

II.—A CONTEMPORARY RECORD OF THE PONTIFICATE OF RANULF FLAMBARD.

BY H. H. E. CRASTER, D.LITT., F.S.A.

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The present paper forms a sequel to one on *The Red Book of Durham* contributed to the *English Historical Review*, vol. XL (1925), pp. 504-532. In that article I identified the Liber Ruber, which disappeared from Durham in the Civil War period, and which had hitherto been known only from a fragmentary list of chapter headings printed in *Historiæ Dunelmensis Scriptorum Tres*, pp. ccccxii-ccccxxv, with Hales MS. 114 in the library of Lincoln's Inn. It contains a collection of lives of saint Cuthbert and an historical work entitled "Libellus de exordio et statu ecclesie Dunelmensis." This last is a compilation from Symeon of Durham, Symeon's continuators, Roger of Hoveden, and other easily recognizable sources, and records the history of the sees of Lindisfarne, Chester le Street and Durham from 635 to 1195. I showed that the text of the Libellus given in the Red Book was a fair copy of MS. Laud Misc. 748 in the Bodleian Library; that a revised edition was in the British Museum (Cott. MS. Claudius D. iv); and that the Durham chronicle epitomized by Leland in his *Collectanea*, II, pp. 365-92, was another copy of the same work. Of these the Laudian manuscript was the most important, since it was the author's own draft. And I identified the author, or rather compiler, with John Wessington, who was prior of Durham from 1416 to 1446.

Anyone who wishes to know more of the general character of prior Wessington's work may refer to the account of it given in the article on the Red Book, previously mentioned, and can form an impression for

himself by comparing the large extracts printed from the Laudian manuscript in Dugdale's *Monasticon*, new edition, vol. I, pp. 233-9, 241-2, with Leland's epitome and the list of headings given in *Scriptores Tres*. But he must be warned at the outset that Wessington's history contains hardly anything that cannot be traced to earlier known sources except the charters which form the subject of this paper, and a series of historical passages derived "ex libro summi altaris ecclesie Dunelmensis." In view of the fact that the charters may equally have been derived from the Book of the High Altar (for, although no certainty can be obtained on that point, there seems to be no other competitor) it is worth stating here the little that is known of that book.

Like the *Liber Vitæ* it lay upon the altar from which it took its name. It was chained to it. It is perhaps to be identified with the "Gospel-book, decorated with gold; with a silver-gilt crucifix and many evidences and records," which occurs in a list of relics of saint Cuthbert drawn up in 1383. One may guess it to have been of pre-Conquest date; the initials of the Gospels were in gold; a metal crucifix decorated its front cover; and it had been used, from the eleventh century, for the insertion of documents and historical memoranda relating to the see. For when the historical passages quoted as coming from this book are put together, they are found to constitute the Durham chronicle which I have printed in the *English Historical Review*, XL, pp. 523-9. The chronicle was written between 1072 and 1083, though additions were made to it down to 1085 or later. It consequently preceded the composition of Symeon of Durham's *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiæ* by some forty years, and it formed one of Symeon's main sources.

The charters, to which we shall now turn, are thirty in number. Six are writs of king William II, eighteen are writs of king Henry I, and one is a writ of queen Maud. One is from pope Paschal II; one is from saint Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury; two are from Thomas

I, archbishop of York; and one is from Gerard, archbishop of York. The earliest dates from about 1093; the latest that can be certainly dated was issued in the year 1116. They thus all fall within the period between the return of bishop William Carilef (or St. Calais) from exile and his death, the ensuing vacancy of the see, and the earlier part of the pontificate of his successor, Ranulf Flambard; and all except the first six are associated with Flambard. They relate to the bishopric and not to the Benedictine monastery of Durham, and have not been derived from the conventual archives. They occur solely in prior Wessington's History. Six of them have been printed in Dugdale's *Monasticon*, I, pp. 241-2, nos. VI-X, XII; a few others have been briefly noted in Leland's *Collectanea*, II, p. 389. These have been calendared in H. W. C. Davis's *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum* and in Dr. William Farrer's "Itinerary of Henry I," published in the *English Historical Review*, vol. XXXIV, here cited as "Davis's *Regesta*" and "Farrer's *Itinerary*" respectively; but their common and ultimate source has not been recognized. I shall proceed to give translations of all of them, with the text of all those that are not already published, marking with an obelus (†) words which appear to have been faultily transcribed.

I. Bishop William Carilef was restored to his see, after three years exile, on November 14, 1091. The causes of his exile are very fully set out in the tract "De injusta vexatione Willelmi I." The king had summoned him as his feudal tenant to make answer to certain charges brought against him in the king's court. The bishop refused to admit the jurisdiction of a lay court and rejected the argument that he was subject to its jurisdiction as holder of a fee under the Crown. The present notification is of considerable importance, for it shows that, after Carilef's return, the king, no longer under the influence of Lanfranc, conceded the bishop's point by according to him in free alms all the lands which he had formerly held in fee.

The king thereby abandoned all claim to treat the bishop as the holder of a lay fee and subject to lay jurisdiction.

Of the witnesses, the bishops, Walchelin and John, were bishops respectively of Winchester and Bath; the earls, Roger and Henry, were earls of Shrewsbury and Warwick. Robert, bishop of Lincoln, did not receive consecration until February 12, 1094, but had been appointed not later than the previous September. The notification is issued from Gloucester, and probably dates from the king's Christmas court of 1093, for that court was held at Gloucester, and Carilef is known to have attended.

Willelmus, rex Anglie, Ancelmo, archiepiscopo Cantuariensi, et Thome, archiepiscopo Eboracensi, et omnibus episcopis et abbatibus et comitibus et vicecomitibus et omnibus baronibus suis et fidelibus regni Anglie, Francis et Anglis, salutem. Sciatis quia ego, pro anima patris mei et salute anime mee, concedo Deo et sancto Cuthberto, et do ecclesie Dunelmensi in elemosinam omnes illas terras quas Willelmus, Dunelmensis episcopus, in feodo tenuit per totam Angliam, ita ut ipse et successores sui illas habeant in elemosinam sicut ipsa ecclesia reliquas terras et beneficia in elemosina habebat. Testibus predicto Anselmo archiepiscopo et Walch[elino] episcopo et Roberto episcopo Lincolnensi et Johanne episcopo et Gisleberto abbate Westmonasteriensi et Thurstino abbate Glastoniensi et Serlone abbate Gloucestrie et Rogero comite et Roberto comite Mellent et Henrico comite et Eudone dapifero et Roberto filio Haymonis. Apud Gloucestriam. [MS. Laud Misc. 748 (hereafter cited as A), fol. 35v; Hales MS. 114 (hereafter cited as B), fol. 81.]

[TRANSLATION.—William, king of England, to Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, and Thomas, archbishop of York, and to all bishops, abbots, earls, sheriffs, and all his barons and lieges of the realm of England, French and English, greeting. Know that I, for the soul of my father and the salvation of my soul, do grant to God and to saint Cuthbert, and give to the church of Durham in alms, all those lands which William, bishop of Durham, held in fee throughout the whole of England, so that he and his successors have them in alms even as the said church had the rest of its lands and holdings in alms. Witnesses, the aforesaid archbishop Anselm; bishop Walch[elin]; Robert, bishop of Lincoln; bishop John; Gilbert, abbot of Westminster; Thurstan, abbot of Glastonbury; Serlo, abbot of Gloucester; earl Roger; Robert, earl of Meulan; earl Henry; Eudo the sewer, and Robert son of Hamo. At Gloucester.]

II. This is the earliest of three writs (nos. II, XXVII, XXVIII) ordering the restitution of Ross, near Holy Island, to the bishop of Durham. It falls obviously into the period between Carilef's restoration to the lands of his see in November, 1091, and the revolt of earl Robert Mowbray in 1095. The dispute between earl and bishop was temporarily settled by an agreement to which allusion is made in no. XXVII.

Willelmus, rex Anglie, Roberto, comiti Northumbrie, salutem. Volo ut episcopus Dunelmensis sit saisitus de terra de Rose sicut saisitus erat ea die qua discessit a me de Wyndesore per iram. Et quicquid inde acceperunt homines tui postquam ego Dunelensi episcopo reddidi terram suam, fac sibi reddi sine mora. Et si quid clamas in eadem terra, monstra mihi clamorem tuum, et ego tibi convenienter respondebo. Teste Roberto filio Hamonis. [A, fol. 30.]

[TRANSLATION.—William, king of England, to Robert, earl of Northumberland, greeting. I will that the bishop of Durham be seised of the land of Ross, as he was seised on that day on which he departed from me from Windsor for wrath. And whatsoever your men have taken thence since I restored his land to the bishop of Durham, have returned to him without delay. And if you claim anything in the said land, show me your claim, and I will reply to you what is fitting. Witness, Robert son of Hamon.]

III—VI. These four documents, three of which are already in print, recognize the title of the see of Durham to spiritual jurisdiction over Carlisle and Teviotdale, a jurisdiction which, the continuator to Symeon tells us,¹ was lost during the time of Flambard's exile (February-August, 1101) and never recovered. They are naturally subsequent to the English conquest of Carlisle in 1092. Davis dates no. III as 1092-1100, but its reference to the bishop of Durham shows that it cannot belong to 1096-9 when the see was vacant, and 1092-5 is the more probable date. No. IV falls within the same period. No. V is subsequent to Carilef's death, and the absence of any mention of the bishop shows that it is antecedent to Flambard's appointment. Davis's date of 1095-1100 may therefore be

¹ *Symeon of Durham*, I, p. 139.

narrowed down to January 1, 1096—May 29, 1099. Raine ascribes no. VI to archbishop Thomas II, but so late a date is inconsistent with the statement made in the continuation to Symeon, and it must therefore be assigned to archbishop Thomas I, who died on November 18, 1100. Of the persons addressed, William son of Thierry was a Norman feudatory whose connection with Carlisle is otherwise unknown. W. the hostillar is perhaps the same person as Walter the priest, the reputed founder of the church of Carlisle, whom William Rufus is stated to have put in charge of that city.² G. the sheriff may be identical with the G. of Durham who figures in a contemporary writ (Davis, no. 412) and whom I have elsewhere suggested was custodian of the temporalities of the see of Durham after the death of Carilef. Algar the clerk is probably Algar the priest of Bamburgh.³

III. Writ of William II, printed in *Monasticon*, new ed., vol. I, p. 241, no. VI; calendared in Davis's *Regesta*, no. 463. [A, fol. 30.]

[TRANSLATION.—William, king of England, to W[illiam] son of Thierry and all his lieges of Carlisle, and to all who abide beyond the Lowther ("Loedria"), greeting. I order you to accept the spiritual jurisdiction of the bishop of Durham and of his archdeacon, and that you be obedient to the foresaid bishop in matters of church custom, as you ought by right to obey your bishop. And see, as you love me, that you do not any more any harm therein to the bishops' officers wrongfully. Witness, Robert son of Gerald.]

IV. Thomas, Dei gratia Eboracensis archiepiscopus, W. hostillario, saluteni. Scias me concessisse episcopo Dunelmensi curam et archidiaconatum de Caerleon et provincie illius. Et volo et precipio ut amodo sibi suisque intendatis. [A, fol. 30; B, fol. 55.]

[TRANSLATION.—Thomas, by the grace of God archbishop of York, to W. the hostillar, greeting. Know that I have granted to the bishop of Durham the administration and archdeaconry of Carlisle and of that district. And I will and direct that henceforward you be at the orders of him and of his men.]

² Leland, *Collectanea*, I, p. 120.

³ Bateson argues in *N.C.H.*, i, p. 75, that Algar survived till 1171. The evidence for this is very doubtful, and it is only certain that he was still living in 1116. See Farrer, *Early Yorkshire Charters*, no. 1424; *Itinerary*, no. 383.

V. Writ of William II, printed in Dugdale's *Monasticon*, vol. I, p. 241, no. VII; calendared in Davis's *Regesta*, no. 478. [A, fol. 30.]

[TRANSLATION.—William, king of England, to G. the sheriff and his barons of Carlisle, greeting. I will and order that you give obedience to the archdeacon of Durham in matters spiritual even as you used to do in the time of William, bishop of Durham. And if anyone shall have made claim in matters spiritual, let there be [hearing] thereof at Easter in my court. Witness, E[udo] the sewer.]

VI. Letter of Thomas I, archbishop of York, to Algar the clerk, printed in Raine's *Historians of the Church of York*, III, p. 37. [A, fol. 30; B, fol. 55.]

[TRANSLATION.—Thomas, by the grace of God archbishop of York, to Algar the clerk, greeting. I prohibited you by word of mouth, when I sent chrism and oil by you to the church of Glasgow, from giving that chrism or oil in the diocese of Durham. But, contrary to my prohibition, you gave it in Teviotdale of which I found the church of Durham seised. I command you therefore, and prohibit you and all the priests of Teviotdale, by episcopal authority, from making any ministration henceforth of chrism and oil except during eight days only after you have seen this writ, so that in the meantime you may ask for chrism from the church of Durham which used to give it to you. But if after those eight days you presume to make any religious use of the chrism which I sent, I suspend you from divine office until it is proved at law to what church it belongs. Farewell.]

VII. William Carilef died on New Year's Day, 1096. The king was in no hurry to name a successor, and for three years and five months the see remained vacant. We have seen that charter V falls within the period of vacancy. At last, at Whitsuntide, 1099, in the first court held by Rufus in his new hall at Westminster, the king appointed his chaplain, Ranulf Flambard, to the bishopric of Durham.⁴ The charter of confirmation in the lands of the see, which is here given, is presumably the one which Symeon's continuator tells us king Henry I caused to be torn up.⁵ Whitsunday in 1099 fell on May 29. Of the attesting bishops, John, Gérard and Samson were bishops of Bath, Hereford and Worcester respectively.

⁴ *Florence of Worcester*, II, p. 44.

⁵ *Symeon*, I, p. 139.

Willelmus rex Anglie Thome Eboracensi archiepiscopo et R[oberto] episcopo et omnibus baronibus suis Francigenis et Anglicis et fidelibus de Everwycshire et de Lincolnshire et de Estnotyngshamschire et de Northamtonschire et omnibus vicecomitibus in quorum vicecomi[ta]tibus Willelmus Dunelmensis episcopus habuit terras, salutem. Sciatis me dedisse Ranulpho episcopo Dunelmensi episcopatum de Dunelmo cum omnibus que ad eum pertinent in terris et hominibus et passagiis et omnibus consuetudinibus et in cunctis aliis rerum possessionibus quas Willelmus episcopus eius antecessor tenebat die qua viuus et mortuus fuit. Et volo ut predictas terras sic bene et honorifice teneat, cum saca et socne et tol et team et infangentheof infra burgum et extra, et cum omnibus aliis consuetudinibus sicut Willelmus predictus episcopus eas umquam melius et honorabilius tenuit. Et ita precipio eum inde saisiri et ut dictum est honorifice teneat. Testibus Thoma archiepiscopo et Roberto Lincolniensi episcopo et Mauricio Londonensi episcopo et Gun[dulfo] episcopo Roffensi et Johanne episcopo et Ger[ardo] episcopo et Samsone episcopo et R[oberto] episcopo de Cestr[i]a et Willelmo cancellario et Henrico fratre Regis et Roberto comite de Mellent et Roberto filio Hamonis et Rogero Bigoto. Apud Westmonasterium in Pentecosten. [A, fol. 35v; B, fol. 80v.]

[TRANSLATION.—William, king of England, to Thomas, archbishop of York, and to bishop R[obert] and to all his barons, French-born and English, and to his lieges of Yorkshire and Lincolnshire and East Nottinghamshire and Northamptonshire, and to all sheriffs in whose shrievalties William, bishop of Durham, had lands, greeting. Know that I have given to Ranulf, bishop of Durham, the bishopric of Durham with all things which pertain to it in lands and men and rights of way and all customs and in all other possessions which bishop William, his predecessor, held on the day on which he was alive and dead. And I will that he hold the aforesaid lands as well and honourably, with sac and soc and tol and team and infangentheof, within borough and without, and with all other customs, as the aforesaid bishop William ever held them. And so I order him to be seised thereof, and that he hold them honourably, as said. Witnesses, Thomas, archbishop of York; Robert, bishop of Lincoln; Maurice, bishop of London; Gundulf, bishop of Rochester; bishop John; bishop Ger[ard]; bishop Samson; Robert, bishop of Chester; William the chancellor; Henry, the king's brother; Robert, earl of Meulan; Robert son of Hamo; and Roger Bigot. At Westminster, at Whitsuntide.]

VIII. This notification, which concerns lands in the East Riding of Yorkshire, has been twice printed, and it



is unnecessary to add to the notes given on it in Farrer's *Early Yorkshire Charters*. Its date is January 9, 1100.

Writ of William II, printed in Dugdale's *Monasticon*, I, p. 241, no. VIII, and thence in Farrer's *Early Yorkshire Charters*, no. 965; calendared in Davis's *Regesta*, no. 427. [A, fol. 35v.]

[TRANSLATION.—William, king of England, to Th[omas] the archbishop and Bertram de Verdon and his barons, French and English, of Yorkshire, greeting. Know that I have restored to Ranulf, bishop of Durham, all those lands concerning which there was suit between him and Alan de Percy, and specially Lund and Holme and whatsoever pertains to Welton; and do you, Bertram, seise him thereof. Witnesses, William the chancellor; the earl of Meulan; and Robert son of Hamo. At Salisbury, on the fourth day of Epiphany.]

IX. William Rufus was killed in the New Forest on August 2, 1100. Flambard had been his chief financial minister, and his fall from power promptly followed his master's death. Within a fortnight the new king, Henry I, had him under arrest and lodged in the Tower of London, from which he escaped on February 3, 1101,⁶ and took refuge with duke Robert in Normandy. Following upon his flight, archbishop Anselm despatched to pope Paschal a series of charges of simony and other crimes committed by Flambard both before and after his appointment as bishop.⁷ The pope's consequent letter to Flambard, ordering him to clear himself of the charges which had been brought against him, is here printed for the first time, and may be dated to the spring of 1101.

Paschalis episcopus, servus servorum Dei, Ranulfo, Dunelmensi episcopo, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Quedam scelerata et nefanda te ante episcopatum et tempore promocionis comisisse audivimus; et, si vera sunt que de te ad apostolicam sedem sunt delata, non dico episcopatu set a reliquis ecclesiasticis gradibus fueras repellendus. Ulterius autem hec non dissimulantes, pro cura suscepti regiminis te litteris nostris alloqui

⁶ The dates are given in *Hoveden*, I, pp. 157, 158.

⁷ Anselm's letter is printed in Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, CLIX, p. 202. The bearer of the letter was commissioned to report the charges. "Qualis autem ante episcopatum vel post episcopatum in simonia et in aliis criminibus exstiterit, chartae praesentis lator intimare poterit."

decrevimus, ut, si corrigi detrectas amore ut filius, timore saltem corrigaris ut servus, proponens ante oculos quam districtus iudex venturus est, qui iram intentat et latet. Non abutamur ergo longaminitate iudicis qui ideo sententiam differt ut minus quos† condemnet. Verum quia audita non debemus indiscussa transire, scribimus tibi ut canonicè episcopatu restitutus, fratri nostro Cantuariensi archiepiscopo secundum quod ei iam in litteris significavimus te representes de obiectis satisfactorus. Quod si feceris, beati Petri gratiam et nostram habebis; si vero iudicium subterfugere ceperis, canonicam in te sententiam experieris. [A, fol. 37v; B, fol. 89.]

[TRANSLATION.—Paschal, the bishop, servant of the servants of God, to Ranulf, bishop of Durham, greeting and apostolical benediction. We have heard that you committed certain wicked and heinous acts before you became bishop and at the time of your promotion; and, if those things are true which have been reported of you to the apostolic see, you should have been debarred not merely from bishopric but from the rest of the degrees of the church. However, not hiding these things further, for care of the rule which we have received, we have decided to address you by our letter, that if you shrink from being corrected with love as a son, you may at least be corrected with fear as a servant, putting before your eyes how a strict judge is to come, who threatens wrath and lies hid. Let us therefore not abuse the long-suffering of a judge who defers sentence that he may avoid condemning. But because we ought not to pass over those things that we have heard without discussion, we write to you, that, when you have been canonically restored to the bishopric, you present yourself to our brother, the archbishop of Canterbury, according to that which we have already signified to him in a letter, to give satisfaction concerning those things which have been objected against you. If you shall do this, you shall have the thanks of the blessed Peter and of ourself. But if you shall begin to avoid judgment, you shall experience canonical sentence against you.]

X—XXI. Instigated by Flambard, duke Robert determined to wrest the kingdom of England from his brother, and at Whitsuntide, 1101, when Henry I was holding his court at St. Albans, tidings reached the king that the Norman duke was gathering an army to invade England. The king took counter-measures, and, as we shall see from a later charter (no. XXX), confiscated the Yorkshire estates of the bishop of Durham. Robert of

Normandy landed at Portsmouth on July 20 and marched on London. At Alton he found his road barred by king Henry's army. Negotiations followed between the king and the duke, and a treaty was made between them early in August. Henry and Robert mutually agreed each to leave the other in possession, the former retaining England and the latter Normandy. The refugees at either court were to be allowed to return, and have their former dignities restored to them. This involved the restitution of Flambard to his bishopric,⁸ and the next twelve charters, of which all but the last (no. XXI) are hitherto unpublished, are all concerned with that event, and probably fall between August, 1101, and June, 1102.

The first (no. X) is a safe-conduct for Flambard's return. Robert of Normandy, in whose name he is invited to come, is its principal witness. At the time that no. XI was given, Flambard was still in Normandy. No. XII is closely allied to no. XI and is doubtless of the same date. But Flambard was not slow in obeying the summons, for he is found attesting certain charters drawn up at Windsor on September 3.⁹ No. XIII, which is dated at Windsor, may have been also granted on that occasion. Three charters attested at Gillingham by William, bishop of Winchester, and Robert, count of Meulan (nos. XIV-XVI), were obviously issued at one and the same time. Their contents associate them with the previous charters of restitution; nor does the fact that William Giffard was not as yet consecrated bishop of Winchester contradict this, since he was nominated early in 1101. No. XVII, given at Ramsey, refers to the reconciliation between Henry I and Flambard as still lacking

⁸ This is the assertion of the Durham chronicler (*Symeon of Durham*; I, p. 138), and the charters here printed corroborate his statement and invalidate that of Ordericus Vitalis, who defers Flambard's restoration till 1106, after the battle of Tenchebrai (ed. Le Prevost, IV,^o p. 273). The annals of Winchester have, under the year 1101, the curious statement "Radulphus autem reddidit episcopatum suum" (*Annales Monastici*; II, p. 41). Perhaps for Radulphus we should read Radulpho.

⁹ Farrer, *Itinerary*, nos. 25-28.

completion. Absolution from both archbishops appears to have been a condition to full restitution. Anselm's absolution is no. XVIII in our series. In no. XIX the archbishop of York informs the monks and clergy of Durham that he too has given absolution to their bishop, who has now been fully reconciled. Nos. XX and XXI, both of which are dated at Hereford, may be assigned to the summer of 1102, when the king was on the Welsh border, suppressing the revolt of Robert of Bellême; Dr. Farrer's date of 1104-10 for the second of them being almost certainly too late. They appear to have been called forth by difficulties experienced on the part of Flambard in recovering specific estates, namely the holding of a certain Herbrand of whom nothing is known, and Cleveland in Yorkshire. As Dr. Farrer notes, Flambard seems to have failed to regain this last estate, for we hear no more of it as a member of the fee of Durham.¹⁰

Of the persons to whom the foregoing writs are addressed, the sheriff Osbern (nos. XIII, XVII, XXI) held office simultaneously in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire. The inclusion of Guy de Baliol's name among the persons addressed in no. XVII suggests that in 1101 he was presiding over the Northumbrian county court. Roger Picot of no. XX is already known as the recipient of several Northumbrian writs. The "R." of no. XI is unidentifiable. Robert de Lascy (no. XV) is the lord of the honour of Pontefract. The writ addressed to him contains the only known reference to a house in York belonging to the bishop of Durham.

X. Henricus, rex Anglie, Ranulpho, Dunelmensi episcopo, salutem. Mando tibi ut venias ad me salve et secure pro amore comitis Roberti fratris mei, et salve et secure venias et redeas. Testibus, Roberto comite Normannie, et R[oberto] Lincolnensi episcopo, et comite de Mell[ent], et Ricardo de Redveriis. Apud London. [A, fol. 37; B, fol. 84v.]

[TRANSLATION.—Henry, king of England, to Ranulf, bishop of Durham, greeting. I command you to come to me safely and

¹⁰ Copsig's grant of Cleveland to Durham is recorded in *Syemon of Durham*, I, p. 97.

securely, for the love of earl Robert, my brother, and that you come and return in safety and security. Witnesses, Robert, earl of Normandy; Robert, bishop of Lincoln; the earl of Meulan, and Richard de Redvers. At London.]

XI. Henricus, rex Anglie, R., salutem. Precipio vobis ut ita bene habere faciatis Ranulpho, episcopo Dunelmensi, omnes res suas in terris et in hominibus et in molendinis et in pratis et in passagiis, sicuti melius saisitus fuit tempore regis Willelmi fratris mei ea die qua vivus et mortuus fuit. Et similiter resaisitus sit de omnibus consuetudinibus suis, et resaisiatur de omnibus hominibus suis de quibus dissaisitus est postea, et cum firma pace teneat, et quietus sit de placidis expeditionis, et ita cum pace omnia sua teneat donec de Normannia redeat. Testibus Roberto, comite de Bellesmo, et Hugone fratre suo. Apud Westmonasterium. [A, fol. 36v; B, fol. 84v.]

[TRANSLATION.—Henry, king of England, to R., greeting. I order you to possess Ranulf, bishop of Durham, of all his property in lands, men, mills, meadows and rights of way, as fully as he was seised in the time of William, my brother, on the day when he was alive and dead; and that he be similarly re-seised of all his customs, and that he be re-seised of all his men of whom he was afterwards disseised, and that he hold them in unbroken peace, and that he be quit of pleas for military service, and so may hold all that is his in peace until he come again from Normandy. Witnesses, Robert, earl of Bellême, and Hugh his brother. At Westminster.]

XII. Henricus, rex Anglie, omnibus vicecomitibus et ministris in quorum vicecomitatibus et ministeriis Ranulphus, Dunelmensis episcopus, terras habet, salutem. Precipio vobis ut faciatis habere Ranulpho, Dunelmensi episcopo, homines suos omnes cum tota pecunia eorum qui de terra sua exierunt post mortem fratris mei Willelmi, et in terram suam redire; et in pace eos teneat sicut unquam melius tenuit; et quietus sit de placitis expeditionis. Et facite eum tenere homines suos et omnes res suas cum pace et honore et quiete ab omnibus placitis. Testibus, Roberto, comite de Bellesmo, et Henrico, comite de Warwic. Apud Westmonasterium. [A, fol. 37; B, fol. 85.]

[TRANSLATION. Henry, king of England, to all sheriffs and officers in whose shrievalties and spheres of office Ranulf, bishop of Durham, has lands, greeting. I order you to cause Ranulf, bishop of Durham, to have all his men, with the money of those who went forth from his land since the death of my brother William, and [to cause them] to return to his land; and that he hold them in peace as well as he ever held them; and that he be quit of pleas for military service. And cause him to hold

his men and all his property with peace and honour and quit of all pleadings. Witnesses, Robert, earl of Bellême, and Henry, earl of Warwick. At Westminster.]

XIII. Henricus, rex Anglie, Girardo archiepiscopo et R[oberto] episcopo Lincolniensi et O[sberno] vicecomiti et omnibus fidelibus suis et baronibus Francis et Anglis de Everwicschira et de Lincolnschira et de Northumberlanda, salutem. Sciatis me concessisse Deo et sancto Cuthberto et ecclesie Dunelmensi et Ranulpho episcopo omnes terras et consuetudines et leges et quietudines de quibus omnibus saisita erat predicta ecclesia die qua Willelmus episcopus vivus et mortuus fuit. Et si ipsa dissaisita est de supradictis rebus, cito resaisiatur. Et precipio ut ita bene et honorifice teneat predictus episcopus Ranulphus Dunelmensis sicut Willelmus episcopus Dunelmensis antecessor suus umquam melius tenuit. Testibus Roberto episcopo de Cestr[i]a, et Roberto comite de Belessmo, et Henrico comite de Warwic, et Ricardo de Retveris. Apud Windesoras. [A, fol. 37v; B, fol. 86.]

[TRANSLATION.—Henry, king of England, to archbishop Gerard, and R[obert], bishop of Lincoln, and O[sbern] the sheriff, and to all his lieges and barons, French and English, of Yorkshire and of Lincolnshire and of Northumberland, greeting. Know that I have granted to God and to saint Cuthbert and to the church of Durham and to bishop Ranulf all the lands and customs and laws and immunities of all which the foresaid church was seised on the day on which bishop William was alive and dead. And if it has been disseised of the abovesaid things, let it be straight-way reseised. And I order that the foresaid bishop Ranulf of Durham hold as well and as honourably as William, bishop of Durham, his predecessor, ever held. Witnesses, Robert, bishop of Chester; Robert, earl of Bellême; Henry, earl of Warwick; and Richard de Redvers. At Windsor.]

XIV. Henricus, rex Anglie, Roberto episcopo Lincolniensi, salutem. Scias me reddidisse Ranulpho, episcopo Dunelmensi, res suas quas de me et de baronibus meis tenebat. Mando igitur tibi et precor ut eum resaisias de omnibus rebus quas de te tenebat. Et si quid inde captum est, post Purificationem Sancte Marie reddatur ei; et ita teneat honorifice sicuti tempore fratris mei regis Willelmi melius tenuit. Testibus, Willelmo, episcopo Winchestr', et Roberto, comite de Mellent. Apud Gillingham. [A, fol. 37v; B, fol. 86v.]

[TRANSLATION.—Henry, king of England, to Robert, bishop of Lincoln, greeting. Know that I have restored to Ranulf, bishop of Durham, all his property which he held of me and of my barons. I command and pray you therefore that you reseise

him of all property which he held of you. And if anything has been taken therefrom, let it be restored to him after Candlemas. And so let him hold it honourably as he held it in the time of my brother, king William. Witnesses, William, bishop of Winchester, and Robert, earl of Meulan. At Gillingham.]

XV. Henricus, rex Anglie, Roberto de Lacio, salutem. Scias me reddidisse Ranulfo, episcopo Dunelmensi, res suas quas de me et de meis baronibus tenebat. Mando igitur tibi et precipio ut eum resaisias de omnibus rebus sancti Cuthberti et de omnibus terris et ecclesiis quas habebat in vicecomitatu Eboracensi, sicuti inde saisitus erat ea die qua rex Willelmus, frater meus, vivus et mortuus fuit. Et materiem domus sue de Eboraco et terram ubi domum suam debebat facere fac ei totam habere, et ita cum pace et honore teneat infra burgum et extra sicut melius tenuit predicto tempore. Testibus, Willelmo, episcopo Winchestr', et Roberto, comite de Mellent. Apud Gillingham. [A, fol. 37v; B, fol. 86.]

[TRANSLATION.—Henry, king of England, to Robert de Lascy, greeting. Know that I have restored to Ranulf, bishop of Durham, his property which he held of me and of my barons. I command and order you therefore to reseise him of all property of saint Cuthbert and of all lands and churches which he used to have in the shrievalty of York, as he was seised thereof on the day on which king William, my brother, was alive and dead. And cause him to have all the material of his house of York, and the land where he used to make his house; and so let him hold it, with peace and honour, within borough and without, as he held it in the time aforesaid. Witnesses, William, bishop of Winchester, and Robert, earl of Meulan. At Gillingham.]

XVI. Henricus, rex Anglie, Ancelmo, Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, et Hamoni vicecomiti et baronibus suis et omnibus fidelibus suis Francis et Anglis de Kent, salutem. Sciatis me reddidisse Ranulfo, Dunelmensi episcopo, sanctum Martinum de Dovra et omnia illa quecunque habuit in Kent in tempore Willelmi regis, fratris mei, et de quibuscunque tenuit. Et precipio ut ita quiete et honorifice omnia ea ipse Ranulfus teneat sicut tenuit melius et honorificentius in tempore Willelmi, fratris mei. Testibus, Willelmo, Wintoniensi episcopo, et comite de Mellent, et Eudone dapifero. Apud Gillingham. [A, fol. 38; B, fol. 87.]

[TRANSLATION.—Henry, king of England, to Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, and Hamo the sheriff, and his barons, and to all his lieges, French and English, of Kent, greeting. Know that I have restored to Ranulf, bishop of Durham, saint Martin of Dover, and all those things, whatsoever he had in Kent in the time of king William, my brother, of whomsoever he held them.

And I order that the said Ranulf hold them as freely and honourably as he held them in the time of William, my brother. Witnesses, William, bishop of Winchester; the earl of Meulan; and Eudo the sewer. At Gillingham.]

XVII. Henricus, rex Anglie, Girardo archiepiscopo et Roberto episcopo Lincolniensi et Osberno vicecomiti et Widoni de Bailleol et omnibus baronibus Francis et Anglis de Lincolnschira et de Everwicschira et de Northumberlanda, salutem. Sciatis quod volo et precipio atque concedo quod Ranulfus episcopus Dunelmensis ita bene et honorifice et quiete teneat et habeat in burgo et extra omnes terras suas et homines et res de Everwicschira et de Lincolnschira et de Northumberlanda, cum omnibus consuetudinibus quas umquam melius et honorabilius Willelmus episcopus, suus antecessor, habuit, et omnes suas alias res et consuetudines que pertinent ad episcopatum suum similiter ut ille ipse melius tenuit in tempore Willelmi regis, fratris mei. Et si ipse est dissaisitus de aliqua re, inde citissime resaisiatur postquam primitus erga me bene concordatus est. Et si quid de suo super hoc captum est, cito ei reddatur. Testibus Ur[sone] de Abetot et Eustachio de Britheoill. Apud Ramesey. [A, fol. 38; B, fol. 86v.]

[TRANSLATION.—Henry, king of England, to archbishop Gerard and Robert, bishop of Lincoln, and Osbern the sheriff, and Guy de Balliol, and to all barons, French and English, of Lincolnshire and of Yorkshire, and of Northumberland, greeting. Know that I will and order and grant that Ranulf, bishop of Durham, hold and have, in borough and without, all his lands and men and possessions of Yorkshire and of Lincolnshire and of Northumberland, with all customs which bishop William, his predecessor, ever held, and likewise all his other possessions and customs which pertain to his bishopric, as well and honourably and freely as he himself held them in the time of king William, my brother. And if he is disseised of anything, let him be resealed thereof as quickly as possible after he has first been well reconciled to me. And if anything of his beyond this has been taken, let it be quickly restored to him. Witnesses, Ur[so] de Abetot and Eustace de Breteuil. At Ramsey.]

XVIII. Ego Anselmus, gratia Dei archiepiscopus, absolvo te, frater Ranulphe, vice beati Petri, apostolorum principis, cui Deus dedit potestatem ligandi atque solvendi; et quantum tua expetit accusacio et ad me pertinet remissio, sit tibi Omnipotens Deus vita et salus, et omnibus peccatis tuis pius indultor, qui vivat et regnat per omnia secula seculorum. Amen. [A, fol. 37v; B, fol. 89v.]

[TRANSLATION.—I, Anselm, by the grace of God archbishop, absolve you, brother Ranulf, in the stead of the blessed Peter,

chief of the apostles, to whom God gave the power of binding and loosing. And so far as your accusation requires and remission belongs to me, may Almighty God be your life and salvation, and kindly forgiver of all your sins, who liveth and reigneth for ever and ever. Amen.]

XIX. Girardus, Dei gracia Eboracensis archiepiscopus, Turgoto, priori, et universo conventui necnon clero Dunelmensis ecclesie et populo, salutem et oraciones. Sciat dileccio vestra venerabilem fratrem nostrum, dompnum Ranulphum, episcopum vestrum, de cuius ausencia admodum contristatos vos esse cognovimus, domino nostro Henrico, Deo annuente, per omnia bene reconciliatum omnique querela ab eo absolutum esse, meque eum de manu ipsius regis sedi sue restituendum suscepisse cum eius gratia et coepiscoporum nostrorum assensu. Unde si in tempore absencie sue in aliquibus ab eo erratum est, omnibus prout iudicavimus digna satisfaccione emendatis, pro officio nobis commisso a nostra mediocritate absolutum esse sciatis. Quare fraternitatem vestram monemus ut eum sicut dominum et patrem venerabiliter suscipiatis, et sicut illi cui Deus animas vestras commisit in omnibus velud boni filii obtemperetis. Valete. [A, fol. 38; B, fol. 89.]

[TRANSLATION.—Gerard, by the grace of God archbishop of York, to Turgot the prior and to the whole convent and moreover to the clergy of the church of Durham, and to the people thereof, greeting and prayers. Know, my beloved, that our venerable brother, the lord Ranulf, your bishop, for whose absence we know that you are very sorry, has, with God's approval, been well reconciled at all points to our lord Henry and been absolved by him from all quarrel, and that I have received him from the hand of the king himself to restore him to his see, with the king's grace and the assent of our fellow bishops. Whereof if in the time of his absence there has been done amiss by him in some things, all having had amendment made with due satisfaction even as we have adjudged, know that, in virtue of the office committed to us, he has been by our poor self absolved. Wherefore we advise your brotherhood that you receive him with reverence as lord and father, and obey him in all things as good sons, as him to whom God has committed your souls. Fare ye well.]

XX. Henricus, rex Anglie, omnibus vicecomitibus, salutem. Precipio vobis ut resaisiatis Ranulphum, Dunelmensem episcopum, de terris et consuetudinibus et omnibus rebus suis que pertinent ad episcopatum suum de quibus dissaisitus est post mortem fratris mei. Et omnes homines qui de terra sua exierunt injuste post mortem Willelmi, Dunelmensis episcopi, facite eos

omnes redire ubicunque sint. Hoc idem nominatim precipio Rogero Picot. Teste Ur[sone] de Abetot. Et nominatim de Herbrando hoc precipio et aliis hominibus suis. Teste eodem. Apud Hereford. [A, fol. 37; B, fol. 84v.]

[TRANSLATION.—Henry, king of England, to all sheriffs, greeting. I order you to reaise Ranulf, bishop of Durham, of the lands and customs and all his property pertaining to his bishopric of which he was disseised after the death of my brother. And as for all the men who have gone forth from his land wrongfully since the death of William, bishop of Durham, make them all come back, wherever they may be. This charge I specially give to Roger Picot. Witness, Ur[so] de Abetot. And I specially give this charge concerning Herbrand and other men belonging to him. Witness as before. At Hereford.]

XXI. Writ of king Henry I, part printed in *Monasticon*, vol. I, p. 241, no. IX; and thence in Farrer's *Early Yorkshire Charters*, no. 932. [A, fol. 37.]

[TRANSLATION.—Henry the king to Osbern the sheriff and to all his officers of Yorkshire, greeting. I order you to reaise Ranulf, bishop of Durham, of all those lands which pertain to the bishopric of Durham, and specially of the land of Cleveland which Copsi gave to saint Cuthbert, and of all other his men who went forth from his land after the death of bishop William without judgment and without law; and let him hold them in peace and honour. And if anything beyond this has been taken let it be restored. Witness, Urso de Abetot. At Hereford.]

XXII. One of the foregoing group of writs announces the restoration to Flambard of the church of the unreformed canons of St. Martin of Dover, a church with which Flambard's connection was previously unknown. The following notification of a royal grant to the canons is dated at Westminster in Whitsuntide and is witnessed by archbishop Anselm. The king spent four Whitsuntides at Westminster during Anselm's lifetime, namely in 1102, 1104, 1107, and 1108; but of these 1104, when Anselm was out of England, and 1107, when he was too ill to attend the court, must be ruled out; and we are left with the choice between 1102 and 1108, of which the former is the more probable.

Henricus, rex Anglie, Hamoni dapifero et omnibus Francigenis et Anglicis de Kent, salutem. Sciatis me concessisse canonicis

sancti Martini de Dovra omnes illas terras quas habent in suo dominio et quas tenent de elemosina et beneficio ejusdem ecclesie, quietas de omni geldo et opere castellorum. Testibus, Anselmo archiepiscopo et W[illelmo] Pevrell de Notyngham. Apud Westmonasterium in Pentecoste. [A, fol. 38; B, fol. 87.]

[TRANSLATION.—Henry, king of England, to Hamo the sewer and to all, French-born and English, of Kent, greeting. Know that I have granted to the canons of saint Martin of Dover all those lands which they have in their demesne and which they hold as part of the alms and benefice of that church, quit of all geld and castle-work. Witnesses, archbishop Anselm and W[illiam] Peverel of Nottingham. At Westminster, in Whitsuntide.]

XXIII-XXVI. None of these four charters can be closely dated, but none are later than 1107; for Waldric, who attests nos. XXIII and XXV as chancellor, resigned the chancellorship on his appointment to the see of Laon in February, 1107; no. XXIV is connected with XXIII by its subject-matter; and Richard de Redvers, a witness to XXVI, died before the end of 1107. Liulf and Aluric are addressed in nos. XXIV and XXV, and it follows that the commencement of their joint shrievalty of Northumberland must be placed not later than 1107, which is earlier than the date I have suggested for it in the *History of Northumberland*, vol. X, pp. 38-39. The places from which nos. XXIII and XXIV are dated, though unidentified, are probably in Normandy, and, if so, these two writs cannot be earlier than king Henry's first visit to Normandy in 1104. Nos. XXIII, XXV and XXVI have been summarized in Leland's *Collectanea*, vol. I, p. 389, whence no. XXV has been calendared by Dr. Farrer in his *Itinerary* as no. 121E. The two carrucates in Howdenshire, referred to in no. XXVI, can be identified as two carrucates in South Duffield, held in Domesday Book by Nigel Fossard, and there returned as belonging to the king's demesne of Pocklington.¹¹

XXIII. Henricus, rex Anglie, Osberno, vicecomiti Lincolnensi, et ministris suis de Everwicschira, salutem. Precipio quod tota terra Ranulphi, episcopi de Dunelmo, sit in firma pace mea, et precipio ut habere faciatis homines suos

¹¹ *Domesday Book*, fol. 373.

cum tota pecunia sua quicumque sine diraciocinacione et sine laga de terra sua exierunt post mortem Willelmi episcopi ubicunque inveniri poterint. Et videatis ne amplius clamorem inde habeam pro recti penuria. Quod nisi feceritis, precipio quod Walterus, arbolasterius meus de Everwic, hoc idem faciat; vos autem mihi emendabitis. Testibus Wald[rico] cancellario et Willelmo de Albineio. Apud Esselingas. [A, fol. 37; B, fol. 85.]

[TRANSLATION.—Henry, king of England, to Osbern, sheriff of Lincoln, and his officers of Yorkshire, greeting. I order that the whole land of Ranulf, bishop of Durham, be in my unbroken peace; and I order that you cause him to have his men with all their money, that is to say whosoever without proving his claim and without law went forth from his land since the death of bishop William, wheresoever they may be found. And see that I no longer have claims for the same, for lack of justice. If you fail to do it, I order that Walter, my cross-bowman of York, do the same; but you shall make me amends. Witnesses, Wald[ric] the chancellor and William de Albini. At Elinghem (?).]

XXIV. Henricus, rex Anglie, Osberno vicecomiti et Liolfo et Alurico de Colebrugh et omnibus baronibus Francis et Anglis de Northumberland et de Everwycshire, salutem. Prohibeo vobis ne recipiatis in terra vestra aliquem de hominibus Ranulphi, episcopi Dunelmensis, nec pecuniam eorum qui fugiunt de terra sua propter pecuniam quam mihi episcopus dat. Et si aliquis fecerit, mihi graviter emendabit. Teste . . . de Lusor'. Per Willelmum elemosinarium. Apud Halvam [or Hasbam†]. [A, fol. 37; B, fol. 84v.]

[TRANSLATION.—Henry, king of England, to Osbern the sheriff, and Liulf and Aluric of Corbridge, and all barons, French and English, of Northumberland and Yorkshire, greeting. I order you not to receive in your land any of the men of Ranulf, bishop of Durham, nor the money of those who flee out of his land because of the money which the bishop gives me. And if anyone do so, he shall make me strict amends. Witness, . . . de Lusors. Given by William the almoner. At Les Damps(?).]

XXV. Henricus, rex Anglie, Girardo archiepiscopo et Liulfo et Alurico de Colibrugh et omnibus baronibus suis et fidelibus, Francis et Anglis, in Northumberland, salutem. Prohibeo ne aliquis fuget in forestis Ranulphi episcopi Dunelmensis, sive in Northumberlanda sive in Dunelmenschira, nisi licencia ipsius episcopi. Et nominatim prohibeo tibi, Wido de Bailleol, ne tu fuges in forestis suis. Quod si aliquis super hoc presumpserit, graviter mihi emendabit, sicut fugaret in nova foresta mea: Teste Wald[rico] cancellario meo. Apud Bartonam super Humbram. [A, fol. 37; B, fol. 85v.]

[TRANSLATION.—Henry, king of England, to archbishop Gerard, Liulf, Aluric of Corbridge, and all his barons and lieges, French and English, in Northumberland, greeting. I forbid anyone from hunting in the forests of Ranulf, bishop of Durham, whether in Northumberland or in Durhamshire, except by licence of the said bishop. And I specially forbid you, Guy de Balliol, from hunting in his forests. If anyone presumes upon this, he shall pay me a heavy fine, as if he were hunting in my New Forest. Witness, Wald[ric], my chancellor. At Barton upon Humber.]

XXVI. Henricus, rex Anglie, Girardo archiepiscopo et Osberno vicecomiti et omnibus baronibus, Francis et Anglis, de Everwicsyra, salutem. Sciatis me concessisse et dedisse Ranulpho, Dunelmensi episcopo, videlicet [in] manerio suo de Hovendena, omnes terras et consuetudines quas Robertus Fossardus calumpniabatur erga Ranulphum episcopum, et nominatim cum hiis ij carucatas terre de Poplintuna. Et Ranulphus episcopus pro meo amore concessit eidem Roberto omnes predictas terras ad tenendum de eodem episcopo eo pacto ut homo suus efficiatur, ut reddat ei socagium et omnes consuetudines sicut alii sochemanni reddiderunt et fecerunt de eisdem maneriis in tempore Regis Edwardi et Willelmi, episcopi Dunelmensis. Testibus, Roberto, episcopo Cestrie, et Roberto, comite de Mellent, et Ricardo de Redvers, et Hugone, comite de Warwic, et Ricardo de Bondavilla, et Rogero de Cosners. Apud Windesoras. [A, fol. 37; B, fol. 86.]

[TRANSLATION.—Henry, king of England, to archbishop Gerard and Osbern the sheriff and all the barons, French and English, of Yorkshire, greeting. Know that I have granted and given to Ranulf, bishop of Durham, to wit in his manor of Howden, all the lands and customs which Robert Fossard claimed against bishop Ranulf, and specially, along with them, two carrucates of land of Pocklington. And bishop Ranulf has granted, for love of me, to the same Robert all the foresaid lands to hold of the bishop, on condition that he become his man, [and] that he render him socage and all customs as other socagers have rendered and done from the same manors in the time of king Edward and of William, bishop of Durham. Witnesses, Robert, bishop of Chester; Robert, earl of Meulan; Richard de Redvers; Hugh, earl of Warwick; Richard de Bondavill and Roger de Conyers. At Windsor.]

XXVII, XXVIII. These two writs relate, like no. II, to the bishop of Durham's claim to Ross in Northumberland. Both are known, for no. XXVII has been printed in Dugdale's *Monasticon*, and an abridgement of no. XXVIII is given in Leland's *Collectanea*, vol. I, p. 389.

Neither can be accurately dated, but no. XXVIII cannot be earlier than February, 1107, when Ranulf succeeded Waldric in the chancellorship.

XXVII. Writ of queen Maud, part printed in *Monasticon*, vol. I, p. 242, no. X. [A, fol. 37.]

[TRANSLATION.—Maud, queen of England, to Nigel de Albini, greeting. I order you to let Ranulf, bishop of Durham, have full right from Robert de Muschamps concerning the lands which he took into occupation to the prejudice of saint Cuthbert and over that of Ross and the other lands which Robert occupied after the agreement which was made between bishop William and Robert, earl of Northumberland, as bishop Ranulf will be able to show that bishop William, his predecessor, remained seised thereof. Witness, Walter de Gloucester. At Winchester.]

XXVIII. Henricus, rex Anglie, Alurico et Liulfo, vicecomitibus, salutem. Precipio vobis ut sine dilacione et occasione teneatis† plenariam rectitudinem Ranulpho, Dunelmensi episcopo, de terra de Ros quam Robertus de Muscans preoccupatus est super sanctum Cuthbertum et super ecclesiam suam; quia volo ut sanctus Cuthbertus ita eam habeat sicut Ranulfus episcopus suus diracionavit ad opus eius. Quod nisi feceritis, tunc precipio ut Nigellus de Albini et alia justicia mea hoc faciat. Vide ne audiam clamorem pro penuria recti. Teste Ranulfo cancellario. Apud Portesmudam. [A, fol. 37; B, fol. 85v.]

[TRANSLATION.—Henry, king of England, to Aluric and Liulf the sheriffs, greeting. I order you to do, without delay and hindrance, full justice to Ranulf, bishop of Durham, concerning the land of Ross which Robert de Muschamps has occupied to the prejudice of saint Cuthbert and of his church; for I will that saint Cuthbert have it even as Ranulf, his bishop, has shown title to it on his behalf. If you fail to do this, then I order that Nigel de Albini and other of my judiciary do it. See that I have no claim for lack of justice. Witness, Ranulf the chancellor. At Portsmouth.]

Nos. XXIX, XXX. None of the foregoing charters, with the doubtful exception of the last two, are of later date than 1108. In other words, out of twenty-four documents relating to Ranulf Flambard, twenty or twenty-two fall within the first nine years of his pontificate (1099-1108). The bishop lived on till September 5, 1128, but only two charters in this collection fall definitely within

the last twenty years of his life. Both are addressed to Ansketill de Bulmer, who succeeded Osbert as sheriff of York about the year 1114. No. XXIX is dated at Caen and so must fall within one of Henry's visits to Normandy. The king was in the duchy from September, 1114, to July, 1115, and again from May, 1116, to 1120. But the writ cannot be later than June 5, 1118, the date of the death of its signatory, Robert, count of Meulan.

No. XXX has been printed in an abridged form in Dugdale's *Monasticon*, vol. I, p. 242, no. XII, and thence in Farrer's *Early Yorkshire Charters*, no. 976, and is calendared in Farrer's *Itinerary* as no. 346. Farrer saw that, since it is dated at Windsor, it must fall within a period when the king was in England after Thurstan (to whom it is addressed) had been appointed archbishop of York, and before the death of Robert, count of Méulan, who attests; in other words, after mid-July, 1115, and before April 2, 1116. The mention of the Feast of Purification in the dating clause, which the editors of the *Monasticon* omit, fixes it to February 2, 1116. It is consequently the earliest record of Odard's shrievalty.

XXIX. Henricus, rex Anglie, A[nsketillo] de Bolmer, salutem. Precipio ut tu ipse eas in Northumbriam cum hominibus Ranulfi episcopi, et redde ei omnes homines suos cum pecuniis eorum qui de terra sua aufugerunt pro pecunia quam de eo accepi. Et fac ei sine mora juste habere omnes alios suos in Cumemans† cum pecunia eorum qui de terra sua exierunt, et illos eciam quos in potestate tua habes et ubicunque inventi fuerint. Teste comite de Mellent. Apud Cadomum. [A, fol. 38; B, fol. 86v.]

[TRANSLATION.—Henry, king of England, to Ansketill de Bulmer, greeting. I order that you go yourself into Northumberland along with the men of bishop Ranulf, and restore to him all his men, with their money, who fled from his land on account of the money which I exacted from him. And cause him to have rightfully, without delay, all his other [], with the money of those who went forth from his land, and them also whom you have in your jurisdiction, even wheresoever they may be found. Witness, the earl of Meulan. At Caen.]

XXX. Henricus, rex Anglie, Thurstino, archiepiscopo Eboracensi, et Nigello de Albynneio, et Anschitillo de Bolmer,

et Odardo, vicecomiti de Northumberlanda, salutem. Sciatis me reddidisse Ranulfo, episcopo Dunelmensī, omnes illas terras unde eum dissaisiui et quas cepi in mea manu apud Sanctum Albanum quando ibi coronatus fui in Pentecoste, scilicet Alvertonam et Houedenam et Welletonam et quicquid eis pertinet, et omnes alias terras quas habebat in vicecomitatibus vestris de qua eum dissaisiui. Et volo et concedo et firmiter precipio ut bene et quiete et honorifice teneat sicut umquam melius et honorabilius et quietius tenuit. Testibus Gosfrido, archiepiscopo Rothomagensi, et Rogero, episcopo Saresberie, et Roberto, episcopo Lincolnensi, et Ranulfo cancellario, et Roberto, comite de Mellent, et Willelmo de Tancardi villa. Apud Windesoras, in purificatione beate Marie. [A, fol. 38; B, fol. 87.]

[TRANSLATION.—Henry, king of England, to Thurstan, archbishop of York, and Nigel de Albini, and Ansketil de Bulmer, and Odard, sheriff of Northumberland, greeting. Know that I have restored to Ranulf, bishop of Durham, all those lands whereof I disseised him, and which I took into my hand at Saint Alban's when I was crowned there at Whitsuntide, to wit Allerton and Howden and Welton, and whatsoever pertains to them, and all other lands which he had in your shrievalties of which I disseised him. And I will and grant and give strict order that he hold them well and freely and honourably as ever he held them. Witnesses, Gosfrid, archbishop of Rouen; Roger, bishop of Salisbury; Robert, bishop of Lincoln; Ranulf, the chancellor; Robert, earl of Meulan; and William de Tankerville. At Windsor, at Candlemas.]