THE MORTUARY ROLL OF TURGOT OF DURHAM (d. 1115)

The rear endleaves of London, British Library, MS. Harley 491, an early-twelfth-century book of Durham provenance, comprise cuttings from a mortuary roll (ff. 47r-48v, see pl. 17-20). Much of the text can no longer be read, even using ultra-violet light; but ten subscriptions (tituli) survive in whole or in part, some of them more legible than others. Just one titulus was certainly entered in England, for the collegiate church of Holy Cross, Waltham (Essex); of the remainder, at least seven were added in northern France — at Blois, Laon, Saint-Quentin and elsewhere — demonstrating that this roll was circulated on both sides of the English Channel. The name of the person commemorated in this document has been overlooked in previous reports, doubtless on account of the exceedingly faint writing. (1) Indeed, the commemorand is named explicitly on solely one occasion, in the entry for Saint-Quentin-en-l'Ile: he was none other than Turgot, prior of Durham Cathedral (1087-circa 1107) and bishop of St Andrews (1109-1115). (2) Turgot died at Durham on 31 August 1115, having recently departed his bishopric. An approximate dating between September 1115 and 1117 makes this fragment the oldest surviving mortuary roll of English origin. (3)

The career of Turgot of Durham

Compared to many medieval monks, surprisingly much is known of Turgot’s life, both before and after he took religious vows. (1) Two narrative accounts of his career have survived, preserved in Symeon of Durham’s Libellus de exordio atque procursu istius, hoc est Dunhelmsis, ecclesie (datable to the period 1104x1115, and probably commissioned by Turgot), and in the same author’s Historia regum (compiled in the 1120s). (2) These are supplemented by a

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(2) David KNOWLES et al., The Heads of Religious Houses England and Wales, I, 940-1216, Cambridge, 2nd ed., 2001, p. 43, 247; D. E. R. Watt (ed.), Series Episcoporum Ecclesiae Catholicae Occidentalis, series VI. Britannia, Scotia et Hibernia, Scandinavia, I, Stuttgart, 1991, p. 81-82. The precise date when Turgot ceased to be prior is unknown, but is likely to have occurred either in 1107 (when elected bishop), 1109 (when consecrated) or even 1115 (at his death).


variety of other evidence, including royal writs and papal correspondence, and a collection of Durham miracle-stories in which an unnamed prior, identifiable as Turgot, features prominently. (6) Turgot of Durham has himself been credited with composing the *Life of St Margaret*, queen of Scots (d. 1093), though the grounds for this attribution are by no means watertight. (7) In the oldest extant manuscript of that work, transcribed in the 1180s, the author is named as 'T. seruorum sancti Cuthberti serenus', and is said to have been Margaret's confidant. (8) Although Turgot remains the most plausible candidate, judgment on the authorship of this *Life* will be reserved for the time being, since this is a complex issue in its own right.

According to Symeon of Durham, Turgot was of noble Anglo-Saxon birth, having been held hostage by the Normans at Lincoln Castle to guarantee his fellow-countrymen's conduct. (9) Using bribery in order to escape, Turgot took passage in a merchant ship sailing from Grimsby, and was conveyed safely to Norway, despite the protestations of a Norman embassy onboard. Once there, he was received warmly by King Olaf Haraldsson (1067-1093), and amassed a considerable fortune at the Norwegian court; but returning to England some years later, Turgot was shipwrecked, in the process losing all his possessions. Having decided in consequence to renounce his worldly life, he travelled to Durham, whereupon Bishop Walcher (1071-1080) directed him to join Aldwin at Jarrow, an eremitical settlement. Not yet in monastic orders, Turgot then accompanied Aldwin to Melrose, formerly home to Cuthbert, patron saint of Durham. (10) The new inhabitants were reportedly harassed by Malcolm III (Mael Coluim), king of Scots (1058-1093), because they refused to swear loyalty to him; and so Aldwin and Turgot returned with some reluctance to Bishop Walcher, who compensated them with the site of Wearmouth, another ancient foundation. It was at Wearmouth that Aldwin finally clothed Turgot in the monastic habit, and they lived there together under Walcher's protection.

The chronology of the preceding events is imperfectly known. In 1083, however, William of Saint-Calais, bishop of Durham (1080/1-1096), removed the secular congregation from his church, replacing them with a regular monastic community. (11) Aldwin was installed as their

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(8) This witness is BL MS. Cotton Tiberius D.III, ff. 179v-186r, part of a legendary for 22 April-28 June. In two recent studies, its transcription has mistakenly been dated no earlier than c. 1250: D. Baker, *A nursery of saints*: St Margaret of Scotland reconsidered, in Derek Baker (ed.), *Medieval Women*, Oxford, 1978 (Studies in Church History, Subsidia 1), p. 119-141; and L. L. Huneycutt, *The idea of the perfect princess: the *Life of St Margaret* in the reign of Matilda II (1100-1118)*, in *Anglo-Norman Studies* 12 (1990), p. 81-97. The unrecovered manuscript used by the Bollandists named the author as 'Theodoricus'; a third copy from Dunfermline Abbey (Madrid, Biblioteca Real, MS. 21/2097, ff. 1r-17v), transcribed in the reign of James III of Scotland (1460-1488), ascribes that work to 'Turgotus' (I owe this reference to Robert Bartlett).

(9) *Historia regum*, p. 202-204.

(10) *Liberell de exordio* (iii.22), p. 206-211.

(11) Ibid. (iv.2-3), p. 224-235. For a reassessment of this process, stressing continuity with the pre-monastic congregatio, see Aird, *St Cuthbert*, chapter 3. Aird argued that Symeon's account is not impartial: *The Libellus
first prior, Turgot being numbered among the monks of the new foundation. (12) When Prior Aldwin died on 12 April 1087, Bishop William appointed Turgot to the vacant office, with the consent, so Symeon stated, of the convent. (13) Soon afterwards, William of Saint-Calais went into exile (1088-1091), though his absence probably did little to affect the priory’s fortunes. Symeon indicates that King William II (1087-1100) remained well-disposed towards the monks of Durham: ‘rising humbly when the prior came to him, the king received him kindly, and commanded him in all things to attend to the care of the church in complete liberty under himself as he would have done under the bishop.’ (14)

While serving as prior, Turgot presided over two of the most important episodes in the history of Durham Cathedral Priory, the effects of which remain visible today. First, a new church was begun in the summer of 1093, designed to replace the existing Anglo-Saxon cathedral. (15) On 29 July, Bishop William and Prior Turgot led the whole community in prayers, before starting to dig the foundations. (16) Two weeks later, on 11 August, William, Malcolm III and Turgot laid the first stones of the new church, accompanied by the Durham convent. (17) On this same occasion, Bishop William appointed Turgot archdeacon for his diocese, and prescribed (unsuccessfully as it transpired) that all priors of Durham should in future hold the same office. (18) At this early stage, the bishop was responsible for raising the church at his own expense, and the monks for their conventual buildings alone. However, such an arrangement collapsed upon William’s death, after which the monks concentrated their resources on completion of the church, presumably commencing under Turgot’s direction. (19)

The second Durham event at which Prior Turgot played a significant rôle was the translation of St Cuthbert in August 1104, performed in the presence of many dignitaries, among them Prince Alexander, future king of Scots. On 24 August, Turgot and nine monks had
opened Cuthbert's tomb, discovering the body to be incorrupt; the translation itself took place five days later, Cuthbert being removed to a new shrine behind the high altar of the present cathedral. (20) Two miracles are associated directly with the prior's participation during the act of translation: Abbot Richard of St Albans (circa 1097-1119) regained the use of his left hand when assisting Turgot to place the coffin on its slab; while a member of the bishop's household, struck down for stealing a thread belonging to St Cuthbert, was compelled by the prior to return it to the rightful owner. (21) This translation completed the initial phase of the building programme, and did much to enhance Durham's status as the pre-eminent religious centre in North-East England. It seems likely that Turgot's contribution to the early construction of Durham Cathedral was more substantial than is often appreciated. (22) Apart from his attendance at the stone-laying and translation ceremonies, the prior is recorded to have commissioned a new bell cast in London for the church at Durham, besides having Cuthbert's own bell ('schylla') covered in gold. (23) His supervision of the building works is never stated explicitly, but he cannot have been detached from this process.

Probably in 1107, Turgot of Durham was appointed bishop of St Andrews, in Scotland. His elevation was supported by Alexander I, king of Scots (1107-1124), and Henry I of England (1100-1135), together with Ranulf Flambard, bishop of Durham (1099-1128). However, Flambard's motives for seeking his prior's promotion were possibly tainted by self-interest: the bishop reputedly resented Turgot's influence in his own diocese, to the extent that he proposed to perform the consecration himself, contrary to canonical procedure, in order to speed the prior's departure. (24) After a delay of approximately two years, caused partly by York's demand for an oath of profession, Turgot was finally consecrated bishop of St Andrews by Archbishop Thomas II (1109-1114) on 1 August 1109. (25) His episcopate is largely unrecorded, save for a dispute concerning irregular customs in the Scottish Church, reported in two letters sent on this subject by Pope Paschal II (1099-1118). (26) At one stage, Turgot even contemplated visiting Rome in order to seek guidance, but was apparently prevented from so doing by the intervention of King Alexander, perhaps on the grounds of his bishop's infirmity. Wearied by declining health, Turgot received permission about June 1115 to return to
Durham, where he died among his fellow-brethren on 31 August. (27) He was buried there in the chapter-house, between the graves of Bishops Walcher and William of Saint-Calais. The circulation of a mortuary roll commemorating Turgot of Durham represents the final chapter of his life.

The origin and contents of BL MS. Harley 491

Harley 491 is best known for containing a copy of William of Jumièges' *Gesta Normannorum ducum* (ff. 3r-45r), to which is appended *De obitu Willelmi ducis Normannorum regisque Anglorum* (ff. 45r-46r), the last-named concluding with an epitaph for William the Conqueror (f. 46r/v). (27) The front endleafs once formed part of a mass lectionary (ff. 1r-2v); those at the rear belonged to the mortuary roll under consideration (ff. 47r-48v). (28) The core of this manuscript was transcribed almost entirely in two continental hands (ff. 3r-28v, 29r-46v); but a third also made a significant contribution, being responsible for the first eight lines of *Gesta Normannorum ducum* (to establish the size of the handwriting), correcting the work of his counterparts, and probably inserting the quire-signatures. This third scribe has been identified elsewhere as the cantor and historian Symeon of Durham, active in the scriptorium of that cathedral priory from the final decade of the eleventh century to at least 1129. (29) Many extant Durham books of this period feature the work of Norman (or continental) and Norman-trained scribes and artists: some of these manuscripts were made at Durham itself, or occasionally elsewhere in England; others were imported from Normandy, particularly when Bishop William of Saint-Calais returned from exile in September 1091, possibly accompanied by Symeon. (30) Harley 491 does not belong to this earliest phase of Durham book-production and acquisition, instead having been made in Normandy during or shortly after the first de-

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(27) *Historia regum*, p. 205, 249; Eadmer, *Historia novorum*, p. 236; *Early Scottish Charters*, ed. Archibald C. Lawrie, Glasgow, 1905, no. xxviii. According to Hugh the Chanter (p. 58-59), during his final illness Turgot recognized as his metropolitan Archbishop Thurstan of York (elected August 1114, consecrated October 1119); but this lacks independent verification.


(29) Presently quired as: 2 modern paper leaves (unpaginated) + 2 medieval endleaves (ff. 1-2); i-ii, iii-v (ff. 3-46 followed by 2 unpaginated leaves); 2 medieval endleaves (ff. 47-48) + 3 modern paper leaves (unpaginated).


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cade of the twelfth century. (2) The presentation of the whole manuscript is very modest, in small format and with minimal decoration. (3) This implies that it was made in a comparatively short period, perhaps commissioned for personal use when Symeon was visiting Normandy.

The front endleaves of Harley 491 are also membra disiecla, in this instance comprising fragments of a mass lectionary, written in continental Caroline minuscule (ff. 1r/v, 2v). The handwriting should be assigned to the second half of the eleventh century, notable features including the pronounced forward lean, the occasional forking of ascenders, and the unnecessary st-ligature which joins the words querebamus/le (f. 1v5). The script was written in a single column, with at least eleven lines to the page, the precise number being undetermined due to cropping. What remains of this lectionary supplies brief passages from Isaiah 12.3-5 and Matthew 3.13-15 (f. 1r), Luke 2.47-51 (f. 1v), and Isaiah 35.10 plus other, unidentified excerpts (f. 2v). A possible origin on the basis of its script is Lotharingia, which intriguingly was the home of Bishop Walcher of Durham, previously a cleric of an unnamed church at Liège. (4)

This may not be the only example of a manuscript from that region arriving in North-East England, presumably about the same period: a fragmentary antiphonal of similar origin, in a contemporary but different hand, has survived as Durham, Dean and Chapter Library, MS. B.III.11, ff. 136r-159v. (5)

It cannot be proved when the three distinct elements of Harley 491 were combined, in part because the present binding post-dates its accession into the then British Museum. (6) It may nonetheless be posited that the whole book attained its current state (incorporating the endleaves but excluding its original wrapper or boards) during the later Middle Ages, possibly no earlier than the fifteenth century. The practice of creating endleaves using pages from obsolete volumes is characteristic of Gothic bookbinding, and is reportedly uncommon as early as the twelfth century. (7) This dating would conform with the decision to discard Turgot's mor-

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(2) This date accords with van Houts' conclusion (I, p. cxxii-cxxiv) that the copy of Gesta Normannorum ducum in Harley 491 is descended from an earlier version, probably compiled in Normandy 1096x1100.

(3) A typical page measures approximately 180x125 mm, the written space being 140x100 mm. Plain red initials and highlighted capitals are limited to the scribal stint ending f. 28v; the second portion lacks decoration entirely.

(4) This potential connection was kindly pointed out to me by Michael Gullick. The form of abbreviation for est (and esse) corresponds to that noticed by Bernhard Bischoff, Latin Palaeography: Antiquity and the Middle Ages, Cambridge, 1990, p. 178. Lotharingian impact in England at this period has been studied by Veronica Oostenberg, The English Church and the Continent in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries, Oxford, 1992, p. 54-94, and J. Barrow, English cathedral communities and reform in the late tenth and the eleventh centuries, in Anglo-Norman Durham, p. 25-39 (p. 33-34). Lotharingian masons employed by Walcher may have also been responsible for the first post-Conquest buildings at Jarrow: E. Cambridge, Early Romanesque architecture in North-East England: a style and its patrons, in Anglo-Norman Durham, p. 141-160 (p. 149-156).


(7) J. A. Szirmai, The Archaeology of Medieval Bookbinding, Aldershot, 1999, p. 118-119, 146-147, 178-179. Mortuary rolls were often re-used to make medieval endleaves: for other examples, see L. Kern, Sur les rouleaux des morts, in Schweizer Beiträge zur Allgemeinen Geschichte 14 (1956), p. 139-147, and J. Dufour.
tuary roll, unlikely to have occurred while he was still venerated at Durham. Of course, there may have been more than one medieval binding or rebinding of this manuscript: in particular, there are differences in the treatment of the front and rear endleaves, perhaps indicating that they were added on separate occasions. Such a scenario is reinforced by a catalogue of books kept in the cloister at Durham in 1395, which indicates that another tract ('Descrip-
cione regnorum diversorum in Anglia antiquitus') once stood at the end of Gesta Normannorum ducum, and that the whole may have been stitched within a membrane wrapper ('in uno quaterno').

The Durham provenance of Harley 491 is incontrovertible. It contains the handwriting of a known Durham scribe, identified as Symeon; it is listed in a mid-twelfth-century Durham library-catalogue as 'Liber de gestis Normannorum'; a fourteenth-century ex libris, 'Liber sancti Cuthberti de Dunelm-co', occurs in the upper margin of f. 1r; the mark of ownership of Robert Brakenbyri, a Durham monk (d. 1391), was probably entered in his own hand (f. 3r); a fifteenth-century scribe remarked the notice of an English stronghold at Durham (f. 44v); while Gesta Normannorum ducum was annotated by Thomas Swalwell (d. 1539), another member of the Durham community. The leaves reutilized from the mortuary roll could previously be assigned to Durham Cathedral Priory by association with the other contents of Harley 491; the discovery that this roll commemorated Prior Turgot makes the attribution certain. This book subsequently belonged to the antiquarian scholars and collectors John Stow (d. 1605), Sir Richard St George (d. 1635), Sir Simonds D'Ewes (d. 1650), and his grandson, also Sir Simonds D'Ewes (d. 1722). In October 1705, D'Ewes sold his library for the sum of £450 to Robert Harley, later created earl of Oxford (d. 1724), from whom it descended to his son Edward, Lord Harley (d. 1741), before being sold to the nation in 1753.


Catalogi Veleres Librorum Ecclesiae Cathedralis Dunelm., London, 1838 (Surtees Society Publications, [VII]), p. 56. One candidate for this tract is Libellus de primo Saxonum vel Normannorum adventu (Symeonis Opera, ed. Arnold, II, p. 365-384). For discussion of a variety of limp bindings, see Szirmai, Archaeology, p. 285-319; and for another book once bound in similar manner, A. I. Doyle, The original and later structure of Durham University Library, MS Cosin V.II.6, in Symeon of Durham, p. 120-127 (p. 124-125).

Catalogi Dunelm., p. 3. This manuscript was entitled 'Cronica de Normannia' in the fifteenth century (f. 3r).

'Nota de Dunelmo', referring to Gesta Normannorum ducum, II, p. 178-181. The same scribe entered a further two marginal notes, 'Titulus Willelmi Conquestoris' (f. 43r) and 'Bellum Willelmi Conquestoris' (f. 43v).


Andrew G. Watson, The Library of Sir Simonds D'Ewes, London, 1966, p. 207; Wright, Fontes Harletani, p. 131, 293, 319. St George's ownership inscription (f. 2r), styling him Norroy King of Arms (created 1603), can be dated to the period before he was knighted on 28 September 1616.

Besides that for Turgot, another three mortuary rolls can be shown to have visited England during the first quarter of the twelfth century. All three originated in mainland Europe, within the borders of what is modern-day France. They commemorated (in chronological order) Bruno of La Grande Chartreuse (d. 1101), Matilda, abbess of Sainte-Trinité, Caen (d. 1113), and Vitalis of Savigny (d. 1122). The roll issued in memory of Bruno was received at ten religious communities in England, reaching as far north as York and west to Malmesbury; (45) the mortuary roll for Abbess Matilda acquired entries at sixty-three English houses, from York via Norwich to Exeter; (46) while that commemorating Vitalis (Paris, Archives nationales, AE-II 138) traversed a large circuit of England, being presented at seventy-three churches in twenty-five counties. (47) From a palaeographical perspective, it is to be deeply regretted that the rolls for both Bruno and Matilda are known only from editions or transcriptions, since the original documents would have provided an invaluable insight into English and continental scribal performance. Taken as a group, however, these other rolls supply an excellent control for the study of that dedicated to Turgot.

The mortuary roll dispatched from Durham after Turgot’s death indicates that such documents penetrated further north at this period than was hitherto known, and that they travelled in both directions across the English Channel. (48) This second practice probably continued throughout the twelfth century, being attested in that for Reginald, bishop of Bath and archbishop-elect of Canterbury (d. 1191) (Cambridge, University Library, MS. Additional 3566(4)). (49) The circulation of the next surviving roll of English origin, created early in the thirteenth century for Prioress Amphelisa of Higham (Cambridge, St John’s College, MS. 271), was restricted to the British Isles, as seem to have been all subsequent examples from England, including several which emanated from Durham. (50) The loss of Normandy to the English Crown in 1204 was arguably decisive in breaking this chain of communication.

The mortuary roll of Abbot Vitalis provides the best model for the physical layout of its twelfth-century Durham counterpart. Although Vitalis’ roll is now incomplete at its beginning — the encyclical letter is among the portion missing — it still measures approximately 9.5 m long (that for Abbess Matilda was reportedly more than double this length), each membrane being 225 mm wide. (51) This second figure is considerably larger than that produced for Turgot.

(47) Ibid., no. xxxviii (p. 281-344); Rouleau Vital, facs. ed. DELISLE. None of these visited Holy Cross, Waltham, the sole English church represented in Turgot’s roll.
(48) York (and also Bridlington in the case of that for Vitalis) was the furthest limit of these contemporary, continental rolls. The lost roll for William Giffard (d. 1129) reached Whitby, about 30 miles (48 km) south-east of Durham.
(49) CHENEY•• Two mortuary rolls •, p. 107-111, in which the identifiable tituli were entered in Normandy.
(50) C. E. SAWTE•• The mortuary roll of the abbess of Lillechurch [Higham], Kent •, in Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society n.s. 4 (1898-1903), p. 383-409; The Obituary Roll of William Elchester and John Burnby, Priors of Durham, with notices of similar records preserved at Durham, Durham, 1856 (Surtees Society Publications, XXXXI). Amphelisa’s roll can be assigned to the early-thirteenth century, no later than 1214, on which see P. R. ROBINSON, Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts c. 737-1600 in Cambridge Libraries, 2 vols. Cambridge, 1988, no. 316.
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got, the remnants of which, after cropping, do not exceed 124 mm in width. Certain of these Durham tituli have lost a handful of letters towards the end of each line; yet even allowing for the presence of margins, the dimensions of Turgot’s roll probably never surpassed this more famous example. It is equally notable that the parchment for Vitalis’ mortuary roll was ruled in advance, prior to being circulated. However, such preparation may not have been universal practice, as exemplified by Harley 491, in which several tituli were entered without the benefit of ruling. (52)

The handwriting of the roll of Vitalis of Savigny was also characterized by Léopold Delisle as ‘Capetian minuscule’, and by Neil Ker as specimens of bookhand, not all of which were deemed ‘calligraphic’. (53) Neither terminology is entirely satisfactory. The rolls for both Vitalis and Turgot contain an immense diversity of script, ranging from conventional bookhands with varying degrees of formality to more typical documentary handwriting, interrupted by the crude efforts of what must clearly have been novices. At houses with a long-standing scribal tradition, it might be expected that an experienced copyist was assigned the task of inserting the titulus. Some of those scribes were undoubtedly accustomed to writing books, as has been recognized in more than one instance. (54) However, at lesser establishments someone with little or no scribal training commonly took responsibility for the entry, perhaps the same who composed the dedicatory verse. A substantial proportion of the tituli found in these rolls was therefore written in script which would have looked out of place in any contemporary manuscript. The remainder tend to be more ‘documentary’ in aspect, while often incorporating the stylistic features of a bookhand.

The fragmentary mortuary roll which forms the rear endleaves of Harley 491 provides witness to a wide spectrum of French and English handwriting, datable to the approximate period 1115-1117. Ten separate tituli can be distinguished, eight of which represent identifiable religious houses (seven in France and the other in England). The complete list of subscriptions is as follows:

1. the cathedral church of Notre-Dame, Laon (f. 47r, see pl. 17);
2. the Benedictine abbey of Saint-Vincent the Martyr, Laon (f. 47r, see pl. 17);
3. the collegiate church of Holy Cross, Waltham (f. 47v, see pl. 18);
4. an unidentified religious house, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary (f. 47v, see pl. 18);
5. a church dedicated to St Laud, presumably that at Angers (f. 48r, see pl. 19); (55)
6. the Benedictine abbey of Saint-Laumer, Blois (f. 48r, see pl. 19);

(55) Another inscription from that house, in the form ‘Titulus bejati Laudi Andegavis’, forms part of a fragmentary roll for Abbots Guillaume (resigned 1189) and Jaguelin (d. 1190) of Saint-Aubin, Angers: *Rouleaux des morts*, ed. DELISLE, no. Iviii (p. 398).

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7. a religious house dedicated to St Florentius, perhaps to be identified as the Benedictine abbey of Saint-Florent-lès-Saumur (f. 48r, see pl. 19);
8. an unknown convent, for which the heading has not been preserved (f. 48v, see pl. 20);
9. the Benedictine abbey of Saint-Quentin-en-l’Ile, Saint-Quentin (f. 48v, see pl. 20);
10. the Benedictine abbey of Saint-Prix, Saint-Quentin (f. 48v, see pl. 20).

Of course, this sequence reflects strictly the modern foliation, rather than the order in which these houses were visited and the tituli entered. Both sides of the membrane were utilized, which is not unusual for a document of this nature. As a result, it is highly improbable that the roll-bearer made application to Waltham (f. 47v) after departing Laon (f. 47r), without having stopped elsewhere in the intervening period; likewise, the heading for a convent dedicated to St Florentius (f. 48r) cannot be that continued on the opposite side of this roll (f. 48v). Whether these two strips of parchment were ever attached consecutively can no longer be determined, though in any case they were probably trimmed when reused at the Durham bindery, if not on subsequent occasions. Other pieces of this mortuary roll may have been adapted for the same purpose, but no further examples have been reported among the known manuscripts of Durham provenance.

Of the ten surviving tituli, the entire text has been preserved in six cases (nos. 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 9), although in just three of these — for Laon Cathedral, Waltham and Saint-Laumer of Blois — can the entry be read easily with the naked eye. There are four incomplete subscriptions, three of which contain the heading alone (nos. 2, 7, 10), while the other supplies the final four lines of text (no. 8). Four tituli provide names of deceased brethren for whom prayers were requested (Laon Cathedral, Waltham, Saint-Laumer of Blois, Saint-Quentin-en-l’Ile); four entries incorporate some form of elegiac verse (Laon Cathedral, Waltham, Saint-Laud Angers, Saint-Quentin-en-l’Ile); while the subscription from Saint-Quentin-en-l’Ile alone names Turgot as the commemorand. The length of these tituli arguably corresponds to their authors’ literary aspirations, combined with constraints of time and the care exercised by each respective scribe. For instance, the entry made at Blois comprises merely the statement ‘Anima eius requiescat in pace’, followed by a list of deceased from the same community; in contrast, that from Laon Cathedral supplies a longer, if impersonal, introductory formula (‘Anime omnium fidelium defunctorum requiescant in pace. Amen’), together with a comparable list of deceased and four lines of verse. The same Laon titulus occupies the most physical space, being ten lines long and measuring 152 mm high. Among the other complete subscriptions, that for Waltham is less than one third of this height (45 mm), but still contains six lines of writing, having been inserted in a smaller and considerably more controlled hand.

Despite the fragmentary state of this mortuary roll, it offers ample scope for palaeographical analysis. In the following description, each entry is discussed in turn, focusing on the principal features of French and English handwriting during the second decade of the twelfth century.

(56) The rolls of Abbot Vitalis, Bishop Reginald and Prioress Amphelisa are all examples of this practice. The English technical term is an ‘opisthograph’, French ‘opisthographe’, Latin ‘opisthographus’.

(57) These tituli have been deciphered using a combination of personal examination of the manuscript, ultra-violet light, ultra-violet photography and fibre-optic light. Many passages remain illegible or incomprehensible. In places, tears in the membrane have been patched with modern parchment, in the process obscuring some of the adjacent letters.
1. the cathedral church of Notre-Dame, Laon (f. 47r)

TITVLUS SANCTÆ MARIE
LAUDYNENSIS ECCLESIE.

Anime omnium fidelium defunctorum
requiescant in pace. Amen. Orate
pro nostris, Ingeranno, Waldrico, Haimone,
<D>rogone, (<5>) Roberto, Hugone.

Die michi diues homo quid uana laude superbis
Non tibi uita datur que sit reuocabilis herbis. (<6>)

Omne quod est mundo uelut umbra fugit pereundo,
Nam quod laudatur, transit, perit, adnichilatur.

2. the abbey of Saint-Vincent the Martyr, Laon (f. 47r)

TITVLUS SANCTI VINCENTII LAUDYNENSIS...

2 lines of heading + 8 lines of text; 152 mm high x 120 mm wide (cropped); unruled
heading: rustic capitals, the second line being of lower grade; round D, a distinctive form of AE
(effectively an A with the ball of E attached to its back), the tongue of both E and AE being
extended at word-ends; the counters of S and C (Sanctæ) are embellished with simple, pen-
drawn decoration; the suspension sign is a double wavy line
text: a large, documentary hand of relatively poor quality, with exaggerated ascenders and a dis-
tinct downwards lean from left to right (by virtue of being unruled); a frequently has a mini-
mal head-stroke and a pronounced lobe (being almost one-storey in appearance), round and
upright d occur in equal proportions, the ascenders b, d, h and l have forked tops, the tails
of descendents slant to the left; note the redundant ct-ligature (defunctorum)
The titulus for Laon Cathedral in the mortuary roll of Vitalis of Savigny (no. 58) is the work of a
different scribe, again of poor quality. The absence of ruling in the present example, with the re-
sulting sloping appearance, recalls Annie Dufour-Malbezin's observation that certain examples of
handwriting at late-eleventh and early-twelfth-century Laon 'donne une impression de désor-
dre'. (<6>) This inscription's melancholy tone, reflecting that praise is futile because everyone is even-
tually returned to the soil, is characteristic of much of the verse entered into mortuary rolls at this
period. (<6>)

2. the abbey of Saint-Vincent the Martyr, Laon (f. 47r)

TITVLUS SANCTI VINCENTII LAU
[DUNENSIS...]

1 line of heading; 19 mm high (cropped) x 118 mm wide (cropped)
heading: written in rustic capitals; the suspension sign is a single line, curving upwards at its right-
hand end
This heading may have been written in imitation of, or subconsciously influenced by, that occur-
ing immediately above for Laon Cathedral. Compare with the more ornate heading for this abbey
in the roll of Vitalis (no. 60), which is clearly the work of another scribe.

(58) Seemingly reads Urogone, the U having been erased imperfectly.
(59) Corrected in the same hand from herbas.
original episcopal deeds have survived for the crucial period 1104-1115, fundamental for understanding the
evolution of documentary script at Laon.
(61) This feature was emphasized by Jean-Claude KAHN, Les Moines messagers: la religion, le pouvoir et la
science saisies par les Rouleaux des Morts xve-xxe siècle, n.p., 1987, who regarded these rolls as evidence for a
political crisis in society (p. 198): 'sur une bonne partie de l'Occident chrétien, les Rouleaux des Morts se soient
transformés, entre le milieu du xve et les premières années du xxe siècle, en serpents venimeux. Ces pièces ne consi-
stuent pas les seuls témoignages de l'indiscipline, puis de la révolte dont elles ont été, non la cause, mais le
véhicule.'
3. the collegiate church of Holy Cross, Waltham (f. 47v)

TITULVS SANCTÆ CRUCIS ECCLESIE
WALTHAMENSIS. Anima eius et anime omnium
fidelium defunctorum requiescant in pace. Orate pro fratribus
nostris, Waltero decano, Haroldo, (62) Adalardo magistro, Osgoto, et [...] (63)
Non uersus inopes rerum nugæque canore
Proficient anime, sed pia uota suæ.

1½ lines of heading + 4½ lines of text; 45 mm high x 116 mm wide (cropped); ruling unknown, but horizontal in appearance

heading: 20 mm-high T followed by small capitals; the second minim of U has a tail slanting to the left, the foot of I sometimes has a horizontal stroke to the right (resembling L), while W is formed by two crossed Vs; E-caudata occurs three times; the suspension sign is a horizontal line

text: a small, upright hand with minimal ascenders and descenders, approaching a bookhand in its quality; round and upright d occur in equal proportions, e at word-ends has an extended tongue, g has a curling tail; widely-spaced ct-ligature (defunctorum), perhaps exacerbated by a defect in the parchment; uncrossed tironian et and e-caudata

The same form of U occurs (for instance) in the headings for Evesham, Burton and Sherborne in the roll of Vitalis (nos. 85, 89, 142). (4) This Waltham scribe was clearly English in origin or training, and was perhaps more experienced at writing documents than some of his counterparts attested in these endleaves. The sentiment expressed here, namely that prayers rather than feeble verses will benefit the souls of the deceased, complements the restrained appearance of this titulus.

4. an unknown house dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary (f. 47v)

TITVS SANCTÆ
MARIE (65) C[...]
[...]S ECCLESIE[...]
[...] et
[...] fidelium re
[quiescant] in pace.

A[men].

3 lines of heading + 4 lines of text; 110 mm high x 118 mm wide (cropped); severely rubbed heading: 26 mm-high T followed by three lines of capitals; a lower-case, rounded form of E occurs twice in conjunction with E-caudata; the suspension sign is a distinctive, double-humped line (resembling a humpback bridge)

text: a barely legible documentary hand, perhaps with a slight backward lean, and utilizing the ampersand

The double-humped suspension sign occurs twice in the roll of Vitalis, once (with a slight variation) for Saint-Remi, Rheims (no. 65), and in the succeeding entry for Hautvillers (no. 66): there is no other resemblance between those tituli and that found here. This subscription was either entered on
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Turgot's roll in England, in sequence to that for Waltham, or in France, in which case one of these tituli was potentially inserted in a blank space on the parchment. (66)

5. the church of Saint-Laud, Angers (f. 48r)
   Titulus sancti Laudi.
   Nig[...js et species et euntis gloria ponpe,
   [...]r[...a][...forent firma quos fallunt sede tenerent,
   [whole line erased] (67)
   Sed quia fluxa fluunt et eorum mansio nulla,
   Hinc ite, sit nobis mansio Christus. Amen.

1 line of heading + 5 lines of text (line 3 erased); 42 mm high (cropped) x 113 mm wide (cropped); unruled
heading/text: there is no distinction between the handwriting of the heading and that of the text itself, a poorly-written, spiky documentary hand with a downwards lean from right to left (by virtue of being unruled); one-storey a, long, rounded and superscript s occur at word-ends; uncrossed tironian et and e-caudata; the suspension sign is an open a
Perhaps not the work of an experienced scribe.

6. the abbey of Saint-Laumer, Blois (f. 48r)
   Titulus sancti lav
   [A]nima eius requiescat in pace. Orate pro nostris,
   Mauricio abbot, Gauterio, Raherio, Heimerico,
   [...]gerio, Eustorgio, Amalrico, (68) Malgerio, Odone,
   [H]ugone, Willelmo, Guitranno, Huberto, (69) Hameli[no].

2 lines of heading + 4 lines of text; 100 mm high x 124 mm wide (cropped); ruled in hard-point, the text being written on alternate lines
heading: capitals interspersed with smaller forms, separate letters employing the same pen-strokes (the AV of LAVNOMARD), and individual words demarcated in the upper row by vertical dotted lines; the central stem of S is twice left hollow; the suspension sign is a single-humped line
text: a regular, documentary hand with an angular aspect; upright d, g has a long tail-stroke
Considerable attention has been paid to the heading, at least in comparison with the other tituli entered here. The text is likewise the work of the same practised scribe, who ruled the parchment prior to writing. Compare with the entry for Saint-Laumer in the roll of Vitalis (no. 122): both are marked by their restraint, neither containing any commemorative verse.

7. (?)the abbey of Saint-Florent-lès-Saumur or (?)the priory of Saint-Florent-le-Vieil (f. 48r)
   TitVlVș SANCtI FLORENC/T[III] (67)
   [...]IS. (71) [Anima eius...] (72)

(66) In the roll of Vitalis, the titulus for St Albans (no. 72) occurs out of sequence, being squeezed between those entered at Vertus.
(67) The middle portion of this line perhaps reads ‘nobis mansio certa Deus’, with other words at both beginning and end.
(68) The l has been changed from r, which is perhaps followed by an erasure; the c has been added above the line in the same hand.
(69) Possibly Humberto.
(70) Either FLORENC- or FLORENT-.
(71) The most likely reading is SALMURIENSIS, but very little of this inscription survives.
(72) Enough of this remains (the upper part of A, the abbreviation –us) to posit the reading Anima eius.
1½ lines of heading + ½ line of text; 30 mm high (cropped) x 124 mm wide (cropped)
heading: written hurriedly in documentary capitals interspersed with smaller forms, and with cer-
tain letters employing the same strokes (the TVLV of TITVLVS); R has a minuscule ball, N
is exceedingly narrow; the suspension sign is a single wavy line

8. unknown (f. 48v)

[whole titulus unreadable]

?4 lines of text; 33 mm high (cropped) x 120 mm wide (cropped); ruling unknown, but relatively
horizontal; severely rubbed
text: barely legible, but what remains seems to be a conventional documentary hand, perhaps with
an angular aspect, and utilizing the uncrossed tironian et

9. the abbey of Saint-Quentin-en-l'Ile, Saint-Quentin (f. 48v)

TITVLUS SANCTI
QviNTini MARTIRIS IN (73) INSvl[4.]
[X]pe ['Christe'] Dei patris fili Deus [...] matris,
[...] potes in terra d[...] (74) crimina d[...].
[T]este tuo solum Turgotum soluere solum,
[...nex[...] facile mortis potes, et clare uite,
[...] pie digne[t]is petimus cum subtitulatis.
[O]rate et pro n[ostris], Gerardo, (75) Was[c]elino, Ta[...],
[...] (monacho), Frid[...], [...boldo (monacho), Fulcrado (monacho).

2 lines of heading + 7 lines of text; 95 mm high x 121 mm wide (cropped); ruling unknown, but
horizontal; rubbed
heading: two-line, 25 mm-high T followed by square capitals interspersed with smaller forms, cer-
tain letters employing the same strokes (the MR of MARTIRIS, with the IN of IN INSVLA
representing both words); the initial T has a skeletal frame, decorated with a simple, quatrefoil
motif
text: a backward-leaning, formal documentary hand; round and upright d occur in equal propor-
tions; ampersand; the status of certain deceased brethren of Saint-Quentin-en-l'Ile is written
above their individual names

10. the abbey of Saint-Prix, Saint-Quentin (f. 48v)

[T]ITVLVS (76) SANCTI PREIE[CTI.]
[Anima] eius et anime [...]mnium f[i]j[i]elium] d[efunctorum...

1 line of heading + 1 line of text; 21 mm high (cropped) x 120 mm wide (cropped); rubbed
heading: written in capitals, with a leftward stroke at the foot of minims; the suspension sign is a
single wavy line
text: an upright, documentary hand; e at word-ends has an extended tongue; ampersand and e-
caudata

The form of capitals may have been influenced by the preceding entry for St-Quentin-en-l'Ile.

(73) IN occurs once, but has a dual function.
(74) This word may begin du-, and end with an e; it is possibly followed by an ampersand.
(75) Reads Gerarardo.
(76) The second V is followed by an A, which has been erased imperfectly.

80
The discovery that our mortuary roll commemorates Turgot, sometime prior of Durham and latterly bishop of St Andrews, is of great significance for the dating of this document. The commemorand is known from contemporary records to have died on 31 August 1115. The exact time that this roll left Durham is uncertain, and need not have occurred immediately upon Turgot's death. An encyclical letter would have first been prepared, describing the life of the deceased; while the bearer would have probably delayed departure until the weather was suitable for an extended journey. (7) On occasion, some mortuary rolls were evidently not dispatched until several months had elapsed, a prime example being that for Guifred, comte de Cerdagne (d. 31 July 1049), which did not depart Canigou until March 1051. (8) Nor was it uncommon for such documents to be circulated in more than one stage, beginning with houses in the near-vicinity before being sent further afield. (9) The distance travelled could again be vast, calculated to be some 3800 km (2360 miles) in the case of that for Guifred. (9) The presence of Turgot's roll in the counties of Anjou, Blois, Touraine and Vercingétorix implies that it was in active circulation for a considerable period, perhaps some twelve to eighteen months by comparison with other surviving examples. On this basis, an approximate date of no earlier than September 1115 until 1116, possibly extending into the opening months of 1117, can be assigned to the mortuary roll of Turgot of Durham.

Such a dating receives confirmation from the names of other deceased, entered at various houses along the route of this roll. These are of particular significance in the case of Laon Cathedral, Saint-Laumer of Blois and Waltham, because it is possible to identify certain of those persons for whom prayers were solicited. The first requests in this Laon subscription relate to Bishop Enguerrand de Coucy (1096-1104) and Bishop Gaudry (1106-1112): Gaudry was killed on 25 April, and succeeded by Hugues, who died after six months in office, probably early in 1113; his successor, Barthélemy de Joux (consecrated 1113, resigned 1151), died circa 1158. (10) Among the other deceased mentioned in this titulus, Haimo and Drogo are identifiable as the priests of those names who witnessed charters issued between 1091-1100 and 1096-1111 respectively. (10) On this evidence alone, the mortuary roll in question could have arrived at Laon no earlier than April 1112. At Saint-Laumer of Blois, in turn, the supplication for Abbot Maurice refers to the head of that house at the beginning of the twelfth century, recipient of a papal bull in April 1107, and the ‘eruditissimus abbas’ to whom Richard of Fourneaux dedicated his commentary on Genesis. (10)


The list of deceased inscribed for Waltham also places this document in the second decade of the twelfth century. The church at Waltham had been established by Tovi the Proud (fl. 1018-1042) during the reign of King Cnut (1016-1035), and then refounded as a secular college — no later than 1060 — by Harold Godwinsson, earl of Wessex and briefly king of England (k. 14 October 1066). (84) Of the four decipherable names in this titulus, three can be identified with some confidence. Dean Walter is attested in one letter issued in 1108, and a notification datable to the period 1100-circa 1114; while his successor Geoffrey (not represented here) occurs in other documents circa 1115-1118. (85) It therefore seems likely that Walter was dead by 1118 at the very latest, if not before 1115. Master Adelard was a native of Liège, recruited to Waltham before the Norman Conquest with responsibility for devising the customs of that church. (86) A late-twelfth-century narrative states that Adelard wrote down the list of relics which Harold presented at the foundation ceremony; Adelard himself lived into the reign of William II (1087-1100). (87) The third identifiable name in this titulus is that of Harold, added above the line as a scribal afterthought. The canons of Waltham preserved a tradition that King Harold had been buried at their church, following his death at the battle of Hastings. (88) The other, legible request for prayers from Waltham concerns a certain Osgod, one candidate for whom is Osgod Cnoppe, said to have brought back Harold's body after Hastings, when he was already advanced in years. (89)

The presence of Waltham among the remaining tituli has more significance than merely for dating this roll. Durham had no obvious connections with the other communities attested here, none of which is recorded to have entered into confraternity with this English cathedral priory. (89) The distant manor of Waltham (Essex), in contrast, had been presented by King William I (1066-1087) to Bishop Walcher of Durham circa 1072, in order to serve as a base when visiting London. (89) Waltham remained in the hands of the bishop in Domesday Book, but at the marriage of Henry I (11 November 1100) was given in dower to Queen Matilda (d. 1118), perhaps being removed during Ranulf Flambard's temporary fall from grace following Henry's accession. (89) Although by 1115 the bishop of Durham no longer held an estate at

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(84) For these events, see in particular Watkiss & Chibnall, Waltham Chronicle, p. xiii-xxix, xxxviii-xlili.
(90) Aird, St Cuthbert, p. 290, n. 9; A. J. Piper, "The Durham Cantor's Book (Durham, Dean and Chapter Library, MS B.IV.24)", in Anglo-Norman Durham, p. 79-92 (p. 89, n. 51). However, Durham did have a reciprocral relationship with the abbey of Saint-Nicolas, Angers, which may explain (or be related directly to) the roll-bearer's presence in that vicinity: Liber Vitae Ecclesie Dunelmensis, London, 1841 (Surtees Society Publications, [XIII]), p. 136-137.
Waltham, the two houses in question undoubtedly retained a strong bond. Attention has often been drawn to architectural similarities between the churches at Durham and Waltham, most notably in the decoration of piers in their respective naves; while the canons of Waltham obtained a fragment of cloth in which St Cuthbert's body was wrapped, presumably presented by the Durham convent. (83) Matilda, incidentally, was the dedicatee of the Life of St Margaret, attributed traditionally to Prior Turgot. There were many reasons for the roll-bearer to visit the collegiate church at Waltham.

Whenever a mortuary roll was presented at a religious community, responsibility for inserting a titulus was probably entrusted to the cantor or his equivalent. (84) There are indications, likewise, that the cantor may have frequently prepared the roll at its house of origin. According to the Constitutiones of Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury (1070-1089), one of that official's duties was 'to supervise the letters sent out to ask for prayers for the dead brethren'. (85) Such was undoubted the custom at twelfth-century Durham, because the monks of that cathedral priory possessed their own copy of those Constitutiones, bound into a volume recently rechristened the 'Cantor's Book' (Durham, Dean and Chapter Library, MS. B.IV.24, ff. 47r-71v). (86) The cantor at that house by 1126 — and presumably for many years before, to judge by his scribal activity — has been identified as Symeon of Durham, compiler of Libellus de exordio and Historia regum, among other writings. (87) Prior Turgot was most likely the monastic superior to whom Libellus de exordio is addressed. If Symeon was cantor as early as 1115, it was arguably he in turn who commissioned the mortuary roll of Turgot of Durham. Whether the primary motive was to announce Turgot's death, or to promote the reputation of the church of Durham, can no longer be determined. (88)

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LOST AND FOUND:
SOME MANUSCRIPTS FROM LIÈGE NOW IN MAYNOOTH

This paper is about five manuscripts now in Maynooth that were formerly in Liège. The main four belonged to the Benedictine monastery of St Jacques, and the fifth to St Léonard, originally a cell of St Jacques. After summarizing the principal features in the history of the

(83) E. C. FERNIE, • The Romanesque church of Waltham Abbey •, in Journal of the British Archaeological Association 138 (1985), p. 48-78 (p. 66-73); ROGERS, • Waltham reliks •, p. 167. Other aspects of this relationship were noted by WATKISS & CHIBNALL, Waltham Chronicle, p. xxv-xxvi.
(84) HUYGHEBAERT, Documents nécrologiques, p. 27, 29-30; DUFOUR, • Rouleaux des morts •, p. 96.
(86) PIPER, • Cantor's Book •; Gullick, • Scribes of the Cantor's Book •. This copy was transcribed at Christ Church, Canterbury, 1091x1096, before being sent to Durham: M. GULLICK, • The scribal work of Eadmer of Canterbury to 1109 •, in Archaeologia Cantiana 118 (1998), p. 173-189 (p. 183 and plate IV).
(87) GULLICK, • Symeon of Durham •, p. 26-27.
(88) I am indebted to Jean Dufour, Michael Gullick, David Rollason and Alan Piper for their guidance on various aspects of my discussion. Jean Dufour's comprehensive edition of western European mortuary rolls is eagerly anticipated.