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***Hic est Wadard: Vassal of Odo of Bayeux or Miles and Frater of St Augustine's, Canterbury?*¹**

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On the Bayeux Embroidery, the *miles* identified as Wadard by the accompanying inscription (W 46: *Hic est Wadard*) has long been known as a 'vassal' of William I's uterine brother, Odo of Bayeux (or de Conteville), who was Bishop of Bayeux from 1049/1050 until his death in 1097; earl of Kent from c.1067 until his exile in 1088; and prior to his imprisonment in 1082, the greatest and most powerful landholder after the king.² Wadard appears just after Duke William's invading army has landed at Pevensey (W 43) and four of his *milites* have hurried to Hastings to seize food (W 44-5: *Et hic milites festinaverunt hestinga ut cibum raperentur*).³ On horseback, clad in a hauberk and armed with a shield and spear, Wadard supervises as animals are brought to be slaughtered by an axe-wielding figure (W 45) and then cooked (W 46).

Writing in 1821, Charles Stoddard was unable to identify Wadard, because written accounts of the conquest never mention him.⁴ Nevertheless, he cited his image, along with those of two other men called Tuold (W 11) and Vital (W 55), as evidence that the hanging must have dated from 'the time of the Conquest', when its designer and audience could still have known of men as obscure as Wadard and the other two obviously were.⁵ In 1833, Wadard was first identified authoritatively as Odo's 'sub-tenant' by Henry Ellis in *A General Introduction to Domesday Book*, though as far back as 1821 Thomas Amyot had

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- 1 I am deeply indebted to Kate Gilbert for her work in researching and editing this article and to Elizabeth Carson Pastan for her helpful suggestions and criticisms. For a fuller discussion of the issues treated here, see Elizabeth Carson Pastan and Stephen D. White, *The Bayeux Tapestry in Its Contexts: A Reassessment* (Woodbridge: Boydell, forthcoming).
 - 2 On Odo of Bayeux, see David Bates, 'Odo, earl of Kent (d. 1097)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: OUP, 2004-10); and Bates, 'The Character and Career of Odo, Bishop of Bayeux (1049/50-1097)', *Speculum*, 50 (1975): 1-20.
 - 3 In the text, W followed by an Arabic number in parenthesis refers to numbered plates in David M. Wilson, *The Bayeux Tapestry: The Complete Tapestry in Color* (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1985).
 - 4 Edward A. Freeman, *The History of the Norman Conquest of England: Its Causes and Its Results*, rev. American edn, 6 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 1873-9), iii, Appendix, n. A, 'The Authority of the Bayeux Tapestry', pp. 377-85 at p. 378, notes the failure of textual narratives of the conquest to mention Wadard, Vital, or Tuold.
 - 5 Charles Stoddard, 'Some Observations on the Bayeux Tapestry', *Archaeologia*, 19 (1821): 184-91, rpt. in *The Study of the Bayeux Tapestry*, ed. by Richard Gameson (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1997), pp. 1-6 at pp. 5-6.

cited a private communication from Ellis as the basis for characterizing Wadard in the same way.⁶ Since then, Wadard's holdings from the Bishop in Kent, Surrey, Wiltshire, Dorset, Oxfordshire, Warwickshire, and Lincolnshire have been noted and are now the subject of a systematic study by Hirokazu Tsurushima.⁷

Because the finding that Wadard 'held' land on unspecified terms from Odo in Kent and that Vital did so as well has long been taken to show that both men were his 'vassals' and thus closely if not exclusively tied to him, it has routinely been cited as compelling evidence for the hypothesis, widely accepted since the nineteenth century, that the Bishop of Bayeux was the Bayeux Embroidery's patron and in this capacity dictated the story it would convey about the conquest of England, its political 'message', and the content of seven or more scenes in it.⁸ According to the proponents of the hypothesis, these scenes include at least four depicting the Bishop himself (W 35, 48 [*bis*], 67);⁹ one that is commonly interpreted as showing Harold Godwinson swearing an oath to William on the relics of Odo's cathedral of Bayeux (W 25-6); and the two representing Wadard and Vital,

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- 6 Henry Ellis, *A General Introduction to Domesday* (London: S.I., s.n., 1833), p. 404, n. 1; Thomas Amyot, 'A Defense of the Early Antiquity of the Bayeux Tapestry', *Archaeologia*, 19 (1821): 192-206, at p. 202 and n. A.
- 7 Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, iii, p. 382; more fully in N. P. Brooks and H. E. Walker, 'The Authority and Interpretation of the Bayeux Tapestry', *Proceedings of the Battle Conference*; rpt. in *Study of the Bayeux Tapestry*, ed. by Gameson, pp. 63-92, at p. 68, n. 22; W. Urry, 'The Normans in Canterbury', *Annales de Normandie*, 8 (1958): 119-38, at pp. 119-20; Hirokazu Tsurushima, 'Hic est Miles: Some Images of Three Knights, Turolde, Wadard, and Vital', in *The Bayeux Tapestry: New Approaches: Proceedings of a Conference at the British Museum*, ed. by Michael J. Lewis, Gale R. Owen-Crocker, and Dan Terkla (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2011), pp. 81-90, at pp. 85-7; see also Tsurushima, 'Feodum in Kent c.1066-1215', *Journal of Medieval History*, 21 (1995): 97-115, at pp. 105-6.
- 8 On Vital and his lands in Kent, see Tsurushima, 'Hic Est Miles', pp. 87-9. The hypothesis that Odo was the Bayeux Tapestry's patron and profoundly influenced its design is developed most fully in Brooks and Walker, 'The Authority and Interpretation of the Bayeux Tapestry', pp. 68-78, and has more recently been endorsed in, e.g., Michael J. Lewis, *The Real World of the Bayeux Tapestry* (Stroud: Tempus, 2008), pp. 9-10; and T. A. Heslop, 'Regarding the Spectators of the Bayeux Tapestry: Bishop Odo and His Circle', *Art History*, 32 (2009): 223-49, which discusses Wadard, Vital, and Turolde at pp. 229-32. For a critique of the hypothesis, see Elizabeth Carson Pastan and Stephen D. White, 'Problematising Patronage: Odo of Bayeux and the Bayeux Tapestry', in *The Bayeux Tapestry: New Interpretations*, ed. by Martin K. Foy, Karen Eileen Overbey and Dan Terkla (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2009), pp. 1-27.
- 9 For a recent discussion of these four scenes, see Heslop, 'Regarding the Spectators of the Bayeux Tapestry', pp. 225-8.

respectively, as members of Duke William's invading army.¹⁰ Since the figure on the Embroidery named Turolde (W 11) is believed by some to be a tenant of Odo's in Kent called Turolde of Rochester, his image, too, is sometimes taken as evidence that the Bishop was the Embroidery's patron, since he supposedly had something to gain from requiring its designer to depict this Kentish vassal of his as well as Wadard and Vital.¹¹ Reinforcing this view of why their images were included is Charles Prentout's much-cited article on the Embroidery's minor characters, published in 1935 and now anthologized in an English translation. Prentout used what were then unpublished charters from the cartulary of Préaux to argue that Wadard, Vital, and Turolde were not only Odo's vassals in post-conquest England, but his associates and possibly his vassals in pre-conquest Normandy.¹² David C. Douglas later endorsed Prentout's argument about Odo's associations in Normandy with Wadard and Vital, though not Turolde of Rochester, and certified them both as 'companions of the Conqueror'.¹³ O. K. Werkmeister later argued that Odo's purpose in including images of Wadard and Vital on the Embroidery was to demonstrate that he had fulfilled his feudal obligation to Duke William by bringing his own vassals to fight in the army that invaded England in 1066.¹⁴ More recently, T. A. Heslop has proposed by far the most imaginative explanation for the Embroidery's inclusion of images of Wadard, Vital, and Turolde of Rochester by arguing that Odo 'wished to celebrate success, not simply

- 10 The Embroidery uses 'clear, declamatory language and imagery to identify Odo by name in [just] two . . . inscriptions and [only] three . . . scenes set in England' (Pastan and White, 'Problematizing Patronage', pp. 9-10). It has long been conventional, however, to assume that he is also the tonsured figure in a scene where Duke William, according to the inscription, 'ordered ships to be built' (p. 7, n. 33). In a similar interpretative leap, although the Embroidery does not necessarily represent Bayeux as the place where Harold swore an oath to William, much less identify the relics on which he swears as those of Bayeux cathedral, this way of interpreting the scene is deeply embedded in Embroidery scholarship. See, e.g., Richard Gameson, 'The Origin, Art, and Message of the Bayeux Tapestry', in *The Study of the Bayeux Tapestry*, ed. Gameson, pp. 157-211, at pp. 171, 181 and n. 122.
- 11 The argument for identifying the Embroidery's Turolde with Turolde of Rochester, father of Ralph son of Turolde is presented in Brooks and Walker, 'Authority and Interpretation', p. 68, n. 72; and in Tsurushima, 'Hic Est Miles', pp. 81-5.
- 12 Charles Prentout, 'Essai d'identification des personnages inconnus de la Tapisserie de Bayeux', *Revue historique*, 176 (1935): 14-23; trans. as 'An Attempt to Identify Some Unknown Characters in the Bayeux Tapestry', in *The Study of the Bayeux Tapestry*, ed. by Gameson, pp. 21-30, at pp. 26-30.
- 13 David C. Douglas, 'Companions of the Conqueror', *History*, 28 (1943): 125-47, at p. 147; see also Douglas, 'Introduction', in *Domesday Monachorum of Christ Church Canterbury*, ed. by Douglas (London: Royal Historical Society, 1944), pp. 1-73, at pp. 27-36 and 54-7, on the probable Norman connections of various Kentish tenants of Odo's, including Wadard and Vital.
- 14 David C. Douglas, 'Companions of the Conqueror', *History*, 28 (1943): 125-47, at p. 147; see also Douglas, 'Introduction', in *Domesday Monachorum of Christ Church Canterbury*, ed. Douglas (London: Royal Historical Society, 1944), pp. 1-73, at pp. 27-36 and 54-7, on the probable Norman connections of various Kentish tenants of Odo's, including Wadard and Vital.

military and not his own, but that of his entrepreneurial men, too. They succeeded because they deserved to, because of their talents and because of divine favor'.¹⁵

The inclusion of scenes depicting Wadard, Vital, Turoid, and Odo and the one often said to show Harold swearing an oath to William on the relics of Bayeux cathedral supposedly highlight and even exaggerate the Bishop's part in the conquest of England. By this reasoning, and because the Embroidery has customarily been understood as a triumphal monument to a political enterprise that Odo had an enormous stake in legitimating, most scholars have readily accepted the hypothesis that he commissioned the textile to celebrate the conquest and glorify his own role in it — an hypothesis that later received further corroboration from the finding that Odo was an important benefactor of the monastery of St Augustine's, Canterbury, which had previously been identified as the most likely site of the Embroidery's creation.¹⁶

However, as Elizabeth Carson Pastan and the present author have pointed out elsewhere, one of the main arguments for thinking that Odo commissioned the Embroidery and controlled its design has been under attack for more than forty years, while the others are equally contestable.¹⁷ Many writers on the Embroidery have pointed out that key scenes fail to justify the Norman conquest as clearly as William I's half-brother would surely have expected; and their failure to do so has never been satisfactorily reconciled with the hypothesis that Odo commissioned it.¹⁸ The same hypothesis depends as well on exaggerating the number of scenes that actually represent Odo and the importance of the roles he plays in them.¹⁹ Furthermore, to maintain that the Embroidery was purposefully designed to honor the Bishop by representing Harold swearing an oath to William on the relics of his cathedral church of Bayeux is to overlook the fact that it represents him — as most written accounts of his journey to the continent do — as taking the oath on unspecified relics at a location that is not clearly identified, just before William sends him

15 Heslop, 'Regarding the Spectators of the Bayeux Tapestry', p. 232.

16 On Odo's connections with St Augustine's, see Brooks and Walker, 'Authority and Interpretation', pp. 76-7; and Pastan and White, 'Problematizing Patronage', pp. 16-17. The art-historical grounds for identifying the Abbey as the site of the Embroidery's creation are summarized in Brooks and Walker, 'Authority and Interpretation', pp. 77-8, and greatly developed in Gameson, 'Origin, Art and Message', pp. 162-74. For further bibliography, see Pastan and White, 'Problematizing Patronage', p. 20 and n. 92.

17 Pastan and White, 'Problematizing Patronage', pp. 1-25. See also Elizabeth Carson Pastan, 'Benefactor or Designer? Bishop Odo's Role in the Bayeux Tapestry', in *The Bayeux Tapestry: New Approaches*, ed. by Lewis et al., p. 148; and Stephen D. White, 'The Bayeux Tapestry and the *Fratres* of St Augustine's, Canterbury', in *The Bayeux Tapestry: New Approaches*, pp. 148-9.

18 Pastan and White, 'Problematizing Patronage', pp. 10-15.

19 Pastan and White, 'Problematizing Patronage', pp. 7-10; see also Pastan, 'Benefactor or Designer?'

back to England.²⁰ If the scenes just mentioned do not count as unimpeachable evidence for identifying the Bishop as the Embroidery's patron, the only remaining argument for doing so is that only he had reason to insist that the Embroidery include images of Wadard, Vital, and Tuold. However, this argument, too, has already been partially undermined; and it falls apart completely under the weight of new evidence presented below about Wadard's association with the abbey of St Augustine's, Canterbury.²¹

To begin with, there have long been serious doubts about whether the Embroidery's Tuold is the same man as the Kentish tenant of Odo's called Tuold of Rochester, whose son Ralph held land in Kent from the Bishop at the time of the Domesday Survey and who appears in an early twelfth-century Christ Church account of the trial of Penenden Heath.²² Whether the Embroidery's ambiguously placed label of 'Tuold' is applied to one of the two messengers sent by Duke William of Normandy to Count Guy of Ponthieu or to the small, bearded adjacent figure holding the reins of their horses, there are serious obstacles to identifying either man as Tuold of Rochester.²³ If 'Tuold' is the small bearded figure, then the identification is particularly problematic, since he is apparently intended to represent either a dwarf, a cripple or hunchback, or an ostler. As such, he is a totally improbable candidate to join either Duke William's invading army or Odo's band of Norman supporters in Kent and an equally unlikely figure to be included for the purpose of honoring the Bishop of Bayeux.²⁴ Moreover, even if the Embroidery's Tuold is the hulking messenger, who certainly looks the part of a companion of the Conqueror, Lucien Musset and Sir Frank Stenton argued persuasively that he could not be securely identified with Tuold of Rochester or anyone else, because the name 'Tuold' was so widely used in both

20 The argument is developed in Pastan and White, *Bayeux Tapestry in Its Contexts*.

21 Pastan and White, 'Problematizing Patronage', pp. 17-19, sketch out the argument.

22 For Tuold of Rochester, see Tsurushima, '*Hic Est Miles*', pp. 81-5.

23 Lucien Musset, *The Bayeux Tapestry*, trans. by Richard Rex, new edn (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2005), p. 112, considers both possibilities. R. Lejeune, 'Tuold dans la Tapisserie de Bayeux', in *Mélanges offerts à René Crozet*, ed. by Pierre Gallais and Yvers-Jean Riou (Poitiers: Société d'études médiévales, 1966), i, pp. 419-25, opts for the messenger, and Philip E. Bennett, 'Encore Tuold dans la tapisserie de Bayeux', *Annales de Normandie*, 30 (1980): 3-13, for the smaller figure, as does Wilson, *Bayeux Tapestry*, p. 176.

24 It is also wildly implausible to argue that the Embroidery's creators represented Tuold of Rochester in this way in order to insult him or because they confused him with another Kentish tenant of Odo's called Ralph Crooked-spine. See Bernard Bachrach, 'Some Observations on the Bayeux Tapestry', *Cithara: Essays in the Judeo-Christian Tradition*, 27 (1988): 5-28; Richard D. Wissolik, 'The Saxon Statement: Code in the Bayeux Tapestry', *Annuaire Mediaevale*, 19 (1979): 69-97; Wissolik, 'Duke William's Messengers: An "Insoluble, Reverse-Order" Scene on the Bayeux Tapestry', *Medium Aevum*, 51 (1982): 102-7.

eleventh-century Normandy and post-conquest England.²⁵ Finally, if Turol'd's image was included on the Embroidery because it represented one of Odo's Kentish 'vassals' — the term used in Embroidery scholarship to suggest that the men in question owed homage, fealty, and service to the Bishop exclusively — it is difficult to explain why he is shown near Beaurain and not, as both Wadard and Vital are, in England as a member of William's invading force.²⁶

In fact, though Wadard, Vital, and the man who became known in England as Turol'd of Rochester might well have been associated with Odo of Bayeux in pre-1066 Normandy, Prentout's failure to document these connections satisfactorily became obvious when the three charters he used for this purpose were properly dated by Dominique Rouet to the post-conquest era.²⁷ Moreover, to assume that both Wadard and Vital were so closely and exclusively tied to the Bishop of Bayeux that only he could have had an interest in having them depicted on the Bayeux Embroidery both exaggerates the importance of their ties to the Bishop in Kent and minimizes their ties to the monastic community of St Augustine's, Canterbury. As Tsurushima has shown, Vital held only some of his land from Odo of Bayeux: he was also a tenant of Archbishop Lanfranc and is listed as one of his knights in the *Domesday Monachorum* of Christ Church.²⁸ Vital also held land at Preston from the *feudum* of Abbot Scolland.²⁹ As various scholars have noted, moreover, according to one of the stories about the saint's miracles

25 Musset, *Bayeux Tapestry*, p. 112; Sir Frank Stenton, 'The Historical Background', in *The Bayeux Tapestry: A Comprehensive Survey*, ed. by Stenton (London, Phaidon Press, 1957), pp. 9-24, at p. 24 n. 2. On the fourteen different men called Turol'd in *Domesday Book*, see K. S. B. Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People: A Prosopography of Persons Occurring in English Documents, 1066-1166* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1999-2000), i, pp. 430-32.

26 I owe this point to Elizabeth Carson Pastan in a private communication.

27 Prentout, 'Essai d'identification des personnages inconnues'. Prentout cited from the then-unpublished cartulary of Préaux three charters, which he dated to 1035-1066: Chartres, Archives Départementale d'Eure-et-Loir, H. 711, fols cii [sic] (p. 22, n. 1), 132v (p. 22, n. 2), and 133 (p. 22, n. 4). However, the transactions — which were witnessed by a man called 'Wadard', a man called 'Vitalis', or both of them and which, in one case, concerned the gift of a child called 'Turol'dus' to Préaux as an oblate — are all dated to the post-conquest period in *Le cartulaire de l'abbaye bénédictine de Saint-Pierre-de-Préaux (1034-1227)*, ed. by Dominique Rouet, Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France, Section d'histoire et philologie des civilisations médiévales, vol. xxxiv (Paris: CTHS, 2005), nos. A10 (pp. 18-19), A140 (pp. 132-33), and A141 (pp. 133-4). The child-oblate cannot possibly be Turol'd of Rochester; and the chances that the Wadard and Vitalis of the Préaux Cartulary are the same men as the ones depicted on the Bayeux Embroidery are slim.

28 Tsurushima, '*Hic Est Miles*', pp. 87-9.

29 See 'An Eleventh-Century Inquisition of St. Augustine's, Canterbury' [henceforth *Excerpta*], ed. by Adolphus Ballard, in *The British Academy Records of the Social and Economic History of England and Wales*, vol. iv (1920; Munich: Kraus Reprints, 1981), ii, pp. 1-33, at p. 24; for other references to Vital, see pp. 10, 13, 18. On the *Excerpta*, see P. H. Sawyer, 'The "Original Returns" and Domesday Book', *English Historical Review*, 70 (1955): 191-97; and Sally Harvey, 'Domesday Book and its Predecessors', *English Historical Review*, 86 (1971): 753-73, esp. p. 766.

by Goscelin of St Bertin, Scolland granted Vital the privilege of confraternity at the abbey after he had been miraculously saved at sea by St Augustine.³⁰

As for Wadard, Ann Williams writes that he ‘was given lands at Ripple and Langdon, belonging to [the manor of] Northbourne, by Abbot Scolland, and also held of the Abbey at Mongeham’.³¹ In giving him lands pertaining to Northbourne, she suggests, Scolland ‘was presumably providing for St Augustine’s military quota, for in the Abbey’s *Noticia Terrarum*, the Northbourne tenancies are headed “lands of the knights” (*terre militum*) and several were held for military service in the twelfth century and later’.³² Wadard’s connections to the Abbey are further documented in *Domesday Book* and in the so-called *Excerpta* of St Augustine’s, both of which show that he held land in Kent from Abbot Scolland and the monks, to whom he paid rent and tithes.³³ Moreover, the unpublished early-twelfth-century *Noticia terrarum* of St Augustine’s indicates that Wadard was posthumously identified as the holder of a *feudum* in the honour of St Augustine’s.³⁴ His connection with the abbey was also noted by William Thorne, a thirteenth-century historian of St Augustine’s, in a passage very similar to one in another unpublished cartulary of the abbey’s.³⁵ In 1079, according to Thorne, ‘Abbot Scotland assigned to Wadard, a knight, land of five sulungs around the village of Northbourne to the end of his life, on condition that the knight himself should pay thirty shillings every year on the feast of Pentecost to St. Augustine and give the tithe of all his belongings, and after the death of Wadard it should return to the demesne of St. Augustine for ever’.³⁶

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- 30 BL, Cotton MSS, Vespasian B xx, fols 61r-70v. See also Richard Gem, ‘Canterbury and the Cushion Capital: A Commentary on Passages from Goscelin’s *De Miraculis Sancti Augustini*’, in *Romanesque and Gothic: Essays for George Zarnecki*, ed. by N. Stratford (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1987), i, pp. 83-102; and Tsurushima, ‘*Hic Est Miles*’, p. 88.
- 31 Ann Williams, ‘The Anglo-Norman Abbey’, in *Book of St Augustine’s Abbey, Canterbury*, ed. by Richard Gem (London: Batsford, 1997), pp. 50-66, at p. 60.
- 32 Williams, ‘Anglo-Norman Abbey’, p. 59.
- 33 *Domesday Book*, ed. John Morris, vol. 1, *Kent*, ed. by Philip Morgan (Chichester: Phillimore, 1983), 7.19-20 [fol. 12c]; *Excerpta*, pp. 21, 22.
- 34 *Noticia Terrarum*: TNA, E164/27, fols 14r-14v: *milites feofati in suprascripta terra & in honore sancti Augustini*; see also the reference to *terra Wadardi* on fol. 12v.
- 35 TNA, E164/27, fol. 2r: *Abbas tradidit Wadardo milit[i] suo terra[m] .v. solingorum circa Northburnum villam pro solido annuatim solvendo in festo pentecosten & dabit decimam omnium bonorum post cuius obitum liceat tot[am] illam terram sancti augustini in dominium tradidit.*
- 36 Tsurushima, ‘*Feudum in Kent*’, p. 106, translating William Thorne, *De rebus gestis Abbatum Sancti Augustini Cantuariae*, in *Historiae Anglicanae Scriptores X*, ed. by Roger Twysden (London: Typis Jacobi Flesher, sumptibus Cornelii Bee, 1652), col. 1789: *Abbas Scotlandus tradidit Wadardo militi terram quinque solidorum circa villam de Norborne ad terminum vitae ipsius, hac interposita conditione, ut ipse miles redderet singulis annis in festo Pentecost[es] sancto Augustino xxx solidos et daret decimas omnium rerum suarum quae de illis portuerunt pervenire, et post obitum Wadardi ad dominicum sancti Augustini pro imperpetuo [sic] rediret.*

However, there was more to the transaction between Wadard and St Augustine's than this. A previously unknown charter presented below in a transcript from one of the three unpublished cartularies of St Augustine's provides significant new evidence about the nature and extent of Wadard's association with the Abbot and monks and with St Augustine as well.³⁷ Like Thorne's summary, the charter mentions tithes due from land at Northbourne and a rent for the land of thirty *solidi* that was payable at Pentecost; it, too, stipulates that the land should return to the monastery's demesne after Wadard's death. However, it treats other aspects of Wadard's relationship with St Augustine's that Thorne's summary omitted:

*Conventio inter Scollandum abbatem & monachos Sancti Augustini cum Wadardo milite. Accepit ipse Wadardus terram .v. solingiorum circa norburiam villam ea condicione quod dabit ipse per singulos annos .xxx. solidos inpentecosten abbati. & dabit decimam omnium rerum suarum quae in eadem terra fuerint. scilicet mellium. ovium. lane. porcorum. animalium. caseorum & ceterorum quae ipse in domo habuerit. francigene quicumque de terra illa quicquam ab eo tenuerint. Angli vero ibidem degentes consuetam annonam cedent usque dum legitime ab omnibus angligenis decima reddatur & ipsi eam tunc daturi. terram vero istam debet ipse Wadardus bene vestire & domibus & animalibus. & bene agricolari. & si contigerit sibi obitus habeat totam terram cum vestitura in dominium sancti augustini in cuius cimiterio delegit sibi sepulturam & omnium proprietarum rerum donationem. Ipse autem serviet abbati & fratribus fideliter sicut miles eorum. Consuetudines tunc quas actenus reddidit terra illa regi in operibus castellorum vel quod dicunt scot vel aliarum rerum reddet.*³⁸

Because the agreement states that Wadard is to serve Abbot Scolland and the monks of St Augustine's 'faithfully [*fideliter*] as their *miles*' and that upon his death, the land he holds should return to the Abbey's demesne, it merits comparison with other early Anglo-Norman charters concerning men who were to serve ecclesiastical landlords as *militēs*

37 BL, Cotton MSS, Julius D. ii, on which see Susan E. Kelly, 'Introduction', in *Charters of St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury and Minster-in-Thanel*, ed. by Kelly, Anglo-Saxon Charters, iv (Oxford: OUP for the British Academy, 1995), pp. xiii-cxv, at pp. xlii-xlvii. For the other two unpublished cartularies of St Augustine's — BL, Cotton MSS, Claudius D. x ('The Red Book of St Augustine's') and TNA E164/27 ('The White Book of St Augustine's') — see Kelly, 'Introduction', pp. xlvii-li and li-liv, respectively. For all three cartularies, see also *St Augustine's Abbey*, ed. by Gem, p. 172.

38 BL, Cotton MSS, Julius D. ii, fol. 107v [no. 295], which I thank Kate Gilbert for helping me to transcribe.

during their lifetimes.³⁹ For the purposes of the present paper, however, the charter is important for revealing that Wadard's relations with Abbot Scolland and the monks of the abbey involved more than William Thorne had indicated and than writers on the Bayeux Embroidery or St Augustine's have hitherto realized. In return for rendering tithes and rent to Scolland and the monks of St Augustine's and, moreover, serving them faithfully as their *miles* and possibly swearing an oath of fidelity to Scolland,⁴⁰ Wadard was to be buried in the monks' cemetery — a privilege accorded only to lay benefactors who were granted confraternity at a monastery and became the beneficiaries of the monks' prayers.⁴¹ Further evidence of Wadard's association with Abbot Scolland and the monks of St Augustine's can be found in another charter from BL, Cotton MSS, Julius D. ii, which names him as witness to an agreement between the monks and a man called Herbert son of Ivo.⁴²

There is no way of proving that Wadard owed his place on the Bayeux Embroidery to his association with St Augustine's. But the hypothesis is totally plausible, given how many other figures depicted on the Embroidery were linked in perpetuity to the Abbey as both benefactors and beneficiaries of the monks' prayers and thus as *fratres* belonging to the confraternity.⁴³ In most cases, the death of each of these *fratres* is noted in a so-called obit on the date on which it occurred in the early twelfth-century Martyrology of St Augustine's, which served as a record of the individuals for whom the monks were obligated to pray by name on the anniversaries of their deaths.⁴⁴ Included in the

39 See David C. Douglas, 'A Charter of Enfeoffment under William the Conqueror', *English Historical Review*, 42 (1927): 245-7; and V. H. Galbraith, 'An Episcopal Land Grant of 1085', *English Historical Review*, 44 (1929): 353-72.

40 According to Tsurushima, '*Hic Est Miles*', p. 90, n. 1-2, the term *miles* was applied to men of different social status, doing different kinds of service.

41 On grants of confraternity in England, see Hirokazu Tsurushima, 'The Fraternity of Rochester Cathedral Priory in about 1100', *Anglo-Norman Studies XIV: Proceedings of the Battle Conference 1991* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1992), pp. 313-37; and the literature cited in Pastan and White, 'Problematizing Patronage', p. 17, n. 74. On exchanges of lands for spiritual benefits, including burial rights, between lay people and monastic communities, see Stephen D. White, *Custom, Kinship and Gifts to Saints: The Laudatio Parentum in Western France* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988), pp. 19-39. There appears to be no reference to Wadard's death in the Martyrology, which has gaps in the calendar for July and November. There is, however, an obit (fol. 129) for *Ansfridus frater noster* — who can probably be identified with the Ansfridus Mauclerc, mentioned in the charter that immediately follows the one documenting Wadard's own agreement with Scolland, as making a similar *conventio* with the Abbot. For Ansfridus's holding from Abbot Scolland, see *Domesday Book*, i, Kent, 7.18, 24 [fol. 12d]; *Excerpta*, p. 5.

42 BL, Cotton MSS, Julius, D. ii, fols 107v-108r [no. 297].

43 Women, including female religious, who were formally associated with the community were designated as *sorores*.

44 BL, Cotton MSS, Vitellius c. xii.

Martyrology are obits for not only Vital,⁴⁵ but King Edward, whose gifts to the abbey in return for spiritual benefits are recorded in several charters;⁴⁶ William, Duke of Normandy and later King of the English, whose various grants and confirmations in favor of Saint Augustine's were made for the protection of his soul;⁴⁷ Harold, first identified on the Embroidery as *dux Anglorum* and later as *rex Anglorum*, and Harold's father Godwine;⁴⁸ Odo, Bishop of Bayeux and half-brother to King William, who was the Abbey's most important benefactor after 1066;⁴⁹ Archbishop Stigand of Canterbury;⁵⁰ and Eustace of Boulogne.⁵¹ Finally, because the Martyrology's obit for Harold, King of the English, on the day of the battle of Hastings (14 October) also refers to the deaths of *quamplurimi fratres nostri* — that is, 'many brothers of ours' — it is highly likely that Harold's brother Leofwine, whose holdings in Kent had been extensive, was also remembered in the prayers of the monks, who may well have prayed for some of the nameless dead on the Embroidery as well.⁵²

The Bayeux Embroidery's inclusion of so many images of English and Norman *fratres* of St Augustine's demonstrates that the members of this religious community 'consistently played a more directive role in determining [the Embroidery's] meaning than previous scholarship has allowed for'.⁵³ In fact, it shows that in all likelihood, the community created the Embroidery for its own purposes and without reference to the wishes of Odo of Bayeux or anyone else about how to construct a pictorial narrative of the

45 For the obit of Vital's son Haimo, see Martyrology, fol. 132r.

46 See Martyrology, fol. 114v; and for charters recording Edward's gifts to St Augustine's, *Charters of St Augustine's Abbey*, ed. by Kelly, no.35 [1042 x 1050], made *pro redemptione anime mee*; and no. 39 [1053-1066], made 'for minre saule'. On gifts to the abbey probably made by King Edward's mother, Queen Emma/Aelfgyva, see *Charters of St Augustine's Abbey*, pp. xx, 186.

47 For the obit of *Willelmus rex Anglorum* and *Mathildis regina Anglorum*, see Martyrology, fol. 140v. For William I's gifts and confirmations to St Augustine's, see *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum: The Acta of William I (1066-1087)*, ed. by David Bates (Oxford: OUP, 1998), nos. 80 (1066-1087; probably 1066 x c.1070), 81 (1070 before Whitsun), 82 (1070 x 1075), 83 (14 July, 1077), 84 (1082-1093), 87 (1070 x 1087).

48 For Harold's obit, see Martyrology, fol. 145v; for that of *Godvinus dux*, fol. 125.

49 Martyrology, fol. 114v. On Odo as the monks' primary benefactor after 1066, see Pastan and White, 'Problematizing Patronage', pp. 16-17 and the literature cited in p. 16, n. 66.

50 Martyrology, fol. 120v: *Stigandus archiepiscopus*.

51 For *Eustachius frater noster*, see Martyrology, fol. 118r; for *Eustachius monachus ad succurendum*, fol. 122.

52 Martyrology, fol. 145v. For Odo's gifts and quitclaims to the Abbey, see *Regesta*, ed. Bates, nos 84 (1082-1093), 85 (1070 x 1082/83), 87 (1070 x 1082/83).

53 Pastan and White, 'Problematizing Patronage', p. 20.

conquest or what people to include in it. With the Bishop out of the picture as the Bayeux Embroidery's patron, one can also dispense with the unsubstantiated theory that though made at St Augustine's, it was shown at an unspecified baronial hall or halls to lay audiences consisting largely if not exclusively of Normans.⁵⁴ The obvious alternative is that the monks made it for display at their own house. There, in the presence of members of the community, even obscure figures on the Embroidery such as Wadard would have been recognized, even after their deaths, and prayed for by name as brothers of the monks of St Augustine's.

54 Theory is most clearly developed in Richard Brilliant, 'The Bayeux Tapestry: A Stripped Narrative for their Eyes and Ears', *Word and Image*, 7 (1991): 98-126; rpt. in *Study of the Bayeux Tapestry*, ed. by Gameson, pp. 111-37. Heslop, 'Regarding the Spectators of the Bayeux Tapestry', p. 232, imagines Turolf of Rochester and his Kentish tenants visiting his lord's hall near Canterbury to view the Bayeux Embroidery, on which the latter 'could have seen both their former and current masters in the account of those great events and could have drawn their own conclusions about the will of God as realized in history'.