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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. GUILLOTTEL, *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 GUILLOTTEL, *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–cclxi; 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.

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 GUILLOTEL, *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 GUILLOTEL in A. CHÉDEVILLE and H. GUILLOTEL, *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 Vilaine*, 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 22 330; 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. GUILLOTTEL, *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 GUILLOTTEL, *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 formulaic-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 meam 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 conponat, 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 Maenvedet, X Maenwallon, X Haekwaloe, X Resmunuc, X Guethengar, X Nennan, X Arrttbel, 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 calomnia uel repeticione generare presumpserit, illud quod repetit insuper et contra cui litem intulerit solidos lxii multa conponat; et haec uenditio firma et stabilis permaneat, manibus nostris firmauimus 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 Gundiwino, 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 conparadis 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 formulary-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, iii denarios ad Kerentin, et iii denarios ad Argantlowen, et iii 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 commutatione, 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 aecclesiam 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 Buiac 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 nobiles: 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; at 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 populique 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 comiteatur 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 Fultric 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 Condoloc 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; Haeldetwid: 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

182	2		Sunday 4 May 833
183	1a		833–68
184	2		n.d.
185	2/3		15 January 858–67
186	2	1)	Sunday 3 August 839/44/50
		2)	Friday 5 August 841/47/52/58
187	2/3		Tuesday 22 January 844
188	1a		838–48
189	2		pre 848
190	2		Saturday 24 April & Sunday 2 May 840/46/57/63
191	2		Wednesday 29 September 801
192	2		19 December 832–24 January 838
193	2		Saturday 18 January 856
194	1a		Wednesday 4 February 840
195	2/3		Friday, 841 (pre 25 June)
196	1b		Friday 1 July 824/30
197	1a		Saturday 18 January 833/39
198	1b		Tuesday c. 840–50
199	2		Sunday 25 April 835
200	2		5 December 831–39
201	3	1)	Monday 3 November 878
		2)	Sunday 8 March 879
202	2/3		Thursday 24 February 858
203	2/3		Sunday 11 October 834/45/51/56/62
204	3		Thursday 11 May 859
205	2		December 833–January 868
206	2/3		Sunday 30 January 836/41/47/52/58/64
207	3		Monday 8 April 866
208	2/3		868–71
209	1c		March 841/48/51
210	1c		January 837/38
211	1c		January 837/38
212	2		Saturday, 814–21
213	3		Tuesday 12 November 860
214	1a		20 June 842–19 June 843
215	2/3		848–68
216	2/3		Friday 1 August 833/39/44/50/61/67
217	1c		15 June 841–67
218	2/3		832–68
219	1a		Friday 1 May 834
220	1b		Saturday 7 April 843/48
221	3		Saturday 7 August 868
222	2/3		Friday 27 January 870
223	3		Friday 18 June 868
224	2/3		3 February 867–70
225	2/3		Thursday 16 September 868
226	1c		Monday 4 April 819
227	1c		Monday 26 May 816
228	1c		October 819
229	1c		March 830

230	1c		April 831
231	1c		June 833
232	2/3		pre 870
233	2/3		Friday 25 August 870
234	3		Sunday 5 February 870
235	? 5		Thursday 12 June 878
236	3	1)	Wednesday 29 June 875
		2)	Friday 12 January 876
		3)	Wednesday 14 May 878
237	3		Tuesday 24 April 876
238	1a		Saturday 3 May 878
239	3		Thursday 1 August 888
240	5		Sunday 29 August 868
241	5		Sunday 17 April 869
242	2/3		Tuesday 24 May 869
243	3	1)	874
		2)	Monday 1 August 875
244	1c		Wednesday 2 May 871
245	3	1)	Wednesday 27 December 870
		2)	Sunday 28 January 871
246	2/3		Sunday 28 January 871
247	2/3		Monday 9 July 871
248	2/3		Wednesday 21 November 871
249	2		Sunday 5 October 850
250	1b		Friday 29 June 820
		or	Wednesday 29 June 830 ⁴⁹
251	2		Monday 29 July 849
252	1b		Thursday 6 June 827
253	2/3		Sunday 12 November 870
254	2/3		Sunday 2 November 872
255	1b		Tuesday 3 July 820/26
256	1b		Friday 25 October 860/66
257	3		Sunday 10 February 872
258	1a		Tuesday 22 May 865/71
259	2/3		28 June or 29 May 871-77
260	3		Sunday 7 January 876
261	2/3		June 874-77
262	1a		Sunday 19 June 875
263	2/3		Sunday 20 July 878
264	2		840-48
265	2		Saturday and Friday, 840-48
266	2/3		? Wednesday 15 January 895 ⁵⁰
267	2		pre 834
268	2/3		Saturday 2 August 895
269	1a	1)	Sunday 28 December 878
		2)	Sunday 25 January 879
270	2		Tuesday 21 January 917

⁴⁹ Corrupt; this charter records the same transaction as CR 252.

⁵⁰ This is strictly correct, but hidden errors might mean that it should rightly be dated earlier in the reign of Alan, i.e. from 878.

271	2/3		Tuesday 2 May 892
272	2/3		Thursday 14 September 892
273	?		? Friday 8 November 888
274	2		Monday 15 March 913
275	4		Friday 22 January or 18 June 913
276	4	1)	Friday 22 January or 18 June 913
		2)	Monday 25 October 913
277	4		Thursday 28 October 913
278	4		30 November 907–24
279	4		Sunday 27 November 908
280	3/4		? 914–24
281	1a/3		Tuesday 1 May 904
282	3		pre 922
283	– ⁵¹		Sunday 20 June 924
A1	?		Sunday 17 April 819/30
A2	?		Monday 11 November 832
A3	?		Friday 18 July 833/39/44/50/61/67
A4	1a		Wednesday 8 October 833
A5	1a		Sunday 25 January 834
A6	6		Friday 27 November 834
A7	?		28 January 834–27 January 835
A8	1a		28 January 834–27 January 835
A9	6		Wednesday 30 August 836
A10	?		Tuesday 16 April 838
A11	?		Wednesday 2 July 844
A12	?		23 May 834–39
A13	1a		Thursday 26 January 842
A14	3		24 March, post 832
A15	?		25 June 841–24 June 842
A16	1b		Monday 19 June 842
A17	1b		Monday 13 November 842
A18	?		December 844
A19	?		December 844
A20	?		832–68
A21	?		Wednesday 24 or Thursday 25 March 846
A22	?		Wednesday 24 March 846
A23	3		Thursday 10 June 846
A24	?		Thursday 1 July 846
A25	?		Sunday 849
A26	?		6 January 841–49
A27	?		Wednesday 14 May 850
A28	6		Sunday 3 August 850
A29	?		16 March pre 857
A30	?		Maundy Thursday 851–57
A31	5		19 May 851–57
A32	1a		10 March 851–55
A33	?		Sunday 1 May 852
A34	1a		Tuesday 23 August 852

51 A piece of narrative, not a charter text.

35	1c	Monday 12 September 852
A36	1a	Tuesday 3 May 852
A37	1a	Wednesday 22 August 854
A38	?	Sunday 11 November 837/43/48/54/65/71/76/82
A39	?	Saturday 15 December 854
A40	2	Thursday 1 March 854
A41	?	10 August, post 832
A42	1a	854, post 20 June
A43	1a	Sunday 11 August 855
A44	1a	10 March 851–55
A45	1a	pre March 854
A46	?	848–68
A47	?	Sunday 832–68
A48	?	Monday 10 June 860/66
A49	?	Sunday, May 826
A50	?	Sunday 11 November 837/43/48/54/65/71/76/82
A51	2/3	Friday 8 November 888
A52	? 5	Friday 8 November 888
A53	2/3	Thursday 14 September 892
A54	?	Sunday 28 August 903
A55	?	Tuesday 2 May 892
Morice, I. 265, first text		
	1a	Thursday 11 November 835
Morice, I. 271, fourth text		
	1a	Thursday 24 January 838
Morice, I. 272, fifth text		
	1a	Wednesday 9 March 841
		or Thursday 9 March 842
Morice, I. 295, third text		
	?	Sunday 15 October 853
Morice, I. 297, third text		
	3	832–68
Morice, I. 308, second text		
	2/3	1) Sunday 13 March 869
		2) Sunday 4 December 869
Abbé Travers, I. 125		
	?	January 834–June 843
Bordeaux Bible		
	?	? 871–78.