power. In declaring that, 'ulterius non fierent divisiones sed major natu integre obtineret dominatum', it may be argued that the duke was binding himself to refrain from interfering in succession to baronies and knights' fees in the future. Thus, by obtaining the Assize, the barons hoped to avoid repetition of the recent Angevin intervention in baronial succession. In 1179, Duke Geoffrey had taken the barony of Léon into his own hands and permitted the heir an inheritance of only eleven parishes, but at least

such interference could be justified by the need to suppress revolt. Around 1182, however, Geoffrey took Tréguier into his own hands on the death of *comes* Henry, permitting Henry's son Alan to enter only a portion of his inheritance, the south-eastern region known as the Goëllo. This was a good strategic move, but it had no apparent justification in law. It is no coincidence that Guihomar de Léon obtained a copy of the Assize, and that Alan, son of *comes* Henry was a witness.

Duke Geoffrey was not, of course, at the mercy of the Breton barons.[75] His position was not so weak that the barons could force him into making the Assize against his will. Arguably, the Assize conveyed some benefit to the duke as well. In general terms, the benefit Geoffrey derived from the Assize was in ducal prestige. No previous duke had purported to make a pronouncement upon customary law which applied outside the ducal domains. The Assize was acknowledged by bishops and barons from all over Brittany. It is significant that now magnates of Brittany felt that the best way to ensure that the provisions set out in the Assize had legal effect was to give them the ducal *imprimatur*. In other words, they recognised that the duke had some authority, that rules promulgated in the duke's name could not be ignored lightly. In return for the impressive demonstration of respect for his ducal authority which the Assize represented by its form and nature, Duke Geoffrey conceded to the barons the right of succession to their estates without ducal interference, provided they respected the terms of the Assize, which were more or less existing custom in any event.

More specifically, the Assize gave the duke the right to interfere in the appointment of a guardian where the deceased left no brothers. The Assize provides that, if the eldest son is an infant, and the deceased left no brother to act as guardian, his lord has the right to veto any chosen guardian. In practice, this meant the lord could impose his own guardianship or extract whatever terms he wished for his consent to the chosen guardian. Thus the duke had acquired, with the consent of the barons, the right to intervene in the succession to baronies, and to knights' fees held directly of the duke, in certain instances of minority. In spite of the testimony of most of the witnesses to the 'Communes petitiones Britonum', that the duke had never had the right of 'baillium', this clause of the Assize makes it quite clear that the duke could choose to appoint himself guardian of an infant heir who had no paternal uncles. One witness did, in fact, recall that Duchess Constance had had 'baillium' of Hervey, *prepositus* of Lamballe.[76] The barons, no

[75] Planiol, 'Assise', p. 670. [76] 'Communes petitiones Britonum', p. 101.

doubt, agreed to this rule because they too sought the right to intervene in the succession of their own vassals. The seignorial right of 'baillium' was so abused by dukes and barons in the next few generations that in 1275/6 Duke Jean I commuted it into a right to receive only a relief equivalent to one year's revenue of the estate in the case of all successions, and individual barons made similar arrangements with their own vassals.[77] The Assize thus met the interests of both the duke and the barons.

It may generally be said that Duke Geoffrey's lordship lay relatively lightly upon the Breton barons (with the obvious exceptions of Guihomar de Léon and Alan, son of *comes* Henry of Tréguier). This can be the only reason for the troubadour Bertrand de Born to have wished that Geoffrey could be duke of Aquitaine.[78] Bertrand knew Geoffrey personally and would certainly not have felt this sentiment if Geoffrey had been autocratic in his dealings with the Bretons.

Duke Geoffrey and the church

In contrast with Duke Geoffrey's clear policy regarding the government of Brittany and his relations with the Breton laity, the evidence available does not indicate any such policy regarding the church.

The regular church

Duke Geoffrey's acts indicate his patronage of numerous monasteries throughout eastern Brittany. Few, however, represent grants of property; the majority are confirmations of grants made by others, or of the determination of legal disputes in favour of monasteries.

Geoffrey was unusual, as a duke of Brittany, in not founding any monastic establishment himself. He was content to make modest grants to existing houses. Geoffrey gave greater priority to the extension and consolidation of ducal domain than to whatever benefits might accrue from alienating large portions of it to monasteries. The few benefactions actually initiated by Geoffrey were of cash revenues derived from the profits of ducal mills or rents, of rights of pasture in ducal forests and exemption from payment of tolls and other dues.[79] Such grants avoided any alienation of ducal land or capital. Conversely, Duke Geoffrey was ready to authorise the substantial dispositions of their property made by

[77] *TAC*, pp. 335–8; Planiol, 'Assise', pp. 675–80.

[78] G. Gouiran, 'Bertran de Born et le comte Geoffroy de Bretagne', in P. T. Ricketts (ed.), *Actes du premier congrès international de l'association internationale d'études occitanes*, London, 1987, pp. 229–241 at 233, and 236.

[79] *Charters*, no. Ge 7, and 30 (mills), 28 (rents), 20 (forest).

barons when they founded monasteries. Such confirmations were both a source of ducal prestige, and advantageous because the baronies were diminished, in relation to the ducal domain, by such dispositions. That this was a matter of policy, and not a lack of piety, is indicated by Geoffrey's grant to the cathedral of Rouen to celebrate mass for the soul of his deceased brother Henry.[80]

It is also possible that Geoffrey would have founded a monastery if he had reigned for longer. Duchess Constance, for instance, did not found the abbey of Villeneuve until 1201, when she had been duchess for twenty years, and this foundation was no more than the erection of an existing grange of Buzay into an abbey. Duke Conan IV, similarly, did not found his abbey of Carnoët until after 1167, when his enforced 'retirement' allowed him more time to devote to the project.[81] Founding an abbey required years of planning, and Duke Geoffrey simply did not have the opportunity to bring to fruition any such plans he may have had.

In terms of Geoffrey's patronage, account should be taken of the fact that, as duke, there was no one house, or region, where his patronage was naturally directed. Rather, it was appropriate for the duke of Brittany and earl of Richmond to spread his patronage widely, if thinly. In 1181, Geoffrey took under his protection the priory of Saint-Magloire de Lehon, and in 1184 he determined a dispute in favour of this monastery.[82] He gave a general confirmation for the abbey of Boquen, and confirmed the foundation of the abbeys of Bonrepos by Alan de Rohan, and Beaulieu by Rolland de Dinan. In the case of Beaulieu, Duke Geoffrey made an additional grant of rights in the ducal forest of Lanmeur. On a smaller scale, he confirmed a grant of a tithe by his courtier, Ivo de la Jaille, to La Vieuville.[83]

The monastery most patronised by Duke Geoffrey was the abbey of Savigny. Possibly this was due to the fact that Savigny's patron, Ralph de Fougères, enjoyed such favour in the ducal household. In 1185, Geoffrey gave a general confirmation of the grants of Duke Conan IV and Andrew and Robert de Vitré to Savigny, with an additional grant of immunity from customary dues throughout all his lands, and took the abbey under his personal protection. He also confirmed a grant of William fitzPagan (which had first been made in the ducal *curia* in the

[80] *Charters*, no. Ge 7.
[81] *EYC*, IV, p. 70; *Preuves*, col. 664; A. Dufief, *Les Cisterciens en Bretagne aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles*, Rennes, 1997, pp. 79, 130–1.
[82] *Charters*, nos. Ge 4, and 5; *Preuves*, col. 701.
[83] *Charters*, nos. Ge 19, 20, 24, and 26.

presence of Ralph de Fougères), and determined, in favour of Savigny, the abbey's dispute with William de Saint-Gilles.[84]

Curiously, there are as many instances of Geoffrey making grants of ducal property to monasteries in the diocese of Nantes, after he had acquired the county of Nantes around 1185, as for all of his reign up to that date. As noted above, Geoffrey made general grants of rights and immunities to Beaulieu and to Savigny, and a grant to the cathedral of Rouen, all in 1184–5. In the first seven months of 1186, however, he made three grants in the county of Nantes alone. Admittedly, his grant to the priory of Saint-Cyr de Nantes, as the charter itself states, was compensation for his extension of the fortifications of Nantes, which had trespassed onto the nunnery's gardens, and the grant of an island to the abbey of La Blanche Couronne was probably connected with the assertion of ducal authority over the barony of Pontchâteau.[85] However, Geoffrey's grant to Buzay (albeit probably made on his deathbed) was made for pious reasons.[86]

Apart from confirmation of their rights and arbitration of their disputes, Duke Geoffrey does not appear to have imposed any control over the Breton monasteries. The only known instance of his active intervention in the election of an abbot is in the case of the abbey of Saint-Melaine de Rennes.[87] The abbey had been reformed in the mid-eleventh century by the introduction of monks from Saint-Florent de Saumur, under the patronage of Conan II, count of Rennes. The duke of Brittany thus had the right to approve the election of the abbot. At the same time, a precedent had been set which led Saint-Florent to assert that abbots of Saint-Melaine must be drawn from the monks of Saint-Florent, at least if there was no fit candidate for the abbacy in Saint-Melaine itself.

Against this background, Duke Geoffrey intervened in the election following the death of Abbot William 'Privatus', between 1181 and 1184.[88] According to the monks of Saint-Florent, the monks had already made their election when Duke Geoffrey forced upon them Gervase, a monk of Marmoutier. One can only speculate as to why

[84] *Charters*, nos. Ge 22, 23, and 24; AN L977, undated charter of Herbert, bishop of Rennes.

[85] *Charters*, nos. Ge 27, and 28.

[86] *Charters*, no. Ge 30.

[87] Bulls of Pope Lucius III (*PL*, 201, col. 1327 (dated 'VI kal. Novembris, 1184–1185'); *Preuves*, col. 699 (dated 'VI idus Novembris')) and of Urban III (*PL*, 202, col. 1342 (dated 10 December 1185/6); *Preuves*, col. 703). See B.-A. Pocquet du Haut-Jussé, *Les papes et les ducs de Bretagne*, I, Paris, 1928, pp. 22–3.

[88] Abbot William is mentioned in an undated notice recording a transaction involving Duke Geoffrey and Albert, bishop of Saint-Malo (1181 x 1184) ('Cart. St-Melaine', f. 186, published *Actes inédits*, no. LVIII).

Gervase was chosen, as nothing is known of him before this, but Duke Geoffrey's object might have been to assert the independence of the Rennais monastery from the Angevin Saint-Florent.

Some monks left Saint-Melaine in protest and went to Saint-Florent, whence they appealed to the papal *curia*. In a bull issued in November 1184, Pope Lucius III ordered the dispute be determined by three legates, but the matter was still unresolved a year later. In December 1185, Pope Urban III directed one of the legates, Ralph de Beaumont, bishop of Angers, and two new legates, to determine the dispute. No record of their finding has survived, but Gervase continued in office, apparently unimpeached, until about 1188.[89] The litigation over his election seems to have had no practical effect on Gervase's abbacy; on at least one occasion, he acted as legate of Pope Lucius III.[90] It is not surprising that Gervase is the only abbot to have attested any of Duke Geoffrey's charters; it is, however, testimony to Geoffrey's authority and prestige that his candidate won the day.[91]

The secular church

Considering the short period of Geoffrey's reign, there was a remarkable turnover of bishops, and hence the opportunity to intervene in the ensuing episcopal elections. Between 1181 and 1186, at least five, and possibly seven, of the nine bishoprics of Brittany fell vacant. Philip, bishop of Rennes, and Geoffrey of Vannes died in 1182, Albert of Saint-Malo, Geoffrey of Quimper and Robert of Nantes around 1184–5. Guy, bishop of Léon, was still alive in 1179 but had been succeeded by Bishop Ivo before 1186.[92] Pregent, bishop of Saint-Brieuc, was succeeded by Bishop Geoffrey II between 1180 and 1187.[93] Only Rolland of Pisa, archbishop of Dol (1177–88), and Geoffrey, bishop of Tréguier (1179–*c.* 1216), held office throughout Geoffrey's reign. There is, however, no evidence that Duke Geoffrey exploited the opportunity thus presented to enjoy the episcopal temporalities by prolonging vacancies or appointing his own bishops.

When Geoffrey came to power in 1181, Philip, the former abbot of Clermont, was bishop of Rennes. That his successor, Herbert, was also

[89] *Gallia Christiana*, XIV, col. 775.

[90] In 1184 or 1185, Pope Lucius delegated to Gervase and Maurice, abbot of Saint-Pierre de Rillé, the determination of a dispute involving Marmoutier's priory of Sainte-Croix de Vitré (AD Ille-et-Vilaine, 1F544, copied by A. de la Borderie from an original chirograph, dated 'MCLXXXIIII, VI. kal' Aprilis'). For other acts of Abbot Gervase, see L.-J. Denis (ed.), *Chartes de l'abbaye de Saint-Julien de Tours (1002–1227)*, no. 122; *Gallia Christiana*, XIV, col. 775.

[91] *Charters*, no. Ge 20.

[92] *Gallia Christiana*, XIV, cols. 976–7; 'Cart. St-Melaine', f. 89; *Preuves*, col. 705.

[93] BN ms fr. 22329, p. 355.

abbot of Clermont suggests that the election was canonical, and that the chapter of Rennes had some connection with Clermont. There seems, in fact, to have been some ecclesiastical imperialism by the chapter of Rennes. Guethenoc, bishop of Vannes (elected 1182), and Peter Gerald, bishop of Saint-Malo (elected between mid-1184 and Easter 1185), both came from the chapter of Rennes. Possibly there was a connection between this and Duke Geoffrey's residence in Rennes, with the duke selecting canons of Rennes to fill episcopal vacancies elsewhere in the duchy. In contrast, Theobald, the successor of Geoffrey, bishop of Quimper, was a Benedictine monk from Sainte-Croix de Quimperlé. All four of these bishops, Rennes, Vannes, Saint-Malo and Quimper, could have been canonically elected, with no evidence of ducal interference now available.

Another episcopal election which may have been determined by Duke Geoffrey was that of Maurice de Blason, who was elected bishop of Nantes during 1185.[94] This theory rests entirely upon identification of Maurice de Blason with the 'Mauricius cancellarius' who attested a ducal charter at Rennes in 1185. Although a bishopric was the typical reward for an Angevin chancellor, an alternative identification of Maurice 'cancellarius' as Maurice de Locmariaquer contradicts the theory.[95] It is further undermined by the fact that Maurice was already bishop-elect when the 'Assize of Count Geoffrey' was promulgated, and this probably occurred before Geoffrey acquired the county of Nantes. Maurice, therefore, was elected under the regime of Henry II in Nantes, and this fits better with the fact that he was a Poitevin.

To assess the extent to which the Breton bishops supported Duke Geoffrey, I have considered their attestations to ducal charters. Generally, ducal charters were not attested by any bishops or abbots, only by the laymen who were present at the ducal *curia*. The relatively few episcopal attestations show a clear pattern; only the bishops of four of the five eastern dioceses, Rennes, Saint-Malo, Vannes and Nantes, attested ducal charters. Attestations by the bishops of the four western dioceses are completely lacking.

The greatest concentration of episcopal attestations is in the 'Assize of count Geoffrey', which was attested by Herbert, bishop of Rennes, Peter of Saint-Malo, Guethenoc of Vannes and Maurice, bishop-elect of Nantes. All of these bishops (except Nantes) came to office under Duke Geoffrey, which may indicate they owed their office to the duke,

[94] The see of Nantes was vacant for a few months from the death of Bishop Robert, which occurred no later than 15 January 1185. Maurice was bishop-elect when he attested the 'Assize of Count Geoffrey' at Rennes in 1185, probably after Easter.

[95] *Charters*, p. 5.

except that their predecessors, too, had acknowledged Geoffrey's authority. Philip, bishop of Rennes, dated a charter in January 1182, 'Duce existente in Britannia Gaufrido Henrici regis filio'.[96] Albert, bishop of Saint-Malo, issued a charter confirming a settlement between the abbeys of Saint-Melaine and Beaulieu which had been determined by Duke Geoffrey and his barons.[97] Robert, bishop of Nantes, and Guethenoc of Vannes attested a ducal charter made at Rennes in 1183/4 concerning honour of Richmond lands, not subject-matter which concerned them as bishops.[98] The attestation of the bishop of Nantes must have a different significance because Geoffrey had not then acquired the county of Nantes.

Since Rennes seems to have been Duke Geoffrey's principal residence between 1181 and 1185, it is not surprising that the bishop of Rennes should appear the most frequently in ducal acts. On Good Friday 1185, Duke Geoffrey joined Herbert, bishop of Rennes, Guethenoc, bishop of Vannes, and Peter, bishop of Saint-Malo, in the cathedral chapter at Rennes. Bishop Herbert, with Gervase, abbot of Saint-Melaine, attested Duke Geoffrey's charter for the abbey of Beaulieu at Rennes. Bishop Herbert also gave a charter, around 1185, confirming a transaction made 'in curia comitis Britannie'.[99]

There is a curious absence of any attestations by the head of the fifth eastern diocese, the archbishop of Dol. One would certainly expect the archbishop to have supported Duke Geoffrey as Henry II's successor. It is safe to assume that Rolland of Pisa, the archbishop of Dol from 1177 to 1187 or 1188, would have attested ducal charters if he had been present in Brittany. Both his advocacy of the metropolitan status of Dol and his commitments as papal legate, and then cardinal, meant that Rolland spent much of the time between 1181 and his death in 1187/8 in Rome and elsewhere. He was only able to participate in the inquest ordered by Henry II, in October 1181, during a brief visit to Dol *en route* between Rome and a papal legation to Scotland.[100]

The absence of the four western bishops, Saint-Brieuc, Tréguier, Léon and Quimper, is subject to several possible explanations. One is distance; the bishops of Rennes, Saint-Malo, Vannes and Nantes were more likely to be present when the ducal *curia* was at Rennes or Nantes

[96] AN ms L974. [97] 'Cart. St-Melaine', folios 186r, and v.
[98] *Charters*, no. Ge 18. [99] *Charters*, no. Ge 20; AN ms L977.
[100] For the career of Rolland of Pisa see F. Duine (ed.), *La Bretagne et les pays celtiques*, XII, *La métropole de Bretagne: 'Chronique de Dol' composée au XIe siècle et catalogues des dignitaires jusqu'a la révolution*, Paris, 1916, pp. 131–4. See *Enquête*, p. 77, and the charters of Archbishop Rolland (*Enquête*, Appendices I and II), which establish that he was at Dol in or shortly before October 1181 and again in 1184.

(these being the only locations in Brittany where charters of Duke Geoffrey are known to have been made).

The absence of the bishop of Quimper from the ducal *curia* is the most surprising, since the diocese had long been under ducal control. Bishop Geoffrey, who may have been elected under the auspices of either Conan IV or Henry II, died in 1184 or 1185. The absence of a bishop of Quimper in the 'Assize of Count Geoffrey' may therefore be due to Bishop Geoffrey's ill-health or recent death and vacancy of the see. That his successor, Theobald, was still not consecrated in 1187 suggests there was some dispute over his election, which would have prevented Bishop Geoffrey's immediate successor from attesting ducal acts before the duke's death in August 1186.

As to the remaining three dioceses, occupying the north-west of Brittany, the absence of the bishops from the ducal *curia* may be explained by hostility to ducal authority. Ivo, bishop of Léon, could have been appointed by Duke Geoffrey, since his predecessor, Guy, was alive in 1179, the year Geoffrey took Léon into his own hand. However, the only known act of Bishop Ivo is a charter recording, with a note of satisfaction, the determination of a dispute which went against Duke Geoffrey's officers in Morlaix.[101] Furthermore, despite the close control previously exercised by the lords of Léon, after the death of bishop Hamo in 1171 it appears that elections were conducted canonically (notwithstanding Robert de Torigni's allegations of simony against Bishop Guy). Geoffrey, bishop of Tréguier, had been a courtier of Conan IV,[102] and must have been elected under the lordship of *comes* Henry, whose son Duke Geoffrey disinherited in 1182/3. Geoffrey, bishop of Saint-Brieuc, must also have been a seignorial candidate, since the regalian right was still held by the lord of Lamballe.[103]

Finally, it should be noted that Duke Geoffrey's accession to the county of Nantes in 1185/6 had profound effects upon the church there, the county being effectively coterminous with the diocese.[104] The county had experienced considerable political instability ever since the death of Conan III in 1148. Conan's death had a more profound effect here than elsewhere in Brittany, since Nantes seems to have been the duke's principal and preferred place of residence. The decade following Conan III's death saw a rapid succession of lords: Count Hoël, who had to defend his position against Eudo de Porhoët,

[101] See note 64.

[102] As Geoffrey son of Loes, a burgess of Guingamp (RT, II, p. 79), he attested several charters of Conan IV at Guingamp (*EYC*, IV, nos. 58, 61, 63, 64, and 70).

[103] 'Inquisitio . . . de Avaugour', pp.107, 108, 112, 113, 115, 118.

[104] 'Actes de Buzay', 'Introduction', pp. lviii–lix.

Geoffrey the younger brother of Henry II, Conan IV briefly in 1158, and finally Henry II. Henry II, as has been discussed above, ruled the county as an absentee, represented by professional ministers who originated in and served him in other provinces as well.

The abbey of Buzay, at least, consistently sought the patronage of the bishops of Nantes rather than the secular authority throughout this period.[105] This period of instability and 'foreign' domination, or at least remote royal authority, coincided precisely with the long and stable episcopates of Bernard d'Escoublac (*c.* 1148–69) and his nephew Robert (1170–1184 or 1185), who were popular, respected, and natives of the county of Nantes. The government of the church of Nantes was thus in complete contrast with the secular government, and Buzay, at least, put its faith in the former.

With the death of Bishop Robert at the end of 1184 and the arrival of Duke Geoffrey in 1185, the situation was reversed. The see remained vacant for some months before the election of Maurice de Blason, a Poitevin. In contrast, Duke Geoffrey represented a return to stable and local secular government, his premature death the next year not then being foreseeable. In these circumstances, the abbey of Buzay obtained Duke Geoffrey's confirmation of a grant by a tenant of ducal domain at Nantes.[106] It was the first time Buzay had obtained confirmation of a grant other than from the bishop since the death of Conan III.

In his government of Brittany, Duke Geoffrey maintained a consistent policy of harmony with the Breton barons. Whether individual barons were personally loyal to Constance as heiress of the native ducal dynasty, rather than to Geoffrey, was never put to the test. Duke Geoffrey did not attempt to impose financial or military obligations upon the barons, he agreed to preserve their customary law of succession, he took their counsel in his court and appointed them to high office in his administration. Similarly, Geoffrey did not interfere to any great extent with the church, and the bishops of at least the four eastern dioceses attended his court. This state of harmony was conducive to Geoffrey pursuing his wider ambitions, with the co-operation and support of the Breton magnates, lay and ecclesiastical.

[105] 'Actes de Buzay', 'Introduction', pp. lviii–lix. [106] *Charters*, no. Ge 29.

5

DUKE GEOFFREY, HENRY II AND THE ANGEVIN EMPIRE

The previous chapter demonstrated Duke Geoffrey's able performance as Henry II's lieutenant in Brittany from 1175 to 1181, and his competent government of the duchy from 1181 to 1186. This aspect of Geoffrey's career has been overlooked by contemporary chroniclers and modern historians alike, their only interest in Geoffrey arising from his role in Angevin politics and hence his activities outside Brittany. Failure to have regard to Geoffrey's reign as duke of Brittany, or to attempt to interpret the events of *c.* 1173 to 1186 from Geoffrey's own perspective, inevitably leads to misconceptions.

In assessing Geoffrey's career, modern writers have been over-influenced by two contemporary authors, Roger of Howden and Gerald of Wales, accepting certain statements made by them at face-value as the principal evidence for Geoffrey's character and motivations.[1] This acceptance has been possible because no study to date has focused on Geoffrey himself. Works on the Angevin empire are either general, in which case Geoffrey and Brittany are relegated to a minor role, included for the sake of comprehensiveness, or about particular members of the Angevin royal family, Henry II, Richard or John, in which case Geoffrey's role is as a supporting character, mentioned only when his conduct impinges on the career of the central character.

To be fair to historians, this is the context in which Geoffrey appears in the available contemporary literary sources. This is due to the fact that there are no Breton chronicles for the second half of the twelfth century, and chroniclers writing outside Brittany were not interested in recording the duchy's internal politics. The opinions expressed by

[1] RH, II, pp. 276–7; *Gesta*, I, pp. 297–8; Gerald of Wales, 'Topographia Hibernica', *distinctio* III, *cap.* LII (J. F. Dimock (ed.), *Giraldi Cambrensis, Topographia Hibernica et Expugnatio Hibernica.* Rolls Series. London, 1867, pp. 199–201). This passage was reused by Gerald of Wales in 'De principis instructione', *distinctio* II, *cap.* XI (G. F. Werner (ed.), *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera, VIII, De principis instructione liber*, Rolls Series, London, 1891, pp. 177–9).

Roger of Howden and Gerald of Wales are so credible because they harmonize with other literary sources, which only mention Geoffrey in the context of Angevin family politics. Rebellions, with their battles, negotiations and treaties, were the sorts of matters recorded by contemporary chroniclers. The greater part of Geoffrey's political career, which was spent furthering Henry II's interests, and his own, in Brittany, is largely unrecorded. The evidence for Geoffrey's loyalty to Henry II can only be deduced from his pursuit of military campaigns in Brittany on Henry II's orders and his attestations of Henry II's charters.

It is necessary, then, to review the sources which have had such a misleading influence. Roger of Howden's chronicles are one of the principal literary sources for Geoffrey's career, and the majority of Howden's references to Geoffrey's activities are quite neutral. Howden could even be positive about Geoffrey, as for instance in the account of his journey with Richard to attend Henry II's Easter court at Winchester in 1176. Howden records approvingly that Richard and Geoffrey declined to travel on Good Friday, and that on their arrival at Winchester they were met by Henry II and his court with great rejoicing.[2] What has so damned Geoffrey in the eyes of historians is Howden's use of the epithets 'filius iniquitatis' and 'filius perditionis'.[3] Howden applies these to Geoffrey only in the context of the 1183 rebellion, and nowhere else. In defying Henry II, Geoffrey was in fundamental breach of his obligations both as a son and as a vassal. In the course of the rebellion, men under Geoffrey's command fired arrows at the king's person, attacked messengers under truce and plundered churches. Roger of Howden, as a royal courtier and a cleric, could not but condemn such conduct, but this is the only instance in which he expressly criticises Geoffrey.

In his 'Topographia Hibernica', Gerald of Wales composed a character-portrait of Geoffrey so detailed as to be the envy of anyone attempting the biography of a twelfth-century figure. Gerald tells us that Geoffrey was moderately attractive, although rather short in stature. He was exceptionally eloquent, intelligent and not easily deceived.[4] Elsewhere, Gerald reports a speech supposedly made by Geoffrey to an emissary sent by Henry II during the 1173 revolt, in which Geoffrey conjures with the word 'hereditarius' to make the point that familial discord is an inherited Angevin family trait.[5] Although the story is no doubt apocryphal, it is significant that Gerald chose Geoffrey, out of Henry II's four sons, to deliver such an eloquent speech. Gerald's

[2] *Gesta*, p. 114–5.
[3] RH, II, pp. 276–7; *Gesta*, pp. 297 ('filius proditionis') and 298.
[4] See above, note 1.
[5] Werner (ed.), 'De principis instructione', p. 302.

emphasis on Geoffrey's eloquence is also consistent with the fact that Geoffrey was a keen patron of poetry, in both the *langue d'oc* and the *langue d'oïl*, and may have composed lyrics himself.[6]

Gerald credits Geoffrey with both cunning and bravery in warfare.[7] Gerald also describes Geoffrey as 'plene instructus' in military matters, but this is in comparison with John, who was still under instruction. Elsewhere, Gerald describes Geoffrey as a 'miles egregius'. Geoffrey's dedication to perfecting his military skills was also noted by Roger of Howden.[8]

On the negative side, Geoffrey used his eloquence to destructive ends. According to Gerald, it was by his eloquence and persuasive words that Geoffrey had roused Philip Augustus and his people into military action against Henry II and Richard in 1186.[9] Geoffrey was remarkably diligent in deceit and pretence. He was a bitter and ungrateful son, overly influenced by the Young King, although elsewhere Gerald alleged Geoffrey himself was responsible for the rebellion of 1183.[10]

It is tempting to treat the description of Geoffrey in 'Topographia Hibernica' as a true portrait. The description, however, belongs in a particular literary context. It is not a portrait of Geoffrey alone, but a comparison between Geoffrey and John. Gerald has, therefore, focused on the similarities and differences between Henry II's two youngest sons, rather than upon them as individuals, and the similarities and differences have been exaggerated for effect. Furthermore, the chapter on Geoffrey and John forms part of a longer section describing all four of Henry II's sons.[11]

The principal consideration which dictates against a literal reading of the passage, though, is the author's moral purpose, set out most clearly in his 'De principis instructione'. This does not purport to be a work of history but a literary work on the theme of hubris, on the rise and fall of princes and specifically of Henry II. In this literary scheme, the king's

[6] Duke Geoffrey's role as literary patron, inspiration and composer is comprehensively treated in the unpublished doctoral thesis of K.P. Carter, 'Arthur I, duke of Brittany, in history and literature' (Florida State University, 1996), pp. 350–63. See also G. Gouiran, 'Bertran de Born et le comte Geoffroy de Bretagne', in P.T. Ricketts (ed.), *Actes du premier congrès international de l'association internationale d'études occitanes*, London, 1987, 229–41.

[7] In Gerald's classical metaphor, the qualities of Ulysses as much as those of Achilles ('Topographia Hibernica', p. 200; Werner (ed.), 'De principis instructione', p. 178).

[8] Werner (ed.), 'De principis instructione', p. 172; RH, II, p. 166; *Gesta*, p. 207.

[9] 'Topographia Hibernica', p. 200; Werner (ed.), 'De principis instructione', pp. 176, 178.

[10] Werner (ed.), 'De principis instructione', p. 172.

[11] 'Topographia Hibernica', *distinctio* III, *cap.* XLIX–LII. In Werner (ed.), 'De principis instructione', *distinctio* II, *cap.* VIII–XI, the same passages are reused, in a different order, but with a particular moral theme, which is expressed at the end of *cap.* XI.

sons do not act with free will, but are merely the agents of the 'Divine judgment' to which Henry II is subject.[12] Gerald's literary purpose is to set up Geoffrey and John as noble princes, of exceptional promise and talent, then to expose the serious flaws in their characters. The moral, dramatically expressed in the conclusion to this passage, is that Henry II and his sons should have been a formidable team but, for his sins, the sons betrayed him and were cut down in their prime and Henry II was ruined.[13]

Neither Roger of Howden nor Gerald of Wales, therefore, purports to give an account of Geoffrey's personal motivations. Both are interested only in Geoffrey's interactions with the principal subject of their works, Henry II. Consequently, in both sources Geoffrey appears as a strangely shallow personality, characterised by evil and apparently motiveless treachery. The account of Geoffrey's career set out in Chapter 4 demonstrates that this cannot be an accurate representation.

It remains to examine in detail Geoffrey's career in Angevin family politics. Since the contemporary sources do not provide any analysis, how can Geoffrey's political purposes be determined? Possibly by reference to the nature of the 'Angevin empire' and what Henry II anticipated should happen to it after his death.[14] If it was the intention of Henry II to pass on lordship of his dominions undivided to his eldest son, with the younger sons holding their lands of the eldest in some sort of dependent status, then Geoffrey had no realistic prospect of succeeding to this superior lordship. His brother Henry was bound to produce heirs. In the unlikely event that this did not occur, Richard was the next in line. Even if Henry II intended to divide his lands between his sons, the intention was that Henry, as eldest, would succeed to the patrimonial lands of England, Normandy and Anjou, Richard to Aquitaine and Geoffrey to Brittany. Geoffrey's portion was undeniably generous for a third son.

Thus arguments about the nature of the Angevin empire do not seem relevant in Geoffrey's case. Until the death of the Young King Henry, at least, Geoffrey's position is quite clear. He was destined from infancy to be duke of Brittany. He was to hold Brittany of the Young King as duke of Normandy, an arrangement which was clearly intended to survive Henry II's death. Geoffrey rendered homage for Brittany to the

[12] R. Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales, 1146–1223*, Oxford, 1982, pp. 69–76, 84.

[13] Werner (ed.), 'De principis instructione', p. 179.

[14] See, for example, J. C. Holt, 'The end of the Anglo-Norman realm', in *Magna Carta and medieval government*, London, 1985, pp. 39–42; J. Le Patourel, 'Angevin Successions and the Angevin Empire', in M. Jones (ed.), *Feudal empires, Norman and Plantagenet*, London, 1984; and J. Gillingham, *The Angevin Empire*, London, 1984, ch. 3, 'Dynastic Structure'.

Young King in 1169 and again in January 1183.[15] This was no more than the fulfilment of the tradition, nurtured by Henry II, of the subordination of the duke of Brittany to the duke of Normandy. Henry II cannot have intended that Brittany should be held independently of Normandy, that is, directly of the king of France, otherwise Geoffrey would have rendered homage to the king of France, instead of to the Young King, in 1169 and 1183. Geoffrey and his heirs were, therefore, destined to hold Brittany of Henry II's eldest surviving son and his heirs. Geoffrey can have had no realistic ambitions beyond this.

Instead, I would argue that Geoffrey's politics can be explained simply in terms of the endowment of lands which had been promised to him in infancy: the county of Nantes, the duchy of Brittany and the honour of Richmond. The explanation for Geoffrey's piecemeal accession lies in the political divisions of Brittany, in the process by which Henry II himself acquired lordship of Brittany, and in the arrangements made for Geoffrey to succeed his father there. First, Henry II had acquired the county of Nantes. Then, in 1166, Conan IV had granted him all of Brittany as the *maritagium* of Constance. Conan's death in 1171 meant that the remainder of Constance's inheritance, the barony of Tréguier and the honour of Richmond, fell into the king's hand.

The possession and enjoyment of the constituent parts of this endowment was the consistent goal of Geoffrey's politics, at least until the last months of his life. Geoffrey had been allocated a generous endowment in theory, but Henry II proved reluctant to allow him to enjoy it in practice. This reluctance was the cause of Geoffrey's notorious rebellions against his father. They were not the motiveless acts of malice portrayed by the chroniclers. Much of this struggle took place outside Brittany itself because it was necessary for Geoffrey to campaign, both by war and by diplomacy, in theatres outside the borders of Brittany. His political ambitions were, however, no more grandiose than the acquisition of that which he had been promised and the consolidation of the duchy of Brittany in his own hands, for the benefit of his heirs.

Geoffrey's transition from being a landless younger son to one who enjoyed all the historic rights of the dukes of Brittany comprised three stages. First, in 1181, Henry II allowed Geoffrey to marry Constance and to assume lordship of most of Brittany, but retained the county of Nantes and the honour of Richmond in his own hand. Two years later, he yielded the honour of Richmond.[16] Finally, in 1185 or early 1186,

[15] RT, II, p. 10–12; RH, II, p. 273; *Gesta*, p. 291; RD, II, p. 18.
[16] *Pipe Roll 29 Henry II*, p. 56; *EYC*, IV, pp. 111–2.

Henry II allowed Geoffrey to assume lordship of the county of Nantes. The process thus lasted for several years and was undoubtedly the cause of conflict between father and son. Since this has not previously been described in detail (although it was noted by Professor Le Patourel in his unpublished 'Plantagenet rule in Brittany to 1205'), it requires further examination here.

In 1181, Geoffrey assumed the title 'dux Britannie et comes Richemundie'. For the first time he was able to exercise lordship over some land in his own right. In fact, though, Geoffrey acquired lordship only of the counties of Rennes and Cornouaille, the Broërec and the barony of Léon. The second part of his title had no substance at all since the king retained the honour of Richmond in his own hands. The honour of Richmond, although it was the patrimony of Conan IV, was excluded from the arrangements regarding the succession to Brittany made in 1166. After 1171, Henry II, as king of England, could retain Richmond in his own hand indefinitely, subject only to any rights pertaining to Constance as heiress.[17] His grant to Geoffrey of the revenues of the manor of Cheshunt in 1177 must, however, indicate acknowledgement that Geoffrey had some claim to the honour.[18] Yet the Richmond lands remained in the king's hand until Michaelmas 1183, two years after Geoffrey's accession to the duchy of Brittany.

The county of Nantes was also treated differently from the rest of Brittany, but for different reasons. Conan IV's claim to hereditary right in respect of Nantes was dubious, and Henry II could match it with his own claim to be the heir of his younger brother. Moreover, in 1158 Conan seems to have yielded unconditionally to Henry II those parts of the county he had briefly occupied. Consequently, Henry II was justified in not treating the county as Constance's *maritagium* or inheritance, and hence in not granting it to Geoffrey in 1181.

Geoffrey had two possible grounds for claiming the county of Nantes. The first is that it might have become part of Constance's inheritance. The fate of Count Hoël after he left Nantes in 1156 is unknown, but he is not known to have had any legitimate issue, and was in the company of Duke Conan IV in England probably in 1164.[19] If Hoël had died without legitimate issue, Constance, his great-niece, would have been his heiress. In view of the irregular manner in which the comital/ducal dynasty had been ousted from Nantes by the Angevins, Hoël's heir had at least an arguable claim to be reinstated

[17] See J.C. Holt, 'Feudal society and the family in early medieval England: II, Notions of patrimony', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 5th series, 33 (1983), 193–220, reprinted in *Colonial England, 1066–1215*, London, 1997.

[18] *Pipe Roll 24 Henry II*, p. 72. [19] BN ms fr. 22362, f. 7.

there. Even if this were not so, if in fact Henry II had designated Nantes as Geoffrey's portion from as early as 1158, prior to his betrothal to Constance, Geoffrey may have felt he had a moral right to possession of the county.

When Henry II acquired the county of Nantes in 1158 he almost certainly intended it as provision for Geoffrey. The association of Geoffrey with Henry II's regime in Nantes, manifested by Geoffrey's appearance at the Christmas court held there in 1169, indicates that, even after the settlement of 1166, Geoffrey was expected to become count of Nantes. At some point, however, Henry II decided against giving Geoffrey both the county of Nantes and the rest of Brittany. This may have been in the aftermath of the 1173 revolt, since in one version of the treaty of Falaise, 'Media' is expressly excluded from Geoffrey's portion.[20]

The king was under no obligation to give the county of Nantes to Geoffrey and Constance on their marriage, and it seems to me that he did not. This decision may have surprised contemporaries. A charter concerning property of Fontevraud in the county of Nantes, dated 1181, prescribes that the seals of Robert bishop of Nantes, Geoffrey 'dux Britannie' and Peter fitzGuy, seneschal of Nantes, should be attached.[21] It appears that when the document was drafted, no later than August 1181, the nuns of Fontevraud thought that Geoffrey would be exercising ducal authority in the county of Nantes, although they were also aware that Henry II's seneschal still held office there. In fact only the seals of the bishop and the seneschal were ever attached.[22] It appears that Henry II retained the county of Nantes in his own hands until 1185 or even early 1186.

There are only two known charters of Geoffrey made at Nantes. One is dated 1186, the other is undated, but there is no evidence which requires it to have been made before 1186. Nor are there any acts of Duke Geoffrey concerning monasteries or property situated in the county of Nantes dated before 1186. No barons of the county of Nantes appear as witnesses to ducal charters except in the two charters made at Nantes just mentioned. If Geoffrey had acquired lordship of Nantes in 1181, it would be extraordinary if he did not visit the city, probably the largest and wealthiest of his domains, for five years, or that monasteries

[20] *Actes de Henri II*, no. CCCCLXIX.

[21] I am extremely grateful to Professor Sir James Holt for bringing to my attention the original manuscript, AD Maine-et-Loire, 158 H1, no. 3.

[22] An eighteenth-century copy of this charter (BN ms latin 5840, p. 117) describes the two seals which were attached to the original manuscript as those of the bishop and the seneschal. The original charter (see note above) bears traces of the attachment of only two seals.

there should not have sought his patronage. In fact, the abbey of Buzay did seek Duke Geoffrey's patronage, but not until 1186.[23] Meanwhile, Peter fitzGuy was seneschal of Nantes until at least 1183, and there was still a royal seneschal of Nantes in 1185.

There is insufficient evidence to determine precisely when Henry II transferred lordship of Nantes to Geoffrey. The earliest possible date is 1185 since Henry II's seneschal was still at Nantes during that year. Geoffrey was high in his father's favour in the early months of 1185. Henry II had made him 'custodian' of Normandy at the end of 1184 and in April 1185 the king came to Geoffrey's defence against Richard. Richard's aggression, probably directed against the county of Nantes, may have precipitated the transfer. Once it was in his possession, Geoffrey certainly wasted no time in fortifying the city of Nantes. One of the charters made at Nantes records that Geoffrey has damaged the vineyard of the priory of Saint-Cyr de Nantes by extending the fortifications of the city. This extension of the walls, from the north-eastern corner of the Roman wall to the bank of the Erdre, corresponds with the course of the new city wall attributed to Dukes Guy de Thouars and Peter de Dreux in the early thirteenth century, but this charter indicates these works began under Geoffrey.[24]

Henry II's hesitation in granting Geoffrey all of his endowment is understandable. The county of Nantes would have been respectable provision for a younger son, the duchy of Brittany and the honour of Richmond generous, but the combination of all three was perhaps excessive. Together, Nantes and the rest of Brittany had common borders with all of Henry II's continental dominions. This gave their possessor the potential to engage in military action in any of these territories, and for rebels from all of them to take refuge in Brittany. Their combined wealth, and the strategic position of Nantes, might have encouraged Geoffrey to defy his father and elder brothers, which is, in fact, what happened in 1186.

The turning-point in Geoffrey's career was his marriage and accession to the duchy of Brittany in 1181. Until then, Geoffrey had been obliged to maintain his father's favour in order to secure possession of the lands which had been promised him. Although Geoffrey was betrothed to Constance when he was eight, until they were married and Geoffrey became duke of Brittany *jure uxoris*, the betrothal could be quashed by

[23] See pp. 121–2.

[24] *Charters*, no. Ge 28; A. Chédeville and N.-Y. Tonnerre, *La Bretagne féodale, XIe-XIIIe siècles*, Rennes, 1987, pp. 423–4; N.-Y. Tonnerre, *Naissance de la Bretagne: Géographie historique et structures sociales de la Bretagne méridionale (Nantais et Vannetais) de la fin du VIIIe à la fin du XIIe siècle*, Angers, 1994, pp. 529, 540.

Henry II, especially after the death of the bride's father in 1171, and the proposed disposition of these lands rearranged. Constance could just as well have been given to Richard or John if Henry II had willed it.[25] Geoffrey was completely dependent on his father's favour towards him.

In 1181, two fundamental changes occurred. Firstly, it became manifest that Henry II did not intend to give Geoffrey all of his lands at once, if at all. Secondly, with his possession of Brittany (albeit without Nantes), the balance of power moved in Geoffrey's favour. Having married the heiress, he could not easily be ousted from Brittany, even by Henry II himself.[26] For the first time, Geoffrey possessed lands, and hence the source of finance and armed men. Instead of being entirely dependent upon his father's goodwill, Geoffrey now had the capacity to achieve his ends by military means. Secure in his possession of Brittany, after 1181, Geoffrey was at last able to defy his father instead of appeasing him.

Geoffrey's military prowess was noted by contemporaries. He had gained military experience both in tournaments and in the field, having led Breton knights on campaign in Brittany, under Henry II's orders, in 1175, 1177 and 1179.[27] Possession of most of Brittany gave Geoffrey sufficient revenue and manpower to launch military campaigns outside the duchy for the first time.[28] Geoffrey used his new-found power within months of his accession, in attacking Rennes when it was occupied by Henry II's men and sacking Becherel. His assistance was undoubtedly crucial to the Young King Henry's revolt of 1183.

Perhaps, in the later months of 1181, Geoffrey began to assert that, since he was now married to Constance, he was entitled *jure uxoris* to the honour of Richmond and the county of Nantes. For both financial and strategic reasons, Henry II was not ready to deliver them to him. This would explain the military conflict in the county of Rennes, between Geoffrey and Henry II's troops, described so obtusely by Robert de Torigni around 1182.[29]

Geoffrey was reconciled with his father by June 1182 and possibly spent the rest of that year with him.[30] In this period, Geoffrey continued to press his case and Henry II did not show any signs of acceding to his demands.

[25] J. Gillingham, *Richard the Lionheart*, 2nd edn, London, 1989, p. 51.
[26] W. L. Warren, *Henry II*, London, 1973, p. 597.
[27] RH, II, p. 166; *Gesta*, p. 207; P. Meyer (ed.), *L'histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal*, Paris, 1891–1901, I, lines 4841, 4919 and III, p. 63.
[28] Warren, *Henry II*, pp. 592, 596.
[29] RT, II, p. 115.
[30] Chronicle of Geoffrey de Vigeois (*RHF*, XVIII, p. 212); *Actes de Henri II*, no. DCXVII; RH, II, p. 273; *Gesta*, p. 291; RT, II, p. 117.

It was in these circumstances that, by January 1183, Geoffrey had transferred his loyalty to the Young King Henry. The actual events of the 1183 rebellion, so far as they concerned Geoffrey, are difficult to reconstruct, since the various chroniclers' accounts are difficult to collate into a coherent sequence of events. The account given by Professor John Gillingham in his recent (1999) biography of Richard I is extremely valuable for the course of the rebellion, and hence the following narrative focuses principally on Geoffrey's participation. A crisis was developing between the Young King Henry and Richard before Christmas 1182. Geoffrey may have started to conspire with the Young King as early as mid-1182, when both were in Aquitaine. In January 1183, Richard left Henry II's court having refused to render homage for Aquitaine to the Young King. The latter immediately despatched Geoffrey to Brittany to muster troops.[31] This was accomplished so rapidly as to suggest that arrangements had been made in advance. According to Roger of Howden, Geoffrey's forces attacked Richard's territory, burning and taking booty. Richard reciprocated by doing the same to the lands of Geoffrey's men and executing any members of their households ('familia') who fell into his hands.[32] According to Gerald of Wales, Geoffrey led this force himself, attacking land on the borders of Normandy and Anjou.[33] These accounts are contradictory in that Richard's territory lying adjacent to Brittany was Poitou, not Normandy and Anjou. The latter location is more plausible, since without the county of Nantes, the Bretons under Geoffrey would not have had access to Poitou. They did, however, have ample access to the borders of Normandy and Anjou, from the frontier baronies of Fougères, Vitré, La Guerche and Châteaubriant. This action would have been effective as a diversion of Henry II and Richard's forces to enable the Young King to consolidate his position in Poitou. This certainly occurred, the Young King having hastened to Poitou in the meantime and seized several castles.[34]

This conflict was brought to a halt by Henry II, who convened a meeting at Angers at which the brothers made peace. It was felt that this peace would have no lasting effect unless the rebellious Aquitanian barons were made party to it, and Henry II proposed a meeting to be held at Mirebeau for this purpose. He then despatched Geoffrey to Aquitaine to summon the barons to this meeting and arrange a truce in the meantime.[35]

The rebellion now entered its second and more serious stage. Instead

[31] RH, II, p. 274; *Gesta*, p. 293. [32] *Gesta*, pp. 292–3.
[33] Werner (ed.), 'De principis instructione', p. 172.
[34] *Gesta*, p. 292. [35] RH, II, p. 274; *Gesta*, p. 295.

of carrying out his mission, Geoffrey joined forces with the rebellious barons. Arriving at Limoges on 2 February 1183, Geoffrey made his headquarters at the citadel of Saint-Martial there, and was soon joined by the Young King.[36] Again, the events suggests that this was arranged between the two brothers before Geoffrey left Angers. They had assembled an impressive force, predominantly of Aquitanian barons and mercenaries, but also including some of Geoffrey's own courtiers and household knights.[37]

The forces assembled against Richard were such that Henry II feared for Richard's safety and himself travelled to Limoges. On the arrival of Henry II with a small company, the rebels fought them off with swords and arrows, one of which hit the king himself.[38] Henry II withdrew to Richard's headquarters at Aixe, his forces not being expected to arrive for several weeks. Henry II and Richard returned to Limoges on 1 March and besieged the citadel of Saint-Martial.[39] From the account of Roger of Howden, this seems to have proceeded more as a stand-off than an active siege. Both the Young King and Geoffrey were able to leave the citadel of Saint-Martial from time to time to plunder the surrounding area to pay their mercenaries.[40]

Howden's account is focused on the parties' attempts to negotiate peace. On one occasion, when Henry II crossed to the citadel of Saint-Martial to parley with his sons, the defenders once more fired arrows at him, this time striking his horse.[41] The Young King then went over to the episcopal citadel to make peace, spending several days with his father.[42] After the Young King had made peace with Henry II, then broken it, it was Geoffrey's turn. Geoffrey left the citadel of Saint-Martial, made peace with his father, then asked permission to return there solely for the purpose of persuading the rebels to make peace. Instead, Geoffrey plundered the abbey of Saint-Martial and carried the booty back to his father. Henry II having agreed to a further day's truce, the next day Geoffrey defected, declared the truce void and used the

[36] Geoffrey de Vigeois (*RHF*, xviii) p. 213. For the topography of Limoges, with its dual citadels, the *castrum* of Saint-Martial (occupied by the abbey of Saint-Martial and the viscount of Limoges) and the *civitas* of Saint-Etienne (occupied by the bishop of Limoges), see L. Pérouas, *Histoire de Limoges*, Toulouse, 1989, ch. 3, and Gillingham, *Richard I*, pp. 54–5. Geoffrey de Vigeois makes it clear that the support of Ademar, viscount of Limoges, was crucial to the rebellion.

[37] See pp. 106, 135.

[38] RH, ii, pp. 275–6; *Gesta*, pp. 295–6. cf. Geoffey de Vigeois (*RHF*, xviii, p. 213E), where it is explained that the attack on the king was unintended.

[39] Geoffrey de Vigeois, p. 215D.

[40] RH, ii, p. 276; *Gesta*, p. 297; Geoffrey de Vigeois (*RHF*, xviii) p. 217.

[41] RH, ii, pp. 275–6; *Gesta*, p. 296.

[42] RH, ii, p. 276; *Gesta*, p. 297–8.

booty from Saint-Martial to pay his mercenaries.[43] One cannot help feeling that Howden's narrative at this point is missing something, with too much emphasis on specific instances of the Young King and Geoffrey's treachery and plundering of churches, at the expense of any explanation of their political goals.

Another source illustrates Geoffrey's role. According to the 'Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal', when Henry II first arrived outside Limoges, the Young King was thrown into a state of confusion. He met with Geoffrey and some of the leading Aquitanian barons and asked Geoffrey for his advice. The poet gives Geoffrey quite a long speech, to the effect that there is no one he can trust to give good advice. Then one of the barons, Geoffrey de Lusignan, speaks with Geoffrey, recommending they seek the aid of the poem's hero, William the Marshall.[44] This anecdote demonstrates not only that the Young King relied upon Geoffrey's advice, but also that Geoffrey's judgment was respected to the extent that others discussed matters with him before putting them to the Young King himself. This role is reflected in two aspects of Howden's account of events at Limoges. Firstly, on making peace with his father, the Young King claims that whatever he has done has been on Geoffrey's advice.[45] Secondly, there is Geoffrey's offer, on having made peace with Henry II, to return to the rebel camp in order to persuade his former allies to submit.[46]

The rebellion was abruptly terminated by the Young King's death on 11 June 1183.[47] Henry II took the citadel of Saint-Martial on 24 June but there is no record of Geoffrey's movements at this time.[48] He had no choice but to seek reconciliation with his father. According to Roger of Howden, on Henry II's summons, Geoffrey came to Angers, probably in July 1183. There he made peace with his father, and took an oath of fidelity to him. As punishment, Henry II seized all of Geoffrey's castles and fortifications in Brittany.[49]

[43] RH, II, pp. 277–8; *Gesta*, p. 299. cf. Geoffrey de Vigeois (*RHF*, XVIII), p. 216, the treasury of Saint-Martial was plundered by the Young King Henry.

[44] P. Meyer (ed.), *Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal, Comte de Stiguil et de Pembroke, Regent d'Angleterre de 216 à 1219, poème française*, 3 vols., Paris, 1891–1901, I, lines 6408–74 and III, p. 77.

[45] *Gesta*, p. 297, 'quicquid fecerat in hac parte, consilio Gaufridis fratris sui fecerat'.

[46] *Gesta*, p. 299.

[47] Geoffrey de Vigeois (*RHF*, XVIII, pp. 217–8); *Gesta*, p. 301; WN, p. 233; RT, II, p. 120; Gillingham, *Richard the Lionheart*, p. 75.

[48] Geoffrey de Vigeois (*RHF*, XVIII, p. 218); *Gesta*, p. 303.

[49] *Gesta*, p. 304. Unless Geoffrey's castellans and other officers in Brittany were prepared to obey the king's orders, it is unlikely that this was more than a symbolic gesture. In any event, the 'seizure' cannot have lasted for long, because by Michaelmas, Henry II had awarded the honour of Richmond to Geoffrey.

Exactly what benefit Geoffrey hoped to gain from his eldest brother is unclear, but it was certainly not instant reward. The Young King's problem was that he did not have any lands of his own to dispose of, and his annual income was insufficient even for his own needs. Indeed, in raising rebellion in Aquitaine in 1183, the Young King sought to oust Richard in order to occupy Aquitaine himself.[50] In the circumstances, Geoffrey can only have hoped to benefit from his brother's future patronage, on the basis that he would soon succeed their father. At the very least, the Young King must have agreed to deliver Richmond and Nantes to Geoffrey as soon as it was in his power to do so.

There is, in fact, some evidence connecting Geoffrey's demands for possession of Richmond and Nantes with his participation in the rebellion. Some of Geoffrey's courtiers, including Reginald Boterel and the twins Alan and Richard of Moulton, held lands in the honour of Richmond which were taken into the king's hand in 1183.[51] The fact that Henry II granted Richmond to Geoffrey in the immediate aftermath of the rebellion also suggests that it had figured amongst Geoffrey's demands.

As to the county of Nantes, Howden relates a story of Geoffrey's ill-treatment of two of Henry II's men sent to him under truce, Oliver fitzErneis and 'Gerus de Musterol', whom Geoffrey had asked for by name.[52] The former was almost certainly the brother of Eudo fitzErneis, Henry II's seneschal of Nantes.[53] They met Geoffrey and some of his men on the bridge at Limoges. In flagrant breach of their status as emissaries, they were attacked while Geoffrey looked on.[54] 'Gerus de Musterol' was beaten with a sword, while Oliver was thrown from the bridge, probably to his death. In the absence of any known connection

[50] Gillingham, *Richard I*, p. 75.

[51] *Pipe Roll 29 Henry II*, pp. 57–8, gives a list of Richmond tenants whose lands were taken into the king's hand for half of the financial year up to Michaelmas 1183. This time-period would correspond with the outbreak of the revolt in the early months of 1183. Ralph son of 'Maldr' (p. 57) is Ralph of Middleton, the ducal chamberlain (*EYC*, iv, p. 142). Ralph the chamberlain, Reginald Boterel and Richard and Alan the twins are all well attested as courtiers of Duke Geoffrey, all having previously served Conan IV. The others in this list (with the exception of William 'Pesche') Alan Dulcis/Ducis, Henry Bertram, Alan Rufus (see *Charters*, no. Ge6), Alan de la Mota ('Mora') and William de Montborcher ('Munbusch'), attested charters of Conan IV (*EYC*, iv, nos. 46, 47, 51, 64). The dower lands of Constance's mother, Margaret, were also seized at this time (p. 58).

[52] RH, ii, p. 277; *Gesta*, pp. 298–9.

[53] Above, p. 82. The relationship is demonstrated by their English landholdings. Oliver received £16 per annum from the manor of Maldon, Essex, by a gift of Henry II made in 1173 (*Pipe Roll 19 Henry II*, p. 12). He held it until mid-1183, when his interest was transferred to Eudo, presumably as Oliver's heir, for the fourth quarter of the year Michaelmas 1182–Michaelmas 1183 (*Pipe Roll 29 Henry II*, p. 19). See L. Landon (ed.), *The Cartæ Antiquæ Rolls 1–10*, Pipe Roll Society, New Series, 17, p. 3.

[54] RH, ii, p. 277; *Gesta*, p. 299.

between Geoffrey and these two knights, it is possible that the ill-treatment of Oliver, at least, was aimed at his brother, the king's seneschal of Nantes.[55]

Gerald of Wales asserts that Geoffrey was the prime mover of the 1183 rebellion.[56] The chronicles of Roger of Howden contain a similar assertion, but it is put into the direct speech of the Young King Henry, on seeking a reconciliation with his father.[57] In the circumstances, even if this were an accurate report of the Young King's words, his sincerity would be highly suspect, since it was in his interest to cast the blame for the rebellion on Geoffrey. Neither writer, however, attempts to explain why Geoffrey should have led his elder brother into a rebellion in Aquitaine. Howden simply characterises Geoffrey as evil and treacherous. This is not a satisfactory explanation; Geoffrey must have had good reasons for undertaking this dangerous strategy. The best source for the military action around Limoges, the chronicle of Geoffrey de Vigeois, hardly mentions Geoffrey, being far more concerned with local politics and the role of the Aquitanian barons.[58]

The Young King nevertheless relied heavily upon Geoffrey for both advice and material support. Afterwards, Geoffrey sought his father's forgiveness for the aid which he had given his brother but not for having inspired the rebellion.[59] Ultimately, the Young King Henry was the focus of the rebellion, as is indicated by its total collapse upon his death. In 1182 Geoffrey judged that the Young King was in the ascendant, and decided to give him active support in the hope of future benefit. If the Young King chose to raise rebellion in Aquitaine, Geoffrey would assist him. Even if they failed to oust Richard from Aquitaine, the show of strength would have the effect of putting pressure on Henry II to yield to Geoffrey's own demands.

The Young King's death changed everything. The division of Henry II's lands between Henry, Richard and Geoffrey, settled since 1169, was redundant. By Michaelmas 1183, Henry II was considering a new settlement. Richard was to give up his direct lordship of Aquitaine and become the heir to England, Normandy and Anjou, and John was to receive Aquitaine from Richard. Geoffrey seems to have accepted this settlement, no doubt mollified by Henry II's concession to him of the honour of Richmond.

After their reconciliation in 1183, Geoffrey remained loyal to his

[55] This presupposes that Eudo fitzErneis had succeeded Peter son of Guy as seneschal of Nantes by this time. Peter son of Guy is last recorded in the office in 1183, Eudo first recorded in 1185.

[56] Werner (ed.), 'De principis instructione', p. 172.

[57] RH, II, p. 276; *Gesta*, p. 297.

[58] *RHF*, XVIII, p. 213.

[59] ' . . . de auxilio quod regi fratri suo contra eum fecerat' (*Gesta*, p. 304).

father, rather than transferring his allegiance to Richard in the place of the Young King. Being second in line of succession was substantially different from being third. Until 1183, Geoffrey had had no prospects of advancement except by the favour of the young Henry when he became king. Now he stood immediately behind Richard, who being bellicose and still unmarried, might die without legitimate issue. It was in Geoffrey's interest to retain Henry II's favour, and events following the Young King's death gave Geoffrey the opportunity to benefit from Richard's contumacy.

When, at Michaelmas 1183, Henry II asked Richard to give Aquitaine to John, Richard refused and withdrew from the king's court. At this, Henry II told John he should take Aquitaine from Richard by force. Whether or not this was meant to be taken seriously and acted upon, in the summer of 1184, Geoffrey and John attacked Poitou.[60] Like the Young King in 1183, John 'Lackland' could not have undertaken this campaign without Geoffrey's material support.

There is no evidence, however, that this was a serious attempt to invade Poitou. Rather it seems to have consisted of border raids, burning and looting, which Richard readily reciprocated against Breton territory. Geoffrey's purpose may have been to demonstrate his loyalty to Henry II and his hostility to the disobedient Richard. Henry II must have at least sanctioned this action by Geoffrey and John. The only common border between Brittany and Aquitaine was the southern border of the county of Nantes. Roger of Howden's assertion that Richard attacked Geoffrey's land can only mean the county of Nantes, unless the attacks were seaborne, between the coast of Poitou and the coast of the Armorican peninsula, which is highly improbable. The county of Nantes remained in Henry II's hands at this time; Geoffrey could only have launched raids from there, and defended it against Richard's attacks, if he had been given royal licence to do so. One is reminded of Geoffrey's campaigns in Brittany, under Henry II's orders, during the 1170s.

The situation was unsatisfactory and, in the autumn of 1184, Henry II summoned the three brothers to England for a family conference. That Geoffrey remained in his father's favour is indicated by the fact that Geoffrey and John were entrusted with a royal mission to the monks of Canterbury regarding the disputed election of the archbishop, which they undertook between 3 and 15 December 1184.[61] Shortly before Christmas, Henry II made peace between his sons in a public show of family unity.[62] It is unfortunate that there is no evidence as to the terms

[60] *Gesta*, p. 319. [61] GC, p. 322. [62] *Gesta*, p. 320.

of any settlement made at this time, since this period marks the zenith of Geoffrey's political success.

Immediately after the family gathering at London, Henry II despatched Geoffrey to Normandy in some sort of viceregal capacity (as 'custos').[63] Richard and John were detained at the royal court. With Richard in extreme disfavour over his refusal to comply with Henry II's wishes regarding Aquitaine, the possibility arose that Henry II might pass over Richard and make Geoffrey his heir for England, Normandy and Greater Anjou. Geoffrey's appointment in Normandy must have seemed only one step away from Henry II acknowledging him as future duke of Normandy. The threat this posed to Richard is indicated by the fact that he left Henry II's court and resumed hostilities against Geoffrey in the early months of 1185.[64]

Unfortunately, nothing is known of Geoffrey's activities in Normandy,[65] and within four months he had returned to Brittany.[66] It is unclear whether this marked the end of his mission in Normandy, or whether Geoffrey was merely visiting Brittany, leaving deputies in Normandy.

During 1185 Henry II must have decided that his interests would be sufficiently protected if he acceded to Geoffrey's demands and gave him lordship of the county of Nantes. The king was ageing and was depending on Geoffrey to control Richard. Witnesses to ducal charters made in Nantes suggest that Geoffrey attracted to his court barons whose lands were situated at the borders of Nantes with the counties of Anjou and Poitou.[67]

Geoffrey's final act of rebellion, his alliance with Philip Augustus, did not occur until several years after the death of the Young King Henry, when the long-standing tripartite division of the Angevin empire was a thing of the past. By the end of 1185, Geoffrey had achieved his lifelong goals; he was now duke of Brittany, including the county of Nantes,

[63] *Gesta*, pp. 320–1. [64] *Gesta*, p. 337.

[65] The only reference to Geoffrey in the extant Norman Exchequer rolls of this period is to a loan of £30 he received before Michaelmas 1184 (T. Stapleton (ed.), *Magni Rotuli Scaccarii Normannie sub regibus Anglie*, 2 vols., London, 1840, I, p. 111), possibly connected with financing the 1183 revolt.

[66] Geoffrey made several charters at Rennes in 1185, one on 19 April (*Charters*, nos. Ge 18, 21–23).

[67] *Charters*, nos. Ge 28, 29, attested by the lords of Vritz, Varades, Maulevrier, Liré, Clisson and Montaigu. The lords of Machecoul also probably recognised Geoffrey's authority (from the presence of Maurice de Liré, Geoffrey's seneschal of Nantes, and William de Clisson, as witnesses to several charters of Bernard de Machecoul, *c.*1185 (AD Ille-et-Vilaine, 1F536)), and a younger son of the lord of Goulaine was a courtier from before 1185. But see below (pp. 141–2), both the work on the fortifications, and the patronage of frontier barons, may have occurred in 1186 in the context of Geoffrey's alliance with Philip Augustus against Henry II and Richard.

and earl of Richmond. What had been generous provision for an infant third son, though, must by now have seemed meagre for the second in line of succession to Henry II. Geoffrey was a proven administrator and military leader, and furthermore the only one of Henry II's sons to have produced any legitimate children.[68] Finally, the acquisition of Nantes improved the balance of power considerably in Geoffrey's favour. Apart from the financial benefits, possession of the county gave Geoffrey direct access by land to all of Henry II's continental territories; Normandy and Maine (from the county of Rennes), Anjou and Poitou (from the county of Nantes), as well as control of the lower reaches of the Loire.

It was only in these circumstances that Geoffrey sought to increase his share of the Angevin domains beyond that which had been allocated to him in infancy. According to William of Newburgh, Geoffrey hoped his father would give him the county of Anjou.[69] Within the first half of 1185, any ambitions Geoffrey may have nurtured of succeeding Henry II to part or all of the Angevin patrimony were quashed. Henry II thought better of disinheriting Richard. In mid-1185, Richard finally surrendered Aquitaine to Eleanor in return for recognition as heir-apparent to England, Normandy and Anjou. In March 1186, Henry II implicitly acknowledged Richard as his heir.[70] Tempting as it may have been to disinherit Richard in favour of Geoffrey, after Henry II's death, Geoffrey would have been placed in the untenable position of defending England, Normandy, Anjou and Brittany against Richard, who would inevitably have sought the aid of Philip Augustus to overthrow him. As an elder son overlooked in favour of a cadet, Richard would have been in a morally justifiable position.

With no further prospect of advancement by Henry II, in late 1185 or early 1186, Geoffrey transferred his allegiance to Philip Augustus. In a sense, this was the continuation of a relationship which dated back to Philip's coronation in 1179, when Geoffrey is said to have rendered homage for Brittany, and which was reinforced when Geoffrey joined his brothers in aiding Philip in 1181.[71]

The details of Geoffrey's relations with Philip Augustus are obscure, as one would expect of a secret alliance which had yet to reach fruition when Geoffrey met his untimely death in August 1186. Geoffrey must have visited the French court at least once in the months before his final

[68] By 1186, Geoffrey and Constance had two daughters, Eleanor and Matilda (M. Craig, 'A second daughter of Geoffrey of Brittany', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 50 (1977), 112–5).
[69] WN, p. 235. [70] Warren, *Henry II*, p. 598; Gillingham, *Richard I*, p. 103.
[71] *RHF*, XIII, p. 683; RD, II, pp. 9–10.

visit.[72] According to Gerald of Wales, Geoffrey had stayed at the French court long enough to win everyone's hearts and minds, to be made 'seneschal of France' and to persuade the king and his counsellors to undertake military action against Henry II and Richard. After this, preparations for this military undertaking had begun.[73] All this cannot have occurred within the space of Geoffrey's final visit in August 1186.

The presence at Geoffrey's court of the Frenchman, Gerard de Fournival, is also indicative of this alliance. Gerard attested ducal charters, apparently as a courtier, at Angers in 1181 and at Winchester in late 1184, and was given land in England by Geoffrey. Gerard also attested Geoffrey's only known charter made at Paris.[74] Without more, this would merely be evidence that he had accompanied Geoffrey to Paris as a courtier. However, the charter is also attested by Gerard's brother, who had never before appeared in Geoffrey's ducal acts, and in the same year, 1186, Gerard was serving Philip Augustus, as one of the 'milites medie manus homines' sent by the French king to Henry II.[75] While one interpretation of these facts is that, finding himself in Paris at Geoffrey's death, Gerard transferred his allegiance to his 'natural' lord, Philip Augustus, another is that Gerard had been serving both for some time before.

The witnesses to Geoffrey's 'Paris' charter provide further circumstantial evidence for the conspiracy. In addition to members of Geoffrey's own entourage (Peter de Dinan, the ducal almoner and a ducal clerk), the charter is attested by several witnesses who are not identifiable as the usual witnesses to Geoffrey's ducal acts or even having any connection with the duchy of Brittany. In fact, some can be identified as members of the Capetian court: Hugo, chaplain of the Paris Temple, William des Barres and possibly even Gerard de Fournival's brother, if he is to be identified with Roger de Fournival, Philip Augustus' physician.[76] These attestations suggest that Geoffrey was not in Paris in a mood of caution and suspicion, surrounding himself with his own men. On the contrary, Geoffrey's presence was open to his hosts. The presence of William des Barres is especially significant. As

[72] Y. Hillion states that Geoffrey visited Paris in February 1186, without citing a source for this ('La Bretagne et la rivalité Capétiens-Plantagenêts, un exemple: La duchesse Constance (1186–1202)', *AB* 92 (1985), 111–44, at 112).

[73] Werner (ed.), 'De principis instructione', p. 176.

[74] *Charters*, no. Ge 30.

[75] RD, II, 43. Gerard must still have been on the Capetian side in 1187 when he attested a charter of Robert de Dreux (AD, Eure-et-Loir, G 1087). See D.J. Power, 'The Norman Frontier in the Twelfth and early Thirteenth Centuries', Ph.D. thesis, University of Cambridge (1994), p. 63.

[76] See below, note 85.

one of the leading Capetian warriors, he would have been an ideal person to represent Philip Augustus in discussions of military strategy.

Finally, there is the evidence of Philip Augustus' distress at Geoffrey's death. Even discounting Gerald of Wales' dramatic account of the king's hysterical outburst of grief at Geoffrey's funeral, Geoffrey was accorded the honour of burial in front of the high altar in the new cathedral of Notre-Dame. The same day Philip Augustus endowed two chaplaincies in the cathedral, 'pro anima dilecti sui comitis Britannie'.[77]

The actual nature of the conspiracy is equally obscure. Roger of Howden records that Geoffrey had gone over to Philip Augustus, offering him hostages for Brittany and boasting that he would lay waste to Normandy.[78] On the other hand, that the plan was to take the county of Anjou from Henry II for the benefit of Geoffrey is suggested by the rumour that Philip Augustus made Geoffrey seneschal of France, an office which, in Angevin mythology at least, belonged to the count of Anjou.[79] The intention clearly was to unite against Henry II and Richard with the aim of acquiring as much of their territory as possible. Whether they intended to attack Normandy, Anjou or both, is a matter of detail. The territory acquired would be held by Geoffrey and his heirs directly of the king of France, no doubt on more onerous terms than it had been held by Geoffrey's Norman and Angevin ancestors. With the benefit of hindsight, Gervase of Canterbury recorded that Geoffrey and Duchess Constance had submitted themselves and their lands to Philip Augustus, and that Henry II had done nothing to prevent it.[80]

Geoffrey's extension of the fortifications of Nantes, and the attestations to ducal charters made there in 1186, were mentioned above in the context of Geoffrey taking possession of the county of Nantes for Henry II. Alternatively, these may be consequences of Geoffrey's alliance with Philip Augustus. As noted above, the baronial witnesses were all men whose lands were at the south-eastern frontiers of the county of Nantes. Maurice de Liré (Geoffrey's seneschal of Nantes) and William de Clisson were barons of the county of Nantes. Brient de Varades and Oliver de Vritz held small baronies on the Angevin frontier north of the Loire. Maurice de Montaigu's barony was situated in the marches of the counties of Poitou and Nantes, and he had interests in

[77] Werner (ed.), 'De principis instructione', p. 176; Rigord, pp. 68–9; A. de Bouard, 'Une diplôme de Philippe Auguste', *Le Moyen Age* 26 (1924), 66–9.

[78] *Gesta*, p. 350.

[79] Werner (ed.), 'De principis instructione', p. 176. William of Newburgh (p. 235) also indicates Geoffrey was interested in the county of Anjou.

[80] GC, I, p. 336.

both. William de Maulevrier, however, was a baron of the county of Anjou.[81] The attestations to these two charters indicate that Geoffrey attracted the frontier-barons to his court at Nantes. This may have been because he did not trust them, and required the security of their presence at court, or alternatively that the frontier-barons were allied with Geoffrey against Henry II and Richard.

After at least one visit to Paris, in 1186 Geoffrey returned to Brittany and began making preparations for war with Henry II and Richard. If he had not done so in the previous months, Geoffrey extended the fortifications of the city of Nantes. He assured himself of the loyalty of the barons of the southern and eastern frontiers of the county of Nantes, who now attended his court at Nantes. Then in August 1186 he returned to Paris for further discussions with Philip Augustus.

Numerous chronicles record Geoffrey's death. With varying amounts of detail, all agree he died at Paris in August 1186. Contemporary sources differ, however, as to the circumstances of Geoffrey's death. Some say Geoffrey died while taking part in a tournament, others that he died of an illness. Although the 'tournament' version is widely accepted, in fact there are only two sources for it, both emanating from a single author, Roger of Howden.[82]

Since these are so generally relied upon as sources for Geoffrey's death, they deserve further attention. In Howden's chronicle, there is merely a brief notice that Geoffrey died in 1186 at Paris, 'in conflictu militari pedibus equinis contritus'. The *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi* gives more detail. This narrative records Geoffrey's death from the point-of-view of the Angevin court, describing how Henry II received the news. A message arrives from France to the effect that Geoffrey has been unhorsed and trampled to death in a tournament, at an unspecified location. This is followed by the observation that certain people had been saying that Geoffrey had gone over to the king of France, boasting that he would lay waste to Normandy, but that, having made this speech, Geoffrey was seized by acute abdominal pain.[83] From the context, this could be part of the messenger's speech, but I am inclined to think that it is additional material introduced by the chronicler, at an

[81] The map accompanying E. Chénon, 'Les marches séparantes d'Anjou, Bretagne et Poitou', *RHD* 16 (1892), 18–62, 165–211 (between pp. 34, 35) depicts Maulevrier as the *caput* of a 'marche avantagère' of Anjou over Brittany, that is, a region pertaining simply to Anjou in terms of sovereignty, jurisdiction and custom (*ibid*., pp. 197–202). See also R. Cintré, *Les Marches de Bretagne au Moyen Age: Economie, guerre et société en pays de frontière (XIVe-XVe siècles)*, Pornichet, 1992, pp. 36–41.

[82] RH, II, p. 309; *Gesta*, p. 350.

[83] *Ibid*. I am grateful to Dr Daniel Power for the suggestion that there are two different accounts here.

appropriate place in the narrative, recording rumours that were already circulating at the Angevin court. Significantly, the rumours refer to Geoffrey's illness but not his death, suggesting that their bearers had left Paris before Geoffrey's death, and hence arrived in England ahead of the messenger.

The *Gesta* thus incorporates two contradictory pieces of information. First, it records that Geoffrey was killed in a tournament, second that he became seriously ill while at the French court, although this is not expressly said to have been fatal. They could be reconciled on the basis that Geoffrey was at the French court, became ill, but then recovered sufficiently to take part in a tournament, in which he was killed, but this is rather tenuous in the absence of any corroborative evidence. The chronicler, indeed, makes no attempt to reconcile them and makes no comment on whether either is a true report.

There are two possible explanations for the tournament story. One is that it is complete invention, and that Howden chose the sinful tournament, which he had previously written about as being a particular passion of Geoffrey's, as a fitting end for this treacherous son. The image of such a great prince being trampled into the earth made a very effective literary device. If that were so, however, Howden would not have spoilt the effect by recording the alternative account of Geoffrey's illness. He does, however, press the 'illness' account to the service of his moral agenda by implying that, after his treacherous speech, Geoffrey was immediately seized by agonising pain, suggesting divine judgment on him.

It seems more likely that Howden simply recorded in good faith both of the accounts which came to his knowledge, without commenting on the veracity of either, but using both to condemn Geoffrey's treachery. What, then, was the source of the tournament story? The account in the *Gesta* does not specify whether the source of the message delivered to Henry II was Philip Augustus himself, or a servant of Henry II's on the continent who had received the information from Paris.

If the messenger was sent by Philip Augustus, it may be that the tournament story was the 'official' version of the Capetian court. Philip Augustus would have wished to conceal from Henry II the fact that he had been plotting with Geoffrey, since without Geoffrey's aid, Philip was not ready to enter into armed conflict over the Angevin territories. It is possible that, in order to obscure the true reason for Geoffrey's presence in Paris, the French king invented a purely social occasion, a tournament, to explain it. The truth, however, filtered back to England, if only in the form of rumours.

The *Gesta*, then, has incorporated two versions of the circumstances

of Geoffrey's death which were current at the time, one essentially true and the other fabricated. The strongest evidence that Geoffrey in fact died of an illness is supplied by the detailed account of Geoffrey's death given by the French royal clerk, Rigord.[84] Rigord records that, when Geoffrey arrived in Paris in August 1186, Philip Augustus was absent from the city. While Geoffrey waited for his return, he fell ill. Philip learnt of this and was so concerned for Geoffrey's health that he ordered all the medical practitioners in Paris to try their best to cure him. (Rigord himself may have been one of these *medici*, and furthermore one of the witnesses to Geoffrey's last charter may be identified with Roger de Fournival, *medicus regis Philippi*.)[85] Their efforts were to no avail and Geoffrey died within a few days, on 19 August.[86] The highest honours were then shown to Geoffrey's memory. His body was taken to the new cathedral of Notre-Dame, where the citizens and the knights of Paris kept a vigil over it until the king returned to the city the next day. The body was then placed in a lead coffin, and after a funeral service conducted by the bishop of Paris and all the clergy of the city, was buried in front of the high altar of the cathedral.[87] Returning to the royal palace, Philip Augustus made a grant to the cathedral of four chaplaincies, 'pro anima dilecti sui comitis Britannie'.[88]

Rigord's account contains so much detail that it is unlikely to be fictitious. By the time Rigord was writing, it was perhaps unnecessary to continue the pretence about the tournament, but his failure to give any reason for Geoffrey's presence in Paris, and his emphasis on Philip's absence when Geoffrey arrived, still suggest an intention to gloss over Philip's involvement in any conspiracy with Geoffrey. Gervase of Canterbury and Gerald of Wales are the other contemporary sources to record that Geoffrey died of an illness.[89] Like Rigord, neither of them even mentions a tournament. The rumours recorded in the *Gesta* were,

[84] Rigord, 'Gesta Philippi Augusti', in H.-F. Delaborde (ed.), *Œuvres de Rigord et Guillaume le Breton*, Paris 1885, II, pp. 68–9, and I, p. xxx.

[85] Y.G. Lepage (ed.), *L'Oeuvre lyrique de Richard de Fournival*, Ottawa, 1981, p. 9.

[86] This date agrees with that given by Ralph of Diss (RD, II, p. 14), and Roger of Wendover (RD, p. 137). The necrology of the abbey of Ronceray has an entry for Geoffrey 'comes Nannetensis' on 20 August ('XIII kalendas Septembris' – BN ms fr. 22329, p. 604).

[87] Geoffrey's burial in the cathedral choir is also recorded by Roger of Howden (RH, II, p. 309), Roger of Wendover (RW, p. 137), and Gerald of Wales (in Werner (ed.), 'De principis instructione', p. 176).

[88] de Bouard (ed.), 'Une diplôme de Philippe Auguste', *Le Moyen Age* 26 (1924), 66–9. 66–9.

[89] GC, p. 336, 'Gaufridus comes Britannie ex adversa valitudine pressus diem clausit extremum'; Werner (ed.), 'De principis instructione', p. 176, ' . . . comes Gaufredus, eodem quo et frater antea morbo acutissimo, scilicet febrili calore, letaliter correptus . . . rebus humanis exemptus est'. Since Gerald of Wales emphasises that Geoffrey died of the same cause as the Young King Henry, a fever, one might suspect that he had invented the cause of death for literary effect, if it were not corroborated by the other sources cited here.

therefore, probably true. While visiting Paris in August 1186, Geoffrey was taken seriously ill and died within a few days. The account in the *Gesta* is only inaccurate in that, for literary effect, Geoffrey's illness is made to follow immediately upon his declaration of allegiance to Philip Augustus, whereas in reality the two events were probably separated in time.

The honour shown to Geoffrey in Paris, both during his illness and after his death, should not be surprising. By itself, it would have been extremely embarrassing that an Angevin prince had fallen ill and died while a guest of the king of France. A lavish show of mourning and respect was the least the Parisians and the royal court could do. Geoffrey had come to Paris not just on a social visit, but as an ally of Philip Augustus, to make further plans for what was to be, according to Gerald of Wales, the greatest uprising that Henry II had ever seen.[90] Philip Augustus was grief-stricken because an unprecedented opportunity to divide and conquer the Angevin empire had died with Geoffrey.

Geoffrey's death seems to have affected Philip Augustus more than it did his own father. Henry II's immediate reaction, according to Roger of Howden, was to recall John, who was waiting to cross to Ireland.[91] Within three weeks of Geoffrey's death, Henry II was gaily helping to celebrate the nuptials of William, king of Scotland, and Ermengarde de Beaumont at Woodstock.[92] Gerald of Wales records that Henry II was grief-stricken, but principally because Geoffrey's death reminded him of that of the Young King Henry.[93]

[90] Werner (ed.), 'De principis instructione', p. 176.
[91] *Gesta*, p. 350. [92] *Gesta*, p. 351.
[93] Werner (ed.), 'De principis instructione', pp. 176–7.

6

THE END OF ANGEVIN BRITTANY, 1186–1203

The death of Duke Geoffrey brought yet another transformation to the Angevin regime in Brittany, introducing its final phase. The new situation was largely a return to that prevailing between 1156 and 1166; a native ruler was allowed to govern with minimal interference provided his (now her) loyalty to the Angevin lord was assured. This chapter is divided into two parts. The first will discuss the government of Brittany under the last dukes to be subject to Angevin rule, Duchess Constance and her son, Duke Arthur. The second part will proceed by way of a narrative account of political relations between the Angevin kings and the province of Brittany to 1203.

As a general principle, after 1186, the Angevin kings permitted the dukes to rule Brittany in their own right. Angevin sovereignty did not extend to direct government, as it had between 1166 and 1181. On the other hand, Angevin sovereignty was vigorously asserted in specific acts of royal intervention. In 1187, Henry II entered Brittany, led a military campaign in the far western barony of Léon and, after this show of force, according to one source took oaths of allegiance from the Breton magnates. In 1196, Richard I sought the custody of Arthur, the young heir to Brittany, and when the Bretons refused, invaded the duchy while Constance was held captive. Apart from these episodes, Henry II and Richard I in turn were content to allow Duchess Constance to rule Brittany without interference.

King John seems to have followed the same policy after making peace with Constance and Arthur in September 1199. As his father had exercised his right to give Constance in marriage, so did John, marrying her to the loyal Guy de Thouars. From then until 1203, John allowed first Constance, then Arthur, to rule without interference. Some change is indicated, though, by the fact that in June 1200 John issued orders directly to *vicecomites* in Guingamp, Lamballe

and Dinan.[1] This may have been justified under the terms of the peace settlement, which are unfortunately unknown.

THE SENESCHAL OF BRITTANY

With the exception of Ralph de Fougères, the seneschal of Brittany (with or without this title) had been Henry II's deputy in Brittany at various times since 1158.[2] For this reason, I have included this discussion of the institution in the period after 1186 in the context of the role of the Angevin kings, rather than of the dukes' internal government.

Roger of Howden's account of the rebellion of Guihomar and Harvey de Léon in the autumn of 1186 includes the detail that the custodians of the castles seized had been appointed by Ralph de Fougères on the orders of Henry II.[3] From this it can be inferred that, in the immediate aftermath of Geoffrey's death, the king recognised Ralph's position as 'seneschal of Brittany' and issued royal writs to him, but this state of affairs was not to last.

Two seneschals of Brittany are recorded for the period 1187–1203: Maurice de Craon and Alan de Dinan, the lord of Becherel, although it is impossible to determine when each held the office.[4] What is significant is that neither was a 'foreigner' to Brittany. Alan de Dinan was a native, but Maurice de Craon also had strong Breton connections. Jean-Claude Meuret has demonstrated how, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the barons of Craon managed to be politically subject to the counts of Anjou but still maintain close relations with their neighbours on the Breton side of the Breton–Angevin march, notably the Vitré and La Guerche families. Maurice was the nephew of William II de la Guerche, and seems to have been close to his La Guerche uncle and cousins. This is the background to Maurice's grant to Saint-Melaine de Rennes in 1162; the next year he attested a grant by Peter de Lohéac for Saint-Melaine's priory at Montfort.[5] The other connection was through Maurice's stepson, Juhel de Mayenne, who was married to the daughter and heiress of Alan de Dinan himself.

Maurice had also been active in the service of Henry II in Brittany. As a young man, in 1158, Maurice participated in the siege of Thouars, so he may also have been involved in Henry II's seizure of Nantes in

[1] *Rot. Chart.*, p. 97.

[2] J. Everard, 'The "Justiciarship" in Brittany and Ireland under Henry II', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 20 (1998), 87–105.

[3] *Gesta*, I, 357; Everard, 'Justiciarship', p. 104.

[4] Everard, 'Justiciarship', pp. 104–5.

[5] J.-C. Meuret, *Peuplement, pouvoir et paysage sur la marche Anjou-Bretagne (des origines au Moyen-Age)*, Laval, 1993, pp. 297, 325–6, 394–5, 425; *Preuves*, I, 625, 646–8.

the same campaign.[6] In 1174, at the height of the rebellion, Henry II made Maurice *custos* and *dux exercitus* of Anjou and Maine. As part of this charge, Maurice was given custody of the specially rebuilt castle of Ancenis, at a strategic point at the border of the counties of Nantes and Anjou.[7] After peace was restored, there is no further mention of Maurice in Henry II's administration of Brittany, but he continued to act in royal affairs as one of the king's most trusted barons. Maurice was one of the three laymen named as sureties for Henry II in the 'treaty of Ivry' in 1177, acted as the king's negotiator at the siege of Limoges in 1183, and would prove to be one of the few barons remaining faithful to Henry II until his death.[8] It would be perfectly consistent with Maurice's place in Henry II's counsels if the king had appointed him seneschal of Brittany soon after Duke Geoffrey's death in 1186.

This is supported by the sole record of Maurice as 'senescallus Britannie', a charter of Duchess Constance made at Nantes, recording a donation for the soul of her late husband Geoffrey, but not mentioning her son Arthur, which suggests a date between Geoffrey's death and Arthur's posthumous birth, that is before April 1187. Maurice must have been seneschal of Brittany before June 1191. It was then that, preparing to join the Third Crusade, Maurice made his testament, which mentions debts incurred in Brittany, including one in the ducal domain of Guingamp, and the expectation that Duchess Constance will discharge some of his debts.[9]

There is even less evidence for Alan de Dinan. Henry II might have seen him as the natural successor to his uncle, Rolland de Dinan, the principal royal agent in Brittany from 1175 to 1181. There is no reason why Alan should have been seen as other than trustworthy by either Henry II or Richard, since he held valuable English lands and his heiress was married to a Manceau baron who was Maurice de Craon's stepson. Alan's well-recorded hostility towards Richard probably began only when Richard intervened in Brittany in 1195–6. In the 1170s, the office of seneschal of Rennes passed from a *curialis* with Breton connections, William de Lanvallay, to his kinsman, Reginald Boterel, who was more closely associated with the ducal regime. The same process might have occurred here, with Maurice de Craon, an Angevin with some Breton connections, being succeeded by Alan de Dinan, his

[6] A. Bertrand de Brousillon (ed.), *La maison de Craon (1050–1480): Etude historique accompagnée du cartulaire de Craon*, 2 vols., Paris, 1893, I, p. 99, no. 128.

[7] RD, I, 380; *Gesta*, I, 71; *Ann. ang.*, p. 38.

[8] *Gesta*, I, 192, 248, 298; P. Meyer (ed.), *L'histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal, comte de Striguil et de Pembroke, regent d'Angleterre de 1216 à 1219, poème française*, 3 vols., Paris, 1891–1901, I, line 9307 and II, pp. 117–18.

[9] *Charters*, C17; D. Bodard de la Jacopière, *Chroniques Craonnaises*, Le Mans, 1871, p. 596.

Breton kinsman by marriage. The occasion for this change could have been the marriage of Constance and Ranulf in February 1189, when the need for an authoritative Angevin agent in Brittany was diminished. In any case, Ranulf can hardly have objected to Alan holding this high office, since in 1199 he would marry Alan's widow, Clemencia de Fougères.

It appears, then, that the office of seneschal of Brittany was no more than a short-term expedient, employed by Henry II in the immediate aftermath of Geoffrey's death and before Constance could be safely remarried. This is suggested by the scarce records of these seneschals. Each is recorded with the title 'Senescallus Britannie' in only one text, both being charters of Duchess Constance.[10] Neither left documents issued in their own names, or attested by them, using this title. There are around 70 known charters of Duchess Constance, but Maurice de Craon is mentioned in only this one. Alan de Dinan attested five of Duchess Constance's charters, but is styled 'Senescallus Britannie' in only one, and at least two of the five concerned subject-matter in which Alan had a seignorial interest.[11] It would appear then that the office of seneschal of Brittany was dispensed with at an early stage of Constance's regime.

THE GOVERNMENT OF BRITTANY, 1186–1203[12]

The legal status of Duchess Constance for the period 1186–1201 is problematical. What was the position of an heiress with a son? Arguably, the heiress ruled as a sort of regent until the heir was of an age to rule in his own right (probably a matter of judgment in each case), at which point she would hand over the exercise of government to him. This is suggested by the precedents of Bertha, the daughter and heiress of Duke Conan III, who handed on to her son, Conan IV, her claims to the honour of Richmond and the duchy of Brittany around 1153, and, more famously, Eleanor of Aquitaine, who saw her son Richard invested as duke of Aquitaine in 1172. In Anjou in the thirteenth century, customary law deemed that, 'a lady is only the custodian of her land once she has a male heir'. Yet, as the case of Eleanor of Aquitaine shows, the heiress did not lose her rights, which would revert to her if the heir predeceased her.[13]

[10] *Charters*, C17, C18. [11] *Charters*, C15, C18, C24, C36, C39

[12] The remarks in this section are intentionally brief as the evidence for administration 1186–1203, such as it is, has been discussed in chapter 4, and the relevant documents are published in *Charters*.

[13] 'Coutume de Touraine-Anjou', p. 44. See J.C. Holt, 'Aliénor d'Aquitaine, Jean sans Terre et la succession de 1199', *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale* 29 (1986), 95–100.

In Constance's case, there was a further complicating factor, the fact that her father had 'given' her inheritance to Henry II in 1166, and the king had subsequently regranted it piecemeal to his son Geoffrey as Constance's husband. The county of Nantes, as previously discussed, was held on different terms again. Thus Constance's title was not as straightforward as that of an heiress succeeding to her father's estates with no more than seignorial licence. After Geoffrey's death, however, Constance had only her hereditary right to rely upon, and this may explain her adoption of the style 'Conani comitis filia' in her acts after 1186.

Constance's authority to rule in her own right was compromised not only by the existence of a son and heir but also by the fact that for most of the period from 1187 until her death in 1201 Constance was a married woman. The almost complete absence of Constance's second husband, Ranulf, earl of Chester, from the documentary evidence, even in form, let alone in substance, is remarkable considering that he was duke of Brittany, *jure uxoris*, for ten years from 1189 to 1199. There is only one known act of Ranulf's made in the capacity of duke of Brittany and earl of Richmond, a letter to the bishop of London requesting him to enforce grants made by dukes of Brittany to the abbey of Saint-Pierre de Rillé (near Fougères) in the church of Cheshunt (Herts.), written between 1190 and 1195. Although Ranulf seems normally to have used the title, 'Dux Britannie, comes Cestrie et Richemondie', in this document, inexplicably, he is styled simply 'comes Cestrie'. Constance issued a letter in similar terms, without either document acknowledging the existence of the other.[14]

In contrast, some of Constance's acts during her brief third marriage were made in joint-names with Guy de Thouars. The absence of Arthur is more explicable, in terms of his extreme youth and the fact that from 1196 to 1199 he was at the Capetian court. Constance's acts made from early 1199 do record Arthur's assent. It seems reasonable to analyse the period 1186 to 1201 as the regime of Duchess Constance herself. The reign of Duke Arthur from 1201 to 1202 will be discussed separately below.

Like Duke Geoffrey, Constance patronised a wide variety of churches; old Benedictine abbeys associated with the ducal dynasty, such as Saint-Melaine and Saint-Georges de Rennes and Saint-Gildas de Rhuys, as well as the Knights Templar, the fashionable nunnery of Saint-Sulpice-la-Forêt near Rennes, and the hospital of Saint-Jean d'Angers. Constance especially patronised Cistercian abbeys; Savigny,

[14] *Charters*, nos. C25 and R6, for Ranulf's title, see *ibid.*, p. 99.

Begard, Boquen, Langonnet, Melleray, Carnoët and Buzay, finally founding Villeneuve as a daughter-house of the latter. Also like Geoffrey, Constance avoided benefactions that involved alienation of the ducal patrimony, granting revenues from ducal lands, mills and customary dues rather than these assets themselves. On at least two occasions, Constance granted the right to hold a fair, evidence for economic growth, and also for the exercise of a ducal monopoly in this regard. Grants of property tended to be small: a hermit's cell, a meadow or a town-house.[15] Even the foundation of an abbey, Villeneuve, involved the minimum alienation of land. The mother-house, the abbey of Buzay, agreed to give one of its granges back to the ducal domains, and to use another as the site of the new abbey, in exchange for some ducal land but primarily for large cash revenues from other ducal properties.[16]

Perhaps the most significant feature of Constance's patronage of the Church is that many of her acts involve confirmations of previous ducal grants, indicating that Constance's ducal authority was widely acknowledged. This is also demonstrated by attestations to Constance's charters by barons from all parts of the duchy. Like Duke Geoffrey's, Constance's authority was recognised outside the ducal domains.[17]

On the other hand, Constance was obliged to sacrifice the baronies acquired by Henry II and Geoffrey to maintain her position. At some point after 1187, Constance restored the barony of Léon to its heir and formally withdrew ducal claims in respect of the barony of Vitré.[18] These two acts were justified in political terms. Léon was remote from the centres of ducal administration, and its previously rebellious lords became enthusiastic supporters of Constance and Arthur thereafter. In the case of Vitré, the ducal claims had become anachronistic and impossible to prosecute in any case, and again, the support of the Vitré family was essential to Constance and Arthur's political survival.

More problematic is the barony of Penthièvre, since the 1120s consisting of the two baronies of Tréguier (or Guingamp) and Penthièvre (or Lamballe). As discussed in Chapter 4, Duke Geoffrey seized the former around 1182. There is also evidence that Geoffrey and Constance possessed at least portions of the latter; they were able to dispose of property in the forest of Lanmeur, and Constance at some stage exercised wardship of the *prepositus* of Lamballe.[19] According to

[15] *Charters*, nos. C15, 20, 45; Y. Hillion, 'La Bretagne et la rivalité Capétiens-Plantagenêts: Un exemple – la duchesse Constance (1186–1202)', *AB* 92 (1985), 111–44 at 115–6.
[16] A. Dufief, *Les Cisterciens en Bretagne, XIIe–XIIIe siècles*, Rennes, 1997, pp. 130–1.
[17] Cf. Hillion, 'La duchesse Constance', 122. [18] *Charters*, nos. C33 and 46.
[19] *Charters*, nos. C15, C39, C55, Ae4, Ae6; 'Communes petitiones Britonum', p. 101.

the 1235 inquest concerning the reunited barony of Penthièvre, Constance had controlled the castles of Penthièvre (Lamballe), while the then lords had continued to possess the forests, but this contradicts the evidence just mentioned regarding the forest of Lanmeur.

According to the same source, when Duke Geoffrey died, the disinherited Alan, son of Henry of Penthièvre, and his brothers rebelled against Constance and took Cesson, a strategic castle of the lords of Penthièvre near Saint-Brieuc, and many other castles.[20] There is no other evidence for this conflict, or how it was resolved. By 1189, Alan was in possession of the eastern portion of the barony of Tréguier, the Goëllo, and he had recovered the whole of Tréguier by 1203.[21]

Whenever there was conflict between the Angevin king and the ducal regime before 1203, Alan supported the former, with the exception of the conflict with Richard in 1196, when Alan is recorded as acting with the other Breton barons. King John may well have cultivated Alan as an important political influence in Brittany in opposition to the ducal regime.[22] I would suggest, then, that Alan recovered all of his inheritance through the offices of John, as part of the 1199 settlement between John and the Bretons. In any event, Constance was unable to maintain possession of Tréguier, and in this instance, the cession of this important barony, claimed by Constance as her patrimony, did not involve any evident advantage to the ducal regime.

Although Constance lost the lands in the north-west of the duchy acquired by Duke Geoffrey, ducal authority in other parts of the duchy was consolidated. Inquests into ducal rights in Rennes, Quimper and Quimperlé suggest that ducal rights were being more effectively exercised, leading to conflict with rival (ecclesiastical) authorities.[23]

As to administration of those parts of the duchy under ducal authority, the evidence for this period is discussed in Chapter 4, on the assumption that there was continuity in institutions, if not in personnel, after 1186. As noted in Chapter 4, the hereditary seneschal of Rennes, William, was restored by 1192. Under Duke Geoffrey, the seneschal of Rennes had been eclipsed by Ralph de Fougères, seneschal of Brittany, at least in respect of acts leaving written records. Under Constance, the office of seneschal of Rennes was restored to the preeminence it had

[20] 'Inquisitio . . . de Avaugour', pp. 114–5, 117.
[21] *Preuves*, I, cols. 732–4, 796, 843–4 and III, cols. 1768–9; 'Inquisitio . . . de Avaugour', p. 120.
[22] *Rot. Chart.*, p. 4; T.D. Hardy (ed.), *Rotuli de liberate ac de misis et de praestitis regnante Johanne*, London, 1844, p. 5; T. Hardy (ed.), *Rotuli Normanniae in Turri Londinensi asservati*, I, London, 1835, p. 31.
[23] *Charters*, nos. C28 and 50.

enjoyed in the mid-twelfth century, perhaps due to William's personal qualities, and also the fact that the seneschalcy had been held by his family for generations. William the seneschal is recorded routinely exercising ducal jurisdiction over the county of Rennes, but the extraordinary aspect of his role is demonstrated in the crisis of 1196. According to Le Baud, after Constance's capture, William was charged with conveying Constance's orders to the Breton barons, implying that he was the only Breton permitted to communicate with the duchess at that stage.[24]

Another novelty was the creation of the office of 'seneschal of Media', perhaps to avoid confusion with the more routine office of seneschal of Nantes. The importance of the bearer of this title, Geoffrey de Châteaubriant, suggests that it was not a position of day-to-day administration, but rather was analogous to the seneschal of Brittany. Geoffrey does however appear in one text with this title, apparently performing some official duties in Nantes in 1206.[25]

Under Duchess Constance, ducal mints continued to operate and new coins were issued. The coins of Duke Geoffrey, discussed in Chapter 4, were replaced by an 'anonymous' type. On the obverse, these bore the legend, '+ DUX BRITANIE', with a cross *ancrée* in the field, on the reverse, the legend '+ NANTIS CIVI' or '+ REDONIS CIVI', with a simple cross in the field. Thus the name of the duke, as legend, was replaced by the place of minting, Nantes or Rennes. Incidentally, these coins provide evidence for minting at Nantes for the first time in two centuries, although it is possible that Duke Geoffrey minted coins at Nantes in 1185/6. The new coinage, immobilised, continued to be minted throughout the reigns of Constance, Arthur, Guy de Thouars (as regent) and Peter de Dreux. The relatively large number of known specimens of these coins reflects the length of this period, fifty years, and the growth of the money-economy, but also the repeated episodes of insecurity which prompted the deposition of coin-hordes.[26]

There is much less evidence for the reign of Duke Arthur. The fact that Arthur ruled Brittany as the legitimate successor of Duchess Constance, albeit for less than a year, is often overlooked. Arthur is absent from the records of the end of Constance's reign because he spent the period from the end of 1199 until Constance's death at the Capetian court, apparently returning to Brittany only to be invested as

[24] Le Baud, *Histoire de Bretagne*, p. 202. On this source, see above, p. 3.
[25] *Charters*, C37, C38, C40, C53, C54, C69; *Preuves*, I, cols. 802–4.
[26] A. Bigot, *Essai sur les monnaies du royaume et duché de Bretagne*, Paris, 1857, pp. 36, 53–9, plate VIII.

duke. Since Arthur was still only fourteen years of age, the usual age of majority must have been waived to avoid a regency. An unusual dating clause in a charter of the bishop of Nantes made in July 1201, recites that Arthur was then in his fifteenth year.[27] In view of the above remarks on the status of an heiress with a male heir, the significance of this may be that Constance intended to give up her ducal authority in Arthur's favour when he turned fifteen.

Arthur's minority may explain the complete lack of acts of confirmation which were common at the beginning of a new reign, although this may also be explained by the failure of the recipients of any such confirmations to preserve them after Arthur's demise. In fact, there is only one known act of Arthur pertaining to the duchy of Brittany, the formal acceptance in December 1201 of the sentence of Pope Innocent III ending the claims of the bishop of Dol to metropolitan status.[28] Since the rival case of the archbishop of Tours had been supported by Philip Augustus, this act may be seen as the product of Arthur's loyalty to, or dependence upon, the Capetian king.

Further evidence for Arthur's regime may be furnished by a charter of Peter de Dinan, styled bishop of Rennes and chancellor of Duke Arthur. The document records the determination of a dispute between Hamelin Pinel *miles* and Marmoutier's priory of Saint-Sauveur-des-Landes made in Peter's presence at Vitré, and may therefore be an instance of Peter de Dinan as ducal chancellor deputising for Arthur, either because of Arthur's age or his absence from Brittany.[29]

Arthur was only active in Brittany as duke from September 1201 to April 1202. That month, he returned to the court of Philip Augustus and only a few months later he was captured while campaigning against John in Poitou. Arthur lived until April 1203, and there was, therefore, a period of the same length as Arthur's reign before his capture, about nine months, while he remained duke (to the Bretons) but could not govern due to being a prisoner in Normandy. Again, there is no evidence for the government of Brittany during this period. Le Baud describes an assembly of the bishops and barons of Brittany at Vannes in which Peter de Dinan, bishop of Rennes and ducal chancellor, seems to have a leading role. Although the anachronisms in this account render it unreliable, the amount of detail given by Le Baud suggests that it is based upon a documentary source.[30]

Absence of documentary evidence from this period may be the result of a tendency for individuals to postpone their business pending

[27] *Preuves*, col. 793–4. [28] *Charters*, Ar18. [29] *Preuves*, col. 771.
[30] Le Baud, *Histoire de Bretagne*, pp. 209–10.

the outcome of the conflict between John and Arthur, and, as suggested above in the context of Arthur's acts, for documents made in this period not to have been preserved after the change in political situation rendered them redundant. It can also be argued that the result of developments in the second half of the twelfth century culminated in 1202/3 in a ducal administration that could function in the duke's absence. It is true that there are no dated documents demonstrating ducal administration in operation between April 1202 and September 1203, but some undated documents could have been made in this period, including the act of Peter de Dinan mentioned above, and several charters of William, seneschal of Rennes.[31] The latter certainly seems to have remained in office throughout this period. Scarce though the evidence is, it appears that ducal government did not break down in Arthur's absence, despite the uncertainties of the situation and the potential for conflict between rival factions.

THE END OF ANGEVIN BRITTANY

In view of Duke Geoffrey's alliance with Philip Augustus, at the time of his sudden death there was a real question as to whether Brittany was still held of Henry II as duke of Normandy or whether it now pertained directly to the French crown. Gervase of Canterbury depicts Henry II as struggling to recover 'dominatum' of Brittany. Roger of Howden implicitly places Henry II in the stronger position, with Philip Augustus vociferously, but ineffectually, demanding wardship and custody of Geoffrey's elder daughter and heiress, Eleanor, until she was of marriageable age.[32]

According to Gervase of Canterbury, some of the Bretons preferred Angevin rule, some Capetian, and others didn't wish to be ruled by either.[33] Among the latter, no doubt, were Guihomar and Harvey de Léon, who took the opportunity presented by Geoffrey's death to rebel against ducal authority, seizing the castles of Morlaix and Châteauneuf-du-Faou from their ducal castellans.[34] Duchess Constance seems to have decided that the best course was to submit to Henry II.[35] Philip Augustus's apparent policy of treating the duchy of Brittany as in wardship can hardly have appealed to Constance as the reigning hereditary duchess, who was still very much alive. Henry II, in contrast,

[31] *Preuves*, col. 771, 'Cart. St-Melaine', fols. 27, 52, 59–60; 'Cart. St-Georges', Appendix, no. IX.
[32] GC, I, p. 336; *Gesta*, I, p. 353. [33] GC, I, p. 336, 346.
[34] *Gesta*, I, p. 357; Guillotel, 'Les vicomtes de Léon aux XIe et XIIe siècles', *MSHAB* 51 (1971), 20–51, p. 33.
[35] Hillion, 'La duchesse Constance', p. 114.

allowed Constance to continue to govern Brittany in person and to keep the custody of her two young daughters. He did not even oblige her to remarry immediately, but merely placed a trusted Angevin servant in the office of seneschal of Brittany to replace Ralph de Fougères. Henry II had secured Brittany's place within the Angevin empire, at least for the time being.

The end of Angevin Brittany did not in fact occur until 1202 or 1203, commencing with Arthur's homage to Philip Augustus. Given the turbulent political situation since 1199, this would not have been conclusive, but it was immediately followed by Philip and Arthur's joint campaign against John, Arthur's capture at Mirebeau and his death in April 1203. After Arthur had disappeared, presumed murdered in custody, no Breton magnate, lay or ecclesiastical, would support Angevin rule, at least in John's lifetime. From the summer of 1203, the Angevins ceased to exercise any authority in Brittany, as is demonstrated by John's desperate attack on Dol in September 1203. Brittany was lost to the Angevin empire well before Normandy; indeed the Breton incursion into southern Normandy was an important factor in the success of Philip Augustus' invasion of the duchy in 1204.[36]

The intensity of the conflict between Arthur and John in the succession dispute of 1199, and its revival in 1202, naturally left its mark on the documentary sources, which are relatively abundant and detailed for these events. This in turn has influenced modern historians to exaggerate the extent of conflict between Breton and Angevin interests in this period. I would argue, though, that apart from the two particular episodes of Constance's captivity in 1196 and Arthur's reign as count of Anjou (April to September 1199), in general terms there was no inherent conflict for the Bretons between loyalty to their native rulers and loyalty to the Angevin kings in the years between 1186 and 1203. Brittany had been subject to more or less direct Angevin rule for a generation, since 1158, and the dukes acknowledged they held Brittany of the Angevin king as duke of Normandy. In the meantime even more Bretons had acquired lands in Normandy and England, either through direct royal patronage, or through marriage into the family of the earls of Richmond/dukes of Brittany, which enhanced relations between the Bretons and their neighbours.

The chronology of the events of 1186–1202, and especially of the two episodes just noted, is not at all clear. The remainder of this chapter

[36] *Preuves*, col. 107; WB, p. 220–1.

will constitute a narrative account of the period 1186–1202, with a view to establishing the chronology more precisely.[37]

The significance for the future of the 'Angevin empire' of the birth of Geoffrey's posthumous son needs no elaboration. Arthur was born at Nantes on 29 March 1187, the only legitimate son of a legitimate son of Henry II, and arguably next in line to succeed after Richard. William of Newburgh records Henry II's wish that the infant should be named after him. According to Le Baud, Henry II visited Nantes especially to see his grandson, and there obliged the assembled magnates to swear fealty to Arthur, with Constance agreeing that, in return for having custody of her son, she would rule Brittany 'par le conseil' of the king.[38] The assembly at Nantes is not recorded elsewhere, but Henry II visited Brittany in September 1187, and arriving from the south, he probably passed through Nantes. According to Roger of Howden, the reason for this visit was a military campaign against the rebellious lords of Léon. This action in itself provided a concrete demonstration of Henry II's continued authority in Brittany, the next summer Guihomar and Harvey de Léon campaigned with him against Philip Augustus.[39]

As mentioned above, Constance was not remarried for some time after Geoffrey's death and Arthur's birth. A simple explanation for the delay is that Henry II had identified Ranulf III, earl of Chester, as the ideal husband, but Ranulf had not yet attained his majority, having been born in 1170. The king allowed Ranulf to enter his inheritance at the end of 1188, and the marriage to Constance occurred a few months later.[40] It is possible, therefore, that Henry II was simply waiting for Ranulf to attain an age and degree of maturity that would enable him to assume the responsibility of being stepfather of the potential heir to the Angevin empire. Ranulf's suitability derived partially from his land-holdings. As hereditary viscount of the Avranchin, Ranulf's lands marched with the problematical north-eastern border of Brittany. In England, Ranulf's lands in Lincolnshire were interspersed with those of the honour of Richmond.

[37] See also Hillion, 'La duchesse Constance', for an account of this period from the point-of-view of Duchess Constance, although marred by some anachronisms.

[38] WN, I, 235; Le Baud, *Histoire de Bretagne*, p. 199.

[39] GC, I, p. 382; Eyton, *Itinerary*, pp. 280–1; RH, p. 318; *Gesta*, II, p. 9; 'Philippidos', lines 223–30.

[40] *Annales cestrienses or the chronicle of the abbey of St Werburg at Chester*, Lancs. and Cheshire Record Society, XIV, 1887, pp. 25, 29, 41. These annals (p. 41) record that Henry II knighted Ranulf on 1 January, and gave him Constance in marriage on 3 February. This is under the rubric for 1188, but uncertainty as to the commencement of the year means these events may have taken place in 1189. See also G. Barraclough (ed. and trans.), 'The annals of Dieulacres abbey', *The Cheshire Sheaf*, 3rd ser., LII (1957), 17–27 at 20; J. W. Alexander, *Ranulf of Chester: A Relic of the Conquest*, Athens, Georgia, 1983, p. 12 and *Charters*, p. 99.

Whatever Henry II's intentions, Ranulf seems to have had no involvement in the government of the duchy of Brittany or the honour of Richmond. It is often asserted, based no doubt on subsequent events, that Ranulf and Constance were temperamentally unsuited and even hostile to each other. No children were born of a marriage which lasted ten years, although the lack of issue from his second marriage must raise the question of Ranulf's fertility. There is simply no evidence of Ranulf and Constance ever executing ducal business or even being together.[41] Any argument about Ranulf and Constance's relationship can only rest on the evidence of silence.

If Ranulf does not appear actively enforcing Angevin interests at the Breton court, it may be because Constance continued to toe the Angevin line. Within months of the marriage Henry II died, and although Richard pursued the same general policy as his father in respect of Brittany, he took more concrete steps to assert his sovereignty. According to Le Baud, after his coronation in England and formally taking possession of all his father's lands, Richard went to Brittany intending to take over the 'regime' of the duchy and custody of Arthur. Constance and some of the Breton barons opposed him and Richard relented, agreeing that Constance should continue to rule on the terms she had previously agreed with Henry II in 1186/7. The more reliable evidence of the English Exchequer records indicates that the honour of Richmond was in the king's hands in 1189–90, perhaps as a consequence of the dispute described by Le Baud, and that even before the end of September 1189 Richard had taken Constance's daughter, Eleanor, into his custody.[42] Richard's custody of Eleanor may have been the price of Constance continuing to rule Brittany, and in any event it is evidence for Richard asserting sovereignty more actively than Henry II had in recent years. Constance was present at Richard's court at Tours in late June 1190.[43]

As long as Richard acknowledged Arthur as his heir, or at least held out the possibility that he might, it was in Constance's interests to maintain royal favour. The evidence for Richard's policy on the succession is ambiguous. The only documentary evidence in favour of Arthur is the agreement for the marriage of Arthur to the daughter of

[41] There is one instance of both making separate charters regarding the same matter, at around the same time, which implies some degree of co-ordination, although this may have come from the beneficiary, the canons of Saint-Pierre de Rillé (*Charters*, nos. C25, R6).

[42] Le Baud, *Histoire de Bretagne*, p. 200; Pipe Rolls, 35 Henry II–1 Richard I, p. 197 and 2 Richard I, pp. 2, 5, 73, 90, 116, 137.

[43] *Charters*, no. C23. The bishops of Rennes and Nantes also attended Richard's court soon after his coronation, (L. Landon (ed.), *Itinerary of Richard I*, Pipe Roll Society, London, 1935, pp. 24, 30–1).

Tancred, king of Sicily, made by Richard at Messina in October 1190, in which Richard acknowledged Arthur as his heir in default of any legitimate issue of his own. Around the same time as negotiating the marriage agreement, Richard also took steps to secure the support of William, king of Scotland, for Arthur, his great-nephew.[44] It remains possible, though, that the acknowledgement of Arthur as heir in the marriage agreement was intended for Tancred's benefit, and that Richard preferred to keep the rival claimants to the succession in a state of uncertainty.

Richard's absence on Crusade left Constance with a free hand to govern Brittany from 1190 to 1194, but in 1195 Richard turned his attention to Brittany and the succession. According to William of Newburgh, Richard wished to take Arthur into his own custody in 1196, when Arthur was nearing nine years of age,[45] but the king first took action regarding Brittany sometime earlier, in March 1195. Constance was at Angers on 15 March, while Richard travelled from Chinon to Saint-James de Beuvron between the 17th and 23th of the month, and was actually in Brittany, at Fougères, on 24 March.[46] It is easy to imagine that a meeting took place between the duchess and the king at Angers, or on the journey north, with Richard proceeding to meet Ranulf at Saint-James de Beuvron, then entering Brittany from the north-east. Ranulf's letter on behalf of the canons of Fougères may have been made at this time, as the place-date is *Martilli*, possibly Marcillé (*dép.* Ille-et-Vilaine) and the act must pre-date the death of the addressee, Richard, bishop of London (1189–98).[47]

According to Le Baud, Richard's policy in 1195 was to reconcile Constance and Ranulf and to enforce Ranulf's exercise of ducal authority. To this end, Richard came to Brittany and was honourably received by Constance and Arthur at Rennes. During this visit, the king persuaded Constance, by entreaties and by threats, to marry

[44] W. L. Warren, *King John*, 2nd ed., New Haven and London, 1997, p. 39; WN, I, p. 335–6. See discussion at Landon (ed.), *Itinerary of Richard I*, p. 197. Note that another of Arthur's great-uncles, David, earl of Huntingdon, was also at Richard's court at Tours in June 1190.

[45] WN, II, p. 463.

[46] *Charters*, no. C31; J. C. Holt and R. Mortimer (eds.), *Acta of Henry II and Richard I: Handlist of documents surviving in the original in repositories in the United Kingdom*, List and Index Society, Special Series 21, London, 1986, I, nos. 374, 375; II, no. 226; Landon (ed.), *Itinerary of Richard I*, p. 101, no. 444. Cf. *ibid*. no. 443, a charter for Montmorel made on 23 March 1195 at 'Sanctum Jacobum', identified by Landon as Saint-Jacques-de-la-Lande (canton Rennes Sud-Ouest, arrond. Rennes, Ille-et-Vilaine). Another charter of Richard I, for Notre-Dame du Vœu (Cherbourg), bears the same place-date (BN nouv. acq. latin 1244, p. 409). The place is, however, Saint-James de Beuvron, where Montmorel had possessions, and which was equally within a day's journey of Fougères.

[47] *Charters*, R6.

Ranulf and to give him her son and her lands.[48] In view of the diplomatic evidence just cited, and especially the fact that Richard was as close as Fougères on 24 March, a visit to the ducal court at Rennes is not improbable. Although Le Baud is mistaken about the circumstances of the marriage, the account is coherent if one substitutes 'reconcile' for 'marry'. That is, although Constance and Ranulf married in 1189, Ranulf had never exercised his rights as duke *jure uxoris*, and Richard's intervention in March 1195 was intended to enable him to do so in the future.

Le Baud continues that the Bretons soon rebelled against Ranulf's regime and expelled him from the duchy. Ranulf fled to Normandy and the Angevin royal court. Allowing for Le Baud's partisanship, this account at least provides a context for the bizarre episode of Constance's captivity in 1196, which would be inexplicable if we had only Roger of Howden's account. As reported by Howden, in 1196 Constance was summoned by Richard to speak with him in Normandy. At Pontorson she was met by her husband, Ranulf, earl of Chester, seized and imprisoned at his castle of Saint-James de Beuvron.[49]

Le Baud gives a more detailed account of Constance's capture, which certainly has some elements of veracity. According to Le Baud, Richard returned to Rennes soon after Easter 1196, to attempt to reconcile Ranulf with Constance and the barons. Finding that the Bretons had assembled a strong force and now offered a hostile reception even to the king, Richard left Rennes for Nantes. He ordered Constance to meet him there, but this was a ruse. At Richard's behest, Ranulf captured Constance, *en route*, at Teillay. Ranulf then handed Constance over to his ally, Harscoët de Rays.[50]

Le Baud's date (1196) and the capture by Ranulf agree with Howden.[51] The involvement of Harscoët de Rays is mentioned only by Le Baud, but as a baron whose estates were south of the Loire, Harscoët may have been in sympathy with Richard. The most glaring inconsistency is in the place of capture, Teillay as against Pontorson. Teillay (*cant*. Bain-de-Bretagne, *arrond*. Redon, *dép*. Ille-et-Vilaine) is located between Rennes and Nantes, but otherwise it is problematical. In the twelfth century, Teillay was a forest pertaining to the lords of Château-

[48] Le Baud, *Histoire de Bretagne*, p. 201. [49] RH, IV, 7.

[50] Le Baud, *Histoire de Bretagne*, pp. 201–2. For Harscoët de Rays, see R. Blanchard (ed.), *Archives historiques de Poitou*. XXVII, *Cartulaire des sires de Rays (1160–1449)*, Poitiers, 1898, pp. lxxiii-lxxvii. Blanchard dismisses Le Baud's account of the involvement of Harscoët, but without citing any cogent evidence.

[51] For independent evidence of Andrew de Vitré's daughter being given as hostage, see A. Bertrand de Brousillon, (ed.), *La Maison de Laval (1020–1605): Etude historique accompagneé du Cartulaire de Craon*, 5 vols., Paris, 1893, V, no. 3200.

briant. In the second quarter of the century, 'the church of St Malo in the forest of Teillay' became a priory of Saint-Sulpice-la-Forêt and thrived under the patronage of the bishops of Rennes and the lords of Châteaubriant.[52] As a patroness of Saint-Sulpice, Constance might have visited the priory as she travelled from Rennes to Nantes; alternatively, the forest of Teillay may have made a good place for an ambush. Le Baud does not explain how this might have occurred within the domainal lands of Geoffrey de Châteaubriant, one of the Breton barons who supported Arthur during Constance's captivity.[53]

In the absence of any corroboration for Teillay as the place of capture, I suspect Le Baud of invention, inspired by a charter of Constance's made in the 1190s at *Teillolium*. Le Baud may have associated this charter with Constance's captivity because it is the only one of her acts for which there is also an act of Ranulf regarding the same subject-matter. But Ranulf's charter was made elsewhere, at *Martilli*, so there is no reason to think that Constance and Ranulf were together at the time, and furthermore the latest date for both charters is 1195.[54]

If the sources conflict as to the place of Constance's capture, there is no evidence at all for the location, or duration, of her captivity. There is, however, a substantial amount of evidence for events in Brittany during this period.

Roger of Howden again treats these events very summarily. According to Howden, when Arthur was unable to free his mother (a petition to Richard by Arthur and his counsellors must be implied here), he went over to Philip Augustus and attacked Richard's lands. In response, Richard invaded Brittany and laid waste to it.[55] In view of this account of violent hostility, it is curious that Howden should record that, at around the same time, Arthur 'dux Britannie' petitioned Richard on behalf of Peter de Dinan, then archdeacon of York.[56] Perhaps this was at an early stage, when Arthur first sought Constance's release, otherwise he could not have expected to have any influence at the Angevin court. This incident does, however, give the sense of a period of time elapsing between Constance's capture and the outbreak of hostilities.

This is also the sense one gets from Le Baud's account in his 'Histoire

[52] A. de la Borderie, *Essai sur géographie féodale de la Bretagne*, Rennes, 1989, pp. 9, 86; *Preuves*, cols. 985–6; *Cart. St-Sulpice*, pp. 100, 104, 142, 181, 183, 283, 420, 432.

[53] Le Baud, *Histoire de Bretagne*, p. 202, 204.

[54] *Charters*, nos. C25, R6, see also *EYC*, IV, pp. 77–8 and plate XV. *Teillolium* has been tentatively identified as Le Tilleul (dép. Manche).

[55] RH, IV, 7.

[56] RH, IV, 8. See *Charters*, 'Biographical notes', pp. 118–9.

de Bretagne'.[57] According to Le Baud, when the Breton barons learned of Constance's capture, their response was to send to her to ask what they should do. William, seneschal of Rennes, conveyed to them the duchess's orders, that they should swear fealty and render homage to Arthur, and serve him as they would herself. An assembly of bishops and barons then met Arthur at Saint-Malo de Beignon on 16 August, at which the magnates swore fealty to Arthur, and he swore, with sureties, that he would not make peace with Richard without them.[58] Soon after Constance was taken captive, Richard came to Rennes to see Arthur, but the boy had been given by his guardians into the custody of Andrew de Vitré, who concealed him in his own estates. Richard then left for Normandy. Herbert, bishop of Rennes, and Andrew de Vitré followed the king and petitioned him to release Constance. Richard agreed, provided the Bretons gave hostages to guarantee that Constance would henceforth govern Brittany in accordance with his wishes. Andrew de Vitré and other barons gave hostages, on the condition that they should be returned if Constance had not been freed by the feast of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary next (15 August 1196). Both Richard and Harscoët de Rays swore to these terms.[59]

When the appointed date came, Le Baud continues, and neither Constance nor the hostages were delivered, Andrew de Vitré sought Constance's instructions. She ordered him to ensure that Arthur did not fall into Richard's hands. The Breton barons demanded Richard and his sureties (the surety named is Robert of Thornham, seneschal of Anjou) to fulfil their undertaking and release Constance. Not wishing to do so, Richard sent military forces under Robert of Thornham into Brittany. They invaded the barony of Vitré, but Andrew had already departed, taking Arthur with him to the western extremities of Brittany. At this point, Le Baud interrupts his narrative to cite various Breton annals of the conflict between Richard and the Bretons, without attempting to

[57] Le Baud, *Histoire de Bretagne*, pp. 202–4; cf. *ibid*., Le Baud, *Chroniques de Vitré*, pp. 30–4 in C. d'Hozier (ed.), *Histoire de Bretagne, avec les chroniques des maisons de Vitré et de Laval par Pierre Le Baud*, Paris, 1638.

[58] Le Baud, *Histoire de Bretagne*, p. 202. Saint-Malo de Beignon (*cant*. Guer, *arrond*. Ploërmel, *dép*. Morbihan) was a residence of the bishops of Saint-Malo (L. Rosenzweig, *Dictionnaire topographique du département du Morbihan*, Paris, 1870, pp. xvii-xviii, 251–2), confirming William of Newburgh's record that the Bretons withdrew Arthur 'ad interiora Britannie' (WN, II, p. 464). Le Baud's account of this assembly appears to be derived from two contemporary documents. One, a charter for Andrew de Vitré (Le Baud, *Chroniques de Vitré*, pp. 30–1) is dated, 'the sixth day in the octave of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, 1180 (*sic*)'. Friday in the octave of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary in 1196 fell on 16 August.

[59] Again, the *Chroniques de Vitré* (p. 31) gives more details of the document which was Le Baud's source, reciting the terms which were to apply if Constance was released within the term. The names of witnesses and the seals attached to this charter are also listed.

reconcile their brief accounts. The narrative resumes with Andrew de Vitré and Arthur received by Guihomar and Harvey de Léon and sheltered at their castle of Brest. Then a pitched battle is fought near the town of '*Kærhes*' (Carhaix?) between a Breton army consisting of the barons who had sworn fealty to Arthur and the men of Léon, Quimper, Tréguier and the Vannetais, and the forces of Richard led by Robert of Thornham and Mercadier. The Angevin army is defeated and withdraws, whereupon Richard is prepared to make peace.

In the 'Chroniques de Vitré', Le Baud follows the same chronology, but the account is, naturally, focused on the role of Andrew de Vitré. This source omits the 'battle of Carhaix', describing only the initial campaign against the barony of Vitré, and ultimately attributes Richard's decision to make peace to the losses he suffered there in the face of Andrew de Vitré's resistance.[60]

Le Baud is the only source to mention the assembly at Saint-Malo de Beignon, or any diplomatic negotiations, but other sources corroborate Howden and Le Baud as to the military conflict which occurred during Constance's captivity. A bull of Pope Celestine III dated November 1197 describes a chapel in the barony of Becherel which had fallen into disrepair on account of the 'guerras et orribiles tempestates bellorum in partibus illis'.[61] Annals from the adjacent barony of Montfort record that, in the conflict, 'destructa est tota Britannia'. Mercadier entered Brittany with a great army, and there was, 'magna guerra in Britannia et mortalitas hominum'. The local event of note was that Montfort was destroyed by Alan de Dinan (the lord of Bécherel).[62] Repercussions were felt in England, where some of the honour of Richmond lands were taken into the king's hand, including the lands of Alan de Rohan.[63]

There were in fact two Angevin campaigns in Brittany, the first, in April 1196, led by Richard himself, the second, probably after August 1196, led by Robert of Thornham and Mercadier. Richard's campaign is only briefly mentioned by Le Baud, who records only that the king visited Rennes but soon left for Normandy when Arthur was not produced. The main source for Richard's campaign is William the Breton's 'Philippidos'. This describes a ruthless attack, led by Richard himself, without giving any context or date, except for the description of the burning of a church on Good Friday.[64] This corresponds with

[60] Le Baud, *Chroniques de Vitré*, pp. 30–2.
[61] *Preuves*, col. 728.
[62] *Preuves*, col. 153, cited at Le Baud, *Histoire de Bretagne*, p. 203. See *Charters*, 'Biographical notes – Alain de Dinan-Vitré'.
[63] *Pipe Rolls, 8 Richard I*, p. 209 and 9 Richard I, pp. 51 and 81.
[64] William the Breton, 'Philippidos', in H. F. Delaborde (ed.), *Œuvres de Rigord et de Guillaume le Breton, historiens de Philippe-Auguste*, 2 vols, Paris, 1882 and 1885 II, 'Tome second, Philippide de Guillaume le Breton', pp. 1–385, at pp. 130–1, lines 147–156. See also GC, I, p. 532.

Richard's presence on 15 April [1196] at 'Minehi Sancti Cari', which looks like a Breton place-name, although it remains unidentified. A song attributed to Bertrand de Born also alludes to this campaign, applauding Richard for venturing into Brittany.[65] The campaign must have been brief, since Richard was at Les Andelys on 7 April 1196 and once more in Normandy, at Vaudreuil, on 7 May. The king spent the remainder of the year in Normandy or engaging with Capetian forces in the Vexin.[66]

The second campaign, led by Richard's lieutenants, is described in detail by Le Baud. There is certainly corroboration for an invasion of the barony of Vitré (and no doubt the other frontier baronies), led by the seneschal of Anjou, Robert of Thornham, and composed of Norman, Angevin, Poitevin and Manceau troops and mercenaries.[67] Le Baud's 'battle of Carhaix', in contrast, may be romantic fiction. No sources give dates for this second campaign, but both Le Baud and William of Newburgh connect it with the end of the conflict. For the reasons set out below, this must be after August 1196.

With other sources only giving vague references to Constance being imprisoned and military conflict in Brittany in 1196, to establish the chronology of Constance's captivity it is necessary to return to Le Baud. Le Baud's account, however, contains chronological inconsistencies. Richard orders Constance to meet him at Nantes shortly after Easter 1196, and her capture implicitly occurs very soon afterwards, but the assembly at Saint-Malo de Beignon, represented as the Bretons' first action upon Constance's imprisonment, does not occur until mid-August (1196). Then, in paraphrasing the subsequent agreement for Constance's release, Le Baud gives the agreed release-date as the feast of the Assumption in that same year, 1196, which had, of course, already passed. Rather than disregard Le Baud on these grounds, it seems to me that the inconsistencies can be resolved on the basis that Le Baud has simply placed the Saint-Malo de Beignon assembly too early in the sequence of events.

I would propose the following account of Constance's capture and imprisonment. Early in 1196, perhaps after an unsatisfactory visit to Rennes, Richard summoned Constance to Normandy, where Ranulf took her prisoner, delivering her to the custody of Harscoët de Rays.

[65] W. D. Paden *et. al.* (eds. and trans.), *The Poems of the troubadour Bertran de Born*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, Ca., 1986., no. 46; G. Gouiran (ed. and trans.), *L'Amour et la guerre: l'Œuvre de Bertran de Born*, 2 vols., Aix-en-Provence, 1985, II, no. 44, pp. 817–26.

[66] Landon (ed.), *Itinerary of Richard I*, pp. 112–6, 168. In 1196, Easter Sunday was 21 April.

[67] Le Baud, *Histoire de Bretagne*, p. 203; Le Baud, *Chroniques de Vitré*, p. 32; *Ann. ang.*, p. 28; WN, II, p. 491; *Preuves*, col. 153.

When whatever demands Richard made were not met (presumably the custody of Arthur), in mid-April, Richard personally led a brief campaign into north-eastern Brittany, as far as Rennes. On returning to Normandy, he negotiated with representatives of the Breton barons and agreed to release Constance by 15 August 1196, in exchange for hostages and on condition that henceforth she would act 'par son conseil et ordonnance'. The Breton hostages were given, and on 15 August the Breton magnates assembled, with Arthur, at Saint-Malo de Beignon. When Richard breached his part of the agreement and released neither Constance nor the hostages (as was perhaps anticipated), Arthur and the assembled magnates took their reciprocal oaths. With the Bretons now in open rebellion, Richard launched a more substantial military campaign, led by Robert de Thornham, to seize Arthur and, failing that, to punish the Bretons.

Thwarting Richard, however, the Bretons succeeded in getting Arthur out of the duchy and into the custody of Philip Augustus. According to William the Breton, Guethenoc, bishop of Vannes, was charged with delivering Arthur to the Capetian court, where he would spend the next few years.[68] Clearly, Arthur was not delivered to Philip Augustus until after the assembly of August 1196. Since the bishop of Vannes seems to have played a prominent role in this assembly, he must have left Brittany with Arthur soon afterwards.[69]

It was possibly the knowledge that Arthur was beyond his reach that led Richard to make peace, notwithstanding the conflicting (and partisan) opinions of Le Baud (Richard sought peace because his forces had suffered such heavy losses in the Vitré campaign) and William of Newburgh (the Bretons sought peace because of the devastation inflicted by the royal forces). If custody of Arthur was Richard's aim in 1196, the outcome was anything but a triumph for him.[70] Further punishment of the Bretons would not yield Arthur if he was no longer in their possession. It made more sense for Richard to pursue hostilities with Philip Augustus.

With Arthur's custody settled for the time being, the peace negotiations involved only two matters, Constance's release and future relations between Richard and the Breton barons. The date of Constance's release is unknown, but peace must have been made in the summer of 1197 when Richard took the allegiance of the men of Champagne,

[68] William the Breton, 'Philippidos', p. 131, lines 161–5.

[69] The charter for Andrew de Vitré made at Saint-Malo de Beignon was under Guethenoc's episcopal seal (Le Baud, *Chroniques de Vitré*, p. 30).

[70] For the misgivings of a contemporary commentator, possibly Bertrand de Born, see above, note 65.

Flanders and Brittany from Philip Augustus.[71] Maurice, bishop of Nantes (who had been at the Saint-Malo de Beignon assembly) and Robert of Thornham were both at Richard's court at Tours on 1 April 1197, perhaps in this connection.[72]

Howden's assertion that Richard had bought the allegiance of the Bretons is supported by a document setting out the terms of the peace which is preserved in Le Baud's 'Chroniques de Vitré'.[73] Richard restored all of Duchess Constance's lands, pardoned the rebellious barons, and allowed them to continue to serve Duchess Constance as they had previously. He also restored lands and rights outside the authority of Duchess Constance which individuals had forfeited or merely claimed to be entitled to. The king was particularly generous to the Vitré family. All his castles and his lands on both sides of the Channel would be restored to Andrew. His younger brother, Robert, a secular canon, was to receive not only the revenues he had lost, but also 'benefices' in England to the value of 100 marcs.[74] Their mother, Emma de Dinan, would be restored to seisin of her lands and her dower lands as she had held them before the war.[75] William de Lohéac would be granted the land in the barony of Rays to which he was entitled by reason of marriage, which the king had kept in his own hand.[76] Alan de Châteaugiron would receive all his rights and lands in England as his father had possessed them. Geoffrey Spina would receive the rights to which he was entitled, on both sides of the Channel, by reason of his marriage to the heiress of Alan fitzJordan, the hereditary seneschal of Dol. William de la Guerche and Alan de Acigné were also included in this peace.[77] The same document records the giving of hostages: Peter, the son and heir of William de Lohéac, Philip, the brother of Alan de Châteaugiron, and Ralph de Montfort, probably the younger brother of Amaury de Montfort.[78] Some or all of the hostages given in 1196 for Constance's release may also have remained in Richard's custody.[79]

As part of the settlement, Duchess Constance promised, on behalf of the barons and knights, that they would keep the peace, and that she would expel from her lands any who wished to break it. Duchess Constance, Herbert bishop of Rennes, Peter bishop of Saint-Malo and

[71] RH, IV, p. 19. [72] Landon (ed.), *Itinerary of Richard I*, pp. 116–7.
[73] Le Baud, *Chroniques de Vitré*, p. 33–4; *Charters*, no. C34.
[74] See *Charters*, 'Biographical notes', pp. 199–200.
[75] See *Cart. Laval*, I, pp. 283–5.
[76] See *Charters*, 'Biographical notes', p. 193.
[77] Le Baud, *Histoire de Bretagne*, p. 204.
[78] For Amaury and Ralph de Montfort (or Montauban), see Le Baud, *Histoire de Bretagne*, p. 202; *Preuves*, cols. 779, 799, 819, 829–30; *Charters*, nos. C 33, 55.
[79] For Andrew de Vitré's daughter, see Le Baud, *Chroniques de Vitré*, p. 35.

Robert of Thornham all swore to support the king against the barons and knights. Geoffrey de Châteaubriant swore that the king would keep this peace. Only after these oaths had been taken and the treaty recorded in a charter under the seal of Herbert, bishop of Rennes, was Constance freed.[80]

As far as the barons were concerned, the peace restored the *status quo ante bellum*, and the Bretons returned to their customary Angevin allegiance. Andrew de Vitré attested a royal charter at Ouilly (12 August 1198) and a charter of Robert of Thornham, at Angers (1197), both concerning Marmoutier's priory of Carbay, in which Andrew probably had an interest.[81]

Constance continued to rule Brittany in her own name. Arthur returned from the Capetian court around the beginning of 1199 and began to be associated in Constance's government of Brittany.[82] At the time of Richard's death on 6 April 1199 Arthur was in Brittany, apparently playing host to his uncle, John, count of Mortain. This may have been more than a social visit. According to Ralph of Coggeshall, John had recently left Richard's court after a dispute arose between the two brothers.[83] Whatever common interests John and Arthur may have had with Richard as king, the news of his death turned uncle and nephew into arch-rivals for the succession to the Angevin dominions. Arthur's claim to succeed Richard was supported in Anjou, Touraine and Maine. In the months from mid-April to mid-September 1199, Arthur concentrated on securing these counties, with the aid of Duchess Constance and Philip Augustus.

Co-ordinating the operation was the Angevin baron, William des Roches, immediately appointed by Arthur as his seneschal of Anjou and Maine.[84] William's sudden appearance at Arthur's side is unexplained. He had Breton connections, in that his barony of Sablé was situated on the Breton frontier, and he was related by marriage to the families of Craon and Dinan-Becherel (through Juhel de Mayenne), both of which had supplied seneschals of Brittany, and possibly to Geoffrey de Châteaubriant, 'seneschal of La Mée'.[85]

[80] Le Baud, *Chroniques de Vitré*, pp. 33–4; cf. Le Baud, *Histoire de Bretagne*, p. 204.

[81] P. Marchegay (ed.), *Archives d'Anjou: Recueil de documents et mémoires inédits de cette province*, Angers, 1853 and 1854, II, pp. 13–14.

[82] *Charters*, pp. 109, 133.

[83] D. L. Douie and H. Farmer (eds.), *Magna Vita sancti Hugonis: The life of St Hugh of Lincoln*, 2 vols., London, 1962, p. 156; J. Stevenson (ed.) *Ralph of Coggeshall, Chronican Anglicanum*, London, 1875, p. 99.

[84] 'Chronicum turonense magnum', in A. Salmon (ed.), *Recueil de chroniques de Touraine*, Tours, 1854, p. 145; *Charters*, no. A3. For William des Roches, see N. Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, Cambridge, 1996, pp. 22–5 and *Charters*, 'Biographical notes'.

[85] For Geoffrey de Châteaubriant, see below, note 121.

It is instructive to consider Arthur's supporters in April 1199. Arthur's charter made at Angers on Easter day, 1199, indicates that he had with a him a strong contingent of Breton barons, in addition to Duchess Constance and ecclesiastical magnates including the bishops of Nantes and Vannes and the abbot of Saint-Melaine de Rennes. The barons named in this charter are Geoffrey de Châteaubriant, William de la Guerche, Geoffrey d'Ancenis, Andrew de Vitré and Ivo de la Jaille.[86] The attestation of Isabel de Mayenne indicates the allegiance of her son, Juhel. That this support was valued and enduring is indicated by the fact that these are the very men rewarded by Arthur in the ensuing weeks with strategic castellanies; Geoffrey de Châteaubriant at Baugé, William de la Guerche at Segré, Andrew de Vitré's younger brother Robert at Langeais, while Juhel de Mayenne received four castellanies in Maine.[87]

These men were all associated with the Breton-Angevin frontier. Some of the grants made to them are no doubt what they look like, Arthur placing trusted supporters in strategic castles, such as Robert de Vitré at Langeais and Geoffrey de Châteaubriant at Baugé. But on closer inspection, others represent the satisfaction of long-held claims by frontier-barons to Angevin lands, notably the grant of Segré to William de la Guerche and Gorron, Ambrières, Châteauneuf-sur-Colmont and La Chartre to Juhel de Mayenne.[88]

Conspicuous by their absence are men from parts north and west of the Breton-Angevin frontier. The list of baronial witnesses in April 1199 contrasts with the list of barons who supported Arthur against Richard in August 1196. On that occasion, the frontier-barons were acting together with (from west to east): Guihomar and Harvey de Léon, Alan of Penthièvre, Henry Salomon de Hennebont, Alan de Rohan, William de Lohéac, Pagan de Malestroit, Amaury de Montfort and Alan de Châteaugiron.[89] Evidently, Arthur's support in 1199 was drawn from those Breton barons who already had interests east of the frontier. With the exception of Alan de Rohan, whose English lands were taken into the king's hand, the remainder of the Breton barons did not rally to support Arthur, either because they had no extra-Breton interests, or because, like Hasculf de Subligny, lord of Combour, and William de Fougères, guardian of the barony of Fougères, their interests

[86] *Charters*, A3. [87] *Charters*, A5, 8, 9, 13

[88] On Segré, see Meuret, *Marche Anjou-Bretagne*, pp. 323. For the castellanies of Gorron, Ambrières and Châteauneuf-sur-Colmont, see D.J. Power, 'What did the Frontier of Angevin Normandy Comprise?', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 17 (1994) 181–201 at 186–8, and D. J. Power, 'King John and the Norman Aristocracy', in S. Church (ed.), *King John. New Interpretations*, Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1999, 117–36.

[89] *Charters*, nos. Ar 1, 2.

lay in the Anglo-Norman realm and hence with John. Alan of Penthièvre was actually serving John in 1199.[90]

The events of 1199 were so significant that they were recorded by numerous contemporary chroniclers, variously recording matters of interest to the Anglo-Norman realm, the Capetian realm, and the inhabitants of Greater Anjou who were caught up in the conflict. Consequently, there is much contemporary record of the events of 1199, but with each writer recording different things, and rarely giving precise dates, it is difficult to reconcile them and gain a coherent picture of the sequence of events. The following account is my attempt to do this. When news reached John and Arthur of Richard's death, both set off in the same direction, for the Angevin heartlands. John took the pragmatic approach; he made straight for Chinon and the royal treasury, which was delivered to him by Robert of Thornham. Arthur opted for legitimising his claim to the inheritance. On 16 April, only seven days after Richard's death, Arthur was at the abbey of Pontron, north-west of Angers. Two days later, on Easter day, he entered Angers where he was invested as count by popular assent. Arthur then proceeded to Tours, where he underwent a ceremony of investiture in the cathedral at some time during the Easter festival. While Arthur underwent these ceremonies, matters of military strategy were undertaken on his behalf by Constance and William des Roches. From Angers, Arthur's armed forces, with Constance at their rear, headed for Le Mans, apparently hoping to capture John there. The Bretons and their Angevin allies attacked Le Mans at dawn on 20 April, routed John's supporters and occupied the city.[91] At the same time, Philip Augustus, whose response to the news of Richard's death had been to launch an attack on the Norman frontier, turned south and met up with the Bretons at Le Mans. There, according to Rigord, both Constance and Arthur swore fealty to Philip Augustus and Arthur also rendered homage.[92]

John had been at Le Mans en route to his own investiture as duke of Normandy (25 April) then coronation in England (27 May). He did not return to Normandy until the end of June, but the duchy was strongly defended, and John's Poitevin supporters maintained military pressure on Arthur's regime in Anjou. On 23 May they besieged Arthur in

[90] *Rot. Liberate*, p. 18; *Rot. Chart.*, pp. 4, 52; *Rot. Norm.*, p. 31.

[91] *Charters*, Ar3; Salmon (ed.), 'Chronicum turonense magnum', p. 145; *Ann. ang.*, p. 19; Douie and Farmer (eds.), *Vita Sancti Hugonis*, p. 146–7; Le Baud, *Histoire de Bretagne*, p. 205.

[92] Rigord, p. 145. Rigord (deliberately?) does not give any details about the content of this homage, in contrast with his record of the homage in July of Eleanor of Aquitaine, 'pro comitatu Pictavensium, qui jure hereditario eam contingebat' (p. 146).

Tours and Philip Augustus was obliged to send the French champion William des Barres to the rescue.[93]

Notwithstanding such incidents, Arthur continued to exercise comital authority in his newly acquired territories, as numerous charters attest. He was at Beaufort-en-Vallée, near Angers, in May and at Le Mans in June.[94] It transpired that this was just a breathing-space pending John's return from England. John had mustered troops and supplies in England, and added Norman troops mustered at Rouen on 25 June. The kings arranged a truce to last until 15 August.[95] In the meantime, Arthur was placed in the custody of Philip Augustus, who escorted him to Paris on 28 July.[96]

At the end of the truce, on 16 August, the kings met on the Norman frontier. Philip demanded the counties of Anjou, Maine, Touraine and Poitou on Arthur's behalf, but John refused outright. The two sides then went into open warfare. Philip Augustus took Conches and Ballon, but in besieging Lavardin his troops were overcome by John's men. Philip retreated to Le Mans and thence returned to the royal principality.[97]

In the meantime, from around the beginning of August, some of the Manceau barons began to join King John. Perhaps this was connected with the end of Arthur's personal leadership of the opposition and the more conspicuous role of Philip Augustus, but may equally be explained in terms of local and dynastic politics.[98] It was against this background that moves began for the Bretons to come to terms with John. William des Roches must take the credit, or blame, for this initiative, but it is impossible to know whether he was acting at the behest of Constance and Arthur or on his own account. According to Roger of Howden, William was offended by Philip Augustus' arrogant response to his protests over the destruction of the castle of Ballon. This was the catalyst for William to remove Arthur from Philip's custody, make peace between Arthur and John and surrender Le Mans to John. This incident may be a convenient excuse, overemphasised by Roger of Howden, but something significant must have happened after Ballon. In the chronicle of Tours, the destruction of Ballon is also mentioned in the context of William's 'desertion' of Arthur and surrender of Le Mans.[99]

We are fortunate in the survival of the text of letters issued by John

[93] Salmon (ed.), 'Chronicum turonense magnum', p. 145.
[94] *Charters*, Ar6, 7, 9, 10, 15. [95] RH, IV, p. 93. [96] Rigord, p. 129.
[97] RH, IV, p. 96; GC, II, p. 92; Salmon (ed.), 'Chronicum turonense magnum', p. 145
[98] See Power, 'King John and the Norman Aristocracy'.
[99] RH, IV, p. 96. Ballon ('Wallum') is also the only siege in this campaign mentioned by Gervase of Canterbury (II, p. 92).

on 18 September, to the effect that he would be guided by William des Roches in making peace with Arthur.[100] Some sort of peace was agreed within the next few days, and it is unfortunate that no record of its terms has survived, as it would probably have helped to explain the events of the following months. William des Roches surrendered nearby Le Mans to John, who held court there, with intermittent trips to Chinon, for the next two weeks. Arthur and Constance were in attendance, as was Aimery, viscount of Thouars, to whom John had previously given custody of Chinon and the office of seneschal of Anjou. William des Roches was rewarded for his services with confirmation of the office of seneschal of Anjou, as he had held it under Arthur, to the chagrin of Viscount Aimery. I would argue that it was at this time, and as part of the peace settlement, that John arranged the marriage of Constance and Aimery's younger brother, Guy de Thouars.

The circumstances of the end of Constance's marriage to Ranulf are completely obscure. The sources are silent; there is no evidence either of the date or the grounds invoked. Consanguinity could certainly have been raised, and Ranulf Higden explains that the earl of Chester was inspired by the example of the annulment of King John's first marriage on this ground. Proceedings to annul John's marriage began in 1199, probably soon after his accession.[101] Other sources associated with the earls of Chester agree that Ranulf took the initiative to end the marriage.[102] The connection with John's accession is significant. Prior to Richard's death and the ensuing succession crisis, there was no conflict of interest for Ranulf in being both an Anglo-Norman baron and also duke of Brittany and stepfather of Arthur. From April 1199, however, Ranulf's position must have become extremely uncomfortable. It is not surprising that he was initially reluctant to declare his support for John.[103] Before the end of 1199, Ranulf was remarried, to Clemencia, great-niece and ward of William de Fougères.

Roger of Howden's record of Constance's remarriage, in the context of the flight from John's court of Constance and Arthur with Aimery, viscount of Thouars, has been interpreted as implying that it was somehow an act of defiance, the manifestation of a new Breton-Poitevin alliance against John. This interpretation does not correspond

[100] *Rot. Chart.*, p. 30b.

[101] G. E. C[ockayne] (ed.), *The complete peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain and the United Kingdom*, 13 vols., rev. edn., London, 1910–59., x, p. 795; J. R. Lumby (ed.), *Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden monachi Cestrensis*, Rolls Series, London, 1882, viii, p. 176; Warren, *King John*, p. 66.

[102] G. Barraclough (ed. and trans.), 'Annals of Dieulacres abbey', p. 21; 'Annals of St Werburgh, Chester', p. 47.

[103] *RH*, iv, 88.

with the evidence for the career of Guy de Thouars. Viscount Aimery himself may have been notoriously fickle in his political allegiances, but there is no such evidence for his younger brother Guy. On the contrary, Guy's whole history, so far as it is known, shows him to have been a loyal supporter of Richard, as count of Poitou and as king. Guy may have been with Richard on his final campaign, since he was at Fontevraud for Richard's funeral with the queen-mother, Eleanor. There is no evidence that he went over to Arthur's side after this. Although there is no evidence for Guy's activities between April 1199 and his marriage to Constance, perhaps the most compelling evidence of his attachment to the Angevin cause is that, when Constance's death in 1201 ended his role as duke-consort in Brittany, Guy entered (or re-entered) John's service. He continued to serve John even after Arthur's capture, only abandoning his Angevin allegiance when he was offered the regency of the duchy of Brittany in 1203, and still wavering again towards John in 1205.[104]

The marriage of Guy and Constance certainly took place at some time in September or October 1199, and presumably as part of the peace negotiations with John at that time.[105] Constance's submission to John in September 1199, formalised by the treaty of Le Goulet in May 1200, meant that she acknowledged that her marriage was in his gift. If Constance and Guy had married against John's wishes, one would have expected some redress such as efforts by John to set the marriage aside and marry Constance to the husband of his choice, or, on a more practical level and one that would appear from the Pipe Rolls, seizure of the honour of Richmond into the king's hand. None of this occurred.[106] The evidence suggests, therefore, that the marriage of Constance and Guy de Thouars was not an act of rebellion against Angevin authority. Rather, it was as much an act of Angevin sovereignty as were Constance's two previous marriages. John chose Guy de Thouars as Constance's husband in the expectation that his unswerving loyalty to the Angevin kings meant that he would guarantee that government of the duchy of Brittany would follow John's interests, and he chose well.

According to Roger of Howden, while still at John's court (at Le Mans?), Arthur was warned that John intended to take him captive, and

[104] *Rot. Litt. Pat.*, p. 4, 7, 11b, 17b, 27.

[105] The dating-clause of a charter of Guy establishes that the earliest possible date is 28 August 1199, and Guy, styled 'comes Britannie', attested a charter of Arthur dated October 1199 (*Charters*, Ar12, Gu2).

[106] On 29 June 1200 John even granted *Vieriis* to 'Guy, son of the viscount of Thouars', although this form of reference, rather than 'count of Brittany', suggests this was Guy's nephew, the son of Viscount Aimery (*Rot. Norm.*, p. 25).

for this reason Arthur, with Constance, Viscount Aimery and many others secretly left and went to Angers. Howden's account is corroborated by a comital charter made by Arthur at Angers in October 1199.[107] Whether Arthur was exercising comital authority in defiance of John or in accordance with the terms of the peace-settlement cannot be known. Meanwhile, Philip Augustus was concerned about the turn of events, and travelled to Tours. Arthur was now once more taken into Philip's custody, where he would remain for the next two years.[108]

Meanwhile, Philip and John agreed to a truce until 13 January 1200.[109] Now the two kings were ready to make peace and Arthur was the loser. Philip recognised John as the heir to the Angevin dominions; Arthur was recognised as the heir only to Brittany, for which he was to render homage to John. This pact was sealed at Le Goulet, around 22 May 1200.[110] Predictably, Arthur was not pleased about it. When St Hugh, bishop of Lincoln, met Arthur in Paris a few weeks after Le Goulet he found him angry and resentful.[111] In July 1201, John visited Paris, where he was feted by Philip Augustus and invested with the county of Anjou, 'contra Arturum nepotem suum'.[112]

With Arthur in Capetian custody, Constance returned to Brittany and took no further action in respect of Arthur's claims in Anjou. Constance died in September 1201, whereupon Guy de Thouars apparently abandoned all interest in Brittany and resumed his career of Angevin royal service.[113] Arthur's succession to the duchy was uncontentious, provided he acknowledged that he held it of John as duke of Normandy. Arthur returned to Brittany from the Capetian court and was invested as duke in September 1201, although he was still only fourteen years of age.[114] John's continued assertion of authority in the duchy is demonstrated by his order to the executors of Duchess Constance's testament, issued in January 1202, and his summons to Arthur to render homage for Brittany two months later.[115]

In this period, between October 1199 and the beginning of 1202, it was not only the ducal family who were reconciled to Angevin lordship. Breton barons went about their baronial business in peace, and individually came to terms with John. Andrew de Vitré married the daughter of Harscoët de Rays, and along with lands in the county of

[107] *Charters*, Ar12.
[108] Salmon (ed.), 'Chronicum turonense magnum', p. 146; *Ann. ang.*, p. 19.
[109] RH, iv, 97.
[110] A. Teulet (ed.), *Layettes du Trésor des Chartes*, I, Paris, 1863, pp. 217–9; H.-F. Delaborde *et al.* (eds.), *Recueil des actes de Philippe Auguste, roi de France*, 4 vols., Paris, 1916–79, no. 633.
[111] Douie and Farmer (eds.), *Vita sancti Hugonis*, p. 156.
[112] *Rot. Liberate*, p. 18; Rigord, p. 150; Salmon (ed.), 'Chronicum turonense magnum', p. 146.
[113] *Charters*, p. 135. [114] *Charters*, pp. 111, A18. [115] *Rot. Litt. Pat.*, pp. 5, 7.

Nantes, was finally given back his own daughter and heiress who had been held as a hostage by Harscoët since 1196.[116] Andrew also fined with John for possession of lands in Normandy.[117] William de Fougères, William de la Guerche and Juhel de Mayenne rendered homage for lands in Normandy, Anjou and Maine respectively.[118] In August 1200, Eudo de Pontchâteau agreed to serve John in return for £100 angevin per annum.[119] In July 1201, John restored Alan de Rohan's English lands.[120] In July 1202, the castle of Monterevault, which had been in the king's hand, was restored to Geoffrey de Châteaubriant, who claimed it in right of his wife.[121]

Arthur declined John's summons to render homage in Normandy at Easter 1202 because by that time conflict between John and Philip Augustus had overturned the treaty of Le Goulet and revived Arthur's ambitions. The events of 1202–3 have been minutely examined previously, and do not require reiterating.[122] From the Breton point-of-view, Arthur was restored as heir to the Angevin dominions. He was knighted by Philip Augustus at Gournay in April and betrothed to the king's daughter Marie. In July, Arthur set off on campaign to win his inheritance.

The English records of government indicate that Arthur received enthusiastic support from the Breton barons in 1202, and not just the frontier-barons. Even William de Fougères, who had remained loyal to John throughout 1199, now rebelled.[123] In the rout at Mirebeau on 1 August, Arthur's loyal courtier, Robert de Vitré, was taken prisoner, along with Conan, son of Guihomar de Léon, and Robert d'Apigné.[124] Alan de Rohan and William de Fougères suffered confiscation of their English lands, for having been 'contra nos cum inimicis nostris', as did several lesser landholders such as Reginald Boterel, William de Monbourcher and Aleman d'Aubigny.[125] Leading Breton magnates obtained letters of safe-conduct to treat with John: the bishops of Nantes and Saint-Brieuc, Alan of Penthièvre, Geoffrey de Châteaubriant, William de Fougères, Eudo son of Eudo de Porhoët, Pagan de Malestroit and Alan de Rohan.[126]

[116] Le Baud, *Chroniques de Vitré*, p. 35.
[117] *Rot. Norm.*, p. 40.
[118] *Rot. Chart.*, pp. 34, 75; *Rot. Litt. Pat.*, p. 2.
[119] *Rot. Norm.* p. 28.
[120] *Rot. Liberate*, p. 18, see also pp. 19, 22.
[121] *Rot. Norm.*, p. 55. Geoffrey's wife was Beatrix, viscountess of Monterevault, and, according to an unsubstantiated tradition, the sister or daughter of Robert III de Sablé (G. Ménage, *Histoire de Sablé, première partie*, Paris, 1683, pp. 171–2.
[122] Recently, M. D. Legge, 'William Marshall and Arthur of Brittany' *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 55 (1982), 18–24; J. C. Holt, 'King John and Arthur of Brittany', *Nottingham Medieval Studies* (forthcoming).
[123] See pp. 168–9.
[124] *Rot. Litt. Pat.*, pp. 15, 17, 20–1, 33.
[125] *Rot. Liberate*, pp. 36, 37, 44–6, 63; *Pipe Roll, 2 John*, p. 91.

The months after August 1202 saw a number of visits by Breton barons and courtiers to John's court, treating with the king over the release either of Arthur or of their own kin who were being held to ransom.[127] As time passed, though, it became apparent that John would not release Arthur or his sister Eleanor, and rumours spread that Arthur had died in captivity. Arthur died around Easter 1203, but contemporaries, with few exceptions, never knew the details. In the absence of reliable evidence, it is impossible to determine the circumstances in which the Breton magnates decided to transfer their allegiance wholesale to Philip Augustus, with the infant Alice, eldest daughter of Duchess Constance and Guy de Thouars, as Arthur's heir and Guy as regent. However it came about, this decision, taken between August 1202 and August 1203,[128] finally ended Angevin rule in Brittany.

[126] *Rot. Litt. Pat.*, pp. 16, 17.
[127] *Rot. Litt. Pat.*, pp. 16, 17, 20, 21, 33b.
[128] Guy's English lands escheated in September 1203 (*Rot. Liberate*, pp. 63–5, 67).

CONCLUSION

If only Henry II had included 'dux Britannie', or even 'comes Nannetensis', in his formal title, Brittany might have received more attention from students of Anglo-Norman and Angevin history. The omission may have been justified, in terms of Henry II's relations with Conan IV and his successors as dukes of Brittany, but it disguises the fact that Brittany was as much a province of the 'Angevin empire', one of the continental dominions of the Angevin kings of England, as were Normandy, Greater Anjou and Aquitaine. It has been the subject of this book to examine the means by which Henry II acquired lordship of Brittany, and how the duchy was governed by Henry II and his successors until 1203.

One of the principal themes of the book is that Brittany was not an isolated society prior to the advent of Henry II in 1158. The significance of this for my thesis is that the Angevin regime did not involve the introduction of new and alien institutions to Brittany. Since it is often assumed that this was the case, clearly the historiography of Angevin Brittany requires revision.

The historiography on Brittany at the end of the twelfth century involves a consensus that the significance of the Angevin regime was in the establishment of centralised ducal administration, and the extension of ducal authority over the Breton baronage. The Angevins have been credited with no less an achievement than the creation of a united duchy of Brittany, so that, in 1203, Philip Augustus acquired a unified and well-organised province.[1] The consensus, however, is based on certain assumptions as to the nature of Breton institutions and society

[1] B.-A. Pocquet du Haute-Jussé, 'Les Plantagenêts et la Bretagne', *AB* 53 (1946), 2–27 at 27; A. Chédeville and N.-Y. Tonnerre, *La Bretagne féodale XIe–XIIIe siècle*, Rennes, 1987, p. 111; N.-Y. Tonnerre, *Naissance de la Bretagne: Géographie historique et structures sociales de la Bretagne méridionale (Nantais et Vannetais) de la fin du VIIIe à la fin du XIIe* siècle, Angers, 1994, pp. 392, 545, 549–50.

before the advent of Henry II, and, flowing from this, as to the originality of developments in ducal government under the Angevins. A good example is the theory that the 'Assize of Count Geoffrey' represented a sovereign act of ducal authority introducing the Anglo-Norman/Angevin principle of succession by primogeniture into Brittany. Another is the theory that Henry II created a network of regional seneschals *ab initio*. Similarly, there is a tendency to regard the Angevin regime as a monolithic phenomenon under the sovereignty of Henry II. For instance, it is believed that Henry II created the office of seneschal of Brittany largely because this official title first appears in the documentary sources in the 1180s, during Henry II's reign.

It has been the aim of this study to examine in detail the nature of the Angevin administration of Brittany. This examination has demonstrated that the assumptions just mentioned are ill-founded.

I have argued that Brittany was integrated into the politics and culture of western France and the Anglo-Norman realm. Consequently, Brittany shared the legal and administrative institutions of neighbouring regions. Specifically, the administrative offices of seneschal ('senescallus'/'dapifer'), *prepositus* and *vicarius* were present in Brittany, and were developing along similar lines to the same offices elsewhere in western France, before the mid-twelfth century.

The development of legal and administrative institutions in Brittany was a continuing process in which the period of Angevin rule represented merely another phase (or rather phases, see below). The Angevin contribution has been thrown into high relief by the fact that, immediately before Henry II's intervention in Brittany, the ducal administration was less effective than it had been a generation earlier, under Duke Conan III. A similar state of civil war in England around the same time is conventionally referred to as 'the Anarchy', and there is no reason to think that the institutions of ducal government survived any better in Brittany between 1148 and 1156. In assessing the Angevin contribution to the development of ducal government and ducal authority, it would be more accurate to compare Henry II's regime with that of Duke Conan III, rather than contrasting it with the situation prevailing under the rival regimes of Eudo de Porhoët and Hoël, count of Nantes. Such an exercise would produce a more regular and consistent pattern of development.

In reality, in the 1150s and 1160s, Brittany was a territorial principality with relatively weak ducal government and powerful barons enjoying virtual autonomy. Without the extraordinary resources available to Henry II the reassertion of ducal authority in Brittany in the second half of the twelfth century would have been a slow and painful

process, as is indicated by the short career of Duke Conan IV. Henry II could easily command sufficient resources to override baronial resistance to ducal authority, by punishment or by reward. He ensured that royal/ducal government was in the hands of professional ministers whose loyalty was to him alone, and whose authority was reinforced by Angevin military power, demonstrated in a series of brief but effective military campaigns. It is also important to keep in mind that resistance to Angevin authority was far from universal. In fact, resistance was limited to those powerful barons who were aggrieved about Henry II's treatment of Duke Conan IV and (probably their dominant motivation) feared for their own autonomy. The majority of the population may well have welcomed the peace and prosperity of the Angevin regime, while the clergy appreciated political unity with neighbouring regions such as Anjou, with whose churches they already had close ecclesiastical relations.[2]

The effect of the Angevins on the development of ducal authority in Brittany was, therefore, considerable. I would argue, however, that rather than fundamentally altering the nature of ducal government, the effect of their regime was to compensate for the losses suffered after the death of Conan III and to accelerate the process of development which had been underway since the eleventh century.[3]

As mentioned above, the historiography on this period also tends to assume that, during the entire period of around forty years from 1158 or 1166 to 1203, Brittany was subject to a single, uniform 'Angevin regime'. The work of Professor Le Patourel represents the high-water mark of this view, with its emphasis on the dominance of Henry II in Brittany and the subordinate role of Geoffrey and Constance.[4] The present study has shown this to be an oversimplification. Henry II enjoyed the direct lordship of the county of Nantes from 1158 to 1185 and of the whole of Brittany from 1166 until 1181. In that period, the Angevin administration of Brittany was to some extent integrated with that of the other Angevin domains. This is evidenced by the issue of royal writs in England addressed to officers in Brittany, and the appointment of royal *curiales* originating from other provinces (but mostly being Breton or 'Anglo-Breton') to administrative offices in Brittany. Henry II's lordship was remote and relied upon institutions employed in his other continental dominions (although these were also

[2] WN, pp. 146–7; Tonnerre, *Naissance de la Bretagne*, p. 392.
[3] J. Le Patourel, 'Henri II Plantagenêt et la Bretagne', *MSHAB* 58 (1981), 99–116 at 110; Tonnerre, *Naissance de la Bretagne*, p. 392.
[4] Le Patourel, 'Henri II Plantagenêt et la Bretagne'.

familiar in Brittany and were merely adapted for the purposes of Henry II's administration).

Once Geoffrey acceded to lordship of Brittany (without Nantes) in 1181, 'Angevin' rule took on a different character. Henry II no longer had any role in the internal administration of the duchy, but was content for it to be held in fee of himself or the Young King Henry as Duke of Normandy and to retain only the seignorial rights this tenure entailed. Geoffrey was a resident duke, married to the native heiress, and to a great extent their regime marked a return to the days of Dukes Conan III and Conan IV. Their courtiers and administrative officers were predominantly natives, either of Brittany or of their English lands, the honour of Richmond, and barons from all parts of Brittany attended the ducal *curia*. A chancery attached to the ducal household issued documents in the names of Duke Geoffrey and Duchess Constance.

Geoffrey envisaged that the future for himself and his heirs lay in Brittany, and his policies, in both internal and external affairs, were devoted to consolidating his own ducal authority there. To this end, Geoffrey was prepared to acknowledge Breton interests in return for the support of his Breton subjects, a policy exemplified by the 'Assize of Count Geoffrey'. Rather than imposing Angevin (or even Anglo-Norman) law, the Assize represents an assurance that Breton customary law would be preserved by Duke Geoffrey and his heirs for posterity.

The third and final phase of the Angevin regime began after Geoffrey's death in 1186. This marked a return to the political situation which had prevailed under Duke Conan IV, between 1156 and 1166; a native duke ruling Brittany subject to conditions of loyalty and accountability imposed by the Angevin king. Henry II, Richard and John in turn attempted (unsuccessfully) to regain direct rule at moments of crisis between 1186 and 1203, but did succeed in effectively exercising sovereignty over Brittany, for example in the appointment of Maurice de Craon as seneschal of Brittany around 1187, and in the military campaigns of Henry II (1187) and Richard (1196). Ducal authority over Brittany (including the county of Nantes) was exercised by the native rulers, Duchess Constance and her son, Duke Arthur. In its character and institutions, their regime seems to have differed little from that of Duke Geoffrey.

What, then, was the significance of the Angevin regime for Brittany? There certainly were important developments in ducal government, but the originality and effectiveness of these are easily overestimated. Henry II, followed by Geoffrey and Constance, appointed seneschals to

exercise royal/ducal authority in those counties subject to ducal authority, Nantes, Rennes, Cornouaille and the Broërec. This was a progression from the seneschal of Rennes employed by Duke Conan III. The novel feature of these regional seneschals was that their authority was not limited to the ducal domains within their circumscriptions, but extended throughout the whole territory, at least in theory. The Angevins also appointed *baillis* to administer baronial lands of which they had taken possession, for example in the baronies of Combour, Tréguier and Léon, but by definition these arrangements were temporary. In time, these lands would be restored to the heir or heiress subject to satisfactory conditions.

The other Angevin innovation of note was the office of seneschal of Brittany. This certainly was original. As argued in chapter 1, Conan III and his predecessors simply had no need of one as they were resident rulers, but Conan III's creation of the seneschal of Rennes indicates that he was capable of employing a deputy when the need arose. There is no evidence that Henry II created the seneschal of Brittany, but he set a precedent in his employment of a series of 'principal agents' to represent royal interests in Brittany and at court. The seneschal of Brittany, as an office combining prestige and vice-ducal authority, appears to have been the creation of Duke Geoffrey.

In addition to developing the institutions for the exercise of ducal authority, the Angevins enhanced the exercise of ducal authority over the Breton barons. This involved the use of military force during the 1160s and 1170s (Fougères, Becherel, Porhoët, Léon) and the marriage of heiresses to Anglo-Normans (Combour, Rieux), but some baronial families positively welcomed Angevin rule, notably the Vitré and the lords of Tréguier, who had been opposed to the native dukes. While there was still no question of the dukes exercising compulsory jurisdiction over the barons or their men, the 1180s and 1190s provide examples of barons attesting ducal acts, submitting their disputes to ducal jurisdiction (and acknowledging that ducal jurisdiction might apply to their men when baronial jurisdiction failed), seeking ducal confirmation of important transactions, and acknowledging some obligation to render military service.

Any conclusion about the situation of Brittany at the end of the Angevin regime raises the spectre of another characteristic of the historiography of Brittany under the Angevins; the irresistible progress of the French monarchy. From this perspective, the period of Angevin rule in Brittany was destined to be finite. It could not be seen as anything more than transitional. The Angevins held Brittany, as if in trust, for about forty years, before handing over custody of the infant

duchy to its rightful guardian, Philip Augustus.[5] This view is anachronistic. Before 1203, contemporaries expected that Geoffrey and his heirs would be dukes of Brittany indefinitely, and they would continue to exercise ducal authority with minimal interference, at least in respect of internal affairs, irrespective of whether they owed homage for the duchy to the duke of Normandy or the king of France. The accident of Geoffrey's early death and Arthur's minority, coinciding with the power-struggle between the Angevin and Capetian kings over the formers' continental possessions, thwarted this incipient Angevin-Breton dynasty. In fact, the dynasty of the native dukes would prove the most enduring, as the descendants not of Geoffrey but of Constance and her Breton ancestors ruled Brittany until union with the French crown in the late fifteenth century.

[5] See especially Pocquet du Haut-Jussé, 'Les Plantagenêts et la Bretagne', p. 27.

Appendix 1

THE 'ASSIZE OF COUNT GEOFFREY'

THE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE ASSIZE

The so-called 'Assize of Count Geoffrey' was promulgated at a session of the ducal *curia* held at Rennes in 1185.[1] It was almost certainly promulgated orally in the first instance, then committed to writing, but the history of the written record of the Assize is obscure. Although there are numerous medieval manuscripts of the Assize, no original manuscript has survived, and no two texts are identical.

The written record of the Assize as it now exists consists of seven or eight distinct texts, each addressed to a different baron. The barons to whom these written records of the Assize were addressed are Geoffrey de Châteaubriant, James and Alan de Châteaugiron, Rolland de Dinan, Guihomar de Léon, Eudo de Porhoët, Alan de Rohan and Andrew de Vitré. An eighth text, which lacks an address clause and does not exactly correspond with the other seven texts, may represent a copy of the Assize addressed to an eighth baron whose identity is unknown. It appears that, even in their original manuscript form, these versions all differed slightly, principally in word-order, while recording the same substantive provisions.

It is generally assumed that the documents given to the barons were copies of an original, official text of the Assize, but this assumption is not supported by the evidence. As early as 1212, and having access to the ducal records, Philip Augustus' staff relied upon Alan de Rohan's copy when the French king wanted the text of the Assize recorded in his register of useful documents.[2] The monks of Saint-Melaine de Rennes, although they would have had access to any 'official' ducal manuscript if it existed, since Abbot Gervase attended Duke Geoffrey's court, preserved instead a copy of the Assize addressed to Eudo de Porhoët.[3] Similarly, the monks of La Vieuville, although they enjoyed Duke Geoffrey's patronage, preserved a copy of the Assize addressed to Alan de Rohan.[4] One would expect that the duke, having sworn to uphold the terms of the Assize, would keep a copy for reference, but if a ducal manuscript existed, it seems to have disappeared at an

[1] The political significance of the Assize is discussed above, pp. 111–115.
[2] J.W. Baldwin, *The Government of Philip Augustus*, Berkeley, CA., 1986, p. 262.
[3] 'Cart. St-Melaine', fol. 183.
[4] BN ms fr. 22325, pp. 571, 607.

early date. No copy was preserved, for instance, in the 'Trésor des Chartes', the medieval ducal archives, which were consolidated at Nantes and catalogued in the fifteenth century.[5]

Having assumed that there was an 'official' ducal text, the goal of editors of the Assize has been to reconstruct the lost original from the barons' copies. Variations between the extant copies have been ascribed to corruption of the original text by later copyists. Although later corruption can certainly be identified in some manuscripts this cannot explain all the variations. Rather than one original text, we have evidence of seven (or eight) original texts. Ultimately, each version of the Assize addressed to a different baron is an original source for the provisions of Assize.

How did the baronial texts come into existence? Because no original manuscripts have survived, it is impossible to draw any conclusions from the palaeography or other physical characteristics of the manuscripts. Diplomatic analysis suggests that the text was drafted by ducal clerks, since the formal parts are consistent with other ducal acts. This does not justify the assumption that ducal clerks wrote and sealed all of the copies of the Assize addressed to different barons contemporaneously with the assembly at which the Assize was promulgated. One possibility is that the barons' own clerks referred to a draft prepared by the ducal clerks and copied it, inserting the name of their own lord as appropriate. It was then each baron's responsibility to have the ducal seal attached to his copy of the Assize if he wished. This would explain why only one copy, that addressed to Andrew de Vitré, is known to have been sealed.

Copies of the Assize were not necessarily made immediately. Barons may have sought a documentary record of the Assize some time after the 1185 assembly. Some barons who received copies of the Assize are not named as witnesses: Geoffrey de Châteaubriant, Guihomar de Léon, James and Alan de Châteaugiron. Another was Andrew de Vitré, who was in the Holy Land in August 1184.[6] These may not have been present at the assembly but acquired a copy of the Assize afterwards. This would also explain the disappearance of the original draft, which would have become worn or damaged and ultimately lost from going through so many hands. More importantly, it better explains the nature of the variations between the baronial texts.

Rather than the baronial documents being 'official' copies of an original ducal text, produced and distributed by the ducal chancery, I would argue that each was an original, created at the behest of the addressee. The text of each will be the text of the Assize as each particular clerk received it, copied from the ducal draft, but perhaps modified from the clerk's own notes made when the Assize was promulgated orally, or from comparing notes with another clerk. It may even be that one baronial text was created by copying from another baronial text and thus incorporating any variations it contained. Each baronial manuscript, however produced, could be authenticated by the attachment of the ducal seal. Obviously, the contents would be checked by a ducal clerk; the ducal seal would not be attached to a document whose text deviated in substance from the terms of the

[5] Now AD Loire-Atlantique, series E.

[6] A. Bertrand de Brousillon (ed.), 'La charte d'André II de Vitré et le siege de Kerak en 1184', *Bulletin historique et philologique de la Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques* (1899), 47–53.

Assize as promulgated in 1185. This, I believe, explains the minor variations in word order and in the formal parts of the various texts of the Assize, which contrast with the consistency of the substantive provisions from one text to another.

Comprehensive details of the sources for the Assize, both in manuscript and in published editions, are given in Marcel Planiol's masterly discussion of the Assize.[7] Planiol organised his account of the sources by grouping them according to the seven known baronial texts, the only logical way to proceed in the absence of any 'official' text of the Assize. There are in fact seven (or eight) known texts, each of which records the terms of the Assize. Rather than trying to establish *the* text of the Assize, my aim has been to establish the best surviving text of each of the seven original baronial manuscripts, which collectively form our record of the Assize.

1. Châteaubriant

There are no extant manuscripts of the Châteaubriant text earlier than the fifteenth century, when it appears in two manuscripts of the 'Chronicle of Saint-Brieuc'.[8] This text is quite corrupt; it contains not only simple scribal errors (for example, 'Quitto' for 'Guethenoc') but also a deliberate alteration and gloss on the text in substituting for 'maritagium' the words, 'menagium id est domus vacans'.

Planiol also identified the Châteaubriant copy in three fifteenth-century manuscripts of the 'Trés Ancienne Coutume de Bretagne'.[9] All three manuscripts are in French except for the texts of the Assize which are all in Latin, which suggests that the Assize, in each case, has been copied from an earlier manuscript or manuscripts.

2. Châteaugiron

The existence of the Châteaugiron text is known only from a thirteenth-century manuscript, giving this text translated into French, which had been preserved in the archives of Vitré. Planiol, who edited and published this text, did not indicate whether the manuscript is extant.[10]

3. Dinan

A thirteenth-century manuscript of the Dinan text exists in the Vatican library, where it is described as 'Assisia Terrarum Britannicarum'.[11] This is the text of the Assize published by Lobineau and, consequently, by Morice.[12] Marcel Planiol

[7] M. Planiol, 'L' Assise au Comte Geffroi: Etude sur les successions féodales en Bretagne', *RHD* 11 (1887), 117–62 and 652–708, at 125–129; *TAC*, pp. 320–1.

[8] BN ms latin 6003, folios 92v-93r. For the date of this manuscript, see G. Le Duc and C. Sterckx (eds.), *Chronicon Briocense: Chronique de Saint-Brieuc*, vol. 1, Rennes, 1972, pp. 7–8.

[9] Bibl. mun. de Rennes ms 599; BN ms fr. 1938 and BN ms nouvelle acquisitions fr. 4465; *TAC*, pp. 27, 33, 40.

[10] *TAC*, pp. 323–5; BN ms fr. 22325, p. 341 (seventeenth-century copy).

[11] *Les manuscrits de la reine de Suède au Vatican: Reédition du catalogue de Montfaucon et côtes actuelles*, Studi e Testi, 238, Vatican City, 1964, ms reginenses latini 520.

[12] G.A. Lobineau, *Histoire de Bretagne*, II, Paris, 1707, cols. 317–9; *Preuves*, cols. 705–7. This may also be the manuscript copied by or for Pierre Hevin, as one of the two versions of the Assize he kept. This copy is headed, 'Ex Cod. D. Petavi/ Haec est assisia terrarum, quam fecit GAUFREDUS Comes filius Regis Anglorum' (AD Ille-et-Vilaine, 'Fonds Hevin', 1F 5).

complained that he had not been able to see this manuscript because the Vatican did not answer his letters. At that time, he hoped it was the original Dinan manuscript, and therefore that one original baronial manuscript was extant. In his edition of the 'Trés ancienne coutume' published a few years later, the manuscript is described as a thirteenth-century copy, so presumably Planiol had had more success with the Vatican but his hopes were dashed.[13] A French translation of the Dinan text was also incorporated into manuscripts of the 'Trés Ancienne Coutume de Bretagne' in the mid- to late fifteenth century.[14]

4. Léon

The earliest known manuscript of the Léon text is incorporated in a manuscript of the 'Trés Ancienne Coutume' dated 1437.[15] The text is corrupt, and it is probably the text of the Assize which has suffered the most from later scribal errors (e.g., 'voluerit' for 'noluerit' and *vice versa*).

5. Porhoët

The only copy of the Porhoët text is that preserved in the fourteenth-century cartulary of the abbey of Saint-Melaine de Rennes.[16] Identification of this text with Eudo de Porhoët is not entirely certain, since the addressee's name appears only as 'e. co*miti*'. No other 'E . . . comes' is known in Brittany in this period, though, and Eudo de Porhoët is named as a witness in some of the texts, styled 'comes Eudo'.

6. Rohan

The earliest manuscript of the Rohan text represents the earliest extant copy of any text of the Assize. As noted above, the Rohan text was entered in the second register of documents made for Philip Augustus between 1212 and April 1213.[17] Since this occurred less than thirty years after the Assize was made, it is quite possible that the royal clerks had access to the Rohan 'original'. Another thirteenth-century copy of the Rohan text was preserved in the archives of the abbey of La Vieuville.[18] This could equally have been the source of the royal copy, but the relationship between the two thirteenth-century copies and the Rohan 'original' cannot now be determined.

[13] Planiol 'Assise' at p. 126, *TAC*, p. 321.

[14] Bibl. mun. de Rennes ms 15964 (published in Planiol 'Assise', pp. 123–4); J. Brejon de Lavergnée (ed.), 'Une version française inédite de l'Assise au comte Geoffroi', in *Recueil de mémoires et travaux publié par la Société d'histoire du droit et des institutions des anciens pays de droit écrit, fasc. VII, Mélanges Pierre Tisset*, Montpellier, 1970, pp. 65–75 at 74–5. For other references see *TAC*, p. 320. Another French translation is at BM additional ms 8876, folios 159–60.

[15] *TAC*, p. 319.

[16] 'Cart. St-Melaine', fol. 183; BN ms fr. 22325, p. 73.

[17] AN ms JJ8, fol. lxiii v, no. 297; J.W. Baldwin (ed.), *Les Registres de Philippe Auguste, I, Texte*, Paris, 1992, pp. 555–6.

[18] BN ms fr. 22325, pp. 571, 607. The copy at p. 607 (which bears the marginal note, 'écriture du 13 siècle') may have been a draft for the copy on p. 571.

The Rohan text has been widely copied throughout the centuries since 1185 and not only within Brittany, but also in Normandy and in Paris, and has been published several times.[19] Brejon de Lavergnée has published a Parisian copy of the Rohan version, in French and so corrupt that its only interest is as a source for the reception of medieval legal texts in the later middle ages, rather than as a source for the Assize itself.[20] For this, the extant manuscript of 1212 is of primary importance. It is unfortunate, then, that in copying the Rohan text, presumably in the interests of brevity, the royal clerk omitted parts of the text which were not material to the substantive provisions, that is, the clause 'Notum sit . . . quod' and the witness-list. The first clause occurs in all the texts except Rohan and Vitré, and is consistent with the diplomatic of Duke Geoffrey's *acta*. It remains possible, however, that this clause was omitted from the Rohan 'original'.

7. *Vitré*

The Vitré text is the best source for the Assize, since there is evidence that the original manuscript, with the seals of Duke Geoffrey and Duchess Constance attached, survived into the sixteenth century, when it was used for two printed editions, in 1536 and 1552 respectively.[21]

8. *Anonymous*

An 'anonymous' text of the Assize appears in a late fifteenth-century manuscript of the 'Trés Ancienne Coutume de Bretagne'.[22] This text is 'anonymous' because the final clauses of the Assize, in which the name of the addressee appears in all the other versions, have been omitted. Comparing this text with the others, it most closely resembles the Vitré text, although it cannot be positively identified without the final clauses. Curiously, a French translation of the Dinan text appears at folios 159–60 of the same manuscript, but the 'anonymous' Latin text is not of the Dinan text. The 'anonymous' text may represent an eighth text, addressed to an unidentified eighth baron. Certainly, there is no reason why the seven barons known to have acquired a copy of the Assize should be the final number.

The texts of Vitré, Dinan and Rohan are the most useful, but not because these are somehow 'closer' to the supposed original 'official' text of the Assize and therefore a better, more accurate record of it. Rather, the extant copies of these three are, for the reasons given above, closer to the original manuscripts of Vitré, Dinan and Rohan and less likely to have suffered later scribal error. The other four (or five) versions, in contrast, are first recorded in later medieval manuscripts, in contexts in which the provenance of the text is indeterminate and there is ample scope for scribal error. The variations between the three most reliable texts,

[19] AN ms J240, nos. 30–31; A. Teulet (ed.), *Layettes du Trésor des Chartes*, I, Paris, 1863, p. 144, no. 337. The Rohan text was published in M. Brussel (ed.), *Usage général des Fiefs*, Paris, 1750, book III, ch. XIII, p. 883, after a manuscript incorporated in the 'Terrier Cartulaire de Normandie', which was destroyed in 1737.

[20] Brejon de Lavergnée (ed.), 'Une version française inédite', pp. 73–4.

[21] Planiol, 'Assise', 127, 120–2.

[22] BM additional ms 8876, fol. 157.

however, demonstrate that not all the variations between different texts of the Assize can be attributed to error or deliberate glossing by later copyists. They prove that variations existed between the original baronial copies of the Assize, but that the variations were merely of word-order and did not affect the substantive provisions.

In view of my argument, it is perhaps misleading to seek to establish a single text of the Assize. The ideal edition of the Assize would include a critical edition of each of the seven (or eight) known texts. Each of these is derived from an original 'baronial' manuscript, made in or soon after 1185, and possibly sealed by Duke Geoffrey. There does not appear to have ever been a single 'official' ducal text of the Assize, of which these can be regarded as mere copies. If there ever was a ducal text, it may have been no more than a draft prepared by ducal clerks and used as the basis for the baronial texts, each of which became a legitimate text when authenticated by attachment of the ducal seal.

Space does not however permit the editing of eight texts, and published editions exist (albeit not all to modern standards) of the Vitré, Dinan, Rohan, Châteaugiron and Léon versions. It is, however, useful to have a text of the Assize which is 'complete' in that it has all the clauses common to the majority of the different texts, and 'correct' in that it omits the most obvious later glosses and errors. My edition, attached to this Appendix, was prepared in this spirit.

THE SUBSTANTIVE PROVISIONS OF THE ASSIZE

To state my argument very briefly at the outset, the Assize does not represent the introduction into Brittany of new principles of succession from England, Normandy, or elsewhere in the Angevin empire. Rather, it is a statement of the customary law of baronial succession in Brittany. This is apparent from an examination of the provisions of the Assize in their historical context, especially if one looks beyond the initial statement of the principle of primogeniture and considers the rest of the Assize, the clauses I have termed the 'subsidiary provisions'.

As a preliminary matter, it is necessary to determine to whom, or to which lands, the Assize applied. The Assize expressly states that it concerns baronies and knights' fees ('in baroniis et feodis militum'). Neither expression for land-tenure is generally used in other contemporary documents in Brittany. Probably these were Anglo-Norman imports, used here as a convenient way of describing certain types of landholding. The expression 'feuda militum' does occur in the Inquest of Dol (1181), but this was produced under Henry II's seneschal of Rennes, an Englishman.[23]

The words, 'baro', 'miles' and 'feodum' are commonly used in Breton documents of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, but with a wide range of meanings.[24] In the eleventh century, at least, a great magnate may be styled *miles* or *baro*, and a *miles* may also possess allodial land. Equally, the charters of twelfth-century magnates like Alan de Rohan and Ralph de Fougères may refer to men who held what we would call knights' fees as their *barones*. By the time of the Assize, the late twelfth century,

[23] *Enquête*, p. 39.

[24] See A. de la Borderie, *Histoire de Bretagne*, III, Rennes, 1899, p. 283; N.-Y. Tonnerre, *Naissance de la Bretagne: Géographie historique et structures sociales de la Bretagne méridionale (Nantais et Vannetais) de la fin du VIIIe à la fin du XIIe siècle*, Angers, 1994, pp. 365–406.

more social stratification had occurred, with the aristocracy divided into two: an upper echelon of great magnates, the *barones* (whence barons), who possessed extensive estates and multiple fortifications in virtual autonomy, and the *milites* (knights), who possessed their lands in close dependency upon either a baron or the duke.

The Assize recites that it was made with the counsel of barons, and all those to whom copies of Assize are addressed are barons. What, if any, was the role of the knights, or, to be precise, the holders of knights' fees? Anyone holding a knight's fee must have held it of some lord, either the duke (that is, as a tenant of ducal domain) or a baron. The duke, and each baron who was a party to the Assize, warranted that he would regulate the successions of his knightly tenants according to the provisions of the Assize. It was, therefore, unnecessary for such tenants to consent to the Assize or receive a written copy of its terms.

The custom of primogeniture in Brittany

The Assize is usually described summarily as introducing to Brittany the principle of succession by primogeniture. The first substantive provision of the text, 'ulterius non fierent divisiones sed major natu integre obtinet dominatum', certainly ordains primogeniture, but it does not necessarily introduce the principle. In fact, there can be no doubt that succession according to the principle of primogeniture was already the custom of baronial families. Even Arthur de la Borderie, who wished to interpret the Assize as a tyrannical Angevin imposition, was obliged to admit this. He thought that the Bretons adopted primogeniture when, after the Viking invasions, 'ils imitèrent et importèrent chez eux les institutions de la féodalité française', but argued that the custom was contrary to ancient Breton law and that the numerous and substantial divisions of baronies during the twelfth century manifested an inherent distaste for the principle.[25] Succession by primogeniture has been demonstrated for the lords of Combour, Fougères, Rays and Vitré.[26] In fact, any baronial family one chooses to examine will demonstrate succession by primogeniture from its earliest appearance in the eleventh century.

Nevertheless, the division of baronial estates between sons or brothers did occur before 1185, and such divisions are cited in support of the argument that primogeniture was an innovation imposed by the Assize.[27] In fact, these cases prove quite the opposite. It is necessary to distinguish between a principle of partible inheritance, which dictates that the patrimonial estates should be divided between the deceased's sons (whether in equal shares or otherwise), and the

[25] A. de la Borderie, *Histoire de Bretagne*, III, p. 282.

[26] H. Guillotel, 'La dévolution de la seigneurie de Dol-Combour aux XIe et XIIe siècles. Contribution à l'étude des successions seigneuriales en Bretagne avant l'Assise au comte Geoffroy', *RHD*, 4th series, LIII (1975), 190; J.F. Aubergé (ed.), *Le Cartulaire de la seigneurie de Fougères, connu sous le nom de Cartulaire d'Alençon*, Rennes, 1913, p. 54; R. Blanchard (ed.), *Cartulaire des sires de Rays (1160–1449)*, Archives historiques de Poitou, XXVII, Poitiers, 1898, 'Introduction', pp. I–LXXIII; M. Brand'honneur, 'La lignage, point de cristillisation d'une nouvelle cohésion sociale. Les Goranton-Hervé de Vitré aux XIe, XIIe et XIIIe siècles', *MSHAB*, 70 (1993), 65–87.

[27] E.g. A. de la Borderie, *Essai sur la géographie féodale de la Bretagne*, Rennes, 1889, p. 66 (on the creation of the barony of Rohan, see note 30).

practice whereby a landholder, during his own lifetime, severs part of his lands to make provision for his own younger brother or younger son, who would otherwise be excluded from any share in the patrimony by the operation of primogeniture. There is no evidence that partible inheritance was customary among baronial families, whereas there is ample evidence for the division of baronies in favour of cadets in twelfth-century Brittany. The evidence for these divisions, however, indicates that they were exceptional and not customary.

'Divisions' is the operative word; these were not grants of small parcels of land to provide cadets with the necessities of life, but of estates constituting up to half of the patrimony. A striking example is the division of Penthièvre between the eldest and youngest sons of Stephen, lord of Penthièvre and Richmond (1093–1138). Stephen originally intended only to divide his Breton and his English lands between his two elder sons, giving Penthièvre to the eldest, Geoffrey Boterel, and the English lands to the next son, Alan. It may be significant in this regard that the English lands, the honour of Richmond, were not Stephen's patrimony. Richmond was acquired by one of Stephen's elder brothers before 1086, and only passed to Stephen when all his elder brothers died without legitimate issue. Stephen probably made this disposition some years before his death, since Alan was already acting as lord of Richmond in 1123. At this stage, Stephen's youngest son, Henry, received a relatively modest provision of lands in England, the soke of Waltham, Lincs. Later, Stephen changed his mind and divided Penthièvre equally between Geoffrey and Henry. Thus, from Stephen's death in 1138, Geoffrey was lord of Penthièvre (also known as Lamballe), and Henry was lord of Tréguier (also known as Guingamp).[28]

Geoffrey I de Dinan (1080–1123) divided the barony of Dinan and his English lands between his two elder sons, Oliver and Alan. The circumstances are more obscure because direct evidence, such as that provided by the 'Inquisitio . . . de Avaugour' for Penthièvre, is lacking for Dinan. The following account is pieced together from charters, dating from around 1124 to the end of the twelfth century. Alan's share of the Breton lands comprised about one-third of the territory of the barony. It included the southern half of the town of Dinan and lands extending south from there to the south-eastern limits of the barony (where Alan made the castle of Becherel his *caput*), and south-west as far as the castellany of Jugon (retained by the senior branch). The additional grant to Alan of important manors in England may, however, have been intended to make his share equal to Oliver's. The senior branch remained the lords of the barony of Dinan, while Alan's estate was the castellany of Becherel (although Alan and his successors retained the toponym 'de Dinan').[29]

Similarly, in the first quarter of the twelfth century, the barony of Porhoët was divided when Geoffrey de Porhoët granted to his younger brother Alan the north-western half of the Porhoët estates. This was the origin of the barony of Rohan.[30]

[28] The principal source for this division is the 'Inquisitio . . . de Avaugour', paras. 9, 23, 27. See also *EYC*, IV, 89; BM mss Lansdowne 229, fol. 114r, 259, fol. 70r; H. Guillotel, 'Les origines de Guingamp: Sa place dans la géographie féodale de Bretagne', *MSHAB* 56 (1979), 81–100.

[29] See *AE*, IV, 'Saint-Malo de Dinan', nos IX and VI, no. IV, pp. 126, 130; *Preuves*, cols. 520, 660, 678, 731; La Comtesse de la Motte-Rouge, *Les Dinan et leur juveigneurs*, Nantes, 1892, pp. 29–30, 125–130; M. Jones, *The family of Dinan in England in the Middle Ages*, Dinan, 1987, p. 26; P. Meazey, *Dinan au temps des seigneurs*, Guingamp, 1997, pp. 39–46.

[30] *Cart. Morb.*, nos. 197, 204, 209; H. du Halgouët, *Essai sur le Porhoët*, Paris, 1096; *idem.*, *La vicomté*

Rays, the largest barony in the county of Nantes south of the Loire, was divided between Ralph I (1152–*c.*1170) and his younger brother, Garsire (*c.*1155–*c.*1170). In this case, the cadet branch actually received the greater share of the territory of the barony, and assumed the toponym 'de Rays', while the senior branch retained only the family's ancient *caput*, Machecoul, and its surrounding territory, and changed its toponym to 'de Machecoul'.[31] In respect of another important barony in the county of Nantes, Arthur de la Borderie asserts that Donges, on the north bank of the Loire, was divided at this time to create the barony of Saint-Nazaire, but I have not found any evidence for this. In fact, the history of this family indicates succession to the barony of Donges by strict primogeniture, with a break in the record for the first quarter of the twelfth century, when documentary evidence is lacking.[32]

Finally, between 1152 and 1180, the castellany of Montauban, representing around one-third of the barony of Montfort, was created as an apanage for Oliver, the younger brother of William I de Montfort. Oliver retained the toponym 'de Montfort', but his son Ralph began to use the toponym 'de Montauban' and Oliver's descendants were lords of Montauban. N.-Y. Tonnerre argues, to the contrary, that the lordship of Gaël was created from the barony of Montfort in 1187, and Montauban some years later, both in contravention of the 'Assize of Count Geoffrey'. There is no evidence that Montfort was divided between the two eldest sons of Geoffrey de Montfort (who died in 1180, not 1187, as asserted by Tonnerre). Probably the eldest, Ralph, died without legitimate issue before 1189 and was succeeded by his next brother, William (*c.*1189–*c.*1225). The creation of Montauban clearly predates this in any event.[33]

These divisions all occurred between about 1120 and 1160, none are known from the eleventh century. The eleventh century was the period when these baronies were being created and consolidated, and the baronial lineages established, all by means of strict male primogeniture. At the same time, after 1066, opportunities existed for cadets to acquire lands in England, while the unreformed Breton church meant that cadets could be placed in churches under the control of their families. By 1120 the options were more limited, and it may be that baronies began to be divided for this reason.

In my opinion, in making the divisions set out above, the barons were motivated more by the interests of their patrimonial estates than by a desire to provide for cadets. There was, for instance, no division of the frontier-baronies, Combour, Fougères, Vitré, La Guerche, Châteaubriant and Ancenis. In the division of the barony of Rays, it may be significant that the senior branch retained the portion which marched with Poitou. The power and influence of the frontier-barons

de Rohan et ses seigneurs, 2 vols., Paris, 1921; M. Duval, 'Rohan et Porhoët: autour du partage du rachat et de la garde du comté de Porhoët', *Bulletin de l'Association bretonne* (1986), 135–42.

[31] Blanchard (ed.), *Cartulaire des sires de Rays*, pp. lxix–lxxi.

[32] A. de la Borderie, *Histoire de Bretagne*, iii, p. 282; *idem.*, *Essai sur la géographie féodale*, p. 67. See H. Guillotel, 'Les origines du bourg de Donges: Une Etape de la redistribution des pouvoirs ecclésiastiques et laïques aux XIe-XIIe siècles', *AB* 84 (1977), 541–52.

[33] A. de la Borderie, 'Essais d'histoire féodale: La seigneurie de Montauban et ses premiers seigneurs', *BSAIV* 24 (1895), 267–93; *Preuves*, cols. 821–2, 830, 866, 930); A. Chédeville and N.-Y. Tonnerre, *La Bretagne féodale, XIe-XIIIe siècles*, Rennes, 1987, p. 157.

depended on the extent of frontier under their control, enabling them to play off against each other the rival lords on either side.[34]

A full account of the rationale of the each division would require more space than this Appendix permits, and in the absence of full documentary records, one can only speculate in any event. My impression is that all the baronies that were divided between c.1120 and c.1160 were very extensive territorially, but contained large amounts of land that was economically undeveloped. More specifically, these lands had not enjoyed the rapid economic development occurring in more accessible parts of the duchy in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries. The hinterland of Dinan, Penthièvre and Porhoët, and much of the landlocked Montfort, consisted of rugged, inaccessible land which was consequently heavily wooded, thinly populated and economically undeveloped. The barony of Rays had a similar problem with a wasteland of marshes, both on the sea-coast and along the lower reaches of the Loire.[35] The solution which recommended itself at this time was to divide the barony, giving the undeveloped portion to an able cadet.[36]

In the case of the Dinan family, at least, the cadet branch proved more successful than the senior branch and this may be attributed to the personal qualities of individuals. Alan de Dinan, as a young man, had won the favour of Henry I by his military exploits and been well-rewarded with English lands. His son, Rolland, occupied a prominent position at the court of Duke Conan IV. He led a rebellion against Henry II, being identified by the Norman composer of the 'Draco Normannicus' as a spokesman for the Breton cause. From a position of defeat by Henry II in 1168, Rolland then rose so high in the king's favour that he was Henry II's principal agent in Brittany from 1175 to 1181. Rolland's heir, his nephew, Alan de Vitré-Dinan, was just as able and was himself seneschal of Brittany. In contrast, the senior branch in this period did not distinguish themselves in any way.[37]

Whether or not the cadet branch had personal qualities superior to the senior, division of these over-large baronies provided opportunities for economic development. Each portion could be developed and exploited more intensively and more profitably. Ironically, the cadet had the greater opportunity for profit, in receiving the portion of the barony which was waste and therefore had the greater potential for reclamation and economic development. When this development was delegated to ecclesiastical institutions, it is illustrated by written records. In the case of Dinan, Geoffrey I de Dinan during his own lifetime put his eldest son, Oliver, into possession of the strategic castellany of Jugon, at the extreme south-west of Dinan, where the barony marched with Penthièvre. There Oliver founded a priory of Marmoutier to develop the *burgum* of Jugon. At the same time, Oliver's younger brother, Alan, founded a priory of Marmoutier at his new caput of Becherel to the south-east of Dinan.[38] Evidence for lay-initiative is less forthcoming, but a preliminary study of place-names indicative of land-clearance has suggested that the cadet branch of the Dinan family oversaw more land-clearance at an earlier date

[34] J.-C. Meuret, 'Le poids des familles seigneuriales aux confins de l'Anjou et de la Bretagne: Martigné-Pouancé-La Guerche', *MSHAB* 70 (1993), 89–129.
[35] Tonnerre, *Naissance de Bretagne*, pp. 417–25.
[36] Tonnerre, *Naissance de Bretagne*, p. 313.
[37] Jones, *Family of Dinan in England*, p. 26; Meazey, *Dinan*, p. 66.
[38] *AE*, IV, 'Notre-Dame de Jugon', no. I; *Preuves*, cols. 520–1; BN ms latin 5441(3), p. 339.

than did the senior branch.[39] This certainly requires further research, but it may be that in the new barony of Becherel there was more scope for reclamation, with more of the lands retained by the senior branch being already in cultivation by the mid-twelfth century.

The division of Porhoët certainly stimulated the economic development of the hinterland, the future barony of Rohan. Upon receiving the north-western half of Porhoët, Alan immediately made a grant to Redon to establish a priory and *burgum* at his new castle of Lanoueé, with an emphasis on economic development. When that site proved unsuitable and Alan moved his *caput* to Rohan, he promptly founded another priory there for the same purpose. According to Arthur de la Borderie, it was only after the creation of the lordship of Rohan that the 'desert' region around the river Oust was cultivated and populated.[40]

In Rays, to render the marshes productive required a concerted effort of reclamation. The dukes of Brittany had turned this effort over to the Cistercians, in founding the abbey of Buzay on the south bank of the Loire. Meanwhile, Bernard de Machecoul, the first head of the senior branch after the division, and hence the first who could devote all his energies to developing Machecoul and its environs, encouraged the priory of Marmoutier at Machecoul to develop a *burgum* there.[41]

Consequently, two points emerge which are relevant to my interpretation of the Assize. First, the divisions which occurred between about 1120 and 1160 did not necessarily lead to the 'detriment' of the lands concerned, in fact they positively improved them. Second, these divisions were isolated events; they were not intended to set a precedent for future generations, and generally they did not. The new baronies created by cadets in the mid-twelfth century passed, undivided, to their eldest sons, while the senior branch also maintained strict primogeniture. Had the process of division gone further, however, it was foreseeable that it would have been detrimental; there would have been no economic advantage to further divisions. This was perhaps true of the creation of the barony of Montauban, the latest of the divisions before 1185.

Not all divisions of baronies before 1185 were made voluntarily. Another example cited in support of the argument that primogeniture was an innovation in Brittany is that of the division of Léon in 1179. In fact, lordship of Léon had descended according to the principle of primogeniture from the eleventh century.[42] This is particularly significant because Léon, situated in the extreme west of Brittany and with its independently minded lords, ought to have been least influenced by Anglo-Norman and Angevin customs. If any region of Brittany had preserved distinctive succession customs, it would have been this. In fact, the fragmentation of the barony in 1179 was an autocratic act of the Angevins designed to subjugate the rebellious lords of Léon. Duke Geoffrey defeated Guihomar de Léon and took the whole barony into his own hand. Guihomar died soon afterwards, whereupon Geoffrey allowed his eldest son and heir, Guihomar, possession of only eleven parishes of his patrimony, retaining the rest under ducal

[39] Meazey, *Dinan*, pp. 66–8.

[40] *Cart. Morb.*, nos. 197, 204, 205; *Cart. Redon*, no. CCCXCI; de la Borderie, *Essai sur la géographie féodale*, p. 29; as to Penthièvre, see Guillotel, 'Guingamp'.

[41] Tonnerre, *Naissance de Bretagne*, pp. 421–4; AD Ille-et-Vilaine, 1F536; *Preuves*, col. 541.

[42] H. Guillotel, 'Les vicomtes de Léon aux XIe et XIIe siècles', *MSHAB* 51 (1971), 29–51.

authority.[43] The punitive division of Léon adds another dimension to the term 'divisiones'. Arguably, this clause was also intended to restrain the duke from intervening in the succession to baronies and to confirm the eldest son's right to inherit his patrimony in full.

One cannot be as certain about succession to knights' fees. Sources for this lower rank of the aristocracy are even scarcer than those for baronial families, and there is also the possibility of variation of custom from one region or barony to another. The sources provide evidence for succession both by partible inheritance and by primogeniture, but there is a chronological division. The examples I have found of the former all date from the eleventh century. For example, some time before 1053, Ebroin 'miles stipendarius', his brothers and all his 'coheredes' gave the monastery of Trémeheuc, near Combour, which they held of Rivallon I de Dol, to Saint-Florent de Saumur.[44]

One indication of the operation of the principle of primogeniture is in contemporary charters which distinguish the eldest son of the actor from his other sons and daughters, especially with the title 'primogenitus'. Usually, in these cases, the consent of the eldest son to his father's act is specifically recorded, as implicitly having greater significance than the consent of other family members. The earliest instances I have found occur in the late eleventh century. For example, Baldwin son of Homenes made a grant to Mont Saint-Michel with the consent of his son Warin 'primogenitus' and his other sons and daughters. In return, Baldwin was received as a monk, and the offer was extended to Warin, or whichever one of his brothers he should choose, an arrangement reflecting the superior role of the 'primogenitus' in the family.[45]

The expression becomes more common in the second half of the twelfth century. As early as 1163, a tenant of Ralph de Fougères granted to Savigny the 'jus primogenitus' he enjoyed over his younger brother and all his 'feodum', so that in future the cadet should hold his lands of Savigny 'quasi a primogenito'.[46] In making a grant to Mont Saint-Michel in 1182, Hamo Spina obtained the consent both of his own 'primogenitus' William, and of his nephew Geoffrey, who was the son of Hamo's 'primogenitus' brother.[47] Thus it appears that, at least in north-eastern Brittany, a custom of partible inheritance of knights' estates was replaced, in the course of the eleventh century, by the custom of primogeniture. The 'primogeniture' clause of the Assize, although it merely confirmed the existing custom in

[43] Guillotel, 'Léon', pp. 32–3. Cf. A. de la Borderie's assertion that Geoffrey retained only the castellany of Morlaix and divided the rest of the viscounty between Guihomar's two sons, giving the younger son, Harvey, the greater share (*Essai sur la géographie féodale*, pp. 48–9). It is more probable that Guihomar provided Hervey with a generous apanage after the barony had been restored to him by Duchess Constance ('Communes petitiones Britonum', paras. 28–36).

[44] AD Ille-et-Vilaine 1F517 (copy from 'Livre noir', cartulary of Saint-Florent de Saumur, folios 64v-65r); *Preuves*, col. 438. From the same ms. source, see *Preuves*, cols. 407, 437, 'compartices milites'.

[45] Cartulary of Mont Saint-Michel, Bibl. mun. d'Avranches ms 210, fol. 94v. Another early example occurs in the record of a dispute between Adam son of Theobald and Andrew I de Vitré (*c.*1090–*c.*1140), in which the consent of Adam's 'primogenitus', Morehenn, is specifically recorded (*Preuves*, cols. 495–6).

[46] AN L975, 'S'.

[47] BN ms latin 5430A pp. 38, 197; BN mss fr. 22325, p. 666 and 22357, fol. 46; *Preuves*, col. 695.

baronies, may have been intended to establish or consolidate primogeniture as the custom for knights' fees.

Finally, if any doubt remained as to the custom of primogeniture in Brittany before 1185, one could observe the younger sons who figured among the courtiers of Duke Geoffrey. These included Matthew de Goulaine, younger brother of the marcher baron William de Goulaine, and Harvey Agomar.[48]

The need to make some provision for cadets is a direct result of the practice of primogeniture, but is inevitably a source of tension. Family sentiment or custom may dictate that some provision should be made for cadets, but the alienation of patrimonial lands would be contrary to the whole rationale of primogeniture, which was the preservation of the integrity of the patrimony. There were, of course, solutions to this conflict, such as the grant to cadets of cash revenues,[49] or arrangements whereby land could be granted to a cadet for his life, but with reversion to the senior branch, so that it would not be alienated from the patrimony. It seems to me that one of the purposes, if not the main purpose, of the Assize, was to prescribe such solutions by regulating provision for cadets. In other words, the Assize did not introduce primogeniture, but addressed some of the problems arising from its operation.

The subsidiary provisions

Given that the primary clause was merely a restatement of the existing custom of primogeniture, it seems to me that, for contemporaries, the remaining provisions were more significant. These subsidiary provisions have tended to be overlooked in discussions of the Assize, which focus on the issue of primogeniture. They govern provision for younger sons, wardship, female succession and provision for daughters (that is, by *maritagium*), and the inheritance of lands granted by the heir to his younger brothers.

1. *Junioribus suis majores providerent et invenirent honorifice necessaria juxta posse suum.*

This confirms and reinforces the tenor of the main substantive provision, the eldest will inherit the whole patrimony. His only obligation to his cadets is to provide them with the necessities of life. Thus stated, primogeniture was more rigorous in Brittany than in neighbouring regions; only in England was the law as unequivocal.[50] In Normandy, the eldest inherited the barony or, in the case of a knight, the 'feodum lorice', but if there was any residue in the estate, this would be shared between the younger sons.[51] In Anjou, only baronies descended undivided to the eldest son; in the case of succession to other lands held by feudal tenure, the eldest was entitled to only two-thirds, his cadets sharing the remaining one-third.[52] In these provinces, younger sons could share in the inheritance in many cases; they

[48] *Preuves*, col. 711. For Harvey Agomar, see above, pp. 102–3.

[49] For example, Guethenoc I d'Ancenis (*fl.*1070) gave the revenues of a toll, 'ex beneficio meo', to his younger brother, Hoderic 'Barbotin' (*Preuves*, col. 437).

[50] G.D.G. Hall (ed.), *Tractatus de Legibus et Consuetudinibus Regni Angliæ qui Glanvilla vocatur*, London, 1965, book VII. 3, 'Secundum jus regni Anglie primogenitus filius patri succedit in totum, ita quod nullus fratrum suorum partem inde de jure petere potest' (p. 75).

[51] 'Coutume de Normandie', chs. VIII, paras. 2–5 (pp. 8–9) and LXXXIII, paras. 4–6 (p. 92).

[52] 'Coutume de Touraine-Anjou', pp. 15–16, 22.

were only excluded if the estate consisted of a single barony or 'feodum lorice'. In such cases, as in the Assize, the eldest son was obliged to provide for his siblings, providing his brothers with a reasonable living and his sisters with dowries.[53]

2. *Quae tunc juniores possidebant in terris sive denariis tenerent quamdiu viverent, heredes quidem terras tenentium possiderent illas imperpetuum. Heredes vero denarios et non terras habentium, post patres non haberent.*

This clause is rather ambiguous due to the economical language of the text.[54] In my opinion, it applies to dispositions made *inter vivos* by fathers to their sons. It first provides that cadets may enjoy anything they possess in the patrimony, whether in land or revenues, for their lives. At the death of a cadet, the lands (and by implication any revenues, since these derived from land) will revert to the heir and to the patrimony. This was no doubt designed to limit the fragmentation of baronies by the creation of hereditary apanages. Before 1185, the legal position of an apanage after the death of the younger son may have been uncertain. In the cases of divided baronies discussed above, the 'apanage' was inherited by the cadet's son and was permanently lost to the barony. This clause would have prevented this result. Henceforth, grants of lands to younger sons would only create life-interests.

The second part of the clause addresses *inter vivos* dispositions to eldest sons, but is even more opaque. My interpretation is that it is assumed that land received by the eldest son from the patrimony during his father's life is regarded as an 'advance' on his inheritance, and he will simply retain it after his father's death. For this reason, the clause only expressly refers to revenues, which are to be treated differently. After his father's death, the heir may be required to give up any revenues he previously enjoyed from patrimonial lands to make provision for his sisters and younger brothers, for instance, in the circumstances provided for in clause 5, below.

3. *Si terra majorum devenerit in baillium, frater major post eum baillium habebit, quod si fratrem non habuerit, ille de amicis bailliam habeat cui decedens cum assensu domini sui eam voluerit commendare.*

'Baillium' is the expression used here for wardship. The patrimony would have become 'in baillium' if the heir was a minor, or, in the case of an heiress, unmarried. This clause dictates that, in these circumstances, the guardian should be the eldest of the deceased's brothers. This stipulation of the paternal uncle as guardian appears to be consistent with existing Breton custom. I am aware of few cases occurring before 1185 where a situation of 'baillium' can be identified at all, but of those where the guardian can be identified, there certainly are instances of wardship by the deceased's brother. Conan II, count of Rennes, was in the guardianship of his paternal uncle, Eudo, the younger brother of Duke Alan III, from 1040 to around 1047. Geoffrey Boterel III, lord of Lamballe (*c.*1164–*c.*1177), may have been in the guardianship of his paternal uncle, Stephen, since before

[53] 'Coutume de Normandie', ch. VIII, para. 4 (p. 9) and ch. LXXXIII, para. 6 (p. 92); 'Coutume de Touraine-Anjou', p. 22. See J. Yver, 'Les caractères originaux du groupe de coutumes de l'ouest de la France', *RHD* 30 (1952), 18–79 at 41–7.

[54] J. Aubergé (ed.), *Le Cartulaire de la Segsneurie de Fougères, connu sons le nom de cartulaire d'Alençon*, Rennes, 1913, p. 57, suggests that it was intended to apply to cadets who were holding land or rents of their patrimony at the time the Assize was made, to avoid uncertainty as to whether the Assize operated retrospectively. Planiol omits any discussion of this clause.

Geoffrey had his own seal he confirmed a grant to Saint-Aubin-des-Bois using Stephen's seal.[55]

This custom is remarkable in that it contrasts with all the neighbouring regions. In England and Normandy, the only proper guardian was the lord of whom the inheritance was held.[56] In Maine and Anjou, the heir's mother had wardship.[57]

As the different custom of Anjou indicates, it was not merely the exercise of strong seignorial authority in England and Normandy that dictated against wardship by the deceaseds' brother. The 'Coutume de Normandie' explains in rather gruesome terms how his relations may not have the infant heir's best interests at heart since they were potentially his heirs, while, since his lord could never be his heir, the infant's best interests would be served in the custody of his lord. The 'Coutume de Touraine-Anjou' shows a similar concern, although this custom trusted in the strength of maternal affection to protect the heir, even from a stepfather. If both father and mother were dead, the custom prescribed a 'double-baillium', in which custody of the inheritance and of the heir's person was divided between his paternal and maternal relations.[58] Since there was a clear rationale for the Norman custom, if the Angevin regime had been intent on reforming the Breton law of succession on Anglo-Norman lines, it is difficult to see why the custom of wardship by the heir's paternal uncle should have been confirmed in Brittany in 1185. It is therefore doubly significant that, in the wardship provision, the Assize preserves a distinctive Breton custom.

This clause further provides that, if the deceased is not survived by a brother, then wardship may go to anyone nominated by the deceased, subject to the consent of his lord. Presumably, if the deceased had not made any such provision, the lord could appoint a custodian (including himself) at his own discretion. It appears that this is consistent with existing custom insofar as, lacking brothers, the deceased could nominate anyone he wished. In 1162, John de Dol nominated Ralph de Fougères guardian of his infant daughters and the barony of Combour without, apparently, obtaining the consent of Duke Conan IV. Henry II showed his disapproval of this 'custom' by removing Ralph from his charge in 1164. The Assize of 1185 thus reflects a compromise; the Bretons could continue their custom of guardianship by the deceased's brother, but in default of a brother, the lord's consent to the choice of guardian was required. The requirement of the lord's consent was an innovation, at least in respect of baronial estates. It represented an increase in ducal authority, because it gave the duke the right to veto the deceased's choice of guardian, nominate the guardian or even to assume the 'baillium' himself, in appropriate circumstances. An early instance of this is Duchess Constance having the 'baillium' of Harvey, *prepositus* of Lamballe at some time between 1186 and 1200.[59] The clause was equally valuable to the barons, giving them the same rights in respect of their own tenants, if they did not enjoy them already.

[55] Chédeville and Tonnerre, *La Bretagne féodale*, pp. 41–2; *AE*, III, 'Saint-Aubin-des-Bois', nos. V and IX.

[56] Hall (ed.) *Glanvill*, book VII, 9 (p. 82); 'Coutume de Normandie', ch. XI (p. 10–11), ch. LXVI (pp. 60–1), ch. LXXXIV (p. 94). See Yver, 'Coutumes de l'ouest', 40–1.

[57] 'Coutume de Touraine-Anjou', pp. 19, 43–4 (widow's wardship of her unmarried daughters).

[58] 'Coutume de Normandie', ch. XI, para.1 (pp. 10–11); 'Coutume de Touraine-Anjou', p. 79.

[59] 'Communes petitiones britonum', p. 101.

4. *In filiabus vero qui majorem habuerit, terram habeat, et juniores maritabit de terra ipsa ad consilium domini et propinquorum generis.*

This clause provides, in effect, that in default of sons the eldest daughter will inherit the patrimonial estate. It is not an exaggeration to say that the Assize treats male and female succession as the same in principle. The eldest son, as heir to the whole patrimony, must provide for his cadets ('juniores'), male and female. The eldest daughter, as heiress, must provide for the marriage of her younger sisters, which amounts to the same thing. The difference is that it is not the heiress herself who disposes of her inheritance, but her husband. Implicit in this clause is an assumption that, whatever the age of the eldest daughter, the inheritance will be 'in baillium' unless or until she is married. This was the case with Duchess Constance, and with Isolde, daughter of John de Dol. In both cases, though, the heiress was an infant at the death of her father, and was married as soon as she was of marriageable age. The 'age of majority' for heiresses was thus the age of marriage.[60]

Again, this custom is different from the neighbouring regions. In England, Normandy and Anjou, in default of a male heir, the inheritance would be shared equally between the deceased's daughters. The eldest daughter had priority only in that she received the family's dwelling-house and its curtilage, and that the eldest daughter's husband would do homage for the whole estate. The younger daughters and their husbands would hold their portions of him, but in parage, without rendering homage for them.[61] In England, at least, parceny between heiresses was introduced in 1130, the pre-existing customary law on female succession being less certain, with at least the possibility of primogeniture.[62]

In Brittany, the customary law before 1185 seems to have followed the principle of female primogeniture. The succession of the barony of Combour after the death of John de Dol in 1162 is an example of this. John left two infant daughters, Isolde and Dionysia, yet the barony passed undivided to Isolde.[63] I have no examples of female succession to knights' fees before1185 which provide any information about the fate of younger daughters, so there is insufficient evidence to determine whether primogeniture was in operation before the Assize. Two examples from soon after 1185 indicate that primogeniture had been adopted, if it was not already the custom. One is the succession to the lands of William Spina, a prominent Combour tenant. William, who died around 1200, was succeeded by the elder of his two daughters, Juliana, and her husband, William de Montborcher.[64] In 1208, a dispute was determined by William, seneschal of Rennes, between the two

[60] Cf. Hall (ed.), *Glanvill*, books VII.12 (pp. 85–6) and IX.4 (p. 108).

[61] Hall (ed.) *Glanvill*, book VII.3 (p. 106); 'Coutume de Normandie', ch. IX, para. 1 (p. 9) and ch. XIII (pp. 13–4); 'Coutume de Touraine-Anjou', p. 17.

[62] J.C. Holt, 'Feudal society and the family in early medieval England: IV, the Heiress and the Alien', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th series, 35 (1985), 1–28 at 9–11, 19–20.

[63] In an early charter of Hasculf de Subligny, lord of Combour, all of the benefactions made by John de Dol to La Vieuville are confirmed by Hasculf, his wife Isolde and her sister, Dionysia (BN ms fr. 22325, p. 523).

[64] In 1198, William had two daughters, Juliana and Olive, by his first wife and an infant son by his second wife (BN ms latin 5476, p. 95). Presumably the son did not survive infancy. In an undated charter, William's younger brother Geoffrey recorded that William's land was divided between Geoffrey himself and Juliana ('terra ejus partita est inter me et primogenitam suam . . . ') (BN ms latin 5476, pp. 120–1, ms fr. 22325, pp. 533–4). Although this case is an example of

daughters of Harvey de *Lanceyo*. The date of Harvey's death is unknown and could have been before 1185. The younger daughter, Juliana, claimed that the eldest, described in the seneschals' charter as Harvey's heiress, had assigned to her the right to half of the property in question in the *curia* of Saint-Melaine de Rennes. The records of the *curia* were searched and no record of this transaction could be found. Juliana was then permitted to produce witnesses, but their evidence was deemed insufficient and the claim was dismissed.[65] This case demonstrates that the eldest daughter was presumed to be the heiress, and if a cadet claimed a share of the patrimony, the onus was upon her to prove the exceptional circumstances which gave rise to her entitlement.

Since parceny was an Anglo-Norman innovation in England, it is again significant that Duke Geoffrey did not follow this precedent in enacting the Assize. Instead of imposing Anglo-Norman law, he sanctioned the contrary Breton custom of female primogeniture.

In the Assize, the eldest daughter's enjoyment of the whole patrimony is made subject only to the obligation to 'marry' any of her younger sisters with land from the estate. Again, such dispositions by way of *maritagium* must be made with the counsel of the lord and of the close relatives. The disappearance from seignorial *acta* of Dionysia, the younger daughter of John de Dol, probably indicates that she received a *maritagium* from the barony of Combour,[66] ending any further claims she might have had in the barony.

5. *Si autem in terra majoris maritagium aliquod accidere contigerit quod juniori placeat illud habebit, nec alii major conferre poterit dum minor velit habere, quod si habere noluerit et alibi invenerit major frater ei de rebus et catallis suis dando perquirat pro posse suo cum consilio propinquorum [et] amicorum.*

This clause refers to lands added to the patrimony (the *terra majoris*) by marriage, that is as dowry (*maritagium*). Continuing on the theme of the heir's obligation to provide for his cadets, this clause deals with the use of lands acquired by way of *maritagium* for this purpose. Firstly, it prescribes that a cadet has the right to any such land if he or she wants it. Secondly, a subordinate clause provides that cadets should have the right of first refusal if the heir wishes to dispose of any such land. This is perhaps intended to mitigate against division of baronies and knights fees on

female primogeniture as between William's daughters, it must be said that the division of the estate between the deceased's brother and his eldest child was contrary to the Assize.

65 'Cart. St-Melaine', folios 178v–179r.

66 According to La Comtesse de la Motte-Rouge (*Les Dinan et les juveigneurs*, Nantes, 1892) Dionysia married Ralph 'vicecomes', a younger son of Oliver II de Dinan (p. 18), or Ralph's son William (p. 190). This genealogy (designed to demonstrate that the lords of Coëtquen were a branch of the Dinan family) is incorrect. In fact, the wife of William son of Ralph, and mother of Oliver, the first known lord of Coëtquen (apparently by marriage to Hawise 'de Coëtquen') was named Dionysia (BN ms latin 5476, p. 96; BN ms fr. 22325, p. 521; *Preuves*, col. 845). She may have been the younger daughter of John II de Dol, but there is no positive evidence. William son of Ralph was not a Dinan, but the lord of Lanvallay and almost certainly the nephew of Henry II's seneschal of Rennes, William de Lanvallay (1166–1171/2). One could speculate that the prestige and influence of the family was so enhanced by William's appointment that his brother, Ralph de Lanvallay, was able to betroth his son to a daughter of John II de Dol.

the basis that lands given to a cadet were more likely to revert to the patrimony than lands disposed of to a stranger.

The third part of this clause moves away from the disposition of *maritagium*-lands and focuses on provision for cadets. If the cadet does not want all or any of the *maritagium*-land pertaining to the patrimony, but chooses land elsewhere, the heir is obliged to acquire this alternative estate out of his own movable assets, his goods and chattels (*de rebus et catallis suis*). Implicitly, the heir may not sell or exchange any portion of the patrimonial lands for this purpose. Under this provision, the heir's obligation is not absolute; he has only to acquire the alternative estate to the best of his ability, and with the counsel of family and friends.

Although grammatically this clause applies to cadets both male and female, it seems logically to apply to provision for females, whether the sisters of a male heir, or the younger sisters of an heiress.[67] This is suggested by its context, immediately following the only clause which expressly deals with daughters (*In filiabus . . .*). Thus the effect of clause 5 is that land originally acquired by way of dowry is charged with furnishing the dowries of sisters and daughters in preference to alienating portions of the patrimony for this purpose. This corresponds with evidence of the use of certain parcels of baronial land to furnish dowries over successive generations. An example is the manor of Long Bennington, Lincs., which was acquired by the barony of Fougères when Olive, daughter of Stephen of Penthièvre, lord of Richmond, married Henry de Fougères around 1140. Their son, Ralph de Fougères, exploited to the full Long Bennington's status as a valuable estate which could still be regarded apart from the patrimony. Having made substantial grants from Long Bennington to Savigny in the 1170s, Ralph may have included it in the dowry of the wife of his son William. After William's death in 1187, Ralph somehow managed to include Long Bennington in the dowries of both his daughter Margaret (married Waleran, son of Robert, count of Meulan, in 1189) and his granddaughter, Clementia de Fougères (married Alan de Dinan before 1196). Since this last marriage produced no issue, Clementia retained her *maritagium* and when she was remarried in 1199, Long Bennington passed to her husband, Ranulf, earl of Chester.[68]

6. *Si major juniori terram dederit de qua eum recipiat in hominem, et sine herede obierit, alicui de propinquis suis cui voluerit eam dabit, ita quod ad principalem dominum non redeat. Si autem non reciperit eum in hominem ad majorem fratrem hereditas revertetur.*

Whereas clause 2 dealt with dispositions by fathers to their younger sons, this clause regulates dispositions by heirs to their younger brothers, and is less restrictive, in envisaging that a grant of land made to a younger brother may become hereditary.

On this subject, the Assize is consistent with the custom of neighbouring regions, in asserting the principle that a lord may not be the heir of his tenant.[69] It differs, though, as to who should be the heir of a younger brother who dies without issue having rendered homage for his land to his elder brother. In England, the legal heir was the deceased's next younger brother, and the 'Coutume de

[67] Brejon de Lavergnée, 'Version française inédite', note 10.

[68] N. Vincent, 'Twyford under the Bretons 1066–1250', *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 41 (1997), 80–99 at 83–6 and 92; AN L968, nos. 215–27 (Savigny charters).

[69] Hall (ed.), *Glanvill*, book VII.1 (pp. 72–3).

Normandie' probably intended the same result.[70] The Assize, however, seems to make this a matter for the judgment of the eldest brother, who may give the land to whomsoever he wishes among his 'propinqui'.[71] Thus, although this clause expressly provides that the land must not revert to the lord (the eldest brother) as heir, he is given the right to decide who will hold it of him next.

In summary, the Assize confirms the Breton custom of primogeniture, including its distinctive details, such as female primogeniture in default of male heirs and wardship by paternal uncle. It is certainly not the imposition of a foreign principle of succession from elsewhere in the Angevin empire. The particular purpose of the Assize is to clarify the problematical aspect of the operation of primogeniture, provision for male and female cadets without fragmentation of estates. The Assize is concerned to avoid the division of estates which might occur if apanages became hereditary, but does not completely ban the practice, permitting heirs to grant apanages to their younger brothers, which may become hereditary in the cadet branch in certain circumstances.

THE 'ASSIZE OF COUNT GEOFFREY': TEXT

This edition of the Assize is derived from the following texts:

Châteaubriant (Cb)	BN ms latin 6003, fol. 92v-93r.
Châteaugiron (Cg)	BN ms fr. 22325, p. 341, with reference to *TAC*, pp. 323–5.
Dinan (D)	*Preuves*, cols. 705–7.
Léon (L)	Girard and Joly (eds.), *Offices de France*, I, Paris 1638, p. 585 .
Porhoët (P)	BN ms fr. 22325, p. 74.
Rohan (R)	AN ms JJ8, no. 297.
Vitré (V)	Bourdot de Richebourg, *Coutumier Général*, IV, Paris, 1724, p. 289.
Anonymous (A)	BM Additional mss 8876, fol. 157.

---

1 Notum sit omnibus tam presentibus quam futuris quod, cum in Britannia super terris inter fratres dividendis detrimentum terre plurimum soleat evenire, ego Gaufridus
Henrici regis filius dux Britannie et comes Richemundie, utilitati terre providere desiderans,
petitioni episcoporum et baronum omnium Britannie satisfaciens, communi assensu eorum
5 assisiam feci tempore meo et successorum meorum permansuram et concessi quod in baroniis et feodis militum ulterius non fierent divisiones sed major natu integre
obtineret dominatum, et junioribus suis majores providerent et invenirent honorifice necessaria juxta posse suum.

[70] Hall (ed.), *Glanvill* book VII.1 (p. 73), 'Coutume de Normandie', ch XXXIV (pp. 28–9) ('prochiens paranz ou cosins').

[71] This interpretation is based on treating 'major' as the subject of the whole sentence, except for the clause 'et sine herede obierit', in which the 'junior' must be the subject.

Ea vero quae tunc juniores possidebant in terris sive denariis tenerent quamdiu viverent,
heredes quidem terras tenentium possiderent illas imperpetuum.
Heredes vero denarios et non terras habentium post patres non haberent.
Item si terra majorum devenerit in baillium, frater major post eum bailliam habebit,
quod si fratrem non habuerit ille de amicis bailliam habeat cui decedens
cum assensu domini sui eam voluerit commendare.
In filiabus vero qui majorem habuerit terram habeat et juniores maritabit de terra ipsa
ad consilium domini et propinquorum generis. Si autem in terra majoris
maritagium aliquod accidere contigerit quod juniori placeat illud habebit,
nec alii major conferre poterit dum minor velit habere, quod si habere
noluerit et alibi invenerit major frater ei de rebus et catallis suis dando
perquirat pro posse suo cum consilio propinquorum amicorum.
Item si major juniori terram dederit de qua eum recipiat in hominem et sine herede obierit,
alicui de propinquis suis cui voluerit eam dabit ita quod ad principalem
dominum non redeat. Si autem non reciperit eum in hominem ad majorem fratrem hereditas revertetur.
Hanc assisiam ego Gaufridus dux Britannie et Constancia uxor mea et omnes barones Britannie
juravimus tenere decrevimus etiam necessarium ut et majores natu
et juniores eam jurarent tenendam et si juniores noluissent jurare amplius nec in terris nec in
denariis partem essent habituri. Hanc assisiam sive institutionem nominatam
[name of baron] et ejus heredibus per totam terram suam
concessimus permansuram. Ut igitur hoc ratum maneret et stabile attestatione sigilli mei et
Constantie uxoris mee volumus roborari.
Testibus; Herberto Redon*ensis*, Petro Macloviens*is*, Gueth*enoc* Veneten*sis* ep*iscopi*s
Maur*icio* Namnet*ensis* electo, Radulpho de Filgeris, comite Eud*one*, Rollandi de
Dinan, Alano filius comitis, Henrico filius alterius, abb*at*e Tudi et pluribus aliis baronibus.
Datum apud Redon*as*, anno Domini millesimo centesimo octuagesimo quinto.

Line 1 – 'Notum . . . quod' omitted from R and V.
Line 2 – 'terre' omitted from D and P; Cb – 'terris'; R – 'detrimentum plurimum terre . . . '; Cb and L – 'solebat' for 'soleat'.
Line 3 – L – 'utilitatem'; R – 'u i – e' ('universe'?) substituted for 'terre'; L – 'ejusdem' after 'providere'.
Line 4 – L, V and A – 'omnium baronum'; L – 'Britannie' omitted; R – 'eorum' omitted: Cb and L – 'cum' substituted for 'communi': V – 'communi eorum assensu': A –'cum eorum assensu': Cg 'o le commun assentement'.
Line 5 – R, P and L – omit 'tempore . . . permansuram'; Cb substitutes 'perpetuo permansuram'; Cg – 'a durier en nostre temps e de nos successors'.
Line 6 – Cb – 'militibus'; L – 'ulterius 'omitted; A – 'inter fratres' inserted after 'divisiones'; Cb – 'terre integr'.
Line 7 – L – 'domanium obtineret'; L and A – 'minoribus' for 'junioribus'; For 'invenirent' – D – 'ministrarent', P – 'juvenirent', L – 'ut viverent'; Cb – 'invenirent

. . . suum' omitted and 'necessaria sua juxta posse suum eis honorifice inveniret' substituted.
Line 8 – for 'juniores' – L – 'minores', V – 'junioribus', A – 'et juniores'; V and A – 'quamdiu viverent tenerent', A adds 'et'.
Line 9 – Cb – 'quid terris tene*n*tium illud possidetur imperpetuum'; D – 'illas possiderent'; P – 'quidem terra tenentium illas possiderent in perpetuum'; L – 'quidem tenentium terras illas possidebunt in perpetuum'; V and A omit 'quidem', 'terras (de)tenentium in perpetuum illas possiderent'; Cg, D and R – 'heredes vero' omitted here and 'heredes' placed after 'habentium'.
Line 10 – R, D, L and P – 'et non terras' omitted, 'autem' substituted; L – 'post ipsos non sunt': V and A – 'minime post patres haberent'.
Line 11 – P – 'junioris': L – 'terras minoris': V – 'majoris'; D and P – 'baillivum': L – 'in baillium devenerit'; For 'eum' – Cb – 'ipsum': V – 'ea': A – 'illum'.
Line 12 – L – 'baillium habebit; et si fratrem non habebit ille de amicis habebit baillium'; Cb, L and A – 'descendens': D – 'decidens'.
Line 13 – R – 'eam commendabit': Cb – 'voluerit eam poterit commendare': P – 'voluerit eam commendare': L -'noluerit commodare'.
Line 14 – R – 'habebit', L – 'filiam habuit'; Cb – 'filias' inserted after 'juniores'; Cb – 'ipsa ad' omitted and 'illa per' substituted.
Line 15 – Cb and L – 'sui' inserted after 'domini'.
Line 16 – Cb – 'maritagium' omitted, 'menagium id est domus vacans' substituted; D – 'decidere' for 'accidere'; L – 'minori' for 'juniori'.
Line 17 – D – 'major alii'; Cb – 'ne alii major conferre non poterit . . . '; D, V and A – 'junior' for 'minor'; L and V – 'habere velit'; P – 'si' omitted.
Line 18 – L and A -'voluerit'; Cb – 'de rebus suis et castellis': L and A – 'castellis' substituted for 'catallis'.
Line 19 – Cb – 'procurabit': P – 'proquirat': L – 'conquirat': A and Cb – 'procuret' (in Cb the verb is near the end of the clause, 'amicorum procuret propinquorum'); L – 'suo' omitted; A – 'propinquorum et amicorum'.
Line 20 – V and A – 'dederit juniore terram': L – 'juniori in terram dederit'; L and V – 'receperit': D – 'in hominem recipiat'; Cb and A – 'junior' inserted after 'et'.
Line 21 – L and V – 'qui' substituted for 'cui'; L – 'terram' substituted for 'eam'.
Line 22 – L – 'heredem' substituted for 'dominum': A – 'ad' and 'dominum' omitted; R and V -'redibit' for 'redeat'; After 'autem' – L – 'eum', V and A – 'de terra illa'; D – 'ceperit' for 'reciperit'.
Line 23 – P – 'assisam'.
Line 24 – R. – 'decernimus'; P – 'decrevimus esse necessarium'; L – 'et' inserted after 'tenere' and 'necessarium' omitted; V -'tenere juravimus et necessarium decrevimus'; A – 'juravimus et *necessarium*? decrevimus'; L, V and A – 'et' omitted after 'ut'.
Line 25 – L – 'et juniores' omitted: A – 'minores jurant' substituted for 'juniores eam jurarent'; L – 'si' omitted: Cb and V – 'eam' inserted after 'juniores'; R – 'jurare noluissent': D – 'nollent jurare': L – 'quod si nollent jurare': A – 'voluissent jurare'.
Line 26 – A – 'habuerit' (end of text); D – 'igitur' inserted after 'hanc'; Cb, D and P – 'institutionem sive assisiam'; L – 'constitutionem seu assisiam'; V – 'assisiam . . . nominatim' omitted and 'igitur assisiam precipue concessi et confirmavi' substituted; Cg – 'cet establissement e assise'.
Line 27 – R – 'Alano de Rohan'; Cb – 'Gaufrid*o* de Castrobrientii'; D – ('nominatam' omitted) 'Rollando de Dinanno'; Porhoet – 'E. co*mit*i'; L – 'Guidomaro de Leonia'; V – 'Andrea de Vitreio'; Cg – 'Jacques e Alain de Chasteau Giron'; V – after 'heredibus', 'in posterum futuram' inserted; L – 'terram suam' omitted and 'Britannium' substituted.

Line 28 – V – 'concessimus permansuram' omitted; D – 'permaneat': L – 'permaneret et firmum stabile': V – 'esset'; V – 'attestatione' and 'volumus roborari' omitted, 'attestatione confirmatum fuit' substituted.
Line 29 – L ends at 'roborari'.
Line 32 – D – omits 'baronibus' and ends at 'Redonas'; Cb – 'Redonen'; the location and date appear only in Cb and V.

Appendix 2

THE HEREDITARY SENESCHALS OF RENNES

The family of the seneschals of Rennes begins with the seneschal Mainfinit (*c.* 1060–95), but the counts of Rennes/dukes of Brittany employed a household seneschal from the first half of the eleventh century, and the office seems have become hereditary by the middle of the century. This is the conclusion to be drawn from the fact that Mainfinit acquired his office by marrying Commater 'senescalca', the widow of the seneschal Geoffrey son of Glai, so that 'redditus est ei omnis honor' qui ad senescalciam Gauffredi pertinebat' (BN ms fr. 22331, p. 236).

Mainfinit in fact originated in Nantes and possibly joined the comital household when Conan II was briefly acknowledged as count of Nantes from 1050 to 1054 (*Preuves*, cols. 409, 484; A. Chédeville and N.-Y. Tonnerre, *La Bretagne féodale XIe-XIIIe siècle*, Rennes, 1987, pp. 42–3). Mainfinit first appears with the title 'siniscald*us* Redonensis' in the reign of Count Geoffrey *Grennonat* (1066–84) (*Preuves*, col. 428), presumably following his marriage to the widow of Geoffrey son of Glai. Mainfinit had at least three sons: William, Walter (the name of Mainfinit's brother) and Agaat (*Preuves*, cols. 428, 463, 484, 566). Mainfinit disappears after going on the First Crusade in the entourage of Duke Alan IV (*Preuves*, col. 484). On the duke's return there appears a new seneschal, William (*Preuves*, cols. 504–5, 512).

By *c.* 1106, William's own son Sylvester was old enough to join him in escorting Duchess Ermengard and the young Conan on a visit to Marmoutier, and perhaps as far as Flanders (*Preuves*, col. 512). There is no record of Sylvester as seneschal. William was alive in 1141, but the same year was succeeded by Guy (*AE*, VI, p. 121–2; 'Cart. St-Melaine', f.183r.). Around this time, Maria, widow of William 'dapifer' made a grant to Saint-Georges de Rennes of rents from her own land ('Cart. St-Georges', p. 288, no. LXII).

Guy was in fact William's grandson. A charter of the last William, seneschal of Rennes (*c.* 1187–1229), refers to his father Guy and grandfather Sylvester (AD Ille-et-Vilaine, 1F 180). Since William had been in office for forty years, since *c.* 1100, it is possible that his son Sylvester predeceased him, and his grandson Guy was already of age to inherit the office.

Despite the political upheavals of the period from the death of Duke

Conan III in 1148 to 1166, Guy appears throughout as seneschal of Rennes. In 1153, Guy attested a charter of Hoël, count of Nantes, at Nantes (*Preuves*, col. 617). It is possible that Guy was in exile from Rennes during the regime of Eudo de Porhoet, and had allied with Count Hoël. Alternatively, Guy may have been at Hoël's court on Eudo's business. Guy continued (or was reinstated) as seneschal of Rennes, when Conan IV succeeded in 1156 (*EYC*, IV, no. 44; *Preuves*, col. 632). As discussed at p. 86, Guy actually continued in office under Henry II after 1166, but probably subject to the royal seneschals, William de Lanvallay and Reginald Boterel.

Guy is last recorded in 1179 x 1181, but since, like his grandfather, he had by then held office for 40 years, this is not surprising. As discussed at p. 101 there is a lacuna in dated references to the seneschals of Rennes for the period 1181–7, the reign of Duke Geoffrey. In 1187, appears 'W. Ragot' seneschal of Rennes (*Charters*, no. C13). Possibly 'W. Ragot' should be identified with the hereditary seneschal, William son of Guy. The earliest dated documents referring to this William are two charters of Duchess Constance made in 1193, but four of William's own charters, which are not dated, could have been made as early as 1184 or even 1181 ('Cart. St-Georges', Appendix, no.VIII (1181 x 1203); 'Cart. St-Melaine', fols. 23r, 105v; AD Ille-et-Vilaine 23H2 (all 1184 x 1198)).

In four documents concerning his own private business, William used, or was accorded, the title 'seneschal of Rennes': AN ms L973 (undated charter of Guy de Thouars for Savigny), AD Ille-et-Vilaine 1F180 (copy of a charter dated 1205), AD Ille-et-Vilaine 1F502 (published in A. Oheix, *Essai sur les sénéchaux de Bretagne des origines au XIVe siècle*, Paris, 1913, p. 200), and BN ms latin 5331(3), p. 407 (*Preuves*, col. 825).

William is last recorded in 1229 (AD Ille-et-Vilaine, 4H23A, original charter in chirograph form of the Official of Rennes and William 'senescallus Redon'), and had been succeeded by one Oliver Guernier by 1237 (*Actes inédits*, no. CIX). He died before 1241 (L.-J. Denis (ed.), *Chartes de l'abbaye de St-Julien de Tours (1002–1227)*, Société des Archives historiques du Maine, XII, Paris, 1912–13, no. 248).

Compared with William's administration, references to seneschals of Rennes are much rarer in the succeeding decades. In 1237, the seneschal was Olivier Guernier, in 1241, Geoffrey Blandin (*Actes inédits*, no. CIX; BN ms latin 5441 (3), f. 196v.). These are not known to have had any connection with William, and it would seem that the dynasty of hereditary seneschals of Rennes ended with him.

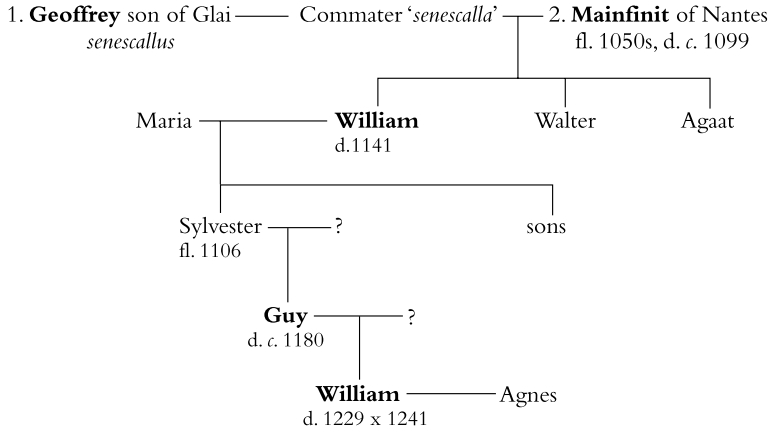


Fig. 2 Genealogy of the Seneschals of Rennes

Appendix 3

ANGEVIN OFFICERS IN BRITTANY

ROYAL SENESCHALS OF NANTES

William fitzHamo (1158–1172)

William's origins are obscure, but may have been in the honour of Richmond. He held the soke of Hough-on-the-Hill, Lincs., probably by a grant of Conan IV's father (*EYC*, IV, p. 80; Société Jersiaise (ed.), *Cartulaire des Iles Normandes: Recueil de documents concernant l'histoire de ces îles*, Jersey, 1924, no. 252). He may also be identified with William son of Hamo *dispensator* of Hudswell, near Richmond (*Monasticon*, III, p. 602). William also had some connection with the Channel Islands, where he founded the abbey of Saint-Hélier (RT, II, pp. 134–5; *Cartulaire des Iles Normandes*, p. 307). He also held lands in Normandy (RT, II, p. 135 note; *Cartulaire des Iles Normandes*, no. 239). William served Henry II for some years before he became king, and was rewarded with lands in the south of England, at Salisbury and Warminster (*Pipe Rolls 2–18 Henry II*; for the significance of these grants, see T.K. Keefe, 'Place-date distribution of royal charters and the historical geography of patronage strategies at the court of king Henry II Plantagenet', *Haskins Society Journal* 2 (1990), 179–88 at 184).

William played a prominent role in Henry II's regime in Brittany from the outset, acting as principal royal agent in Nantes from 1158. On at least one occasion between 1160 and August 1167, he visited Conan IV at Guingamp (*EYC*, IV, p. 60), no doubt on the king's business. At the same time, during the 1160s, William was principal royal agent in Angers and Tours (for the counties of Anjou and Touraine?), styled 'senescallus' or 'dapifer regis' (see above p. 81 and Everard, 'The "Justiciarship" in Brittany and Ireland under Henry II', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 20 (1998), 87–105 at 95). William died in 1172. His widow is recorded at Warminster, but there is no record of his heirs.

See J. Le Patourel, 'Guillaume filsHamon, le premier sénéchal de Bretagne (1171–1172)', *Annales de Normandie* 29 (1979), 376–7.

Appendix 3

Peter fitzGuy (?1172–c. 1184)

Peter fitzGuy (fl. 1152–*c.* 1202) belonged to an old Le Mans family, being the great-grandson of a 'Count Guy'. He first appears attesting a charter of William, bishop of Le Mans, with his father, Guy son of Hugh (son of Count Guy), in 1152 (Bénédictins de Solesmes (ed.), *Cartulaire de St-Pierre de la Couture*, Le Mans, 1881, pp. 38, 52, 65, 82–4; *Cart. Saint-Victeur au Mans*, pp. 20, 22–3). Peter evidently had a role in Angevin royal government of the city of Le Mans (*Cart. St-Pierre de la Couture*, pp. 87, 93, 99, 114–6, 124, 187) under Henry II and his sons, attesting one charter of Henry II styled 'custodus turris Cenomannensis', *c.* 1161 (*Actes d'Henri II*, no. CXCIX). At some time during Henry II's reign, Peter presided over a determination of the *banlieu* of Le Mans (*Cart. St-Pierre de la Couture*, p. 187). A charter of Peter's, dated 13 May 1190, shows him exercising jurisdiction in Le Mans, but not apparently as royal seneschal of Le Mans, this office being held by Geoffrey Mauchien (*Cart. St-Pierre de la Couture*, pp. 124, 126–7, 130). Between 1200 and 1203, at Le Mans, Peter attested a charter of Queen Isabella (A. Chédeville (ed.), *Liber controversiarum Sancti Vincenti Cenomanensis*, Paris, 1968, pp. 150–1). In addition to his role at the comital/royal *curia* in Le Mans, Peter fitzGuy also attested a large number of Henry II's charters, both in England and on the Continent, with no official title (*Actes d'Henri II*, *passim*). The charter of Queen Isabella (1200 x 1203) is the latest record of Peter.

Peter's colleague in the administration of Nantes, Robert *de Doniol* (above, p. 81), may be identified with Robert Doisnel, whose daughter married William fitzAldelin, another of Henry II's seneschals/'dapifers' (*Actes d'Henri II*, 'Introduction', p. 478; Everard, 'Justiciarship', pp. 91–2), suggesting an *esprit de corps* among these professional royal administrators. A John Doisnel was a priest in Le Mans *c.* 1200–1208 (*Cart. de St-Victeur au Mans*, pp. 33–5, 38, 43–6, 48, 51, 60), which may indicate a Le Mans connection between Robert Doisnel and Peter fitzGuy.

Eudo fitzErneis (1185)

There is only one record of Eudo fitzErneis in the capacity of seneschal of Nantes. Eudo was a *curialis* of Henry II. He was with the king in Brittany and Normandy in mid-1171 (*Itinerary*, pp. 158–9) and attested several of the king's charters in Normandy before 1173 (*Actes d'Henri II*, nos. CCXCVI, CCCCXXXIII, CCCCCXLVII). He held lands in Normandy (at Croixmare and 'Tubervilla') by marriage to the daughter of Nicholas de *Londa* (*Actes d'Henri II*, 'Introduction', p. 367). Although he joined the rebels in 1173, Eudo was reconciled with the king and witnessed the treaty of Falaise in October 1174 (*Actes d'Henri II*, no.CCCCLXVIII). There does not seem to be any record of Eudo between 1174 and 1185.

Roger of Howden's list of the rebels of 1173 contains several fitzErneis', possibly Eudo's brothers. He was probably the brother of Oliver fitzErneis, a tenant-in-chief at Maldon (Essex). Oliver died in 1183, having the same year

been attacked by Duke Geoffrey's men at Limoges, possibly in the context of Geoffrey's claims to the county of Nantes (see above, pp. 135–6)

ROYAL SENESCHALS OF RENNES

William de Lanvallay (1166–c. 1172)

One of the numerous descendants of Aimeric, an illegitimate son of Geoffrey Boterel I, lord of Penthièvre (K.S.B. Keats-Rohan, 'Two studies in North French prosopography', *Journal of Medieval History*, 20 (1994), 3–37 at 35). William's forebears had assumed the toponym from their landholdings at Lanvallay, near Dinan, and William was probably a younger son who sought to make his fortune in royal service, his elder brother Ralph succeeding to the family's Breton lands (see *Preuves*, col. 845). The only lands William possessed (other than by royal grant) were one knight's fee in Abington (Cambs.) held of Aubrey de Vere and possibly other land in Abington held of the honour of Richmond (W. Farrer, *Feudal Cambridgeshire*, Cambridge, 1920, p. 54; R. Ransford (ed.), *The early charters of the Augustinian canons of Waltham Abbey, Essex, 1062–1230*, Woodbridge, Suffolk 1989, pp. lxxiv, lxxv, nos. 165, 169–74).

The Pipe Rolls and numerous attestations of royal charters show that William was active in Henry II's service from 1154. William participated in Henry II's campaign in Brittany in 1166 and was appointed seneschal of Rennes when Henry II assumed control of the duchy. William remained in this office until 1172, when he returned to England as castellan of Winchester. From then until his death, William served as a royal justice in England. Apart from the profits of his office, William received royal grants of land in England, but his greatest reward was marriage to Gunnora, the heiress of Hubert de Saint-Clair, with her lands in Essex, Hertfordshire and Northamptonshire (J. H. Round (ed.), *Rotuli de dominabus et pueris et puellis de xii comitatibus (1185)*, Pipe Roll Society, xxxv, London, 1913, pp. 47, notes 1, 66, 70, 80; see also S. A. Moore (ed.), *Cartularium monasterii Sancti Johannis Baptiste de Colecestria*, 2 vols., London, 1897, pp. 153–63, 197–9). William was dead by 1185, probably dying in early 1182, leaving his eldest son William still an infant (*Pipe Roll, 28 Henry II*, p. 108; *Rotuli de dominabus*, p. 80, where presumably the figure '.lx.' for William junior's age is a mistake).

Reginald Boterel (1181)

A single reference to Reginald Boterel as seneschal of Rennes in 1181 is the only record of him serving Henry II. He was much more prominent as a tenant of the honour of Richmond and courtier of Geoffrey and Constance, hence biographical details have been published in *Charters*, 'Biographical Notes', p. 185–6.

Appendix 3

OTHER ROYAL AGENTS IN BRITTANY, 1158–1175

Hamo Boterel (1158, 1162)

Hamo was probably a younger brother of William Boterel, the constable of Wallingford under the Empress Matilda, and the Richmond tenant Peter Boterel, and hence the uncle of Reginald (see *Charters*, pp. 185–6; cf. *EYC*, IV, p. 53). Farmer of the royal manor of Hurstbourne Tarrant (Hants.), from before 1155 until 1165 or 1166, and forester of Doiley wood in the same parish until 1156 (*Pipe Rolls 2–12 Henry II, 1155/56–1165/66*; *VCH: Hampshire*, IV, pp. 319–20). He probably joined Conan's household in England in 1156 (*EYC*, IV, pp. 37–9). Hamo attested a charter of Henry II at Salisbury, probably in February/March 1158, with William fitzHamo (*Itinerary*, p. 35). Shortly afterwards he appears with Conan IV at Rennes, where he attested three of Conan's charters made 22 April – 29 September 1158 (*EYC*, IV, pp. 45–8).

One of these states that Ralph de Fougères, Rolland de Dinan and Hamo Boterel 'dapifer', all gave counsel (*EYC*, IV, p. 45). In the other two charters, Hamo's name appears in association with the same two barons, who were the young duke's most important supporters. Further evidence of this association is Ralph de Fougères' grant to Hamo of his property in Winchester (N. Vincent, 'Twyford under the Bretons 1066–1250', *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 41 (1997), 80–99 at 83). It is unlikely that one so comparatively humble should rise so high in the duke's counsels in such a short time, and the explanation may be that Hamo was the king's agent at Conan's court. The title 'dapifer' probably applied to Hamo as the king's agent, rather than as a member of the ducal household. It would seem to be in this capacity that he attested Henry II's charter at Vitré (BL ms Lansdowne 229, f.114). Hamo's disappearance from the Pipe Rolls suggests he died before Michaelmas 1166.

Josce de Dinan

Probably to be identified with Joscelin, a younger son of Geoffrey I de Dinan (*AE*, IV, p. 390; *Preuves*, cols. 513–4), Josce de Dinan first appears in England in the 1140s attesting charters of the Empress Matilda (U. Rees (ed.), *Cartulary of Shrewsbury Abbey*, Aberystwyth, 1975, nos. 40, 50; J. H. Round (ed.), *Ancient Charters, royal and private, prior to A.D. 1200*, Pipe Roll Society, London, 1888, X, no. 46). Josce is best known for his defence of Ludlow castle for the Empress during the civil war, described in the 'Legend of Fulk fitzWarin', which also confirms the Pipe Roll evidence that a grateful Henry II rewarded Josce with the manor of (Chipping) Lambourn, Berks., upon his accession (E.J. Hathaway *et al.*, ed., *Fouke le FitzWaryn*, Oxford 1975, pp. xii-xiii, 21; *Actes de Henri II*, no. LII (1153); *VCH, Berks.*, IV, p. 253). Josce continued to serve Henry II; in 1158/9 he received payment for corrody of the king's son (*Pipe Roll 5 Henry II*, p. 43). Despite his Breton origins, Josce only appears in Brittany in connection with ducal/royal

politics. He attested Henry II's charter at Vitré (October 1158 x early 1162) (BL ms Lansdowne 229, f.114) and a charter of Conan IV at Quimper in 1162 (*Hist. Quimperlé*, p. 600; *EYC*, IV, p. 65). Nevertheless, Josce was closely associated with fellow-Bretons in royal service in England; one of Josce's daughters and co-heiresses, Sybil, was married to Hugh de Plukenet, a cadet of the family of *Ploigonoit* (?Pleugueneuc, *cant.* Tinténiac, *arrond.* Saint-Malo, *dép.* Ille-et-Vilaine) (*Preuves*, col. 647; *Complete peerage*, X, p. 552), who like Josce came to England in support of the Empress Matilda and continued in the service of Henry II, with the manor of Headington (Oxon.) as his reward (S.R. Wigram (ed.), *Cartulary of the monastery of St Frideswide of Oxford*, 2 vols. Oxford, 1895–6, II, p. 20; *Pipe Rolls, 2–34 Henry II*). Further, Josce's neighbour, the tenant of the manor of Eastbury in Lambourn by royal grant, was a Ralph de Lanvallay (*VCH, Berks.*, IV, p. 259). Josce died in 1162 (*Pipe Roll, 9 Henry II*, p. 51).

John de Subligny (lord of Combour, 1164–c. 1173)

John was a cadet of an aristocratic family of the Avranchin, the son of Robert de *Suligneio* (M. Dubosc (ed.), *Cartulaires de la Manche: Abbaye de Montmorel*, Saint-Lô, 1878, no. CXLV). The toponym derives from Subligny (*cant.* La Haye-Pesnel, *arr.* Avranches, *dép.* Manche). The senior branch of the family in the mid-twelfth century was represented by Hasculf de Subligny, who was John's paternal uncle (Bibl. mun. de Rouen, collection Leber, ms 5636, no. 16). Hasculf's grant to the abbey of La Vieuville, attested by John (BN ms latin 5476, p. 101), raises the possibility that the family had a prior interest in the barony of Combour, before Henry II gave it to John, but it is equally possible that Hasculf made his donation after 1164. Before 1164, John possessed substantial estates in Normandy, in the dioceses of Avranches and Bayeux, and in Cornwall. These were sufficient for John, with his wife Alice and son Hasculf, to found the abbey of Montmorel (*Cart. Montmorel*, p. 1, nos. II, IV, IX, XII).

Despite his aristocratic background, John was a *curialis* of Henry II (*Actes d'Henri II*, 'Introduction' p. 399, nos. XX, CCCCXI, DCXXXVIII; *Pipe Roll 22 Henry II*, p. 200). I do not share Delisle's theory that there were two individuals of the same or similar name (*Actes d'Henri II*, 'Introduction', p. 399). The John de Subligny in question simply enjoyed a long career, and was still alive *c.* 1183 (BN ms latin 5476, p. 87).

As noted at p. 84 above, John to some extent colonised the barony of Combour with his Norman kin. This can be traced through grants to John's brother Adam and to the families of two of John's sisters. Adam had a formal role in John's administration of the barony of Combour as John's deputy and custodian of the young Hasculf and Isolde. In return, he was granted lands in the barony, including land at *Travel* (BN ms latin 5476, pp. 92–3; BN ms fr. 22325, pp. 519–20).

One sister, Matilda, was married before 1160 to Hugo *Farsi*, another sister married a de *Flacheio* (*Cart. Montmorel*, nos. CXLV, CCLIII). The *Farsi* family held lands in Guilberville and *Capella* (dioc. Bayeux), but after 1164 also held

lands in the parishes of Ros-sur-Couesnon and Palvel of the honour of Combour (*Cart. Montmorel*, nos. XIII, CXXXIII, CCVI, CCVII). In a charter of 1196, Hasculf, son of John de Subligny, confirmed a grant to La Vieuville by Geoffrey *Farsi* 'homo meus de Palvel', so that Geoffrey's younger son might be educated at the abbey and later become a monk there (*Preuves*, col. 726). Evidently this (cadet) branch of the *Farsi* family had settled in Combour.

The details of the marriage alliance with the de *Flacheio* family are not recorded, but William de *Flacheio* made a grant to Montmorel for the soul of John de Subligny 'avunculus meus' (*Cart. Montmorel*, no. CCLII). The de *Flacheio* patrimony, inherited by William, was just on the Norman side of the border, in the parishes of Saint-Senier and Saint-Aubin-de-Terregate, and it appears that it was his younger brother, Ruallen, who benefitted from John's patronage. Ruallen de *Flacheio*, described in a charter of Hasculf, son of John de Subligny, as 'miles meus et cognatus', held land in the parish of Saint-Broladre. William and Ruallen's sister also married into a local family, marrying John de Lanvallay, a tenant of the archbishop of Dol (BN ms latin 5476, pp. 9, 64, 81–2, 84) and brother or nephew of the oft-mentioned William de Lanvallay (Ransford (ed.), *Charters of Waltham Abbey*, pp lxxiv-v, nos. 165, 169–74).

I am especially grateful to Dr Daniel Power for his advice on the Subligny family.

Appendix 4

THE RIGHT OF WRECK AND DUCAL *BREFS DE MER*

In view of how little contemporary sources disclose of ducal or seignorial administration in twelfth-century Brittany, there is a comparatively large amount of evidence concerning the customary right of wreck. This is reflected in the variety of terms, Latin and vernacular, employed by the clerks (*naufragium*, *fractura navium*, *varech*, *lagan*[*us*], *bris*). Although common throughout the *pays de coutume*, wreck must have had a special significance in Brittany with its extensive coastline, much of it rocky and treacherous, and its position on a shipping route dominated by the wine-trade.[1] The use and abuse of wreck was a such a significant phenomenon in Breton society that it was one of the matters raised at an ecclesiastical council convened at Nantes by Hildebert, archbishop of Tours, with the co-operation of Duke Conan III, and was consequently condemned by Pope Honorius II.[2]

Evidence of the exercise of the right of wreck from the late twelfth century suggests this ecclesiastical censure had little effect.[3] Even the clergy, both secular and regular, continued to exercise it. In the inquest conducted on behalf of the archbishop of Dol in 1181, wreck is repeatedly mentioned in the same context as the seignorial right to 'great fish' from the sea.[4] In the 1190s, the ducal seneschal of the Broërec determined a dispute over a shipwreck on the shores of Belle-Ile (Morbihan) in which the abbey of Sainte-Croix de Quimperlé claimed right of wreck. The seneschal found that the abbey, 'de more principis, naufragium suum in terra sua . . . semper habuerit et habere deberet'. The grounds for this finding are not stated, but Belle-Ile had been given to the abbey by Alan 'Canhiart', count of Cornouaille, before 1058.[5] The monks would have argued that this grant implicitly included the count's right of wreck on the island. To these two examples, from the north-eastern and southern coasts respectively, may be added evidence from the north-west, that the barons of Léon and Tréguier counted wreck as an important source of revenue. When Guihomar de Léon

[1] See H. Touchard, 'Les brefs de Bretagne', *Revue d'Histoire Economique et Sociale* 34 (1956), 116–40 at 116–27.
[2] *Preuves*, cols. 554–6.
[3] Touchard, 'Brefs de Bretagne', p. 119.
[4] *Enquête*, pp. 35–7, 43–5.
[5] *Charters*, no. C26; *Cart. Quimperlé*, p. 131.

boasted of his 'precious stone' worth 100 000 s. *per annum*, one has to suspect that not all of the wrecks were due to natural causes.[6]

The right of wreck pertained to the counts/dukes of Brittany wherever their domains included sea-coast, and these were extensive along the southern littoral of the peninsula, from the Guérande to Cornouaille. During the reigns of Geoffrey and Constance, the coastlines of the baronies of Léon and Tréguier also constituted ducal domain (at least to the extent that they were under the control of the lords of these baronies) and the duke and duchess exercised the seignorial right of wreck while these baronies were in their possession.[7]

From the thirteenth century, the customary right of wreck was replaced by the system of ducal *brefs*. Henceforth, it was possible to purchase at the port of departure letters issued under the ducal seal, which, in their simplest form, represented the duke's warranty of indemnity against loss in the event of shipwreck on the coasts of Brittany. The difficulty lies in determining when this system was first introduced. This Appendix has been included to consider the theory that it formed part of the Angevin governmental reforms in Brittany and specifically that it was the work of Henry II.[8] The king certainly had an interest in the security of shipping between his territories; shortly after acquiring the county of Nantes in 1158 he was having wine shipped to England from Brittany.[9]

Apart from a general bias in favour of Henry II when discussing advances in twelfth-century government, the case rests largely upon a royal ordinance abolishing the right of wreck on the coasts of England, Poitou and Gascony dated '26 May 1174'. This would seem to provide firm evidence that Henry II took an active interest in wreck and its reform. However, the ordinance is in fact an act of Henry III which was erroneously attributed to Henry II in Rymer's *Fœdera*.[10]

With this, in any event circumstantial, evidence removed from the equation, the earliest evidence for the ducal *brefs* dates from the reign of Duchess Constance. In 1379, the abbey of Begard sought ducal confirmation of a grant by Duchess Constance. According to the 1379 confirmation, which is the earliest extant record of Constance's act, the grant was of, 'la disme de sa rente des Nefs, laquelle rente Semimarc est appelee, en quelques lieux, que ladite rente fust prinse en la Rochelle ou ailleurs'. In a subsequent confirmation of Duke Francis II (1459), this is rendered as; 'le dixiesme du revenu des Briefz qui sappelloient demi marc en quelque lieu quil fust prins

[6] 'Communes petitiones Britonum', pp. 97–102.

[7] 'Communes petitiones Britonum', p. 99, para. 4. On the general principle of ducal rights on coastlines, see J. Quaghebeur, 'Puissance publique, puissances privées sur les côtes du Comté de Vannes (IX^{e}–XII^{e} siècles)' in G. Le Bouëdec and F. Chappé, *Pouvoirs et littoraux du XV^{e} au XX^{e} siècle*, Rennes, 1999, 11–28.

[8] B.A. Pocquet du Haut-Jussé, 'L'origine des Brefs de sauveté', *AB* 46 (1959), 255–62 at 262; A. Chédeville and N.-Y. Tonnerre, *La Bretagne féodale, XIe-XIIIe siècle*, Rennes, 1987, p. 379; J. Gillingham, *Richard the Lionheart*, 2nd ed, London, 1989, pp. 70–1.

[9] *Pipe Roll 6 Henry II, 1159–1160*, p. 23.

[10] T. Rymer (ed.), *Fœdera . . .* , 3rd ed., 1745, I, p. 12.

tant a la Rochelle quen en autres parties'.[11] Since there is no other evidence for ducal *brefs* before the second quarter of the thirteenth century, indeed the degree of specialisation of the system which produced different categories of *brefs* (one of which was the *demi-marc*) did not occur until the mid-thirteenth century, and in view of the considerable evidence that seignorial exercise of the right of wreck continued after 1200, the grant claimed by the monks of Begard must be anachronistic.[12]

Nevertheless, Begard's claim was based upon a genuine grant to the abbey by Duchess Constance. The diplomatic of Constance's purported grant indicates that whatever evidence was produced by the monks to the ducal *curia* in 1379, 1399 and 1459 was derived from an original charter of Duchess Constance, given with the assent of her son Arthur (and therefore probably dated 1199 x 1201). I would speculate that Constance's original charter confirmed the grant of a tithe of her revenues from the right of wreck, perhaps specifically from the coasts of the barony of Tréguier since Begard had been founded and patronised by Constance's ancestors as lords of this barony. As noted above, while Léon and Tréguier were in the hands of Duke Geoffrey and Duchess Constance, they had exercised the seignorial right of wreck. Within a few decades, though, the right of wreck was abolished and Begard's charter was not worth the parchment it was written on. The proceedings in 1499 describe the difficulties the monks had experienced in obtaining any benefit from this act of ducal patronage. It would be quite understandable if, seeing how the dukes had commuted their revenues from wreck into revenues from the issue of *brefs de mer*, the monks had sought to adapt their entitlement to a share in these revenues accordingly.

In summary, I would agree with the conclusion of H. Touchard that the customary right of wreck exercised by the Breton dukes, barons and ecclesiastical institutions on the coastlines of their lands did not begin to give way to the ducal system of *brefs de mer* until the reign of Peter de Dreux.[13] It follows that the Angevin regime, whether under Henry II or Duchess Constance, was not responsible for this reform. Henry II no doubt was concerned about the problem of wreck on the Breton coast, especially in Léon, but his solution was the old-fashioned one of attempting to keep the barons under control and ultimately securing the proceeds of wreck for the crown, a policy continued by Duke Geoffrey and his immediate successors.

[11] *Charters*, C44.
[12] Touchard, 'Brefs de Bretagne', pp. 121–2, 125–6.
[13] Touchard, 'Brefs de Bretagne', pp. 125–6.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

MANUSCRIPTS CONSULTED

London, British Library

Egerton ms 2802 (cartulary of the abbey of Sainte-Croix de Quimperlé)
Egerton ms 2827 (cartulary of the abbey of Easby)
Harley charter 43 C. 35 (original charter of Geoffrey duke of Brittany)
Lansdowne ms 229 ('Miscellanea ex variis scriptoribus collecta', 1573), fol.114r, and ms 259, fol.70r (copies of charter of Henry II for Henry of Penthièvre)
Additional mss 8876, 'Coutume de Bretagne', fols. 157 and 159 (the 'Assize of Count Geoffrey')

Oxford, Bodleian Library

Rawlinson ms B142, 'Collections of Sir R. St George', fols. 15–26, copies of documents from Sawtry abbey
Rawlinson ms 283B, history and genealogies of dukes of Brittany

Paris

Archives nationale
'Trésor des Chartes', JJ 8 ('Registre C.' of Philip Augustus), no. 297 (the 'Assize of Count Geoffrey')
L967–978, original charters of the abbey of Savigny, including possessions in Brittany
1002A, 'Diocèses P-R', XVIIC, copies of charters from the dioceses of Quimper (abbey of Bonrepos) and Rennes (extracts from cartularies of the abbeys of Saint-Georges, Saint-Melaine, Saint-Sulpice)

Bibliothèque nationale
ms Baluze 41, fol.23, copy of the 'Assize of Count Geoffrey', 'ex codice ms Alexandri Petavie'
ms latin 2708, 'Recueil des pieces tirées des archives des ducs de Bretagne, II Fondations de plusieurs abbayes et benefices de Bretagne'
ms latin 5430A, Gaignieres' extracts from the cartularies of Mont Saint-Michel

ms latin 5441(3), 'Chartul. Majoris Monasterii Turonensis' (including Breton priories of Marmoutier)
ms latin 5443, copies of charters regarding the priory of Saint-Cyr de Rennes
ms latin 5476, Gaignieres' copies from the archives of La Vieuville
ms latin 5480, Gaignieres, 'Chartul. monasterii Fontis-ebraldi'
ms latin 9071, fol.1, pancart containing charters of Duke Conan IV, King Henry II and Duke Geoffrey for Robert de Bazouges and his brother Alan Rufus
mss latin 9890, 9891 and 9892, cartularies of the cathedral chapter of Quimper (XIII–XIV C.)
ms latin 10072, copies from the archives of Mont Saint-Michel by Lechaude d'Anisy
ms latin 12879, 'Dom Martène, Histoire de l'abbaye de Marmoutiers, part II, tome II'
ms latin 17092, Gaignieres, materials from various Breton abbeys
ms latin 17723, 'Titres' of various Breton abbeys in facsimile
ms nouv. acq. latin 429, pp. 1–130, martyrology of the abbey of Saint-Jacques de Montfort (XII–XIII C.)
ms nouv. acq. latin 1022, copy of the cartulary of Savigny by Leopold Delisle
ms nouv. acq. latin 1244, transcripts of charters of Richard I by A. Deville
ms fr.16817, 'Dom Lobineau-Bretagne-extraits et pièces'
ms fr. 22309, materials for *RHF*, including copies of XII C letters and chronicles
ms fr. 22316, 'Blancs manteaux 30 – Droit de Bretagne, ex libris monasterii S Melanii Rhedonensis'
ms fr. 22319, 'Blancs manteaux 36', pieces from various Breton archives
ms fr. 22322, 'Ex libris monasterii Sancti Melanii Rhedonensis – Blancs manteaux 39 – Varia ad historiam Britannie spectantia'
ms fr. 22325, 'Ex libris monasterii Sti Melanii Rhedonensis – Blancs manteaux 41'
ms fr. 22329, 'Extraits des cartulaires relatifs à la Bretagne – Blancs manteaux 45'
ms fr. 22330, 'Blancs manteaux 46 – Pièces diverses sur la Bretagne – ex libris monasterii Sancti Melanii Rhedonensis'
ms fr. 22331, pp. 232–53 – material on the lords of Châteaubriant
ms fr. 22337, 'Pièces diverses sur la Bretagne et la maison de Rohan, I, -1299'
ms fr. 22353, N. Travers, 'Concilia Provincie Turonensis, vol.II' (various papal and episcopal documents and 'fondations' of abbeys)
ms fr. 22357, 'Blancs manteaux 86B' (possessions of Mont Saint-Michel in Brittany)
ms fr. 22358, 'Blancs manteaux 86C – Diverses abbés de Bretagne'
ms fr. 22362, Gaignieres, 'Recueil des copies de pièces sur l'histoire de Bretagne'

Avranches, Bibl. mun.

ms 210, cartulary of the abbey of Mont Saint-Michel (on microfilm)

Nantes

AD de Loire-Atlantique
Series E, 'Trésor des Chartes' (XV C. copies of ducal *acta*)
E78 (abbeys of Buzai and Villeneuve), E79 (letter of Duchess Constance for Sainte-Croix de Quimperlé), E80 (Buzay, 1187–1405), E81 (seven pieces regarding abbeys in western Brittany, 1151–1349), E86 (ten pieces regarding gifts to churches

outside Brittany, 1030–1473), E113 (eighty-six pieces, 1220–1451, concerning ducal rights and privileges), E116 (register of English domainal lands of the dukes, including copies of forty-four ducal *acta*), E132 ('Livre des Ostz', original ms, 1294)

Series H, abbeys
La Blanche-Couronne, H1 (1167–1282)
Buzay, H19, H20, H23, H44, H47, H56, H59, H61, H71
Melleray, H75 (copies from 'fonds Blancs-manteaux')
Villeneuve, H80 (copies from 'fonds Blancs-manteaux')
Saint-Serge d'Angers, H206
Ronceray, H351
Knights Templar, H460 (pancart of ducal charters (1141–1217) for the Knights Templar in *vidimus* form, 1473)

Nantes, Médiathèque

Collection Dugast-Matifeux
ms 158, original charter of Maurice de Montaigu (1201) and four pieces (early XIII C.) regarding the Knights Templars' commandery of Clisson
ms 199, copy in translation of charter of Maurice de Montaigu, 1174
ms 229, XIX C. copies of documents 1050–1798, including spurious charter of Duke Geoffrey

Quimper

AD du Finistère
Series G
Cathedral chapter of Quimper, 1G356, 357 (copies of XI–XV C. documents)

Series H, abbeys
Saint-Maurice de Carnoët, 7H1 (1486 *vidimus* of ducal charters, XII–XIII C.)
Loc-Michel in Elliant (priory of Mont Saint-Michel), 9H1 (XVIII C. copies of charters, 1170–1474)
L'Ile Tristan (priory of Marmoutier), 12H2 (1710 *vidimus* of 1126 charter)
Notre-Dame de Daoulas, 1H79 (copies of XII–XIII C. documents)
Locmaria, 27H1 (original notice of confirmation by Henry II (1172))

Rennes

AD d'Ille-et-Vilaine
Series C
C3277, printed edition of the Inquest of Dol (1181), 1732

Series F
Fonds Hevin 1F65 (cathedral chapter of Rennes, 1514 *vidimus* of charter of Conan III, 1141), 1F69 (chaplaincy of Saint-Meloir-des-Ondes), 1F70 (priory of Notre-Dame de Vitré, copies of XII–XIII C. documents), 1F72 (priory of Béré, copies of *acta* of lords of Châteaubriant, XI–XIII C.), 1F73 (Saint-Pierre de Rillé, 1431 *vidimus* of

charter of Ralph de Fougères, 1163, and extract copied from cartulary), 1F74 (Sainte-Opportune, priory of Saint-Aubin d'Angers, copies), 1F80 (Saint-Sulpice-la-Forêt, priories of Locmaria at Auray and Quimper, copies of XII C. charters including three charters of Duchess Constance)

Fonds de la Bigne-Villeneuve

1F173–177 (Saint-Georges de Rennes, copies and notes made in preparation of edition of cartulary),

1F179–183 (Saint-Melaine de Rennes, copies of XII–XIII C. charters), 1F204 (cathedral chapter of Dol), 1F206 (cathedral chapter of Saint-Malo), 1F209 (Saint-Sulpice-la-Forêt, 'notes et copies'), 1F212 (priory of Martigné-Ferchaud, copies of XI–XII C. charters and notices), 1F296 (Savigny, XVII C. copies of charters, XII–XV C.)

Fonds de la Borderie

1F501 (copy of cartulary of Saint-Melaine de Rennes, 2 vols.), 1F502 (Saint-Melaine de Rennes, copies of XII–XIII C. charters), 1F455 (Beaulieu, copies of ducal and seignorial charters), 1F456 (La Blanche Couronne, copies of XII–XIII C. charters), 1F461 (Daoulas, from 'fonds Blancs-manteaux'), 1F462 (Geneston, from 'fonds Blancs-Manteaux'), 1F464–470 (Landevennec, notes for de la Borderie's edition of the cartulary), 1F471 (Lantenac, notes), 1F473 (Melleray, from 'fonds Blancs-manteaux'), 1F474 (Saint-Jacques de Montfort, copies from various sources), 1F489 (Saint-Pierre de Rillé, copies), 1F493–494 (Saint-Gildas-des-Bois, copies from 'fonds Blancs-Manteaux'), 1F497–498 (Saint-Jacut, from 'fonds Blancs-manteaux'), 1F499 (Saint-Mathieu de Finistère, notes), 1F503 (Saint-Sulpice-la-Forêt, copies from 'fonds Blancs-manteaux'), 1F506 (copy of charter of Henry II for Le Tronchet, from 'fonds Blancs-Manteaux'), 1F507 (La Vieuville, copies from 'titres de l'abbaye d'Aunai (en Normandie)' and from 'fonds Blancs-manteaux'), 1F508 (abbey of Villeneuve, including copy of 'Assize of Count Geoffrey'), 1F509–1F515 (Breton priories of Angevin abbeys, copies from 'fonds Blancs-Manteaux'), 1F516–520 (Breton priories of Saint-Florent-de Saumur, from original cartularies), 1F521–544 (Breton priories of Marmoutiers, copies from BN ms latin 5441(3), 'fonds Blancs-manteaux', and originals in AD Loire-Atlantique (for priories in diocese of Nantes)), 1F546–552 (Breton priories of Mont Saint-Michel, from 'fonds Blancs-manteaux, vol. 86B'), 1F553–556 (Savigny, copies from originals in AN and from 'fonds Blancs-manteaux'), 1F556 (Breton priories of Saint-Cyprien de Poitiers, from cartulary of Saint-Cyprien, BN 'ms cartul.103'), 1F557 (Saint-Jouin de Marne, Breton priories, including Saint-Martin de Vertou, from 'fonds Blancs-manteaux'), 1F559 (Fontevrault, priories of Evron and Laiguelet, copies), 'Actes des seigneurs de Vitré aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles', 1F1001–1002 (copy of the chronicle of Pierre Le Baud, from BN ms fr. 8266) 1F1611 (cathedral chapter of Saint-Malo, 1624 *vidimus* of XII C. charters) 1F1619 (Saint-Melaine de Rennes, original charters), 1F1626 (Savigny, original mss, including one XII C. charter (of Ralph de Fougères, 1163).)

Series G

G79, diocese of Saint-Malo, 'Prieurés de Marmoutier' (2 folders)

G163, diocese of Saint-Malo, with contemporary ms copy certified by the bishop of Dol. 'Arret du Parlement' (20 August 1395) including transcript of a bull of Pope Lucius III confirming the Inquest of Dol

Series H – abbeys
Saint-Georges de Rennes, 23H2 (thirty-four pieces, XII–XV C., original charters and copies), 23H4 (copy of charter of Duchess Constance)
Saint-Melaine de Rennes, 4H10 (XVII C. copies of XI–XII C. notice and charters), 4H23A (original mss from early XIII C. to XIV C.), 4H58 and 60 (priory of Saint-Sauveur de Guingamp), 4H61 (priory of Hatfield Regis, diocese of London), 4H63 (priory at Hennebont)
Priories of Marmoutier, 6H1 (Becherel, original mss of XII–XIII C. charters), 6H33 (Saint-Sauveur des Landes, XI C. notice), 6H34 (Vitré), 6H29 (Iffendic)
Saint-Georges de Rennes, 23H2 (XII–XIII C. original mss and copies), 23H4 (modern copies of charters of Duchess Constance)
Saint-Sulpice-la-Forêt, 24H1 (original mss, XII–XIII C.)

Rennes, Bibl. mun.

ms 2421, Peter Lombard's Commentary on the Epistles of Saint Paul (with notice of Stephen de Fougères, bishop of Rennes, at fols. 206v-207r, XII C.)
ms. 15820 (formerly ms 271), cartulary of Saint-Melaine de Rennes (XIV C.)

Rouen

AD de Seine-Maritime
G 3569, charters of Rouen cathedral (including original charter of duke Geoffrey, 1184)

Rouen, Bibl. mun.

'Collection Leber'
ms 3122, original charters of the abbey of Savigny (XII–XIII C.)

Saint-Brieuc

AD des Côtes-d'Armor
ms 2, cartulary of the abbey of Saint-Aubin-des-Bois (late XIII–XIV C.)

Series H, abbeys
Beaulieu, H1 (XII C. charters, original mss and copies)
Begar, H88 (copies of XII C. charters, originals from 1245)
Bonrepos, H201 (XII C. charters)
Boquen, H210 (XII–XIII C. charters, original mss and copies)
Coëtmaloen, H290 (1146 charter of Conan III)
Lantenac, H321 (1350 *vidimus* of foundation charter)
Saint-Aubin-des-Bois, H 361(*bis*), H363 and H370 (original charters, XII–XIII C.)
Saint Magloire de Lehon, H418, H419 and H420 (original mss and copies of charters and ducal *acta*, XII–XIII C.)
Other priories of Marmoutier in the dioceses of Saint-Malo and Saint-Brieuc, H 423 (XII–XIII C. charters, original mss and copies)

Tours

AD d'Indre-et-Loire

H495, Saint-Julien de Tours, priory of Saint-Cyr de Rennes (original mss XI–XIII C. (on microfilm)

H 1027, original charter of Duke Geoffrey for priory of Saint-Magloire de Lehon

Vannes

AD du Morbihan

Priories of Marmoutiers, 26H1 (Guer), 27H1–2 (Saint-Martin de Josselin), 28H1 and 30H1 (Rochefort and Malestroit) (XII C. original mss)

UNPUBLISHED EDITIONS OF PRIMARY SOURCES

Guillotel, H. (ed.), 'Les actes des ducs de Bretagne (944–1148)' (thèse pour le Doctorat en Droit, Université de Droit, d'Economie et de Sciences sociales de Paris (Paris II), 1973)

Maître, L. (ed.), 'Repertoire des Chartes Bretonnes', 2 vols. (unpublished ms. inventory of ducal *acta*, 857–1237)

Sarrazin, J.-L. (ed.), 'Recueil et Catalogue des actes de l'abbaye cistercienne de Buzay en pays de Rais (1135–1474)' ('Université de Nantes, thèse du IIIe cycle', 4 vols., 1977)

PUBLISHED PRIMARY SOURCES

Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Letters, 'Li estoire de Jerusalem et d'Antioch', In *Recueil des historiens des croisades: Historiens occidentaux*, 5 vols., V, Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Paris, 1844–95, pp. 625–37

Akehurst, F.R.P. (trans.), *The Etablissements de Saint Louis: Thirteenth-Century Law Texts from Tours, Orléans and Paris*, Philadelphia, 1996

Allenou, J. (ed.), *Histoire féodale de marais, territoire et église de Dol: Enquête par tourbe ordonée par Henri II, Roi d'Angleterre*, La Bretagne et les pays celtiques, XIII, Paris, 1917

Anger, P. (ed.), *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Sulpice-la-Forêt*, Rennes, 1911

Aubergé, J. (ed.), *Le Cartulaire de la Seigneurie de Fougères, connu sous le nom de cartulaire d'Alençon*, Rennes, 1913

Auger, M.-L., Jeanneau, G. and Guenée, B. (eds.), *Alain Bouchard; Grands chroniques de Bretagne*, 2 vols., Paris, 1986

Baldwin, J.W. (ed.), *Les Registres de Philippe Auguste*, I, *Texte*, Recueil des Historiens de la France, documents financiers et administratifs, VII, Paris, 1992

Barraclough, G. (ed. and trans.), 'The Annals of Dieulacres Abbey', *The Cheshire Sheaf* 3rd series, 52 (1957) 17–27

Beautemps-Beaupré, C.J. (ed.), *Coutumes et institutions de l'Anjou et du Maine: Première partie*, III, Paris, 1879

Berthou, P. de (ed.), 'Cartulaire de Notre-Dame de Montonac, prieuré Augustinen de

la paroisse de Nivillac, diocèse de Nantes', *Bulletin de la Société polymathique du Morbihan* (1957), 3–64 and (1964), 65–144

Bertrand de Brousillon, A. (ed.), *La Maison de Craon (1050–1480): Etude historique accompagnée du cartulaire de Craon*, 2 vols., Paris, 1893

La Maison de Laval (1020–1605): Etude historique accompagnée du cartulaire de Laval, I and V, Paris, 1895 and 1903

Cartulaire de Saint-Victeur au Mans, prieuré de l'abbaye du Mont Saint-Michel (994–1400), Paris, 1895

'La charte d'André II de Vitré et le siège de Kerak en 1184', *Bulletin historique et philologique de la Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques* (1899), 47–53

Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Aubin d'Angers . . . avec une table des noms de personnes et de lieux par E. Lelong, Documents historiques sur l'Anjou, 3 vols., Paris, 1903

Bertrand de Brousillon, A., and Vallee, E., *Cartulaire de l'abbaye du Ronceray d'Angers (1028–1184)*, Angers, 1900 (introduction and index to P. Marchegay (ed.), 'Cartularium monasterii Beate Marie Andegavensis', in P. Marchegay (ed.), *Archives d'Anjou: Recueil de documents et memoires inédits de cette province*, III, Angers, 1854).

Bethmann, L.C. (ed.), 'Genealogiæ comitum Flandriæ', *Monumentæ Germaniæ Historica . . . Scriptorum*, IX, Hanover, 1851, 302–36

Bigne-Villeneuve, P. de la (ed.), 'Cartulaire de Saint-Georges de Rennes', *BSAIV* 9 (1876), 127–311

Blanchard, R. (ed.), *Cartulaire des sires de Rays (1160–1449)*, Archives historiques de Poitou, XXVII, Poitiers, 1898

Borderie, A. de la (ed.), 'Inventaire analytique des titres des prieurés de Marmoutier situés dans l'évêché de Nantes', *BSAN* 6 (1866), 101–18, 165–83, 319–28 and 7 (1867), 35–56, 115–30, 157–86, 273–94

Recueil d'actes inédits des ducs et princes de Bretagne, XIe, XIIe, XIIIe siècles, Rennes, 1888

'Nouveau recueil d'actes inédits des ducs de Bretagne', *BSAIV*, 21 (1892), 97–134

'Chartes inédites de Locmaria de Quimper (1022–1336)', *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique du Finistère* 24 (1897), 96–113

Borderie, A. de la and Bigne-Villeneuve, P. de la (eds.), 'Documents inédits sur l'histoire de Bretagne: chartes du prieuré de la Sainte-Trinité de Fougères', *Bulletin de l'Association Bretonne* 3 (1851) part 2, 178–99, 236–50

Bouard, A. de (ed.), 'Une diplôme de Philippe Auguste', *Le Moyen Age*, 26 (1924), 66–9

Brehier, M. de (ed.), 'Chartes relatives au prieuré de Pontchâteau', *BSAN* 3 (1863), 17–40

Brejon de Lavergnée, J. (ed.), 'Une version française inédite de l'Assise au comte Geoffroi', *Recueil de mémoires et travaux publié par la Société d'histoire du droit et des institutions des anciens pays de droit écrit, fasc. VII, Mélanges Pierre Tisset*, Montpellier,1970, 65–75

Brown, V. (ed.), *Eye Priory Cartulary and Charters: Part II*, Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1994

Calendar of Patent Rolls, Henry III, AD 1247–58, London, 1908

Caley, J., Ellis, H. and Bandinel, B. (eds.), *Monasticon Anglicanum: A history of the abbeys and other monasteries . . . in England and Wales . . . originally published in Latin by Sir William Dugdale, Kt.*, 6 vols. (vol.VI in 3 parts), London, 1817–1830, reprinted Farnborough, Hants., 1970

'Cartularium monasterii Beate Marie Andegavensis', in P. Marchegay, *Archives d'Anjou: Recueil de documents et memoires inèdits de cette province*, III, Angers, 1854, at pp. 1–289

Chauvin, Y. (ed.), *Cartulaires de l'abbaye Saint-Serge et Saint-Bach d'Angers (XIe et XIIe siècles)*, 2 vols., Angers, 1997

Chédeville, A. (ed.), *Liber controversiarum Sancti Vincenti Cenomannensis*, Paris, 1968

Chibnall, M. (ed. and trans.), *The ecclesiastical history of Orderic Vitalis*, 6 vols. Oxford, 1968–78

Christie, R.C. (ed. and trans.), *Annales Cestrienses or Chronicle of the abbey of S. Werburg at Chester*, Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, XIV, 1887

Clay, C.T. (ed.), *Early Yorkshire Charters, IV and V: The Honour of Richmond*, Yorkshire Archæological Society Record Series, Extra Series. Wakefield, 1935

C[ockayne], G.E. (ed.), *The complete peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain and the United Kingdom*, 13 vols., rev edn, London, 1910–59

Conway Davies, J. (ed.), *The Cartæ Antiquæ, Rolls 11–20*, Pipe Roll Society, New series, 33, London, 1960

Courson, A. de (ed.), *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Redon en Bretagne*, Collection des documents inédits sur l'histoire de France, Paris, 1863

Delaborde, H.-F. (ed.), *Œuvres de Rigord et de Guillaume le Breton*, Paris, 1882

Delaborde, H.-F., *et. al.* (eds.), *Recueil des actes de Philippe Auguste, roi de France*, 4 vols., Paris, 1916–79

Delisle, L. (ed.), *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France . . . nouvelle edition*, vols. XII–XVIII, Paris, 1869–79, reprinted Farnborough, Hants.,1968

Chronique de Robert de Torigni, abbé du Mont Saint-Michel, suivie de divers opuscules historiques de cet Auteur et de plusieurs Religieux de la même Abbaye, 2 vols., Rouen, 1872 and 1873

Delisle, L. and Berger, E. (eds.), *Recueil des Actes de Henri II, roi d'Angleterre et duc de Normandie, concernant les provinces françaises et les affaires de France*, 4 vols., Paris, 1916–27

Denis, L.-J. (ed.), *Chartes de l'abbaye de St-Julien de Tours (1002–1227)*, Société des Archives historiques du Maine, XII, Paris, 1912–13

Deuffic, J.-L. (ed.), 'Les documents nécrologiques de l'abbaye de Notre-Dame de Daoulas', *Bulletin de la Société archéologique du Finistère* 106 (1978), 83–102

Dimock, J.F. (ed.), *Giraldi Cambrensis, Topographia Hibernica et Expugnatio Hibernica*, Rolls Series, London, 1867

Doble, G.H. (trans.), 'The relics of Saint Petroc', *Antiquity* 13 (1939), 403–15

Dreves, G.M. (ed.), *Analecta Hymnica medii aevi,* XXI. *Cantiones et moteti*, Leipzig, 1895

Dubosc, M. (ed.), *Cartulaires de la Manche: Abbaye de Montmorel*, Saint-Lô, 1878

Duine, F. (ed.), *La Bretagne et les pays celtiques*, XII, *La métropole de Bretagne: 'Chronique de Dol' composée au XIe siècle et Catalogues des Dignitaires jusqu'à la Révolution*, Paris, 1916

La Bretagne et les pays celtiques, XVI, *Inventaire liturgique de l'hagiographie bretonne*, Paris, 1922

La Bretagne et les pays celtiques, XVII, *Catalogue des sources hagiographiques pour l'histoire de Bretagne jusqu'à la fin du XIIe siècle*, Paris, 1922

Dyggve, H.P. (ed.), *Gace Brulé, trouvère champenois: Edition des chansons et étude historique*, Helsinki, 1951

Everard, J. and Jones, M. (eds.), *The charters of Duchess Constance of Brittany and her family, 1171–1221*, Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1999

Fagnen, C. (ed.), 'Etude d'un privilège d'Henri II en faveur du prieuré de Locmaria, à Quimper', *Gwechall, le Finistère Autrefois: Bulletin de la Société Finisterienne d'Histoire et d'Archéologie* I (1978), 37–64

Farrer, W., *Feudal Cambridgeshire*, Cambridge, 1920

Geslin de Bourgogne, J. and Barthelemy, A., de (eds.), *Anciens évêchés de Bretagne*, vols. III and IV, Saint-Brieuc, 1864

Anciens évêchés de Bretagne: Histoire et monuments: tome VI – Bretagne féodale et militaire, II, Saint-Brieuc, 1879

Gouiran, G. (ed. and trans.), *L'Amour et la Guerre: L'oeuvre de Bertan de Born*, 2 vols., Aix-en-Provence, 1985

Grosjean, P. (ed.), 'Vies et miracles de S. Petroc: I. Le dossier du manuscrit de Gotha', *Analecta Bollandiana* 74 (1956), 131–88

Guérard, M. (ed.), *Cartulaire de l'église Notre-Dame de Paris*, Collection des cartulaires de France, IV–VII, 4 vols., Paris, 1850

Hall, G.D.G. (ed.), *Tractatus de Legibus et Consuetudinibus Regni Angliæ qui Glanvilla vocatur*, London, 1965

Hall, H. (ed.), *The Red Book of the Exchequer*, 3 vols., London, 1896

Halphen, L. (ed.), *Recueil d'annales Angevines et Vendômoises*, Paris, 1903

Halphen, L. and Poupardin, R. (eds.), *Chroniques des comtes d'Anjou et des seigneurs d'Amboise*, Paris, 1913

Hardy, T.D. (ed.), *Rotuli Litterarum Patentium in turri Londinensi asservati*, I, London, 1835

Rotuli Normanniae in turris Londinensi asservati I, *1200–1205, necnon de anno 1417*, London, 1835.

Rotuli Chartarum in turris Londinensi asservati I, *1199–1216*, London, 1837

Rotuli de Liberate ac de Misis et de Praestitis regnante Johanne, London, 1844

Hathaway, E.J. *et al.* (eds.), *Fouke le FitzWaryn*, Oxford, 1975

Hauréau, B. (ed.), *Gallia Christiana in provincias ecclesiasticas distributa . . .* , XIV, *Provincia Turonensi*, Paris, 1856, reprinted Farnborough, Hants., 1970

Hevin, P., *Annotations sur les arrests du Parlement de Bretagne de Sebastian Frain*, 3rd edn, II, 1684

Hewlett, H.G. (ed.), *Rogeri de Wendover Liber qui dicitur Flores Historiarum; ab AD MCLIV annoque Henrici Anglorum Regis Secundi primo*, I, Rolls Series, London, 1886

Holt, J.C. and Mortimer, R. (eds.), *Acta of Henry II and Richard I: Handlist of documents surviving in the original in repositories in the United Kingdom*, List and Index Society, Special Series 21, London, 1986

Holt, J.C. and Vincent, N. (eds.), *Acta of Henry II and Richard I: Handlist of documents surviving in the original in repositories in the United Kingdom*, List and Index Society, Special Series 27, London, 1996

Hozier, C. de (ed.), *Histoire de Bretagne, avec les chroniques des maisons de Vitré et de Laval par Pierre Le Baud*, Paris, 1638

Howlett, R. (ed.), 'William of Newburgh: Historia Rerum Anglicarum', *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I*, I, Rolls Series, London, 1884

'Stephani Rothomagensis Monachi Beccensis poema, cui titulus "Draco Normannicus" ', *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I*, II, Rolls Series, London, 1885

Imbert, H. (ed.), *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Laon de Thouars*, Thouars,1876
James, B.S. (ed. and trans.), *The letters of St. Bernard of Clairvaux*, London, 1953
James, M.R. (ed. and trans.), *Walter Map: De nugis curialium*, Oxford, 1983
Johnston, R.C. (ed.), *Jordan Fantosme's chronicle*, Oxford, 1981
Jones, M. (ed.), *Recueil des actes de Jean IV, duc de Bretagne*, 2 vols., Paris, 1980
'The House of Brittany and the Honour of Richmond in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries: some new charter evidence', in K. Borchardt and E. Bünz (eds.), *Forschungen zur Reichs-, Papst- und Landegeschichte*, Stuttgart, 1998, 161–73
Lande de Calan, C. de la (ed.), *Pierre Le Baud, Cronicques et Ystoires des Bretons*, 4 vols., Paris, 1907
Landon, L. (ed.), *Itinerary of Richard I*, Pipe Roll Society, London, 1935
The Cartæ Antiquæ, Rolls 1–10, Pipe Roll Society, New series, 17, London, 1939
Langfors, A. (ed.), *Recueil général des jeux-partis français*, Paris, 1926
Le Baud, *Chroniques de Vitré*, in C. d'Hozier (ed.), *Histoire de Bretagne, avec les chroniques des maisons de Vitré et de Laval par Pierre Le Baud*, Paris, 1638.
Le Bouteiller, C. (ed.), 'Une charte inédite de Raoul II de Fougères, 1172', *Bulletin de l'Association Bretonne* 3rd series, 20 (1911), 121–32
Le Duc, G. and Sterckx, C. (eds.), *Chronicon Briocense: Chronique de Saint-Brieuc*, I, Rennes, 1972
Lees, B.A. (ed.), *Records of the Templars in England in the twelfth century*, London, 1935
Le Goff, H. 'A la recherche du cartulaire disparu de l'abbaye cistercienne Notre-Dame de Begar', *MSHAB* 73 (1986), 139–81
Lemasson, A. (ed.), 'Documents pour servir à l'histoire de l'abbaye des chanoines réguliers de Notre-Dame de Beaulieu, au diocèse de St-Malo', *BSAIV* 44 (1914), 1–108
Le Men, R.-F. (ed.), *Histoire de l'abbaye de Sainte-Croix de Quimperlé par Dom Placide le Duc*, Saint-Brieuc, 1863
Lobineau, D., *Histoire de Bretagne*, III, Paris, 1707
Lodge, R.A. (ed.), *Etienne de Fougères, Le livre des manières*, Geneva, 1979
Luard, H.R. (ed.), *Annales monastici*, Rolls Series, 5 vols., London, 1864–9
Lumby, J.R. (ed.), *Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden, monachi Cestrensis*, VIII, Rolls Series, London, 1882
Maître, L., 'Le situation du diocèse de Nantes au XIe et au XIIe siècles', *AB* 26 (1910–11), 489–518 and 27 (1911–12), 102–20, 342–61
Maître, L. and Berthou, P., de (eds.), *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Sainte-Croix de Quimperlé*, Bibliothèque Bretonne Armoricaine, *fascicule* IV, 2nd edn, Rennes, *c.* 1902
Marchégay, P. (ed.), *Archives d'Anjou: Recueil de documents et mémoires inédits de cette province*, Angers, 1853 and 1854
'Chartes nantaises du monastère de Saint-Florent près Saumur de 1070 environ à 1186', *BSAN* (1877), 65–111
Marchégay, P. and Mabille, E. (eds.), *Chronique des églises d'Anjou*, Paris, 1869
Marchégay, P. and Salmon, A. (eds.), *Chroniques d'Anjou*, 2 vols., Paris, 1856 and 1871
Martène, E. and Durand, U. (eds.), *Thesaurus novum anecdotorum*, 5 vols., Paris, 1717, reprinted 1968
Maxwell Lyte, H.C. (ed.), *The Book of Fees* (*commonly called Testa de Nevill*), 3 vols., London, 1920–31
Ménage, G. *Histoire de Sablé, première partie*, Paris, 1683

Merlet, L. (ed.), *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de la Sainte-Trinité de Tiron*, 2 vols., Chartres, 1883

Merlet, R. (ed.), *La Chronique de Nantes, 570 environ-1049*, Paris, 1896

Métais, C. (ed.), *Cartulaire de l'abbaye cardinale de La Trinité de Vendôme*, 4 vols., Paris, 1893–1897

Meyer, P. (ed.), *L'Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal, Comte de Striguil et de Pembroke, Régent d'Angleterre de 1216 à 1219, poème française*, 3 vols., Paris, 1891–1901

Migne, J.-P. (ed.), *Patrologiæ cursus completus . . . series latinæ*, CLXXI and CLXXII, Paris, 1854

Patrologiæ cursus completus . . . series latinæ, CCI and CCII, Paris, 1855

Millor, W.J. and Brooke, C.N.L. (eds.), *The letters of John of Salisbury*, II, Oxford, 1979

Moore, S.A. (ed.), *Cartularium monasterii Sancti Johannis Baptiste de Colecestria*, 2 vols., London, 1897

Morice, H. (ed.), *Mémoires pour servir de preuves à l'histoire ecclésiastique et civile de Bretagne*, I, Paris, 1742, reprinted, Farnborough, Hants., 1968

Mouzat, J. (ed.), *Les poèmes de Gaucelm Faidit*, Paris, 1965

Nicollière-Teijeiro, S. de la, 'Titres de l'abbaye de Geneston, évêché de Nantes', *BSAN*, 12 (1873), 141–58

Omont, H. (ed.), *Le Dragon Normand et autres poèmes d'Etienne de Rouen*, Rouen, 1884

Owen, D. (ed.), 'An early Boston charter', *Lincolnshire History and Archaeology* 23 (1988), 77–8

Paden, W.D., Sankovitch, T., and Stäblein, P.H. (eds.), *The poems of the troubadour Bertran de Born*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, Ca., 1986

Peyron, P. (ed.), *Cartulaire de l'église de Quimper*, Quimper, 1909

Pipe Roll Society, *The Great Rolls of the Pipe of the reign of King Henry the Second, AD 1156 to 1189*, 30 vols., London, 1884–1925

Pipe Roll Society, *The Great Roll of the Pipe for the first year of the reign of Richard I*, ed. J. Hunter, London, 1844

Pipe Roll Society, *The Great Rolls of the Pipe of the reign of King Richard the First, AD 1191 to 1199*, London, 1925–33

Pipe Roll Society, *The Great Rolls of the Pipe of the reign of King John*, London, 1933–55

Planiol, M. (ed.), *La très ancienne coutume de Bretagne*, Bibliothèque Bretonne Armoricaine, *fascicule* II, Rennes, 1896

Pocquet du Haut-Jussé, 'Le plus ancien rôle des comptes du duché, 1262, document inédit', *MSHAB* 26 (1946), 49–68

Potter, K.R. (ed. and trans.), *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis monachi: Historia novella*, London, 1955

Potter, K.R. (ed. and trans.) and Davis, R.H.C., *Gesta Stephani: The deeds of King Stephen*, 2nd edn, Oxford, 1976

Ransford, R. (ed.), *The early charters of the Augustinian canons of Waltham Abbey, Essex, 1062–1230*, Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1989

Rees, U. (ed.), *The cartulary of Shrewsbury Abbey*, 2 vols., Aberystwyth, 1975

Rigord, 'Gesta Philippi Augusti', in H.F. Delaborde (ed.), *Œuvres de Rigord et de Guillaume le Breton, historiens de Philippe-Auguste*, 2 vols, Paris, 1882 and 1885, I. 'Tome premier, Chroniques de Rigord et de Guillaume le Breton', pp. 1–167

Robertson, J.C. (ed.), *Materials for the history of Thomas Becket, archbishop of Canterbury*, V, Rolls Series, London, 1881

Rosenberg, S.N. and Danon, S. (eds.), *The lyrics and melodies of Gace Brulé*, New York and London, 1985

Rosenzweig, L. *Dictionnaire topographique du département du Morbihan*, Paris, 1870

Rosenzweig, L. (ed.), *Cartulaire général du Morbihan: Recueil de documents authentiques pour servir à l'histoire des pays qui forment ce département*, Vannes, 1895

Round, J.H. (ed.), *Ancient charters, royal and private, prior to A.D. 1200*, Pipe Roll Society, London, 1888, x

Round, J.H. (ed.), *Rotuli de dominabus et pueris et puellis de XII comitatibus (1185)*, Pipe Roll Society, xxxv, London, 1913

Calendar of Documents preserved in France, I, *AD 918–1206*, London, 1899, reprinted 1967

Salmon, A. (ed.), *Recueil de chroniques de Touraine*, Tours, 1854

Sauvage, E.P. (ed.), 'Vitæ B. Petri Abrincensis et B. Hamonis monachorum cœnobii Saviniacensis in Normannia', *Analecta Bollandiana* 2 (1883), 475–560

Société Jersiaise, *Cartulaire des Iles Normandes: Recueil de documents concernant l'histoire de ces îles*, Jersey, 1924

Solesmes, Les Bénédictins de (ed.), *Cartulaire des abbayes Saint-Pierre de la Couture et de Saint-Pierre de Solesmes*, Le Mans, 1881

Stapleton, T. (ed.), *Magni Rotuli Scaccarii Normannie sub regibus Anglie*, 2 vols., London, 1840 and 1844

Stenton, F.M. (ed.), *Documents illustrative of the social and economic history of the Danelaw*, British Academy, Records of the social and economic history of England and Wales, v, London, 1920

Stevenson, J. (ed.), *Chronicon monasterii de Abingdon*, II, Rolls Series, London, 1858

Ralph of Coggeshall, Chronican Anglicanum, Rolls Series, London, 1875

Stubbs, W. (ed.), *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi Benedicti Abbatis: The chronicle of the reigns of Henry II and Richard I, AD 1169–1192, known commonly under the name of Benedict of Peterborough*, 2 vols., Rolls Series, London, 1867

Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Hoveden, 4 vols., Rolls Series, London, 1868–71

Opera Historica Radulfi de Diceto: Ymagines Historiarum, Rolls Series, 2 vols., London, 1876

The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury, 2 vols., Rolls Series, London, 1879–80

Les manuscrits de la reine de Suède au Vatican: Reédition du catalogue de Montfaucon et côtes actuelles, Studi e Testi, 238, Vatican City, 1964

Tardif, E.-J. (ed.), *Coutumiers de Normandie: Première partie, le 'Très Ancien Coutumier de Normandie'*, Rouen, 1881

Teulet, A. (ed.), *Layettes du Trésor des Chartes*, 5 vols., Paris, 1863–1909

Vallée, E. (ed.), *Archives historiques de Maine*, *Cartulaire de Château-du-Loir*, VI, Le Mans, 1905

Vanderkindere, L. (ed.) *La chronique de Gislebert de Mons*, Brussels, 1904

Vercauteren, F. (ed.), *Actes des comtes de Flandre, 1071–1128*, Brussels, 1938

Werner, G.F. (ed.), *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera, VIII, De Principis Instructione Liber*, Rolls Series, London, 1891

Wigram, S.R. (ed.), *Cartulary of the monastery of St Frideswide of Oxford*, 2 vols., Oxford, 1895–6

William the Breton, 'Gesta Philippi Augusti', in H.F. Delaborde (ed.), *Œuvres de Rigord et de Guillaume le Breton, historiens de Philippe-Auguste*, 2 vols., Paris, 1882 and 1885,

I. 'Tome premier, Chroniques de Rigord et de Guillaume le Breton', pp. 168–333.

William the Breton, 'Philippidos', in H.F. Delaborde (ed.), *Œuvres de Rigord et de Guillaume le Breton, historiens de Philippe-Auguste*, 2 vols., Paris, 1882 and 1885, II. 'Tome second, Philippide de Guillaume le Breton', pp. 1–385.

SECONDARY SOURCES

Unpublished works

Delaporte, R., 'Les Sergents, Prévôts et Voyers féodés en Bretagne des origines au début du xve siècle', Université de Rennes, Faculté de Droit, doctoral thesis, Rennes, 1938

Jankulak, K.A., 'The cult of Saint Petroc in Cornwall and Brittany *c.* 550 to *c.* 1250', Ph.D. thesis, Centre for Medieval Studies, University of Toronto, 1996

Parker, K.P., 'Arthur I, duke of Brittany, in history and literature', Ph.D. thesis, Florida State University, 1996

Power, D.J., 'The Norman frontier in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries', Ph.D. thesis, University of Cambridge, 1994

Smith, R.J., 'The Royal Family in the reign of Henry II', MA thesis, University of Nottingham, 1961

PUBLISHED WORKS

Alexander, J.W., *Ranulf of Chester: A relic of the Conquest*, Athens, Georgia, 1983

Amiot, C., 'Le château d'Aubigné et les châteaux à motte avec construction de pierre en Bretagne', *BSAIV* 96 (1994), 37–88

'Le château de la Roche-Montbourcher, un exemple de posterité des donjons quadrangulaires en Bretagne après 1350,' *MSHAB* 71 (1994), 381–409

Andrejewski, D. (ed.), *Les abbayes bretonnes*, Paris, 1982

Astill, G. and Davies, W., *A Breton landscape: From the Romans to the second empire in eastern Brittany*, London, 1997

Balcou, J. and Le Gallo, Y. (eds.), I. *Histoire littéraire et culturelle de la Bretagne, I, Héritage celtique et captation française*, Paris and Geneva, 1987

Baldwin, J.W., *The government of Philip Augustus*, Berkeley, CA, 1986

Banéat, P., *Le département d'Ille-et-Vilaine*, 4 vols., 3rd edn, Paris, 1973

Barral i Altet, X. (ed.), *Dinan au moyen âge*, Dinan, 1986

Bartlett, R., *Gerald of Wales, 1146–1223*, Oxford, 1982

Bates, D., *Normandy before 1066*, London, 1982

Bémont, C., 'La condamnation de Jean Sans-Terre par la cour des pairs de France en 1202: III. La Bretagne et les états de Vannes à la mort d'Arthur', *Revue Historique* 32 (1886), 290–311

Bigot, A., *Essai sur les monnaies du royaume et duché de Bretagne*, Paris, 1857

Bishop, T.A.M., 'Stephen de Fougères – a chancery scribe', *Cambridge Historical Journal* (1950), 106–7

Boissonade, M.P., 'Administrateurs laïques et ecclésiastiques Anglo-Normands en Poitou à l'époque d'Henri II Plantagenêt (1152–1189)', *Bull. Soc. Antiq. de l'Ouest*, 3rd series, V (1919), 156–190

Borderie, A. de la, *Essai sur la géographie féodale de la Bretagne*, Rennes, 1889

'Essais d'histoire fëodale: La seigneurie de Montauban et ses premiers seigneurs', *BSAIV* 24 (1895), 267–93

Histoire de Bretagne, III. Paris and Rennes, 1899

Bongert, Y., *Recherches sur les cours laïques du Xe au XIIIe siècles*, Paris, 1949

Bougraud, F., 'Malestroit pendant trois siècles, 1129–1429', *BSAN* 127 (1991), 39–69

Bourde de la Rogerie, H., 'Le *pagus* Racter et le clos Râtel', *Annales de Bretagne, Mélanges Bretons et celtiques offerts à M. J. Loth* (1927), 300–6

'Les fondations de villes et de bourgs en Bretagne du XIe au XIIIe siècle', *MSHAB* 9 (1929), 69–106

'Notes sur un trésor de monnaies du XIIe siècle découvert à Bais', *BSAIV* 59 (1933), 33–42

Bourdeaut, A., 'La Mée: Etude de géographie fëodale et ecclésiastique nantaise', *BSAN* 71 (*bis*) (1933), 5–26

Bourgés, A.-Y., 'Guillaume le Breton et l'hagiographie bretonne aux XIIe–XIIIe siècles', *AB* 102 (1995), 35–45

Boussard, J., *Le Comté d'Anjou sous Henri II Plantagenêt et ses fils (1151–1204)*, Paris, 1938

Le gouvernement d'Henri II Plantagenêt, Paris, 1956

'La diversité et les traits particuliers du régime féodal dans l'Empire Plantagenêt', *Annali della Fondazione Italiana per la Storia Amministrativa* 1 (1964), 157–82

Brand'honneur, M., 'La lignage, point de cristillisation d'une nouvelle cohésion sociale. Les Goranton-Hervé de Vitré aux XIe, XIIe et XIIIe siècles', *MSHAB* 70 (1993), 65–87

Brett, C., 'Breton Latin literature as evidence for literature in the vernacular, AD 800–1300', *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies* 18 (1989), 1–25

'A Breton pilgrim in England in the reign of King Æthelstan', in G. Jondorf and D.N. Dumville (eds.), *France and the British Isles in the Middle Ages*, Cambridge, 1991, 43–70

Brooke, C.N.L. and Pinder-Wilson, R., 'The Reliquary of St. Petroc', *Archeologia* (1973), 264–67

Brussel, M. (ed.), *Usage général des Fiefs*, Paris, 1750

Burgess, G.S., *Chrétien de Troyes, Erec et Eneide*, London, 1984

Caron, E., *Monnaies féodales françaises*, Paris,1882

Chantreau, A., 'Seigneurs et châteaux de St-Mars-la-Jaille', *MSHAB* 66 (1989), 528–33

Chédeville, A. 'L'immigration bretonne dans le royaume de France du XIe au début du XIVe siècle', *AB* 81 (1974), 301–43

Chédeville, A. and Guillotel, H., *La Bretagne des saints et des rois Ve-Xe siècle*, Rennes, 1984

Chédeville, A. and Tonnerre, N.-Y., *La Bretagne féodale XIe–XIIIe siècle*, Rennes, 1987

Cheney, C.R. (ed.), *Handbook of dates for students of English history*, London, 1945, reprinted 1991

Chénon, E., 'Les marches séparantes d'Anjou, Bretagne et Poitou', *RHD* 16 (1892), 18–62, 165–211 and 21 (1897) 62–80

Choffel, J., *La Bretagne sous l'órage Plantagenêt*, Paris, 1979

Cintré, R., *Les marches de Bretagne au Moyen Age: Economie, guerre et société en pays de frontière (XIVe-XVe siècles)*, Pornichet, 1992

Clanchy, M.T., *From memory to written record, England 1066–1307*, 2nd edn, Oxford, 1993

Conklin, G., 'Les Capétiens et l'affaire de Dol de Bretagne 1179–1199', *Revue d'Histoire de l'Eglise de France* 78 (1992), 241–63

Craig, M., 'A second daughter of Geoffrey of Brittany', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 50 (1977), 112–5

Cucarull, J., 'Le château de Fougères', *Archéologia* 310 (1995), 38–45

Davies, R.R., *The age of conquest: Wales 1063–1415*, Oxford, 1991

'"Keeping the natives in order": The English king and the "Celtic" rulers, 1066–1216', *Peritia* 10 (1996) 212–24

Davies, W., 'People and places in dispute in ninth-century Brittany', in W. Davies and P. Fouracre (eds.), *The settlement of disputes in early medieval Europe*, Cambridge, 1986

Small worlds: The village community in early medieval Brittany, London, 1988

Day, G.W., 'Juhel III of Mayenne and the lay attitude toward Savigny in the age of Philip Augustus', *Analecta cisterciensis* 36 (1980), 103–28

Day, M.L., 'The Letter from King Arthur to Henry II', in G.S. Burgess and R.A. Taylor (eds.), *The spirit of the court: Selected proceedings of the fourth congress of the International Courtly Literature Society (Toronto 1983)*, Cambridge, 1985, 153–7

Delaborde, H.F. (ed.), *Œuvres de Rigord et de Guillaume le Breton, historiens de Philippe-Auguste*. 'Tome premier. Notice sur Rigord et sur Guillaume le Breton', Paris, 1885

Delumeau, J. (ed.), *Histoire des diocèses de France*, *Le diocèse de Rennes*, x. Paris, 1979

Devailly, G., 'Une enquête en cours: L'application de la réforme grégorienne en Bretagne', *AB* 75 (1968), 293–316

Dieudonné, A., *Manual de numismatique française*, iv, Paris, 1936

Dubois, G., 'Recherches sur la vie de Guillaume des Roches, Sénéchal d'Anjou, du Maine et de Touraine: Première partie. Depuis le milieu du XIIe siècle jusqu'en 1204', *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes* 30 (1869), 377–424, 32 (1871), 88–145, 34 (1873) 502–41

Duby, G., *Feudal society*, trans. L.A. Manyon, 2nd edn, London, 1962

Dufief, A., *Les Cisterciens en Bretagne aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles*, Rennes, 1997

Duine, F., 'Le schisme breton: L'église de Dol au milieu du IX siècle d'après les sources', *AB* 30 (1914–15), 424–68

Dumas, F., 'La monnaie dans les domaines Plantagenêt', *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale* 29 (1986), 53–9

Dumville, D.N., 'Brittany and the "Armes Prydein Vawr"', *Etudes Celtiques* 20 (1983), 145–57

Dunbabin, J., *France in the making: 843–1180*, Oxford, 1985

Duplessy, J., *Les trésors monétaires médiévaux et modernes découverts en France, I, 751–1223*, Paris, 1985

Durand, Y. (ed.), *Histoire des diocèses de France*, *Le diocèse de Nantes*, xviii, Paris, 1985

Duval, M., 'Les possessions des abbayes bretonnes sur la marche Normande: Le prieuré de St-Georges-de-Gréhaigne et ses dépendances sur la rive droite du Couasnon', *Annales de la Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de l'Arrondissement de Saint-Malo* (1969), 75–9

'Rohan et Porhoët: Autour du partage de rachat et de la garde du comté de Porhoët', *Bulletin de l'Association Bretonne* (1986), 135–42

Everard, J., 'The "Justiciarship" in Brittany and Ireland under Henry II', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 20 (1998), 87–105

Eyton, R.W., *Court, household and itinerary of King Henry II*, London, 1878
Falmagne, J. *Baudouin V, comte de Hainaut 1150–1195*, Montreal, 1966
Farcy, P. de, *Généalogie de la famille de Farcy*, Laval, 1891
Farrer, W., *Feudal Cambridgeshire*, Cambridge, 1920
Flatrès, P., 'Les bretons en Galles du XIe au XIIIe siècle', *MSHAB* 36 (1956), 41–6
'Le marais de Dol à la fin du XIIe siècle: Essai de géographie rétrospective', *Revue géographique de l'Est* 26 (1986), 133–40
Fougerolles, P. de, 'Pope Gregory VII, the Archbishopric of Dol and the Normans', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 21 (1999 for 1998), 47–66
Frame, R., *The political development of the British Isles 1100–1400*, Oxford, 1990
Galliou, P. and Jones, M., *The Bretons*, Oxford, 1991
Gillingham, J., *The Angevin empire*, London, 1984
Richard the Lionheart, 2nd edn, London, 1989
Richard I, New Haven, Connecticut, and London, 1999
Giry, A., *Manuel de diplomatique*, Paris, 1925
Gougaud, L., 'Mentions anglaises de saints bretons et de leur reliques', *AB* 34 (1919–21), 273–7
'Notes sur le culte des saints bretons en Angleterre' *AB* 35 (1921–3), 601–9
Gouiran, G., 'Bertran de Born et le comte Geoffroy de Bretagne', in P.T. Ricketts (ed.), *Actes du premier congrès international de l'association internationale d'études occitanes*, London, 1987, 229–41
Gourvil, F., 'Noms de famille, prénoms, surnoms et noms de lieu à Trégunc et Névez au XIIIe siécle', *Bulletin de la société archéologique du Finistère* 106 (1978), 239–70
Grand, R., *L'art roman en Bretagne*, Paris, 1958
Guigon, P., 'Lanmeur (Finistere), Crypté', in X. Barral i Altet (ed.), *Le paysage monumental de la France autour de l'an Mil*, Paris, 1987, pp. 239–41
Guillotel, H., 'Les vicomtes de Léon aux XIe et XIIe siècles', *MSHAB* 51 (1971), 29–51
'Les premiers temps de l'abbaye de Saint-Sulpice-la-Forêt', *Bulletins de la société d'histoire et d'archéologie de Bretagne* (1971–74), 60–2
'Les origines du bourg de Donges: Une étape de la redistribution des pouvoirs ecclésiastiques et laïques aux XIe-XIIe siècles', *AB* 84 (1977), 541–52
'La dévolution de la seigneurie de Dol-Combour aux XIe et XIIe siècles: Contribution a l'étude des successions seigneuriales en Bretagne avant l'Assise au Comte Geoffroy', *RHD* 4th series, 53 (1975), 190
'Les origines de Guingamp: Sa place dans la géographie féodale bretonne', *MSHAB* 56 (1979), 81–100
'Le premier siècle du pouvoir ducal breton (936–1040)', *Actes du 103e congrès national des sociétés savantes*, Paris, 1979, 63–84
'Des vicomtes d'Alet aux vicomtes de Poudouvre (Ille-et-Vilaine)', *Annales de la Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de l'Arrondissement de Saint-Malo* (1988), 201–13
'La place de Châteaubriant dans l'essor des châtellenies bretonnes (XIe-XIIe siècles)', *MSHAB* 66 (1989), 5–46
'Administration et finances ducales en Bretagne sous le règne de Conan III', *MSHAB* 68 (1991), 19–43
'Bretagne et papauté au XIe siècle', in R. Grosse (ed.), *L'Eglise de France et la papauté (Xe-XIIe siècle)*, Bonn, 1993, 265–86.

'De la vicomté de Rennes à la vicomté de Porhoët (fin du Xe – milieu du XIIe siècle)', *MSHAB* LXXXIII (1995), 5–23

'Combour: Proto-histoire d'une seigneurie et mis en œuvre de la réforme gregorienne', in K.S.B. Keats-Rohan (ed.), *Family trees and the roots of politics*, Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1997, 269–98

Guillotel, H. and Meuret, J.-C., 'Chartrel et Carcraon: Les enjeux d'une mise en valeur dans la vallée de la Seiche entre Moutiers et Visseiche, au XIIe siècle', *BSAIV* 97 (1995), 35–69

Guillotin de Courson, A., *Pouillé historique de l'archevêché de Rennes*, 6 vols., Rennes, 1888–1891

Les grandes seigneuries de Haute-Bretagne, Rennes, 1899

'Les ordres du Temple et de l'Hôpital en Bretagne', *Bulletin archéologique de l'association bretonne* 3rd series, 17 (1899), 43–81

Hajdu, R., 'Castles, castellans and the structure of politics in Poitou, 1152–1271', *Journal of Medieval History* 4 (1978), 27–46

Halgouët, H. du, *Essai sur le Porhoët*, Paris, 1906

La vicomté de Rohan et ses seigneurs, 2 vols., Paris, 1921

'Le chartrier de Blain', *AB* 35 (1921–3), 81–8

'Division de la propriété noble en Bretagne', *MSHAB* 10 (1929), 27–44

Halphen, L., *Le comté d'Anjou au XIe siècle*, Paris, 1906

Hillion, Y., 'La Bretagne et la rivalité Capetiens-Plantagenets: Un exemple – la duchesse Constance (1186–1202)', *AB* 92 (1985), 111–44

'Mariage et mécénat: Deux aspects de la condition féminine aristocratique en Bretagne, au milieu du XIIe siècle', in *Etudes sur la Bretagne et les pays celtiques: Mélanges offerts à Yves Le Gallo*, Centre de Recherche Bretonne et Celtique, Brest, 1991

Holt, J.C., 'The end of the Anglo-Norman realm', in *Magna Carta and medieval government*, London, 1985

'Aliénor d'Aquitaine, Jean sans Terre et la succession de 1199', *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale* 29 (1986), 95–100

'The *Casus Regis*: The Law and Politics of Succession in the Plantagenet Dominions, 1185–1247', in E. King and S. Ridyard (eds.), *Law in medieval life and thought*, Sewanee, Tennessee, 1990, 21–40, reprinted in J.C. Holt, *Colonial England, 1066–1215*, London, 1997 at 307–26

'Feudal Society and the family in early medieval England, II: Notions of Patrimony', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 5th series, 33 (1983), 193–220, reprinted in Holt, *Colonial England,* at 197–221

'Feudal society and the family in early medieval England, IV: The Heiress and the Alien', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 5th series, 35 (1985), 1–28, reprinted in Holt, *Colonial England,* at 245–69

'King John and Arthur of Brittany', *Nottingham Medieval Studies* (forthcoming)

Holmes, G. (ed.), *Thomas Rymer, Feodera, Conventiones, Literae . . .*, 3rd edn, the Hague, 1745

Institut national de la statistique et des études économiques (ed.),

Nomenclature des écarts, hameaux, et lieux-dits des Côtes-du-Nord, 2 vols., Rennes, 1953

Nomenclature des écarts, hameaux, et lieux-dits d'Ille-et-Vilaine, 2 vols., Rennes, 1953

Nomenclature des écarts, hameaux, et lieux-dits du Finistère, 2 vols., Rennes, 1954

Nomenclature des écarts, hameaux, et lieux-dits du Morbihan, Rennes, 1954

Jaeger, S., 'L'amour des rois: Structure sociale d'une forme de sensibilité aristocratique', *Annales* 46 (1991), 547–71

Jankulak, K.A., *The medieval cult and relics of Saint Petroc*, Woodbridge, Suffolk, 2000

Jeulin, P., 'L'hommage de Bretagne en droit et dans les faits', *AB* 41 (1934), 380–473

Jones, M., *The family of Dinan in England in the Middle Ages*, Dinan, 1987

The creation of Brittany: A Late medieval state, London, 1988

'The Capetians and Brittany', *Historical Research* 63 (1990), 1–16

'La vie familiale de la duchesse Constance: Le témoignage des chartes', in G. Le Menn and J.-Y. Le Moing (eds.), *Bretagne et pays celtiques: Langues, histoire, civilisation. Mélanges offerts à la memoire de Leon Fleuriot, 1923–1987*, Saint-Brieuc and Rennes, 1992

'Les Bretons et les croisades', *MSHAB* 71 (1994), 367–80

Keats-Rohan, K.S.B., 'William I and the Breton contingent in the non-Norman conquest of 1066–1087', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 13 (1990), 157–72

'Le problème de la suzeraineté et la lutte pour le pouvoir: La rivalité bretonne et l'état anglo-normand 1066–1154', *MSHAB* 68 (1991), 45–69

'The Bretons and Normans of England, 1066–1154: The Family, the Fief and the Feudal Monarchy', *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 36 (1992), 42–78

'Two studies in North French Prosopography', *Journal of Medieval History* 20 (1994), 3–37

'Le rôle des Bretons dans la politique de colonisation normande de l'Angleterre (vers 1042–1135)', *MSHAB* 74 (1996), 181–215

'The Bretons and the Norman Conquest' in *Domesday Book*, 1. *Domesday people: a prosopography of persons occurring in English documents 1066–1166*, Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1999, 44–58

Keefe, T.K., 'Place-date distribution of royal charters and the historical geography of patronage strategies at the court of king Henry II Plantagenet', *The Haskins Society Journal* 2 (1990), 179–88

Kerhervé, J., *L'état Breton aux 14e et 15e siècles: Les ducs, l'argent et les hommes*, 2 vols., Paris, 1987

'La naissance de l'histoire en Bretagne (milieu XIVe siècle-fin XVIe siècle)', in J. Balcou and Y. Le Gallo (eds.), *Histoire littéraire et culturelle de la Bretagne*, 1, *Héritage celtique et captation française*, Paris and Geneva, 1987, at 245–71

Kerhervé, J., *et al.*, *Histoire de Quimper*, Toulouse, 1994.

Kernévez, P., 'Les châteaux du Léon au XIIIe siècle', *MSHAB* 69 (1992), 95–127

Kerviler, R., *Répertoire générale de bio-bibliographie bretonne*, 11 vols., Rennes, 1886–1908, reprinted Mayenne, 1985

Lally, J.E., 'Secular patronage at the court of Henry II', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 49 (1976), 159–84

Lande de Calan, C. de la, 'Mélanges historiques, XIX. Le duc Hoël II', *Revue de Bretagne* 40 (1908), 180–183

'Mélanges historiques, XX. La chronologie des annales Bretonnes', *Revue de Bretagne* 40 (1908), 183–185

Les Bretons dans les chansons de geste, extr. from *Mémoires de l'association bretonne*, Saint-Brieuc, 1912

La Comtesse de la Motte-Rouge, *Les Dinan et leur juveigneurs*, Nantes, 1892

Largillière, R., 'Le Minihi-Briac', *Annales de Bretagne: Mélanges Bretons et Celtiques Offerts à M. J. Loth* (1927), 99–107

Lebigre, A., 'Les débuts de l'abbaye cistercienne de Buzay en pays de Rais, 1144–1250', *RHD* 4th series, 45 (1967), 451–82

Lebrun, F. (ed.), *Histoire des diocèses de France*, XIII, *Le diocèse d'Angers*, Paris, 1981

Leclercq, J., *Monks and love in twelfth-century France: Psycho-historical essays*, Oxford, 1979

Lefort des Ylouses, E., 'Sceaux des ducs de Bretagne', *Annales de la Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de l'Arrondissement de Saint-Malo* (1978), 91–103

Le Gallic, M. and Rihouay, G., 'L'abbaye de Bon Repos', *Bulletin de l'Association Bretonne* (1988), 138–44

Legge, M.D., 'William the Marshall and Arthur of Brittany', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 55 (1982), 18–24

Lejeune, R., 'Role littéraire d'Alienor d'Aquitaine et de sa famille', *Cultura Neolatina* 14 (1954), 5–57

Lemarignier, J.-F., *Recherches sur l'hommage en marche et les frontières féodales*, Lille, 1945

Le Méné, J. F., *Histoire du diocèse de Vannes*, 2 vols., Vannes, 1888

Histoire archéologique, féodale et religieuse des paroisses du diocèse de Vannes, 2 vols., Vannes, 1891–96

Abbayes et prieurés du diocèse de Vannes, Vannes, 1902

Le Patourel, J., 'Guillaume Filshamon, Premier Sénéchal de Bretagne', *Annales de Normandie* (1978), 376–77

'The Norman conquest 1066, 1106, 1164?', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 1 (1978), 101–20

'Henri II Plantagenêt et la Bretagne', *MSHAB* 58 (1981), 99–116

Feudal empires, Norman and Plantagenet, M. Jones (ed.), London, 1984

Lodge, R.A. (ed.), *Etienne de Fougères, Le livre des manières*, Geneva, 1979

Loomis, R.S. (ed.), *Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages: A collaborative history*, Oxford, 1959

Lopez, M., 'Un domaine ducal en Pays de Retz: la châtellenie de Touffou', *Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes et de Recherches Historiques du Pays de Retz* (1984), 47–52

Madison Krahmer, S., 'Interpreting the Letters of Bernard of Clairvaux to Ermengarde, Countess of Brittany: The Twelfth-Century Context and the Language of Friendship', *Cistercian Studies Quarterly* 27 (1992), 217–50

Meazey, P., *Dinan au temps des seigneurs*, Guingamp, 1997

Ménage, G., *Histoire de Sablé, première partie*, Paris, 1683

Meuret, J.-C., 'Le poids des familles seigneuriales aux confins de l'Anjou et de la Bretagne: Martigné-Pouancé-La Guerche', *MSHAB* 70 (1993), 89–129

Peuplement, pouvoir et paysage sur la marche Anjou-Bretagne (des origines au Moyen-Age), Laval 1993

Montigny, J.-L., *Essai sur les institutions du duché de Bretagne à l'époque de Pierre Mauclerc et sur la politique de ce prince (1213–1237)*, Paris, 1961

Oheix, A., *Essai sur les sénéchaux de Bretagne des origines au XIVe siècle*, Paris, 1913

'Le commencement de l'année civile en Bretagne', *Le Moyen Âge* 27 (1914), 214–32

Olivier-Martin, F., *Notes historiques sur la ville et la châtellenie de Jugon des origines à 1789*, Rennes, 1985

Owen, D.D.R., *William the Lion, 1143–1214: Kingship and culture*, London, 1997

Page, W. (ed.), *The Victoria history of the counties of England, Hampshire and the Isle of Wight*, IV, London, 1911

Page, W. (ed.), *The Victoria history of the counties of England, Hertfordshire*, III, London, 1912

Page, W. and Ditchfield, P.H. (eds.), *The Victoria history of the counties of England, Berkshire*, III, London, 1923

Péan, B., 'Les origines de l'abbaye Notre-Dame de Bon-Repos (1184–1235)', Extract from *Mémoires de la Société d'Emulation des Côtes-du-Nord*, Saint-Brieuc, 1958

Pérouas, L., *Histoire de Limoges*, Toulouse, 1989

Petigny, J. de, 'Lettre inédite de Robert d'Arbrissel à la comtesse Ermengarde', *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes* 3rd series, 5 (1854), 225–35

Peyron, P., *La cathédrale de Saint-Pol et le minihy de Léon*, Quimper, 1901

Pichot, D., 'La grange de Fayel et la mise en valeur du pays de Vitré au XIIe siècle', *BSAIV* 79 (1976), 21–30

Planiol, M., 'L'Assise au Comte Geffroi: Etude sur les successions féodales en Bretagne', *RHD* 11 (1887), 117–62, 652–708

Histoire des institutions de la Bretagne, III, Mayenne, 1981

Pocquet du Haut-Jussé, B.A., *Les papes et les ducs de Bretagne*, I, Paris, 1928

'Les Plantagenêts et la Bretagne', *AB* 53 (1946), 2–27

'L'origine des Brefs de sauveté', *AB* 66 (1959), 255–62

'L' «enquête de pays», a-t-elle existé en Bretagne?', *RHD* 4th series, 38 (1960), 124–29

'La genèse du législatif dans le duché de Bretagne', *RHD* 4th series, 40 (1962), 351–72

Poey d'Avant, F., *Monnaies féodales de France*, 3 vols., Paris, 1858

Poole, R.L., 'The Masters of the Schools at Paris and Chartres in John of Salisbury's time', *English Historical Review* 139 (1920), 321–42

Power, D.J., 'What did the Frontier of Angevin Normandy Comprise?', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 17 (1995 for 1994), 181–201 at 186–8

'King John and the Norman aristocracy', in S. Church (ed.), *King John New interpretations*, Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1999, 117–36

Quaghebeur, J., 'Aristocratie et monachisme autour de Sainte-Croix de Quimperlé aux XI et XII siècles', in *Sous la règle de Saint Benoit: Structures monastiques et sociétés en France du moyen âge à l'époque moderne*, Ecole pratique des Hautes Etudes; Hautes Etudes médiévales et modernes, 47, Paris, 1982, 199–211

'Strategie lignagère et pouvoir politique en Cornouaille au XIe siècle', *MSHAB* 68 (1991), 7–18

'Puissance publique, puissances privées sur les côtes du Comté de Vannes' in G. Le Bouëdec and F. Chappé (eds), *Pouvoirs et littoraux du XV^e^ au XX^e^ siècle*, Rennes, 1999, 11–28.

Quilgars, H., 'La sénéchausée de Guerande: origine, formation et administration', *Revue Morbihannaise* (1912), 16–44

Ramsay, J.H., *The Angevin Empire, or the three reigns of Henry II, Richard I and John (AD 1154–1216)*, London, 1903

Richard, A., *Les comtes de Poitou*, 2 vols., Paris, 1903

Riley-Smith, J., *The first crusaders, 1095–1131*, Cambridge, 1997

Sagazan, R. de, 'Les Capétiens et la Bretagne', *Bulletin de l'Association Bretonne* (1987), 124–39

Scott Jesse, W., 'Robert d'Arbrissel: Aristocratic patronage and the question of heresy', *Journal of Medieval History* 20 (1994), 277–92

Smith, J.M.H., *Province and empire: Brittany and the Carolingians*, Cambridge, 1992

Stenton, F.M., *The first century of English feudalism, 1066–1166*, 2nd edn, Oxford, 1961
Tanguy, B., *Dictionnaire des noms de communes, trèves et paroisses du Finistère*, Douarnenez, 1990
Dictionnaire des noms de communes, trèves et paroisses des Côtes-d'Armor, Douarnenez, 1992
Thompson, S., *Women religious: The founding of English nunneries after the Norman Conquest*, Oxford, 1991
Tonnerre, N.-Y., 'XIe-XIIe siècles', in Y. Durand (ed.), *Histoire des diocèses de France*, XVIII. *Le diocèse de Nantes*, Paris, 1985
'Les débuts de la seigneurie d'Ancenis', *BSAN* 123 (1987), 47–68
Naissance de la Bretagne: Géographie historique et structures sociales de la Bretagne méridionale (Nantais et Vannetais) de la fin du VIIIe à la fin du XIIe siècle, Angers, 1994
'Celtic literary tradition and the development of a feudal principality in Brittany', in H. Pryce (ed.), *Literacy in medieval celtic societies*, Cambridge, 1998, 166–82
Touchard, H., 'Les brefs de Bretagne', *Revue d'Historie Economique et Sociale* 24 (1956), 116–40
Trevedy, J., 'La Sénéchaussée et les Sénéchaux de Cornouaille', *Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie du Finistère* 27 (1900), 3–23
Turner, R.V., 'Eleanor of Aquitaine and her children: An inquiry into medieval family attachment', *Journal of Medieval History* 14 (1988), 321–35
Vanderkindere, L., *La formation territoriale des principautés Belges au Moyen Age*, I, Brussels, 1902
van Houts, E.M.C.,'Le roi et son historien: Henri II Plantagenêt et Robert de Torigni, abbé du Mont Saint-Michel', *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale* 37 (1994), 115–8
Vincent, N., *Peter des Roches, an alien in English politics, 1205–1238*, Cambridge, 1996
'Twyford under the Bretons 1066–1250', *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 41 (1997), 80–99
Walker, D., 'Crown and episcopacy under the Angevins', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 5 (1982), 220–33
Warren, W.L., *Henry II*, London, 1973
King John, 2nd edn, New Haven and London, 1997
Yver, J., 'Les caractères originaux du groupe de coutumes de l'ouest de la France', *RHD* 30 (1952), 18–79
'Le 'Très Ancien Coutumier' de Normandie, miroir de la législation ducale?: Contribution à l'étude de l'ordre public normand à la fin du XIIe siècle', *Tijdschrift voor Rechtsgeschiedenis* 39 (1971), 333–74.

GENERAL INDEX

Abelard, Peter 14
Adrian IV, pope 70, 73
Agomar, Harvey, *see* Haelgomar, Harvey son of
Alan III, duke of Brittany (1008–40) 10, 19, 108n.
Alan IV, duke of Brittany (1084–112) 10, 12, 21, 28, 29, 33, 36
Alan 'the Black', earl of Richmond 30–2, 61–2, 189
Ancenis, Loire-Atlantique, *caput* of barony 50, 61, 190; castle 50, 148
Ancenis, Geoffrey d' 168
Ancenis, Guethenoc d' 61
Angevin empire 1, 34, 92, 126, 176
Angers, Maine-et-Loire 81, 159, 168, 169–70, 173
  abbeys at 5
Anjou, county of 5, 27, 78, 167 170, 173
  frontier with Brittany 35, 49, 61, 148, 168, 190
  seneschal of, Robert of Thornham 162–5
  see also William des Roches, Aimery de Thouars
Anjou, counts of 9, 32, 37, 66
  Geoffrey Plantagenet 36
  see also Ermengard, duchess of Brittany, Henry II, king of England
Apigné, Robert d' 174
Arbrissel, Robert d' 15, 66
Arthur, duke of Brittany (1201–3) birth 157; heir of Richard I 158–9; political career 159–75; government of Brittany 153–5, 173
Arthur, legendary king 45
'Assize of Count Geoffrey' 54, 105n., 106, 111–15, 119, 177, 182–203
Aubigny, Alemann d' 105, 174
Auray, Morbihan 22, 45, 51

Beaulieu, abbey 21, 106, 116
Beaumont, Roscelin, viscount of, younger son of 52
Becherel, Ille-et-Vilaine, *caput* of barony 45, 56, 163, 167, 189
Becherel, lords of, Alan de Dinan (father of Rolland de Dinan) 56, 189, 191
  Alan de Dinan (or de Vitré, nephew of Rolland de Dinan) 57, 147–9, 163, 191
  Rolland de Dinan 33, 45–6, 55–7, 98, 105, 106, 107, 107n., 182, 191; as 'Justiciarius Britannie' 51, 76, 78, 91, 95
  see also Juhel de Mayenne
Becket, Thomas 54
Begard, abbey 6, 151
Bertha, duchess of Brittany (1148–56) 29–32, 46, 149
  her daughters Constance and Ennoguent and son Geoffrey 46–7
Blain, Loire-Atlantique 23
Blois, counts of 9
  Eudo II 10
Bonrepos, abbey 106, 116
Boquen, abbey 116, 251
Born, Bertrand de, troubadour 115
Boterel, Hamo 41, 54, 210
  Reginald 88–9, 91, 96, 101, 102, 135, 174, 209
Bouchard, Alan, historian 3
Breton, William the, chronicler 3–4, 14
Brittany, duchesses of, *see* Bertha, Constance, Ermengard, Margaret
  dukes of, *see* Alan III, Alan IV, Arthur, Conan III, Conan IV, Eudo de Porhoët, Geoffrey, Guy de Thouars, Hoël, Peter de Dreux, Ranulf, earl of Chester
Broërec, Morbihan, county 17, 22, 33, 77, 104
  seneschal of 103–4
Buzay, abbey 82, 117, 122, 151
  archive of 6

Canterbury, Gervase of, chronicler 155
Carnoët, Finistère, forest *see* Saint-Maurice de Carnoët
Cesson, Cotes-d'Armor, castle 152
Chancellor of duke of Brittany 101, 154

Châteaubriant, Ille-et-Vilaine, *caput* of barony 160–1, 190
Châteaubriant, Geoffrey de 153, 161, 167–8, 174, 174n, 182
Châteaugiron, Alan de 166, 168, 182; Philip his brother 166
  Giro, son of Conan de 60
  James de 182
  Waleran de 105
Châteaulin, Finistère 22
Châteauneuf-du-Faou, Finistère 104, 155
Chester, earl of, *see* Ranulf
Cistercian order, 6, 15
  see also Begard, Buzay, Langonnet, La Vieuville, Saint-Maurice de Carnoët, Savigny
Coinage 12–13, 23, 100, 110
Combour, Ille-et-Vilaine, *caput* of barony 36, 41–2, 44, 49–50, 60, 83–5, 107, 109, 190
Combour, lords of, Isolde, 41–2, 52, 84, 85
  John II de Dol 33, 40, 41, 52, 70, 84; Hawise, his sister 72; Noga, his mother 72, 85, 85n
  John III de Dol 85n
  Rivallon de Dol 11
  Hasculf de Subligny 74, 83, 84, 84n, 85, 168
  John de Subligny 42, 52, 74, 76, 83–5; Adam, his brother 84, 84n
Conan III, duke of Brittany (1113–48) 10, 15, 21, 29–31, 121
Conan IV, duke of Brittany (1156–66, d. 1171) 21, 32–3, 34, 39–43, 44, 48, 61–2, 105, 116
Constance, duchess of Brittany (*c.* 1084) 10
Constance, duchess of Brittany (1181–1201) 2, 43, 97, 99, 100, 105, 114, 116, 149; government of Brittany (1186–1201) 149–53; marriage to Ranulf, earl of Chester 157–8, 171; imprisonment 160–7; support of Arthur 167, 169; marriage to Guy de Thouars 171; death 173; testament 173
Constance, daughter of Alan 'the Black', earl of Richmond 46, 62 *see also* Rohan
Cornouaille, county of 10, 17, 22, 33, 45, 51, 89–90
  men of 8, 163
  seneschal of 89, 102–3
  see also Quimper
Court of dukes of Brittany 6, 24, 107–8, 111 *see also* Quimper, Redon, Rennes
Craon, Mayenne *caput* of barony 167
Craon, Maurice II de 50, 147–8
Crusading 12

Dapifer, see Seneschal
Dinan, Côtes-d'Armor, *caput* of barony 55, 57, 189, 191
  royal officials in 147
  see Becherel
Dinan, Josce de 41, 54, 210–11
  Oliver de 45, 54, 55–6
  Peter de, *see* Rennes, bishops of
Diss, Ralph of, chronicler 52
Doisnel, Robert 81, 82, 91, 208
Dol, Ille-et-Vilaine 44, 49, 156
  castle of lord of Combour in 41, 55, 55n
  siege of 4, 49, 60, 85
  marshes of 74, 76
  see also Combour
Dol, metropolitan see 13–14, 36, 41, 68–75, 120, 154
  archbishops/bishops, 107; Baldric of Bourgueil (1107–30) 14, 71; Hugo (1154–60) 72–3; Oliver (1147–*c.* 1153) 72–3; Roger du Hommet (1161–*c.* 1163) 73–4; John II (*c.* 1163–77) 74; Rolland of Pisa (1177–88) 74, 118, 120, 120n; seneschals of 26, 166; temporal possessions of 74
  cathedral of 6
  'chronicle' of 3
Donges, Savary de 21
Dreux, Peter de, duke of Brittany (1213–37) 18

Eleanor of Aquitaine 42, 149
Eleanor, daughter of Geoffrey, duke of Brittany 155, 158, 175
England, kingdom of 5, 11
England, kings of, *see* Henry I, Henry II, John, Richard, Stephen
Ermengard, duchess of Brittany 10, 15

Falaise, Treaty of 50, 55
Fantosme, Jordan, poet 4, 47
Farcy, family 84, 211–12
  Geoffrey 84n, 212
  Hugo 211
  Ranulf 84n
FitzErneis, Eudo 82, 91, 103, 135–6, 135n, 208–9
  Oliver his brother 135–6, 208–9
FitzGuy, Peter 81–2, 91, 129, 130, 208
FitzHamo, William 41, 54, 77, 79–81, 91, 207, 210
Flacheio, family 84, 211–12
  Ruallen de 84n, 212
  William de 212
Flanders, Baldwin VII, count of 10–11
Fontevraud, abbey 6, 32n, 66, 81, 129
Fougères, Ille-et-Vilaine, castle of 42, 49, 54
  royal *acta* at 42n, 64, 159

Fougères, *caput* of barony 14, 40, 50, 60, 107, 108, 190, 199
archives of 7
Fougères, Clemencia de 149, 171, 199
Henry de 36, 40, 199
Ralph I de 14
Ralph II de 33, 40, 41, 49, 54–5, 61, 64, 105, 196, 210; as 'seneschal of Brittany' 117, 147
Juhel his son 60
Margaret his daughter 199
William his brother 60, 168, 171, 174–5
William his son 199
Fournival, Gerard de 96, 101–2, 102n, 140, 140n
Roger de 140, 144
France, kings of, *see* Louis VI, Louis VII, Louis IX, Philip Augustus

Gahard, Ille-et-Vilaine 46
Geoffrey I, duke of Brittany (992–1008) 10
Geoffrey, duke of Brittany (1181–86) 2; birth 37; betrothal 42–3, 94, 97, 130–1; homage for Brittany in 1169 47; invested? at Rennes 47, 94; at Nantes in 1169 48, 94; at Pontorson in 1171 48, 94; settlement of 1174 50; lieutenant of Henry II in Brittany 51–2, 95; role in Brittany before 1181 93–9; marriage 97, 99, 130; government of Brittany 99–115; and the Church in Brittany 115–22; role in 1183 revolt 131–6; *custos* of Normandy 138; conspiracy with Philip Augustus 139–45; death 142–5; *acta* of 5, 6, 7, 100–1; characterisation of 123–6; and literature 125n; military prowess 125, 131
Geoffrey, count of Nantes (1156–8) 32, 110
Goulaine, Loire-Atlantique, *caput* of barony 107
Goulaine, John de 79, 79n
Matthew de 79n, 102, 194
William de 194
Guérande, Loire-Atlantique 23, 25, 64, 80
Guingamp, Côtes-d'Armor, *caput* of barony of Tréguier 21, 31, 48, 90, 121n, 146, 148

Haelgomar, Harvey son of 102–3, 103n, 194
Hédé, Ille-et-Vilaine, castle 45, 59
Hennebont, Morbihan, *caput* of barony 20
Henry I, king of England (1099–1135) 10, 12, 36
Matilda, illegitimate daughter of 29
Henry II, king of England (1154–89) 1, 2, 8–9; acquisition of Brittany 34–52; *acta* of 7–8, 42n, 51, 76–7; relations with Breton barons 52–63; and the Church in Brittany 63–75; government of Brittany 76–92; role in Brittany 1181–6 97–9; 1183 revolt 131–4, 136; role in Brittany after 1186 146, 147–9, 155–6; Gerald of Wales on 125–6
Henry, the Young King, son of Henry II (d. 1183) 36–7, s47, 125, 131–4, 136
Henry, seneschal of Cornouaille 89–90, 102
Hoël I, duke of Brittany (1066–84) 17, 21, 28–9
Hoël, count of Nantes (1148–56) 20, 29–32, 205
Hommet, Richard du 41, 54, 74
Robert du, *see* Dol, archbishops
William du 49
Howden, Roger of, chronicler 4, 49, 51, 60, 98, 124, 132, 133, 135, 136, 142–3, 155, 161, 166, 170, 172–3

Ireland, compared with Brittany 35

John, son of Henry II 37, 125, 136, 137–8; as count of Mortain 167, 169
as king of England 146–7
compared with Geoffrey, duke of Brittany, by Gerald of Wales 124–5
conflict with Arthur 152, 169–73, 174
Josselin, Morbihan, *caput* of barony of Porhoët 45, 49
Jugon, Côtes-d'Armor 46, 189

La Blanche Couronne, abbey 6, 106
La Fontaine Saint-Martin, priory of Saint-Sulpice-la-Forêt 66
La Fustaye, Ralph de 15, 66
La Guerche, Ille-et-Vilaine, *caput* of barony 107n, 147, 190
castle 50
La Guerche, Geoffrey de 50, 61, 107
William de 166, 168, 174
La Jaille, Ivo de 101, 116, 168
Lamballe, Cotes-d'Armor 146
caput of barony 77, 151–2
prepositus of 114, 151
Lamballe, Geoffrey Boterel II, lord of 31, 72, 189
La Mée 39–40, 50–1, 64, 80
seneschal of 153, 167
Langonnet, abbey 6, 151
Lanmeur, forest of (Côtes-d'Armor) 151
Lanvallay, John de 212
Ralph de 211
Robert de 88, 91
William de 44, 49, 86–9, 91, 102
La Roche-Bernard, Morbihan, *caput* of barony 61n

La Vieuville, abbey 76, 84, 116
archive of 6, 182, 185
La Zouche, *see* Porhoët
Le Baud, Pierre, historian 3, 29, 98, 153, 154, 157, 158, 159, 160–6
Lehon, Ille-et-Vilaine, castle 46
monastery 46; *see* Saint-Magloire de Lehon
Le Gâvre, Loire-Atlantique, forest 23
Le Mans 169, 208
Léon, barony 15–16, 17, 18–19, 22, 33, 57–9, 69, 95, 104, 109, 113, 151, 163, 192, 213–14
Léon, diocese, *see* Saint-Pol de Léon
Léon, Conan de 174
Guihomar de 44–5, 48, 52, 58, 104, 192; his sons, Guihomar and Harvey 57, 147, 155, 157, 163, 168, 182
Harvey de 11, 16, 45, 57–9
Le Pallet, Loire-Atlantique 14, 23
Le Tronchet, abbey 64, 77n
Lillechurch (Higham, Kent), priory of Saint-Sulpice-la-Forêt 66
Liré, Maurice de 103
'Livre des Ostz' 90
Locmaria, at Quimper, priory of Saint-Sulpice-la-Forêt 49, 64, 66, 77n
Lohéac, Peter de 147
William de 105, 166, 168
Peter his son 166
Loire, river 23, 28, 80
Louis VI, king of France 8n
Louis VII, king of France 4, 8n, 37, 45, 46, 47, 62
Louis IX, king of France 18

Maine, county 167, 170
frontier with Brittany 35, 40, 42, 49, 66, 168, 190–1
Maine, counts of 9, 208
Malestroit, Pagan de 168, 175
Margaret of Scotland, duchess of Brittany 40, 43
Maritime [matters] – *see* wreck
Marmoutier, abbey 97–8
archive of 5
Harvey, abbot of 65
Marshal, William the 134
Matthew, count of Nantes (d.1050) 28
Matthew, count of Nantes (*c.* 1084–*c.* 1103) 28–9
Mayenne, Juhel de 147, 167, 174
Isabel, his mother 168
Media, *see* La Mée
Melleray, abbey 6, 80, 86, 151
Minihi-Briac, William Vigerius de 105
Mirebeau, Vienne, siege 174
Montbourcher, William de 135n, 197
Montauban, Ille-et-Vilaine, *caput* of barony 190, 192
Monterevault, Beatrix, viscountess of 174n
Montfort, Ille-et-Vilaine, *caput* of barony 46, 163, 190, 191
Montfort, Amaury de 166, 168
Geoffrey de 59
Ralph de 166
Mont Saint-Michel, abbey 45, 107, 193
archive of 6
Morlaix, Finistère 104, 109, 155
ducal officers in 103, 109
Moulton, Alan and Richard of, *see* Twins

Nantes, 'chronicle' of 3
Nantes, Loire-Atlantique, city 21–2, 39, 48, 80, 110
ducal castle in 80
ducal charters made at 106, 129, 148
fortifications of 117, 130, 141
minting in 153
see Saint-Cyr
Nantes, county 8, 17, 23, 27–33, 37, 38, 40, 78–83, 90, 91, 103, 106, 117, 128–30, 137
counts of, *see* Geoffrey, Hoël, Matthew
prepositus of 78, 82–3, 103
seneschal of 79–82, 103, 129–30, 136, 207–9
Nantes, diocese 8n, 13, 67, 117, 121
bishops 174; Bernard d'Escoublac (*c.* 1148–70) 14, 67, 80–1, 122; Maurice de Blason (*c.* 1189–98) 119, 122, 166, 168; Robert (1170–85) 49, 67, 82, 118, 120, 129
seneschal of 26
Newburgh, William of, chronicler 39, 42, 52, 139, 157, 159, 164
Normandy, duchy of 5, 138
frontier with Brittany 35, 40, 49, 191–2
Normandy, dukes of 9, 169
Richard II 10
William the Conqueror, Constance daughter of 10
see also Henry I, Henry II, the Young King Henry, John

Penthièvre, barony 15, 18–19, 31, 33, 189, 191
coinage 12–13
Penthièvre, lords of, *comes* Eudo 12
his sons, Alan Rufus, Brian 12
comes Stephen 31, 189
see Lamballe, Tréguier
Philip Augustus, king of France 75, 95, 98, 110, 155; conspiracy with duke Geoffrey

139–45; relations with Arthur, duke of Brittany 154, 156, 165, 167, 169–70; second register of 182, 185
Pilgrimage 55, 183
Ploërmel, Morbihan 22, 50, 51
Plukenet, Hugh de 211
Poitou, county of 5, 27, 35, 78, 170
frontier with Brittany 137
Pontchâteau, Loire-Atlantique, *caput* of barony 20, 117
Pontchâteau, Daniel de 106
Eudo de 174
Oliver, son of Jarnogon de 21
Pontorson, Manche 40, 48, 160
Porhoët, barony 22, 62, 189, 191, 192
seneschal of 26
see Josselin
Porhoët, Eudo de 4, 45–6, 48, 49, 51, 52, 53–4, 58, 61, 106, 182, 185; as duke of Brittany 20, 29, 32, 59, 72–3
Adelaide, his daughter 46
Alan de la Zouche, his brother 54
Eudo, his son 175
Josce, his brother 54
prefectus, *see prepositus*
prepositus 9, 25

Quimper, Finistère, city 22, 31, 152, 211
Quimper, diocese 13, 68, 121
bishops, Bernard of Moelan (1159–67) 14, 68; Geoffrey (*c.* 1167–84) 49, 68, 118, 121; Theobald (*c.* 1185–92) 119, 121
Quimperlé, Finistère 22, 25, 152
Quimperlé, abbey of Sainte-Croix 21, 22, 25, 119
archive of 6
villicus of 25–6

Rays (Loire-Atlantique), barony 166, 190, 191, 192
Rays, Harscoët de 160, 162, 164, 174
Ranulf III, earl of Chester, duke of Brittany (1189–99) 149, 157–8, 159–61, 171, 199
Redon, abbey of Saint-Sauveur 21, 24, 64, 77n, 80
archive of 6
Regalian right 67, 68
Rennes, Ille-et-Vilaine, city 22, 98, 107–8n, 120, 131, 152
ducal charters made at 120
ducal court at 6, 29, 87, 101, 160, 182
investiture of duke 44
Rennes, county of 17, 33, 86–9, 91, 102
counts of 17, 22
seneschal of 26–7, 44, 49, 76, 85, 86–9, 102, 152–3, 155, 162, 204–6
Rennes, diocese 13, 67–8
bishops, Marbod (1093–1123) 14; Herbert (1184–98) 118–19, 120, 162, 167, 201; Stephen of Fougères (1167–78) 44, 47, 49, 67–8, 86; Philip (*c.* 1170–81) 68, 118–19; Peter de Dinan (*c.* 1100–1210) 154–5, 161
cathedral 47
cathedral chapter 119
seneschals of 26
see also Saint-Cyr, Saint-Georges, Saint-Melaine, Saint-Sulpice-la-Forêt
Retz, *see* Rays
Richard, son of Henry II, as count of Poitou 95, 124, 126, 131, 132–3, 135, 136–7, 138–9, 149
as king of England (1189–99) 146, 158–60, 162, 164–7
Richmond, honour of 12, 32, 38, 62, 120, 128, 135, 158, 163, 189
Richmond, countesses of, *see* Bertha, Constance, Margaret
earls of, *see* Alan 'the Black', Conan IV, Geoffrey, Ranulf earl of Chester, Guy de Thouars
Rieux, Morbihan, *caput* of barony 76n
Rieux, Rolland de, heiress of 76
Rigord, chronicler 144–5
Roald, Alan son of, constable of Richmond 54
Rochefort, Jarnogon de 61
Rochefort-en-Terre, Morbihan, *caput* of barony 61n
Roches, William des 167, 169, 170–1
Rohan, Morbihan, *caput* of barony 62, 189–90, 192
Alan II de 46, 54, 61, 62, 105, 105n, 106, 168, 174, 182
Rouen, Stephen of, author of 'Draco Normannicus' 4, 45
Rougé, Bonabbé de 50, 61, 105

Sablé, *caput* of barony 167
Sablé, Robert III de 174n
Saint-Brieuc, 'chronicle' of 3, 57, 100, 100n
Saint-Brieuc, diocese 13–14, 72
bishops of 174; Geoffrey 118, 121; Josce (1150–7) 14, 74; Pregent 118
Saint-Cyr de Nantes, priory 117
Saint-Cyr de Rennes, priory 107n
Saint-Florent de Saumur, abbey 193
archive of 5
Saint-Georges de Rennes, abbey 80, 150
abbesses 80–1
prepositus of 25
Saint-Gildas de Rhuys, abbey 150
Saint-Gilles, William de 46, 59, 117

Saint-Magloire de Lehon, priory 65, 77, 97–8, 107n, 116
Saint-Malo, diocese (formerly Alet) 71
bishops, Albert 47, 65, 68–9, 118–19
Donoal (*c.* 1120–43) 71–2
Peter (*c.* 1184–1218) 118–19, 167
Saint-Maurice de Carnoët, abbey 6, 45, 89, 116, 151
Saint-Méen, abbey 51, 64
Saint-Melaine de Rennes, abbey 87, 109, 117–18, 120, 147, 150, 182, 198
abbots 168; Gervase 117–18; William Privatus 117
St Petroc, relics of 4–5, 51–2, 63–4, 76, 96
Saint-Pierre de Rillé, abbey 64, 77n, 150, 159
Saint-Pol de Léon, diocese 68, 71, 120
bishops, Hamo (*c.* 1150–71) 69, 121; Guy II (fl. 1179) 68n, 118, 121; Ivo (*c.* 1180–6) 109, 118, 121
Saint-Sulpice-la-Forêt, abbey 15, 31, 46, 63, 66, 150, 161
Savigny, abbey, 14–15, 21, 116–17, 150, 193, 199
archive of 6
Hamo, monk of 4, 46n
Scotland, compared with Brittany 34, 35
Scotland, Malcolm IV, king of 40
see also Margaret, duchess of Brittany
Seneschal (*senescallus*, *dapifer*) 10, 16, 24, 26–7, 77, 90–1, 101, 103, 109, 177, 179–80
Brittany, of 77–8, 102, 147–9, 156, 167, 180; *see* William FitzHamo, Rolland de Dinan, Ralph de Fougères, Alan de Dinan, Maurice de Craon
France, of 140, 141
Serigné, Robert de 63
Sion, Alfred de 78, 78n
Stephen, king of England (1135–54) 11, 16, 31
Eustace his son 36
Subligny, *see* Combour

Thouars, Deux-Sèvres, *caput* of barony 39, 44
Thouars, Aimery, viscount of 171
Guy de, duke of Brittany (1199–1201, 1203–13) 150, 171–2, 175
Tinténiac, Ille-et-Vilaine 45, 85n
Tinténiac, Alan de 59
William de 60, 105
Torigni, Robert de, abbot of Mont Saint-Michel, chronicler 4, 42, 45, 47, 51, 52, 53, 69, 71, 74, 79, 96, 98, 99, 121, 131
Touffou, Loire-Atlantique, forest 23
Touraine, County 167, 170
Tours, Indre-et-Loire, 170
Tours, metropolitan see 13, 69–75, 154
archbishops, Engelbald 70; Josce (1157–74) 14, 74
Tréguier, Côtes-d'Armor, barony, 31, 43, 50, 61–2, 77, 104–5, 109, 114, 151, 152, 163
ducal officers in 104–5, 109–10
Tréguier, lords of, *comes* Henry 31–2, 61–2, 72, 105, 189
Alan his son 106, 114, 152, 168, 174; *see also* Guingamp, Penthièvre
Tréguier, diocese 13, 72
Bishop Geoffrey (1179–*c.* 1216) 118, 120–1
Twins, Alan and Richard of Moulton, the 96, 101, 135

Vannes, Morbihan, city 22, 51, 154
Vannes, diocese 13, 68
bishops, Rotald (d.1177) 68; Geoffrey (1177–82) 68, 118; Guethenoc (1182–1222) 119, 120, 165, 168
Vannetais, *see* Broërec
Vendôme, John, count of, his daughter Matilda 11, 62
vicarius 9, 24–6
Villeneuve, abbey 116, 151
villicus, *see vicarius*
Vitré, Ille-et-Vilaine, *caput* of barony 41, 54, 63, 154
charter of Henry II made at 41, 54, 62, 63, 210, 211
Vitré, barony 57, 63, 147, 162, 190
archives of 7, 186
Vitré, Andrew II de 61, 63, 105, 107, 116, 162, 163, 166, 167, 168, 173–4, 182, 183
Robert II de 21, 40, 57, 61, 63, 116; Emma, his wife 166
Robert de, cantor of Paris 166, 168, 174
see also Alan de Dinan (or Vitré)

Wales, compared with Brittany 34, 35–6
Wales, Gerald of, author 124–6, 132, 136, 144, 144n, 145
Waltham, Lincs., soke of 62, 189
Wreck, right of 58, 213–15

Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought
Fourth series

Titles in series

1 The Beaumont Twins: The Roots and Branches of Power in the Twelfth Century
D. B. CROUCH
2 The Thought of Gregory the Great*
G. R. EVANS
3 The Government of England Under Henry I*
JUDITH A. GREEN
4 Charity and Community in Medieval Cambridge
MIRI RUBIN
5 Autonomy and Community: The Royal Manor of Havering, 1200–1500
MARJORIE KENISTON MCINTOSH
6 The Political Thought of Baldus de Ubaldis
JOSEPH CANNING
7 Land and Power in Late Medieval Ferrara: The Rule of the Este, 1350–1450
TREVOR DEAN
8 William of Tyre: Historian of the Latin East*
PETER W. EDBURY AND JOHN GORDON ROWE
9 The Royal Saints of Anglo-Saxon England: A Study of West Saxon and East Anglian Cults
SUSAN J. RIDYARD
10 John of Wales: A Study of the Works and Ideas of a Thirteenth-Century Friar
JENNY SWANSON
11 Richard III: A Study of Service*
ROSEMARY HORROX
12 A Marginal Economy? East Anglian Breckland in the Later Middle Ages
MARK BAILEY
13 Clement VI: The Pontificate and Ideas of an Avignon Pope
DIANA WOOD
14 Hagiography and the Cult of Saints: The Diocese of Orléans, 800–1200
THOMAS HEAD
15 Kings and Lords in Conquest England
ROBIN FLEMING
16 Council and Hierarchy: The Political Thought of William Durant the Younger
CONSTANTIN FASOLT
17 Warfare in the Latin East, 1292–1291*
CHRISTOPHER MARSHALL
18 Province and Empire: Brittany and the Carolingians
JULIA M. H. SMITH
19 A Gentry Community: Leicestershire in the Fifteenth Century, *c.* 1422–1485
ERIC ACHESON

20 Baptism and Change in the Early Middle Ages, *c.* 200–*c.* 1150
PETER CRAMER
21 Itinerant Kingship and Royal Monasteries in Early Medieval Germany, *c.* 936–1075
JOHN W. BERNHARDT
22 Caesarius of Arles: The Making of a Christian Community in Late Antique Gaul
WILLIAM E. KLINGSHIRN
23 Bishop and Chapter in Twelfth-Century England: A Study of the *Mensa Episcopalis*
EVERETT U. CROSBY
24 Trade and Traders in Muslim Spain: The Commercial Realignment of the Iberian Peninsula, 900–1500★
OLIVIA REMIE CONSTABLE
25 Lithuania Ascending: A Pagan Empire within East-Central Europe, 1295–1345
S. C. ROWELL
26 Barcelona and Its Rulers, 1100–1291
STEPHEN P. BENSCH
27 Conquest, Anarchy, and Lordship: Yorkshire, 1066–1165
PAUL DALTON
28 Preaching the Crusades: Mendicant Friars and the Cross in the Thirteenth Century★
CHRISTOPH T. MAIER
29 Family Power in Southern Italy: The Duchy of Gaeta and Its Neighbours, 850–1139
PATRICIA SKINNER
30 The Papacy, Scotland, and Northern England, 1342–1378
A. D. M. BARRELL
31 Peter des Roches: An Alien in English Politics, 1205–1238
NICHOLAS VINCENT
32 Runaway Religious in Medieval England, *c.* 1240–1540
F. DONALD LOGAN
33 People and Identity in Ostrogothic Italy, 489–554
PATRICK AMORY
34 The Aristocracy in Twelfth-Century León and Castile
SIMON BARTON
35 Economy and Nature in the Fourteenth Century: Money, Market Exchange, and the Emergence of Scientific Thought★
JOEL KAYE
36 Clement V
SOPHIA MENACHE
37 England's Jewish Solution: Experiment and Expulsion, 1262–1290
ROBIN R. MUNDILL
38 Medieval Merchants: York, Beverley and Hull in the Later Middle Ages
JENNY KERMODE
39 Family, Commerce and Religion in London and Cologne: Anglo-German Emigrants, *c.* 1000–*c.* 1300
JOSEPH P. HUFFMAN
40 The Monastic Order in Yorkshire, 1069–1215
JANET BURTON

41 Parisian Scholars in the Early Fourteenth Century: A Social Portrait
WILLIAM J. COURTENAY

42 Colonisation and Conquest in Medieval Ireland: The English in Louth, 1170–1330
BRENDAN SMITH

43 The Early Humiliati
FRANCES ANDREWS

44 The Household Knights of King John
S. D. CHURCH

45 The English in Rome, 1362–1420; Portrait of an Expatriate Community
MARGARET HARVEY

46 Restoration and Reform: Recovery from Civil War in England, 1153–1165
GRAEME J. WHITE

47 State and Society in the Early Middle Ages: The Middle Rhine Valley, 400–1000
MATTHEW INNES

48 Brittany and the Angevins: Province and Empire, 1158–1203
J. A. EVERARD

* *Also published as a paperback*