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Texts and Societies

Wendy Davies

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| This volume contains xvi + 340 pages |
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PUBLISHER'S NOTE

The articles in this volume, as in all others in the *Variorum Collected Studies Series*, have not been given a new, continuous pagination. In order to avoid confusion, and to facilitate their use where these same studies have been referred to elsewhere, the original pagination has been maintained wherever possible.

Each article has been given a Roman number in order of appearance, as listed in the Contents. This number is repeated on each page and is quoted in the index entries.

INTRODUCTION

The papers in this collection include some technical analyses, though fewer than are printed in its sister volume *Welsh History in the Early Middle Ages* (Ashgate, 2009), and include some of the results of the long campaign of archaeological fieldwork that absorbed me through the 1980s and beyond; most of them, however, are investigations into social structure and they all derive from my second major set of research. By the time they were written I had already been in my second academic post, at UCL, for some years, after the initial very stimulating years in Birmingham. Most of the papers, then, derive from the 1980s and early 1990s but four are later reflections on material primarily studied in that period.

My second set of research focussed on the Redon charters, from eastern Brittany, work which I initially undertook in order to see if there were comparabilities between Breton and Welsh rural societies of the early middle ages. I quickly came to the view that there were some, but not many. At the same time I was involved, with Grenville Astill, in the field project, which focussed on the four communes which are most intensively covered by the Redon charters – Ruffiac, Tréal, Saint-Nicolas-du-Tertre and Carentoir. On my part this began as an attempt to understand the landscape of the charters, but it became much more: quite apart from years of fieldwalking and excavation, it took me into archives and into many other kinds of text, in particular texts which derived from the thirteenth to the twentieth centuries. So, despite the immensely detailed focus on a few hundred charters from the ninth century, there were always much wider perspectives in my mind. My Redon charter work was also my first venture into the world of electronic databases – in itself more reason to extend perspectives – and I remain deeply grateful to Chris Horsbrugh, then of UCL Computer Centre, for writing all the programmes with which I analysed the material; this was in the days before user-friendly packages, though I came to use those soon after, in analysis of the fieldwork data.

I was by no means the only person working on the Redon material and others published commentaries both on the texts of the charters and on their social and political significance. Hubert Guillotel stands out among these; in addition to his many papers, his contribution to the facsimile edition of the cartulary, published in 1998, is a fundamental analysis of the manuscript; it is essential reading, as are

Bernard Tanguy's comments on name-forms in the same volume.¹ Guillotel's arguments for the dates of the charters are also very important, and in some cases diverge from mine; he used the charters to illuminate politics throughout his work but much can be found in the survey he co-wrote with André Chédeville.² Noel-Yves Tonnerre also did important textual work, as well as social analysis, as he continues to do.³ Bernard Merdrignac is another major Breton scholar, who has made many relevant contributions over the past twenty-five years.⁴ And there are English scholars too who have made major contributions to Redon studies, like Julia Smith and Caroline Brett.⁵ I benefited greatly from discussions with all of these people, and especially from their friendship over many years, as well as that of many others; and I recommend their work and approaches as an alternative to my own. Léon Fleuriot was even more generous: at an early stage in my own work he gave me copies of all his notes on name forms in De Courson's text of the Redon charters, as well as access to a microfilm of the manuscript; we argued long over many points but he was enormously helpful and an extremely good friend. Although he did not publish all the things he wanted to publish about these texts, there are some of his later thoughts in his revised edition of his *Dictionary of Old Breton*.⁶

Articles I–III here are textual criticism, on Landévennec as well as Redon charters, and should not be too difficult to read; they introduce many of the themes that I have continued to explore in collections from other regions. Article II is a minor piece, although it emanated from an extremely important conference, and although the general points about forgery are useful. Article I still seems to me to be important, both in respect of identifying local scribal practice and in its analysis of how a cartulary is put together; it is full of useful observations on charter writing, although analysis of the style and syntax of records of local origin could be taken much further as a contrast to those of monastic origin.

¹ *Cartulaire de l'abbaye Saint-Sauveur de Redon* (Rennes: Amis des Archives historiques du diocèse de Rennes, Dol et Saint-Malo, 1998), pp. 49–69.

² A. Chédeville and H. Guillotel, *La Bretagne des saints et des rois. Ve-Xe siècle* (Rennes, 1984).

³ See his *Naissance de la Bretagne. Géographie historique et structures sociales de la Bretagne méridionale (Nantais et Vanneçais) de la fin du VIIIe à la fin du XIIe siècle* (Angers, 1994); and more recently, for example, N.-Y. Tonnerre (ed.), *Chroniqueurs et historiens de la Bretagne du moyen âge au milieu du XXe siècle* (Rennes, 2001).

⁴ Note, for example, his contribution to P.-R. Giot, Ph. Guigon, B. Merdrignac, *Les premiers bretons d'Armorique* (Rennes, 2003).

⁵ J.M.H. Smith, *Province and Empire. Brittany and the Carolingians* (Cambridge, 1992). C. Brett (ed. and trans.), *The Monks of Redon. Gesta Sanctorum Rotonensium and Vita Conuuoionis* (Woodbridge, 1989).

⁶ L. Fleuriot, *Dictionnaire du Vieux Breton*, in 2 parts: C. Evans and L. Fleuriot, *Part II. A Supplement to the 'Dictionnaire des Gloses en Vieux Breton'* (Toronto, 1985).

Note my words of warning on page 69, however: as ever, some problems are likely to remain insuperable. Article III came from an extremely memorable conference in the monastery of Landévennec – quite a small occasion but packed with local interest and overflowing with friendship. The Landévennec charters are a challenging group of texts and, despite a century and more of study, remain difficult to analyse. Mine was one attempt among several to apply some consistent principles of criticism (Guillotet took a different approach in the same volume); the paper remains an interesting attempt to deal with some intractable material and I continue to believe that there is usable material, largely overlooked, in that collection. It was my intention to publish a list classifying these Landévennec charters by type; this was omitted in the publication (though circulated with it) and it is now published here. As for revisions and emendations to the original publications in the light of the passage of nearly 25 years: Guillotet's arguments for the dates of the Redon charters, as indicated above, should be considered alongside my own (I 82–90); Caroline Brett's discussion of the hands of the manuscript is now available in her book, noted at note 5 above (I 71 n.9).

Articles IV–X are social analyses deriving from the Redon charters and are in some cases preliminary versions of material later developed in my book on early medieval Breton rural society;⁷ other cases stand alone, and are merely summarized in the book. Article IV is a revised edition of a 1981 paper, the first piece of socio-political analysis I wrote from the Redon charters and for me a pioneering paper of discovery of people and places; the material was further developed in *Small Worlds* and is revisited, in a different way, in the paper I recently wrote for Jinty Nelson's Festschrift.⁸ It has some historiographical interest, coming from such an early stage in my thinking, but it makes a cogent point about the nature and fragmentation of political power; the point is more widely applicable. Article V is a fundamental analysis of the roles of local priests; at the time of writing it was a completely new approach, conditioned by new kinds of question (although I was influenced by attending the Spoleto conference on rural parish formation⁹), and it has not been modified subsequently. It is summarized in the book but is best read in this version, particularly since it raises wider issues than the purely Breton. Articles VI, VII and VIII are again

⁷ *Small Worlds. The Village Community in Early Medieval Brittany* (London and San Francisco, 1988).

⁸ 'Franks and Bretons. The impact of political climate and historiographical tradition on writing their ninth-century history' in Paul Fouracre and David Ganz (eds), *Frankland: the Franks and the World of Early Medieval Europe* (Manchester, 2008), 304–21.

⁹ *Cristianizzazione ed Organizzazione ecclesiastica delle Campagne nell'alto medioevo: Espansione e Resistenze, Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'alto medioevo*, 28 (1982).

fundamental analyses, of dispute settlement practice in this case, and are again best read in these versions. There is some overlap between VI and VII, although VI is about process and VII is about people. VIII – on suretyship – was again a new approach. My understanding was much enhanced by discussion of insular Celtic parallels, and by collaboration with Celticists, but it is important *not* to see these mechanisms as distinctively Celtic; there are, for example, very similar mechanisms to be found across northern Spain at a comparable period. There are similar messages in Article IX, with its warning not to expect ‘Celtic’ similarities (p. 885); this is a slighter piece, but makes a serious point about the way that family ownership worked in practice, as also about the constant process of fragmentation and reconstruction that characterizes much early medieval peasant proprietorship; it is also interesting on family strategies and on the alienability of property. Article X, like IX written in a phase of reflection subsequent to the main Redon work, is valuable because it offers a view of peasant practice in marriage arrangements, at a time when our evidence is usually firmly aristocratic; it is also useful on the power of women in property transactions.

As for revisions and emendations to the original publications of Articles IV–X: there has been much more work on the Breton interaction with Carolingians since I wrote and it is important to consider the work of Julia Smith and Noel-Yves Tonnerre, cited above, alongside mine, as well as that by J.-P. Brunterc’h (IV).¹⁰ Bernard Tanguy’s work on place-names has added some new dimensions to the analysis of priests and their responsibilities, while Gesine Jordan’s very interesting book on pious donation does so too; and since we should think about potentially comparable societies as well, there has been much very good work on the church in late Anglo-Saxon England in recent years (V).¹¹ I would of course now add many more recent works on the Carolingians to my note in VI (308 n. 6), not least those of Dame Janet Nelson; and the publications on fieldwork mentioned there emerged regularly until 1997 (VI 308 n. 9);¹² the forthcoming work, named in VII 66 n. 4 and in VIII 88 n. 12, is the one ultimately named *Small Worlds*. I now know that requiring sureties to be available for goods

¹⁰ J.-P. Brunterc’h, ‘Le duché du Maine et la marche de Bretagne’ in H. Atsma (ed.), *La Neustrie. Les pays au nord de la Loire de 650 à 850. Colloque historique international*, 2 vols. (Sigmaringen, 1989), i.29–127.

¹¹ For Tanguy, see above, p. viii and n. 1. G. Jordan, ‘Nichts als Nahrung und Kleidung’. *Laien und Kleriker als Wohngäste bei den Mönchen von St. Gallen und Redon (8. und 9. Jahrhundert)* (Berlin, 2007). For England, to cite the most obvious, J. Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society* (Oxford, 2005) and F. Tinti (ed.), *Pastoral Care in Late Anglo-Saxon England* (Woodbridge, 2005).

¹² For example, J.L. Nelson, *Charles the Bald* (Harlow, 1992), but also many articles, such as those collected in *Rulers and Ruling Families in Early Medieval Europe* (Aldershot, 1999). For fieldwork publication, see below, p. xiii.

sold is not that unusual in the early middle ages and is not a distinctively northern European practice (VIII 85, 86); there are Spanish examples too.

Articles XI–XIII are a tiny proportion of the results of the archaeological field project carried out with Grenville Astill, a project which occupied almost twenty years from initial thoughts to final publication; in addition to the annual reports, that final publication was in two books: *The East Brittany Survey: Fieldwork and Field Data* (Aldershot, 1994) and *A Breton Landscape* (London, 1997), the latter also published in French as *Un Paysage breton* (Saint-Malo, 2000). The entire project was immensely stimulating – not just because of dealing with the *longue durée* of two thousand years of land-use change but for the sheer excitement of the modern archive work, the intimate concern with the land and the challenge of developing an appropriate methodology. Article XI is a small piece, though appropriate for the Festschrift for which it was written, because it brought together place-name evidence with that of changing land-use. It makes a negative point (on *ville* names as potential indicator of new settlements) but one that is important. Articles XII and XIII reflect fieldwork I did myself on stone scatters on the fields. I was very proud of it at the time, given its innovative and genuinely interdisciplinary character. XII is important as an introduction to new methods for assessing past land-use and land-use change; its implications are developed in *Breton Landscape*. XIII is a more mature piece, in which I had come to terms with all the methodological issues, and it includes much on changing farming practice of the late middle ages and modern period as well.

Articles XIV–XIX are discussion pieces which put Breton material into a wider, usually but not always Celtic, context; most were conference papers, in which I was making a point about including, and differentiating, Breton material. XIV ends with a good idea, but is quite slight, although it came from an inspiring conference at Govan, which gave appropriate attention to the extraordinary collection of sculpture there. XV came from another memorable conference (also in Scotland) and makes a substantial point about insular institutions which would be capable of much more extended exploration. XVI is a paper that students find useful. I remain committed to its point about differences in scale – a point that is easily, and often, ignored – and to the significant differences between Celtic areas; and I still passionately believe that ‘some [kings] had very few functions at all’ (123). Article XVII is the most recent piece in this collection, prepared for a conference organized by the late and much-missed Tim Reuter. It turned into a surprisingly interesting comparison and it is useful to bear in mind that contemporaries may well have seen Irish, Scots and Breton rulers as the equal of King Alfred. The conference which provoked Article XVIII was concerned with serfdom and slavery in many cultures at many periods and was not restricted to the middle ages; it is again a paper which students find useful; it gives Breton material a small place in a wider European context, whose interpretation

continues to change.¹³ The last paper in this collection, Article XIX, also took its shape from a multi-period, multi-culture conference and also set the Breton evidence in a western European context, paying particular attention to English, French and Italian material. Since it was written, more examples of the study of judicial practice at local level have been published and these should now be taken into account too.¹⁴ As for revisions and emendations to Articles XIV–XIX, besides extending the bibliography: I would make much less of a public/private distinction in XVI and I would make less of a case for the size of Scotland at the point of comparison – and I would certainly say more about Alba and the large recent historiography, though see further on this at pp. 324 and 326 in the following paper.¹⁵ The excavations at Llanbedrgoch are now finished, though not yet fully published, although the relative Viking and native elements are still controversial (XVII 334). I would not nowadays talk about public notaries in ninth-century Spain, although there are people there who in effect performed notarial functions for local communities as well as for kings (XIX 52).

The papers I have written on Brittany are much more widely known than those I wrote on Wales and there is no need to make the point that Brittany needs consideration in the context of western European development. It is a particularly interesting area: it is more than a region of modern France now, with some very un-French features in its continuing heritage, just as it was much more than – indeed other than – a dimension of the Carolingian Empire in the early middle ages. It was neither typically Celtic nor Frankish, and that makes it very interesting indeed. To my surprise I have often been reminded of northern Spain, which has occupied me much in the last decade, while working on this collection. There are some very clear parallels in charter writing practice and in the transmission of peasant property, as there are also parallels and contrasts in judicial practice. I hope to explore some of this in the future, as I hope that

¹³ The continuing bibliography is enormous. Recent contributions of note include those by Alice Rio, 'Freedom and unfreedom in early medieval Francia: the evidence of the legal formularies', *Past and Present* 193 (2006), 7–40 and *eadem*, 'High and low: ties of dependence in the Frankish kingdoms', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 18 (2008), 43–68.

¹⁴ For example, material in the central chapters of M. Innes, *State and Society in the Early Middle Ages. The Middle Rhine Valley, 400–1000* (Cambridge, 2000); in A.J. Kosto, *Making Agreements in Medieval Catalonia: Power, Order, and the Written Word, 1000–1200* (Cambridge, 2001); W.C. Brown and P. Górecki (eds), *Conflict in Medieval Europe* (Aldershot, 2003); J.A. Bowman, *Shifting Landmarks: Property, Proof, and Dispute in Catalonia around the Year 1000* (Ithaca, 2004).

¹⁵ Note in particular the work of Dauvit Broun, e.g. *The Irish Identity of the Kingdom of the Scots* (Woodbridge, 1999), but also many papers. I have reworked and extended some of the material in this paper in a forthcoming paper 'States and non-states in the Celtic world' in *Der frühmittelalterliche Staat - europäische Perspektiven*, eds W. Pohl and V. Wieser (Vienna, 2009).

someone may pursue the comparison between Brittany and Catalonia, each with its Carolingian overlay and very strong local culture.

WENDY DAVIES

Woolstone
19 June 2009

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I

THE COMPOSITION OF THE REDON CARTULARY

The diplomatic of the earliest charter collection from Redon, in eastern Brittany, has provoked some summary discussion in recent theses, as also from its principal nineteenth-century commentators, although the dates of individual texts were certainly very fully considered by La Borderie¹. It is curious that despite the importance of the material, despite a number of obvious corruptions and despite the two-hundred-year interval between the supposed origination of the charters and their copying into the existing eleventh-century cartulary, there has been no systematic analysis of formulation nor discussion of the way the cartulary was put together. This paper sets out to remedy this situation and much of it is therefore about the way people recorded transactions in the ninth century; it is inevitably also about the way a major and powerful monastic house used those records and generated its own. It is certainly possible – as well as interesting – to draw some broad conclusions about the materials from which the cartulary was constructed and the relationship between them, and this has no little significance for those who use the charters for historical or linguistic purposes².

There is no denying that there are problems in analysing this material, problems which are at present insuperable, and probably always will be. The different parts of the cartulary cannot be made to fall into a completely neat and tidy pattern and, although a broad overall structure is perceivable, anomalies persist which are difficult to explain. Further, it is impossible to disentangle some of the corruptions of

1 N.-Y. TONNERRE, *Le diocèse de Vannes au IX^e siècle d'après le Cartulaire de Redon*, University of Paris X, Thèse de troisième cycle 1978 – on diplomatic of the Morbihan charters (cf. TONNERRE, *Le cartulaire de Redon*, in: *Landévennec et le monachisme breton dans le haut moyen âge*, ed. M. SIMON, Landévennec 1986, p. 115–21); J. M. H. SMITH, *Carolingian Brittany*, University of Oxford D. Phil. thesis 1985, p. 45–54 – on diplomatic of ninth-century charters; H. GUILLOTEL, *Les Actes des ducs de Bretagne, 944–1148*, University of Paris, Faculté de Droit, d'Économie et de Sciences Sociales, Thèse de doctorat en Droit 1973 – on some forgeries of eleventh-century material; also GUILLOTEL, *Les cartulaires de l'abbaye de Redon*, in: *Mémoires de la Société d'histoire et d'archéologie de Bretagne* 63 (1986) p. 36 and 46–7 – on forged ninth- and eleventh-century charters. Earlier considerations are *Le Cartulaire de Redon*, ed. A. DE COURSON, Paris 1863, p. cclix–ccclxi; A. LE MOYNE DE LA BORDERIE, *Histoire de Bretagne, Rennes-Paris 1896–1904* (6 vols.) vol. 2, p. 276–81; M. PLANIOL, *Histoire des Institutions de la Bretagne, Mayenne 1981–4* (2nd edn, 5 vols.) vol. 2, p. 153–72. A. LE MOYNE DE LA BORDERIE, *La Chronologie du Cartulaire de Redon*, Rennes 1901.

I have used de Courson's numbering of the charters, cited as CR 1 etc., and CR A1 etc. for those of his Appendix; I quote from the manuscript throughout, however, and hence some deviation from de Courson's printed edition.

2 I really owe this undertaking to Mr. J. Sheringham of Machynlleth, who suggested to me about ten years ago that the Redon cartulary needed some systematic analysis and could not be treated as a text of uniform value. He was quite right.

Wendy Davies: 'The composition of the Redon cartulary'. First published in: *Francia. Forschungen zur westeuropäischen Geschichte*, Band 17/1: *Mittelalter*, hrsg. vom Deutschen Historischen Institut Paris, Sigmaringen: Jan thorbecke Verlag 1990, S. 69–90.

content; although solutions can often be suggested, some passages are near or total nonsense³. So also the problems of dating: many of the dates given in the texts are impossible, for errors of one or more minims, as also in computation of the appropriate phases of the moon, abound; one can often make sense of these irregularities by suggesting minor emendations to day of the week or day of the month, but the emendations do have to be made and the date intended cannot always be deduced⁴. However, despite these problems, some of the processes determining the makeup of the existing text can be glimpsed. What follows is a summary of their main aspects.

The principal extant cartulary of Redon is found in a manuscript compiled in the late eleventh century, consisting for the most part of copies of ninth-century charters⁵. These pertain to the monastery of Redon, founded in 832 by local clerics and gaining the patronage of the emperor Louis within two years of its foundation⁶. Although the monastery retained Frankish royal support and also won the support of the increasingly independent rulers of Brittany, many of the properties that accrued to it in the century after its foundation came from free peasant proprietors of the neighbourhood. Hence, most of the charters of the collection are private documents, concerning small properties and small-scale transactions.

The cartulary consists of 391 charters but there are nearly fifty folios missing from the manuscript; these folios probably contained some or all of the additional sixty-two ninth-century Redon charters known from early modern transcripts⁷. 288 of the charters of the cartulary are written in similar hands of the late eleventh century and

3 Corruptions range from scribal errors like *Conwoionem* for *coniugem* through the inconsistencies of the Lusanger/Derval transactions in CR 57 and CR 224–31 to the intentional corruptions of CR 143 or CR 199; see further DAVIES, *Forgery in the Cartulaire de Redon*, in: *Fälschungen im Mittelalter. Internationaler Kongreß der MGH München 15–18 September 1986*, Munich 1988 (6 vols) vol. 4, p. 265–274.

4 See the Appendix below for a list of suggested working dates. The errors arise because the year is indicated by the year of imperial rule, or by the floruit of one or more office holders, or by an AD date, or not at all; the day of the month is usually indicated by the Roman calendar, but also by church festivals, by the day of the month or not at all. The day of the week is often given; this can confirm the year, or even supply it in its absence though more usually can do no more than suggest a range of possible years. When the year is also computed by indiction and the day by the day of the lunar month, errors are more common than not.

5 Archbishopric of Rennes MS, no number; printed by de Courson as *Cartulaire de Redon* (abbreviated CR here). There were clearly other cartularies of Redon, some of which survive in small fragments; see GUILLOTET, *Cartulaires* (see n. 1) p. 37–48.

6 CR 1, A6, A9; cf. 2, A28, A32, A44. See DAVIES, *Small Worlds. The Village Community in Early Medieval Brittany*, London 1988, p. 26–8, 192–4, for foundation and rulers' patronage; also GUILLOTET in A. CHÉDEVILLE and H. GUILLOTET, *La Bretagne des Saints et des Rois*, Rennes 1984, p. 240–3; and J. M. H. SMITH, *Culte impérial et politique frontalière dans la Vallée de la Vaine*, in: *Landévennec et le monachisme breton dans le haut moyen âge*, ed. M. SIMON (see n. 1).

7 All but seven of the additional charters are printed by de Courson in his Appendix to CR, using texts printed in Dom LOBINEAU's *Histoire de Bretagne*, Paris 1707, and transcribed in the Maurist collections in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MSS, Baluze 46, Baluze 376 and fr 22330; the others (as also some more or less variant texts of the cartulary and additional material) may be found in H. MORICE, *Mémoires pour servir de preuves à l'histoire ecclésiastique et civile de Bretagne*, Paris 1742–6 (3 vols.) vol. 1, cols. 265, 271, 272, 295, 297, 308, and in the Abbé TRAVERS, *Histoire de Nantes*, Nantes 1860, vol. 1, p. 125. See further TONNERRE, *Cartulaire* (see n. 1) p. 117–18. There seems to be a twelfth-century note of another ninth-century text in Bordeaux MS 1, fol. 259v.

283 of these relate transactions of the ninth or early tenth centuries. A further 103 charters were added to the first cartulary by different and varying hands during the later eleventh and first half of the twelfth century; most of these additional charters detail transactions of the eleventh century, as do the odd five of the original 288, although a third belong to the first half of the twelfth century and two (possibly three) to the tenth⁸. The act of making the cartulary therefore seems to belong to the late eleventh century: since the latest charter of the original collection is dated to 1066–81, it is likely that the compilation was made near this time⁹. Collection then seems to have continued for the next half century or so. The process of acquiring, ordering and recording documentation was therefore an especial concern of the years between c. 1075 and 1150, although much of the material initially collected was of ninth-century reference¹⁰. It is, indeed, the density of private ninth-century transactions that is the distinctive quality of this collection and gives it its remarkable value¹¹. (In fact, three quarters of these ninth-century texts, with the additional 62 from transcripts, relate to the two generations spanning the years 830–880, while most of the rest relate to the years before the foundation of Redon; very few are of tenth-century date). The following comments are concerned with the initial compilation of the cartulary and hence deal essentially with ninth-century charters.

Distinctions in diplomatic practice

Although several recent writers have commented on the use of Frankish formulary collections, particularly the formularies of seventh-century Neustria, by what they presume to be Redon scribes, there are in fact six types of diplomatic practice distinguishable in the ninth-century charters; three of these are only occasionally represented¹². The types are:

(1) Neustrian formulary-derived diplomatic, using first-person records; two models overwhelmingly predominate: those recording (a) grants beginning *Mundi termino*

8 CR 305, 357, ?329; there are very few tenth-century charters in the earlier part of the cartulary: CR ?270, 274–281, ?282, 283; all date from before July 924.

9 CR 286; cf. GUILLOTEL, *Cartulaires* (see n. 1) p. 34–5, who argues that the last scribe of the early cartulary was working in the 1070s, contemporary with the energetic Abbot Aumod. See Caroline BRETT's discussion of hands of the CR MS, comparing them in the first instance with late eleventh-century hands from Mont St Michel, *Texts from early mediaeval Redon: their value for the history of Brittany*, University of Cambridge Ph. D. thesis 1986; publication forthcoming. For a full description of the manuscript, see GUILLOTEL, *Cartulaires* (see n. 1) p. 28–36; cf. TONNERRE, *Cartulaire* (see n. 1) p. 115–16 (who argues alternatively that the first eight folios were written in the early eleventh and others in mid-eleventh century).

10 The other cartularies are also witness to the same interest; see for example the short, fragmentary mid-twelfth-century Paris, BN MS, nouv. acq. lat. 2208.

11 LA BORDERIE made extensive use of the cartulary in vol. 2 of his *Histoire de Bretagne*, as have all subsequent writers on ninth-century Brittany, myself included. Its importance cannot be overemphasized.

12 Six types if we include the charters of de Courson's Appendix; type (6) does not occur in the cartulary itself. – For comment on the influence of Frankish-collected formularies, see for example PLANIOL (see n. 1) vol. 2, p. 153–5; TONNERRE, *Diocèse* (see n. 1) and *Cartulaire* (see n. 1) p. 119–20; SMITH (see n. 1) p. 48–9; DAVIES (see n. 6) p. 136–7.

adpropinquante and (b) sales beginning *Magnifico uiro*, although (c) other formulae-influenced models of sale and grant do occur. There are also:

- (2) many third-person records of rural origin;
- (3) many third-person records of Redon origin;
- (4) a few third-person records of ›Celtic‹ type;
- (5) a few records using what may be termed Breton ›courtly‹ diplomatic; and
- (6) a few using Frankish imperial diplomatic. The charters of de Courson's Appendix and other additional material are often so heavily abbreviated that their type cannot be determined; this applies to 33 of the 62 but enough is recorded of the rest to suggest a classification.

To make the distinctions clear, there follow examples of each of these types, in full, without textual emendation:

- 1a *Mundi termino adpropinquante, ruinis crebrescentibus, iam certa signa manifestantur, idcirco ego, in Dei nomine, Ratvili, considerans grauitudinem peccatorum meorum, et reminiscens bonitatem Dei dicentis, Date elemosinam et omnia munda fiant uobis; si aliquid de rebus nostris locis sanctorum uel substantiae pauperum conferimus, hoc nobis, procul dubio, in aeternam beatitudinem retribuere confidimus; ego quidem, de tanta misericordia et pietate Domini confisus, per hanc epistolam donationis donatumque in perpetuum uolo esse ad illos monachos habitantes et exercentes regulam sancti Benedicti in monasterio quod uocatur Roton, ubi ego ipse locum petiui animam saluandi, quod ita et fecimus; donauimus eis Binnon totum, cum massis et manentibus, cum terris, siluis, pratis, pascuis, aquis, aquarumue decursibus, mobilibus et immobilibus suis, et cum omnibus adpenditiis suis, cultis et incultis¹³, sicut a me hodie uidetur esse possessum, totum atque integrum, a die presenti trado atque transfundo ego in elemosina, sine censu, sine tributo ulli homini nisi solis monachis, ita ut quicquid exinde pro oportunitate monasterii facere uoluerint, liberam ac firmissimam in omnibus habeant potestatem; et si fuerit, aut ego, post hunc diem, aut unus de propinquis heredibus meis, uel quaelibet persona, qui contra hanc donationem aliquid repetere uel calumniam generare presumpserit, mille solidos multum componat, et quod repetit non uindictet, et haec donatio, per omnia tempora, firma ac stabilis permaneat. Signum Ratvili, qui dedit et firmare rogauit; X Sulwal presbyter, X Iarnhaithoui, X Gurhoiarn, X Hebedan, X Arthueu, X Cumiau, X Maenedet, X Maenwallon, X Haelwaloe, X Resmunuc, X Guethengar, X Nennan, X Arrthel, X Minan presbyter, X Hoiarnmin, X Anguanuc, X Callon. Factum est hoc xii kal iulii, regnante domno Holodowico, xxi anno imperii eius (CR 3, 20 June 834, re Bains).*

There are forty-five of this type in the cartulary (16%) and a further fifteen in the abbreviated additional material.

Most of the ›Frankish‹ formulaic sales run as follows:

- 1b *Magnificis uiribus nomine Budworet, presbytero, uel germano suo, nomine Anawworeto, emptoribus, nos enim in Dei nomine, Cunmailus, et germanus meus Iudhaelus, constat nobis uendidisse et ita uendidimus rem proprietatis nostrae, hoc est, de terra modios vi de brace, nuncupantes Raniudwallon, et dimidium Rancomalton, sita in pago nuncupante Broweroch, in condita plebe Carantoerinse, in loco compoto Bachin, in uilla que uocatur Trebarail, finem habens de uno latere et fronte Rancampbudan et Ranriwocon, de altero uero latere et fronte Botwillan et Ranworhamoi, unde accepimus a uobis precium in quo nobis bene conplacuit, illis presentibus subtertenentur inserti, hoc sunt in totum solidos*

13 The specification of appurtenances varies from charter to charter.

xxxi habeatis, teneatis, faciatis exinde quicquid uolueritis, cum terris cultis et incultis, siluis, pratis, aquis, aquarumue decursibus, pascuis et omni supraposito suo, sicut a nobis, presenti tempore, uidetur esse possessum, ita tradidimus de iure nostro in uestra potestate et dominatione, in luh, in dicombito, in alode comparato, dicofrito, et sine ulla renda et sine ulla re ulli homini sub caelo nisi Budworeto presbytero uel germano eius Anaworeto et cui uoluerint post se, ita ut ab hodierna die quicquid exinde facere uolueritis, iure proprietario, liberam ac firmissimam in omnibus habeatis potestatem ad faciendum¹⁴; et obligamus¹⁵ uobis fideiussores uel dilisidos in securitate ipsius terrae his nominibus: Edelfrit, Rathoiarn et Cabud; et, quod fieri non credimus, si fuerit ulla quislibet persona aut nos ipsi aut ullus de heredibus meis, uel propinquis nostris uel quislibet persona qui contra hanc uenditionem istam aliqua calomniam uel repetitionem generare presumpserit, illud quod repetit insuper et contra cui litem intulerit solidos lxii multa conponat; et haec uenditio firma et stabilis permaneat, manibus nostris firmamur et bonis uiris adfirmare rogamus. X Cummail testis, Iudhail testis, Loiesworet testis (and nineteen further names). Factum est hoc, sub die xvi kalendas marc., vi feria, in loco uilla Arhael, die dominico (CR 91, 14 February 822/28/33/39/50/56, in and re Carentoir).

There are twenty-six of this type in the cartulary (9%) and a further two in the additional material.

Other formulary-derived pieces had similar elements but were more varied and less regular:

- 1c *Cum inter ementes atque uendentes fuerint tres diffinite pretio comparati quamuis plus ualeat reuocare, igitur ego, in Dei nomine, Gundowinus, cum concensu Odane coniugis meae, constat nos uendidisse et ita uendimus aliquem hominem nomine Agenhart et coniugem suam nomine Austroberta, hoc est, uendidimus uobis alodum nostrum qui est in pago namnetico, in condita Lubiaccinse, in uilla nuncupante Faito, in rem proprietatis meae, hoc est, tota possessionem nostram in Faito, et est circumcinctus de duobus lateribus et de uno fronte terra ipsius emptoris et de alio fronte uia publica, ita uobis uendidimus supradictum alodum, cum terris, siluis, uineis, mansis, scuris et omnibus adiacenciis suis, quantum hodierna die nostra uidetur esse possessio, unde accepimus a uobis pretium in quo nobis bene complacuit uel aptificum fuit, hoc est, solidos xl, tantum pretium in manibus nostris de manibus uestris accepimus, et cartam uenditionis eius una cum ipso alodo supradicto publiciter tradidimus ad possidendum uel ad faciendum quicquid exinde uolueritis. Si quis uero, post hunc diem, si fuerit, aut ullus de coheredibus uel propinquis nostris, seu quislibet emissa persona, qui contra hanc uenditionem uenire aut infringere uel insultare presumpserit, cui litem intulerit solidos c multa conponat, et quod repetit non uindictet, sed haec uenditio firma et stabilis permaneat, cum stipulatione subnixa. Actum super ipsam terram, in anno vi regnante domno nostro Hladowico imperatore, in mense aprilis, iiii die mensis. Signum Gundrino, qui hanc uenditionem firmare rogauit; X Odane coniugis suae, X Sion (and eleven further names). Ego Landebertus scripsi (CR 226, 4 April 819, in and re Lusanger).*

There are seventeen of these in the cartulary (6%) and one in the additional material. Being much less standardized, they may have different introductions. Hence, for example,

Licet unicuique de rebus suis propriis seu conductis uel comparadis per strumenta

14 The spaced roman passage is not a norm, although different elements of this string sometimes feature.

15 For *alligamus*.

cartarum, licentiam habeat ad faciendum quod uoluerit; igitur, idcirco ego... (CR 33, 808, in Nantes, re Grandchamp).

Third-person local records were much less regular than any of these formula-derived pieces, in syntax, content and wording:

- 2 *Notum sit omnibus audientibus hominibus tam clericis quam laicis qui audierint, quod uendidit Wenerdon particulas terrae ad Sulcomminum presbyterum, id est sex argentio-las terrae Tonouloscan, cum monticulis et uallibus et pratis et pascuis et heredibus suis; et Sulcommin dedit pretium istius terrae ad Wenerdon, id est, duos equos et solidos d viii argenti, contra solidos xx, et unum solidum ad Morman, et unum solidum ad Catwalart, et unum solidum ad Hoiarn, et vi denarios ad Worgost, iiii denarios ad Kerentin, et iiii denarios ad Argantlowen, et iiii denarios ad Hertiau, et x denarios aliis hominibus; et Wenerdon dedit istam terram pro isto pretio ad Sulcomin, sicut de trans mare super scapulas suas in sacco suo detulisset, et sicut insula in mare, sine fine, sine commutacione, sine iubeleo anno, sine exactore satrapaque, sine censu et sine tributo, sine opere alicui homini sub caelo nisi Sulcomino presbytero et cui uoluerit post se commendare, preter censum regis; et Wenerdom fideiussores dedit in ipsam terram ad Sulcomin; hi sunt fideiussores his nominibus: Morman, Catwalart, Gurgost, Erthiau. Factum est hoc ante ecclesiam Giliac, coram his testibus quorum haec sunt nomina: Sulcomin presbyter, Asoiucar testis (and twenty-seven further names); et haec uenditio fuit in tempore Maen episcopi, dominante Nominoe Britanniae, in die dominico, v idus aprilis, luna xxv (CR 136, 9 April 831/36/42, in and re Guillac).*

There are forty of these in the cartulary (14%) and one more in the additional material.

Redon records also use the third person but are much more regular than those of local origin and are often very brief, with little local or particular detail; not all of the transactions were performed at Redon itself, though many were:

- 3 *Haec carta indicat atque conseruat quod dedit Iarnhidin, filius Portitoe, terram quatuor modios de brace, id est Ran Weten, Sancto Saluatori et monachis rotonensibus, sitam in plebe Rufiac, tradens eam per manicam suam super altare Sancti Saluatoris in Rotonno, in elemosina pro anima sua et pro regno Dei, sine censu, sine tributo ulli homini sub caelo, nisi supradicto Sancto Saluatori et supradictis, in monachia sempiterna, cum omnibus appendiciis suis et cum omnibus rebus supradictae terrae pertinentibus ita tradidit. Factum est hoc xv kal aprilis, in Rotonno, die sabbato, regnante Karolo rege, dominante Salomone Britanniam, Rethwalatro episcopo in Poutrocoet, coram Conwoion abbate et coram cunctis monachis qui ibi aderant: Iarnhitin, qui firmavit et firmare rogauit, testis (and five further names) (CR 37, 18 March 859/64, in Redon re Ruffiac).*

Redon records do not merely record grants; essentially the same format of record was used for other types of transaction. Hence,

Haec carta indicat atque conseruat quod pignorauit Duil ... salinam ... pro xx solidis karolicis usque ad caput vii annorum et si tunc redempta non fuerit maneat in monachia sempiterna Sancto Saluatori et monachis eius absque ulla redemptione usque in finem mundi; et dederunt ... fideiussores iiii in securitatem istius pignorationis... (CR 86, 10 July 865, in and re Guérande).

There are sixty-four of these in the cartulary (23%) and three more in the additional material. There are also seventy-six records in the cartulary, of third-person structure, which have no formulaic features that indisputably associate them

with Redon drafting; nor do they have distinctive features which strongly suggest a local origin. They could therefore be of monastic or of rural provenance. Since many of these benefit Redon, I suspect that the majority are in fact of Redon origin.

Third-person records of ›Celtic‹ type share diplomatic characteristics – both in form and formulas – with charters originating in Scotland, Ireland, Wales, western Britain and western Brittany in the early middle ages¹⁶:

- 4 *His igitur Dei munificentia peractis, Bili episcopus atque Dalitoc nuntius Matvedoi, v feria, luna xvii, eadem die dedicatio ecclesiae Sancti Saluatoris, uenerunt ad rotonense monasterium ut imolarent monachiam praedictam, id est partem tremissam Buiaic ac dimedium plebis Guicbri, cum omnibus suis appendiciis, insulis, pratis, siluis, aquis aquarumue decursibus, Sancto Saluatori in rotonensi monasterio ac monachis Deo ibi seruientibus. Hoc factum est coram multis testibus dignis ac nobilibus: Bili, episcopus, qui dedit, testis; Dalitoc, testis; Benedic, testis (and twenty-one further names). Quicumque hoc firmauerit et custodierit a Deo caeli et ab omnibus sanctis benedictus sit; et quicumque mutauerit, anathematizatus sit (CR 277, 28 October 913, re Guipry).*

These records – of which there are only certainly five, though possibly six (2%) – seem likely to originate from a religious centre farther west than Redon, since we know of others from Landévennec in Finistère, and we have traces of their distinctive formulas in Saints' Lives from Landévennec (or Saint-Pol) and from Saint-Malo¹⁷. Since four of the six have explicit connections with Vannes, they may reflect recording practice in that city in the late ninth and early tenth century¹⁸.

Next Breton ›courtly‹ diplomatic: here again examples are few (two, possibly three, in the cartulary and two in the Appendix); they are associated with the later and grander Breton *principes* of the ninth century, are clearly influenced by Frankish imperial practice and are doubtless themselves an aspect of the prestige sought by Breton rulers, Salomon especially¹⁹. There follow the beginning and end of Salomon's record of his lavish gifts to the monastery that he founded at Plélan:

- 5 *In nomine sanctae et indiuiduae Trinitatis, Salomon, gratia Dei, totius Britanniae magneque partis Galliarum princeps, notum sit cunctis Britanniae tam episcopis quam sacerdotibus totoque clero necnon etiam comitibus ceterisque nobilissimis ducibus fortis-*

16 See DAVIES, Latin charter-tradition in western Britain, Brittany and Ireland, in: Ireland in Early Mediaeval Europe, ed. D. WHITELOCK, R. MCKITTERICK, D. DUMVILLE, Cambridge 1982, p. 258–80.

17 *Ibid.*, p. 259, 264, 272–3. CR 275–9, ?280; I originally suggested that CR 249, 264 and 290 also conformed to Celtic charter type since they have religious sanctions (p. 259, n. 5); this is true, although the bulk of the formulation of 249 and 264 is less distinctive and looks of local Ruffiac/Molac origin. CR 275 lacks witness list and sanction, and CR 276 and 278 lack sanctions, but although not full ›Celtic‹ forms they nevertheless belong to this distinctive tradition. See also DAVIES, Les chartes du Cartulaire de Landévennec, in: Landévennec et le monachisme breton dans le haut moyen âge (see n. 1) p. 88–90, 92–4.

18 Alternatively, it is just possible that these reflect changing practice at Redon; there are certainly sanctions in some of the eleventh-century Redon charters, as de Courson pointed out, CR, p. cclx. However, on balance I think it more likely that they do not reflect Redon practice: the form is far from common in these later charters.

19 CR ?235, 240, 241, A31, A52. Salomon's charter for Prüm, of October 860, shows only some of these features; again influenced by Frankish imperial diplomatic, it also bears the marks of Prüm drafting; *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der jetzt die Preussischen Regierungsbezirke Coblenz und Trier bildenden mittelrheinischen Territorien*, ed. H. BEYER, L. ELTESTER, A. GOERZ, Coblenz 1860–74, vol. 1, no. 95.

simisque militibus omnibusque nostrae ditioni subditis, quomodo uenerabilis Ritcandus abbas...

(narrative of Ritcant's plea for a refuge from Viking attacks, the foundation of Saint-Maxent for the community of Redon, translation of the body of Saint Maxent to it, bestowal of many gifts on the new foundation, followed by confirmation of freedom of property rights)...

et quicquid nostro dominio ex abbacia Sancti Saluatoris recipiebatur ex illorum hominibus, tam colonis quam seruis siue ingenuis, super ipsorum terram commanentibus, tam de pratis et siluis et aquis necnon et forastis, pro mercede in uita aeterna centuplici illis perdonaremus; quorum petitioni fauentes, cum consilio nostrorum nobilium, eis totum et ad integrum quantum mihi meisque hominibus ex illorum abbacia debebatur, tam ex pastu caballorum et canum quam de angariis et de omni debito indulsumus, pro regno Dei et pro redemptione animae meae et parentum meorum et filiorum et pro totius Britannici regni stabilitate; ita ex meo dominio illorum potestati trado atque transfundo, ut quicquid exinde nostrae utilitati recipiebatur, totum in illorum utilitatibus ac stipendiis fratrum proficiat, quatinus ipsis monachis pro nostra populi que christiani salute laetius ac deuotius Domini misericordiam exorare delectet; et ne quis, ex hac die, eos de hac re inquietare presumat nostris et futuris temporibus interdiciamus. Statuimus etiam ac iubemus ut causa uel querela quae contra eos, tempore Conuocioni abbatis, de monachia uel de hominibus eorum seu contra homines eorum uentilata non fuit, numquam uentiletur, neque commeatu quislibet ab hominibus illorum negotia eorum siue terra, siue mari, siue quibuscumque fluminibus exercentibus, aliquem teloneum uel censum aut aliquid redibitionem recipere, sed omnia in utilitate supradictorum monachorum proficiant. Factum est hoc in pago nuncupato trans siluam, in plebe quae uocatur Laan, in monasterio supradicto quod uocatur monasterium Salomonis, xv kal. mai, i feria, luna i, indictione ii, anno ab incarnatione Domini nostri DCCCLXVIII, Salomon totius Britanniae princeps, qui hanc donationem dedit firmareque rogauit, testis; Ritcandus, abbas, qui accepit, testis; Riwallon et Guegon, filii supradicti Salomonis, testes; Ratwili, episcopus Aletis, testis (and thirty-nine further names) (CR 241, 17 April 869, in the monastery of Saint-Maxent, Plélan).

There are some similarities between this diplomatic and that recorded in the Chronicle of Nantes for the princeps Alan in the 880s; although there are no precise verbal parallels, it is similarly elaborate and wordy²⁰.

Examples of Frankish imperial diplomatic (6) are also very few and are not represented at all in the cartulary that survives. However, texts seem to have been available to early modern copyists and the three (of Louis the Pious and Charles the Bald) are preserved almost in full in de Courson's Appendix²¹. These follow ninth-century Frankish practice very closely and are not reproduced here²².

20 See La Chronique de Nantes, ed. R. MERLET, Paris 1896, ch.22, of c.889, especially; cf. Alan Barbetorte's charter, also with Nantes connections, in Cartulaire de l'Abbaye de Landévennec, ed. A. DE LA BORDERIE, Rennes 1888, no. 25. See DAVIES (see n. 17) p. 92, n. 22. (However, the style is echoed in other tenth-century charters of northern France and of England; *ibid.*, p. 91 and n. 19).

21 CR A6, A9, A28.

22 See Recueil des Actes de Charles II le Chauve, ed. G. TESSIER with A. GIRY, M. PROU, F. LOT, Paris 1943–55 (3 vols).

Redon practice

Type (1a) above, the common formulaic first-person grant beginning *Mundi termino adpropinquante*, was, I believe, the standard format used at Redon for recording grants to the monastery in the first couple of decades of its existence. This form is used almost exclusively for grants to Redon and only once for grants to anyone else²³; the format is very, very regular; it is nearly always the form used when transactions were initially performed at Redon itself, rather than in the relevant locality²⁴. We know, for example, that CR 69, of this type, was drafted by the Redon monk Fulric in 860. It is notable that most grants by Breton rulers to Redon were recorded in this way – CR 2 and A13 of Nominoe, CR A32 and A34 of Erispoe and CR 52 of Salomon – though Salomon did also develop his own courtly diplomatic, as demonstrated above.

The preferred Redon form for recording grants changed in the 850s to the much simpler third-person record, (3); this was usually quite brief, nearly always introduced by *Haec carta indicat atque conseruat* and very often included the observation that the grant had been made *in monachia sempiterna* – into the monastery's everlasting proprietorship; hence, explicitly again, in 860 the monk Liberius was named as the scribe of CR 213, of this format. The records are usually so brief and the monastic interest so overwhelming that it is difficult to imagine them the product of any other source. These Redon third-person records were made from 851 and became the norm for Redon recording from c. 860²⁵; the older *Mundi termino* type of record continued in regular use until the mid-850s (854, on the evidence of the additional material in de Courson's Appendix). However, there was a tendency for ›special‹ grants – that is, those made by aristocrats – to continue to be recorded in the longer *Mundi termino* form even after that date²⁶. In this the difference between CR 20 and CR 35 is instructive: both of these charters record grants made to the monastery on the same day, 21 September 852, at Redon; they have many witnesses in common and presumably record different parts of the same ceremony. However, CR 20, which deals with a grant of some land in (?) Molac by the local machtiern Alfret, is recorded in the short form, (3), while CR 35, which details a grant of several properties from the aristocrat Pascwethen – count and subsequently Breton ruler – is recorded in the more elaborate *Mundi termino* form (1a). The basic change in Redon practice from elaborate to brief records can easily be explained by the increasing volume of business in the 850s, and 860s especially; there were many more transactions, particularly small-scale ones. Nevertheless, the long and elaborate form seems to have been retained for grand people: that high status required appropriate language is not surprising and is in itself a useful comment on the growing pretensions of the Breton aristocracy.

23 In CR 143; but this is a very corrupt record, with considerable Redon contamination; see DAVIES (see n. 3).

24 Although transactions so performed were often subsequently repeated in the appropriate localities.

25 CR 116 and 165 have this form and are apparently earlier (816–35 and post-832, perhaps 840s); however, CR 116 seems to be largely a Redon ›fake‹ and CR 165 has several irregular elements; neither can be early texts as they stand.

26 Cf. Alan I's grant of May 878, CR 238.

Haec carta indicat atque conseruat, though not invariable, is the usual introduction to the Redon short form. It was still in use in the first half of the eleventh century, although other types of notification increasingly replaced it. Given this eleventh-century use, I would not wish to discount the possibility that the *haec carta* formula was added during the copying of the cartulary; it is in any case clear that it was sometimes added to local records when they were copied²⁷. However, I think it unlikely that it was a late addition and certainly do not think that *in monachia sempiterna* was an eleventh-century addition – it is too integral to the syntax of the texts. Indeed, nothing suggests that these third-person records were in essence made at any time other than in the ninth century: they have too much circumstantial detail in their witness lists and locations to be later concoctions. In any case their format changed a little over time, as might be expected of a format in use over a long period: those of the later ninth century, especially those drafted for grants to or occasions at the refuge house of Saint-Maxent, are less distinctive and less formulaic²⁸. So, too, the practice of dating from the Incarnation developed from 866 – just as dating by the imperial/regnal years of Frankish rulers dropped out of use from that time²⁹.

Local practice

The records of Redon drafting account for a high proportion of the ninth-century material in the cartulary – at least 39%, and up to 26% more if those without clear Redon elements be included. However, whatever the origin of the latter (and most are likely to be Redon documents), there remains a substantial proportion of records of ›local‹ origin; these records were drafted outside the monastery, usually in the village centres or machtiern's residences where the transactions were performed, and they were often drafted for the participants by local clerics³⁰. Although constituting a smaller proportion of the cartulary, this material is of considerable importance. Much of it came into the Redon collection because existing documents – the title deeds of the properties in question – were handed over with property when it was given or sold to Redon. However, it is sometimes the case that records of alienation to Redon were themselves prepared in the villages, especially for locally transacted sales. Once in Redon these records of local origin were sometimes contaminated by the Redon scribes, who made minor endorsements shortly after they acquired the

27 CR 135 (813), 151 (820), the corrupted 166 (801–13), 212 (814–21), 267 (pre–834). It also appears in a number of other records with significant corrupt elements: CR 88, 145, 177.

28 Cf. CR 236 (which begins *Mundi termino* but does not follow with type 1a), 237.

29 There are two earlier records with an A.D. date, CR 199 and A16 (835 and 842), but the former is incorrect and contaminated with Redon additions and the latter is only known from the abbreviated Appendix version and does not necessarily represent an early text. The ›courtly‹ charters also have A.D. dates, as does one of the formulaic sales, CR 244; all of these are likewise later than 866.

30 The machtiern was a local transaction president, an aristocrat with a special position in village communities; see DAVIES (see n.6) p. 138–42. For performance of transactions in the villages (the centres of the *plebes*), for record-making at the *lis* (the machtiern's residence) and for local scribes, *ibid.*, p. 134–8, and also DAVIES, *People and places in dispute in ninth-century Brittany*, in: *The settlement of disputes in early medieval Europe*, ed. W. DAVIES and P. FOURACRE, Cambridge 1986.

properties and deeds, usually to secure the property against claims by relations of the donor or vendor³¹. However, the local origin remains evident.

Occasionally there survive two variant records of the same occasion, and this suggests that sometimes each party had its own scribe, be they both local or one local and one monastic. CR 250 and 252, for example, record the same Molac sale of c. 830; CR 250, though corrupt, must be a version that came to the purchasers since it later became the basis of a record originating from them; CR 252 may then have been the vendors' record³². CR 56 and 110 are also different versions of the same dispute in Carentoir in 866: CR 56 indicates that Abbot Conwoion sought the return of a property previously given to Redon; CR 110 does not make this point explicitly, but adds other information and specifies a rent to be paid in future³³. CR 6 and 123 – though very similar – have quite different modes of dating, the one using imperial years of Louis and the other the years of his son Lothar³⁴.

The format of these local records is both first-person, formulary-derived and also third-person, unrelated to formularies (or not related to those formularies now known). Formulary-derived records were used especially for sales, particularly the type (1b) above, beginning *Magnifico uiro*; this seems to have been in use in Ruffiac/Carentoir and environs in the very early ninth century, well before the foundation of Redon – used for example by the scribes Tuthowen and Mailon. Thereafter it was used extensively by Haeldetwid in the 830s and 840s, initially in the Ruffiac/Carentoir area but extending to the Redon *seigneurie* with Haeldetwid's increasing involvement in Redon affairs; the type was certainly in use during the period 814–47, and possibly 800–857 if we take outside limits of charters which are not precisely datable³⁵. Other first-person formulas were used in Bourg-des-Comptes, Grandchamp, Lusanger and especially places east of the river Vilaine, at least between 808 and 871; occasionally these types were used for recording grants as well as sales³⁶. In fact, seven different scribes are named, who all used essentially the same diplomatic, and presumably the same (surely antiquated) formulary. Simple third-person records were also used to record a few sales, as also most grants and pledges, and include those records made by Lathoiarn and Condeloc at the early dates of 801–13, 820 and 814–21; sales were recorded in this simple way both in areas not using the formulary-derived types – Batz, Guillac, Peillac and so on – and in Ruffiac and neighbourhood from the 850s onward³⁷. Though most pledges were recorded by Redon, some were

31 See DAVIES (see n. 3); CR 58, 143, 199 etc.

32 See DAVIES (see n. 6) p. 18, n. 24.

33 There is yet another record of the return of this property to Redon, a few years later, in 869, printed in MORICE (see n. 7) vol. 1, col. 308.

34 See also CR 34/133, 54/149, 66/158, 71/A41, 128/219, 178/179. Not all of these are necessarily records of different origin: some contain additional elements and may simply be the result of more accurate copying; see further below, p. 81–82. (Other doublets have orthographic differences but not differences of content, and again need not necessarily be records of different ultimate provenance.)

35 Tuthowen and Mailon: CR 168, 250; Haelderwid: CR 64, 111, 112, 121, 146, 148, 153 etc. For the Redon *seigneurie* (Bains, Renac, Brain, Langon and later Massérac), see DAVIES (see n. 6) p. 188–99 especially.

36 CR 109, for example; sales: CR 209, 210, 211, 226, 227, 228 etc.

37 The latter of course reflects the change in Redon practice itself; the two may not be unconnected: the very large number of small grants from Ruffiac to Redon suggests personal connections between the monastery and the village almost 25 km away – perhaps reflected in the career of the scribe

drafted locally, usually in the first half of the ninth century, and often in areas using the *Magnifico uiro* format for sales, that is places with the antiquated diplomatic tradition³⁸. In other words, some villages seem to have had a long-standing record-making tradition, for essentially local reasons. However, it is interesting to note that the prolific Haeldetwid used local elements in pledges and not the full formulaic diplomatic; as also did two other named scribes – Lathoiarn and Agnus – for Carentoir, Ruffiac and Molac³⁹. Dispute records must for the most part have been made locally, even when they concerned Redon. As might be expected, they have very few formulaic elements and sometimes have some considerable narrative⁴⁰. As for the ›Celtic‹ records, they are really another – though more distinctive – type of local practice⁴¹.

The structure of the cartulary

The above distinctions in diplomatic practice are clear enough to allow us to make some deductions about the organisation of the early cartulary (that is, up to and including CR 288). The first third – that is records up to and including CR 102 – consists very largely of Redon records, although those between CR 31 and 43 are of mixed types and mixed origins. Within this block, charters CR 1–17 are of the period 832–4; there follows a break in the manuscript with many folios missing; charters CR 18–30 (with one exception) then date from c. 857–60; CR 31–43 are of mixed dates; and CR 44–102 are mostly of the 860s. It looks as if this section of a hundred or so charters represents records produced and kept at Redon in the first generation after its foundation, now organized in a rough chronological order; charters from the period 835–56 presumably lay in the missing folios, just as charters from this period preponderate in the additional material now in de Courson's Appendix.

The second section of the early cartulary, that is CR 103–220, includes charters of very mixed dates, in very mixed order, of miscellaneous origins. They are often organized in sets, however, sets relating to one place or property; in this the Ruffiac set, CR 138 to 161, is the most striking, but there are others too, relating to Guer, Bains, Médréac and so on. It looks as if this section represents material miscellaneously acquired by Redon, at various dates, ordered haphazardly.

The last section of the early cartulary, CR 221–288, principally involves material from the late 860s and later, from the abbacy of Ritcant onwards, largely ordered in

Haeldetwid. Abbot Conwoion was of Comblessac origin, 15 km north east of Ruffiac, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that some of his co-founders may have been of Ruffiac origin; *Gesta Sanctorum Rotonensium*, I. ii, in: L. D'ACHÉRY, *Acta Sanctorum ordinis sancti Benedicti*, ed. J. MABILLON, Paris 1668–1701 (9 vols) vol. 4, pt 2, p. 194. Lathoiarn and Condeloc: CR 166, 151, 212; later Ruffiac sales: CR 172, 173. Lathoiarn's early third-person sale relates to Carentoir and is an exception to general practice in that area. Other third-person local sales: CR 136, ?264; and grant: CR 267.

38 Local pledges: CR 34/133 (Haeldetwid), 135, 182, the corrupted 199, 200, 251, 265; the local CR 104 is later (857–70) and the local 193 (856) may have been drafted by Haeldetwid for Redon.

39 CR 34/133, 193; 135, 251.

40 CR 106, 107, 108, for example; for full discussion see DAVIES (see n. 30).

41 For full discussion of characteristics see DAVIES (see n. 16).

chronological fashion; hence, CR 221–5 Ritcant, CR 232–63 largely 870s, CR 266 and 268 onwards post July 878. There are interpolated, however, small sets of charters of earlier date, which nearly always comprise earlier deeds relating to one of the Ritcant and later properties. This is most striking in the case of the Lusanger material: CR 225 about Lusanger, of 16 September 868, is followed by CR 226–31 about Lusanger, of 816–33; so also CR 257 about Pleucadeuc, of 10 February 872, is preceded by CR 255–6 about Pleucadeuc, of 820–66. It looks as if this third of the cartulary represents charters added as acquired after the 860s, in broad chronological order of acquisition.

Thereafter, in the cartulary that we have now, there is a major dislocation between charters 283 and 284; CR 283 records an agreement made in Poitou on 20 June 924, that is after the translation of relics and resettlement of the community in Poitou following severe Viking disruption. CR 284–88 record transactions that took place in the third quarter of the eleventh century. They suggest that, although the community returned to Redon, the original compilers of the cartulary were faced with a jumble of post-924 records which they began transcribing in accordance with no obvious plan – except perhaps a preoccupation with the most recent records.

The nature of these three sections of that early cartulary and their relationship to each other suggest that the basic organization of the Redon archive took place under Abbot Ritcant (867–71): hence, Redon records of the abbacy of Conwoion (d. 868) were placed first⁴²; then other records in possession of the monastery were added in a somewhat haphazard fashion; thereafter the collection was augmented as new documents were acquired. We can envisage Ritcant, or his men, collecting together all the Redon documents, arranging them in rough chronological order – with some deviations – and putting them in one box; then gathering everything else and putting them in another box; and then starting a new box with Ritcant's own documents; new deeds would then be thrown in that box as acquired. There is no need to suppose that this archival activity involved a massive act of copying and recopying: it may simply have been a process of organizing in bundles and endorsing where necessary⁴³. Quite apart from the organization of the respective sections of the cartulary, it makes sense to suppose this began under Ritcant; although his abbacy was short he was extremely active in securing confirmation of previous grants to the monastery and in getting tenants to renew their tenancies, with new commitments to himself. On one occasion he brought several tenants some distance to Bains church to renew tenancies in one major ceremony⁴⁴. There is therefore good evidence that this was a period of energetic property management.

It is interesting to note that one member of most doublets lies between CR 1 and 102 and the other between CR 103 and 220, hence CR 12 and 156, 34 and 133, 54 and 149, and so on. This means that duplication can usually be explained by the different principles of organization of the cartulary: the first of the pair occurs in the initial

42 CR 36 – in the mixed part of the first section – is a text of February and March 869, while the doubtful CR 89/90 purport to derive from about 870; these are the latest texts in the CR 1–102 section and must suggest that that section took shape in or after 869.

43 The rather late orthographic forms of CR 1–17 could suggest that this material was re-organized in the 870s or later. These folios occupy a separate quire and are written in a separate hand.

44 CR 134, 208; see DAVIES (see n. 6) p. 90–1, 129, 133, 190–1.

Redon collection, and represents Redon's early record; the second occurs in the miscellanea – it sometimes represents the other party's record and at others Redon's organization by place rather than by time. There are only five pairs which cannot be explained like this: of these CR 82 is actually a retrospective summary, made c. 863, of the whole group CR 38–40; CR 128/219, CR 178/179 and CR 250/252 are different versions of single transactions and not strictly doublets – 178/179 and 250/252 are therefore recorded with their respective sets by place – Guer and Molac⁴⁵.

All this is of no little significance for assessing and using the cartulary itself; and for stressing the major influence of the monastery of Redon on local behaviour, in this as in so many other aspects of life⁴⁶. But it is also important in its indication of recording practice in rural localities of eastern Brittany in the ninth century at periods before as well as after the foundation of Redon: it is a major witness to local practices in the villages as also to the continuing use of formularies, some two centuries after their collection in the form we now have them, and some three centuries after some of the formulas in them were devised. The material is witness, therefore, to a type of lay literacy: these were record-using societies even if most of their members did not read or write themselves⁴⁷.

APPENDIX

List of dates and types of Redon cartulary charters

KEY:

CR no. = no. of edition and Appendix of de Courson (see n. 1)

1a = *Mundi termino* grant

1b = *Magnifico uiro* sale

1c = Other formulaic

2 = Local diplomatic

3 = Redon diplomatic

4 = ›Celtic‹ charter form

5 = Breton ›courtly‹ diplomatic

6 = Imperial diplomatic

n.d. = no date given

? = unknown or uncertain

/ = either/or (i.e. 854/58 means either 854 or 858)

– = within the period (i.e. 854–58 means between January 854 and December 858)

Morice, Abbé Travers and Bordeaux Bible: see n. 7

45 See above, p. 79, for CR 250/252. I cannot determine why CR 128/219 and CR 77/100 are in their present positions. 128 relates to 129 and 219 may have been thought to relate to 218 or 220; 77/100 could be seen chronologically to fit both after 76 and after 99 – but possible explanations are endless.

46 See DAVIES (see n. 6) especially p. 211–13.

47 Cf. R. MCKITTERICK, *The Carolingians and the written word*, Cambridge 1989.

| CR No. | Type | Date ⁴⁸ |
|--------|------|--|
| 1 | 2/3 | 1) Thursday, pre June 832 2) Wednesday, June 832 |
| 2 | 1a | Thursday 18 June 834 |
| 3 | 1a | Saturday 20 June 834 |
| 4 | 1a | Wednesday 17 June 834 |
| 5 | 1a | Thursday 15 May 833 |
| 6 | 1a | Wednesday 10 December 833 |
| 7 | 1a | Sunday 9 February 833 |
| 8 | 1a | Sunday 26 October 833 |
| 9 | 1a | 29 January 833–28 Jan. 834 |
| 10 | 1a | Sunday 28 December 833 |
| 11 | 1a | Tuesday 27 January 834 |
| 12 | 1a | Sunday 18 January 834 |
| 13 | 2/3 | ? Saturday 28 November 834 |
| 14 | 1a | n.d. (c. 834) |
| 15 | 1a | n.d. (? c. 834) |
| 16 | 1a | Tuesday 14 October 833 |
| 17 | 1a | Sunday 25 January 834 |
| 18 | 3 | Wednesday 25 January 859 |
| 19 | 3 | Tuesday 7 February 859 |
| 20 | 3 | Wednesday 21 September 852 |
| 21 | 2/3 | Tuesday 14 September 868 |
| 22 | 3 | Saturday 15 December 854 |
| 23 | 3 | Wednesday 31 May or Friday 9 June 859 |
| 24 | 3 | Thursday 11 May 859 |
| 25 | 3 | Sunday 18 June 859 |
| 26 | 3 | Thursday 8 July 857 |
| 27 | 3 | 28 October 832–67 |
| 28 | 3 | Monday 25 July 858 |
| 29 | 2/3 | 832–68 |
| 30 | 3 | Saturday 2 March 860 |
| 31 | 3 | 832–68 |
| 32 | 2/3 | Saturday 31 May 861/67 or Saturday 12 June 863 |
| 33 | 1c | October, ? 808 |
| 34 | 2 | Friday 13 July 826 |
| 35 | 1a | Wednesday 21 September 852 |
| 36 | 3 | 1) Friday 18 February 869 2) Sunday 6 March 869 |
| 37 | 3 | Saturday 18 March 859/64 |
| 38 | 2/3 | Friday 18 February 836/41/47/58/64 |
| 39 | 2/3 | Sunday 20 February 847/58 |
| 40 | 2/3 | 20 April 858–67 |

48 In this list I have noted strict alternatives, on the basis of dates supplied in the charter texts. In fact, where we have alternative possible dates one date is often much more likely than others. – LA BORDERIE's work remains fundamental (see n. 1), although it is sometimes unclear why he prefers one date or period to others. – Where more than one date per charter is given in this list (1, 2, etc. as in CR1) it reflects the fact that more than one transaction is recorded.

| | | |
|----|-----|---|
| 41 | 1a | Wednesday 12 August 845/51 |
| 42 | 1c | Sunday, October 846/49 |
| 43 | 1c | March 833 |
| 44 | 3 | Sunday, 860–68 |
| 45 | 2 | Sunday, pre 866 |
| 46 | 2 | Tuesday 20 February 832/37/43/54/60/65/71 |
| 47 | 2/3 | Wednesday 21 Feb. 843/48/54/65/71/76/82/93/99 |
| 48 | 2/3 | 10 December 833–January 868 |
| 49 | 2/3 | Saturday 13 July 866 |
| 50 | 1a | Sunday 15 September 860/66 |
| 51 | 3 | Saturday 18 January 839/50/56/61/67 |
| 52 | 1a | Monday 12 August 866 |
| 53 | 1b | Wednesday 31 March 846 |
| 54 | 3 | Wednesday 17 or Thursday 18 May 864 |
| 55 | 2/3 | Wednesday 17 or Thursday 18 May 864 |
| 56 | 2/3 | Wednesday 19 or Friday 21 June 866 |
| 57 | 1a | Saturday 29 July 864 |
| 58 | 1b | Tuesday 30 April 849 |
| 59 | 1a | Monday 18 February 849 |
| 60 | 2/3 | Tuesday 23 May 842/53/59/64/70 |
| 61 | 2/3 | Saturday 5 August 836/42 |
| 62 | 2/3 | Wednesday 9 January 866 |
| 63 | 2/3 | Wednesday 11 August 863 |
| 64 | 1b | Tuesday 1 March 847 |
| 65 | 2/3 | 1) Tuesday 30 April 866 |
| | | 2) Sunday 11 August 866 |
| 66 | 3 | Sunday 22 December 866 |
| 67 | 2/3 | Sunday 22 December 866 |
| 68 | 3 | Wednesday 30 July 867 |
| 69 | 1a | Tuesday 2 January 860 |
| 70 | 3 | 851–55 |
| 71 | 2/3 | Monday 20 November 836/42/53/59/64 |
| 72 | 3 | Monday, November 857–69 |
| 73 | 3 | Tuesday 22 August 859 |
| 74 | 3 | 15 July 832–67 |
| 75 | 1a | 14 and 16 February, post 831 |
| 76 | 3 | Sunday 26 April 862 |
| 77 | 3 | Sunday 8 June 861/67/72 |
| 78 | 3 | Saturday 6 March 863 |
| 79 | 3 | Monday 15 March 863 |
| 80 | 2/3 | Wednesday 17 March 863 |
| 81 | 2/3 | 832–68 |
| 82 | 3 | 858–67 |
| 83 | 3 | Monday 24 March 833/39/44/50/61/67 |
| 84 | 2/3 | Saturday 4 October 861 |
| 85 | 2/3 | Wednesday 17 June 862 |
| 86 | 3 | Tuesday 10 July 865 |
| 87 | 2/3 | Monday 18 August 861/67/72 |
| 88 | 2/3 | 832–50 |
| 89 | – | c. 871 |

| | | |
|-----|-----|--|
| 90 | – | 871/72 |
| 91 | 1b | Friday 14 February 822/28/33/39/50/56 |
| 92 | 3 | Wednesday 2 April 861/67 |
| 93 | 3 | Wednesday 18 September 855/60/66 |
| 94 | 3 | post 862/66 |
| 95 | 3 | Tuesday, September 861 |
| 96 | 2/3 | Monday 24 February 867 |
| 97 | 1a | Thursday 9 February 842/48 |
| 98 | 2/3 | Wednesday 30 January 866 |
| 99 | 1a | Wednesday 23 October and Sunday 10 November 832/38/49/55/ 60/66 |
| 100 | 3 | Sunday 8 June 861/67/72 |
| 101 | 1c | n.d. |
| 102 | 1a | Monday 10 November 850/61/67 |
| 103 | 2/3 | Thursday 10 June 868 |
| 104 | 2/3 | Sunday, 857–70 |
| 105 | 2/3 | c. 857–58 |
| 106 | 2 | c. 841–51 |
| 107 | 2 | Saturday 8 March 844/50 |
| 108 | 2 | Friday, 841–51 |
| 109 | 2 | Tuesday 29 November 869 |
| 110 | 2/3 | Wednesday 19 or Friday 21 June 866 |
| 111 | 1b | Friday 1 June 843/48 |
| 112 | 1b | 1) Tuesday 6 May 844 2) Saturday 10 May 844 |
| 113 | 1a | Monday 6 May 849 |
| 114 | 3 | Wednesday 8 January 861/67 |
| 115 | 2/3 | Sunday, February 848/49 |
| 116 | 3 | Sunday, July 816–35 |
| 117 | 2/3 | Tuesday 19 June 843/48 |
| 118 | 2/3 | 832–68 |
| 119 | 2/3 | n.d. |
| 120 | ? | July 851–September 855 |
| 121 | 1b | Monday 12 April 846 |
| 122 | 2/3 | c. 840–50 |
| 123 | 1a | Wednesday 10 December 833 |
| 124 | 2 | 837–51 |
| 125 | 1c | Sunday, August 850 |
| 126 | 3 | Friday 1 April 858 |
| 127 | 2 | Friday 29 January 852 |
| 128 | 1a | Friday 1 May 834 |
| 129 | 2 | pre 1 May 834 |
| 130 | 3 | Friday 1 May 834 |
| 131 | 2 | Monday 1 April 821/27/32 |
| 132 | 3 | Wednesday, 832–67 |
| 133 | 2 | Friday 13 July 826 |
| 134 | 2/3 | 5 January 868–January 871 |
| 135 | 2 | Friday 30 December 813 |
| 136 | 2 | Sunday 9 April 831/36/42 |
| 137 | 3 | 28 October 842–67 |

| | | | |
|-----|-----|----|---------------------------------------|
| 138 | 1b | | Tuesday 2 March 835/40/46/57 |
| 139 | 2 | | Monday 17 June 860/66 |
| 140 | 3 | | Sunday, 860–68 |
| 141 | 1b | | Monday 30 January 842/48 |
| 142 | 3 | 1) | Saturday 19 July 867 |
| | | 2) | Wednesday 13 August 867 |
| 143 | 1a | | 851–57 |
| 144 | 2 | | Wednesday October, post 866 |
| 145 | 3 | | Thursday 10 July 867 |
| | | | Sunday 13 July 867 |
| 146 | 1b | | Sunday 3 February 821 |
| 147 | 2 | | 821–39 |
| 148 | 1b | | Sunday 19 January 839 |
| 149 | 3 | | Wednesday 17 or Thursday 18 May 864 |
| 150 | 3 | | Wednesday 13 August 867 |
| 151 | 2 | | Friday 6 April 820 |
| 152 | 1c | | Friday, 29 January 829–28 January 830 |
| 153 | 1b | | pre 867 |
| 154 | 2/3 | 1) | Friday 11 July 867 |
| | | 2) | Wednesday 13 August 867 |
| 155 | 1b | | Sunday 16 January 830 |
| 156 | 1a | | Sunday 18 January 834 |
| 157 | 2 | | Sunday, pre 866 |
| 158 | 3 | | Sunday 22 December 866 |
| 159 | 3 | 1) | Saturday 27 December 867 |
| | | 2) | Monday 2 February 868 |
| | | or | Friday 2 February 871 |
| 160 | 1b | | Tuesday 9 March 846 |
| 161 | 1a | | March 846–January 868 |
| 162 | 2/3 | | Friday 7 December 854 |
| 163 | 3 | | Monday 12 August 860 |
| 164 | 1b | | 29 January 819–28 January 820 |
| 165 | 2/3 | | post 832 |
| 166 | 2 | | April 801–13 |
| 167 | 1b | | n.d. |
| 168 | 1b | | 25 December 800–28 January 814 |
| 169 | 3 | | Wednesday 21 August 866 |
| 170 | 3 | | Wednesday 21 August 866 |
| 171 | 1b | | Friday 26 March 840 |
| 172 | 2 | | Thursday 23 April 856 |
| 173 | 2 | | Thursday 23 January 867 |
| 174 | 3 | 1) | Friday 18 February 869 |
| | | 2) | Sunday 6 March 869 |
| 175 | 2/3 | | Wednesday 13 April 841/47/52/58 |
| 176 | 1a | | 14 November 832–50 |
| 177 | 2/3 | | Saturday, December 837 |
| 178 | 1a | | Saturday, October 832–39 |
| 179 | 2/3 | | Saturday, December 837 |
| 180 | 2/3 | | 841–51 |
| 181 | 1b | | c. 833 |