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INTERPRETING MONASTIC CARTULARIES IN NORTHWEST EUROPE, 900-1200: THIRTY YEARS OF SCHOLARSHIP

La interpretación de los cartularios monásticos en el noroeste de Europa, 900-1200: 30 años de estudios académicos

Robert F. BERKHOFER III

Western Michigan University. Medieval Institute. 100E Walwood Hall, Kalamazoo Michigan 49008-5334 (USA). C.e: robert.berkhofer@wmich.edu. ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-5972-2089>

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ABSTRACT: Since the publication of *Les cartulaires* in 1993, the study of cartularies has evolved in two main directions: as part of a broader documentary culture and studying regional or textual patterns using digital tools and postmodern approaches. This article offers an overview of interpretive trends since then, focusing on monastic cartularies in northwestern Europe in the Central Middle Ages. It outlines the diverse discourses incorporated in these cartularies, involving patrimony, commemoration, communal identity, and history. It then explores the variable forms of monastic cartularies, including smaller groupings of charters, and their functions. It argues that monastic writers carefully framed their re-presentation charters from their archives, to impart multiple messages to their medieval audiences.

Keywords: cartularies; monastic archives; charters; documentary culture; England; France.

RESUMEN: Desde la publicación del volumen *Les cartulaires* en 1993, la investigación sobre los cartularios ha evolucionado en dos direcciones: como parte de una cultura documental más amplia y mediante el reconocimiento de patrones regionales o textuales, utilizando herramientas digitales y enfoques postmodernos. Este artículo analiza los diversos discursos presentes en los cartularios monásticos del noroeste de Europa de los siglos centrales de la Edad Media, que conllevan patrimonio, conmemoración, identidad colectiva e historia. Este trabajo explora las formas variables de los cartularios monásticos, incluyendo pequeños grupos de documentos, y sus funciones. Se demuestra que los redactores de cartularios organizaron cuidadosamente los documentos representativos de sus archivos para transmitir múltiples mensajes a sus audiencias medievales.

Palabras clave: cartularios; archivos monásticos; diplomas; cultura documental; Inglaterra; Francia.

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0 RETHINKING CARTULARIES SINCE *LES CARTULAIRES*

The publication of the *École de Chartes* volume *Les cartulaires* in 1993 opened a new era in scholarship about medieval cartularies. Since then, various strands of research have transformed how historians perceive cartularies and use them as evidence. Part of this transformation has resulted from a widening definition of what constitutes a «cartulary». Another part has been to regard cartularies themselves as a subject of study, rather than as evidence of other activities. At the same time, trends in the study of literacy and charters —what has come to be called «documentary culture»— have also altered the perception of cartularies' value, especially between the years 900 and 1200. Historians have realized that cartularies in this period were a shifting medium and could participate in diverse discourses to convey various messages. While these larger issues resound throughout this issue of the journal, this article focuses on the uses of monastic cartularies and considers their discursive functions for their authors and audiences. Monastic cartularies are a useful grouping for analysis because medieval monks had particular uses for writing and possessed a common religious vocation and a shared world view —especially after the Carolingian reforms attempted to regularize Benedictine observance. They also shared texts and ideas actively, particularly in northern France, England, and Flanders, the area treated here. Some of my analysis may apply to episcopal and lay cartularies, though they have their own features. One should not underestimate lay cartularies, as has sometimes happened, just because monastic cartularies happen to survive in greater numbers for the period 900-1200. Lay and princely writing and record keeping practices were significant in this period and deserve further study¹. Indeed, I suspect a broader comparative analysis would find that some features of lay cartularies were convergent with monastic ones, even though their formats and purposes can appear to be strikingly different². Still, because monastic cartularies predominate the surviving sources from before 1200, they merit their own treatment.

At the outset, one should address a major problem of definition: what is a cartulary? Traditional scholarship long regarded cartularies essentially as mere copybooks of

¹ Nieus, «Cartulaires», esp. 9-12.

² Evergates, *Littere baronum*, 12: «The present fragmentary state of the Cartulary of 1211 makes it difficult to determine its intended purpose. Earlier monastic cartularies for Molesme and Montier-en-Der, and one for the cathedral chapter of Châlons-sur-Marne, bear little resemblance to the comital cartulary in terms of content or organization». This difference may reflect pre and post-1200 cartularies, discussed below.

documents. Consider, for instance, the definition offered by G. R. C. Davis in 1958 in his *Medieval Cartularies of Great Britain*:

«Cartularies are registers of muniments, that is to say of the title-deeds (*carte*), charters of privilege (*privilegia*) and other documents, which are kept by landowners as evidence of their personal or corporate rights. They are made principally for the purpose of reference and information; their name derives from the Latin word *c(h)artu(l)arium*, or *registrum cartarum*, by which in the Middle Ages they were commonly known»³.

Several aspects of this definition are now problematic. First, conflating registers with cartularies is a problem, since the term «register» is often used by modern scholars to refer to collections of notarial documents, more typical in southern regions influenced by the legacy of Roman law and writing practices⁴. Although register has been called a «capricious term» because it applies to diverse collections and even though the rise of registers parallels that of cartularies, the documentary culture and legal regimes influenced by Roman law are usually regarded as substantially different from those of northern Europe⁵. Another issue is that concepts such as «title-deeds» and *privilegia* make a lot more sense in medieval Europe after 1200 than before. Paul Bertrand has argued that part of the rise of what he calls «ordinary writings» (*écritures ordinaires*) was a shift to regarding charters as legal acts in themselves⁶. That is, charters came to constitute acts, rather than serve as the written component of deeds done. So, despite their ritual and performative functions before 1200, charters tend to be flattened into documents increasingly after 1200⁷. This shift means that Davis's definition of cartularies applies best to collections after 1200, not from before. Indeed, the medieval word *c(h)artularium* was rarely used before 1200 to mean «cartulary» (as opposed to «archive» or «letter collection»)⁸. In any event, the administrative and legal uses of cartularies were certainly more pronounced in the later Middle Ages⁹.

But perhaps most troubling is that Davis' definition followed the foundational, positivist tendencies of the discipline of diplomatics, which privileged original, single-sheet charters over copies. In evidentiary terms, this meant that historians were often trying

³ Davis, *Medieval Cartularies*, XIV.

⁴ See Carbonetti Vendittelli in this issue.

⁵ «In 2014, I began researching the changing material forms of Italian documents in the Central Middle Ages, particularly what appears to be a leap from dependence on single-sheet parchments, also called notarial documents or charters, to the widespread use of what are called «registers». This capricious term is used to designate parchment booklets or books that varied considerably in form and content. In earliest usage, a *registum* or *registrum* was a collection of letters and memorials, but the registers of the thirteenth century can also be collections of lists», Miller, «Reframing», 680.

⁶ Bertrand, *Les écritures ordinaires*, 360-2.

⁷ Koziol, *The Politics*, 42-62.

⁸ The earliest usage in the Brepol's *Library of Latin Texts* is the *Tractatus de ecclesia sancti Petri Aldenburghensis* MGH SS 15:867 (line 37), composed ca. 1080-84. The *Dictionary of Latin Databases* gives no example before 1200; however, the word itself existed earlier.

⁹ For later medieval administrative and legal discourses see Sabapathy, *Officers*, 10-22 and Teuscher, *Lords' Rights*, 166-96.

to look *through* cartulary copies to perceive (however dimly) the originals which were presumed to lay behind them. So, while his definition might have been practical before 1958 (and to some degree remains relevant now, as his modern editors retained it), the organizers of *Les cartulaires* volume found it insufficient already in 1993. Indeed, they highlighted that cartularies should be studied in their own right as sources, which could yield information about subjects as diverse as management or memory¹⁰. Indeed, the two large sections of *Les cartulaires* volume focused on cartularies as part of the history of writing and on typologies. These approaches have flourished since and are worth assessing, but they have complicated any definition of what a «cartulary» was.

The first strand, focusing on cartularies and the history of writing, has been heavily shaped by studies of literacy. Already influential at the time of *Les cartulaires* was Michael Clanchy's *From Memory to Written Record*, first published in 1979 and in a revised edition by 1993¹¹. Clanchy's work also helped inspire the *Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy* series, which began in 1999 and has published 57 volumes to date, though none directly on cartularies¹². Collectively, work on writing and literacy suggests that the role of documents in regions with customary (not Roman) law or during the period 900-1200 might be viewed as unusual—in the sense that writing was not an ordinary or routine practice—or at least was different from the earlier and later Middle Ages¹³. As document formats became unmoored from Roman or imperial models in the tenth century, various adaptations arose. For example, Benjamin Savill has highlighted how papal confirmations had to shift in the later tenth century away from the imperial tradition of huge papyri when the supply of papyrus from Egypt was cut off after the rise of the Abbasids in the 930s¹⁴. Such insights have widened the perception of what might be considered a «cartulary» because the understanding of «documentary culture» (of which they were a part) has broadened. Furthermore, because cartularies were usually codices, they took on features of books, which also varied in this period¹⁵. As a result, defining a «cartulary» became ever more difficult. One feels this tension in the introductory presentation of the Institute de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes digital cartulary edition website (*cartulR*) which defines a cartulary very broadly as «a collection of copies of medieval (and/or modern) charters in the form of a codex», whose essential value is the preservation of

¹⁰ «Il est pourtant deux autres voies où la recherche ne s'est encore engagée que trop ponctuellement, et qui nous ont semblé mériter un moment de réflexion. La première direction tient en un déplacement du regard porté sur le cartulaire lui-même, le faisant passer du statut de réservoir de données à celui d'objet central d'étude.... De *munimentum*, il devient ainsi *monumentum*, pour emprunter les mots des rédacteurs d'actes médiévaux: il est susceptible d'enquêtes multiples, qui empruntent à la codicologie comme à la cartographie, à la statistique comme à la philologie, à l'iconographie comme à l'étude de contenu», Guyotjeannin, Parisse and Morelle, *Les cartulaires*, 4.

¹¹ Clanchy, *From Memory*.

¹² The first volume was Mostert, *New Approaches*.

¹³ For before 900 see Brown *et al.*, *Documentary Culture*; for after 1200, see Bertrand, *Les écritures ordinaires*.

¹⁴ Savill, «The Donation».

¹⁵ Thomson, «Monastic», 140-53.

lost originals¹⁶. While the traditional definition was clearly too narrow, «a collection of texts and documents often in a book» is so broad that it is challenging to use analytically.

The second strand initiated by *Les cartulaires* was to investigate typology, including geographic or chronological patterns, but also to classify by genre or contents. This approach has been especially useful for focused studies of particular regions¹⁷. However, it also has made the diversity and hybridity of cartularies between 900 and 1200 more apparent. The scholars contributing to *Les cartulaires* spent some time examining the origins of monastic cartularies, especially a seeming contrast between northern France and the precocious appearance of *Traditionsbücher* in the eastern Frankish realm¹⁸. Subsequently, Patrick Geary explored the important role cartularies had in remembering and forgetting the Carolingian past during the tenth century. By exploring the role of monastic archives in shaping memory before 1000, and specifically the preservation and destruction of early charters, he reframed the long-standing debate about documentary survival to include active selection by monastic compilers of cartularies¹⁹. Furthermore, Geary has emphasized that the historicizing function of cartularies, especially early ones, has often been underestimated:

«If in time the compilation of cartularies became routine, a simple part of pragmatische Shriftlichkeit, this was certainly not true at their origins. They were born out of conflict and expressed—implicitly or explicitly—claims not only about the specific elements that were copied into them but, as a whole, about identity and memory. As such, they were an integral part of writing and creating history, and it is unlikely that this historical role ever disappeared»²⁰.

Scholars had noticed such historicizing tendencies of cartularies before but deemphasized them for various reasons. Some were diplomatists seeking original acts rather than mere cartulary copies. Others were church historians, who saw cartularies as potentially misleading *post facto* sources for the early history of the foundations they studied. Still others were art historians, for whom the visual and material form of the codex held primary fascination. Or they were administrative historians, who viewed early monastic cartularies from the viewpoint of later, more functionalist cartularies, in which bulk copying of documents by scribes was the overwhelming attribute of the collection. However, historicizing is only one aspect of early cartularies.

The understanding of monastic cartularies from 900 to 1200 has also been influenced by broader trends in scholarship. Although *Les cartulaires* emerged after the first

¹⁶ Bertrand and Helias-Baron (eds.), *CartulR*: «Le cartulaire est un recueil de copies de chartes médiévales et/ou modernes: sous la forme d'un *codex*, ce registre contient donc à la suite des copies d'actes dont les originaux sont souvent aujourd'hui perdus. La valeur de ces recueils est donc essentielle: ce sont là parmi les premières sources des historiens».

¹⁷ For example, Le Blevet, *Les cartulaires*.

¹⁸ Compare Geary, «Entre gestion», esp. the discussion 24-6 and Delmaire, «Cartulaires».

¹⁹ Geary, *Phantoms*, 81-114; esp. 93-96 on Cozroh's preface to the *Traditionsbuch* of Freising for an early example of a framing narrative.

²⁰ Geary, «From Charter», 186.

wave of postmodernism, the tendency to regard charters and cartularies as «texts» or «discourses» has only accelerated in the last thirty years. Postmodern approaches have fundamentally altered the use of cartularies as evidence, moving beyond traditional, positivist methods to embrace issues such as identity, memory, *mentalité*, and the role of documents (or books) in ritual/performance. These approaches complement a focus on cartularies as objects of study in themselves. Another major influence since 1993 has been the use of charter databases. Although such databases existed earlier, use has accelerated in the past generation because of advances in computing. By their nature, such tools offer the opportunity to aggregate evidence, helping to make better guides or handbooks for cartularies²¹. But they also present definitional problems, since their utility partly depends on categorization (assigning fields or values) —often using diplomatic criteria, which skew towards the positivist. The increasingly nuanced analysis of cartularies themselves, especially the hybridity of monastic cartularies from 900 to 1200, defied simple classification. As a result, scholars seeking to extend typological analysis have tended to use hyphenated terms, such as «cartulary-chronicle» or «cartulary-inventory» when trying to categorize their contents or structure²². Overall, it is apparent that monastic «cartularies» from 900 to 1200 existed in many forms and that their contents varied a lot.

1 DIVERSE DISCOURSES AND MULTIPLE MESSAGES

Identifying types of cartularies for the period 900-1200 has been difficult because of the variety and hybridity of their form and content. As collections of charter copies, cartularies took on aspects of charters, which were themselves shifting in use and meaning in this period. Books likewise had shifting uses. In consequence, it is helpful to analyze cartularies in this era not (just) by format, but rather by the discourses in which they participated. In doing so, the hybridity of monastic cartularies from 900 to 1200 can be an evidentiary advantage, since they provide access to a much broader range of ideas and activities than traditional scholars assumed. Furthermore, one can see that cartularies accumulated functions or layers over time as they were actively used or re-used, as Joanna Tucker has shown in her analysis of patterns of growth in multi-scribe cartularies. However, she cautions that knowing about contemporary uses of cartularies is difficult and often has to be inferred, since there was little medieval discussion of how they were used. Her approach highlights the importance of considering all parts of cartularies and not deemphasizing later contributions as mere additions or interpolations but rather treating them as part of the whole for analysis²³.

Because traditional analysis of cartularies was often concerned with individual entries (especially diplomatic recovery of particular charters) or the ordering of the entries,

²¹ For example, Verité, *Répertoire*.

²² Bertrand, Paul and Helias-Baron, Marlène, *CartullR*: «Chaque cartulaire est défini par son type: cartulaire stricto sensu, cartulaire-censier, cartulaire-inventaire, recueil d'actes, recueil de privilèges... puis par son titre, ou plutôt sa dénomination (puisque les titres originaux sont rares) qui le distinguera des autres».

²³ Tucker, *Reading*, 16-33.

their overall meaning(s) have been understudied. Yet comparison of cartularies reveals significant patterns in their communicative functions. In 2016-17, a series of panels organized by Charles Insley and Charles Rozier on «Cartularies as Histories» at the International Medieval Congress at Leeds brought together scholars (the author included) to discuss historicizing features of cartularies. Some participants considered the role and function of cartularies very broadly. For instance, Johannes Waldschütz, analyzing twelve different Swabian cartularies spanning the twelfth century, outlined five typical narrative discourses in which his cartularies participated²⁴. The patterns he noticed also existed in the English, French, and Flemish cartularies on which my previous research has focused, and my analysis here attempts to expand on his line of argument.

So, let us consider the most common discursive patterns in monastic cartularies between 900 and 1200. The first was a discourse about property, in which the location, donor(s), and other people involved in the donation (frequently family or followers) received considerable emphasis. It is no surprise that monks wished to record donations or keep track of property. Indeed, traditional scholarship on cartularies heavily focused on using them to reconstruct monastic estates. However, analyzing property as a discourse more broadly would consider «patrimony» and how monks emphasized the possession of—or connections with—particular places, which had either symbolic/spiritual value (a shrine, a tomb, a meeting site) or economic significance (a source of income or food). This property discourse was not merely about protecting title to land (as Davis' definition implied), but also about expressing «wealth» in general, which was an important aspect of traditional Benedictine spirituality²⁵. Of course, the social and cultural meanings of property to Benedictine monks after the tenth century was heavily influenced by the model of Cluny, which had a dynamic approach to its own properties and those of its neighbors²⁶. Indeed, charters represented property or patrimony so effectively, they could serve as stand-ins for them. For instance, Laurent Morelle observed that the monk Folquin of Saint-Bertin wrote about acquiring charters as a euphemism for acquiring the lands themselves²⁷. Also, cartularies could express patrimonial concerns in their organization as well as their content, by grouping entries by topography or estate.

A second discourse was commemorative, especially about monastic benefactors. This memorial discourse was at the heart of monks' social function: to pray for the salvation of others. Of course, such commemoration included donors of land or revenues, and so this discourse was often commingled with the discourse about property. Such commemoration was a key goal of the first (now lost) Anglo-Norman cartulary of Christ Church, Canterbury. As Robin Fleming showed in her reconstruction, obituary lists were sources for the names of donors²⁸. Some cartularies also show signs that they may have had liturgical uses or were formatted in imitation of altar books (discussed

²⁴ Waldschütz, «Cartularies».

²⁵ Berkhofer, *Day*, 53-89.

²⁶ Rosenwein, *To Be the Neighbor*, 109-43, now to be read in light of Pohl, «The Problem».

²⁷ «One characteristic phrase is indicative of this sentiment: Folquin typically tells the reader that the abbot acquired the property by «acquiring the charter», meaning that the charter was already accepted as the image of the possession and was a valuable commodity in itself», Morelle, «Diplomatic», 56.

²⁸ Fleming, «Christ Church», 105.

below), suggesting that they were used in the commemorative routines of a house. A third discourse, closely linked to the commemorative, might be called «hagiographic», as it involved praising the saint(s) or another blessed (*beatus*) aristocratic or royal founder figure. The *Liber traditionum* of Saint Peter's, Ghent, for instance, begins with a narrative explaining how St. Amand founded the house²⁹. The monks of Montier-en-Der began their cartulary, initially composed 1126-1129, with two charters supposedly issued by their royal «founders», the brothers Childeric II (dated 675) and Theodoric III (dated 685)³⁰. For the monks of Saint-Denis, this usually involved praising both Saint Denis and King Dagobert, the patron saint and royal founder figure. In the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, they extended this practice to important re-founders, such as Charles the Bald (or even Robert the Pious), as royal dynasties changed³¹. Furthermore, charters were sometimes copied onto blank or inserted leaves of gospel books (or other altar books), which inherently associated them with the holy or sacred. Francis Wormald, who traced this practice in at least eleven different English gospel books, argued that it also made tampering with the documents akin to sacrilege³². In particular, he highlighted the close link between charter copies and the gospel book format in the Sherborne cartulary (BL, Additional 46487). In this case, the praise of founders is immediately apparent: the first quire began with an act of King Æthelred II, re-founding the house as one of monks³³. The book's orderly arrangement led Wormald to conclude that the charters were part of the plan for the volume and not later additions, as in most gospel books³⁴. Interesting in this context are images, relatively rare in cartularies. Those that do exist are often of foundational figures at the start of a book. A remarkable example is the deluxe illuminated frontispiece of King Edgar in the New Minster, Winchester book containing the monastery's refoundation charter in which all the text was written in gold ink³⁵.

A fourth discourse was about identity, which for monastic cartularies was frequently about shaping communal identity. Of course, charters and their seals expressed various forms of identity in the central Middle Ages, from the individual (lords or clerics) to the collective (monasteries, towns, kingdoms)³⁶. Occasionally, one can detect traces of personal identity in cartularies, when composers use first-person language, though this is usually confined either to prologues or epilogues. Waldshütz detected concern with

²⁹ Rijksarchief, Gent, fonds Sint-Peeterabdij, 2de reeks 2bis, ff. 52r-54v. Berkhof, *Forgery*, 53-5 and 76-8.

³⁰ AD Haute Marne 7 H 1, ff. 1r-3r. Berman, *The Cartulary of Montier-en-Der*, 45-50.

³¹ Berkhof, *Forgeries*, 146-9 and Grant, *Abbot Suger*, 63-5 and 193-6.

³² «The reason must be that Gospel books were holy books and therefore subject to veneration. What was written in it would be preserved not only because it was written in a book, but because it was written in a holy book and to tamper with holy books was sacrilege», Wormald, «The Sherborne», 106-7.

³³ BL Additional 46487, ff. 3r-4r (S895); O'Donovan, ed., *The Charters of Sherborne*, 41-4, no. 11. See also Keynes, «King Æthelred's», 10-4.

³⁴ «In the Sherborne book the documentary section precedes the liturgical one and forms quite a considerable part of its contents. It is a case not merely of a few selected charters, but of a comprehensive collection of early royal, and a significant group of papal ones. What is more, they were, with few exceptions, written at the same time as the liturgical contents, and are thus part of the original plan of the MS», Wormald, «The Sherborne», 107-8.

³⁵ BL Cotton Vespasian A VIII, ff. 3v-33v (S 745). Miller, *The Charters*, 95-111, no. 23 (S 745).

³⁶ Bedos-Rezak, *When Ego*, esp. 132-58.

monastic communal identity in his Bavarian cartularies, in the use of phrases like «our monastery» or «our founder» or «our saint» or «our patron» to proclaim control over the interpretation of the past and community³⁷. The traces of such monastic communal self-fashioning existed at every level of text, from single words (using «we» or «our») to the overall schemes of composition, such as arranging charters chronologically from the foundation to the monastery's present. In monastic cartularies, the use of the collective «we» to mean the community of monks was often sharpened by contrast with authorities (such as bishops), or rivalries with other houses, as I explored in the cartularies of Saint Peter's, Ghent, Saint-Denis, and Christ Church, Canterbury³⁸. Fashioning (and refashioning) communal identity could be a major preoccupation of monastic cartulary composers, for example at Worcester, both pre- and post-Conquest³⁹.

For monks, the discourse of communal identity was often closely tied to another discourse: the historical. Already in the *Les cartularies* volume there was substantial treatment of the historicizing aspects of early cartularies⁴⁰. Indeed, the monastic «cartulary-chronicle» is one of the most commonly identified types of pre-1200 cartularies. Many scholars have explored the convergence between history-writing and cartularies. Monika Otter has argued that «many monastic chronicles are really cartularies, collections of local documents combined with portions of narrative history»⁴¹. Karine Ugé, when analyzing ninth- to eleventh-century sources for Flanders, argued that charters, cartularies, hagiographies, and historical narratives overlapped in content and function⁴². The «Cartularies as Histories» panels at Leeds in 2016-2017 demonstrated that historical discourses could be found in cartularies throughout western Europe, especially before 1200. Since then, Henry Bainton has treated the relationship between documents and medieval chronicles, particularly for Angevin England. He analyzed how chroniclers used or quoted documents, and argued that history writers reframed, repurposed, and remediated written sources (*scripta*) to embed them in cultural memory⁴³. He also highlighted the rise of what Lars Boje Mortensen called «fast historiography»—new forms of vernacularizing Latin prose aimed at quick composition and comprehension—to increase ease of circulating and performing historical narratives⁴⁴. Such observations about medieval chroniclers' use of documents apply very well to cartularies with historical discourses.

One should not neglect the discourses scholars traditionally associated with cartularies: the legal and the administrative. As the communicative aspects of cartularies

³⁷ Waldschütz, «Cartularies».

³⁸ Berkhofer, *Forgeries*, 76-94, 128-45, 159-72.

³⁹ O'Donnell, «Identities».

⁴⁰ Geary, «Entre gestion» and Iogna-Prat, «La confection», 27-44.

⁴¹ Otter, *Inventiones*, 5.

⁴² «Land donations were recorded in *vitae*, chronicles could include charter material as well as hagiographic texts. Similarly, hagiographic texts, especially vitae of monastic founders, often contained the history of the foundation of the religious community in which it was written. Beyond this, the commemorative and liturgical nature of charters, cartularies, and gesta has long been recognized. Because of the elasticity of the different genres of medieval texts, almost any kind of text could fulfill almost any need», Ugé, *Creating*, 13.

⁴³ Bainton, *History*, 23-4, 35-55.

⁴⁴ Mortensen, «Comparing», 25-39; Bainton, *History*, 72-3.

are studied comparatively, it is possible to reassess these areas. It has become clear that certain discourses were more common in early cartularies than in later ones. Paul Bertrand, who analyzed Continental cartularies from 900-1400, observed that devotional, commemorative, and historicizing tendencies in cartularies were more common in the period before 1200 (and especially 1100) than afterwards, when fiscal, administrative, and legal purposes became dominant. By the thirteenth century, he argued, two writing revolutions had transformed documentary culture: one was a massive increase in production of charters (long known); the other was more frequent and effective conservation in cartularies, the use of which became regularized as part of what he called *écritures ordinaires*⁴⁵. Thus, for Bertrand, the twelfth century was a period of transition in the making of cartularies, before their use had become more routine or ordinary. By the thirteenth century, these twin revolutions had transformed the use and meaning of cartularies, which became more functionalist copybooks for record-keeping and management, although older uses persisted alongside the new ones.

Likewise, Nicholas Karn has argued that shifts occurred in English cartularies in the second half of the twelfth century. In particular, he identified features which changed from the early twelfth to the later twelfth century. Karn characterized early English cartularies as having more informal organization, more miscellaneous (or more varied) contents, but as lacking in indices or finding aids. In contrast, by the later twelfth century, he observed more formal organization, the use of indexes, and the rise of dedicated uses and, consequently, more narrowly focused content. Such changes included the rise of «sub-genres», in which the «cartulary proper» (that is copies of documents involving property) were separated from letters or other business affairs, which were assembled in separate booklets, with an eye to being used in particular courts or for administering certain offices⁴⁶. In addition, a common organizational pattern emerged: first, a separate «royal» section that outlined a church's rights and responsibilities; next, a section devoted to ecclesiastical authorities (papal, episcopal or those relating to canon law); and then a section devoted to «resources», often topographically organized. A topographic sub-section on a particular area would usually begin with some fundamental document (an initial grant) followed by supplementary or qualifying entries usually explaining lordship or authority. Furthermore, Karn argued that external pressures led to these responses in cartulary structure, especially the rise of manors and Common Law. The process of Anglo-Norman manorialization changed the way resources were exploited over the twelfth century, as lordship was made concrete around land, creating manors and manor courts as places to express lordship. Meanwhile, royal courts reframed the terms of legal conversations/disputes about possession/ownership of land, away from the more nebulous and complex customs which characterized pre-Conquest arrangements⁴⁷. Furthermore, he argued that the time of transition was the late twelfth century and that cartulary forms remained fairly stable afterwards through the fifteenth century, and also that early cartularies were modified to make them more useful in these new contexts of lordship

⁴⁵ Bertrand, *Les écritures ordinaires*, esp. 17-27, his overview of surviving cartularies.

⁴⁶ Karn, «Cartularies».

⁴⁷ Karn, *Kings*, 152-74.

and law. Overall, Karn stressed that these types of organization reflected the external authorities (courts or lords) with whom monks were planning to interact. In other words, the organizational schemes in later cartularies constituted proof of monastic responses to shifts in legal and lordly authority.

English cartularies may have begun such shifts towards legal and administrative uses early, but they were not exceptional. The responses observed by Karn parallel shifts observed by Bertrand on the Continent. My study of monastic accountability in Capetian France could be read as the twelfth-century growth of distinct written instruments of fiscal administration out of more miscellaneous early cartularies⁴⁸. Although early cartularies were malleable because of the variety of their contents, structure, and meaning, the rise of sub-genres dedicated to legal or administrative discourses (as observed by Karn and Bertrand) was pronounced after 1200. Interestingly, the rise of these new legal or administrative discourses were often at the expense of previous uses. Commemorative, historical, hagiographic, or identity discourses were increasingly downplayed or were expressed in different, separate texts tailored to those purposes (such as narrative histories). Multiple discourses were still possible, but less common. As charters became acts in themselves, as documentary culture shifted after 1200 with the rise of *écritures ordinaires*, as new regimes of power or management took hold, monastic cartularies became less diverse as their messages were increasingly tailored, turning into the copybooks of *carte* that Davis had described.

2 FORMS AND FUNCTIONS

One should not forget that it was a lot of work (and potentially expensive) to produce cartularies, especially if they were large or laid out for presentation. Such early monastic cartularies were closer to extraordinary writing than the ordinary writing which flourished after 1200. Such efforts have seemed disproportionate to institutional historians because «mere» copies of charters lacked legal force, since they were not sealed originals. But such a view is too limited: proof was not (usually) the goal of such productions, rather it was to select, frame, and contextualize charter copies to convey multiple messages. Of course, form is not really separate from content, and so format was crucial to monastic cartularies' meaning. Indeed, much can be inferred about how they functioned by analyzing their form. Unsurprisingly, since early monastic cartularies had multiple discourses, they existed in various forms and were multi-functional.

Postmodernism demonstrated that any text can be analyzed as a «narrative», even charters collected in cartularies. Indeed, discursive/narrative elements can be found within documentary groups much smaller than cartularies. An elegant example is offered by pancartes: large single-sheets charters (or even small rolls) which record multiple acts⁴⁹. Thomas Roche has closely studied the Norman pancartes of the eleventh and twelfth centuries and has found discursive patterns. He has shown that the selection, ordering,

⁴⁸ Berkhofer, *Day*.

⁴⁹ Parisse, «Les pancartes», 11-4.

and modification of entries in a pancarte can indeed be read as a micro-story. For example, he analyzed a very large pancarte from the monastery of Jumièges, composed in the time of William the Conqueror, which contained various acts from four previous dukes⁵⁰. He argued this pancarte provided an alternative to the genealogical treatment of the dukes of Normandy written into the William of Jumièges' history of the dukes, the *Gesta normannorum ducum*, composed around the same time. In this way, the pancarte performed many functions of a codex/cartulary, providing, in effect, its own historicization. Significantly, this pancarte was not copied into the subsequent cartulary of Jumièges, and so Roche stressed that it offered an alternative and parallel history to which the monks could resort if needed⁵¹. Other Norman monks, including Orderic Vitalis, drew on pancartes as suggestive models for ordering their histories.⁵² As Elisabeth an Houts observed pancartes were common in Normandy from the early eleventh century and, like cartularies, partake of historical discourse. In addition, these pancartes remained sources of information and inspiration for later monastic historians⁵³. Such bursts of compiling, either in pancartes or pre-cartularies, demonstrate that monks could pursue multiple messages using order or arrangement of acts⁵⁴.

The monastic cartularies of early England provide a useful set for formal analysis, especially as the revised edition of Davis allows for a comprehensive approach. Taken together, the earliest (pre-1150) English monastic cartularies show a pronounced tendency towards display and presentation, sometimes imitating or being incorporated into books intended for the altar. In this way cartularies assumed the authoritative features of sacred books. Attempts at such authoritative presentation exist in these early cartularies, some of which were laid out in large formats for display and even elaborately bound, in contrast to later, more functionalist cartularies. These include the three extraordinary eleventh-century works produced at Worcester with full-text charter copies: the *Liber Wigorniensis*, begun ca. 1002-23 (BL, Cotton Tiberius A xiii, ff. 1-118); Hemming's cartulary, ca. 1090-1100 (BL, Cotton Tiberius A xiii, ff. 119-200); and the fragmentary «Oswald Cartulary» (also called the «Nero-Middleton Cartulary») also from the end of the eleventh century (BL, Cotton Nero E I, part 2, ff. 181-4 and BL, Additional 46204). Although the first two of these were damaged in the Cotton fire, they were large volumes (approximately 320 × 240mm) and the presentation and *mise en page* was regular and tidy, with red rubrication and initials, though not as large or deluxe as some of the other works which followed. The «Oswald Cartulary» fragments were even larger (470 × 290mm) and laid out in two columns because they were incorporated into a late-seventh or early eighth century Bible (BL, Additional 45025), which some scholars speculate might have been given to Worcester by King Offa⁵⁵. These Worcester cartularies are valuable sources as they preserved many pre-Conquest documents *in extenso* and, thus,

⁵⁰ AD Seine-Maritime 9 H26; Bates (ed.), *Regesta regum Anglo-Normannorum*, 535-47, no. 164.

⁵¹ Roche, «The Pancarte».

⁵² Chibnall, «Charter».

⁵³ Van Houts, «Historical Writing», 117.

⁵⁴ Compare the analysis of Castilian «micro-cartularies» by Peterson in this issue.

⁵⁵ Tinti, *Sustaining*, 75-151.

can provide a good window into the actualities of the pre-Conquest past. They also show substantial planning and effort, with considerable attention to format and layout.

More elaborate still was a codex produced at Winchester: the *Codex Wintoniensis* of Old Minster (BL, Additional 15350), the first recension of which was produced *circa* 1129-1139⁵⁶. It was a large volume (395 × 275mm) eventually (ca. 1150) bound in pink leather with an elaborate stamped binding in a northern French style, likely preferred by Henry of Blois, the new Bishop of Winchester after 1129 and brother of Stephen, king after 1135⁵⁷. In this book the text was ruled in one column (310 × 210mm) of 42 lines with generous margins, with red rubrication and decorated by red, blue, green, and brown initials. The main scribe used a fine, very regular, Latin bookscript⁵⁸. Overall, the work gives an appearance of careful planning and execution and was probably designed for the altar upon completion. Alexander Rumble stressed that the physical features indicate the book had a «symbolic as well as practical use»⁵⁹. Furthermore, Jennie England has argued that the large format of this volume was intended to mimic the *Domesday Book*, which was lodged nearby in the Exchequer at Winchester and with which Bishop Henry, as the king's brother, would have been familiar⁶⁰. Thus, the cartulary associated itself with both holy and royal authority through its monumental format.

A different example is the cartulary bound together with early English law codes and legal texts at Rochester, the famous *Textus Roffensis*, completed before 1125⁶¹. The extant manuscript is smaller than the other cartularies considered here (225 × 155mm), though the leaves have been trimmed substantially so that signatures, marginalia, and prickings have been cut off. The Rochester cartulary and associated laws were composed in concert. Indeed, Bruce O'Brien argued that the two parts were planned as companions: «The simplest explanation for the similarities between the two parts and for the unusual contents of the whole is that they were always considered to be twin volumes, linked together by a shared vision of the past and, to a lesser degree, by a shared purpose»⁶². This historical discourse is evident in the organization of the cartulary, which adopted a fairly strict chronological arrangement for pre-Conquest charters, reign by reign, and a somewhat looser one for post-Conquest materials, which seem to have been its focus. The cartulary was laid out in a single column (writing area 170 × 95mm). Peter Sawyer suggested that the fourteenth-century inscription of the combined work called it a *Textus* (a word normally reserved for Gospel books) because it had such significance that it was kept in the church, rather than the library⁶³. All these early English monastic

⁵⁶ Rumble, *Property*, 5-9.

⁵⁷ The binding is BL Additional 15350B.

⁵⁸ Rumble, *Property*, 6.

⁵⁹ Rumble, «The Purposes», 162, esp. n. 83 where he stressed its commemorative function, by analogy with *Textus Roffensis*.

⁶⁰ England, «The *Codex*», 132-3.

⁶¹ Strood (Rochester), Medway Archives and Local History Centre, DRc/R1, ff. 119-235; Sawyer (ed.), *Textus Roffensis*.

⁶² O'Brien, «Textus Roffensis», 11.

⁶³ Sawyer, *Textus Roffensis*, 7:19 and 11:17.

cartularies were impressive, required considerable effort to produce, and demonstrate careful planning. Their form was part of their function.

3 RE-PRESENTING THE ARCHIVE AND FRAMING TEXTS

The careful structuring and presentation of cartularies was an important way to grant credibility, coherence, and authority to monastic messaging. Thus, the communicative function of cartularies lies as much in their appearance as their content and was strongly related to the source documents on which they were based. Jessica Barenbeim has explored this effect extensively, analyzing charters and cartularies as objects, images, and acts throughout the Middle Ages⁶⁴. I call this process «re-presenting the archive»: as cartularists transcribe documents drawn from their archives into another format, they also transform their meaning⁶⁵. For cartularists, part of their message was the medium. One indication of such re-presentation was that scribes often mimicked features of source charters. This could include reproducing signs of validation while copying charters into a cartulary. As Olivier Guyotjeannin has argued, cartulary copies were not merely concerned with preservation, but also employed signs of validation as a «locus of credibility»⁶⁶. In order to impart credibility to copies, cartularies often reproduced documentary scripts (rather than book hands), the layout of charters, and even their external signs of validation. Symbolic reproduction of signs of validation included monograms, *rotae*, elongated letters, subscriptions, drawings of seals, or the columns of witness lists. For instance, a copy of a 1049 privilege of Leo IX in a Saint-Denis dossier prepared for the Lateran Synod of 1065 had drawings of a *rota* and *benevalete*, though no drawing of a bull, which apparently did not impair the monks' arguments. In this case we know the curia read the dossier, as the word *probatio* was written next to the key privilege (a forgery) by a curial hand⁶⁷. *Rotae* and *benevalete* were increasingly copied into other French monastic cartularies in the later eleventh and twelfth centuries, for example at Saint-Cyprien of Poitiers, the nunnery of Sainte-Madeleine of Vezelay, and St. Maur-sur-Loire near Angers⁶⁸. Cartulary copies often include extensive witness lists and dating formulae (sometimes original and sometimes rewritten in *anno domini*). Signs of authentication might even be transformed (or invented) to fit new chancery regimes. For instance, in the early cartulary of Christ Church, Canterbury, the Anglo-Norman monks systematically recast all their Old English «sources» into Latinate charter forms (whether the source had been a charter, writ, will, or anything else), which was done deliberately

⁶⁴ Barenbeim, *Art*, esp. 44-69 on cartularies.

⁶⁵ «Folcuin found himself personally and diversely implicated in the larger communal project of 're-presenting' sources of witness to the past», inspired by Morelle, «Diplomatic Culture», 54.

⁶⁶ Guyotjeannin, «*Penuria scriptorium*», 30 argued that both preservation and validation functioned in the cartulary of Saint-Père de Chartres, creating a *locus credibilis*.

⁶⁷ BnF NAL 326, f. 4r. Berkhofer, *Forgeries*, 121.

⁶⁸ St Cyprien: BnF ms. lat 10122, f. 7 (late eleventh century); St. Madeleine, Auxerre BM ms. 277, f. 45(twelfth century); St. Maur: Angers AD Maine-et-Loire H 1773, ff. 7v and 9r, which also includes drawings of bulls (1130s).

to make it appear as though the chapter's patrimony had been *bocland*⁶⁹. Such transformations show the strength of expectations in contemporary documentary culture and the desire of monastic scribes to conform to them.

Such replication of validating signs was an important aspect of re-presentation but not the only one. Re-presenting the archives in an orderly fashion was itself a message. Many cartularies show strong concern with order, including a uniform script, layout (in either single or more usually double column), rubrication, writing area, quality of parchment, and trying to avoid blank spaces⁷⁰. In other words, they were planned productions, which sought to inspire confidence in a reader through their orderly appearance. Such cartularies were often planned under the direction of a supervising authority, such as a cantor, librarian, or an abbot. Such features are good evidence of how monastic composers wanted their works to be understood. Such re-presentation allowed cartularists to add new layers of meaning. Selecting (including omitting and inventing), organizing, and ordering were all useful tools for re-presenting the monastic archives.

Cartulary composers also created short texts which sought to impart their messages more directly and included them in their cartulary. The importance of such non-charter texts in cartularies had already been highlighted in *Les cartulaires*⁷¹. Indeed, many early cartularies combined short narratives with their re-presentation of documents. Most often, these narratives began the work and were either a foundation story or some form of prologue; less often, they explained sub-sections, or even more rarely, there were epilogues. I refer to these texts as «framing narratives» for two reasons. First, they often adjoined the bulk of the charter copies, physically demarcating the start, internal sections, or end of the cartulary. But secondly, and regardless of position, they could provide an explanation, justification, or celebration of the work, thus «framing» a reader's or audience's expectations about the contents. Prologues were the most common, probably because the continuing reuse of cartularies kept pushing off an ending. An example of a framing narrative is the *Enucleatio libelli* contained in Hemming's cartulary, one of two late eleventh-century cartularies from Worcester, which provided an explanation of why and how Bishop Wulfstan ordered a cartulary to be compiled from the archives. This explanation was inserted with its own rubric immediately after the *Codicellus possessionum*, as justification for a new cartulary being prepared by Hemming after Wulfstan's death: it was to preserve the memory of holdings after despoliation and to fulfil his orders⁷². However, quasi-foundation stories were perhaps the most common, and sometimes the only, «framing narrative» of a cartulary. Two further examples, widely separated in time and space, illustrate this point. Charles Rozier has analyzed a short narrative from Durham, usually called the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*, which may have been composed in the later eleventh century, although it only survives in three later copies⁷³. As Rozier argued,

⁶⁹ Berkhofer, *Forgeries*, 168-70.

⁷⁰ Compare Agúndez San Miguel, «Analysis» and her contribution in this issue.

⁷¹ Tock, «Les textes», 52-6.

⁷² BL Cotton Tiberius A xiii, ff. 131v-133r. Tinti, «*Si litterali memorię commendaretur*», 492-7.

⁷³ Cambridge, University Library, Ff. 1.27; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 596; London, Lincoln's Inn Hale 114.

there are (at least) two ways to read this text: first, as supporting the community's claims to property and, second, as historical context (and justification?) for document copies. Furthermore, the manuscript copies of the text have no chapters or decorations, suggesting that the text was regarded as unitary narrative in the eleventh and twelfth centuries⁷⁴. Creating such a «framing narrative» might have been especially useful at Durham, which was (like Rochester) an existing episcopal see converted to a monastic chapter soon after the Conquest by Lanfranc, and so needed a new, more appropriate backstory. Such monastic practices were widely diffused beyond the regions treated here. One example the *votos* from the *Becerro Galicano* of the monastery San Millán de la Cogolla on the Castille-Navarre border: the introductory (and only) narrative in a cartulary composed around 1195. As David Peterson has demonstrated, contrary to previous scholarship, this short narrative was originally placed at the front of the cartulary and was integral to its design⁷⁵. It served as a prologue and historical justification for a major message of the cartulary: the domination of Castile over Navarre. As such, it was a framing narrative that structured a reader's subsequent understanding of the codex.

Prologues to cartularies, like prologues to narrative histories, are often very revealing. Although only a few scholars have studied the «prologues» of cartularies as genre, they exhibit interesting patterns. The team for the *cartulR* database noted a number of important features when comparing over 200 French cartulary prologues and equivalent opening texts. They observed that prologues were often the only new composition in a cartulary (barring forgeries, I would add). Prologues usually featured one or both of two themes: justification of the enterprise and/or glorification with a memorial or ideological purpose. Justifications included *topoi* such as fear of oblivion, preservation against fire, and defense of lands of privileges. Cartulary prologues also tended to glorify the patrons and benefactors of the monastery, or the saints, or all of them. The *cartulR* team also noted that non-narrative texts might act as virtual prologue, especially a first charter, list of abbots, or even a miniature, and found that many of the initial acts or stories were interpolated or fabricated⁷⁶. Close analysis of French monastic cartulary prologues has reinforced this characterization, including the importance of memorial and historical functions. Olivier Guyotjeannin identified monastic myths about document scarcity and neglect in scriptoria using the framing narrative written by the monk Paul of Saint-Père-de-Chartres in his cartulary during the final years of the eleventh century⁷⁷. Even lay cartulary prefaces could adopt similar *topoi*, as Pierre Chastang observed⁷⁸. Laurent Morelle found such themes in the earliest known French cartulary prologue, in the «cartulary-chronicle» of Folquin of Saint-Bertin, which, he argued, was inspired by historical writings, such as the *gesta abbatum* or annals⁷⁹. The end of Folquin's prologue explained his purpose in writing in this way:

⁷⁴ Rozier, *Writing History*, 33-8 and 50-62.

⁷⁵ Peterson, «Mentiras piadosas», 297-302.

⁷⁶ Bertrand, «Vers une typologie», 18-9.

⁷⁷ Guyotjeannin, «*Penuria scriptorium*», 12.

⁷⁸ Chastang, «La preface», 92-104.

⁷⁹ Morelle, «Diplomatic Culture», 54-5.

«[Regarding] this manuscript, we have simply filled it [by recording] the contents of small scraps of parchment, bound together as a single book, for the benefit of anyone who is eager to track down this establishment's possessions; here he will most readily find an abundance [or writings] —with the names [of the possessions] (not all, however, because many writings were overlooked by our predecessors, whether because they perished in the blaze that consumed the books or because they were damaged by age)— all united in a coherent fashion and prefaced with the year of the Incarnation of the Lord and the year of the then-reigning king, as best as possible»⁸⁰.

This passage demonstrates how various *topoi* might be deployed in cartulary prologues. It also shows that multiple messages —or diverse discourses— might be blended, such as identity (use of «we»), patrimony (names of possessions), memory (preserving documents against loss), and history (reordering of the past by date).

A similar «framing» effect might also be achieved by placing a cartulary or charter copies alongside narrative texts in a codex. It was no accident that copies created by monks of Saint Augustine's, Canterbury, to support their request for an exemption from Pope Calixtus II in 1120, were written in a volume containing Goscelin of Saint-Bertin's lives of their most important saints⁸¹. These entries began with a full-page, historiated initial I (f. 277r), depicting the donor (supposedly King Æhelberht), holding a sword in his right hand and a document (presumably the grant) in his left. These charters were part of a small booklet, which featured extracts from Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica* about Augustine's questions for Pope Gregory and a copy of Goscelin's pro-monastic *Libellus contra inanes sanctae virginis Mildrethe usurpatores*⁸². This was no random grouping, but rather texts and charters to support monastic claims based on a very particular interpretation of the past, including possession of the relics of Saint Mildreth, hotly contested with the neighboring archbishop and monks of Christ Church in 1087-9⁸³. Such framing was an attempt by monks to re-present their archives (and their past) in a way that would serve their needs in the present.

Overall, early monastic cartularies employed a variety of means to «frame» their copies of charters. Some of these were graphic features, from the *mise en texte* of a single entry to the organization/presentation of the cartulary as a whole. Although some monks accomplished their goals just through selection, arrangement, and layout of charter copies,

⁸⁰ *Hunc tantummodo codicem de membranulis in unius libri cumulavimus corpus, ut, si forsan quis istius loci possessionum investigandarum fuerit avidus, ad hunc recurat: ibi numerum et nomina <non omnia quoniam multa ab antecessores nostris neglecta sunt partim librorum incensione, partim demolita vetustate> invenire poterit quantocius sub praetitulacione annorum dominicae nativitatís, vel tunc temporis cujuslibet regis abte conjunctum, prout nostrae erta possibilitatis, Morelle, «Diplomatic Culture», 62. Note: Morelle indicated that the bracketed lines were inserted in the margin and between the lines of the now lost manuscript.*

⁸¹ BL Cotton Vespasian B xx, ff. 277r-84v.

⁸² BL Cotton Vespasian B xx, ff. 251v-59v, Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica* i.27 and iii.2, ff. 260r-276r. Goscelin on Mildreth (BHL 5962), Colker, «A hagiographic polemic». Julian Harrison in the BL *Manuscript Catalogue* (only partially online) notes the ruling of the Bede and charter sections were the same, and that this booklet must have dated after 1114 and was created XII^m with the bulk of the manuscript.

⁸³ Sharpe, «Goscelin's».

others used framing texts designed to structure a reader's (or listener's) expectations and to communicate multiple messages from diverse discourses.

4 TOWARDS THE FUTURE

The study of cartularies has advanced greatly since 1993, when *Les cartulaires* triggered a wave of subsequent scholarship. Since then, two factors have stimulated significant advances. One has undoubtedly been the digital revolution in charter (and cartulary) analysis, particularly relational databases which have made comparison across broad areas and chronologies ever more possible⁸⁴. Such tools have aided the typological strand promoted by *Les cartulaires*, including analyses by region or lordship, which have flourished, even if comprehensive datasets for realms such as England or France remain yet to be achieved. One promising example is the *de rebus diplomaticis* project which studies the composition and reception of charters through a comparison of validating signs—which could also be traced through cartularies⁸⁵—. But perhaps the more revolutionary change has been the application of postmodern understandings of narrative to charters and cartularies. Such approaches have allowed scholars to identify the discourses present in cartularies. Taken together, these approaches have advanced our collective understanding of monastic cartularies in northwestern Europe from 900 to 1200. Unlike the more «ordinary writing» of late medieval cartularies, we now understand that early cartularies are extraordinary sources. Indeed, their hybridity and diversity are a strength rather than a weakness: they provide rich evidence for the ideas and actions of their composers and compilers. Such trends suggest a bright future for scholars of cartularies, which offer valuable access to medieval documentary culture in all its richness and complexity.

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⁸⁴ See the analysis of Scottish cartularies by Tucker in this issue.

⁸⁵ Barrett et al., *Between Composition*.

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