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For Matthew
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## INTRODUCTION

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Next year, 2014, will see the 800th anniversary of the defeat of King John’s allies at the Battle of Bouvines, a defeat that is widely regarded as a watershed in John’s troubled reign. Not only did it frustrate the king in his ambitions to recover his former Continental dominions, but it also left him with reduced resources and vulnerable to his political opponents in England. In this volume, the 59th volume in the New Series and the 97th to be published by the Society, Professor Nicholas Vincent illuminates the wealth of charters from ducal Normandy that are preserved in English archives and celebrates the achievements of the antiquaries of the nineteenth century, and of Thomas Stapleton, in particular, in bringing to light evidences of the Anglo-Norman past. The Society is, once again, grateful to the Stenton Fund of the British Academy for a generous grant towards the cost of publishing this volume. As general editors, we would also like to extend our warm thanks to Ron Naylor and his team at Flexpress Limited for their assistance in seeing this volume through to publication.

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York

LOUISE WILKINSON
Canterbury
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The present study grew out of a paper, first presented at the The National Archives (the former Public Record Office) in the summer of 2004, to a conference organized by David Crook under the auspices of the Pipe Roll Society, intended to commemorate the 800th anniversary of King John’s loss of Normandy. The article was already a long one. By the time that I came to work up the proceedings of the 2004 conference for publication, it had quite outgrown its original purpose. What had begun as an essay, sparked by a desire to find out slightly more than was disclosed by the Dictionary of National Biography of the life of Thomas Stapleton, first editor of the Norman Pipe Rolls, now demanded reworking into a book. Such books, being accidental rather than pre-planned, do not necessarily make for the most fluent or coherent of reading, although I hope that in the introduction below some sort of story emerges from the haphazard assembly of facts. In particular, I hope that Stapleton’s achievements at last obtain the recognition that they deserve. For help in establishing the provenance of various manuscripts now in the British Library, I am indebted to Claire Breay, Justin Clegg and Julian Harrison. Peter Meadows served as an expert guide to the Gage archive in Cambridge. Richard Gameson and Patrick Zutshi helped me with various of Stapleton’s references to Norman and Italian manuscripts, John Charmley with political intrigue, Carole Rawcliffe with an expert medico-historical opinion, and Juliet Tyson with all manner of things, not least with the interpretation of various rude remarks in French. For assistance, well beyond the call of duty, in uncovering and transcribing the correspondence between Stapleton and Sir Thomas Phillipps, I am grateful to Hugh Doherty. Lord Gerald Fitzalan Howard and Susan Fitzalan Howard, John Martin Robinson and Mrs Pat Meanwell facilitated my access to Stapleton’s surviving books and notebooks at Carlton Towers. Judy Burg at Hull spent a deal of time searching for a lost box of Stapleton’s papers which eventually re-emerged just as this book was going to press, thanks to the detective work of Tim Gates. David Knights and Josephine Hutchings assisted with enquiries at Stonyhurst and Lincoln’s Inn, Julian Pooley with others of Stapleton’s letters. As always, I have benefited enormously from the wisdom and assistance of Christopher Brooke, David Carpenter, David Crouch, Judith Everard, Daniel Power and Nigel Ramsay. David Crouch and Daniel Power, in particular, proved ideal sounding boards and suppliers of significant information. Without help from the staff of the Canterbury Cathedral Archives, and in particular from Mark Page and Cressida Williams, joint authors of the magnificent new online catalogue of the Chartae Antiquae, the Canterbury section of what follows would have been a great deal more difficult to assemble. This book is dedicated to the eldest of my children, thanks to whom, and to a system of national education a great deal better than anything currently available in the United Kingdom, I have now spent something approaching three thousand hours (more than four months solid), sitting on the Eurostar between Paris and London. In Normandy, Paris and
elsewhere, I wish to express particular gratitude to the ever-helpful archivists and library staffs at Évreux and Rouen, to the late Michel Nortier, to Jean-François Nieus and Thérèse de Hemptinne, to Ghislain Brunel at the Archives nationales, and to Florent Lenegre at Rouen. I wish that I could express similar gratitude to the former archivist of the Archives de Calvados at Caen.

Nicholas Vincent
LIST OF ABBREVIATED REFERENCES


AD  Archives départementales

AN  Paris, Archives nationales de France

ANS  Anglo-Norman Studies

Archbp  Archbishop

BEC  Bibliothèque de l’Ecole des Chartes

BIHR  Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research

BL  London, The British Library

Bnf  Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France

Book of Fees  Liber Feodorum. The Book of Fees Commonly Called Tèsta de Nevill, 3 vols (London 1920–31)

Bp  Bishop


CCA  Canterbury Cathedral Archives


CLR  Calendar of the Liberate Rolls, 6 vols (London 1916–64)

Cottineau
L.H. Cottineau, Répertoire topo-bibliographique des abbayes et des prieurés, 3 vols (Mâcon 1935–70)

CP

CPR
Calendar of Patent Rolls (London 1891–)

CRR
Curia Regis Rolls of the Reigns of Richard I, John and Henry III Preserved in the Public Record Office (London 1922–)

Delisle, Recueil

Diceto
Radulphi de Diceto Opera Historica. The Historical Works of Master Ralph de Diceto, Dean of London, ed. W. Stubbs, 2 vols, RS (London 1876)

EHR
English Historical Review

EYC

Fauroux, Recueil

Fleming

Foedera
Foedera, Conventiones, Litterae etc., or Rymer’s Foedera, 1066–1383, ed. A. Clarke et al., vol.1 part i (London 1816)

GC
Gallia Christiana in Provincias Ecclesiasticas distributa, 16 vols (Paris 1715–1865)

Haskins, Institutions — C.H. Haskins, Norman Institutions (New York 1918)


HMC — Historical Manuscripts Commission

Howden, Chronica — Chronica Rogeri de Houedene, ed. W. Stubbs, 4 vols, RS (London 1868–71)

Howden, Gesta — Gesta regis Henrici secundi et Ricardi primi, ed. W. Stubbs, 2 vols, RS (London 1867)


JSA — Journal of the Society of Archivists

Jugements — Recueil de Jugements de l’Echiquier de Normandie au XIIIe siècle, ed. L. Delisle (Paris 1864)

Landon, Itinerary — The Itinerary of King Richard I, ed. L. Landon, PRS new series xiii (1935)


Léchaudé, Extrait — Extrait des chartes et autres actes normands ou Anglo-normands qui se trouvent dans les archives de Calvados, ed. Léchaudé d’Anisy, 2 vols (Caen 1834–5)


Memoranda Roll 1 John — The Memoranda Roll for the Michaelmas Term of the First Year of the Reign of King John (1199–1200), ed. H.G. Richardson, Pipe Roll Society n.s. xxi (London 1943)
Norman Charters from English Sources

**MGH**
Monumenta Germaniae Historica

**Monasticon**

**MRSN**

**MTB**
Materials for the History of Thomas Becket, ed. J.C. Roberton and J.B. Sheppard, 7 vols, RS (1875–85)

**ODNB**

**Orderic**

**Patent Rolls**

**Pouillés Rouen**
Pouillés de la province de Rouen, ed. A. Longnon (Paris 1903)

**Power, Norman Frontier**

**Powicke, Loss**

**PR**
Pipe Roll, published, save where indicated below, by the Pipe Roll Society

**PRO**
The Public Record Office, London (The National Archives)

**PRS**
Pipe Roll Society

**Red Book**
The Red Book of the Exchequer, ed. H. Hall, 3 vols, RS (London 1896)

**Regesta**
<table>
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<th>Source</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>RLP</td>
<td><em>Rotuli Litterarum Patentium</em>, ed. T.D. Hardy (London 1835)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Round, Calendar</td>
<td><em>Calendar of Documents Preserved in France Illustrative of the History of Great Britain and Ireland</em>, ed. J.H. Round (London 1899)</td>
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<tr>
<td>RS</td>
<td>Rolls Series</td>
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<tr>
<td>Stein</td>
<td>H. Stein, <em>Bibliographie générale des cartulaires français</em> (Paris 1907)</td>
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<td>TNA</td>
<td>The National Archives of the United Kingdom</td>
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<td>VCH</td>
<td><em>The Victoria County History</em></td>
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INTRODUCTION

The study that follows is intended to draw attention to some of the more significant documentary sources for ducal Normandy to be found in English manuscript collections, in certain instances well-known to historians of the Anglo-Norman realm, in others more obscure. In searching for such records, I have had of necessity to recreate the fascinating, but to date neglected story of the earliest antiquaries, both English and French, whose exploration of Norman archives helps to explain why so many Anglo-Norman antiquities are today to be found in England rather than France. Anyone who has ventured into the departmental archives of Normandy, the Bibliothèque nationale, or the Archives nationales in Paris, will be aware of the extent of the contribution that French documentary resources have still to make to the study of the Anglo-Norman realm. In terms of the vast numbers of single sheet charters surviving in the collections at Rouen, Caen, or amongst the Templar and Savigny charters in the Archives nationales, Normandy and Paris boast resources, for the most part still unpublished and in many cases virtually uncatalogued, that dwarf the relatively sparse evidences for Normandy that survive on the other side of the Channel. Nonetheless, England’s archives are not entirely bereft of significance to the study of ducal Normandy. Just as the history of Normandy, from the death of Robert of Torigny if not before, has to be written using chronicles that are for the most part English rather than Norman in authorship – Norman historical writing drying up in a most startling fashion after the 1180s – so the documentary resources now preserved in England have a vital role to play in our understanding of ducal Normandy, not only at the very end of the Anglo-Norman realm, immediately before 1204, but throughout the period of Norman ascendancy, from the eleventh century onwards.¹

In what follows, I shall restrict myself for the most part to evidences that were issued in Normandy for Norman lands, which directly involve Norman institutions or which concern the Plantagenet administration of Normandy. Even here, however, the distinction between Norman and Anglo-Norman evidence is not an easy, nor necessarily a helpful distinction to draw. Domesday Book is in many ways a very ‘English’ record, and yet without it we would be deprived of most of what we know of the landholding elite of eleventh-century Normandy. Charters issued for monasteries in Yorkshire or Wales can be just as important for establishing the descent of Norman families or the retinues of Norman lords as they are for understanding conditions on the English side of the Channel. Indeed, working from evidences that were as much English as Norman, Lewis

Norman Charters from English Sources

Loyd has taught us more about the prosopography of eleventh and twelfth-century Normandy than is to be found in many a study that restricts its focus to Normandy alone.²

My introductory survey is itself divided into four parts. In the first, I shall consider the principal classes of medieval evidences preserved in the royal, subsequently the Public records, beginning with the so-called Norman Pipe and chancery rolls, before looking beyond these to the scattered fragments of Norman charter or administrative material still to be found amongst the other classes of The National Archives. In the second part of this survey, I shall turn from the documents themselves to their editors, and in particular to the activities of two men, Thomas Stapleton (1806–1849) and Amédée Louis Léchaudé d’Anisy (1772–1857), whose endeavours can be used both to illustrate the emergence of ‘Anglo-Norman’ history as a distinct subdiscipline of medieval scholarship and to explain why so many of the more interesting documentary evidences for twelfth and thirteenth-century Normandy are today to be found not in Normandy itself but in The National Archives, the British Library, and on occasion, in collections scattered across not only England but the English-speaking world. In a third section, I outline a group of more than sixty Norman or Anglo-Norman charters, gathered from the various documentary collections thus far considered, intended to illustrate the importance of these English collections and the degree to which they still contain significant and in many cases untapped evidence for the history of medieval Normandy. The introduction concludes with a survey of a further forty-five charters from northern France, by no means all of them ‘Norman’ although in several instances of significance for the history of the barons of the Norman frontier, still preserved amongst the archives of Canterbury Cathedral: perhaps the most important cache of such documents preserved in any English archive since the Middle Ages, and for the most part previously unpublished. The one hundred and twenty-one documents outlined in sections three and four of the introduction are thereafter edited in the main body of the text.

This is by no means a comprehensive survey, either of the archives or of the antiquaries who have worked on them. The history of Anglo-Norman scholarship in England has yet to be written. But, as a foretaste of some of the stories still to be told, I hope that the present investigation may serve at least to whet the appetite.

² See in particular Loyd, Origins, and the immensely learned notes to Hatton’s Seals.
1. THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND THEIR MEDIEVAL NORMAN EVIDENCES

Historians have long been aware of the existence of two bodies of evidence in The National Archives, fundamental to our knowledge of medieval Normandy: the so-called Norman ‘Pipe’ Rolls, recording the accounting process of the Norman Exchequer, and the equally important but somewhat inappropriately named ‘Norman Rolls’ of the royal chancery, now classes E 373 and C 64.3

The actual contents of the Norman Exchequer Rolls (E 373) I shall leave for future detailed description by Vincent Moss, the acknowledged expert charged with the responsibility of re-editing these documents.4 Here I shall restrict myself to their most obvious features. But for the Norman Exchequer Rolls, the first surviving from the account taken at Michaelmas 1180, the last from the account taken at Michaelmas 1203, our knowledge both of Norman ducal finance and of ducal administration would be as derisory as our knowledge of the finance and administration of the more southerly parts of the Plantagenet dominion, regions for which we lack any financial accounts, at least before the thirteenth century. Without the Norman Exchequer accounts we might be tempted to suppose that the kings of England derived little or no financial advantage from their lands in Normandy, and that the duchy itself was peripheral to the Plantagenets’ concerns: suppositions which, as the Norman accounts make plain, would be entirely false. This supplies a salutary reminder that we should not necessarily discount the financial significance of other regions, such as Poitou or Gascony, to Henry II and his sons merely because no financial accounts survive for these regions. The physical format of the Norman Exchequer Rolls corresponds closely to that of the English Pipe Rolls, save that the ‘rotulets’ of the Norman rolls are slightly narrower and are sewn together into considerably shorter membranes than those used at the

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4 Pending the publication of a full study, see Pipe Rolls of the Exchequer of Normandy, ed. V. Moss, PRS n.s. liii (2004), with further volumes still in press; V. Moss, ‘Normandy and England in 1180: The Pipe Roll Evidence’, England and Normandy in the Middle Ages, ed. D. Bates and A. Curry (London 1994), 185–95; idem, “‘The Defence of Normandy 1195–1198’, ANS, xxiv (2002), 145–61; idem, ‘Reprise et innovations: les rôles normands et anglais de l’année 1194–1195 et la perte de la Normandie’, La Normandie et l’Angleterre au Moyen-Age, ed. P. Bouet and V. Gazeau (Caen 2003), 89–98. There is an excellent introduction to the 18 rolls and accounts in TNA class E 373 by David Crook, available as introduction to the typescript TNA calendar to E 373. I would nonetheless dispute Dr Crook’s suggestion that a reference to a twenty-year farm in the earliest of the Norman Pipe Rolls (MRSN, i, 12) necessarily proves the existence of such rolls as early as the 1160s.
Westminster Exchequer. The writing of both the Norman and English rolls is strikingly similar. As yet, it is impossible to say whether the Norman rolls are equivalent to the English Pipe Rolls in the circumstances of their writing: were they drawn up and annotated as an integral aspect of the process of account each year, marked up as the account proceeded, with the details of sums paid or not paid by the accounting officers being entered on the roll as these officers rendered their accounts? Or are they instead fair copies of accounts already rendered? A number of the documents stored in the main Norman Pipe Rolls series are in fact not Pipe Rolls at all but foreign accounts, dealing with income or expenditure by particular local officials. The earliest of the Norman Exchequer Rolls may well be ‘Pipe Rolls’ integral to the process of account, although certainty here is difficult to achieve. Were it not for the fact that the *Dialogue of the Exchequer* tells us that the Chancellor’s Roll was maintained as a fair copy made from the Treasurer’s Pipe Roll, the writing and format of the surviving English Chancellors’ Rolls would not necessarily permit us to distinguish them from those of the Exchequer. A comparison of the writing and format of the three surviving Exchequer Rolls from 1180 – the Norman Pipe Roll, and the English Pipe and Chancellor’s Rolls – reveals, at least superficially, as many similarities as differences. Only later, with the Norman account rolls for the reign of King John, do we appear to enter the realm, not of ‘Pipe Rolls’ proper, used in the process of account, but that of ‘counter rolls’ or fair copies, on occasion surviving in duplicate, of accounts already rendered by the various individual bailiffs accounting each year at the Caen Exchequer. As such, these later Norman Exchequer Rolls differ fundamentally from their English counterparts, and become closer both in function and physical appearance to other such ‘counter-rolls’, including the so-called ‘Pipe Rolls’ of the bishopric of Winchester, surviving from 1208 onwards.

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5 Compare, for example, the sewn-up rotulets of TNA E 373/10 (Norman Pipe Roll 1180), which are approximately 295mm. wide and 500mm. long, with those of the equivalent English Pipe Roll, TNA E 372/26, which are 400mm. across and up to 1400mm. long. Both rolls are ruled into approximately 7mm. line spaces. Similar distinctions continue to apply into the 1190s and beyond.


7 As noted by Jenkinson, ‘financial records’, 270–3.

8 The rolls of 1180 (TNA E 373/10), 1184 (E 373/1, incomplete) and 1198 (E 373/2) could well be ‘Pipe Rolls’. The roll for 1195 (E 373/18) is perhaps a counter roll. A great deal more work is required before the mysteries that underlie the process of account in Normandy are fully solved.

9 Thus, I would question whether a casual observer could easily distinguish the circumstances of the making of the Chancellor’s Roll 26 Henry II (TNA E 352/13, Michaelmas 1180) from those of the Treasurer’s Pipe Roll (TNA E 372/26).

10 See here the forthcoming work of Vincent Moss, and meanwhile, for the bishopric of Winchester account rolls and the ‘counter roll’ form in general, see N. Vincent, ‘The Origins of the Winchester Pipe Rolls’, *Archives*, xxi (1994), 25–42.
The Norman Exchequer Rolls have long been recognised as a source of fundamental significance to the history of ducal Normandy. However, even today historians remain in many cases readier to celebrate than to use them. This peculiar state of affairs results not from any inadequacy of the rolls themselves but from the way in which they were published: a story that I shall tell in detail in the second part of this essay and that is of fundamental significance if we are to understand not only how English scholars first came into contact with the documentary resources of Normandy, but why, even today, these resources remain less than fully exploited. For the moment we need merely note that Thomas Stapleton, first editor of the Norman Pipe Rolls, never completed his edition, published in two volumes in 1840 and 1844 but left without an index to persons and places. The index volume, which he had always intended, may not even have been begun by the time of Stapleton’s premature death in 1849. As a result, short of trawling through 575 pages of densely spaced Latin text, it remains impossible to use Stapleton’s edition with any ease. The vast majority of persons or places went unlisted by Stapleton, let alone properly identified. His interest in particular Norman families was pursued at the expense of any real concern for the vast numbers of lesser knights and royal servants whose careers could be traced from the accounts, whilst his knowledge of Norman topography, though remarkable for an Englishman, predated by many years the publication of the Norman topographical dictionaries which, though neither comprehensive nor especially easy to use, must be considered essential to any modern historian of the duchy. Moreover, given the chaotic state in which Stapleton found the Norman Exchequer records, he failed to note the existence of various fragments and additions which have more recently come to light. An index appended to the inaccurate French reprinting of Stapleton’s edition, undertaken between 1845 and 1852, and a card index to Stapleton’s edition, compiled under the guidance of Sir James Holt – now, thanks to Daniel Power, circulating in a revised digital form – go some way towards opening up the rolls to more detailed enquiry. But not until the publication and indexing of Dr Moss’s edition, still some years from completion, will the rolls themselves be usable in the way that the

11 According to the anonymous obituarist in *The Gentleman’s Magazine* (1850), part 1, 323, the index volume was held back ‘more from the deficiency of funds for its production than any disinclination on the part of the editor’.

12 For the principal edition, see *Magni Rotuli Scaccarii Normanniae sub regibus Angliae*, ed. T. Stapleton, 2 vols (London 1840–44), printing most of the records now assembled as TNA E 373/1–18. Various fragments, including estreats and memoranda, now TNA E 101/152/1, E 101/349/1A and E 101/505/4, recovered since Stapleton’s time, were printed by H. Legras, ‘Un fragment de rôle normand inédit de Jean sans Terre’, *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie*, xxix (1914), 21–31, and as *Miscellaneous Records of the Norman Exchequer 1199–1204*, ed. S.R. Packard, Smith College Studies in History xii nos 1–4 (Northampton Mass. 1926–7). Dr Moss’s forthcoming edition is intended to replace both Stapleton and Packard. Stapleton’s edition was very swiftly disseminated in France via its reprinting by Léchaudé d’Anisy: *Grands rôles des échiquiers de Normandie*, and *Magni Rotuli Scaccarii Normanniae*, ed. A. Léchaudé d’Anisy and A. Charma, Société des Antiquaires de Normandie, xv–xvi (new series v–vi) (1845–52). It is this French reprinting which is the only one to be supplied with a published index. The digital index can be supplied to anyone who cares to apply to me for it by email.
English Pipe Rolls have been used for a century or more. Only when they are at last properly indexed will the full glory of the Norman Exchequer Rolls become apparent. They will in due course yield up an extraordinary multitude of references for genealogists, for the historians of building and landscape, for economic historians, as well as for the wider history of the duchy’s politics. For the moment, Thomas Stapleton’s endeavours must serve as an illustration both of the heroic nature of archival research, and of its potential perils. We shall encounter Stapleton again in due course, but for the moment let us pass from the Norman Exchequer rolls to the other chief class of Norman records to be found in the National Archives: records whose editing represented a relatively modest achievement compared to the heroic labours of Stapleton.

By contrast to the records of the Norman Exchequer, by the early nineteenth century most of the so-called Norman Rolls of the chancery had long been identified and classified, used widely by Thomas Madox if by few other English historians. Since at least the early eighteenth century, French historians had been keen to gain access to the Norman, Gascon and French rolls stored at the Tower of London, precisely because it was hoped that they might supply a complete picture of English administration and landholding in France comparable to that supplied for England itself by the English chancery rolls. It was with such ends in mind that Thomas Carte, as early as 1743, published an incomplete catalogue of various of the entries in these rolls, and that in the 1760s Louis Bréquigny travelled to London to make more extensive transcripts. The full publication of the earliest of the chancery’s Norman Rolls in 1835, carried out under the direction of Thomas Duffus Hardy for the Record Commissioners, brought with it great expectations. ‘When the whole of this important body of evidence is published’, Hardy wrote, ‘there is scarcely a city or town in Normandy, Gascony, or such of the other provinces of France as were formerly subject to England, which will not be able to find its charter of incorporation, augmentations of its privileges, or confirmations of its franchises’: a statement that must be accounted one of the more outrageously optimistic ever to have been committed to writing by an English scholar.

By publishing a full edition of the six surviving Norman rolls of John’s reign, together with a single, much later Norman Roll for the reign of Henry V, Hardy in fact revealed what French scholars had already discovered: that the rolls themselves were extremely diverse in nature, and that they could in no way live up to the great expectations that had once been entertained of them in France. This in itself may explain why publication thereafter ceased. None of the remaining Norman Rolls of the reign of Henry V has

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15 Hardy’s edition, *Rot. Norm.*, carries what was to prove the over optimistic title ‘Vol. I de annis 1200–1205, necnon de anno 1417’. It was reprinted, not entirely accurately, by Léchaudé
since been published, and although, in a rare example of Anglo-French co-operation, the thirteenth-century Gascon Rolls (C 61) did eventually appear in print, no attempt whatsoever has been made as yet to publish the 120 or so Gascon Rolls after 1318, or the later, so-called French Rolls (now reclassified amongst the Treaty Rolls, C 76) dating from the reign of Edward III and his successors. The only printed guides to the fifteenth-century Norman Rolls remain entirely inadequate: the highly selective index by Thomas Carte, published in 1743, supplemented by a series of equally jejune abstracts published in the Public Record Office Deputy Keeper’s Reports for 1880–1. As we shall see, the effect of this has been to deprive historians of access to what is in reality an extremely valuable source for ducal Normandy both before and after 1204.

The series of Norman Rolls begins with six such rolls compiled in the reign of King John. It was apparent even to Hardy, their editor, that these six rolls were far from uniform in nature. If we sort them into their various classes, we find that the first is a roll of seven membranes, with an elaborate contemporary title: ‘Roll of Norman charters and cyrographs, made in the time of Guarin de Glapion seneschal of Normandy, in the second year of the reign of King John, with Samson abbot of Caen and Ralph l’Abbé then serving at the Exchequer, Peter de Lions serving as the King’s clerk’. This title, however, is misleading, since the 43 charters recorded here span the period from the 1150s through to John’s reign. All of them relate to Normandy. Nineteen are private charters, the majority described as concords or final concords made at the Exchequer at Caen, most of them apparently, and two of them certainly, issued in the second year of John’s reign, but at least one having been made in the presence of the previous seneschal of Normandy, William fitz Ralph, and another dated at Caen in 1202, the

d’Anisy as part of his re-edition of Grands rôles des échiquiers de Normandie (1845), 89–136.

Two volumes of Treaty Rolls have been published, ed. P. Chaplais and J. Ferguson (London 1955–72), extending to 1339. For the Gascon Rolls, published variously by Charles Bémont and others, and as yet continued to 1317, see the listing in Gascon Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office 1307–1317, ed. Y. Renouard and R. Fawtier (London 1962), pp.i–ii. A project led by Dr Malcolm Vale of Oxford and Dr Paul Booth of Liverpool to publish the remaining Gascon Rolls is in progress. For details, see www.gascon.rolls.org.

T. Carte, Catalogue des rolles gascons, normans et français, 2 vols (Paris/London 1743); appendices to the 41st and 42nd Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records (London 1880–1), at respectively pp.671–810 and pp.313–472. These English ‘Norman Rolls’ are not to be confused with the later chancery registers of Henry VI for his French possessions, now AN JJ172–5, whence the extensive extracts relating to Normandy, Actes de la chancellerie d’Henri VI concernant la Normandie sous la domination anglaise (1422–1435), ed. P. le Cacheux, 2 vols (Rouen/Paris 1907–8).


TNA C 64/3 m.7: Hic est rotulus cartarum et cyrograforum Normann(i) factus tempore Guar(ini) de Glapion tunc senesc(ali) Normann(i) anno secundo regni reg(issi) Iohannis, assistentibus ad scac(carium) Sansone abbathe Cadom ’et Radulfo( ) Labe, Petro de Lions clerico domini regis. This is written throughout in a fine chancery-style hand, on sheets approximately 260mm wide. Apparently complete, since there is a great deal of parchment left blank and unruled at the end of m.1. Printed in full in Rot. Norm., 1–22.
third year of John’s reign. The remaining twenty-four charters are royal, two of them of Henry II, three of Richard, and no less than nineteen of King John. The vast majority of the royal as of the private charters have been abbreviated and in the process deprived of their dating clauses and witness lists. However, of the nineteen charters of John, two are dated not to the King’s second but to his third year, 25 November 1201 and 1 April 1202. Of the remaining sixteen charters of John, all of them undated, no less than seven are also to be found enrolled in the main series of chancery Charter Rolls (C 53), covering England as well as France and preserving complete witness lists and dates. Four of the seven are to be found on the Charter Roll 2 John, two are preserved in the Charter Roll for the year 1 John, and another in the Charter Roll 5 John, the dating range of all nineteen charters extending from 4 January 1200 to 1 July 1203. What we have here, therefore, seems not to be a distinct Norman Charter Roll independent of the principal chancery roll of charters, nor an annual summary of charters recited before the Exchequer in the year 2 John (May 1200–1), but a much more miscellaneous collection of documents, in some ways analogous to the English Cartae Antiquae Rolls (C 52), preserving some but not all of the charters and records shown at the Caen Exchequer between 1200 and 1203. In the normal run of events, the King’s charters to Norman beneficiaries, together with those issued to beneficiaries in England, Ireland and the rest of France, were enrolled on the chancery Charter Rolls (C 53), the earliest such roll surviving for the year 1 John (1199–1200). The Norman ‘Charter Roll’, however, is of particular significance, both for its preservation of records from those years, the third and fourth of King John’s reign (May 1201–3), for which the chancery Charter Rolls no longer survive, and for its preservation of much more miscellaneous instruments and final concords. What this roll of charters and cyrographs represents, I would suggest, is the continuation of a process, painstakingly traced by Daniel Power, by which some, though perhaps not all final concords made before the Norman Exchequer were being enrolled, certainly by 1190 and quite possibly as early as Michaelmas 1186. The enrolments were not in the same form as the writ or charter rolls of the English royal chancery, but were rolls maintained at the Norman Exchequer as a record of miscellaneous business transacted before the Exchequer, perhaps for the lack in Normandy of

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23 TNA C 53/1 et seq, printed in Rot. Chart., pp.xl–i, 1ff.
anything analogous to the feet of fines, or third part of tripartite cyrographs, maintained for judicial business in England from July 1195 onwards. The closest analogy to the lost series of Norman Rolls, of which C 64/3 stands as sole reminder, may lie in the English Exchequer’s Cartae Antiquae Rolls and in such semi-private ‘cartulary’ rolls as the so-called ‘Chester Domesday’: a roll of fines and charters made before the Exchequer of the earldom of Chester from the 1190s onwards.25

We can deal fairly rapidly with the next two rolls printed by Hardy. The first is a roll entitled ‘rotulus Norm(annie) inceptus die Ascensionis Domini de oblat(is) recept(is) anno regni reg(is) I(ohannis) secundo’, of four membranes, preserving 51 entries relating to fines made with the King for property and rights in Normandy, Anjou (3 entries), Poitou (2 entries) and on both sides of the Channel (at least 2 entries relating to land in Normandy and England).26 The roll is clearly the counterpart to the Oblata or Fine Roll 2 John for the King’s English and Irish dominions,27 but in this instance covering not only Normandy but all the King’s French lands north and south of the Loire. Such rolls were an essential feature of Exchequer practice from the very beginning, and must have existed from the time of the very earliest Exchequer Pipe Rolls, being indispensable to the compilation of entries on the Pipe Rolls for new fines and offerings.28 In this particular instance, we lack the Norman Exchequer accounts taken at Michaelmas 1200 or Michaelmas 1201, and hence cannot easily check off the entries on the Norman Oblata Roll against the Norman accounts. Even so, fines recorded in the Oblata Roll are still to be found at Michaelmas 1203, being cleared in the next surviving Norman Exchequer Roll.29 Like the equivalent English/Irish Oblata Roll for the year 2 John, entries on the Norman Oblata Roll are marked up according to the particular bailiwick in which the fine would be entered on the Norman Exchequer Roll, although with what appears to be less regularity or clarity than in England. Assuming the Norman Oblata Roll to be complete, its four membranes and

25 R. Stewart-Brown, ‘The “Domesday” Roll of Chester’, EHR, xxxvii (1922), 481–500. The Chester roll appears to have dated from the time of earl Ranulph (1181–1232), being introduced at some time between 1194 and 1208.
26 TNA C 64/2, again written in a ‘chancery’ hand, but less neatly than the Norman roll of charters C 64/3, the membranes measuring approximately 250mm. at their widest, printed in full in Rot. Norm., 37–44.
27 TNA C 60/1B, printed in Rot. Ob., 76–143.
29 See, for example, William de Pirou’s offer of 1200 livres angevin for the Norman lands of William de Tracy (Rot. Norm., 38, with marginal notation ‘Constant’ et Vire’), of which just over 430 livres is recorded as still owing in the Norman Exchequer account taken at Michaelmas 1203 (MRSN, ii, 529, duly entered in the account for the Cotentin), or Peter de St-Hilaire’s fine of 200 livres and a horse for the land of ‘Leges’ (Rot. Norm., 39, with marginal notation ‘Moret’), still entirely unpaid in 1203 (MRSN, ii, 545, in the account for the bailiage of Mortain).
51 entries can be compared to the 22 membranes and 421 entries on the English/Irish roll of this year, to supply some idea of the relative volume of fines negotiated with the King’s English or French subjects. Particularly notable is the feeble rate of fines recorded from Anjou or Poitou (a mere five entries), which may suggest either that the King’s southern subjects had less cause to make offerings to the King for lands or privileges, or, more plausibly, that such offerings were for the most part negotiated not with the King himself but with his southern officers, whose records are now entirely lost.30

Hardy also published a roll of valuations, in four membranes, recording the values of English lands held by Norman landowners. The majority of these entries concern southern England, apparently being taken on sworn inquest, and concern ecclesiastical corporations as well as secular Norman landowners. As Hardy himself was aware, the roll supplies only a limited survey of English lands held by Normans in 1204, and in many instances relates to estates that long after 1204 remained in the hands of alien, Norman abbeys and priories.31 It is nonetheless extremely significant, being our only contemporary survey of part, though by no means all, of the ‘Terre Normannorum’ confiscated by King John in 1204.32

The three remaining Norman Rolls of the reign constitute a chronological series of writ-rolls. Unlike the charter or valuation roll, but in company with the Oblata Roll, they seem to have issued from the itinerant royal chancery rather than the Exchequer. In two cases they carry contemporary titles, the first entitled simply ‘A roll of contrabrevia of the 2nd year in Normandy’, made up of six membranes of writs dated between 17 May 1200 and 9 April 1201, the second entitled ‘A roll of lands released and of contrabrevia for Normandy, Anjou and Poitou begun at Ascension Day, 23 May in the 4th year of the reign of King John’ and continuing with eleven membranes of writs dated between 25 May 1202 and 12 May 1203. The third roll lacks a heading and is clearly incomplete, but preserves four membranes of writs very similar to those on the contrabrevia rolls 2 and 4 John, in this instance covering part of the year 5 John, for the period July–6 December 1203.33 The specific mention of contrabrevia might suggest that all three rolls, although prepared in the chancery, were intended for the use of the Norman Exchequer, and reminds us of Richard fitz Nigel’s statement that as early as the 1170s, the chancery of Henry II was compiling contrabrevia for the use of the English Exchequer, recording all financial writs issued from the itinerant royal chancery for which account would in

30 During the period in question, May 1200 – May 1201, the King was in Normandy in May, Anjou in June, Poitou and Gascony in July–August, returned to Normandy in September and thence to England in October, where he remained until the following year.
31 TNA C 64/7, printed in Rot. Norm., 122–43, with commentary by Hardy at p.xxi.
33 See table below p.13.
due course have to be made before the Exchequer barons. None of the Norman Contrabrevia Rolls, however, is exclusively given over to Norman Exchequer business. Although virtually all of their writs are financial in nature, or at least relate to grants of land for which accounts might be owing or excused, a large number of them relate not to Normandy but to Anjou and Poitou, for which it is generally assumed no accounts were rendered at the Norman Exchequer. Various of the southern writs nonetheless assume a forthcoming account, as for example on 25 June 1200, when William des Roches, seneschal of Anjou, was sent a writ of ‘computate’, to cover 25 livres spent by the prévôt of Chinon on (siege) machines being made by Master Urric, the King’s engineer, or when the seneschal of Poitou was commanded on 1 September to pay Savaric de Mauléon 200 livres angevin of his money fee ‘at our Exchequer’ (‘ad scaccarium nostrum’). In addition, both rolls preserve copies of writs that should rightly have been presented not to the Norman, Angevin or Poitevin Exchequers but to the Exchequers of England or Ireland. A writ of 10 October 1200, for example, entered on the Norman ‘Contrabrevia’ Roll 2 John, ordering the treasurer and chamberlain of the English Exchequer to pay the wages of two clerks who had sung the ‘Cristus Vincit’, is duly re-entered, in its proper place, in the roll of contrabrevia preserved for England and Ireland, known today as the earliest of the Liberate Rolls, for the year 2 John. A writ of 13 February 1203, entered on the Norman Contrabrevia Roll 4 John, ordering the justiciar of Ireland to pay an annual pension to Richard de Thwit, is marked with a note that it should be (re)written in the roll for England (‘et notandum quod debuit scribi in rotulo Angl’), presumably in the now lost English ‘Contrabrevia/Liberate’ Roll 4 John.

If we compare the three Norman Contrabrevia Rolls to the equivalent rolls for England, various significant features emerge. The earliest English Contrabrevia or Liberate Roll survives only in fragments for the period May 1200–April 1201, and like its successors, today surviving for the years 3 and 5 John, includes writs relating to Ireland as well as England. Just as English or Irish writs entered by mistake on the Norman Contrabrevia Roll appear to have been recopied onto the appropriate English roll, so when Norman writs were mistakenly entered on the English rolls they were marked for cancellation, on occasion with a note that they should be included instead in the roll for Normandy. A Norman writ, begun on the English/Irish Liberate Roll 2 John, was never completed, but is entered

34 The Course of the Exchequer by Richard Son of Nigel, ed. C. Johnson (London 1950), 32–4, especially p.34, referring to the duty of the clerk of the constabulary sent to the Exchequer cum contrabreuvibus ... de his tantum que ad curiam fiunt.
36 Rot. Norm., 34; Rot. Lib., 1. Here and in what follows, I have checked the printed editions against the surviving rolls in TNA.
37 Rot. Norm., 77, and cf. the three writs to Geoffrey fitz Peter justiciar of England enrolled at p.92, which likewise belong properly to the roll for England rather than Normandy.
38 TNA C 62/1, with various parts wrongly filed with C 64/1, printed, from the various fragments, in Rot. Lib., 1–11; Memoranda Roll 1 John, 88–97.
in full and in correct chronological sequence on the equivalent Norman Contrabrevia Roll. In one instance from the roll 5 John, a writ of 18 October 1203 ordering Peter of Stokes to restore a fee to the bishop of Lisieux, the copy of this writ mistakenly entered on the English roll is not only marked for removal to the Norman roll (‘debent inrotulari in rotulo Norm’), but the copy, in this instance a mere abstract, subsequently made in the Norman roll appears with a marginal note stating that the writ was also to be found in the English roll (‘in rotulo Angl’ totum breue’). Since in the Norman roll this abstract is once again entered in more or less correct chronological sequence, between two writs dated 16 October 1203, we can assume that the Norman and the English rolls were compiled simultaneously, probably by the same group of chancery scribes, enrolling writs as and when they were issued from the chancery, but dividing the enrolment between English and Norman rolls depending upon whether the business in question related to the King’s English and Irish, or to his Norman, Angevin and Poitevin dominions. In much the same way, a writ to Hugh de Neville and the bailiffs of Marlborough in Wiltshire, mistakenly commenced on the Norman Roll amongst business of November 1203, is cancelled incomplete, but can be found entire in the corresponding position on the English Liberate Roll.

40 Memoranda Roll 1 John, 90; Rot. Norm., 27, to Guérin de Glapion concerning a quittance of debt to William de Laste.
42 Rot. Norm., 112; Rot. Lib., 73.
SUMMARY LIST OF CONTRABREVIA/LIBERATE ROLLS 2–5 JOHN (1200–1204)

2 John (1200–1)

Normandy/Anjou/Poitou (17 May 1200–9 April 1201) (C 64/4, printed Rot. Norm., 22–37, headed ‘Rotulus de contrabreuiibus anno ii. in Norm(annia)’) (106 entries, of which 76 for Normandy, 21 for Anjou, 8 for Poitou, 1 for England)

England/Ireland (26 May 1200–27 April 1201) (C 62/1 and C 64/1, printed Rot. Lib., 1–11; Memoranda Roll 1 John, 89–97, no contemporary heading) (135 entries, of which 133 for England, 1 for Ireland, 1 for Normandy)

3 John (1201–2)

Normandy/Anjou/Poitou (Missing)

England/Ireland (3 May 1201–22 May 1202) (C 62/2, printed Rot. Lib., 11–33, no contemporary heading) (127 entries, of which 121 for England, 3 for Normandy, 2 for Ireland, 1 for Anjou)

4 John (1202–3)

Normandy/Anjou/Poitou (23 May 1202–12 May 1203) (C 64/5, printed Rot. Norm., 45–98, headed ‘Rotulus terrarum liberatarum et contrabreueium de Norm(annia), Andeg(aua) et Pict(auia) inceptus die Ascensionis Domini xxiii. die Maii anno regni illustris regis Ioh(ann)is iii.’) (424 entries, of which 374 for Normandy, 27 for Anjou, 19 for Poitou, 3 for England, 1 for Ireland)

England/Ireland (Missing)

5 John (1203–4)

Normandy/Anjou/Poitou (25 June–5 December 1203) (C 64/6, printed Rot. Norm., 98–122; Memoranda Roll 1 John, 98–9, no contemporary heading) (210 entries, of which 208 for Normandy, 2 for Anjou, the whole now badly rubbed, stained and repaired)


The King crossed from England to France in June 1199, from France to England in February 1200, from England to France in April 1200, from France to England in October 1200, from England to France May 1201, and remained in France until his last crossing from Normandy to England around 6 December 1203.
This division into separate English/Irish and Norman/French series is significant. However, it tells us more of the King’s perception of his various dominions, divided by the Channel, than it does of the precise purposes to which the rolls themselves were put. Richard fitz Nigel’s description of contrabrevia implies copies of writs abstracted specifically for the purposes of account at the King’s Exchequer. But this is a description that does not sit easily with either of the surviving series of enrolments, for Normandy/Scotland or for England/Ireland. The Norman Contrabrevia Rolls – unless we are to assume, somewhat implausibly, that they were sent in turn to the various accounting agencies in Normandy, Anjou and Poitou – appear to represent the abstraction of financial writs and mandates relating to the King’s continental lands which would nonetheless have had to be further abstracted into originalia rolls in order to be used specifically for the accounting procedures at the Exchequers of Caen, Angers or elsewhere. In the same way, the English/Irish Liberate Rolls would have to be further abstracted to assist accounts at the Exchequers of Westminster or Dublin. To this extent, the enrolments represent an intermediate stage of the recording process: chancery records that have not yet reached the final stage in which they could have been used in the King’s various Exchequers. To this extent, I am happy to endorse the opinion of David Carpenter: that the earliest of the writ rolls, today known as ‘Liberate Rolls’ or rolls of ‘contrabrevia’ for Normandy and England are in fact better regarded as part of the same series as the Close Rolls which emerge after 1205. The business that they record is more extensive than simply the writs of ‘liberate’, ‘computate’ and quittance which were implied by the Exchequer’s insistence upon ‘contrabrevia’ copies of financial writs issued by the itinerant chancery. Instead, they appear to mark progress towards much fuller enrolment of the chancery’s outgoing letters close. Whilst I remain unconvinced by Carpenter’s suggestion that these Close Rolls, let alone the Charter or Patent Rolls, had been in existence for many years before John’s accession as King, they undoubtedly bear testimony to the sophistication of the chancery’s record-keeping after 1199.

As I hope will be apparent, the picture that emerges from these rolls is significant for our understanding of the entire phenomenon of enrolment in the royal chancery. It suggests that the writ rolls preserved today are not to be identified with the contrabrevia of which Richard fitz Nigel wrote, and hence that Fitz Nigel’s reference to contrabrevia does not necessarily

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43 In one instance from John’s reign, we have both a so-called Fine or Oblata Roll (TNA C 60/3A, printed in Rot. Ob., 287–371) and a supposed Originalia Roll (C 60/3B), for the one year 7 John. The Originalia Roll, however, is no more than a duplicate Fine Roll. Its fragmentary state of preservation prevents us from establishing whether the few Irish entries on the Oblata Roll were omitted from the duplicate, but nonetheless there are no indications of cancellation, collation or correction to suggest that in this instance the so-called Originalia Roll served any different function from the chancery Oblata Roll. For the earliest surviving Originalia Roll, for part of the year 7 Richard I (1195–6), stored amongst the Exchequer rather than the chancery records and clearly collated against entries on the Pipe Roll, see E 163/1/3, printed with commentary in Memoranda Roll I John, pp.xxi, 85–8.

44 Carpenter, ‘“In Testimonium Factorum Brevium”’. 
imply that full enrolments of the chancery’s financial writs were already being made as early as the 1170s. Fitz Nigel’s contrabrevia could have been, indeed most likely were, mere memoranda rather than enrolments in the form familiar from the surviving chancery rolls. I have argued elsewhere that full-blown enrolment of writs and charters did not begin until the first year of King John, and that the earliest rolls that survive today are in many instances the very first such rolls to be compiled, not merely the first survivors from a much more ancient series, itself now lost.\(^45\) The very first chancery enrolment of John’s reign survives today as the Charter Roll 1 John, begun shortly after the King’s coronation in May 1199.\(^46\) Thereafter, the two writ rolls for Normandy and England are the only other rolls of writs or charters, apart from the Charter Roll itself, to survive for John’s second year, 1200–1. Significantly, although the writ rolls were checked off against one another, to ensure that English writs on the Norman roll were transferred to the equivalent English roll, no such indications are to be found of collation between these writ rolls and any other rolls. In particular, although letters patent are occasionally copied into the writ rolls, there is never any suggestion that such letters would be better enrolled elsewhere.\(^47\) This is highly significant, since it suggests that the earliest surviving Patent Roll, for the year 3 John (1201–2), is not merely the first such roll to survive, but in all probability the very first such roll of letters patent ever compiled.\(^48\) Nor is this the only conclusion to be drawn. Of the 106 entries on the earliest Norman Roll, 92 were made during the first half of the year between May and October 1200 when the King was in France, and only fourteen thereafter, during the seven months between October 1200 and April 1201 when the King was in England. The fourteen Norman writs of October to April are vastly outnumbered by the 55 English and Irish writs recorded in the English roll for the single month October–November 1200. We might conclude from this firstly, that the regularity with which the King communicated with the Exchequers of Normandy and England varied enormously depending upon on which side of the Channel the King was established, and secondly, that it was


\(^46\) *Rot. Chart.*, pp.xl, 1ff. Various charters issued in the first few weeks of the reign were either never enrolled or are lost from the damaged opening membranes of the roll. For examples here, dated between 7 and 17 June 1199, see *Foedera*, 75–6; BL ms. Additional Charter 33597.

\(^47\) See the various entries on the Norman writ roll 2 John marked in the margin, apparently in the same hand as (and as an integral part of) the writing of the roll, *Lit(tere) pat(entes)*, *Lit(tere) patentes*. In *Norm(annia)*, or *Lit(tere) pat(entes)* *Andeg(aui)*: *Rot. Norm.*, 22–3, 25–6, 28, 32–3. In one instance (*Rot. Norm.*, 33) a letter is marked ‘letters close’, *clauss’ lit(tere)*, all of these entries apparently being internal memoranda rather than notes for correction or transfer to another set of enrolments. Neither of the two entries on the Norman writ roll 4 John, marked in the margin *Pat(entes)* (*Rot. Norm.*, 64, 86) is enrolled on the equivalent Patent Roll 4 John. An entry on the English/Irish Liberate/Close Roll for November 1203 is marked *debent inrotulari inter litteras patentes* (*Rot. Lib.*, 72), although I can find no such entry in the equivalent Patent Roll 5 John.

\(^48\) TNA C 66/1, printed in *RLP*, 1–11.
the very fact that the King controlled a cross-Channel dominion, whose various offices of account were established as permanent institutions, distant from the itinerant chancery, that contributed to the decision to begin enrolment in the first place. Had John lost his Norman lands in 1199 rather than in 1204, it is possible that the chancery rolls would never have had to be invented. As it was, once begun, the writ rolls for Normandy and England were amalgamated and expanded after 1204 into the first of the much more extensive rolls of letters close, recording not just financial but vast numbers of administrative writs for all parts of the King’s dominion, covering England, Ireland and France.\footnote{RLC, i, 1–33.}

As a source for the history of ducal Normandy, the six surviving Norman chancery rolls are of vital significance. Without them, we would be deprived of many of the finer details of our picture of how Plantagenet government in Normandy functioned and in due course collapsed. Albeit for a brief few years, at the very end of the duchy’s independent history, the clouds part and we are able to glimpse the machinery of ducal administration laid bare. Accounting by writ was a feature of the Norman Exchequer at least as early as 1180, and the drawing up of Norman Exchequer Rolls was itself a phenomenon almost certainly older than the first surviving account roll, though perhaps not much older than the 1170s. The first surviving Norman account roll, for 1180, refers to no account roll, as opposed to account, earlier than Michaelmas 1176, suggesting that the introduction of account rolls to the Norman Exchequer is a phenomenon to be associated with the period during which Richard of Ilchester, bishop of Winchester and a major figure at the English Exchequer, served as de facto seneschal of Normandy.\footnote{MRSN, i, 69: sicut continetur in rotulo anni mclxxvi. For a reference, as early as the 1160s, to obligations and privileges of the men of Fécamp recorded secundum quod recognitum est et in rotulo meo scriptum, see Delisle, Recueil, i, 482–3 no.338. The roll here could well be a master roll of farms, such as must have existed even before full scale annual account rolls were introduced to the Norman Exchequer. For Richard of Ilchester as the author of reforms in Normandy after 1176, see Haskins, Institutions, 174–8, 327–8. Even before the Pipe Roll form was introduced to royal or private Exchequers, accounts would nonetheless have had to be taken, though one assumes in a less sophisticated and less extensively documented form. See here N. Vincent, ‘The Origins of the Winchester Pipe Rolls’, 25–42.
50 References to an earlier series of Norman Rolls, noticed by Léopold Delisle and thence cited by most subsequent commentators, on investigation depend upon the entirely unreliable testimony of the eighteenth-century jurist, Guillaume de la Foy, who claimed not only to have seen a roll of accounts for 1136 but another ‘roll’, made at the Norman Exchequer in 1061, a date that seems impossibly early. De la Foy had a vested interest here, as a Norman on the eve of the French Revolution, in establishing the immemorial antiquity of Norman institutions in order that the independence of Norman legal custom might be established and recognised.\footnote{For what appears to be a reference to the Norman Exchequer itself, as early as the time of King Henry I, see J.H. Round, ‘Bernard the King’s Scribe’, EHR, xiv (1899), 425–8. Delisle’s remarks (Magni Rotuli Scaccarii Normanniae, ed. Léchaudé d’Anisy and Charma (1852), pp.xxx–i, whence Haskins, Institutions, 105 n.87), are derived from the testimony of G. de la Foy, De la
was enrolling Norman writs or charters before the first or second year of King John. There may have been an earlier series of such rolls, now lost, but the evidence, as for the enrolment of writs and charters in England, suggests on the contrary that regular enrolment of charters, as opposed to the irregular copying in the Exchequer of fines and charters, was an innovation of the reign of King John.

Both the Norman Exchequer and chancery rolls, we must assume, were evacuated to England at the time of John’s flight from Normandy in 1203, a command being issued to the bailiffs of Shoreham on 21 May 1204 to allow Peter de Lions, the King’s clerk and previously a leading official of the Exchequer of Normandy, carriage and safe conduct in bringing rolls and charters from Caen to London. In the process of evacuation, and amidst the subsequent disorders of the royal archive, much, we must assume, was lost. The survival of a fragment of a Norman Exchequer Roll for 1184, today preserved amongst the records of the Templars in Paris, and the preservation in France of copies of the 1172 inquest into knights’ fees, copied before 1208 into the chancery registers of the victorious Philip Augustus, suggest that part at least of the Exchequer archive was abandoned in France. Perhaps only a small part, however, since after 1204 there is little to suggest continuity in the procedures of the Exchequer at

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constitutio du duché ou état souverain de Normandie (1789), 233: ‘J’ai eu en ma possession un ancien rôle de l’échiquier tenu en l’an 1136, contenant des résultats de comptes rendus pour le pays de Caux, touchant les revenus des tenements du duc assis en Monstrevilliers, et il doit exister de pareils rôles dans plusieurs chartriers d’anciennes maisons’, but previously noting at p.232 a ‘rôle’, said by De la Foy to have been made before the Exchequer at Rouen in 1061, to which reference had recently been made in Jean-Baptiste-Gabriel-Marie de Milicent’s (revolutionary) Journal de Normandie, no.52 (Saturday 28 June 1788), 209. Here, De Milicent merely reports the announcement by Avoyn de Chantereine, perpetual secretary of the Société académique at Cherbourg, 20 June 1788, that a copy had been made in 1766 by the antiquary Thomas le Marchant from an inquest ordered by Thomas Leighton, governor of Guernsey, 15 July 1597, which itself claimed to cite ‘un extrait d’un rôle de l’Echiquier de Rouen’, dated 19 October 1061, by which Duke William had granted equal moieties of the island of Guernsey to the monks of Mont-St-Michel and to Samson d’Anneville the duke’s squire (‘écuyer’), in the latter case in return for perpetual service by Samson and his heirs as squires of the body whenever the duke should come to Guernsey, later compounded for an annual rent of 10 livres tournois. The misunderstanding here could have arisen from a misreading of a copy of Fauroux, Recueil, no.111 or no.141, or even Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum. The Acta of William I (1066–1087), ed. D. Bates (Oxford 1998), no.212, but even so would be sufficiently grave to invalidate any other claims that De la Foy has to make about chronology. More likely it was based upon a sixteenth-century forgery, as noted by Fauroux, Recueil, p.29 n.47 (with references to numerous subsequent citations of the forged charter).

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52 Rot. Lib., 102–3, and for the expense incurred here, a fairly meagre 4s. 6d., see PR 6 John, 99.

53 For the fragment of the 1184 roll, see L. Delisle ‘Observations sur un fragment des rôles de l’échiquier de Normandie relatif à l’année 1184’, published variously in Magni Rotuli Scaccarii Normanniae, ed. Léchaudé d’Anisy and Charma (1852), pp.v–xxxii, 109–113; separately by Delisle as Magni Rotuli Scaccarii Normanniae de anno domini ut videtur MCLXXXIV fragmentum (Caen 1851, with a dedication to the Society of Antiquaries in memory of the work of Thomas Stapleton), and in Delisle’s Introduction to Delisle Recueil, 334–44. A further fragment of Norman memoranda, printed by H. Legras, ‘Un Fragment de rôle normand inédit de Jean sans Terre’, Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie xxix (1914), 21–31, is taken from the Exchequer miscellanea in TNA rather than from a source surviving in France.
Norman Charters from English Sources

Caen. Although the Caen Exchequer continued to function, and although valuable records survive from the early thirteenth century onwards of judicial and other decisions made there, the Pipe Roll form appears to have been abandoned immediately or very shortly after 1204. Deprived of its archive, it seems that the Caen Exchequer adopted less laborious methods of account than those followed during the period of Norman and Plantagenet rule.

The Norman Exchequer and chancery rolls of King John’s reign are undoubtedly the most significant sources for ducal Normandy now housed in The National Archives. They are not, however, the only surviving Norman rolls. After a gap of more than 200 years, the chancery series begun and ended under John resumes with the English reconquest of Normandy under Henry V, and continues as rolls of letters patent bearing upon Norman affairs from the year 5 to the year 10 Henry V (C 64/8–17). Much of the material preserved in these later Norman Rolls is of strictly fifteenth-century interest and relates to the administration and occupation of Normandy by Henry V. Vital as it is to the study of the Hundred Years’ War, it has never been published in full. However, Norman monasteries after 1415 were anxious to obtain renewal of earlier privileges granted by the kings and barons of the old Anglo-Norman realm, and the inspeximus charters by which Henry V renewed such earlier privileges are preserved in large numbers amongst the later Norman Rolls. As a result, these fifteenth-century rolls rank as an important resource for the study of Normandy before 1204. This was appreciated as long ago as the time of William Dugdale, who made extensive use of the Norman Rolls of Henry V’s reign in compiling the entries for the alien priories in his great Monasticon. After Dugdale, the rolls were used by a number of French antiquaries of the eighteenth century, including Bréquigny and Lenoir. Thereafter,
however, they were largely ignored by Norman historians, who appear to have assumed that all their important contents had already been sifted and fully disclosed. Neither Léopold Delisle nor, more remarkably, Marie Fauroux, appear to have used the Henry V Norman Rolls directly, although both scholars were aware of their existence and to some extent of their importance. As a result, Delisle, for one, missed a number of charters of King Henry II for Norman beneficiaries which are preserved in the Henry V rolls but nowhere else. Nor is it only English royal charters that are preserved in the Henry V enrolments. Besides charters of the pre-Conquest counts and dukes of Normandy, from Richard II through to William the Bastard, we find charters of the Kings of France, from Louis VII and Louis IX through to Philip IV, of the eleventh and twelfth-century bishops of Rouen and Bayeux, of the great feudal landowners such as the counts of Meulan, and of a number of lesser Norman barons both before and after 1204. Some of these charters have been published from this or from other sources. Many are still either unpublished or entirely unknown. A representative selection, but by no means an exhaustive survey, is printed below in the appendix of documents.

Beyond those rolls of the chancery and Exchequer specifically devoted to Norman affairs, there are few classes of thirteenth-century enrolment in The National Archives from which the affairs or the memory of Normandy is wholly absent. The Charter Rolls of King John (C 53), beginning in 1199, record grants to Norman beneficiaries for the first five years of the reign, through to 1204, and thereafter, like the Close and Patent Rolls (C 54 and C 66), record a regular stream of Norman business, including

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58 For example, Henry II to the abbey of La Trinité-du-Mont at Rouen: TNA C 64/15 (Norman Roll 8 Henry V part 3) m.16, of which there is a copy by Lenoir in Lenoir ms.69 p.439, and in Bnf ms. Moreau 631 fos.61v–62r. Henry II to La Noë, printed from an unknown source by Delisle, Recueil, ii, no.710, but clearly derived from TNA C 64/12 (Norman Roll 7 Henry V part 2) m.18, of which there is a copy in Lenoir ms.69 p.418.

59 See, for example, TNA C 64/12 (Norman Roll 7 Henry V part 2) mm.7–8, 34–5, 37, Dukes Richard II to St-Wandrille (1024) and Robert to St-Amand Rouen (1030) and Cerisy (1032), printed by Fauroux, Recueil, 114 no.27, 188 no.62, 193 no.64, either failing to note the Norman Rolls as source or citing them only at second hand.

60 For charters of Louis VII, see TNA C 64/13 m.26. For Louis VIII, see C 64/17 m.13. For Louis IX, see C 64/12 mm.11, 22, 33; C 64/13 mm.1, 5; C 64/15 mm.4, 6, 13, 14, 21; C 64/16 mm.12–13; C 64/17 mm.3, 5, 17. For Philip IV, see C 64/13 mm.8, 13; C 64/14 m.7; C 64/15 m.23; C 64/16 m.11; C 64/17 mm.5, 6, 17.

61 For charters of archbishops Robert and Hugh of Rouen to Rouen cathedral, Bec and the monks of Gournay, see TNA C 64/13 m.21; C 64/15 m.10; C 64/17 m.3. For charters of the bishops of Bayeux to St-Amand at Rouen, see TNA C 64/12 m.37.

62 For charters of Robert and Walter counts of Meulan to St-Wandrille, Jumièges, Notre-Dame de Gournay, Bec and Grandmont, see TNA C 64/12 m.7; C 64/13 mm.21, 25; C 64/14 m.7; C 64/15 m.10. There is a particularly rich collection of private charters to Bec referred to or inspected in C 64/13 m.21.
the confirmation of earlier charters long into the thirteenth century and beyond. The series of Charter Rolls is marred by a succession of gaps during the reign of King John, so that although we have surviving rolls for the years 1, 2 and 5 John (May 1199–1201, and May 1203–4), the rolls for 3 and 4 John (May 1201–1203), crucial years in the history of Normandy, have vanished without trace, almost certainly not long after they were compiled. Even for those years which are covered by the surviving Charter Rolls, by no means all royal charters were properly enrolled in chancery, so that on occasion we find originals, even of King John, that should have been enrolled but were not. Two of these have recently attracted the notice of Professor Daniel Power and throw new light upon the rebellion of Robert count of Sées: one of the key events that paved the way for the Capetian conquest of Normandy in 1204. Various twelfth-century charters are copied into the so-called Cartae Antiquae Rolls (C 52), apparently first drawn up for the use of the Exchequer rather than the chancery. There is some Norman business in the Fine Rolls (C 60), the later English Pipe Rolls (E 372) and the Liberate Rolls (C 62), for the most part concerning the English lands of the Norman monasteries, and even the so-called Curia Regis Rolls of Henry III’s reign (KB 26) are crucial sources for the history of the alien priories, of the lands of Normans confiscated in England after 1204, and on occasion, as with their recital of final concords, preserve material directly relevant to the history of Plantagenet Normandy from before 1204. Even in such as yet uncleared thickets of The National Archives as the Exchequer Memoranda Rolls (E 159 and E 368), we find the occasional Norman charter, including, as late as the fifteenth century, a long and important bull of Pope Alexander III confirming the possessions of the nuns of Almenêches.68
Our search for Norman evidences in The National Archives by no means ends with the principal chancery and Exchequer enrolments. Indeed, the deeper we delve in the records, the more National Archives classes we find in which Norman documents still lurk. We might begin here with single-sheet charters and writs, and with the main series of Exchequer Ancient Deeds (E 40, E 326 and so forth), assembled from a variety of sources but for the most part consisting of single sheet charters that entered the Exchequer Augmentation Office or the Treasury of the Receipt after the Reformation, following the crown’s dissolution of the monasteries. A substantial number of charters in these collections concern the lands of alien priories, and hence involve gifts of English land to or by the monasteries of Normandy, including St-Martin de Sées, Fécamp, St-Evrul, St-Fromond, Lire, Cormeilles, Conches and Clairuissel.69 Compared to charters such as this, which are as much or more concerned with lands or monasteries in England, there are, perhaps not surprisingly, few charters amongst the Ancient Deeds which directly concern lands in Normandy itself before 1204. One such, a grant by Robert de Port-mort to Hamelin earl of Warenne of a fee at Louvetot (Seine-Maritime, cant. Bellencombe, com. Grigneuseville), was nonetheless published by Charles Clay in his Early Yorkshire Charters.70

The Exchequer Ancient Deeds series were formed so long after the events of 1204 that it is not surprising that they contain few charters directly relating to pre-1204 Norman lands. Fortunately, there is one class of deeds (now divided into three) in The National Archives – those of the Duchy of Lancaster (DL 25, DL 26, DL 27) – formed much earlier, from the 1260s onwards, which gathers together the charters of families that almost within living memory had held lands across the Channel. The Duchy of Lancaster deeds are comparatively rich in Norman evidences. Some of the plums here, including an important charter of Hugh archbishop of Rouen for the monks of St-Evrul and their priory established at Neuf-Marché-en-Lions,

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70 TNA E 40/5923, whence EYC, viii, 125–6 no.83, noting a further copy in BL ms. Cotton Vespasian F xv (Lewes Cartulary) fo.31r.
and a charter of the Cantiloupe family relating to their estate at Pissy (Seine-Maritime, cant. Notre-Dame-de-Bondeville, com. Pissy-Pôville), have long been printed.\(^7\) Two charters involving William du Hommet, constable of Normandy, and the Anglo-Norman estate of the lords of Fougeres have been employed elsewhere to illustrate the complicated history of the Fougeres lands in England and Normandy, both before and after 1204.\(^7\) Others, concerning an exchange of lands in the Roumare fee in both England and Normandy, were published by Stenton and Cazel.\(^7\) Nonetheless, there are many other deeds here that would richly repay study.\(^7\) Once again, only a representative selection is printed below.

Beyond the Ancient Deeds series, historians of Anglo-Norman relations after 1204 cannot afford to ignore the considerable number of Norman letters, petitions and alien priory accounts preserved in The National Archives series of Ancient Correspondence (SC 1), Ministers Accounts (SC 6), Papal Bulls (SC 7) and Ancient Petitions (SC 8).\(^7\) All of these classes are well indexed, and in certain cases (most notably SC 8) fully searchable online. The two papal bulls in SC 7 relating to Normandy before 1204 both concern the Norman benefices held by Peter de Lions, chief clerk of the Caen Exchequer before the fall of Normandy, and appear to have been brought to England at the same time that Peter took responsibility for evacuating the Exchequer archive from Caen.\(^7\) Ancient Petitions (SC 8) includes several letters from the Norman religious concerning estates in England, or, as in the case of Beaubec, their daughter house in Ireland.\(^7\) The more important early Norman items from Ancient Correspondence (SC 1) were noticed

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\(^7\) For examples, see below pp.86–9.

\(^7\) The accounts in TNA SC 6/1125–7 are particularly valuable in identifying the English estates of alien priories. A new and superb online catalogue of the series SC 8 is available online via the main National Archives site: www.nationalarchives.gov.uk. Papal bulls are calendared in the *List of Diplomatic Documents, Scottish Documents and Papal Bulls Preserved in the Public Record Office*, PRO Lists and Indexes xlix (London 1923). The Ancient Correspondence is calendared by P.M. Barnes, with a two volume index, in the *List of Ancient Correspondence of the Chancery and Exchequer Preserved in the Public Record Office*, PRO Lists and Indexes xv (revised edition, 3 vols, New York 1968).

\(^7\) TNA SC 7/19/13 and SC 7/35/7, concerning the church of Gonneville-sur-Mer, and the chapel of Vesqueville belonging to Peter’s church of Villy (Calvados), calendared by J.E. Sayers, *Original Papal Documents in England and Wales from the Accession of Pope Innocent III to the Death of Pope Benedict XI (1198–1304)* (Oxford 1999), 14 nos 25–6, and for Peter see above p.17.

\(^7\) See, for example TNA SC 8/87 no.4312; SC 8/174 no.868; SC 8/227 no.11337, concerning the English estates of the cathedral of Rouen and the monks of Fécamp and St-Georges-de-Boscherville. For petitions and inquests relating to the Irish lands of Beaubec, shortly after 1300, see SC 8/271 nos 13505–10.
by Pierre Chaplais in his edition of *Diplomatic Documents*, including a justly famous letter of c.1227, written by a burgess of Caen, expiating on the reasons why John had lost Normandy and suggesting means by which Henry III could win back the duchy’s allegiance to the Plantagenets.\(^78\)

All told, from the enrolments to the original deeds, there are few medieval holdings in The National Archives that do not in some way, however tangentially, touch upon the history of Normandy. Here, however, rather than search for further needles amidst haystacks, I wish to pass on to a much later, but nonetheless crucial group of sources, that are not as widely used as they merit. Thus far we have considered the principal bodies of evidence surviving in The National Archives relating to ducal Normandy. Our focus must now shift from The National Archives to other English archives, and in particular to those that were enriched, for the most part in the nineteenth century, by the first generations of antiquaries who became interested in Anglo-Norman antiquities. Amongst these scholars and collectors, one man, who we have already encountered, stands supreme: Thomas Stapleton, editor of the Norman Pipe Rolls, genealogist, collector and Anglo-Norman antiquary *sans pareil*.

2. THE ANTIQUARIES AND THE REDISCOVERY OF THE ANGLO-NORMAN PAST

With the exception of the publication of Domesday Book – a source whose importance to the history of ducal Normandy surely requires no emphasis here – English antiquaries of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had made only half-hearted attempts to engage with the Norman as opposed to the insular, Anglo-Norman dimension of English history after 1066.79 William Dugdale (1605–1686), it is true, had corresponded with the heirs of the great André Duchesne (1584–1640), from whom he acquired transcripts of Norman charters for the abbey of Lire, used in the section on alien priories that Dugdale appended to his Monasticon Anglicanum.80 Some years earlier, via William Camden (1551–1623), Duchesne himself had come into possession of the Cotton manuscript of William of Poitiers’ Gesta Guillelmi, which seems subsequently to have returned to London and to have been burned in the Cotton fire of 1731.81 Richard Zouche, an Oxford jurist, as early as 1629 had attempted to compare the English law of land tenure with Norman custom.82 Humfrey Wanley (1672–1726) is to be found, in the 1720s, purchasing for the Harleian Library a small collection of Norman charters (relating to the abbey of La Noë, the Templars and the vicars choral of Évreux cathedral), ultimately from a source in Évreux.83 It was not, however, until the 1750s that any real advances were made in the English appreciation of the Norman past. In 1752, the Norman-born but Eton and Oxford-educated Andrew Ducarel (1713–1785), made a tour of his homeland that was to prove crucial in the scholarly rediscovery of

79 For a brief introduction to the themes considered below, see D.J.A. Matthew, ‘The English Cultivation of Norman History’, England and Normandy in the Middle Ages, ed. D. Bates and A. Curry (London 1994), 1–18, at p.6 noting William Camden’s Anglica Normannica Hibernica Cambrica a veteribus scripta (Frankfurt 1602), printing of part of Orderic Vitalis’ chronicle, misattributed to William of Malmesbury.
80 For Duchesne’s transcripts, supplied to Dugdale in July 1648, including evidences from the cartularies of Lire and Cluny, see Oxford, Bodleian Library ms. Dugdale 11.
that greatest of Anglo-Norman monuments, the Bayeux Tapestry. In 1767, in collaboration with another Anglo-French antiquary, Smart Lethieullier (1701–1760), Ducarel published an account of his discoveries together with an edition of the 1172 inquest into Norman knights’ fees preserved in the Red Book of the Exchequer (today TNA E 164/2 fos.160r–162r). Having secured the election of Dom Jean Bourget, monk and historian of Bec, as an honorary member of the Society of Antiquaries, Ducarel oversaw the publication of an English translation of Bourget’s history of the abbey, embellished with transcripts of various English charters. He also, in continuation of the work of Dugdale, published a long, though less than entirely reliable, account of alien priories.

In the decades before the Revolution of 1789, French scholars such as Lenoir and Bréquigny had travelled to London to search out what could be found of Norman or French history in the records at the Tower, whilst some years earlier, investigating materials for a new edition of De Thou’s *Histoire universelle*, the Jacobite Thomas Carte (1684–1754) had done important work in both the Parisian and the municipal archives of France.

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84 For Ducarel, see the article by R. Myers in *ODNB*; A.C. Ducarel, *A Tour Through Normandy in a Letter to a Friend* (London 1754).

85 A.C. Ducarel, *Anglo-Norman Architecture Considered in a Tour Through Part of Normandy* (London 1767); R. Myers, ‘Dr Andrew Coltee Ducarel (1713–1785): A Pioneer of Anglo-Norman Studies’, *Antiquaries, Book Collectors and the Circles of Learning*, ed. R. Myers and M. Harris (Winchester 1996), 45–70; R. Myers, ‘Dr Andrew Coltee Ducarel, Lambeth Librarian, Civilian and Keeper of the Public Records’, *The Library*, 6th series xxi (1999), 199–222; Matthew, ‘English Cultivation of Norman History’, 11–12. For the 1172 inquest, the standard edition is now that in *Red Book*, ii, 624–47, with commentary at pp.cxxx–vi, pointing out that Ducarel had clearly corrected the Red Book copy by reference to a further copy in the Register B of Philip Augustus. Related inquests, for Mont-St-Michel and for the Avranchin, are preserved only in copies from Mont-St-Michel and from the lost cartulary of La Lucerne, for which see Delisle, *Receuil, i* (Introduction), 332–3, 345–7; C.H. Haskins, ‘The Inquest of 1171 in the Avranchin’, *EHR*, xxvi (1911), 326–8. The fact that further copies of the inquest preserved in the Red Book were inserted into Registers A, B and C of Philip Augustus, in a version updated at some point between 1204 and 1208, suggests that the French royal chancery acquired a copy left behind in Normandy at the time of the Plantagenet evacuation of Normandy: an important indication that by no means all of the records of Plantagenet administration were dispatched to England in 1204. For the most recent edition of the French Register copies, see *Registres*, 267–76.

86 J. Bourget, *The History of the Royal Abbey of Bec near Rouen in Normandy* (London 1779), esp. pp.vi–vii for Bourget’s election to the Antiquaries (10 January 1765) and his meetings with Ducarel.

87 A.C. Ducarel and T. Warburton, *Some Account of the Alien Priories and of Such Lands as They are Known to have Possessed in England and Wales*, 2 vols (London 1778). An attempt to list the English lands of Bec had already appeared in Ducarel’s translation of Bourget’s *History of Bec*, 134ff.

88 For Carte, see *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*, iii, ed. F. Madan (Oxford 1895), 113ff. Ironically, Carte’s searches were undertaken only after the initial printing of Rymer’s *Foedera* (1704–1717) which was supposed to cover all treaties negotiated between England and France, several of them recorded only in French archives (cf. M.M. Condon and E.M. Hallam, ‘Government Printing of the Public Records in the Eighteenth Century’, *JSA*, vii (1982–5), 349–59). Carte’s manuscripts, now in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, include an important sixteenth-century municipal cartulary for the vill of Angers: ms. Carte 91 (SC 10537), containing charters of the Plantagenet kings, not noticed in the standard guide to French cartularies by Stein, and cf. mss. Carte 89–90, 92.
For the most part, however, English and Norman antiquaries had worked independently of one another, with only scant regard for the documentary riches that might be found on opposing sides of the Channel. As a result, the great series of French transcripts of early charters, made in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries by the likes of Duchesne, Baluze and Moreau, today housed in the Bibliothèque nationale, are almost as poorly supplied with materials gathered from England as the collections of Glover, Dugdale or Dodsworth are devoid of genealogical proofs from Normandy or northern France, and this despite the fact that for a period of 150 years after 1066 the very barons and knights whose early history both Duchesne and Dugdale sought to elucidate were as likely to have been found issuing charters at Rouen or Caen as at Westminster or Warwick.  

THOMAS STAPLETON

The principal author of a change in attitudes here, Thomas Stapleton (1806–1849), was, in the words of his memorialist, a master of ‘calm, patient, scrupulous, truth-loving perserverance in research’. His brief (and woefully under-researched) entry in the old Dictionary of National Biography, rehashed virtually unchanged for the new, gives the impression of a dull and uneventful life lived by an antiquary of little intrinsic significance. No doubt, the hard-pressed Dictionary writer (whose entry on Stapleton is one of over 400 such entries for which this particular contributor was responsible) took his cue from the obituarist who in 1849 had remarked, with fine condescension, that ‘Mr Stapleton devoted himself most enthusiastically to the dry elaboration of historical and genealogical details […] No literary drudgery seemed to come amiss to him; from the unravelling of an intricate line of succession to the collation of monotonous records and the compilation

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89 For Bréquigny’s transcripts from England, now in the Moreau collection, see above n.57.

90 John Bruce, introduction to Chronicon Petroburgense, ed. T. Stapleton, Camden Society (1849), p.v. Stapleton has attracted surprisingly little attention from his successors. With the exception of Bruce’s memoir and a brief obituary notice in the Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London ii (1853), 72, the anonymous memoir in The Gentleman’s Magazine, cxx (1850), part 1, 322–4, provides virtually the only source for the entry in the old Dictionary of National Biography (sub Stapleton, Thomas), which itself was barely changed for the new ODNB. The old Dictionary of National Biography gave Stapleton’s birth date as 1805. He was in fact born, as the second of nine children of Thomas Stapleton of Carlton near Goole in Yorkshire (1778–1839), on 16 October 1806: Burke’s Peerage and Baronetage, 75th edition (London 1913), 209–10. His papers are not listed in the otherwise extremely valuable handlist of Papers of British Antiquaries and Historians, HMC Guides to the Sources for British History xii (2003). A catalogue of his books and manuscripts at Wilton Place, compiled after his death, still survives amongst the Stapleton papers in Hull History Centre, University Archives mss. DDCA/3/10/1. Two files of Stapleton’s working notes have recently resurfaced at Hull (Ibid. DDCA/33/28 and 54/98), thanks to the detective work of Tim Gates. Other letters from or relating to Stapleton were drawn to my attention by Julian Pooley from amongst the mostly uncatalogued papers of the antiquary John Gough Nichols, for which, see http://www.le.ac.uk/el/resources/nichols/links.html. For a letter from Stapleton to Madden, written on mourning paper (following the death of Stapleton’s father) from 13 Wilton Place, Belgravia, 17 December 1839, with jocular comments on a manuscript history of St-Martindes-Champs Paris, see BL ms. Egerton 2842 fo.142. For more extensive correspondence with Sir Thomas Phillipps and John Gage, see below.
of minute and voluminous indexes’. In reality, Stapleton was a great deal more interesting and a great deal more influential than the drudge that his previous biographers have portrayed. He was also a great deal more peculiar. The edition of the Norman Exchequer Rolls that he published between 1840 and 1844, although neither entirely comprehensive nor wholly free from error, remains a remarkably accurate one. Above all it was extraordinarily precocious, being the outcome of a proposal first broached in 1830 by Henry Petrie (1768–1842), a one-time dancing master turned antiquary and Keeper of the Records in the Tower of London.

The Norman Exchequer accounts themselves went unnoticed until the early eighteenth century, when a fragment of the account taken at Michaelmas 1184 was discovered amongst the unsorted jumble in the White Tower of the Tower of London, being brought thereafter to the attention of Thomas Madox (1666–1727), the greatest of Exchequer historians. Madox knew of the 1184 fragment, and of the survival of the Norman chancery rolls (C 64, considered above). He seems, nonetheless, to have remained entirely unaware of the survival of other, more extensive Norman Exchequer accounts. Petrie appears to have shared in this ignorance when, in 1830, he printed his prospectus edition of the 1184 Norman Pipe Roll, apparently as part of the wider proposals then being aired for the publication of the early English Exchequer Pipe Rolls. However, Petrie’s 1830 edition, soon republished in Normandy, led directly to the discovery of further and much more extensive documentary evidences of the Norman Exchequer.

91 Anonymous obituary in The Gentleman’s Magazine, cxx (1850), part 1, 322, noting that ‘The absorbing interest of a favourite subject may in some men become a more powerful incentive to laborious study than any desire of emolument or even any appetite of fame can produce in more sordid or more ambitious minds … Indeed, it is too certain that (Stapleton’s) health was prematurely sacrificed to his close and painful application’. According to the online ODNB site, Thompson Cooper wrote 415 entries for the original Dictionary of National Biography. The reviser of his article on Stapleton for the ODNB, Elizabeth Baigent, is credited with an even more remarkable 439.

92 MRSN, printing most of the records now assembled as TNA E 373/1–18. Various fragments, including estreats and memoranda now E 101/349/1A and E 101/505/4, recovered since Stapleton’s time, were printed as Miscellaneous Records, ed. Packard. Dr Moss’s forthcoming edition is intended to replace both Stapleton and Packard. Stapleton’s edition was very swiftly disseminated in France via its reprinting by Léchaudé d’Anisy: Grands rôles des échiquiers de Normandie, and Magni Rotuli Scaccarii Normanniae, ed. A. Léchaudé d’Anisy and A. Charme, Société des Antiquaires de Normandie, xv–xvi (new series v–vi) (1845–52).

93 For Petrie, see D. Knowles, Great Historical Enterprises (London 1963), 101; J.D. Cantwell, The Public Record Office 1838–1958 (London 1991), and the somewhat acerbic memoir by Joseph Hunter in BL ms. Additional 36527 fo.172r. For Petrie’s edition, see Magni Rotuli Scaccarii Normanniae de anno ab incarnatione domini MCLXXXIII (London 1830) (iv + 12pp.), printed on paper and in at least one instance on vellum (as in BL printed books 13653, presented to Thomas Grenville). This, the work of Petrie, is wrongly attributed to Stapleton in the TNA catalogue entry for series E 373.

94 Madox, Exchequer (1769), i, 165–9, with extensive extracts, attributing the fragment’s rediscovery to a Mr Holmes, working in the time of Queen Anne, hence 1702 X 1711.

95 In reprinting Petrie’s fragment in his Extrait des chartes et autres actes normands ou Anglo-normands qui se trouvent dans les archives de Calvados, 2 vols (Caen 1834–5), ii, 349–65, the Norman antiquary Léchaudé d’Anisy correctly identifies Petrie as author, although stating that the 1830 edition was published at Caen rather than London.
The credit for bringing these discoveries before a wider public belongs to Thomas Stapleton, in 1830 aged twenty-four, the second son of a Yorkshire landholder whose family had keen antiquarian concerns, being themselves claimants to a peerage in abeyance since 1507 but pursued from at least 1789 by Thomas’ great-uncle (d.1821) and eventually revived in favour of Thomas’ elder brother Miles (1805–1854), summoned by writ to the House of Lords in 1840 as 8th Baron Beaumont.96 Besides being immensely well connected – Thomas’ grandmother Mary (d.1826) was a daughter of the 3rd earl of Abingdon, and his mother Maria (d.1827) a daughter of Sir Robert Gerard, 9th baronet, claiming descent from the Irish FitzGerald companions of Richard Strongbow – the Stapletons were rich, with a stately home at Carlton Towers near Goole in Yorkshire, later remodelled by Edward Welby son of the more famous Augustus Welby Pugin, and a landed income in the 1880s estimated, one suspects more than a little optimistically, in excess of £25,000. Their Catholicism had excluded the Stapletons from public office since the Reformation, and was so staunchly English and Cisalpine that in 1850, Thomas’ brother, Miles, preferred to join the Church of England rather than accept the restoration of the ultramontane Catholic hierarchy.97 Miles’ son Henry, the 9th Baron, did not reconvert to Catholicism until 1869, becoming an ardent protagonist of the Carlist cause in Spain, rebuilding Carlton Towers in the most lavish neo-Gothic style, fighting in the Zulu war of 1879–80 and, in 1888, taking for his bride Violet, daughter of the fashionable West-End milliner Madame Elise and her husband Frederick Wootton Isaacson (1836–98). The latter, from 1886 Conservative M.P. for Stepney, was probably neither a Catholic nor an Anglican by birth, but was rich enough to settle £6,000 a year and a lump sum of £100,000 on his daughter at the time of her marriage.98 The 9th baron died childless in 1892, aged only 43, and was succeeded by his younger brother, Miles the 10th Lord Beaumont, another soldier and a Catholic since 1880, who himself died in September 1895, at the age of only 45, when his gun discharged as he was crossing a stile. The fact that this ‘accident’ occurred after lunch on the same day that Lord Beaumont had drafted his last will and testament did not go unremarked by contemporaries. The Stapletons had become a short-lived family, at least

96 Correspondence, draft petitions and pedigrees relating to the family’s claim to the barony, from 1789 onwards, are preserved in Hull History Centre, University Archives DDCA2/49.

97 By the time of his death in 1854, although declared by his widow to have died an Anglican, the 8th Baron Beaumont himself declared that ‘his religion was that of the rationalists of Germany’. See here letters of his younger brother, Gilbert Stapleton, to their sister, Catherine, 19 and 22 August 1854: Hull History Centre, University Archives ms. DDCA2/52/22, the first of these letters declaring that ‘all is over for the true faith in the head of our family after so many centuries’. In the aftermath, and despite the determination of his widow to raise her surviving son as an Anglican, Cardinal Wiseman attempted to intervene, pointing out that he had baptized the heir a Catholic, and that just as Catholic guardians were on occasion forced to give up their charges to be raised as Protestants, so in this instance, legal counsel should be sought as to whether a Protestant guardian might not be obliged to give up a child for Catholic education: Ibid. DDCA2/52/23, letters of 23 September 1854.

98 For genealogical notes on the Isaacson family, preserved amongst the Stapleton family papers, see Hull History Centre, University Archives DDCA2/54/1, apparently made in an attempt to prove descent from one or other of the English families of this name.
in the male line. In 1896, following the death of the 10th baron and the posthumous birth of a second daughter, the peerage was permitted, under special privilege, to pass to his elder daughter, recognised as Baroness Beaumont in her own right. In 1914, she married the 3rd Lord Howard of Glossop. Their son, Miles Francis Stapleton Fitzalan Howard succeeded a kinsman in 1975 as 17th Duke of Norfolk.\footnote{For all of this, Burke’s Peerage and Baronetage, here using the 75th edition of 1913, is indispensable, with further details supplied from CP, ii, 59–67, at 66n. noting that, in 1910, the three widows of the 8th, 9th and 10th barons Beaumont were all still living, the widow of the 8th baron having married her husband, Thomas Stapleton’s brother, as long ago as 1844. A copy of the will of Thomas Stapleton the elder (d.1839), father of Thomas the antiquary, is preserved at Hull History Centre, University Archives ms. DDCA2/49/111 (15 March 1833, leaving Thomas the younger a life interest in an estate at Easby, and naming in all seven sons then still living: Miles, Thomas, Gilbert, Henry, John, Brian and Richard Fitz Alan). The only brother of Miles and Thomas to have bucked the family trend towards an early death, John Stapleton (1816–1891), barrister and MP for Berwick, converted and remained an Anglican, married in his mid 40s and fathered at least four sons who themselves had issue. For Henry, 9th Baron Beaumont, see M. Bence-Jones, The Catholic Families (London 1992), 171, 204–5, 217–21. For a copy of the will of the 10th Baron, dated 16 September 1895, see Hull History Centre, University Archives ms. DDCA3/13/4. See also H.E. Chetwynd-Stapylton, Chronicles of the Yorkshire Family of Stapleton (London 1884); J.M. Robinson, Carlton Towers. The Yorkshire Home of the Duke of Norfolk (Derby 1991). For an engraving of Carlton Hall before its remodelling in 1840 by the architect John Chessell Buckler (1793–1894), see N. Waugh, ‘Dame Etheldreda Stapleton: Her Home and Kindred, 1624–1668’, Downside Review, xxviii (1919), 79–99, esp. pp.84, 99. For the involvement of Lord Salisbury in the petitioning to allow the 10th baron’s daughter to assume the peerage, see letters of December 1895 to the dowager Lady Beaumont, in Hull History Centre, University Archives mss. DDCA2/52/9 (9 December 1895); DDCA2/49/54, and DDCA2/49/144 (Letters Patent of Queen Victoria declaring Mona Josephine Tempest Stapleton to be Baroness Beaumont, 1 June 1896).}

Thomas Stapleton, the younger brother of the 8th Baron Beaumont, was schooled at Stonyhurst, the Jesuit school recently transferred to Lancashire from Flanders where it had been established from penal times until the French revolutionary wars of the 1790s forced its closure.\footnote{I owe to the school archivist my knowledge that Thomas Stapleton entered Stonyhurst on 6 September 1817 and left on 29 July 1824, attending the school from just before his eleventh to just before his eighteenth birthday. His elder brother, Miles, and three other brothers were also schooled there. For the early history of the school, see H. Chadwick, St Omers to Stonyhurst (London 1962).} He bore the same name as the sixteenth-century Thomas Stapleton (1535–98), recusant priest, theologian, and biographer of both Thomas Becket and Thomas More, professor at Douai and Louvain, with whom the Stapletons of Yorkshire claimed kinship.\footnote{For Thomas Stapleton, author of numerous theological counterblasts to Protestantism as well as of the Tres Thomae seu res gestae S. Thomae apostoli, S. Thomae archiepiscopi Cantuariensis et martyris, Thomae Mori Angliae quondam cancellarii, first edition (Douai 1588), reprinted (Cologne 1612), see ODNB.} It is unclear how the younger Thomas honed his historical and palaeographical skills, though in the 1820s it is unlikely that his progress in these disciplines would have been hindered by the fact that, as a Catholic, he was disbarred from admission to either Oxford or Cambridge (neither of which university was prepared to admit Catholics until 1895). His family’s peerage claim was derived from the 1st Baron, Henry de Beaumont (d.1340), descended both from the lords of
Beaumont in Maine and from John de Brienne, titular King of Jerusalem. 102 This, together with the Gothic splendours of Stonyhurst and the school’s strong connections to the tradition of Catholic exile in France, may have contributed to Thomas’ own fascination not only with the feudal past, but specifically with Anglo-Norman genealogy. Certainly, it was the Beaumont peerage claim, and Stapleton’s desire to prove his family’s descent both from the Beaumonts and from Henry fitz Ailwin, first mayor of London, that underlay the extraordinary and for the most part absurdly irrelevant detail with which he traced the descendants of Fitz Ailwin in the introduction to his edition of the London chronicle, the so-called De Antiquis Legibus Liber, published in 1846. 103 The absurdities here were in fact more significant than his readers may have supposed, since they give clear signs of the mental collapse that, within a short time, was to overtake Stapleton, darkening the final years of his life. Many of the details of Stapleton’s career remain obscure to us. He nonetheless seems to have been a man possessed both of taste and of an infectious sense of humour. From Stonyhurst, he had proceeded not to the universities but to Lincoln’s Inn, where he was admitted (aged 17) in February 1824, and from where he was called to the bar on 5 February 1830. 104 This may not imply any real study of the law, since it was common for gentlemen to obtain the qualifications of barrister without any intention of practicing. It is nonetheless conceivable that Stapleton would have been trained in the rudiments of conveyancing and property transfers: the basic knowledge necessary for an understanding of medieval charters. Certainly, the law was one of the few professions that were open to Stapleton as a practising Catholic. Surviving letters refer to his dining in fashionable society, to his attendance at the theatre (to which his elder brother Miles contributed the not entirely incompetent sub-Shakespearean verse-drama Francesca di Faenza), 105 and above all to his devotion to Anglo-Norman antiquities, themselves a thoroughly fashionable pursuit, entirely appropriate to a younger son of aristocratic descent. To this extent, there is considerable contrast between the Catholic, urbane and worldly-wise Stapleton and his close contemporary Rawdon Brown: Protestant, thin skinned and irritable explorer of the Venetian archives, whose Italian researches began at almost exactly the same time that Stapleton was making

102 Burke’s Peerage and Baronetage (75th edition, 1913), 209.
103 De Antiquis Legibus Liber: Cronica maiorum et vicecomitum Londoniarum, ed. T. Stapleton, Camden Society xxxiv (1846), p.iii ff., concluding triumphantly at p.cxxxiv: ‘And thereby we acquire the certain knowledge that Miles-Thomas now Lord Beaumont, and Montagu now Earl of Abingdon, are, at the time of this publication, the lineal descendants and heirs of the body of Henry FitzAylwin, first Mayor of London’. For a more jaundiced view of the circumstances in which the Beaumont peerage was revived, see J.H. Round, Studies in Peerage and Family History (London 1901), 30–1.
104 London, Lincoln’s Inn Archives Admissions Register B1a19 fo.144r; Black Book A1a22 pp.34, 36. Stapleton left membership of the Inn on 13 January 1840 ‘having retired from the profession of the law’: Ibid. Black Book A1a23 p.372. For these, and for further details, I am indebted to the Inn’s archivist, Josephine Hutchings.
105 Miles Stapleton, Lord Beaumont, Francesca di Faenza: A Tragedy (London 1843), with what were surely impossible demands for a complete change of scene for the closing two-line tableau, but with verse that sits firmly within the tradition of Italian-Gothic created by Byron and Shelley, later taken up by Browning and Poe.
his own first forays into the archives of Normandy.106 In 1828, only a year after attaining his majority, Stapleton was already seeking admission to the Society of Antiquaries, and by the mid 1830s he was hard at work in the investigation of the Anglo-Norman past, eagerly encouraging the search for further Norman evidences in the Tower, contributing to the deliberations of learned societies, and above all drawing attention to important Norman charters preserved in the Norman provincial archives in France.107

Stapleton worked at a time of fundamental change in English historical scholarship, when the dilettantism of the eighteenth century was gradually

106 See here the splendid set of essays collected as Rawdon Brown and the Anglo-Venetian Relationship, ed. R.A. Griffiths and J.E. Law (Stroud 2005). Brown first ‘discovered’ Venice in 1833, at a time when Stapleton himself was in Italy.

107 He was elected a fellow of the Society of Antiquaries in 1829: London, Society of Antiquaries, ms. Minute Book 1823–30, entries for 27 November 1828 (anonymous testimonial submitted on behalf of Thomas Stapleton Esq. of Lincoln’s Inn), 15 January 1829 (elected), 5 February 1829 (admitted). It is perhaps revealing that amongst his own papers, virtually the only ‘private’ correspondence that his family chose to preserve was the letter from the Antiquaries, 16 January 1829, announcing his election: Hull History Centre, University Archives ms. DDCA/33/28. He first appears as a member of the Society’s Council in May 1835, shortly before his proposal to publish the Norman accounts: Society of Antiquaries, ms. Council Book 1829–47, entry for 5 May 1835. John Gage also supported his election to the Athenaeum in an undated letter from the Nichols papers, drawn to my attention by Julian Pooley. Of the various charters cited in Stapleton’s articles at this time, the majority appear to be taken from printed sources. However, as early as 1835 Stapleton was exhibiting transcripts of charters from Normandy to his fellow antiquaries (The Gentleman’s Magazine, cvi (1836), part 1, p.648), and he was undoubtedly in contact with Norman scholars, including Achille Deville and the Abbé de la Rue (for whom see below). For his printing of charters in 1836 from the collection of Deville and from the Mont-St-Michel cartulary at Avranches, see T. Stapleton, ‘Ancient Charters Relating to Property in Normandy’, Archaeologia or Miscellaneous Tracts Relating to Antiquity, xxvii (1838), 21–8, and see also the various Warenne charters printed by Stapleton from unidentified but almost certainly Norman sources, in ‘Observations in Disproof of the Pretended Marriage of William de Warren’, Archaeological Journal, iii (1846), 9–26. For others of Stapleton’s articles including charters from the departmental archives at Rouen and Tours, see ‘Observations on the History of Adeliza, Sister of William the Conqueror’, Archaeologia, xxvi (1836), 349–60; ‘Observations upon the Succession to the Barony of William of Arques in the County of Kent’, Archaeologia, xxxi (1846), 216–37; ‘Holy Trinity Priory, York’, Memoirs Illustrative of the History and Antiquities of the County and City or York Communicated to the Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland held at York, July 1846 (1848); Historical Memoirs of the House of Vernon (privately printed 1855). In the late 1830s he published an extensive series of deeds relating to Marrick Priory in Yorkshire, from the collections of Martin Farquhar Tupper of Lincoln’s Inn (1810–1889), the Victorian best-selling author and perhaps a contact from Stapleton’s time of residence in the same Inn of court: Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica, v (1838), 100–24, 221–59, from original charters most of which thereafter ‘remained’ in Stapleton’s possession, being today amongst his family’s papers in Hull History Centre, University Archives DDCA2/29/1–31, with a few strays in Leeds University, Brotherton Library, and cf. Western Manuscripts and Miniatures, Sotheby’s Sale Catalogue (London, 11 December 1979), lot no.17; BL ms. Egerton Charter 406 (information courtesy of Tim Gates and Nigel Ramsay), the most important of the early royal charters for Marrick having been sold together with others of Stapleton’s collections, now BL ms. Additional Charter 75053 (Henry II), and cf. Manchester, John Rylands Library ms. Beaumont Charter 91 (priory rental of 1435). Of the French departmental archives from which Stapleton undoubtedly derived materials for publication, those at Caen appear to preserve no details of researchers before the twentieth century, and those at Rouen (AD Seine-Maritime ms. 3T) preserve only fragmentary records of readers before 1860 (3T71–9).
yielding place to a more critical approach. Above all, the Record Commission charged with the publication of official state papers, and from 1838 the establishment of the Public Record Office as a repository for all state archives, previously scattered across half a dozen offices in London and Westminster, had encouraged a new emphasis upon documentary, as opposed to chronicle or literary sources in the writing of English history. In an age of Gothic revival, in which the novels of Sir Walter Scott and the architecture of Sir Charles Barry vied for the attention of men and ladies of fashion, it is not surprising that it was upon the Middle Ages, and particularly upon the period between 1066 and 1350, that much of the new interest in documents tended to focus. It was in this period that eighteenth-century scholars had, somewhat reluctantly, agreed that the true origins of Parliament were to be located, and it was to this period that many of the greater landed families of England, amongst them the would-be barons Beaumont, sought to trace their origins. The central Middle Ages were therefore both fashionable and regarded as peculiarly significant, not least in explaining how England, with its Parliament, its peers and its unwritten but nonetheless ancient Constitution, had escaped the horrors of revolutionary and Buonapartist France.108

This revived interest in Anglo-Norman antiquities had been heralded in 1783 by the publication of Abraham Farley’s edition of Domesday Book, paid for at considerable expense out of government funds and adding momentum to the calls for the establishment of an official Records Commission, expressed in July 1800 by an address by the House of Commons to King George III, in which the sovereign was warned that the nation’s records lay ‘exposed to erasure, alteration and embezzlement… lodged in places where they are daily perishing by damp or incurring a continual risk of destruction by fire’, and answered in the King’s letters patent of 19 July, empowering the principal secretaries of state not only to establish better means for the records’ preservation and storage but ‘to make exact calendars and indexes thereof, and to superintend the printing of such calendars and indexes and original records and papers as ye shall cause to be printed’.109 The irony that this decision, so significant in the rediscovery of the Anglo-French past, should have been taken by a Hanoverian king, in the midst of a protracted war with France, cannot be allowed to pass unremarked.

108 For much of this, including Robert Brady’s demolition, as early as the 1690s, of the idea of the immemorial Saxon Parliament, see R.J. Smith, The Gothic Bequest. Medieval Institutions in British Thought 1688–1863 (Cambridge 1987).
By contrast to the early employees of the Record Commission, Stapleton had the good fortune to work at a time of relative calm in Anglo-French relations, at a time moreover when the French themselves, fuelled in no small part by the flood of new peerage claims launched under the restored Bourbon and then the Orleanist monarchies, were once again beginning to take an interest in the feudal past.\textsuperscript{110} Relations between France and England had entered a new and closer phase after Waterloo, and were entwined yet further by the July Revolution of 1830, if not on an entirely friendly, then certainly on a closely symbiotic basis. The late engagements with the Revolution and thereafter with Buonaparte, however much they may have entrenched the English in a stereotyped view of the French as the sworn enemies of Anglo-Saxon liberties and the rights of property, had once again drawn attention to the extent to which Anglo-French rivalry lay at the very core of English history. In France itself, historians had become obsessed with the English past, not least for the usefulness of the history of Charles I, Oliver Cromwell and the restoration of the Stuarts in plotting the possible future of the restored Bourbons and subsequently of the Anglomaniac Louis-Philippe. It is well worth remarking that, since 1520 and the meeting of the Field of the Cloth of Gold, the very first visit paid by a ruling English sovereign to a ruling king of France should have been that paid by Queen Victoria to Louis-Philippe in his Norman castle of Eu, in September 1843, just as Louis-Philippe’s return visit to Victoria in 1844 was the first by a reigning French king since 1356 and Jean II’s captivity in the aftermath of the battle of Poitiers. On a less happy note, it was to be from the Norman port of Le Havre, in March 1848, that Louis-Philippe and his family fled into exile in England, the King boarding ship disguised as an Englishman and speaking loudly and volubly in English so as to throw off any spies. It was in these same years, of the 1840s, that the very idea of an ‘entente cordiale’ was first coined.\textsuperscript{111}

In light of this new Anglo-French rapprochement, even as early as the second decade of the nineteenth century and within a few years of Napoleon’s defeat in 1815, antiquaries such as Hudson Gurney (1775–1864) and Dawson Turner (1775–1858) were entering into correspondence with the historians of Normandy, many of whom, most notably Charles Duhéressier de Gerville (1769–1853) and the abbé Gervase de la Rue (1751–1835), had found shelter in England in the aftermath of the revolution of 1789. In 1818, a year after the opening of Dawson Turner’s correspondence, Thomas Dibdin made his ‘bibliographical, antiquarian and picturesque tour’ of Normandy, reporting on the published books and at least some of the manuscript treasures to be viewed in the new public libraries of Rouen, Caen and elsewhere, and encountering amongst other luminaries the ‘great archaeological oracle of Normandy’, the abbé de la Rue who, in exile

\textsuperscript{110} For the great market in forged titles of nobility to which such claims gave rise, see R.–H. Bautier, ‘La Collection des chartes de croisade dite “collection Courtois”’, \textit{Comptes Rendus des Séances de l’Academie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres} (1956), 382–6.

\textsuperscript{111} For all of this, see M. Price, \textit{The Perilous Crown: France Between Revolutions, 1814–1848} (London 2007), esp.313–19, 368.
after 1790, had been elected to the London Society of Antiquaries.\textsuperscript{112} De Gerville, exiled after 1792 to the wilds of Humberside, had subsequently enlisted as a volunteer in the emigré regiment ‘Loyal Emigrant’.\textsuperscript{113} Dibdin’s descriptions, and Gurney and Turner’s correspondence with these men, and with the great historian of the Eure, Auguste Le Prévost (1787–1859), paved the way for the enterprise not only of historians such as Hudson Gurney’s cousin, Daniel Gurney (1791–1880), author of a monumental history of the Anglo-Norman Gournay family, but for the various trips which Gurney and Turner financed after 1817 for the watercolourist John Sell Cotman (1782–1842), sent to record the surviving architectural antiquities of Normandy.\textsuperscript{114} Dibdin, Turner and Cotman were followed into Normandy by other antiquaries and searchers after the Gothic and the picturesque, including Charles Stothard and his wife, who returned to England in 1818 with a famous series of illustrations from the Bayeux tapestry. Stothard also visited the great abbey of Fontevraud on the Loire, by this time converted into a prison. There, in 1816, he found the remains of the funeral monuments of the Plantagenet kings and queens (Henry II, Richard I, Eleanor of Aquitaine, and Isabella of Angoulême), mouldering in a cellar, under threat of destruction at the hands of prisoners who came there to draw water from a well. The architectural framework in which they had been placed since the sixteenth century had been destroyed during the Revolution, and in 1809 an attempt had been made to secure their removal to a projected Musée des Monuments français in Paris. Stothard now suggested that they be ‘saved’ for the British nation and re-established in Westminster Abbey, an idea taken up by the Prince Regent and still being discussed in 1819. Further efforts to remove them from Fontevraud were to be made in 1846, when it was suggested that they be sent to the Musée des Souverains at the Louvre, and again in 1867, when Napoleon III seriously entertained the possibility of gifting them to Queen Victoria: a proposal that led to outcry in the French press, and that was diplomatically declined by the British government, the Emperor instead dispatching plaster cast reproductions, today still amongst the collections of the Victoria and Albert Museum.\textsuperscript{115} Meanwhile, as the Stothards’ excursion to Fontevraud suggests,

\begin{footnotesize}
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\item Elected 20 June 1793, information courtesy Society of Antiquaries. For Dibdin’s meeting with him, see T.F. Dibdin, \textit{A Bibliographical, Antiquarian and Picturesque Tour in France and Germany}, 3 vols (London 1821), i, 309.
\item Mrs Charles Stothard, \textit{Letters Written During a Tour through Normandy, Brittany, and Other}
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the search for Anglo-Norman antiquities had begun to extend beyond the immediate vicinities or either Normandy or England. Henry Gally Knight (1786–1846), for example, followed up an architectural tour of Normandy in 1831 with some of the earliest attempts to trace the impact of ‘Norman Gothic’ architecture upon the churches of Sicily and southern Italy.\(^{116}\)

As with Stapleton’s education at Stonyhurst, itself the product of the revolutionary wars that had forced the Jesuits to flee Liège for Lancashire, it is important to remember how recently and to how great an extent the upheavals of the French Revolution had affected approaches to the Anglo-French past. In these new circumstances, the Middle Ages were laid bare not just to rediscovery but to plunder. This was true both of the architectural historians and of the genealogists. Just as the Gurneys had been motivated, at least in part, by a desire to hunt out the earliest records of their own Anglo-Norman family history, so in 1826, Jeremiah Holmes Wiffen (1792–1836) – Quaker, historian, translator of Tasso, and author of the verse ‘Sensations under the Influence of Nitrous Oxide Described: Written Immediately after Inhaling it’ – had embarked for Normandy to search out the earliest records of the Russell family, ancestors of his patron, the Duke of Bedford. Wiffen spent nearly four months in the archives at St-Lô and Caen, and at the end of this visit carried back with him to England not only an abiding memory of the welcome that had been afforded him, but a substantial number of original charters, ‘liberated’ from the archives at Caen.\(^{117}\) Wiffen’s memories are set down for us in a verse ‘Farewell to Normandy’, marked by more than a faint echo of the then fashionable poetry of Ossian and Sir Walter Scott.\(^{118}\)

By coincidence, Scott himself was in Paris at precisely this time, and on successive nights, 30 and 31 October 1826, was able to attend performances at the Comédie Française of a play based upon the story

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\(^{118}\) Wiffen, *Historical Memoirs*, i, 534–49 appendix 24, in 24 stanzas, supposedly written whilst travelling between Rouen and Mantes, 6 October 1826. Note that Wiffen supplies this date in what one might assume to be the distinctively ‘Republican’ form ‘10th month 6th, 1826’. Wiffen’s patron, John 6th Duke of Bedford (1766–1839), had earlier championed the cause of the radical Whigs. The poem was published first in Paris as *Farewell to Normandy*, a single copy surviving as Bnf livres imprimés YK–95.
of Henry II and Fair Rosamond, and at the Odéon of an opera fashioned from his own *Ivanhoe*.¹¹⁹ The degree to which post-Napoleonic Europe had adopted English literary heroes, from Shakespeare to Scott, is hardly to be exaggerated, and is reminiscent in many ways of the French lionization of Hollywood film stars after the liberation of 1944. These were the years of Berlioz’s Shakespeare worship, culminating in the *Symphonie Fantastique* (1830) with his *hommage* to the actress Harriet Smithson, whose Ophelia he had first seen in September 1827. The same period brought to birth that long string of Italian operas by Donizetti, celebrating not only the literary creations of Scott, from *Il Castello di Kenilworth* (1829) to *Lucia di Lammermoor* (1835), but such solidly English heroes and heroines as Alfred the Great (*Alfredo il Grande*, 1823) and the toponymically over-specific *Emilia di Liverpool* (1824).

Wiffen rather fancied himself a poet in the same mould as Scott. His ambition, however, was not equalled by his performance. In the hands of Edward Lear and his later and less polite imitators, the matching of English rhymes to foreign place-names was to become a minor art-form. As practised by Wiffen, it must be accounted less an art than a torture: ‘How gaily did the moonbeams glance … on thy cathedral spires, Coutances’, and ‘Safe be the antiquarian scrolls … that fill thy storied tower, St-Loo’ being typical of Wiffen’s efforts.¹²⁰ Wiffen’s verses nonetheless record the names of some of the more prominent Norman antiquaries who were already, as early as the 1820s, facilitating access to Norman archives by English scholars: ‘learn’d De la Rue’, ‘tasteful’ Léchaudé d’Anisy, ‘hail-worthy’ Le Prévost and perhaps above all ‘learned’ de Gerville.¹²¹ It was de Gerville who had already inspired the warmest of friendly feelings from Gurney and Cotman, who spoke virtually no French, and who had been criticised for his linguistic shortcomings by no less an authority than Le Prévost, could nonetheless declare that ‘I must say if I ever loved a man, ’tis De Gerville’.¹²² In Wiffen’s reminiscence, it is likewise de Gerville, the future mentor of the young Léopold Delisle, who receives the most rapturous of thanks.

¹²¹ Ibid., 543–5.
¹²² Rajnai and Allthorpe-Guyton, *John Sell Cotman*, 4, 33. That Cotman’s sentiments were amply reciprocated by de Gerville is apparent from de Gerville’s extensive correspondance (1820–1849) with Dawson Turner, now preserved in Cambridge, Trinity College archives, much of it taken up with requests for news of Cotman and his state of health. See especially letters from de Gerville to Turner of 4 February 1820 (‘Dites lui (Cotman), je vous prie, que je l’aime de tout mon coeur’), 2 June 1823 (‘depuis que je l’ai vu la première fois, mon attachement pour lui (Cotman) a été constant’).
‘De Gerville! In thy lettered home
Days melted into hours; with thee
To guide, ‘twas luxury to roam
Around the healthy crags of Brix’.123

Working from printed sources and occasional visits to the archives, de Gerville had in 1820 distributed, both in France and in England, a long series of ‘Notes sur le berceau de quelques unes des familles etabliés en Angleterre’: in effect, the very earliest attempt to compile a prosopographical dictionary of the Anglo-Norman baronage, more than a century in advance of the later enterprises of Lewis Loyd and Katharine Keats-Rohan.124 De Gerville’s efforts were admittedly primitive, and remained unpublished. They were, however, informed by considerable knowledge of the printed English sources, most notably Dugdale’s *Monasticon* and the county histories, and were early drawn to the attention of John Gage Rokewode (1786–1842), a close friend of Thomas Stapleton, through whose good offices de Gerville was in 1832 elected a corresponding member of the London Society of Antiquaries, an honour which he seems greatly to have coveted.125 De Gerville, it should be noted, like Le Prévost and many others of his compatriots, spoke and wrote an English far better than the French commanded by his correspondents across the Channel.126

A direct comparison might be drawn between this generation of Norman antiquaries, at work after 1800, and the much earlier group of English antiquaries, at work after 1600. Both groups consisted for the most part of men of independent means, struggling to rescue the archival remnants of a past that was rapidly disappearing, in England as a result of the Dissolution of the monasteries, in Normandy as a result of the revolution of 1789. Albeit on a far more limited scale than Sir Robert Cotton or Sir William Dugdale, Norman antiquaries such as de Gerville, Le Prévost and de la Rue not only transcribed but collected medieval manuscripts, many of which, despite the establishment of provincial archives for the reception of the remnants of the monastic and feudal past, were still orphaned or

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123 Wiffen, *Historical Memoirs*, i, 543. For a more extensive description of just such an excursion arranged by de Gerville on behalf of Cotman in September 1820, see letters from de Gerville to Dawson Turner: Cambridge, Trinity College archives, Dawson Turner correspondence, 15 September 1820. For proof that de Gerville corresponded with Wiffen for at least a year after Wiffen’s departure from Normandy, see Caen AD Calvados F5803 fol. 281r (118r), where, next to transcripts of charters of Henry the Young King and of William du Hommet, de Gerville has appended a note ‘Copie de ces actes et de la page suivante envoyée à M. Wiffen, Xbre (i.e. December) 1827’ (reference courtesy of Daniel Power).

124 A copy of this mémoire, in de Gerville’s hand, liberally annotated by Le Prévost, survives at Evreux AD Eure 4F171, appended to a letter sent to Dawson Turner on 1 November 1820.

125 Evreux AD Eure 5F33, letters from Le Prévost to de Gerville 2 July 1832, 15 January and 10 March 1833. Gerville’s election, together with those of Monsieur de Caumont, president of the Société des Antiquaires de Normandie, and Monsieur Licquet, librarian at Rouen, was signalled on 6 December 1832: *The Gentleman’s Magazine*, cii (July–December 1832), 561.

126 De Gerville’s perfect English is apparent throughout his correspondence, and was used in corresponding with Le Prévost as a code to mask sensitive remarks about their contemporaries. Le Prévost himself is to be found quoting from Hamlet in the original: Evreux AD Eure 5F33, letters of 23 November 1827, 1 June 1831.
homeless fifty years after their scattering to the revolutionary winds. What is distinctive about the Norman antiquaries working after 1815 is not so much their own, specifically Norman concerns, but the fact that, via the work of their English correspondents, not least Thomas Stapleton, they were able to communicate with a far wider audience and thus to address far wider, Anglo-Norman concerns than might otherwise have been the case. In all of this, Stapleton’s Catholicism and his willingness to address European, not merely English themes, played a highly significant part.

Nor was this trade in evidence and ideas an entirely one-way process. In 1834, de la Rue published the opening lines of an poem, written in the old-French vernacular, that he had read in a manuscript at Oxford whilst in exile from the Revolution after 1789. This helped spark a quest, funded by the Anglophile minister of education, François Guizot. A year later, in July 1835, a young French philologist named Francisque Michel tracked de la Rue’s manuscript to its resting place in the Bodleian Library. To students of French language and literature a discovery had been made as momentous as anything that could be claimed in the fields of Egyptian hieroglyphs or Babylonian cuneiform, themselves deciphered during this same period in highly publicized circumstances and as the result of co-operation, not just competition, between English and French experts. The Oxford manuscript contained the earliest known version of the *Chanson de Roland*, hereafter broadcast as the very first French epic, written in Anglo-Norman dialect and unearthed as a direct result of Anglo-French rapprochement.¹²⁷

Gurney, Wiffen, Dibdin and Stothard, had already broadcast the antiquarian splendours and the natural beauties of Normandy by the time that Thomas Stapleton first developed his taste for Anglo-Norman history in the 1820s. Wiffen, indeed, had not only drawn attention to the fact that ‘everything which revives our association with a country so intimately connected with our early baronage and history may be welcome to a large class of readers’, but to some extent had spelled out Stapleton’s future programme of research, noting that amongst the Norman archives ‘every bundle which I opened disclosed some note or memorial of the surnames most renowned

¹²⁷ A. Taylor, ‘Was There a Song of Roland?’, *Speculum*, lxxvi (2001), 28–65, esp. pp.28–33. The first correct publication of hieroglyphs was made in 1822 by Jean-François Champollion, following earlier transcriptions by the English polymath, Thomas Young, from the Rosetta Stone, itself housed in the British Museum since its seizure from the French in 1802. The cuneiform alphabet was first correctly identified by Eugène Burnouf, in 1836, with full decipherment thereafter led by the Englishman, Henry Rawlinson. There is a direct connection here to the rediscovery of the Anglo-Norman past, since in 1857, Burnouf’s daughter, Laure, married the great Léopold Delisle, remaining his principal secretary and amanuensis through to her death in 1905. At his own death, in 1910, Delisle willed the sum of 4000 marks to the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, in part to ensure the Académie’s perpetual maintenance of the ‘modeste tombe’ in Père-Lachaise housing the remains of Burnouf and his wife and of Léopold and Laure Delisle: *Comptes-rendus des séances de l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, liv (1910), 439–40, and cf. N. Vincent, ‘Léopold Delisle, l’Angleterre et le Recueil des Actes de Henri II’, *Léopold Delisle: Colloque de Cerisy-la-Salle* (8–10 octobre 2004), ed. F. Viellard and G. Désiré dit Gosset (St-Lô 2007), 231–57.
in Norman or in English story – Cliffords, Percies, Clintons, Byrons, Mortimers and Bruces’. Stapleton nonetheless deserves credit as one of the very first English historians not only to appreciate, but to possess sufficient scientific expertise to exploit the all too obvious fact that the barons of post-Conquest England were for the most part French, with vast and as yet untapped archival evidences to be found in France.

Working in the 1830s, Stapleton was again fortunate to coincide with the first true opening up of the Norman provincial archives to scholarly research. The huge mountains of parchment and paper confiscated from the suppressed religious corporations after the Revolution, in Normandy dating back to the eleventh century or beyond, represented a resource whose depth even the likes of Duchesne and Baluze had barely begun to sound. Carted off to the newly established préfectures after 1790, and thereafter subjected to all manner of hazards and indignities, not least by those who feared that such archives were a dangerous reminder of the feudal past, or of England’s domination in France, it was not until the 1820s that the medieval charters of Normandy, now housed in the newly-established departmental archives, were reopened to research. Meanwhile, at Lisieux, the entire local archive was burned, a celebration that elsewhere formed part of the prescribed activities of the revolutionary weekday ‘décadi’, set aside for public instruction and the correction of morals. Further south, although still within the former Plantagenet dominion, at Saintes, on 10 August 1793, the townspeople had formed a circle to dance around the bonfire made of their archives, embracing each other with ‘la plus étroite fraternité’ before singing the Marseillaise. Nor was it only the mob that burned records. At Coutances, we are told, the cathedral’s canons spent three days burning an enormous quantity of parchment, pretending that the documents themselves were rotted, but in reality, one suspects, because of anxiety over their politically inflammatory nature. 1900 portfolios (‘liasses’) of archives were selected for destruction, between July 1795 and October 1796, by the Commission de Triage appointed to weed the 3000 ‘liasses’ housing the medieval archives of the estates of Brittany, and the contents of the Breton Trésor des Chartes at Nantes were only saved because the doorway leading to the cupboards and wooden boxes made for these records in the reign of Anne of Brittany (1488–1514) was hidden behind barrels of coin. Even the newly formed departmental archives

128 Wiffen, Historical Memoirs, pp.xi–xii, 534.
129 For the law of 7 Messidor (25 June 1794), actually not so disastrous as supposed by Round, see H. Bordier, Les Archives de la France (Paris 1855), esp. pp.7–11, 383–9. For the deliberate destruction of archives, including those of Lisieux, see pp.332–4. For the subsequent revival of professional history in France in the 1820s and 30s, see the splendid survey by Pim den Boer, History as a Profession. The Study of History in France 1818–1914, trans. A.J. Pomerans (Princeton 1998).
130 L. Audiat, Saint Eutrope et son prieuré (Saintes/Paris 1877), pp.ii–iii.
131 See the memoir by Léchaudé d’Anisy in TNA PRO 31/8/140B part 1 p.122, whence the introduction to Round, Calendar, p.xxxi.
132 M. Jones, “Membra disjecta” of the Breton “Chambre des Comptes” in the Late Middle Ages: Treasures Revisited and Rediscovered, War, Government and Power in Late Medieval
were not immune from disaster, brought on as much by incompetence as by
deliberate malice. There is, for example, the terrible story of the Norman
charters of Marmoutier, gathered together after 1790 in the archives
départementales at Tours. At some point in the 1790s, a decision was taken
to disperse these documents amongst the archives of each département in
which Marmoutier’s dependent priories had been situated. In this way, the
charters of the priories of Bohon, Héauville, Sacey and Mortain were posted
off from Tours to the archives de la Manche at St-Lô. The functionary to
whom they were addressed, however, refused to pay the cost of the postage,
so that an entire dossier of eleventh and twelfth-century Norman charters
vanished into the French postal system, perhaps never again to be seen.\textsuperscript{133}

In the meantime, under separate instructions issued in 1798, the Minister
of the Interior, François de Neufchâteau, had ordered that all cartularies
were to be removed from local archives and sent to the new central library
established in Paris, the future Bibliothèque nationale. Such manuscripts,
‘fruits des siècles barbares’, were judged to be too important in testifying
to the criminality of the religious institutions of the Ancien Régime to be
entrusted to merely local keeping.\textsuperscript{134} In reality, although this order was
invoked and obeyed in some localities, elsewhere it sowed confusion and
led to yet further dispersal of already scattered archives.

By the 1830s, half a century after the Revolution, the worst of the horrors
had been wrought. From time to time, even so, the urge to destroy was not
entirely laid to rest. In February 1831, a mob protesting against the legitimist
sympathies of the archbishop of Paris seized the entire archiepiscopal library
and dumped it into the Seine.\textsuperscript{135} Shortly before this, a unique manuscript
of Herbert of Bosham’s ‘Liber Melorum’, preserved in the Bibliothèque
Municipale at Arras, was deliberately mutilated by the local librarian to
spite the town authorities with whom he was in dispute, every tenth leaf of
the book being sold as scrap parchment to a local tailor for use as measuring
tape.\textsuperscript{136} Neglect or accident, however, rather than deliberate destruction

\textsuperscript{133} As recounted by Delisle, Recueil, i (Introduction), p.23, citing the official report of the
archivist at Tours. For evidence suggesting that at least part of Marmoutier’s Norman archive
came into the possession of the English manuscript collector, Sir Thomas Phillipps, see below
p.78 n.277.

\textsuperscript{134} Order of 1er nivôse an VII (21 December 1798), reprised in Chartes de l’abbaye de Jumièges
siècles barbares, se lient trop essentiellement à leur histoire pour pouvoir en être distracts.
Il faut qu’ils attestent à la postérité ce que l’ambition et l’artifice des corporations privilégiées
ont obtenu de la crédule ignorance de nos pères, et qu’ils lui faisaient apprécier l’heureuse
révolution qui s’est faite dans l’esprit humain’.

\textsuperscript{135} P. Thureau-Dangin, Histoire de la monarchie de juillet, 7 vols (Paris 1884–92), i, 188–94.

\textsuperscript{136} The Diary and Memoirs of John Allen Giles, ed. D. Bromwich, Somerset Record Society
lxxxvi (2000), 245, 254–6, reporting the subsequent purchase of the mutilated leaves by Sir
Thomas Phillipps. As a former Phillipps manuscript (Phillipps 16865), they were exported
to the United States in 1977 (whence the microfilm copy in BL Microfilm R.P. 1517 part iii),
but then returned to London for sale, with a particularly detailed description and history in the
Sotheby’s Sale Catalogue (Western Manuscripts and Miniatures) (London 1 December 1998),
pp.56–60 lot 79, incidentally revealing that more than 1300 other such leaves, deliberately cut
from Arras manuscripts, left behind in France by Phillipps in the 1820s, in 1885 recovered on
were now the principal threat. Into the 1840s, unquantifiably vast numbers of medieval charters taken from northern French municipalities continued to be used as wadding in the cannons of the artillery school at Metz.\textsuperscript{137} In 1835, Jules Michelet (1798–1874) reported disgraceful neglect amongst the departmental archives of south-western France, where some archives were entirely unstaffed, others were housed in leaky attics infested with rats and mice, and still others were at risk of being sold off piecemeal to amateur manuscript collectors.\textsuperscript{138} Michelet’s tour of the archives came less than a year after his first visit to England, undertaken in July-August 1834. There, he had gone at least twice to the records in the Tower of London, meeting Petrie and the young Thomas Duffus Hardy (1804–1878), viewing the vast series of rolls in their oak presses and admiring the fact that the records were stored free from damp or humidity. After a frantic tour in which he took in the sights of both Ireland and Scotland and, as a devotee of Sir Walter Scott, passed by but lacked the courage to call upon Scott’s house at Abbotsford, Michelet returned to London and the British Museum where he admired the ordered calm and where he inspected a charter of David King of Scotland, as much for the fact that David was mentioned in the preface to Scott’s \textit{Sir Tristrem} as for the charter’s intrinsic historical interest. The English themselves Michelet found fat and arrogant, their much-vaunted countryside nothing more than one vast meat factory suited to a nation of butchers. Their records, by contrast, were kept in far better conditions than those of France.\textsuperscript{139}

The happy, if misleading, impression of English archival efficiency that Michelet carried away with him can be explained by the revival of the English Record Commission, the first Commission having lapsed upon the death of George IV in 1830. Thanks to what in the early 1830s were the remarkably buoyant finances of the second Record Commission, at almost the precise moment that Stapleton began work and that Michelet prepared to cross to England, the first of a series of calls had been broadcast to French scholars to collect evidences of the English past from French provincial archives – a call answered in Normandy by such antiquaries as Achille Deville and Léchaudé d’Anisy, and in Paris by various of the pupils of the newly-established Ecole des Chartes. Such researchers were prepared to transcribe large numbers of Anglo-Norman charters in return for money so generously

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\textsuperscript{137} Known because of the willingness of local historians to recover some ten kilograms (just under 400 charters) of such materials in exchange for blank modern parchment purchased at ten francs the kilo: C. Brunel, ‘Les Parchemins de la collection Salis aux archives historiques de la ville de Metz’, \textit{BEC}, lxxv (1914), 351–2.


\textsuperscript{139} Michelet, \textit{Journal}, 123–60, esp.128, 154 (visits to the Tower), 131 (English countryside), 142–3, 146 (Scott), 156 (visit to the British Museum).
and so unexpectedly disbursed from English public funds.\footnote{For the initial circular, sent out by the Commission’s secretary Charles Cooper in December 1833, requesting amongst other things information on the survival of further records of the Norman Exchequer, see Revue Anglo-Française, ii (1834), 421–33, iii (1835) 130–1. The Revue itself bears testimony both to the new spirit of Anglo-French co-operation under the July monarchy, and to the fashion for all things British, not least in light of the success of the novels of Scott.}

The author of these appeals, Charles Cooper (1793–1873), secretary to the second Record Commission from 1831, dreamed of establishing the study of government records upon new scientific foundations, and even of endowing an English rival to France’s Ecole des Chartes. In the immediate term, and despite disbursing something over £400,000 in public funds, Cooper bequeathed very little to his successors save for a debt of £24,000 and the controversy which, after 1836, caused the collapse of the Record Commission. In the longer term, from Cooper’s fecklessness and extravagance were born not only the principal publications of the chancery rolls of the reign of King John – the Rotuli Chartarum, Rotuli Litterarum Patentium and Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum, published in splendid folios under the editorial oversight of Thomas Duffus Hardy and all proclaiming themselves to be in Turri Londinensi asservati – but the very idea of a centralized Public Record Office, itself from the beginning embellished with the volumes of transcripts of charters from Normandy paid for from Cooper’s funds.\footnote{For Cooper, see the brief biography by J.A. Hamilton in the ODNB, with remarks on his desire to establish an English Ecole des Chartes by Walne, ‘The Record Commissions’, 12, 14–15; J. Cantwell, ‘The 1838 Public Record Office Act and its Aftermath: A New Perspective’, JSA, vii (1982–5), 277–86, esp. 277–8. A file of correspondence concerning Cooper’s appeal for transcriptions from France, including a number of letters from French researchers that are frankly extortionate in their calls upon the Commission’s funds, is preserved in TNA PRO 30/10/28, and cf. below pp.67–72.} I shall return to these transcripts in due course, and in much greater detail. For the moment, let it be noted that, even without setting foot on Norman soil, Thomas Stapleton and his fellow antiquaries were by the 1830s in a position to gain access to documentary treasures in England that until then had lain in a state of benign but near-total neglect.

Nonetheless, for all of these advantages, Stapleton worked as a true pioneer. Until very recently, the question of which Norman or French archives he visited, and precisely when, remained unanswerable. Thanks to the rediscovery and cataloguing of the papers of his intimate friend, John Gage Rokewode, we can now employ more than thirty surviving letters from Stapleton to construct a very clear picture of his progress through the Norman and French archives. The correspondence begins in March 1831, when Stapleton was twenty-four and Gage (as Stapleton called him, and we should too, since he adopted the name Rokewode only very late in life) in his mid 40s.\footnote{Cambridge University Library mss. Hengrave Hall 21/3–13 (Gage correspondence 1831–1841), as drawn to my attention by Peter Meadows. For the first of the surviving letters, dated at The Grove, 6 March 1831, reporting Stapleton’s visit to Bolton Hall and his transcription of the original contract for building Bolton Castle, see Ibid. 21/3/22.} Gage was well connected, being the younger son of a Suffolk baronet, with access to the highest Whig circles. In the 1830s, for example, when working on
the Benedictional of St Aethelwold, he seems simply to have borrowed the manuscript, already regarded as priceless, from the Duke of Devonshire, in order that he might have an engraver make up plates.143 We should nonetheless beware of exaggerating the grandeur of Gage’s position: Thackeray, a close contemporary, has one of his characters, a peer’s daughter, remark that marriage to ‘a gentleman who was but the younger son of a Suffolk baronet’ was, in itself evidence for a lack of ‘pride’.144 Just as significant as his family’s baronetcy was the fact that Gage was a member of a distinguished Catholic line, educated by the Jesuits of Stonyhurst, a decade or so before Stapleton’s arrival at that school, and thereafter trained up in the law at Lincoln’s Inn, in the chambers of the leading Catholic barrister, Charles Butler (1750–1832), according to much the same pattern as Stapleton a decade later.145

Until his inheritance of the Rokewode estate from his elder brother Robert, in 1838, which led him to change his name, John Gage acted in effect as steward of his family’s estates in Suffolk. From his rooms in Lincoln’s Inn, he conducted the affairs of Hengrave Hall near Bury St Edmunds, ensuring that annuities were paid to his sister-in-law and his two young nephews, including Sir Thomas Gage (born in 1810) who had inherited the baronetcy, but who spent most of the 1830s on a very rackety grand tour, being joined in Italy by his mother, the widowed Lady Mary Anne, herself the daughter of an Irish peer. Lady Mary Anne’s letters to John Gage are typified by a plangent snobbery, in which enquiries about the transfer of funds mingle with complaints about the extravagence of her sons, and with the gossip and goings on of the English Catholic community in Rome. When considered in the context of the great pile of bonds, mortgages and begging letters that characterizes the rest of Gage’s business correspondence, they suggest that, until his change of fortunes and name in 1838, Gage himself was far from

143 As noted by T.A. Birrell, ‘The Circle of John Gage (1786–1842), Director of the Society of Antiquaries, and the Bibliography of Medievalism’, Antiquaries, Book Collectors and the Circles of Learning, ed. R. Myers and M. Harris (Winchester 1996), 75.
144 Henry Esmond (1852), preface ‘The Esmonds of Virginia’. George Warrington, best friend of Pendennis (1849), is an earlier representative of the breed.
145 For the general background to Gage’s friendship with Stapleton, see Birrell, ‘The Circle of John Gage’, 71–82. Gage was enrolled at Stonyhurst from 24 September 1798 until 26 December 1804: information that I owe to the Stonyhurst archivist, Mr David Knight. His elder brothers, Thomas and Robert, were amongst the band of scholars evacuated from Flanders in 1794, as the founding generation of boys brought to England and thence to Stonyhurst itself: Chadwick, St Omers to Stonyhurst, 391. For Butler, schooled at Douai in the 1760s, later to make use of antiquarian studies in the pursuit of Catholic causes, see N.L. Abercrombie, ‘The Early Life of Charles Butler’, Recusant History, xiv (1977–8), 281–92. For evidence that Gage and Stapleton were already friends by the time of Stapleton’s call to the bar in 1830, see Lincoln’s Inn Archives ms. Bar Book B2a3 fo.27r, where Gage served as surety to the official record of the signature of Thomas Stapleton.
comfortably established. By the time of his first encounter with Stapleton, Gage was a published author. In 1829 – the same year, coincidentally, that an Act for Catholic Emancipation was passed – he had been elected Director of the Society of Antiquaries, in effect as keeper of the Society’s collections and overseer of its literary ventures, with considerable patronage to distribute amongst the printers and engravers of London. As has been noted by previous commentators, the fact that this position came to Gage despite his Catholicism, is no small testimony to his own personal charms and his ability to avoid religious controversy. In this, he was a fit mentor for Thomas Stapleton, whose Catholicism seems to have been as sincere as it was discreet. In Normandy and elsewhere on the continent, their religion undoubtedly opened doors to Gage and Stapleton that might otherwise have remained closed. We find, for example, the Norman antiquary de Gerville not only reminiscing to Gage about the Catholic families that he had visited during his English exile of the 1790s, but openly congratulating him on his rise to so prominent a position in the Society of Antiquaries, given the notorious anti-Catholic prejudices of the English.

By the time that their correspondence opens, Gage had been friends with Stapleton for at least a year: in August 1830 they were planning to visit Ely together, to examine manuscripts. No doubt their shared sense of distinction, as well-born Catholics, and their mutual experience of schooling in the surroundings of Stonyhurst – a school, if ever there was one, calculated to induce either love or loathing for the Gothic past – contributed to what was clearly a very close friendship. As members of Lincoln’s Inn – Gage under the protection of Charles Butler, Stapleton under the protection of Gage – they followed in a proud tradition of Catholic lawyers, able to deploy the records of the feudal past in pursuit of present concerns, not least the repeal of England’s still oppressive Penal Laws. Although Stapleton himself seems never to have practised as a lawyer, his brother Miles, Lord Beaumont, was to play no small part in the eventual repeal of much of this deadweight of

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146 Gage’s estate papers are today in Bury St Edmunds, Suffolk Record Office, with particularly illuminating evidences, relating both to the Gage estates and to the absentee Lady Mary Anne and her sons, preserved in the bundles of correspondence, mss. 449/5/15 esp. 449/5/15/14, 17–18. The letters of Lady Mary Anne to John Gage, and the occasional, frequently illegible palimpsests sent by the young Sir Thomas, recording his triumphs in Rome, Greece, Constantinople and Vienna, would richly merit study in their own right.

147 For example, in letters of 22 December 1833 and 15 July 1834, noting a loan to Gage of £50 prior to their joint tour of Normandy that summer: Cambridge University Library ms. Hengrave Hall 21/5/190; 21/6/144.


149 Cambridge University Library ms. Hengrave Hall 21/6/90, Gerville to Gage, 7 May 1834, including memories of Gerville’s time at Colchester c.1798, of Lord Euston (later Duke of Grafton) and of the Catholic chapel at Gifford’s Hall.

150 See Oxford, Bodleian Library ms. Phillipps-Robinson c.623 fo.122r–v, with Sir Thomas Phillipps asking them to seek access to the Ely cathedral library, to search out topographical manuscripts and the Ely cartularies and charters.
anti-Catholic legislation. Meanwhile, their Catholicism not only opened doors on the continent, but rendered Gage and Stapleton themselves open to continental and cosmopolitan influences. In the still far from tolerant 1830s, their joint role as leaders of opinion in the Society of Antiquaries appears all the more remarkable, not least because, as Gage’s most recent biographer has suggested, the programme of research that Gage pursued was so innovative: nothing less than a ‘cultural-anthropological approach to the religious life of the Middle Ages’. Not only genealogy but liturgy, not only Gothic taste but a sense of the still-living traditions of monasticism informed their ventures. The generation of seventeenth-century gentlemen who had first sought to uncover England’s monastic and medieval past, could claim closer proximity to the Middle Ages, both in chronological and socio-political terms. Their Protestantism, nonetheless, rendered them hostile or indifferent to much that was of importance. Gage and Stapleton, although writing a full two hundred years later, amidst the warm after-glow of the Gothic revival, in an England of railways and parliamentary reform, could nonetheless, through their high-bred Catholicism, comprehend aspects of the medieval past that the seventeenth-century antiquaries had found antipathetic. Their friendship was to have significant consequences, not least upon the literary career of the distinctly un-Catholic Thomas Carlyle. By collaborating together, later in the 1840s, on their Camden Society edition of the chronicle of Jocelin of Brakelond, Gage and Stapleton made no mean contribution to English letters, being directly responsible for Carlyle’s decision to employ abbot Samson of Bury in his Past and Present. Here Samson served as a model of all that was good about the twelfth-century past, and all that was most rotten about the industrialised and socially polarized England of the 1840s.

By the late 1820s, Gage had already travelled widely on the continent. On 18 June 1815, during a brief excursion to Holland, he had been in Utrecht on the same fateful day that, unbeknown to him, the French were defeated at Waterloo; just over a week later, he visited the battlefield to assist a Suffolk neighbour in recovering the body of his son, killed in the fighting at Hougemont farm. He made a tour of Italy in 1826–7, visiting Naples and Rome, and in the summer of 1830, he was contemplating a tour of Normandy, soliciting letters of introduction to de Gerville from Dawson Turner.

155 A selection of his excerpts and comments ‘On reading Virgil during a tour in Italy in 1827’ is
the event, this visit seems to have been postponed until the following year, when Gage was undoubtedly at Rouen, making contact with de Gerville, Le Prévost and various of the more prominent antiquaries of Normandy for whom he arranged election as corresponding members of the London Society of Antiquaries: an honour for which the Normans expressed almost pathetic gratitude. It should not be forgotten here that in the 1830s, France was a recently conquered nation. Its elite, and especially its Catholic elite, was only too aware that England was militarily and economically the dominant power. This dominance was attributed both to England’s immunity from the revolutionary spirit of 1789 or 1830, and to the survival of an aristocracy, well represented by the young Thomas Stapleton, that had prospered whilst the French aristocracy had succumbed to self-indulgent hubris whence the nemesis of the guillotine. At much the same time that Gage and Stapleton were touring Normandy, the young Alexis Clérel, comte de Tocqueville, born in 1805 and hence an almost exact contemporary of Stapleton, was exploring the causes of the fall of the Ancien Régime and in the process drawing a mordant contrast between his own fellow aristocrats in Normandy and the more open, tax-paying, entrepreneurial English elite to which both Gage and Stapleton belonged. De Tocqueville’s first visit to England took place in 1833, at precisely the time that Stapleton was first exploring the archives of Normandy. With his town house at Valognes, and his elected office as député for the département of Manche, Tocqueville was both a close neighbour and constitutional representative of the antiquary and Anglophile, de Gerville. Auguste Le Prévost, besides being the distinguished editor of Orderic Vitalis, was himself député for the neighbouring department of the Eure. Just as Tocqueville explored America and England for democratic alternatives to French autocracy, so Le Prévost had a love of English.
poetry, of Shakespeare and of more recent authors, exhibited in the English quotations scattered across his correspondence, albeit that in his essay *Sur la poésie romantique* (1825), he took a chauvinistically ‘French’ view of romanticism, championing Chateaubriand and Madame de Staël as the just heirs to the French parnassus of Racine and the century of Louis XIV, without a moment’s glance at Coleridge or Wordsworth, let alone at Byron, Shelley or Scott.

The correspondence between Stapleton and Gage commences in earnest in July 1831, by which time Stapleton was in Rouen, at the start of a European tour that was to last more than three years. Thereafter, it supplies both a delightful and an extremely significant insight into Stapleton’s methods and achievements. We might suppose that the world of Gage and Stapleton was a far from happy one, mired in religious controversy. Surely we are about to embark upon that dolorous route of backbiting, penny-pinching and pedantry that characterizes so much of antiquarian, and perhaps especially of Catholic antiquarian endeavour. In fact, nothing could be further from the truth. Both Gage and his younger disciple, Thomas Stapleton, in so far as their correspondence allows for an accurate psychological assessment, were of a sunny and humorous disposition, at least until Gage’s death in 1842, at the age of 56, of a sudden stroke, whilst out shooting. Schooled amidst memories of penal and later revolutionary persecution; surrounded at Stonyhurst by the relics, many of them hideously gruesome, of the Jesuit past, Gage and Stapleton might be supposed to have imbibed something of the ‘gloomth’ of Horace Walpole combined with the conspiratorial high seriousness of Lord Acton. On the contrary, the world that they inhabited seems to have had been far more that of *Pendennis* than of *The Castle of Otranto*. There are as few outbreaks of Actonian angst to be found in Stapleton’s letters as there are glad reminiscences of girls, gaiety and field sports to be found in the later correspondence of Lord Acton and Professor Döllinger. About the only thing that Gage and Acton seem to have shared in common, besides their Catholicism, was the fact that their private papers were preserved in glorious abundance. If the determination to preserve letters be a Catholic trait, then Gage and Acton were the most devout of Catholics. It is all the more ironic that their papers, in the one case radiating sweetness and light, in the other stale with disappointed obsession, should be preserved side by side in Cambridge, in the library of a university itself famed more for its Puritanism than its Catholicism.

And so to Stapleton’s letters. At Rouen, in July 1831, during what may perhaps have been his first visit to the city, Stapleton spent time in the Bibliothèque Municipale transcribing letters of Robert of Jumièges, eleventh-century bishop of London, in an attempt to assist Gage with his researches on the Benedictional of St Aethelwold.\(^{158}\) Although he presented

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\(^{158}\) Cambridge University Library ms. Hengrave Hall 21/3/58, 17 July 1831. For the so-called ‘missal’ (actually a sacramentary) of Robert of Jumièges, with Robert’s donation inscription (Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale ms. Y.6), see *The Missal of Robert of Jumièges*, ed. H.A. Wilson, Henry Bradshaw Society xi (1896), 316. Gage had in February 1832 presented
an introduction to the librarian, Monsieur Licquet, from Henry Petrie, together with a copy of Petrie’s edition of the 1184 Norman Pipe Roll, there is little at this stage to suggest any profound acquaintance with Anglo-Norman antiquities. Rather, Stapleton’s tastes seem to have been broad and to have extended to all aspects of the ‘Gothic’ past. Moreover, Rouen was merely the first stopping point on a grand tour which took him via Châteaudun, Chartres, Blois, Poitiers and Bordeaux, down to Pau and the Pyrenees and thence via Marseille to Rome. The antiquities of all of these places were of interest to Stapleton, and were immediately communicated to Gage. There are hints here that Stapleton’s previous reputation was as a valetudinarian or invalid. From Bordeaux, in August 1831, he wrote, despite ‘my usual good health’, of ‘harassing colds’, and from Marseilles he boasted that Gage ‘would have been impressed to see the debilitated invalid of Burlington Quay walking fifteen miles a day, scaling mountains near 10,000 feet high’. In Rome, where he was established throughout 1832, he was granted access to the papal archives with permission to examine the papal registers. Somewhat disappointed, he reported that the registers began only in the thirteenth century, and that their contents relating to England, in so far as the ‘miserable indexes’ would allow, had already been transcribed by the archivist, Monsignor Marini, who had recently sent his transcripts to England. There may be an element of


159 Cambridge University Library ms. Hengrave Hall 21/3/63, Stapleton to Petrie, dated at Châteaudun, 24 July 1831. Théodore (François-Isidore) Licquet (1787–1832).

160 Ibid. 21/3/70, 73, letters dated at Bordeaux and Marseilles, 10 August and 29 September 1831. Burlington Quay was a fashionable seaside resort, now absorbed into Bridlington, East Yorkshire.

161 Ibid. 21/4/139; 21/5/27, letters dated at Rome, 28 April 1832 and 27 February 1833, inter alia reporting a meeting with Gage’s nephew ‘but he is rather too green for me to get on any great footing of intimacy with him’. The nephew, Sir Thomas Gage, and his mother Lady Mary Anne were in Rome, Naples or Sicily for much of 1832–3. I have found only one reference to Stapleton in their correspondence: Bury St Edmunds, Suffolk Record Office ms. 449/515/14, in letters of Lady Mary Anne to John Gage, dated at Rome, 11 April 1833, reporting the return of the young Sir Thomas Gage from Naples and remarking ‘I very seldom see your friend Mr Stapleton’. For the Vatican archives, in the 1830s only recently returned from captivity in Paris, see O. Chadwick, Catholicism and History: The Opening of the Vatican Archives (Cambridge 1978), 22–5, 146 n.16. For the later history of English exploration of the papal registers, see J. Sayers, ‘The Vatican Archives, the Papal Registers and Great Britain and Ireland: The Foundations of Historical Research’, The Foundations of Medieval English Ecclesiastical History: Studies Presented to David Smith, ed. P. Hoskin and others (Woodbridge 2005), 194–209 and P. Zutshi, ‘The Publication of Entries in the Papal Registers Concerning Great Britain and Ireland’, Friedensnobelpreis und historische Grundlagenforschung: Ludwig Quidde und die Erschließung der kurialen Registerüberlieferung, ed. M. Matheus, Bibliothek des Deutschen Historischen Instituts in Rom cxxiv (Berlin 2012), 585–601, noting Stapleton’s letter to Gage at pp.587–8. For the 48 volumes of transcripts, for the most part from papal registers, made under the supervision of the Vatican Prefect, Monsignor Marino Marini, sent to the State Papers Office in 1829 and thence transferred to the British Museum in 1845, see BL mss. Additional 15351–15400.
exaggeration to these claims: in all probability, Stapleton never set foot inside the archives themselves, to which entry was forbidden under the most dire penalty of excommunication, and the Marini transcripts had been dispatched to London at least three years before 1832, a great deal less recently than Stapleton’s letter leads us to suppose. All of this suggests an understandable desire by a younger man, Stapleton, to impress a much older and more distinguished mentor, Gage. Merely for his visit to the archives, however, Stapleton deserves recognition as a pioneer: as perhaps the first English antiquary of modern times even to have glimpsed the early papal registers, forty years in advance of Joseph Stevenson, W.H. Bliss and their successors. In the Vatican Library, and here pointing towards his own later mastery of the Anglo-Norman past, he undoubtedly consulted an important early manuscript of Orderic Vitalis. At Orvieto, in the Cathedral archives, he transcribed a bull of Pope Gregory X relating to the murder, in 1271, of Henry of Almain, nephew of King Henry III, an incident all the more famous for its inclusion in Dante’s Inferno. In retrospect, this emerges as a momentous period in Anglo-Roman relations.

Besides Stapleton, other distinguished British visitors were in Rome in 1832–3. The ubiquitous Sir Walter Scott was there at Easter 1832, at the very end of his long career. At the very beginning of his, so was W.E. Gladstone. It was in St Peter’s Basilica, in March 1832, according to his biographer, Lord Morley, that Gladstone experienced his first conception of unity in the Church and with it the ‘pain and shame of schism which separates us from Rome’. A year later, at Easter 1833, the city was visited by two young fellows of Oriel College Oxford: Richard Hurrell Froude and John Henry Newman. Froude was hoping to see a manuscript of Thomas Becket’s letters in the Vatican library, crucial to his rediscovery, soon shared by Newman, of a community of interest between medieval English catholicism and modern Anglicanism. Dr (the later Cardinal) Wiseman, then rector of the English College in Rome and one of Stapleton’s contacts, promised Froude assistance in the Vatican collections where Wiseman himself had been appointed keeper of Arabic manuscripts. From such contacts and experiences was the Oxford Movement born.

For much of his time in Italy, Stapleton did not travel alone. His companion is not identified in his letters, but was undoubtedly his elder brother, Miles, who was still with him on the continent in the following year. An otherwise

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162 As noticed in letters to Gage of 22 December 1833: Cambridge University Library ms. Hengrave Hall 21/5/190, and for the manuscript, Vatican Regimnisis Latina 703, see Orderic, i, 121.
163 Cambridge University Library ms. Hengrave Hall 21/7/214, proposed in a letter to Gage, 8 December 1835, as suitable subject for a paper to the Antiquaries.
cryptic remark in a letter sent by Stapleton from Rome on 28 April 1832, leads to a remarkable discovery about their continental odyssey. ‘The death of Mrs Nevill’, Thomas Stapleton writes ‘and consequent return to England together with the melancholy duel by my brother, cast rather a gloom over my stay here’. A search of contemporary newspapers reveals that, in February 1832, Miles Stapleton had been challenged to a duel by a much older man, Major General Sir Lorenzo Moore (d.1837), an army officer with a distinguished record of service in the West Indies. Stapleton had been engaged to marry Moore’s daughter, but when she herself broke off the engagement, had penned a satirical poem on the subject. This had somehow come into the father’s hands. Verse, of a not entirely amateur order, was one of Miles Stapleton’s pursuits: his Godesberg Castle (1829) is a highly romanticized and bloodthirsty exploration, somewhat after the school of Scott, of the remorse attending the last hours of an apostate archbishop of Cologne converted to Lutheranism in order that he might marry his true love. The poem on Teresina Moore led her father to call Stapleton out. In the ensuing duel, fought on Wimbledon Common on 13 February, Stapleton refused to fire. Moore discharged his pistol, seriously wounding Stapleton, and as a result of witnesses having observed the shots from a passing coach, was committed to Guildford gaol, being released on recognizances of £4000, once Stapleton himself showed signs of recovering from his wounds.

Miles Stapleton’s novel, Paynell, or the Disappointed Man, published in two volumes in 1837, is an odd blend of the exoticism of Beckford and the romantic ‘Bildungsroman’ strain of Bulwer Lytton’s Ernest Maltravers (published that same year). Here chivalry, opium, divorce, Catholicism, gambling and Mediterranean travel all rub shoulders with only a vague semblance of a plot and amidst an overriding assumption that anyone below the dignity of a peer must be either an unspeakable tuft-hunter or an unmentionable drudge. The book’s anti-hero, Lord Paynell (named, of course, after the medieval barons who had preceded the Stapletons as lords of Drax), enjoys a rather different fate, shooting dead his opponent, De Wroth, in a duel fought over a lady’s honour. There was an aftermath to the real-life duel, which sheds further light on Thomas Stapleton’s antiquarian interests. Having jilted Miles Stapleton, Teresina Moore went on to marry, on 1 January 1834, the Reverend Samuel Lysons (1806–1877) of Hempsted Court, Gloucestershire, himself the son of the antiquary Daniel Lysons (1762–1834) and nephew of Samuel Lysons (1763–1819), antiquary and topographer who from 1804 had served as predecessor to Henry Petrie as

166 Cambridge University Library ms. Hengrave Hall 21/4/139.
167 For Moore and the duel, see the obituary of Moore in The Gentleman’s Magazine, n.s. vii (June 1837), 658–9, noting that Moore had entered the army in 1787 which would suggest that he was at least thirty years older than Miles Stapleton; J.G. Millingen, The History of Duelling (London 1841), ii, 321–3; J. Loose, Duels and Duelling. Affairs of Honour around the Wandsworth Area (Wandsworth 1983), 15 (which contains the only account of the cause of the dispute yet found, but unreferenced). The Stapleton affair of 1832 came less than three years after the notorious duel between the Duke of Wellington and Lord Winchilsea fought in 1829.
Keeper of the records in the Tower of London. Teresina’s decision to jilt a Catholic, Miles Stapleton, in order to marry an Anglican priest, might suggest a religious dimension to the affair. What is beyond doubt is that, via his elder brother’s engagement and subsequent duel, Thomas Stapleton enjoyed yet another link, albeit a scandalously unexpected one, to the inner circles of the Society of Antiquaries and to that well-connected group of dilettantes who, over the previous few decades, had done so much to revive historical research in England. When Miles Stapleton did eventually marry, in 1844, his bride was herself not a Catholic but an Anglican, Isabella Anne Browne, daughter of the 3rd Lord Kilmaine. Writing to his sister to announce the engagement, Lord Beaumont laid great stress upon the distinction of the Browne family descent, but made no mention at all of his bride’s religion. As for his brother, he declared that he would have written to Thomas to inform him were he sure of the postal service, but ‘I do not think he will regret my determination as he is very comfortably off and a determined bachelor’.  

Although in general a supporter of the Reform Act, whilst abroad Stapleton was prompted by reports of a ‘foolish’ speech by Lord Shrewsbury to hope that Reform’s ‘too democratical elements can be modified’. He was nonetheless shocked by the taxation imposed by the Roman church and by the raising of the duty on salt which “grinds the lower orders”. There are symptoms here of that dissatisfaction with papal rule that was to lead Stapleton’s brother to break with the Church, and in the late 1840s to attack not only the ‘degrading despotism of an ecclesiastical government’ but the entire principle by which central Italy was subjected to Pius IX and his combined spiritual and temporal rule. In Rome, Stapleton conferred with Dr (the future Cardinal) Wiseman, studied Vitruvius and considered the possibility, having already toured the Abruzzi and having visited Naples and Sicily, of extending his horizons to Greece, where King Otto had

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168 For biographies of Samuel (d.1877), known as ‘Canon Lysons’, and of his father and uncle, see ODNB. Teresina was christened Eliza Sophia, but seems to have been known only by her third name. Besides the Lysons’ antiquarian manuscripts, now in the BL (noted in ODNB), there is a substantial correspondence collected by their family, now at Gloucester, Gloucestershire Record Office D8460.  
169 Hull History Centre, University Archives ms. DDCA2/52/21, Lord Beaumont to his sister Catherine, 20 August 1844. The marriage settlement is dated 7 September 1844: Ibid. DDCA3/12/1. For the religious difficulties that were to arise after Lord Beaumont’s death in 1854, see above p.28.  
170 For remarks on Reform and on the perilous state of Roman finances presided over by the ‘odious Bernetti’ (Tommaso Bernetti (1779–1852), reactionary Secretary of State to Pope Gregory XVI), see Cambridge University Library ms. Hengrave Hall 21/3/28; 21/4/139; 21/5/27, letters of 18 March 1831, 28 April 1832 and 27 February 1833.  
171 See here the published remarks of Miles Stapleton, Lord Beaumont, Austria and Central Italy (London 1849), at p.22 commenting, in the aftermath of the revolutions of 1848, on a Pope (Pio Nono) who ‘mixes so much comedy with tragedy, that it is a question whether, even in the Catholic world, more will not laugh than weep over it’. It was his outspoken criticism of the use of force on behalf of the papacy that led to the rejection of Prince Albert’s proposals that Miles Stapleton be appointed special go-between with Rome: J.P. Flint, Great Britain and the Holy See: The Diplomatic Relations Question, 1846–1852 (Washington D.C. 2003), 160, 265 n.204.
recently been crowned, less than a decade after the Greek adventures of Lord Byron. In the event, he returned, via the distinctly less adventurous pleasure-gardens of Baden, to Paris, where he was established by September 1833. By this time, his sights clearly were set upon a detailed enquiry into Anglo-Norman history, to which end he obtained letters of introduction to Auguste Le Prévost from the antiquary and continental traveller Lord Arundell (1785–1834). In Paris, he is to be found reading the Memoirs of the House of Russell by Wiffen, who ‘holds out a most encouraging prospect to all who follow in the same track’. By 9 October he was at Rouen, determined at this stage to complete a history of the manor of Drax in Yorkshire, for which it was essential that he trace evidences of the Norman family of Painel of Hambye and Drax. Drax (now the site of one of the largest and ugliest power stations in northern Europe), lies within a bowshot of the Stapleton house at Carlton. It was from Rouen, on 2 December 1833, that Stapleton sent by far the longest and most interesting of his reports to Gage. For six weeks he had toured the archives of Lower Normandy, copying deeds of the Painel family and of the Gournays, ‘to add a page to my friend, Daniel Gurney’s apocryphal book’ (i.e. to Gurney’s Record of the House of Gournay, of which publication did not in fact begin for a further fifteen years). He had stayed with de Gerville at Valognes and had been allowed to make extracts from the cartularies of Savigny and St-Sauveur-le-Vicomte and from a ‘bad copy’ of the Painel charters from the lost cartulary of Hambye. His report of this visit to de Gerville is worth quoting in extenso:

‘M(onsieur) de G(erville) is one of the most hospitable and kindest of men, but so irritable that he cannot endure the slightest contradiction, and obstinate in error. The great merit is his topographical knowledge. He knows almost every acre of ground in the department … He has a few English works in his library, and blindly follows their dictums’.

It is interesting to compare this judgement with de Gerville’s own, much kinder opinion of Stapleton, forwarded to Gage in 1835, after all three men had at last met. Gerville was as much charmed as annoyed by Stapleton’s youth and opinions, and extremely impressed with him both as a scholar and as an authority on Latin charters:

172 Cambridge University Library ms. Hengrave Hall 21/5/27.
173 Ibid. 21/5/147, letters dated at Paris, 15 September 1833. His copy of Wiffen’s Memoirs is still in the library at Carlton Towers.
174 Ibid. 21/5/156, ‘I employ my leisure here in exploring the cartularies in the library, noting down everything relating to England and the early Anglo-Norman barons’.
175 Ibid. 21/5/179, for this and what follows.
176 Various of his transcripts from Gerville’s copy of Hambye evidences are still preserved in his Norman note-book at Carlton Towers. See also letters of de Gerville to Gage, 13 February 1835, Ibid. 21/7/35, reporting de Gerville’s recent acquisition of a cartulary of the leper hospital of the Hôtel-Dieu at La Haye-Pesnel ‘bien moins important et bien moins volumineux que ceux dont Mr Stapleton a fait des extraits chez moi’.
177 Ibid. 21/7/35, de Gerville to Gage, 13 February 1835.
‘Notre compagnon de voyage, M(onsieur) Stapleton, a passé probablement le tem(p)s des élections au sein de sa famille. Je ne sais pas s’il a le projet de revenir en France. Il est difficile d’avoir plus d’habilité qu’il n’en a pour explorer les anciennes chartres (*sic*) et ce qu’il y a de plus précieux, c’est qu’il a une grande habitude de lire avec des yeux excellents. Il joint l’amour du travail et la persévérance à une sagacité et une mémoire parfaites (*sic*). Si quelquefois il visait trop à l’infaillibilité, ce qui arrive trop souvent à son âge, il n’aurait besoin que d’un guide comme vous pour devenir parfait. Depuis quelques années les personnes qui sont dans l’âge le plus agréable de tous, le printemps de la vie, se persuadent trop facilement qu’ils peuvent porter en même tem(p)s les fruits. C’en est trop à la fois. S’il y a quelques personnes auxquelles cela arrive ce sont des exceptions rares, des ‘pauci quos aequus amavit Jupiter aut ardens evexit ad aethera virtus’;178 avec vous, M(onsieur) Stapleton peut y arriver. D’ailleurs, il va bientôt arriver insensiblement à la saison. Ici, en faisant place aux fruits, les fleurs n’ont pas encore tout a fait disparu’.

Stapleton might aim too much and too hastily at perfection, but in de Gerville’s opinion, with Gage’s guidance, he would master his materials before ever losing the first flush of youth. The generosity of this testimonial, from a man whose memory stretched back long before the Revolution of 1789, gives some indication of de Gerville’s charm and his importance as a mentor, of Cotman in the 1820s as of the young Léopold Delisle, the greatest of his protégés, two decades later.

At Cherbourg in 1833, Stapleton found no manuscripts worthy of notice, but at St-Lô, ‘I litterally (*sic*) dug out of the disorderly masses of papers several valuable charters relating to the Paynells, a seal of Paynell impaling Bertram (unique) and the cartulary of the English priory of Lodres, dependent upon Montbourg, which I copied nearly all’. At Bayeux, where he had ‘the richest treat’ – the cathedral cartulary (now known as the ‘Livre Noir’) – he was able to make use of his family connections. The cathedral library and its treasures, including the cartularies of Bayeux, Longues, Cordillon and Mondaye, was ‘strictly private and extremely difficult of access’. The bishop, however, had been in England, at Old Hall Green, where he had worked under Stapleton’s uncle, Bishop Gregory Stapleton, at the Catholic college of St Edmund established in Hertfordshire following its evacuation from Douai, after 1793.179 As a result all doors were opened; the librarian, the Abbé Guerin, allowed Stapleton free run of the library, and Stapleton stayed for fifteen days. It was at this juncture that he was first introduced to the Abbé de la Rue. Contrary to the reports of other Englishmen, and contrary to his own less than flattering opinion of the

179 Gregory Stapleton (1748–1802), Vicar Apostolic of the Midland District of England and titular bp of Hierocaesarea from 1800 until his death.
much more accommodating de Gerville, Stapleton was entirely charmed by the old abbé:

‘I got acquainted with that literary giant of Caen. Though past his 80th year, his memory is of yesterday, his knowledge of the chroniclers and bards of the Middle Ages perfectly astounding, his collections immense. In fine, to sum up all, I learnt more from him during the few hours I conversed with him at the Château of Cambes than I have been able to glean from the other antiquaries in days and weeks. Unfortunately, age has made the Abbé extremely suspicious – those that have suffered under the lash of his satire accuse him of purloining from the public archives. This accusation, I am afraid in some measure true, has caused him to seal up his vast collections from the eyes of the world. He told me himself that he possessed the cartularies of St Etienne, St Barbe Desert, the “parvum cartularium” of Bayeux and a copy by Langevin himself of the MSS. I have spoken of above [the cathedral customal]. Add to this innumerable loose charters and the collections of Dom. Lenoir in eighty cartoons (recte cartons), copies of documents long since swept away by the whirlwind of the Revolution. He, however, obligingly transcribed from the originals two Paynell charters, one of the utmost importance as it is the only document which identifies the Paynells of Fontenay-Paisnel and Moutiers Hubert with the Paynells of West Rasen in Lincolnshire, which you may remember our visiting together’.

In the library and the archives at Caen, Stapleton was assisted by another local antiquary significant in the history of Anglo-Norman scholarship, Léchaudé d’Anisy, but expressed his suspicion that poor Latin would undermine whatever merits Léchaudé’s Extrait from the archives of Calvados, then passing through the press, might possess. Léchaudé was by this time chiefly engaged in transcribing Anglo-Norman evidences for the English Record Commission. Stapleton meanwhile was considering a history of the Domesday tenants in chief: ‘I have, since my late excursions, vast materials for such a history – but Drax must have precedence’.

Re-established in Rouen, he read the cartularies of St-Georges-de-Boscherville and of the hospital of St-Gilles de Pont-Audemer, both in the municipal library at Rouen. In the St-Gilles cartulary, he came across an early Anglo-Norman translation of Magna Carta, whose significance he drew to the attention both of Gage and of the local antiquary, Achille Deville. He had, indeed, stumbled across a most important document, whose publication was to be delayed a further 140 years until J.C. Holt edited it for the English Historical Review in 1974.

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180 Ibid. 21/5/179. Throughout, this letter has been scribbled over with pencil notes and ‘et ceteras’ by Gage, replacing the more controversial passages, perhaps with a thought to publishing it, suitably censored, for the Antiquaries.

181 Ibid. 21/5/190, letters from Rouen, 22 December 1833.

in the Rouen archives, for Daniel Gurney, from the fonds of Beaubec and Clairissel, and expressed a desire to contribute to the newly initiated *Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica* from his collection of Norman transcripts ‘which regard England and which is fast swelling to thousands’. At the recommendation of Le Prévost, he was also preparing to ask the Marquis de Blosseville’s permission to make copies from the cartulary of St-Pierre-de-Préaux, then still in private hands. Two other cartularies, of Fécamp, were reported to be in private custody, but of these we hear no more. The discovery of so many Gournay deeds with a connection to Beauvais inspired Stapleton to seek an introduction so that he might consult the archives départementales de l’Oise. As he wrote to Gage, ‘My antiquarian mania absorbs me quite’. ¹⁸³ In February the following year, he returned to Paris, lodging in the most fashionable part of town, at 7 rue de la Paix. From here, he set out on forays to the Bibliothèque du roi (now the Bibliothèque nationale), to take transcripts from the registers of Philip Augustus (themselves not as yet transferred to the Archives nationales), from various Norman manuscripts, including the cartulary of La Trinité at Caen, and from Gaignières’ transcripts of Mont-St-Michel charters. ¹⁸⁴ Not all was drudgery — ‘I cannot deliver myself from temptation and I lead rather a dissipated life, playing whist etc half the night’¹⁸⁵ — but, by April, he had also penetrated the Archives nationales, exploring the seals in the Trésor des Chartes and, again with great precocity, noting their significance as evidence for the early emergence of heraldry.¹⁸⁶ A plan by his father to visit Paris had to be abandoned, and for the future of the Orleanist monarchy he was less than optimistic, predicting ‘the French population are too well versed in the trade of arms to be long quiet – here every shop-boy knows how to handle a musket’.¹⁸⁷ By July, however, now established with his brother, Miles, and his cousin, Lord William Fitzgerald, at Dieppe, he could look forward to a meeting with Gage, who at last had agreed upon a joint tour of Norman antiquities.¹⁸⁸ The tour itself was planned with


¹⁸⁴ Ibid. 21/6/43; 21/6/65, letters of 5 March and 13 April 1834.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid. 21/6/43, also expressing thanks to Gage for Stapleton’s election to the Athenaeum ‘and for the diplomatic skill with which you wheedled the governor (Stapleton’s father) into paying the entrance fees. I have written to him to express my deep sense of his kindness. I trust we shall have many a snug dinner together there to discuss our Norman tour’.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid. 21/6/65, 80, 97, 126, letters of 13 and 30 April, 18 May and 18 June 1834, reporting, *inter alia*, on negotiations to procure copies of Britania medals in the Bibliothèque royale and on a seal of Arthur of Brittany, at that time the romantic hero of the black legend of King John. For seals as an early source for the history of heraldry, see A. Ailes, ‘Heraldry in Twelfth-Century England: The Evidence’, *England in the Twelfth Century*, ed. D. Williams (Woodbridge 1990), 1–16.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid. 21/6/80, Stapleton to Gage, 30 April 1834, less than two years after the Parisian uprising of June 1832 that forms the climax of Victor Hugo’s *Les Misérables*.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid. 21/6/144, letters of 15 July 1834. As early as May, de Gerville was anticipating a visit from Gage: Ibid. 21/6/90, letters of 7 May 1834 including de Gerville’s memories of his time in Suffolk as an emigré during the 1790s, and cf. 21/7/189, Gage to de Gerville, 20 October
meticulous care, and was intended to take in an extraordinary number of places and archives, from Rouen, via Pont-Audemer, Bec, Lisieux, Moutiers-Hubert (‘berceau’ of the Painel family of Drax), Falaise, Caen, Bayeux, Carentan, Valognes (to stay with de Gerville, who could arrange excursions to Briquebec, Cherbourg and Barfleur), St-Lô, Coutances, Hambye, Avranches, Mont-St-Michel, Mortain, Domfront, Alençon, Sées, Verneuil, Evreux, Vernon, returning to Rouen via Château-Gaillard. 189 For anyone who in the late twentieth or early twenty-first century has made their own exploration of the Norman past via Norman archives, Stapleton’s enthusiasm and stamina are not only remarkable but touching reminders that we tread a path long trod. In the summer of 1834, less than fifty years after the great Norman monasteries, chief source of our archival and archaeological evidences, welcomed their last visitors, Stapleton and Gage embarked upon their great excursion. They undoubtedly visited de Gerville at Valognes, de la Rue at Caen, and by early October were in Rouen. 190 At some point they met Auguste Le Prévost, who in the following year is to be found not only seeking the remembrance of ‘notre infatigable ami, Monsieur Stapleton’, but recommending to Gage the young Prosper Mérimée, appointed Inspecteur général des Monuments historiques, and recently returned from the first of his famous ‘Voyages’ in which he set out to record the scandalously neglected architectural antiquities of France. 191 Unfortunately, so far as our knowledge of Stapleton is concerned, the reunion between Stapleton and Gage, and Stapleton’s return to England, where he was established by December 1834, put an end to any more lengthy correspondence. 192 Absence not only makes the heart grow fonder but the pen run more easily. Proximity, by contrast, has an annoying tendency to stifle the written word.

Thus far, there is nothing to suggest that Stapleton had any particular intention of editing Norman Pipe Rolls. Rather his interests appear to have embraced all aspects of the Anglo-Norman past. His one surviving

1834, disputing de Gerville’s reliance upon the notes of an antiquary for details of Coutances cathedral that were still to be seen. 189 Itinerary proposed by Stapleton in letters of 17 July 1834: Ibid. 21/6/146, noting that Gage had already visited Fécamp and Upper Normandy. 190 Ibid. 21/6/111, Gerville to Gage, 2 October, clearly 1835, although filed together with correspondence of the previous year. For their visit to de la Rue, see letters of de la Rue to Gage, 13 October and 21 November 1834, referring to presentation copies of de la Rue’s recent work, entrusted for presentation to Lord Aberdeen and the Duke of Bedford: Ibid. 21/6/187, 194. 191 Ibid. 21/7/107, Le Prévost to Gage, 9 May 1835, recommending Mérimée as bearer of the present letters, ‘l’un de nos jeunes savants les plus distingués et les plus zélés’. For Mérimée’s ‘Voyages’, the first undertaken to the Midi between August and December 1834, followed by a brief visit to London in May 1835, see Prosper Mérimée, Notes de voyages, ed. P.–M. Auzas (Dijon-Quetigny 2003). 192 Cambridge University Library ms. Hengrave Hall 21/6/215, letters sent from The Grove, 23 December 1834, inter alia reporting Stapleton’s access to a Wardrobe account for the year 14 Edward II, then in private hands, subsequently published by Stapleton, from the collection of Joseph Hunton of Richmond, as ‘A Brief Summary of the Wardrobe Accounts of the Tenth, Eleventh and Fourteenth Years of King Edward the Second’, Archaeologia, xxvi (1836), 318–45.
Norman note-book, today preserved in his family home of Carlton Towers, together with his extraordinary collection of printed books, still constituting the bulk of the Carlton Towers library, testifies to an interest in the family histories of the Anglo-Norman baronage rather than to any narrow specialization in the Norman Pipe Rolls. Beginning with transcripts from the cartularies of Préaux and Fontevraud, which he had borrowed as early as 1830 from Sir Thomas Phillipps, the surviving notebook (which can represent only a tiny fraction of the evidences which Stapleton transcribed) is divided thereafter into a series of entries, for the most part arranged parish by parish for lower Normandy, detailing the families who had held these lands after 1066, often with extensive transcripts from Norman charters, in some cases from familiar sources, in others from manuscripts, including original deeds at St-Lô, that have long since disappeared. Phillipps, of course, had for many years been travelling on the continent in search of manuscripts, occasionally printing items from his collection. Indeed it may even have been Phillipps who, unwittingly, inspired Stapleton’s decision to edit the Norman Pipe Rolls, since it was from Phillipps, apparently in August 1830, that Stapleton seems first to have borrowed Petrie’s privately printed edition of the Pipe Roll fragment of 1184. As we have seen, Stapleton was employing

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193 The library of several thousand printed books, including most of the standard antiquarian and historical reference works for Anglo-Norman history published before 1850, often with presentation inscriptions from fellow antiquaries, is the object of a valuable though necessarily skeletal typescript catalogue by Clive and Jane Wainwright, John Martin Robinson and others, compiled in the 1990s. I am indebted to Lord Gerald Fitzalan Howard and to his Estate Administrator, Mrs Pat Meanwell, for my access to the library at Carlton Towers and for much other assistance.

194 Carlton Towers Library mss. Notebooks (library reference 2J), one of four notebooks in large octavo, the other three being dedicated to Yorkshire transcripts, with a further notebook of Anglo-Norman pedigrees, small octavo (library reference 19D). For Phillipps’ loan of the cartularies of Préaux, Fontevraud and St-Florent-lès-Saumur in January-February 1830, see Oxford, Bodleian Library ms. Phillipps-Robinson c.471 (Middle Hill Loan Book) fo.84r–v. These cartularies are today all in the Bnf, mss. nouv.acq.latines 1929 (Préaux), 1930 (St-Florent) and 2414 (Fontevraud) (Stein nos 1390, 3084, 3404). For their acquisition by Phillipps and their eventual return to Paris, see below p.78.

195 See, for example, the anonymous Kentish antiquary who in 1836, inspired by Sir Thomas Phillipps’ printing of various early charters from St-Bertin’s purchased at Calais, ‘at once started for St Omer in the hopes of discovering further traces of these treasures’, returning with extensive copies from the St-Bertin’s transcripts in the local Bibliothèque Municipale: ‘Notes from the Chartulary of the Abbey of St Bertin’, Archaeologia Cantiana, iv (1861), 203–19, inspired by Phillipps’ paper, first read to the Antiquaries in 1832, recounting his recent purchase at Calais of three early St Bertin’s deeds, including an original bull of Adrian IV for St Omer, March 1157: T. Phillipps, ‘Charters Relative to the Priory of Truegh in Kent’, Archaeologia, xxi (1834), 146–50. The bull (J–L 10133, formerly Phillipps ms. 35828) is today Manchester, John Rylands Library ms. Phillipps Charter 24. The other originals printed in 1834 remain untraced.

196 Oxford, Bodleian Library ms. Phillipps-Robinson c.623 fo.122r–v, Stapleton to Phillipps, thanking him for the loan of Baker’s Northamptonshire, and continuing ‘I would thank you to lend me Petrie’s Rot. Normannorum to look at, if you are not occupied with it’, followed by a note from Phillipps ‘Sent the Norman Roll printed by Petrie who gave it to me’. The letter is dated Tuesday 24 August, without specifying the year. However, within the possible span of dates, 24 August fell on a Tuesday only in 1830, 1841 and 1847. By 1841, Stapleton had already completely re-edited Petrie.
further copies of Petrie’s edition as diplomatic gifts in Normandy, as early as July 1831. The proposal that he himself edit Pipe Roll material was not, however, broached until December 1835, and its chief movers were not Phillipps or Stapleton but Gage and, rather surprisingly, Frederick Devon (1800–1858), clerk of the Chapter House at Westminster Abbey and inveterate opponent of Sir Francis Palgrave in the great convulsions that shook the Record Commission later in the 1830s. Writing to Gage on 8 December that year, Stapleton set out his intention:

‘In your letter, you mention that Mr Devon had asked you whether you thought I should be inclined to edit the Norman Pipe Roll. I conceive the duties of an editor would have this extent, viz. the writing of the preface, the collating of the text, footnotes and indexes. In the preface should be an account of the roll itself and of the Norman Exchequer, accurate details defining the modern limits of the ancient territorial divisions of Normandy, the bailiwicks, honours etc and notice how far the nature of the feudal tenures and services are exemplified by the roll and how far it is corroborative of the received opinions of the French writers, Brussel, La Roque, Houard; a particularizing of the new facts, if any, learnt from the roll itself respecting persons and places of historic interest. The foot-notes should merely contain such contemporary notices as may serve to identify the individual named in the text as an active partizan or in official employ. In the index of names of places, the modern name when it can be ascertained should be appended, and the same will apply to local surnames. And perhaps as an appendix it would be advisable to print the “Feoda Normannia” from the original registers of Philip Augustus in the Bibliothèque du Roi and of which I have a copy. The two documents would present a perfect view of the division of estates amongst the Anglo-Normans, and of the extent of the forfeitures consequent upon the conquest of Philip Augustus. If this view is in accordance with Mr Devon’s, I should have no objection to sacrifice my time to the advancement of my favorite object of enquiry, viz. the elucidation of the history of our Anglo-Norman baronage’.

197 Cambridge University Library ms. Hengrave Hall 21/3/63, Stapleton to Petrie, dated at Châteaudun, 24 July 1831.
198 Frederick Devon, clerk of the Chapter House from 1819, having entered the service of the records together with his brother Charles, under the patronage of Caley and with support from the Treasury. Editor of Issue Rolls and Pell Rolls (1835–7), and author of a published letter of 1832 defending the Record Commissioners against charges laid by Francis Palgrave (Deputy Keeper of the Records 1838–61). Threatened with dismissal under the upheavals of 1838, but eventually promoted Assistant Keeper 1840–1858. For his career, see Cantwell, Public Record Office, esp. 22–3, 48–9, 80–1, 116–17, 124–5, 189–90, 572.
199 Brussel, author of the Nouvel examen de l’usage général des fiefs en France, 2 vols (Paris 1727); Gilles-André de La Roque (1598–1686), author of the Histoire généalogique de la maison de Harcourt, 4 vols (Paris 1662), and David Houard (1725–1802), chief authority on the Coutume de Normandie.
200 Cambridge University Library ms. Hengrave Hall 21/7/214, letter of 8 December 1835.
The programme elucidated here, apart from the excerpts out of the registers of Philip Augustus, was almost precisely that which Stapleton brought to fruition a decade later. Clearly it met with the approval of the Society of Antiquaries, since on 20 December 1835, Stapleton wrote to Gage to express his delight at the Society’s acceptance of his proposal.201 At this stage, he can have had very little idea of the extent of the task to which he had committed himself. In particular, during these first exchanges he appears to have envisaged little more than an edition of one of the Pipe Rolls of Richard I’s reign, to complement that of 1184 already printed by Petrie.202 It was only as the exploration of the public records led to the discovery of further manuscripts that Stapleton began to appreciate the need to do rather more than edit one or two rolls. By February 1836, he was writing to Gage:

‘As I am engaged in collating the Norman Pipe Roll, I am anxious to submit to the Council the propriety of printing at the same time the other rolls of the same description preserved in the Chapter House. I find from Sir Francis Palgrave that those of two of the years of Henry II are entire, and both together will not exceed the single one of Richard. There are also a few detached fragments of other rolls which it would be desirable to have preserved, so that the whole may appear together’.203

From 1835, Stapleton proceeded with dogged determination. In recovering what today still represents the vast majority of the surviving Norman Exchequer accounts, he was, as he himself confessed, put to great trouble. The Norman Exchequer evidences, like the national archives in general, were still for the most part unsorted, being physically divided between deposits still lodged at the Tower, at the Chapter House of Westminster Abbey and at the Pell Office under the custody of the Comptroller General of the Exchequer.204 At the precise moment that Stapleton began work, the Records Commission experienced one of those budgetary convulsions to which public bodies are all too prone, succumbing at last to the extravagance of its Secretary, Charles Cooper, and to the pamphlet war to which Cooper’s extravagance had given rise. The outcome here was the Public Record Office Act of 1838, and the first attempts both to centralize the records and to place them under a single management.205 The chaos of

201 Ibid. 21/7/221: ‘I feel infinitely flattered at the prospect of my name appearing as the editor of so curious and valuable a document as the Norman Pipe Roll on behalf of so learned a society as that of the Antiquaries and I trust I shall not prove unequal to the task. I am glad you approve of my views as to the manner of editing it, but I presume that it will be subject of discussion at the Council when I return to town’.

202 Publication of the Richard I Pipe Rolls is all that is envisaged in Le Prévost’s notice of the scheme, in a letter to Gage, 6 March 1836, wishing Stapleton well and for the speedy recovery of his father from illness: Ibid. 21/8/32.

203 Ibid. 21/8/21, letters of 27 February 1836.

204 As noted by Stapleton, MRSN, i, pp.iv–v.

205 The original Records Commission established in 1800 lapsed in 1830 on the death of George IV. Its successor, established in 1831, responsible for some of the most important work yet
this period, during which the records were only slowly and painfully being removed to the new Public Record Office, can still be recaptured from the correspondence of the Office’s early keepers.206 Here, amidst complaints of the indolence and low morals of a staff working in the aftermath of the poisonous personal disputes of 1836 and in conditions of such squalor that a single water-closet served the needs of the thirty-five inmates of Carlton Ride, we find that the records themselves were in constant peril from fire and theft. In 1843, just as the second volume of Stapleton’s edition of Norman Pipe Rolls was passing through the press, an entire series of fourteenth and fifteenth-century English Exchequer Issue Rolls was put up for auction, having apparently been ‘removed’ from the Pell Office to Petrie’s library and thence to the sale rooms after his death.207 More disastrously still, in the late 1830s, Frederick Devon, clerk of the Chapter House at Westminster and chief instigator of the plan that Stapleton edit the Norman Rolls, became embroiled in scandal, when it was discovered that a London fishmonger had been permitted to buy up Exchequer records from Somerset House, carted off as waste at £8 the ton.208

From 1835 onwards, no doubt as a result of their regular personal reunions, the correspondence between Stapleton and Gage dwindles to a mere trickle, with virtually nothing recorded of progress on the Norman Rolls.209 These were difficult years for Stapleton in more senses than one. His father seems to have entered a long period of invalidity, so that Thomas and his brothers were required to maintain permanent attendance on him, keeping watch over his consumption of wine and fearing for recurrent bouts of ‘dangerous excitability’, first at their house, The Grove, near Richmond, then at Carlton to which the family had returned by June 1839, only a few months before his father’s death.210 Not all was gloom. In December 1836, Stapleton carried out on early chancery and Exchequer records, fell victim to a pamphlet war and in 1836 to the attentions of a Select Committee of the House of Commons, by which the commissioners were accused, often unfairly, of both shoddy work and excessive expense. For an overview here, and for various of the pamphlets and official reports, see Cantwell, ‘The 1838 Public Record Office Act’, 277–86; Letters from Eminent Historical Writers Relating to the Publications of the Board of Commissioners on the Public Records (London 1836, the BL copy, printed books T2098, bound up with much other related material); Report from the Select Committee on the Record Commission (London 1836); D.M. Stenton, ‘The Pipe Rolls and the Historians, 1600–1883’, Cambridge Historical Journal, x part 3 (1952), 271–92, esp. 288–92.

206 TNA PRO 1/1ff, used extensively by Cantwell, Public Record Office.
207 For the water-closet, see a letter of Henry Cole: TNA PRO 1/7 correspondence of 3 October 1843. For the sale of Issue Rolls by Fletcher’s of Piccadilly, see Ibid. letters and insertions of 14 March 1843. For earlier losses, see TNA PRO 1/121/1.
209 A brief exception here occurs in letters of 28 November 1836, where Stapleton asks Gage to forward transcripts from the 1180 Pipe Roll to de Gerville: Cambridge University Library ms. Hengrave Hall 21/8/169. In July 1835, Stapleton was looking forward to visits to Norfolk and then Bonn, according to a letter to John Gough Nichols, 18 July 1835, now in private hands, drawn to my attention by Julian Pooley.
210 For reports on his father’s health, see Cambridge, University Library ms. Hengrave Hall, 21/7/221 (‘... the wine and other stimulants have not produced any dangerous excitability’); 21/8/17, 169, 179; 21/9/13 (‘another stroke’, 4 February 1839); 21/11/104. There is a portrait
Norman Charters from English Sources

reported hunting in Yorkshire: ‘I was out with the hounds for the first time yesterday, and today I feel both stiff and sore, but I love the sport’. In the same year, he was planning a trip to Worcester, where Joseph Hunter asked him to search out evidences of Shakespeare’s grandmother. In 1839 he reported a prolonged stay his brother Miles had made at Buxton, where he was forced into regular encounters with Mrs Fitzherbert (d. March 1837), Catholic kinswoman of John Gage and wife/mistress to the late King George IV: ‘He says she never uttered a wise or true thing the livelong day’. Nonetheless, his forced exile in Yorkshire clearly dragged, with Stapleton admitting his desire to ‘return to the antiquarian society, club dinners, lovely women etc of the big city’. Again, in June 1839, there are touches of gallantry in his correspondence with Gage, his ‘worthy mentor’, who was reminded ‘Should you ever meet my fair one in your rides, pray let me have a dispatch to tell me how she looks’.

Later that year, Gage and Stapleton made a further joint expedition to France, their second since 1834, a visit to Normandy in the summer of 1836 having left few traces. Their 1839 tour is recorded in a surviving pocket book kept by Gage. Departing from Dover, on 9 August 1839, they travelled via Calais, Boulogne and Abbeville to Rouen, where:

‘Monsieur Deville explained to us the finding of the statue of Richard I in the sanctuary of the cathedral and the heart of the king in a leaden sarcophagus let into the base of one of the columns. He also showed us some of the powder or dust of the heart which was wrapped in red silk of which some little portions remained’.

Leaving Rouen on 21 August, they travelled via Pont-Audemer and Honfleur to Caen, where they met Léchaudé d’Anisy, and from where they pressed on for Bayeux and Valognes, for a further visit to Monsieur de Gerville. Thence, via Lessay, Coutances and the Bibliothèque at Avranches, of Thomas the elder (d.1839) still at Carlton Towers, showing a balding man in middle-age, apparently painted by no very distinguished hand. In the past this has sometimes been mistaken for Thomas the younger, the antiquary, of whom, in fact, no likeness seems to survive.

Ibid. 21/8/179.

Ibid. 21/8/46, Hunter to Stapleton, 30 March 1836.

Ibid. 21/9/13, Stapleton to Gage, 4 February 1839. Mrs FitzHerbert was the widow of Thomas FitzHerbert of Swynnerton (d.1781) who, by a previous marriage, was father to Gage’s mother.

Ibid. 21/9/13.

Ibid. 21/11/104, Stapleton to Gage, 12 June 1839, and for the address as ‘mentor’, see 21/8/179.

For the 1836 tour, see letters of Achille Deville to Gage, 29 September 1836, regretting that he had not been in Rouen to greet Gage that summer and referring to transcripts of charters sent to Stapleton at Calais: Ibid. 21/8/160, and cf. Ibid. 21/8/169, 179, Stapleton to Gage 28 November and 15 December 1836, referring to recent discussions with de Gerville. It was almost certainly the 1836 tour which led to Stapleton’s acquisition of his own collection of original Norman charters: below pp.79-83

Bury St Edmunds, Suffolk Record Office 449/5/18.
they passed into Brittany in early September, touring the province from east to west and visiting an extraordinary number of historical sites, including St-Malo, St-Brieuc, Morlaix, Brest, Quimper, Carnac, and the islands of the Morbihan. Their tour included both St-Gildas-de-Rhuys and Le Pallet, associated with the growing legend of Peter Abelard, and Gage expressed himself particularly impressed with the ruins of the abbey of Quimperlé, which perhaps helps to explain Stapleton’s acquisition of the original manuscript of the Quimperlé cartulary. Leaving Nantes on 30 September, they travelled up the Loire to Angers, Saumur, Fontevraud (which they found being employed as the regional prison and where they were shown the Plantagenet tombs), Tours, Marmoutier, and thence to Blois, Orléans, Chartres and Paris, where they seem to have remained from mid-October until 11 November, working for part of the time in the Bibliothèque du roi. They reached Calais, en route for England, on 18 November, having in the previous week toured Brussels and, on 15 November, visited the battlefield of Waterloo (which Gage had first visited in 1815, only a few days after the battle itself). Gage’s pocket book exhibits a particular concern with three themes: the travellers’ regular attendance at Sunday mass, their financial arrangements, and above all their exploration of the physical remains of the Gothic, especially the monastic or ecclesiastical past. There is also some reference to women: to the Breton peasant girls, for example, who, like Thomas Hardy’s *Woodlanders* (1887), came to market to sell their hair.

This is almost the last that we hear of Stapleton’s dealings with Gage. Their correspondence dries up entirely in April 1841, after a final missive reporting the engraving of the map for Stapleton’s Pipe Roll edition. Gage’s death, the following year, shuts off our chief insight into Stapleton’s research. Meanwhile, a fragmentary correspondence between Stapleton and the great manuscript collector, Sir Thomas Phillipps, drawn to my attention by Hugh Doherty, throws further light on Stapleton’s expedition of 1839, and in particular upon his visits to Tours, from where he sent Phillipps copies of various charters of Marmoutier, and to Caen, where he delivered books from Phillipps to the Norman antiquary, Léchaudé d’Anisy, in payment for various transcripts that Léchaudé d’Anisy had made from the archives at St-Lô. The books included Dawson Turner’s *Account of a Tour in Normandy*, published in 1820, and itself amongst the earliest witnesses to the growing English taste for Norman antiquities, the more picturesque and ‘feudal’ the better. In April 1840, Stapleton asked Phillipps for a loan

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218 Cambridge University Library ms. Hengrave Hall 21/13/44, Stapleton to Gage, 23 April 1841.
219 Oxford, Bodleian Library ms. Phillipps-Robinson d.128 fos.156r–157r, referring amongst others to a charter of Geoffrey de Dinan (Round, *Calendar*, no.1181); Ibid. ms. Phillipps-Robinson d.225 fos.67r–8r, 70v–71v (Phillipps to Stapleton, December 1839–January 1840), referring to transactions with Léchaudé d’Anisy over his copy of the Loders cartulary (cf. ms. Phillips-Robinson c.471 fo.93r, Stapleton to Phillipps, 29 December 1839), sent by Stapleton to Phillipps on 12 January 1840 with a covering note from Stapleton (ms. Phillipps-Robinson d.128 fo.156r–7r) that ‘some of the pieces are merely noted by the contents, nor is the worthy gentleman much of a Latin scholar, so you must eke out the text and correct the solecisms, and not lay them at the door of the monks. The transcriber fixes no price, but will be quite content to take in exchange any English work you may think would repay his manual labour,'
of a copy of the cartulary of Préaux, to correct various of his earlier notes. In August 1844, he was once again preparing to sail by packet boat from Southampton to Le Havre, to return a copy of a survey of the diocese of Rouen that he had borrowed from Auguste le Prévost, to deliver his own edition of Norman Pipe Rolls to the Bibliothèque Municipale at Rouen and to visit ‘my other friends in that province’. A few years later, in the summer of 1847, touring East Anglia, he made a special excursion to visit Dawson Turner, the doyen of Anglo-Norman antiquaries, at Yarmouth.

Sir Thomas Phillipps, for all his later reputation as a rabid anti-Catholic, seems to have shown no particular prejudice against the Catholic Stapleton. Following a moderate speech on religious issues made in the House of Lords by Stapleton’s brother, in August 1843 Phillipps wrote to Stapleton with his congratulations, stating, with quite extraordinary lack of self-awareness, ‘I am not a bigotted Protestant and you are not a bigotted Catholic … and consequently we feel, I trust, an approximation of sentiment’. This from a man whose canvassing of the electors of Grimsby (only just across the Humber from the Stapleton estates in the East Riding),

in the supposition that you had employed him to copy it at so much a folio’. As payment, Stapleton suggested a copy of Dawson Turner’s *Account of a Tour in Normandy*, or Mrs Stothard’s *Letters Written During a Tour in Normandy* (London, 1820), ‘neatly bound’. A visit by Stapleton to St-Lô in December 1839 may be inferred from the fact that a copy of a charter of Richard de Redvers to Montebourg, still amongst Stapleton’s papers (Manchester, John Rylands Library ms. Beaumont Charter 92) was made by François-Nicolas Dubosc, the archivist of St-Lô (1839–79), on 1 December 1839. Another charter from St-Lô, of John Painel to the abbey of La Lucerne (March 1277/8), was copied for Stapleton, again perhaps by Dubosc, no doubt because of its fine heraldic seal. Stapleton’s copy, with facsimile seal impression in modern sealing wax, is today still amongst his family’s papers at Hull History Centre, University Archives ms. DDCA/37/46 G, from an original at St-Lô, itself printed as *Cartulaire de la Lucerne*, ed. F.–N. Dubosc (St-Lô 1878), 113 no.13, perhaps the same seal ‘of Paynell impaling Bertram’ referred to in Stapleton’s correspondence with Gage in 1833, above p.53, and cf. pp.52, 54 for other Painel charters copied for Stapleton in 1833 by de la Rue.
even as early as 1826, had been supported by verses warning his potential constituents against:

‘Popery! Detested name!  
Popery’s malignant reign!  
See the Faggot, Smoke and Flame –  
Read your children’s destiny …’

What absence of bigotry was it, one wonders, that led Phillipps sincerely to believe that his mail was being intercepted by Jesuits, and that the Great Exhibition of 1851 was ‘only a cloak, a Trojan Horse, to introduce thousands of our Catholic enemies into the heart of our country’?224

Anti-Catholicism and an obsession with the feudal past were shared passions of another notorious contemporary of Stapleton. Thirty miles across the Humber from the Stapleton house at Carlton, Charles Tennyson of Tealby, uncle of the poet and son of a successfully avaricious Market Rasen land agent, created a new name for himself, appropriating an entirely bogus Norman ancestry as Charles ‘Tennyson D’Eyncourt’. With the name came a dream palace, Bayons Manor at Tealby, turretted and battlemented in each and every style from Norman romanesque to nineteenth-century ‘railway Gothic’. So anxious was Charles Tennyson to prove his Norman descent that he bought up property in the commune of Aincourt (Val-d’Oise, cant. Magny-en-Vexin), supposedly the ‘berceau’ of his line, to which, in 1846, he encouraged his religiously fixated daughter (a jilted admirer of Bulwer Lytton) to retire, rather than confront the scandal of her entering a Catholic nunnery.225

Meanwhile, begun in 1836 under the auspices of the Society of Antiquaries, and with the active co-operation of the financially embarrassed Record Commission, which agreed to lend Stapleton not only the handwritten transcript of the 1184 roll made for Petrie but the ‘record’ type which Petrie’s printer had used,226 Stapleton’s edition of the Norman Pipe rolls took nearly a decade to reach the presses, even though specimen pages were being run off for him by the Antiquaries’ Council as early as June 1836.227 Thereafter, a certain mystery surrounds the printing costs of the two-volume edition. The first volume appeared in 1840. The second, published by the Antiquaries in 1844, was sold at 12 shillings to fellows

224 For this and other examples of Phillipps the anti-Catholic, see A.N.L. Munby, The Family Affairs of Sir Thomas Phillipps, Phillipps Studies ii (Cambridge 1952), 64–72.
226 London, Society of Antiquaries, ms. Council Book 1829–47, entries for 2 February 1836, 1 March 1836 (noting that it was Francis Palgrave who communicated the discovery of further Norman Exchequer accounts in the Pell Office, of which the Society requested transcripts), 19 April 1836. For the type, compare the 1830 edition by Petrie, Magni Rotuli, p.1, with MRSN, i, 109, showing that although the type was reused, the whole of Petrie’s edition was reset and revised.
and 16 shillings to the general public. There is no separate costing for either volume amongst the Antiquaries’ accounts, whose printing expenses nonetheless soared in 1843 from an annual figure of approximately £700 or £800 to an unprecedented £1594. This sudden rise seems to have had less to do with Stapleton’s rolls than with the ongoing financial crisis associated with the Society’s publication of Anglo-Saxon texts, abruptly terminated in 1844. All told, we are left to speculate that Stapleton himself, as was certainly the case with others of his ventures, may have paid for, or at least subsidised, the publication of his edition out of his own resources. Stapleton’s edition was prepared at much the same time, and to some extent in continuation of the work that the Reverend Joseph Hunter – a fellow Yorkshireman but a Yorkshireman of a very different stamp – had already carried out on the earliest of the English Exchequer Rolls: for the year 31 Henry I and 3 John, published by the Record Commission in 1833, and the rolls for 2–4 Henry II and 1 Richard I, transcribed by Hunter or on his behalf in the 1830s but, as a result of the Record Commission’s financial difficulties, not published until 1844. The precocious nature of this work is once again worth emphasising. Only in 1884, forty years after Stapleton and Hunter’s work, did publication of the English Pipe rolls resume, no longer with government funds but through the newly formed Pipe Roll Society, dependent upon private subscriptions. Nonetheless, even in comparison with Hunter’s work, Stapleton’s remains supremely competent.

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231 This runs contrary to the claims of the obituarist in The Gentleman’s Magazine, cxx (1850), part 1, 322, who states that the Norman rolls were published at the expense of the Society of Antiquaries and, in respect to the non-appearance of an index, that Stapleton’s labours here were ‘prevented more from the deficiency of funds for its production, than any disinclination on the part of the Editor’.
232 Magnum Rotuli Scaccarii ... de anno tricesimo-primo regni Henrici primi, ed. J. Hunter (London 1833); Rotulus Cancellarii vel Antigraphum Magni Rotuli Pipae de tertio anno regni regis Johannis (London 1833); The Great Rolls of the Pipe for the Second, Third and Fourth Years of the Reign of King Henry the Second, ed. J. Hunter (London 1844); The Great Roll of the Pipe for the First Year of the Reign of King Richard the First, ed. J. Hunter (London 1844). For correspondence between Hunter and Charles Trevelyan over the cost of editing and printing those rolls left in page proof or not yet set up in type at the demise of the Records Commission in 1836, see TNA PRO 1/7, letters of 13 November and 8 December 1843. Hunter requested and was paid £90 for his editorial work on the Pipe Rolls 2–4 Henry II (£30) and Richard I (£60). It is a sobering thought that, even including these fees, print runs of 500 copies were costed at £52 and £122 respectively. The most expensive of the volumes published in 1844, the second of Hardy’s volumes of Close rolls (RLC, ii, published in 1844), was costed at £221. For Hunter’s often vituperative memoirs of his contemporaries, and for his correspondence, in which there is no indexed reference to Thomas Stapleton, see BL mss. Additional 24864–78, 36527. Hunter, however, was himself in correspondence with Norman antiquaries, as revealed by letters of Auguste Le Prévost to de Gerville, 19 October 1829: Evreux AD Eure 5F33, and cf. above p.61 for his attempts in 1836 to persuade Stapleton to search for evidences of the Shakespeare family.
late as the second edition of Sir Maurice Powicke’s *Loss of Normandy* in 1961.\(^\text{233}\) Stapleton seems to have learned here from the acknowledged topographical expertise of de Gerville, to the extent of investing heavily in topographical reference works; a complete set of several hundred very detailed maps of regional France, purchased in Paris, and the two-volume *Dictionnaire des postes aux lettres* (1835) still remain in the Carlton Towers library as testimony to his determination correctly to identify Norman place names. Above all, Stapleton’s massive introductory ‘observations’, drawing in part upon the rolls themselves, in part upon notes compiled from cartularies both in England and in France, represent one of the first serious attempts to survey not only the history of Norman administration but of twelfth-century Norman genealogy, landholding and religious patronage. In compiling these ‘observations’, Stapleton worked with direct reference to the departmental archives of Normandy: an achievement that was more or less unique for an English antiquary of his generation. In the early 1840s indeed, Phillipps had expressed the hope that Stapleton would proceed from the Pipe Rolls to publish a full-scale Norman ‘Baronage’, ‘A Norman Dugdale, to come down as late as the end of <the reign> of H(enry) 3 or to 1300’.\(^\text{234}\) This was destined never to be. Shortly after the publication of his second volume of Norman Pipe Rolls, Stapleton suffered a nervous collapse.\(^\text{235}\) He died at Cromwell Lodge, Brompton, on what was then the outskirts of London, on 3 December 1849, aged only 43. Ironically, and as a symbol of the death of that spirit of Anglo-French cooperation that had so enlivened the 1830s and 40s, at much the same time that Stapleton lay dying at Cromwell Lodge, François Guizot, historian of England and one-time prime-minister of France, was established in exile in the same suburb of Brompton, a mere three streets away, at 21 Pelham Crescent.\(^\text{236}\) By his friends, Stapleton’s condition was blamed directly upon over-work. His death certificate, however, attributes his demise to

\(^\text{233}\) Stapleton, introduction to *MRSN*, i, p.vii; Powicke, *Loss*, endpapers, and see a letter from Phillipps to Stapleton, 6 June 1840, asking ‘When are your Norman Rolls coming out? I long for the map in particular’: Oxford, Bodleian Library ms. Phillipps-Robinson d.224 fo.84r.

\(^\text{234}\) Oxford, Bodleian Library mss. Phillipps-Robinson e.379 fos.20v–21r (Phillipps to Stapleton, 4 August 1841); Phillipps-Robinson d.132 fos.195r–6r (Stapleton’s reply, 16 September 1844, stating that ‘I have a good many projects in hand as to editing archaeological works, with the aid of the different societies, but if I undertake a Norman Dugdale, as you suggest, I am afraid I should have to bear all expenses, without much prospect of a remunerating rule’).

\(^\text{235}\) Bruce, introduction to *Chronicon Petroburgense*, pp.v–vi, written in August 1849, after Stapleton’s retirement but before his death: ‘It has long been generally known that Mr Stapleton … has been suffering under an affliction of the most melancholy kind’, but allowing that ‘If his health should ever be so far restored as that he should again take an interest in the affairs of the (Camden) Society …’. As Vice-President of the Antiquaries since 1846, Stapleton last chaired a meeting of the Society on 18 May 1848, having in the previous winter contributed what appears to have been a long and distinctly rambling account of the career of a fourteenth-century Newcastle burgess: *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London*, i (1849), 219, 221–6, 265. Nigel Ramsay has suggested to me that Stapleton played some role in compiling the detailed genealogical tables and notes to Henry Drummond’s lavish folio *Histories of Noble British Families*, 2 vols (London 1846). However, the genealogies reproduced there contain such a degree of mythology that it is difficult to believe that Stapleton could have lent them approval.

'Monomania – Disease of the Brain – Certified’, and states that his death was notified to the local registrar by Henry Greenslade, also of Cromwell Lodge, present at the death.237 This suggests clinical insanity (‘monomania’ being a fashionable term, borrowed from the French ‘monomanie’, applied to all manner of psychological disturbances, from psychopathic through to suicidal delusions), followed by some degree of certified confinement, and the possibility of death from the final stages of a common but unnameable disease that would not have been specified on any gentleman’s death certificate.238

LÉCHAUDÉ D’ANISY

From the tragedy of Stapleton’s final years, we need now to return to the 1830s, and specifically to the most prolific of the Norman antiquaries whose work appeared in print at much the same time as that of Stapleton himself. As noted already, Thomas Stapleton in the 1830s was able to call upon the assistance of Norman antiquaries in his search for charter materials from the Norman archives. In doing so, he was merely following a lead set by the Record Commission itself, which after 1831 had sent an appeal for French researchers to assemble materials relevant to the history of England.239 The results of this appeal are today to be found in the various groups of

237 Death certificate, Kensington Registry Office volume 3 p.214 no.299, and note the date, 3 December, which corrects that (4 December) still given in the ODNB. There are no coroner’s records for this division of Middlesex surviving in the London Metropolitan Archives, the keeping of such records at this date being little better than that reported of the coroner’s court in Dickens’ Bleak House (1853). A catalogue of Stapleton’s books, manuscripts, maps and pedigrees at 13 Wilton Place, Knightsbridge (a family home), was made, presumably for probate purposes, 13–17 December 1849: Hull History Centre, University Archives ms. DDCA3/10/1, recording their subsequent delivery to Lord Beaumont, Thomas’ brother, and incidentally recording that Thomas’ will, of 30 January 1841, was proved in the prerogative courts of Canterbury 29 January 1850, and York 15 February 1850.

238 For the concept of ‘monomania’ derived from the idea put into circulation by Pinel’s student J. E. D. Esquirol (1772–1840) of morbid obsession with a single idea, and for its relation to suicidal impulses, see B. Bynum, ‘Discarded Diagnoses: Monomania’, The Lancet, ccclxii issue 9393 (25 October 2003), 1425; Auguste Gillet, ‘Dissertation sur la Monomanie’ thesis for doctorate of medicine (Strasbourg 7 August 1829) (including division into various classes including ‘Erotomania’ and ‘Demonomania’); Francois Gout, ‘Essai sur la monomanie suicide’, thesis for doctorate of medicine (Paris 25 May 1832). In the contemporary short story ‘The Farm-House, A Story of Monomania’ by Charles Ollier (Fallacy of Ghosts, Dreams, and Omens; with stories of Witchcraft, Life-in-Death, and Monomania (London 1848), 229ff), a rich man, who ‘derived from nature a mind of morbid sensitiveness’, is driven mad after 1792 by fears of the French Revolution, and, having ‘brooded over imaginary disasters until his faculties were overpowered’ (p.249), ends by shooting himself.

239 For the original appeal from Charles Cooper, acting as Secretary to the Commission, see above n.140. The appeal was sponsored in France both by Royer-Collard and by Guizot: TNA PRO 30/10/28, letters of 10 October 1834, 6 February, 23 June, 21 July and 4 November 1835. From the Commission archives, Cooper subsequently gave the British Museum a series of French manuscripts, including BL mss. Additional 9346 (Brief inventory of the ‘Angleterre’ files of the Layettes du Trésor des Chartes (AN J628–56), in what appears to be a s.xvii or s.xviii hand) and Additional 9383 (List of the English documents in the AN ‘Cartons des rois’ series K, by the archivist Daunou, 30 March 1832, with list of expenses at the end totalling 93 Francs), and cf. BL ms. Egerton 773 (Inventory of the Norman and Picard and Breton files of the Layettes du Trésor des Chartes, s.xvii).
foreign transcripts in The National Archive (TNA series PRO 31/8), the most important being five volumes of transcripts made in the mid-1830s by students of the École des Chartes (PRO 31/8/133–7),240 a massive volume of transcripts made by Achille Deville in 1833–4 (PRO 31/8/140A) for the most part from the archives at Rouen, and the three volumes of transcripts, entitled the ‘Cartulaire de Basse-Normandie’ (PRO 31/8/140B parts 1–3), compiled in 1835–6 by Léchaudé d’Anisy from a wide variety of sources, including the departmental archives at Caen and St-Lô. The process by which the Record Commissioners came into possession of these transcripts, like most aspects of Anglo-French relations, was by no means untroubled. Surviving correspondence demonstrates that the Record Commissioners spent almost as much time in negotiating the expenses of their French amanuenses as in establishing scholarly priorities. One French agent alone, Adrien Berbrugger, requested and received a monthly retainer of 500 francs (roughly £240 per annum, at much the same time that the struggling, but comfortably bourgeois young composer, Hector Berlioz, was attempting to support himself in Paris on an annual allowance of just over 1000 francs or £40). The demand by Léchaudé d’Anisy, that the English government pay him the extraordinary sum of £1000 (roughly 25,000 Francs) for his three volumes of transcripts, very nearly ensured that his ‘Cartulaire de Basse-Normandie’, today one of the treasures of the National Archives, was returned unopened to France.241 For a time, Thomas Stapleton himself

240 Copied for the most part by the ‘Chartistes’ Eugène de Stadler and Adrien Berbrugger. For Stadler, later attached to the Archives impériales (now the AN), rising to become inspector-general of departmental archives, see Bordier, Les Archives de France, 86. Louis Adrien Berbrugger (1801–1869), whose somewhat wheedling letters to Cooper, Secretary of the Record Commission, represent our chief source of knowledge on the history of this venture, spent much of his subsequent career in French north Africa, publishing widely on the history and antiquities of Algeria, including an account of the library at Algiers in whose formation he played a distinguished part: L.A. Berbrugger, Bibliothèque Musée d’Alger. Livret explicatif des collections diverses de ces deux établissements (Algiers 1860); J. Charpy, ‘Les Chartistes et l’Outre-Mer’, L’Ecole nationales des Chartes: Histoire de l’Ecole depuis 1821 (Woippy 1997), 294. He was in London in July 1834, where Michelet met him in the Tower records office, listened to his horrific stories of French atrocities in Algiers (only recently occupied by the French) and borrowed a book from him which he later returned to Duffus Hardy: Michelet, Journal, 128–9, 154. For a full list of those involved in the work of transcription from the archives of Paris, see TNA PRO 30/10/28 letters of 16 June, 23 July and 25 August 1835, listing the expenses, besides Berbrugger and Stadler, of MM. Lepescheux d’Herbinville, Castelnau and (the very distinguished) Alexandre Teulet at the AN, and of M. Lecabanne at the Bnf. Letters of 15 September 1835 show that Berbrugger recommended that Teulet replace him as chief agent, and report that the refusal of the Treasury to pay Lacabanne had resulted in Lacabanne withholding his services. Two years later, Teulet reported briefly (letters of 20 November 1837) on the dispatch to London of further transcripts, mostly of early-modern documents.

241 For the correspondence here, chiefly from Berbrugger, see TNA PRO 30/10/28, including letters sent by Berbrugger between 31 December 1834 and 15 September 1835 when he resigned his stipend in order to take up a post as secretary to the French governor of Algeria. For financial demands, see especially letters of 17 January, 6 February, 1 May, 16 June, 5 July, 23 July, 25 August and 15 September 1835. For Léchaudé d’Anisy, whose transcripts are first mentioned in letters of Berbrugger of 6 February 1835, see letters of 25 January 1837, in which Léchaudé d’Anisy sets out his grievances over his treatment and lodges an appeal to the English Treasury, offering to negotiate over his original demand for £1000. It should be noted that concerns about the cost of obtaining copies were by no means restricted to those seeking materials from
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considered bidding for the manuscript, should the Record Commissioners fail to pay Léchaudé’s price. Some idea of the Commissioners’ liberality can be gauged from the fact that, as late as 1837, Charles Cooper, their Secretary, was still considering the purchase of French antiquities that had little or nothing to do with the Public Records, including collections of medals from the reigns of Louis XIV and Napoleon, valued respectively at 1423 and 1129 francs (£60 and £50). Nonetheless, for all of these alarms, the importance for the history of medieval Normandy of the dozen or so volumes of transcripts that found their way to London was eventually, if somewhat belatedly, recognised. A brief list of the contents of the Deville volume were appended to the abstract of Rymer’s Foedera published after 1869, and Eyton used both the Deville and the Léchaudé d’Anisy transcripts widely in his Itinerary of Henry II published in 1878. During the 1890s, it was with these same transcripts to serve as his guide that John Horace Round set out to compile his Calendar of Documents Preserved in France: an essential tool of reference, and still the first port of call for most Anglophone students seeking access to the resources of the French archives. The tragi-comic story of Round’s Calendar has been told elsewhere by Edmund King. However, there is a dimension to this story which has never properly been unravelled. Round was, on the whole, most favourably impressed with the transcripts made by Léchaudé d’Anisy and Deville. In particular, he realised that many of the charters transcribed from private collections by Léchaudé d’Anisy were no longer to be found in Normandy or Paris, expressing his surprise at the generally low opinion of Léchaudé d’Anisy that he encountered from his colleagues – or as he...
clearly regarded them, his rivals and inferiors – in France. What he did not seem to realise, and what his French colleagues, with a discretion that is far from typical, seem to have concealed from him, was that it was precisely because Léchaudé d’Anisy had worked on these charters in the 1820s and 30s that so many of them were no longer to be found in the Norman public archives.

Amidst the archival chaos of early nineteenth-century Normandy, the magnificently named Amédée Louis Léchaudé d’Anisy (1772–1857) stands out as a figure of particular significance, heroic and sinister by turns. Born at Versailles, where his father Jules-Antoine L’Echaudé was employed as a royal carpenter, Amédée Louis entered the corps of engineers, assisting before 1789 with works on the park of the Petit Trianon. On the coming of revolution, he played a role, as ingénieur-géographe, in the division of France into départements, but in 1792, because of his previous association with the Ancien Régime, found it expedient to enlist in the 16th regiment of chasseurs à cheval, serving thereafter in the suppression of counter-revolution in Maine and Anjou and eventually in the wars in Italy, where he was wounded and discharged from active service. Following the Bourbon restoration, he served for two years, from 1816, as director of poor-relief for the département du Calvados, an office then established in the remains of the abbey of La Trinité at Caen. Married to a local heiress, with substantial properties both at Caen and at nearby Thaon (Calvados, cant. Creully), he settled down to the life of a gentleman scholar, pursuing his researches in the local archives and making only one further, and unsuccessful bid for public office, following the July days of 1830. At Caen he became one of the small band of Norman antiquaries fully to appreciate the perilous condition in which many thousands of medieval charters had survived the Revolution. Doggedly, and in the face of all manner of obstacles, he worked through vast mountains of uncatalogued and often rotting parchment, realising that an entire class of documentary sources stood on the verge of destruction. It was Léchaudé d’Anisy who discovered, buried under piles of dust and refuse in the sous-préfecture at Mortain, the great series of several hundred twelfth-century charters for Savigny and the Abbaye-Blanche at Mortain that today constitutes one of the wonders of the Archives nationales in Paris. With his engineer’s training, it was Léchaudé d’Anisy

248 Round, Calendar, p.xxix n., ‘A somewhat low opinion of M. D’Anisy’s scholarship is entertained in France’.


250 See, for example, his claim to have spent ‘six années à exhumer de la poussière des archives plus de dix mille chartes, diplômes, bulles, lettres royaux et autres actes anglais et normands revêtus de 500 sceaux’: Léchaudé, Extrait, i, 3.

251 TNA PRO 31/8/1408 part 3 pp.57–174, and cf. Round, Calendar, p.xxx. These documents seem first to have been drawn to the attention of English scholars in a brief communication apparently by the young Léopold Delisle: ‘Documents Relative to the Abbey of Furness Extracted from the Archives of the Abbey of Savigny’, Journal of the British Archaeological Association, vi (1851), 419–24. For those of the charters that were transferred to Paris rather than
who, in March 1819, had helped excavate and then reseal the tomb of the Conqueror’s Queen Matilda in the abbey of La Trinité at Caen.252 Caen itself boasted a small but distinguished community of English expatriots, most prominently, from 1830 until his death ten years later (in the town asylum from ‘general paralysis of the insane’), George ‘Beau’ Brummell, one-time leader of London fashion, now honorary Consul at Caen to His Britannic Majesty, King William IV.253

The various works that Léchaudé published between 1823 and 1852, including his two-volume calendar, or *Extrait*, from the medieval charters of the département du Calvados, and his re-edition for a French audience of the works of Ducarel on the Bayeux Tapestry and of Stapleton and Hardy on the Norman Exchequer and chancery rolls, although lacking in scholarly finesse, were nonetheless crucial in reviving interest in the history of ducal Normandy amongst the Normans themselves.254 Unfortunately, having begun as an admirer and afficionado of all things documentary, Norman and medieval, Léchaudé d’Anisy could not resist the temptation to proceed from admiration to collection, and from collection to outright theft. By the 1850s, his private library was bulging with charters and manuscripts that he had ‘removed’ for safe-keeping from the archives, especially the archives départementales at Caen, and which he had somehow forgotten to return. The resulting scandal can be traced from the letters of Léopold Delisle, Léchaudé d’Anisy’s one-time collaborator and affectionate admirer, and resulted in a police order of October 1853 commanding that Léchaudé d’Anisy’s library be searched and many of its treasures restored to their rightful, public ownership.255 In the process, however, it is clear that Léchaudé d’Anisy’s collecting had been conducted on so massive a scale that by no means everything that he had ‘removed’ was still with him in 1853 or thereafter returned to the public archives. Amidst the massive series of his transcripts now housed in the Bibliothèque nationale at Paris, covering the religious houses of most parts of Normandy and apparently

being taken to St-Lô where they were destroyed in 1944, see AN mss. L966–80. Slightly earlier, in 1822, thanks to an investigation provoked by Auguste Le Prévost, the vast collection of charters for the abbeys of Jumièges and St-Wandrille, believed burned after the Revolution, had been rediscovered at the sous-préfecture of Yvetot, being transferred thence to the departmental archive at Rouen only in 1827: *Chartes de l’abbaye de Jumièges*, ed. Vernier, i, pp.ix–xiv.


253 As reported by Léchaudé d’Anisy himself, in TNA PRO 31/8/140B part 3 pp.286–93.

254 For Brummell’s years in Caen, for the most part spent in the Hôtel d’Angleterre, rue Saint-Jean, and for his squalid syphilitic end, see I. Kelly, *Beau Brummell: The Ultimate Dandy* (London 2005), pp.xi–xiii, 381–463.

255 See, in particular, R.N. Sauvage, ‘Lettres de Léopold Delisle à Antoine Charme’, *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie* xxxvii (1929), 378–9, Delisle suggesting that the police be kept out of the affair so far as was possible, remarking, with commendable sympathy, that ‘Un vieillard qui a consacré sa vie à l’étude de notre histoire, a droit à quelques ménagements. Il a déjà bien chèrement expié les torts qu’il a à se reprocher’.
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copied independently of the three volumes of his ‘Cartulaire de Basse-Normandie’ preserved in The National Archives at Kew, there are many dozens of seventeenth and eighteenth-century transcripts and even a few twelfth-century originals that one suspects Léchaudé d’Anisy ‘borrowed’ from the public archives at Caen and elsewhere, and which were still in his library at the time of his death.256

THE SCHOLAR COLLECTORS

Although conducted on a heroic scale, Léchaudé d’Anisy’s ‘borrowings’ typified a long-standing tradition in France: a tradition, as the sale of Petrie’s Issue Rolls demonstrates, to which the English public archives, as late as the 1840s, were themselves far from immune. From at least the time of Richelieu and Colbert, France could boast a flourishing trade in medieval antiquities including manuscripts and charters, that had led, even before the Revolution, to the dispersal of many of the greater treasures of the Norman monastic collections, some of which are to be found today preserved not in Normandy or even Paris but in the most unlikely and out-of-the-way places. The Revolution merely exacerbated this tendency, so that after 1789 ever greater quantities of charter material began to appear in the booksellers’ catalogues. Emigrés, most famously the Abbé Gervais de la Rue (1751–1835), arrived in England in the 1790s with their bags stuffed full with medieval charters and seals.257 We shall return to the Abbé very

256 For the Léchaudé manuscripts that entered the BnF in 1859, most significantly mss. Latin 10063–84 and 11036–51, see L. Delisle, Le Cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque impériale, 3 vols (Paris 1868–81), ii, 305–6; M. Nortier, ‘Les Sources de l’histoire de la Normandie à la Bibliothèque nationale’, Cahiers Léopold Delisle, xxix fasc.3–4 (1980), 19–26, 28. Half a dozen volumes of Léchaudé d’Anisy’s transcripts from otherwise well-known sources entered the British Museum (now the BL) in 1862: BL mss. Additional 24919–23, perhaps acquired at the posthumous sale of what remained of Léchaudé’s collection, for which see Catalogue des livres rares et des manuscrits précieux composant la bibliothèque de feu M. Léchaudé d’Anisy (Muffat of Paris, 1861), whilst others, including an extensive collection of papers relating to his own estate at Anisy, are now at Caen AD Calvados F4068–83. For original charters of the Empress Matilda and King Henry I, apparently ‘collected’ by Léchaudé d’Anisy from the Archives at Caen, see BnF ms. Latin 10083 nos 3–4, whence Regesta, ii, no.1946, iii, no.567, and cf. BnF ms. Latin 10065 fos.32–3 for originals of the abbess of Beaumont-lès-Tours (1229) and of William de Mowbray, tipped into another of Léchaudé’s manuscripts. Two other originals, of Robert Rossel, 1222–3, are amongst Léchaudé’s transcripts at Caen AD Calvados F4068 Liasse 1 nos 22, 24. A substantial correspondence between Léopold Delisle and the various functionaries of Caen, St-Lô and elsewhere, resulting from Delisle’s attempts after 1853 to reassign the documents confiscated from Léchaudé d’Anisy’s collection, is preserved in BnF ms. nouv.acq.franc.21848, listing (nos 339, 341) at least 200 charters restored to the archives départementales at Alençon, 600 to Caen, 84 to St-Lô and 58 originally taken from the préfecture at Mortain. For other documents abstracted from this source, see below appendix no.68.

257 For De la Rue, royal Professor of History at Caen from 1786, deported to England in 1796, returned to France 1797 and restored to his post at the university of Caen after 1808, see the biographies by F. Vautier, in De la Rue, Nouveaux essais historiques sur la ville de Caen et son arrondissement, 2 vols (Caen 1842), i, pp.i–lii; F. Galeron, ‘Notice historique sur les travaux littéraires de l’abbé De la Rue et principalement sur ses manuscrits’, Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie x (1837), 650–74. For an assessment of various
shortly. For the moment, we need merely notice that theft was common amongst the French archives, both before and after 1790, and that the chaotic state of the provincial archives through at least to the 1850s gave opportunity to amateurs and collectors, amongst them both Sir Thomas Phillipps and the ubiquitous Thomas Stapleton, to acquire entire boxloads of charters that by rights should never have left public ownership. Some of these treasures have since found their way back into public collections, in France and elsewhere. Various early charters, for example, copied in Paris for the Record Commissioners in 1835, seem thereafter to have become ‘dislodged’, even from the Layettes du Trésor des Chartes, the holiest of holies in the French national archives, subsequently finding their way into the hands of Francis Moore, an English collector resident in Paris. Various of Moore’s ‘acquisitions’ from the Trésor des Chartes were purchased, at auction in 1856, by the British Museum. Many other such documents, looted either from central or from local departmental archives, continue to elude rediscovery, being hoarded away as guilty secrets or consigned to the market with understandable discretion.

To take particular examples, only a few years ago an extraordinarily important twelfth-century cartulary of St-Etienne Caen resurfaced in the archives départementales de Calvados, having been ‘removed’ by the Abbé de la Rue and thereafter housed in the library of the Marquis de Mathan at the château de Semilly. It appears to have been the state of the

of his less reputable activities in the Caen archives, and for the recovery of various of his ‘borrowings’ for the Mancel Collection and the Bibliothèque Municipale at Caen, see Sauvage, *Le Fonds de l’abbaye de Saint-Etienne*, p.x notes 4–5; Sauvage, ‘Manuscrits de la collection Mancel’, 4–6. Various letters and notes from De la Rue, chiefly relating to his studies of the troubadours and Wace, are preserved amongst the Douce collection in Oxford, Bodleian Library, and in BL mss. Royal 16.F.II fo.1v; Egerton 2840 fos.68, 251, 311 (Madden referring to ‘the poor old man <who> always goes blundering on’); Additional *5017* (De la Rue on Wace). His abstracts from the later Norman chancery rolls then stored in the Tower of London are preserved at Caen AD Calvados 386 Edt 2 (Archives de la Ville de Falaise).

For Phillipps in particular, see below p.78. For other Norman charters or cartularies, provenance unknown, see for examples of BL mss. Additional 15605, 17307, cartularies of Montebourg and Bolleville (Stein nos 513, 2524), the first acquired by the British Museum, 8 November 1845, by purchase from the bookseller Thomas Rodd, who himself had acquired it from the collection of a Monsieur Motteley in Paris, the second acquired by the Museum, 12 February 1848, by purchase from the bookseller William Boone. For a stray Norman charter of Henry II, see Princeton University Library, Manuscripts Division, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections ms. Scheide Collection Document no.6992, printed by J.R. Strayer as ‘A Forged Charter of Henry II for Bival’, *Speculum*, xxxiv (1959), 230–7, reprinted in Strayer, *Medieval Statecraft and the Perspectives of History* (Princeton 1971), 28–38.

258 See here P. Chaplais, ‘Chartes en déficit dans les cartons “Angleterre” du Trésor des Chartes’, *BEC*, cix (1951), 96–103, reprinted in Chaplais, *Essays in Medieval Diplomacy and Administration* (London 1981), ch.12, from BL mss. Additional Charters 11293, 11297 etc., including several items seen in the Archives nationales in 1835 by Eugene de Stadler and Adrien Berbrugger, copied into their transcripts, now TNA PRO 31/8/133, but thereafter acquired by Moore. Another such ‘dislodgement’ from the Trésor des Chartes, formerly AN J190A no.1, a charter of Eleanor of Aquitaine for Fontevraud, found its way before 1834 into the possession of Achille Deville, who copied it for the Record Commissioners (TNA PRO 31/8/140A no.200) as if from his own collection, before giving it to the Bibliothèque nationale (Bnf ms. Latin 9230 no.8, cf. *Layettes*, i, 208 no.506).
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château’s roof that eventually forced the Marquis into selling his treasure, and even then it is supposed that there are other treasures in the Marquis’ library, all of them products of the enterprise of Gervais de la Rue, that should ensure a watertight roof for many years to come. In light of what we now know of the relations between de la Rue and the Marquis, it is ironic to find Jeremiah Wiffen, in 1826, commemorating their friendship in grandiloquent doggerel:

‘Learned De la Rue! With Caen’s gray towers,
Hail and farewell! Time’s hour-glass ran
Pure gold in Cambes’ delightful bowers,
With thee and thy belov’d Mathan’.

Even in his own lifetime, de la Rue did not always inspire the most friendly of feelings. Although an exile in England after 1789, he was later taken to task by the English for ingratitude. Writing to Dawson Turner from Caen in 1820, the Englishman John Spencer Smyth, then preparing a new edition of Ducarel’s Anglo-Norman Antiquities, remarked upon de la Rue’s refusal to make any reference to the hospitality that he had earlier received in England, drawing Turner’s attention to an extraordinary sermon that de la Rue had preached in 1811, in which the abbé had stirred up his fellow countrymen of the national guard to emulate the actions of their great ancestor, William I, and, under the glorious leadership of Buonaparte, to lead a second Norman conquest of England. Smyth urged Turner to publish this sermon in full. It was at much the same time as de la Rue’s inflammatory sermon that the Bayeux tapestry had been removed from Bayeux to the Louvre (now rechristened the ‘Musée Napoléon’), where it was exhibited as a blueprint for what was supposed to be Buonaparte’s repetition of the success of William the Conqueror in crossing the Channel to defeat the perfidious English. In Normandy, de la Rue enjoyed a reputation little better than that which he commanded in England. De Gerville, for example, writing to Dawson Turner, remarked that as custodian of the archives in Caen, de la Rue ‘can sometimes be persuaded to provide assistance if he is cornered, but if one places any trust in him he will repay it merely with (empty) promises’.

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260 The cartulary is now Caen AD Calvados J non coté. For other original charters of La Trinité at Caen still at Semilly, some as early as the reign of William I, see Bates, Regesta William I, 275 no. 59, 297–8 no. 64. The Abbé de la Rue was a close associate of the then Monsieur de Mathan during his period of exile under the Revolution.

261 Wiffen, Historical Memoirs, i, 544. For a less flattering assessment of the abbé, as an ‘odd character’ notorious for ‘his closeness of conduct’, see Rajnai and Allthorpe-Guyton, John Sell Cotman, 32.

262 Cambridge, Trinity College archives, Dawson Turner correspondence, letters of Smyth to Turner, 8 October 1820.

263 C. Hicks, The Bayeux Tapestry: The Life Story of a Masterpiece (London 2005), 95–120, with brief reference to de la Rue at pp.131–2.

264 Cambridge, Trinity College archives, Dawson Turner correspondence, letters of de Gerville to Turner, 4 February 1820: ‘Mr Le Prévot eut pu tirer quelque chose de l’abbé de la Rue, dont on obtient quelquefois des renseignements quand on le tient à la gorge, mais dont on n’a que des promesses quand on se fie à lui’, and see further letters of 10 January 1822 in
De la Rue and Léchaudé d’Anisy were by no means the only kleptomaniacs let loose in the Norman departmental archives. Amongst the original Norman charters of King Henry II of England recently assembled for publication by the British Academy, one at least entered the Bibliothèque nationale as late as 1910 via purchase from a bookseller of Caen.265 Others, sold at auction in the nineteenth century, continue to emerge, sometimes in the most surprising of locations, from St Petersburg to New York.266 A charter for St-Sauveur-le-Vicomte, acquired by Sir Thomas Phillipps source murky but unknown, is today in the library of Reading University, whilst, at the moment of writing, anyone with a few thousand dollars to spend can still acquire, from a bookdealer in New York, an original charter of Henry II for the priory of Le Plessis-Grimoult with sign manuals (including a purportedly unique ‘signature’ by Thomas Becket), which passed from public ownership to the abbé de la Rue, from de la Rue to Thomas Stapleton and thence, via Stapleton’s descendants, to public auction.267 Even The National Archives can boast at least one such escaped public treasure: an original charter of Henry II for the monks of Mont-St-Michel, presented to the Public Record Office in October 1873 by the Cornish antiquary John Jope Rogers, and acquired by Rogers in circumstances that are probably best left unprobed.268

There are important consequences here for the Norman transcripts series in The National Archives. Many of the transcripts made for the Record Commissioners, and in particular those by Léchaudé d’Anisy, prove, on examination, to be of charters that are preserved in no other form. Léchaudé d’Anisy worked for many weeks in the archives départementales de la Manche at St-Lô. This archive, one of the greatest of all of the collections for medieval Normandy, was still for the most part uncatalogued in 1944 when destroyed by Allied bombing. The tragedy at St-Lô was all the greater for the fact that the documents themselves had been dispatched

which de Gerville reports de la Rue’s disappointing and tardy response to Turner’s request for information on various of the churches of Calvados. For equally disparaging remarks by Le Prévost about de la Rue, see Évreux AD Eure 5F33: letters from Le Prévost to de Gerville, 23 November 1827.

265 Bnf ms. nouv.acq. françaises 21689 fo.5, purchased for the Bnf by Delisle, 31 May 1910, from Louis Jouan, bookseller of Caen. Printed by Delisle, Recueil, ii, no.608.

266 See, for example, Catalogue d’une importante collection de lettres autographes ... dont la vente aura lieu à Paris ... le Mardi 27 Novembre 1888 (Étienne Charavay, Paris 1888) p.17 lot no.82, an original charter of Henry II for St-Martin’s Tours, untraced by Delisle. According to the marked copy of the sale catalogue in the Bnf (salon des manuscrits ref. CV2352), it was purchased in 1888 by the dealer Charavay himself. Printed by Delisle, Recueil, ii, no.475. In 2007, it was identified as amongst the archives of the St Petersburg Academy of Sciences.

267 Reading University Library ms.1488, formerly Phillipps ms. 27727, purchased at Sotheby’s 26 November 1975 lot no.819, printed from later copies by Delisle, Recueil, i, no.62. The charter for Plessis-Grimoult, once in the collection of Thomas Stapleton at Carlton Towers, sold again at Christie’s 20 June 1990 lot.37, most recently bought-in at the sale of the stock of H.P. Kraus: The Inventory of H.P. Kraus (Sotheby’s sale catalogue, New York 4–5 December 2003), 226 lot no.308. Printed from Léon Maître’s transcript by Delisle, Recueil, i, no.75.

268 TNA PRO 30/26/36, whence J.J. Rogers, ‘Note on a Charter of Privileges Granted by King Henry the Second’, Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall, v (1874–8), 23, the text printed, from two other duplicate originals later destroyed at St-Lô, by Delisle, Recueil, i, no.36.
for safe storage in the Massif Central, at the commencement of World War II. It was only the success of Anglo-American propaganda in convincing the local archivist that any Allied landing would come via Calais rather than Normandy that persuaded him, only a few weeks before the D-Day landings, to arrange for the transport back to St-Lô of some six or seven shelf-kilometres of records, including many tens of thousands of uncatalogued medieval charters, promptly reduced to ashes by Allied bombing. As a result, and not least because so many of these documents had never properly been listed let alone catalogued, any transcripts from the lost Archives de la Manche are today of particular significance. Indeed, in the longer term, it is to be hoped that some attempt may be made to list and inventory such copies, as a step towards reconstructing the vanished archive, in the same style as the heroic labours, made since the 1940s, to reconstitute the contents of other war-damaged archives, most notably those of the city of Naples. Many, but by no means all of the twelfth-century charters copied at St-Lô by Léchaudé d’Anisy were incorporated by Round into his Calendar. However, whereas Round deliberately restricted his Calendar to documents dating from before 1206, the Léchaudé d’Anisy transcripts continue well into the thirteenth century, preserving texts that survive nowhere else and that no student of Norman history can afford to ignore. For all of these reasons, Léchaudé d’Anisy’s three-volume ‘Cartulaire de Basse Normandie’ deserves to rank today as one of the most important of all the Norman sources housed in England. Nonetheless, Léchaudé d’Anisy was by no means the only copyist to have worked at St-Lô. At Winchester Cathedral, for example, there is a small but extremely important volume of transcripts made from the charters of St-Sauveur-le-Vicomte at St-Lô, preserving in nineteenth-century copies a large part of the archive of St-Sauveur’s priory at Ellingham in Hampshire. Likewise,
at Salisbury Cathedral, a manuscript once owned by Sir Thomas Phillipps and originally copied for Thomas Stapleton by Léchaudé d’Anisy, includes transcripts of charters for the English priory of Loders, a daughter-house of Montebourg, whose originals were also destroyed in the great bonfire of 1944.\textsuperscript{272}

Apart from transcripts of lost charters, English archives beyond Kew can boast significant collections of charters relevant to the history of ducal Normandy, preserved either as originals or in medieval cartulary copies. Such documents fall into two basic groups. To begin with there are the charters and cartulary copies that have always been housed in England but which touch in some way upon landholding or privileges in Normandy. Here, it is worth drawing attention to those English monasteries, such as Southwick, Bradenstoke and Bruton, which before 1204 received gifts of land in Normandy, still recorded in considerable detail in their medieval cartularies.\textsuperscript{273} Other English churches, most notably the cathedral church of Canterbury, acquired lands or privileges in France even after 1204, still documented amidst their medieval archives. I have attempted elsewhere to tell the story of these English monasteries and their French possessions, and in the process to supply a census of relevant manuscripts.\textsuperscript{274} Below, in a separate chapter, I have endeavoured to bring together and to edit all of the principal charter evidences for the monks of Canterbury and their exemptions and privileges in northern France, previously unpublished.\textsuperscript{275} A quittance from toll and customs, similar in many ways to those offered by French lords to the monks of Canterbury, issued by Walter of Coutances, archbishop of Rouen, is preserved for the Augustinian canons of Waltham Abbey in Essex, and there are probably other such charters surviving in English cartularies, as yet unrecognized.\textsuperscript{276}

\textsuperscript{272} Salisbury Cathedral Library ms.188 (formerly Phillipps ms.10557). For the earlier history of this manuscript, see above, p.62n. For the Loders cartulary, destroyed in 1944, see Stein no. 2211; \textit{Cartulaire de Loders}, ed. L. Guilloreau (Evreux 1908); G.R.C. Davis, \textit{Medieval Cartularies of Great Britain. A Short Catalogue} (London 1958), 67 no.595. For other, episcopal charters, copied from the Archives at St-Lô in 1840, relating to the Somerset church of Martock and its grant to the monks of Mont-St-Michel, see BL mss. Additional Charters 19063–8.


\textsuperscript{275} Below, pp.98-108.

\textsuperscript{276} \textit{The Early Charters of Waltham Abbey, 1062–1230}, ed. R. Ransford (Woodbridge 1989), p.44 no.81, and see letters of the barons of Dover to the archbp of Rouen and his bailiffs at Dieppe, below appendix no.44. For letters of Walter archbp of Rouen, issued in his capacity as viceregent to King Richard I in the 1190s, see BL ms. Additional Charter 33650, whence \textit{English Episcopal Acta VIII: Winchester 1070–1204}, ed. M.J. Franklin (Oxford 1993), 178–9 no.232.
Norman Charters from English Sources

Norman evidences preserved in England but outside The National Archives, results from precisely that archival chaos to which I have already referred in dealing with Léchaudé d’Anisy and with such shady characters as the Abbé de la Rue. From at least the late eighteenth century onwards, English libraries have regularly been enriched with charters and other manuscripts removed, legally or otherwise, from collections in France. Here, amongst the more important of such sources, I would draw particular attention to the collecting activities of Sir Thomas Phillipps and Thomas Stapleton. From the Phillipps collection, dispersed at auction in the twentieth century, many of the more significant French charters and cartularies were repurchased by the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris. Others, however, entered English libraries or continue to feature in subsequent sale catalogues. Although the majority of documents ‘abstracted’ from French public collections and sent into exile in England come from the modern départements of Calvados

277 For Phillipps’ collecting activities in France in the 1820s, see A.N.L. Munby, Phillipps Studies, 5 vols (Cambridge 1951–60), iii, 19–41, abstracted in Munby, Portrait of an Obsession. The Life of Sir Thomas Phillipps (London 1967), 15–28, with an interesting letter from Le Prévost to de Gerville, 24 December 1828, not noted by Munby, reporting on a recent visit from Phillipps and upon Phillipps’ over-riding concern to acquire Norman cartularies: Evreux, Archives départementales SF33. The majority of the French cartularies collected by Phillipps were subsequently purchased by the Bnf. For lists see, H. Omont, ‘Catalogue des manuscrits de la bibliothèque de Sir Thomas Phillipps récemment acquis pour la Bibliothèque nationale’, BEC, lxxvi (1903), 490–553; H. Omont, Catalogue des manuscrits latins et français de la collection Phillipps acquis en 1908 pour la Bibliothèque nationale (Paris 1909). Others of Phillipps’ French and Norman charters have since entered the John Rylands Library at Manchester: Handlist of Charters, Deeds and Similar Documents in the Possession of the John Rylands Library, vol.1, ed. R. Fawtier (Manchester 1925), 43–95, including at p.59 three early charters for Mont-St-Michel. For an analysis of various of the items from the collection of St-Etienne at Caen, acquired by Phillipps from the Abbé de la Rue and now in the Bnf mss. novu.acq. françaises 20218–20, see Sauvage, Le Fonds de l’abbaye de Saint-Etienne, p.x note 5, pp.50–4. Originals or very early copies of charters of dukes Richard II and William II of Normandy for Marmoutier (Fauroux, Recueil, nos 23, 141), were once Phillipps mss. 34699, 34701, the former sold at Sotheby’s (Bibliotheca Phillippica, n.s. part 3 (26 June 1967) lot no.732, £520 to H.P. Kraus of New York, offered for sale in Kraus’ 1969 catalogue). The duke William charter is now in the library of the Fondation Martin Bodmer near Geneva, reference CB169. As recently as 1973, several hundred mostly fourteenth and fifteenth-century documents relating to the financial administration of Normandy, were auctioned at Sotheby’s from the residue of the Phillipps collection: Bibliotheca Phillippica: Catalogue of French, Spanish and Greek Manuscripts and English Charters (Sotheby’s Sale Catalogue, 25–26 June 1973), esp. lots 1949, 2020–4. My attempts to trace the subsequent fate of this collection have proved unsuccessful. Lot no.2020 was sold to Quaritch for £700. Like the other lots, which were either bought in or sold to dealers for much lesser amounts, the collection was thereafter most likely dispersed to the four corners of the earth, via individual private sales. For other, mostly fifteenth-century Norman materials now in the BL, acquired from the Baron Joursanvault from 1831 onwards and from other collections but ultimately deriving from the dispersal of the archives of the French royal Chambre des Comptes, burned in 1737, see Mlle Guittard, ‘Documents normands conservés à Londres’, Bulletin de la Société d’Émulation de la Seine-Inférieure (1933), 65–158 (and separately as a pamphlet, of which a copy is amongst the BL printed books collection); M. Nortier, ‘Le Sort des archives dispersées de la Chambre des Comptes de Paris’, BEC, cxviii (1965), 460–537, esp. pp.516–19, and cf. the catalogues of Joursanvault deeds in BL mss. Additional 11539–40. As early as January 1877, an unnamed English collector was already disposing at auction in London of considerable numbers of medieval deeds acquired from France: ‘Vent de documents français à Londres’, BEC, xxxviii (1877), 479–83.
and Manche, whose custody in the early nineteenth century was far from ideally conducted, all told, no part of Normandy can claim to have escaped the ravages of nineteenth-century ‘collecting’. From the archives of the abbey of Foucartmont, for example, which in theory entered French public custody via the fledgling but well-regulated archives départementales at Rouen, the British Library today possesses a highly significant collection of archiepiscopal and papal charters, including a bull of Alexander III and confirmations issued in the names of archbishops Rotrou and Walter of Rouen, acquired as late as 1869 from a Paris bookseller.

Thomas Stapleton’s collecting activities, though less frantic than those of Phillipps, were clearly on a significant scale, and included at least one full-blown cartulary, for the Breton monastery of Quimperlé, now housed in the British Library, as well as a substantial number, approaching 200, of early Norman monastic charters. The exact provenance of these documents remains obscure. However, there now seems little doubt that

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278 See, for example, the significant collections for the monasteries of Montivilliers, Le Valasse, La Lucerne, Le Mont-Saint-Michel, the Maison Dieu at St-Lô and the bpriec of Coutances, part of a miscellaneous collection of French documents entered in the BL’s acquisitions register as if purchased from William Simpson junior of Mitcham, but endorsed as if purchased from the London booksellers Boone’s, 13 June 1857: BL Additional Charters 13343–13596, esp. nos 13348–57, 13414–29, 13432, 13435–6, 13441, 13445, 13535, 13537. For further examples, see Vincent, ‘A Collection of Early Norman Charters’, p.26n. For the dispersal of documents from the Breton Chambre des Comptes, after 1789, including some remarkable tales of survival, see M. Jones, ‘“Membra disjecta” of the Breton “Chambre des Comptes” in the Late Middle Ages: Treasures Revisited and Rediscovered’, War, Government and Power in Late Medieval France, ed. C. Allmand (Liverpool 2000), 209–20.

279 BL mss. Additional Charters 17839–59, part of a larger collection (Additional Charters 17838–17942), purchased from the Paris bookseller Bachelin de Florenne, 10 April 1869, including a charter of Ymer abbot of Bec 1299 (Additional Charter 17881) and various fourteenth-century Norman charters (Ibid. 17905, 17907, 17910, 17915–17, 17927). The collection includes all of the known papal originals for Foucartmont, which were clearly ‘liberated’ at some point from the abbey’s archive now in the Archives départementales at Rouen. For the papal charters now in London, see Papsturkunden in England, ed. W. Holtzmann, Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse, neue Folge 25 (1930–1), 3. Folge 14–15 (1935–6) and 33 (1952), i, 174 no.23 (and cf. p.173 no.13, also listing BL Additional Charter 54148, Alexander III for Rouen); Papsturkunden in Frankreich. Neue Folge 2. Band: Normandie, ed. J. Ramackers, Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen Philologisch-Historische Klasse 3 Folge 21 (Göttingen 1937), 289–90 no.193 (J–L 13452), and J. Sayers, Original Papal Documents in England and Wales From the Accession of Pope Innocent III to the Death of Pope Benedict XI (1198–1304) (Oxford 1999), nos 35–6, 190–2, 249, 252, 254–61, 893. What seems to have been a further stray from this collection, a judgement of 1197 by Theobald bp of Amiens in favour of the monks of Foucartmont, entered the archives départementales at Rouen, by purchase, as recently as 2006: Rouen AD Seine-Maritime J1157.

280 The Quimperlé cartulary is now BL ms. Egerton 2802 (listed by Stein no.3125), purchased by the British Museum 14 December 1895 for 120 guineas, having passed from the Le Guillou family to Stapleton and from Stapleton to his nephew, Henry 9th Baron Beaumont. My attempts to list the original charters collected in Normandy by Stapleton suggest a total approaching 200 individual items.
they were mostly acquired in the summer of 1836, when an otherwise poorly documented visit to Normandy by Gage and Stapleton was followed by enquiries from Stapleton to Achille Deville over the fate of the charters of the priory of St-Gabriel in the archives at Rouen, St-Gabriel being one of the institutions whose early evidences had now come into Stapleton’s own hands.\textsuperscript{281} Stapleton’s charter collection was acquired, apparently for £30, from the Abbé de la Rue, as we can establish from the fact that it was as an ‘original charter belonging to Thomas Stapleton Esq from the collection of the Abbé de la Rue’ that one of these documents was copied into Gage’s correspondence books. In December 1836, we find Stapleton informing Gage that ‘the governor’ (i.e. Stapleton’s father) ‘has made me a present of the £30 the Norman charters cost me’.\textsuperscript{282} Further traces of Stapleton and Gage’s collecting activities have recently come to light amongst Gage’s papers in Cambridge, which themselves include at least four medieval Norman charters. Of these, one, dated 14 April 1429, was issued in the name of John d’Alençon as vicomte de Beaumont: a document likely to have caught the eye of Thomas Stapleton, given his Beaumont connection.\textsuperscript{283} Two others of the Norman charters now in Cambridge can be traced back to the archives of the sous-préfecture at Mortain where, in 1835, Léchaudé d’Anisy had unearthed a massive collection of original deeds relating principally to the Abbaye-Blanche at Mortain and to the monks of Savigny.\textsuperscript{284} Neither of the deeds now in Cambridge features in Léchaudé’s inventory of the Mortain originals, apparently compiled in 1839, leading us to suppose either that Stapleton and Gage pocketed the charters, now at Cambridge, whilst Léchaudé’s back was turned or, more probably, that at some time after 1835 but before his inventory of 1839, most likely during Gage and Stapleton’s tour of Normandy in 1836, Léchaudé himself was giving away or selling various of the Mortain

\textsuperscript{281} Cambridge University Library ms. Hengrave Hall 21/8/160, Deville to Gage, 29 September 1836.
\textsuperscript{282} Ibid. 21/8/74, 179. The transcripts in Gage’s correspondence are of a charter of Robert earl of Gloucester for Fécamp (printed from the original in Stapleton’s possession, sold in 1920 and since untraced, by R.B. Patterson, \textit{Earldom of Gloucester Charters} (Oxford 1973), 75–8 no.70) and of Richard fitz Thurstan to the priory of St-gabriel (today Hull History Centre, University Archives ms. Hull DDCA/37/46f).
\textsuperscript{283} Cambridge University Library ms. Hengrave Hall 117 (provisional numbering: Norman deeds), granting safe conduct for four months to John Rousseau and Julien Bouvet, and for another deed of the same John d’Alençon, from the Savigny archive, see AN L968 no.304 (relating to Château-Gontier, Mayenne, 24 July 1451). Besides the Beaumont charter, and the charters for the Abbaye-Blanche and Savigny considered below, the fourth document in the Hengrave Hall collection is of Stephen abbot of St-Martin at Séé, appointing a proctor for his English lands, 29 March 1429.
\textsuperscript{284} For the earlier of these, see below appendix no.68. The second, endorsed ‘Carte de Gatemo Abrncens’ (s.xiii), seal missing and the document itself badly rubbed, takes the form of an acknowledgement by Robert de … of arrangements made with the abbot of Savigny over the mortlure owed by the men residing on the land at Gatemo (Manche, cant. Sourdeval) which Robert’s ancestors had purchased from the nuns of the Abbaye-Blanche at Mortain, January 1242/3. The grantor was perhaps Robert de Presles (\textit{Præritis}), heir of Hasculf de Presles, himself married to a daughter of the previous lord of Gatemo (cf. below appendix no.68n.), who in 1236 sold the vicomté of Avranches to Louis IX, who had denied Robert’s right to inherit it from his father: \textit{CN}, no.429.
charters as souvenirs. As this suggests, Stapleton and Gage were not above seeking out stolen goods, a fact confirmed by Stapleton’s purchase of the 200 Norman charters from de la Rue in circumstances where we know, on Stapleton’s own testimony, that he was aware from the outset that de la Rue had come by his collections nefariously and through abuse of public office. As a result, the 200 Norman charters purchased by Stapleton and thereafter preserved at Carlton Towers remained a subject of controversy. The arguments here can be traced in detail from the correspondence of Léopold Delisle.

Delisle had been aware of Stapleton’s collecting activities since at least the 1850s, perhaps through their mutual acquaintance, Auguste Le Prévost. In 1881, he had sponsored the efforts of Léon Maître, archivist of Nantes, who at last gained access to the Stapleton archive at Carlton Towers and who, with the permission of the then Lord Beaumont, had made copies not only of the Quimperlé cartulary, but of 190 of the early Norman charters that Stapleton had carried off to England. In 1890, Delisle attempted to enter into further correspondence with Lord Beaumont, enlisting the help of various aristocratic intermediaries, both French and English, in the hope that the Quimperlé cartulary might be repatriated to the Bibliothèque nationale. Obtaining no reply, in May 1895 he wrote again, this time to the French ambassador in London, asking that the ambassador help secure the return not only of the Quimperlé cartulary but of Stapleton’s Norman charters. In response, the following month, Delisle received a letter from Violet Lady Beaumont, written from the eminently respectable 49 Eaton Place, informing him that Lord Beaumont had died three years earlier, but offering to sell the manuscripts should a reasonable price be offered. Delisle offered 2000 Francs (£80) for the cartulary, and 2500 Francs (£100)

285 For the circumstances of the discovery, see Léchaudé’s memorandum in Bnf ms. Latin 10078 fos. A–C, with a list of the 1569 items for Savigny, dated in pencil ‘1839’ at pp.1–140, and of the 402 items for the Abbaye-Blanche at pp.141–65. Various copies, dated 1835, were made by Léchaudé from originals then in the sous-préfecture at Mortain in his ‘Cartulaire de Basse-Normandie’, TNA PrO 31/8/140B part 1, for example at p.91 no.4.

286 For Stapleton’s awareness of this point, from the time of his first meeting with de la Rue in 1833, see above p.54.

287 Delisle’s letters on the ‘affaire Stapleton’, together with various later memoranda, are preserved in Bnf ms. nouv.acq.français 23910 fos.117r–133r.

288 Memoranda in Ibid. fos.131r–132r.

289 Maître’s copies are now Bnf mss. nouv.acq.latines 1427 (Cartulaire de Quimperlé) and 1428 (Norman charters), and see the published note by Léopold Delisle in BEC, xlii (1881), 250–3. Some, but by no means all of the charters transcribed in nouv.acq. latines 1428 are briefly listed by Delisle in his Catalogue des manuscrits du fonds de la Trémoïlle (Paris 1889), 19–24.

290 Bnf ms. nouv.acq.français 23910 fos.118r–120r, draft letters of Delisle to Lord Beaumont, January 1890, noting introductions effected in 1881 by the Marquis de la Ferronnays and more recently by Lady Herbert.

291 Ibid. fos.121r–123r, draft of Delisle to Monsieur de Courcel, 8 May 1895, referring to Thomas Stapleton as the ‘très savant antiquaire anglais’.

292 Ibid. fos.124r–125v, Lady Beaumont to Delisle, in French, describing these manuscripts as a personal bequest from her husband to herself and assuring him of the ‘état parfait’ of the Quimperlé cartulary, 10 June 1895.
for the charters. But the offer did not impress. Instead, Lady Beaumont now declared that, on her solicitor’s advice, she was proceeding to the sale of the Quimperlé cartulary at Christie and Manson’s auction house, the British Museum having already offered a higher price. As for the charters, she declared that she had never set eyes on them and doubted whether they were still to be found at Carlton. The Quimperlé cartulary was duly sold to the British Museum in December 1895 for 120 guineas (£126). Lady Beaumont’s power to negotiate here was, to say the least, questionable, since Thomas Stapleton’s collections had surely passed out of her control at the death of her husband, the 9th Lord Beaumont, in 1892, into the ownership of the 10th Lord Beaumont, still living in May 1895. Moreover, there is an interesting postscript to this story, that sheds much light on Delisle and not a little on Lady Beaumont. Clearly irked by Lady Beaumont’s response, not least because he was then in the midst of a far more serious battle with the British authorities over his attempts, eventually successful, to secure the repatriation of the many hundreds of manuscripts stolen from public libraries in France by the notorious scoundrel, Libri, and since sold to Lord Ashburnham, Delisle sought the advice of the splendidly named Monsieur le comte du Pontavice de Heussey, ‘Chef d’Escadron d’Artillerie’, then serving as French military attaché in London. From the count, he received an alarming account of Lady Beaumont, preserved amongst Delisle’s papers, that deserves to be quoted at length:


The economy of expression here, no less than the inaccuracies of reportage, bear witness to Delisle’s fury, and the fury of Delisle, like that of so many librarians, is not to be underestimated. The comte, meanwhile, was writing less than a year after a rather more notorious outburst of French military anti-semitism had consigned Captain Alfred Dreyfus to life imprisonment on Devil’s Island.

293 Ibid. fo.126r, draft letter from Delisle to Lady Beaumont, headed ‘du 15 au 20 Juin 1895’, the uncertain date perhaps reflecting the need to consult over prices. The letter refers in passing to Delisle’s possession of a ‘précieuse correspondance’ with Thomas Stapleton, presumably the letters that had passed between Le Prévost and Stapleton (above p.63 n.222), since untraced.  
294 Ibid. fos.127r–128v, Lady Beaumont to Delisle, 28 June 1895.  
295 Information from Julian Harrison.  
296 Ibid. fo.130r, note by Delisle reporting receipt of a letter of 26 October 1895. The calling card of Monsieur le comte du Pontavice de Heussey is preserved in Ibid. fo.129r.
Delisle’s attempts to repatriate the Stapleton charters having failed, the majority were dispersed in October 1920 at sale from the Carlton Towers library. At this sale, held at Sotheby’s, a single one of the 180 or more charters, in this instance with sign manuals of King William I, fetched £500, supplying some justification for Lady Beaumont’s reluctance to accept the £100 offered by Delisle in 1895 for the entire collection.297 From the sale itself, more than 120 of the charters were purchased by Quaritch acting on behalf of the John Rylands Library in Manchester. Others, purchased privately, have since entered the British Library as a result of resale or gift. The items acquired by the Rylands are well catalogued in print, those in the British Library less so.298 Meanwhile, several lots, including up to thirty charters for the abbeys of St-Etienne and La Trinité at Caen, sold in 1920 to a variety of buyers, particularly to Maggs, remain untraced.299 Yet another small cache of Norman charters, including very early royal charters for St-Etienne Caen, went unsold in 1920 and was only removed from Carlton Towers in the 1970s. Today these are to be found in the somewhat unlikely custody of the library of the University of Hull, cited thence and in the more significant cases since published by David Bates.300 Others of Thomas Stapleton’s charters, including an original diploma of Henry I for St-Etienne Caen recently tracked down to the collections of the Morgan Library in New York, continue to surface, sometimes in the most surprising of places.301


298 Handlist of Charters, ed. Fawtier, 1–19; BL mss. Additional Charters 66980, 67574–93, 75503, mostly catalogued in British Museum Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts 1926–1930 (London 1959), 250–2, listing the items acquired in 1930 from R.A. Coates, in some cases having first passed through the hands of W.A. Lindsay, lots 188, 190–1, 193, 214 and part of lot 194 in the sale of 1920. For the 1920 sale itself, see Catalogue of Important Medieval Manuscripts … The Property of the Baroness Beaumont, Carlton Towers, Yorks., (Sotheby’s, London 22 October 1920), esp. lots 184–228.

299 From the sale of 1920, a single charter from lot 188, 3 from lot 194, the 12 documents in lots 197–8, the 14 in lots 204 and 206, the 6 in lot 211, one item from lot 218, and 5 items from lots 221 and 224, remain untraced. The majority of these were bought at the sale by Maggs Bros., who retain no record of their subsequent resale. I am indebted to Robert Harding of Maggs for his assistance here. I am currently preparing a full list of the missing items as part of a more detailed study of the collection.

300 Hull History Centre, University Archives DDCA/37/46a–j, with a full edition of some of the more important items by D. Bates, ‘Four Recently Rediscovered Norman Charters’, Annales de Normandie, xlv (1995), 35–48. A copy of a thirteenth-century survey of the diocese of Coutances, apparently transcribed in 1816, is still amongst the materials now at Hull: DDCA3/7/1.

3. THE EVIDENCES

I hope thus far to have demonstrated that students of ducal Normandy ignore the manuscript resources of England very much at their peril. The proof of this is best demonstrated by a selection of the available evidences. What follows here, save in my edition of the principal surviving French and Norman evidences from Canterbury Cathedral, brought together towards the end of this edition, represents a selection rather than a comprehensive edition: a selection that is deliberately eclectic and that is intended to illustrate the importance of English archives for Anglo-Norman relations in the decades either side of King John’s loss of Normandy in 1204. Let us begin here with the evidences of The National Archives and in particular with the so-called Norman Rolls, revived in the fifteenth century as a result of Henry V’s conquests after Agincourt. I have edited below an important grant by King Henry I to the monastery of La Trinité at Rouen, which has previously escaped the editors of King Henry’s charters. From the same rolls, I have also transcribed below two Norman charters of King John, for the monks of Beaubec and the men of Falaise, issued during the third and fourth years of John’s reign – years of vital significance for the duchy of Normandy, but for which the chancery Charter rolls of John’s own reign are now missing. The first of these charters, given at Montfort on 26 October 1201, which also survives as an original in the archives of Beaubec at Rouen, merely rehearses the terms of a confirmation issued by King Henry II. It is nonetheless of significance in demonstrating that within a few years of his conquest of Ireland, Henry II had confirmed lands in Ireland, in County Meath, upon the Norman abbey of Beaubec. The second charter of King John printed below, for the men of Falaise, given at Argentan on 11 August 1202, is known otherwise only from a late copy in the municipal archives of Falaise, and is indicative of John’s attempts to buy the support of the Norman towns amidst the blandishments extended to the duchy by Philip Augustus, on the eve of the Capetian conquest of the duchy. Complementing these royal documents, a further pair of charters of King John is published below from the thirteenth-century Cartae Antiquae Rolls, the first, undated but assignable to the period before May 1203, involving an exchange of land at Maldon in Essex between the lepers of Le Bois-Halbout and the Norman bishop of London, William de Ste-Mère-Eglise, the second, of 15 September 1208, relating to the confiscated estate of Robert fitz Erneis, a significant Norman baron, who himself had held a moiety of the manor of Maldon before his defection to the Capetian cause, c. 1204. A mid thirteenth-century roll of charters, copied for

302 Below appendix no.1.
303 Below appendix no.2.
304 Below appendix no.3.
305 Below appendix nos 4–5.
their significance for the administration of the King’s forests in England, supplies a further charter of King John, issued at Rouen on 31 March 1203, conferring assarts within the forest at Weedon Beck in Northamptonshire upon the monks of Bec. The survival of this charter, both in this and other copies, and as an original now at Eton College, allows us to compare the truncated witness list supplied for the copies with the much longer list of witnesses appended to the original.306

Returning thence to the fifteenth-century Norman chancery rolls, I have selected a small handful of the private Norman charters which occur in the Henry V enrolments. Amongst fifty or so such inspected charters, a considerable number survive, either in the original or in further copies, in Norman archives. Of those that do not, a charter of Peter de Préaux not only represents a unique survival of evidences relating to the Augustinian Abbey of Beaulieu near Préaux, but complements and adds further details to a charter of King John enrolled on the chancery Charter Roll.307 Charters of Reginald de Pavilly for the lepers of Rouen, of Robert de Courtenay for the monks of La Noë, and of Nicholas de Montaigne for the monks of Bonport, illustrate the secular patronage of Norman religious institutions either side of the Capetian conquest of 1204, and complement the evidences surviving in Norman archives.308 The grant of Nicholas de Montaigne includes an important snapshot of the Norman Exchequer, once again at work in Rouen in 1208 only a few years after the collapse of Plantagenet administration.309 Taken together, these documents are intended to draw the attention of Anglo-Norman historians to the other, more extensive enrolments of early Norman evidences still to be recovered from the Norman chancery rolls. Concluding this section of early evidences taken from enrolments, I have transcribed below a charter of the dean and chapter of Mortain, c.1260, relating to their estates in Wiltshire, taken from the Wiltshire Forest Eyre Roll of 1263: a rare survival from the evidences of a Norman institution, the collegiate church of St Evroult and St Guillaume Firmat at Mortain, which have otherwise vanished almost entirely, and a useful reminder of the way in which Norman charters can turn up haphazardly, even amongst the least likely of English enrolments.310

Turning from the enrolments to The National Archives’ vast collection of original deeds, and in particular to those deeds relating to Norman religious houses or alien priories with lands in England, I have transcribed below a charter of Robert archbishop of Rouen, issued in 1209 or 1210, concerning an annual rent that the archdeacon of Eu was accustomed to receive from the monks of Lewes, and demonstrating that Lewes, like other English houses, had property of its own in Normandy, in this instance a priory or cell at Etoutteville-sur-Mer whose existence has previously gone

306 Below appendix no.6.
307 Below appendix no.7.
308 Below appendix nos 8–10.
309 Below appendix no.10.
310 Below appendix no.11.
unnounced by English historians.\(^{311}\) For a period, Lewes enjoyed jurisdiction both over the priory at Etoutteville-sur-Mer and over the Cluniac priory at Mortemer-sur-Eaulne.\(^{312}\) From a similar series of miscellaneous deeds, another charter, of February 1258, demonstrates that even fifty years after the Plantagenet loss of Normandy, the monks of Fécamp were entering into new confraternity arrangements with the abbot and monks of Pershore in Worcestershire.\(^{313}\)

The materials in these Ancient Deeds series are so extensive, and relate so frequently to the alien priories, that no attempt here can be made to supply even a skeleton outline of their riches. By contrast, from the archives of the Duchy of Lancaster, it is possible to aim at a more or less complete edition of Norman evidences. From amongst those that have already been published, I have drawn attention above to exchanges of lands in the Roumare fee in both England and Normandy, published by Stenton and Cazel.\(^{314}\) These charters can now be supplemented by three further deeds, of the late 1160s or 1170s, by which Roger de Tilleul and Robert le Chalceis (or ‘de Caux’) abandoned their lands within the Lincolnshire honour of Bolingbroke in return for a confirmation of an extensive estate in the Roumare fee at Roumare, Barentin, Bouteilles and elsewhere.\(^{315}\) Other Norman evidences in the Duchy of Lancaster series have previously gone entirely unnoticed. These include an inquest returned to King John by abbot Samson of St-Etienne Caen and his three fellow officers who we know, from the Norman charter roll and elsewhere, headed the Exchequer at Caen between 1200 and 1204. The inquest, into the lands held by William de Mandeville at Beuzeval near Bayeux, is interesting in its own right, and all the more so for being returned by the same Peter de Lions who is recorded in the Norman charter roll as clerk at the Exchequer, written in a hand that is remarkably similar, indeed quite possibly identical to that which wrote the surviving roll of Norman charters for the year 2 John.\(^{316}\)

On the face of things, the next four Duchy of Lancaster deeds printed below have no direct bearing upon Norman history, save that they were issued by an Anglo-Norman family, the Pirous (Pirou, Manche, cant. Lessay), in respect to their estate at Chedzoy in Somerset. However, if we probe a little deeper, the story that these charters tell may well be Norman in focus. William de Pirou, lord of Pirou in Manche, appears to have held part of his estate from the honour of Mortain, losing possession of Chedzoy in the early 1190s almost certainly as a result of support for the rebellion of John count of Mortain, the king’s brother. In 1194, after King Richard’s return,

\(^{311}\) Below appendix no.12.

\(^{312}\) See here the list of dependencies assigned to Lewes in BL ms. Stowe 935 (Monks Horton cartulary) fo.56r (183r): ‘Prioratus de Estotauilla in Rotomagensi dioc(es)i taxatur. Prioratus de Mortuo Mari in dict(a) dio(es)i taxatur’, and cf. Cottineau, i, 1082, ii, 1991, and the visitations of Eudes Rigaud archbp of Rouen, cited below no.12 note.

\(^{313}\) Below appendix no.13, with a counterpart from the Fécamp archives, below no.14.

\(^{314}\) Above p.22.

\(^{315}\) Below appendix nos 15–17.

\(^{316}\) Below appendix no.18.
William was restored to possession of Chedzoy, apparently holding it in one form or another from the mortain estate until 1199, after which it passed to William Brewer, one of King John’s closest henchmen. Brewer’s title to Chedzoy was nonetheless disputed by the manor’s immediate overlords, the Montagu family, who pursued their claim through to the time of Brewer’s death in the late 1220s. Our series of charters here begins with letters of William de Pirou in which he informs an unnamed King, possibly Richard but more likely King John or Henry III, that he is sending Richard de Pirou, his son, to seek possession of Chedzoy. The remaining three charters detail the process by which Richard de Pirou transferred the estate to William Brewer in return for an annual rent of 100 shillings. The principal charter here makes plain that the rent was to be reduced according to the amount that Brewer might spend in any year discharging his obligations to the manor’s overlord, presumably William de Montagu. However, had only this charter survived we would have no idea that Richard de Pirou further disclaimed his right to the rent until such a time as he could obtain full seisin of Chedzoy from the king and his council – a significant indication of the extent to which the survival of a series of

317 PR 6 Richard I, 19, 189; PR 7 Richard I, 39, 230, 234; PR 8 Richard I, 215; Rot. Ob., 8. William or a namesake served subsequently as keeper of Bristol, one of Count John’s principal assets: PR 8 Richard I, 109–10; PR 9 Richard I, 128. For reference to his debts in Normandy after 1195, see MRSN, i, 198, 229, ii, 297, 523, 536. For what appears to be the earliest reference to William Brewer’s tenancy at Chedzoy, before 1216, see RLC, i, 252b, and cf. VCH Somerset, vi, 246. In 1200, William de Pirou fined to take possession of the Tracy lands near Vire in Normandy, remaining in possession until after the conquest of Normandy by Philip Augustus, apparently until at least 1213: Rot. Norm., 38; Registres, 268; Jugements, 32–3 no.125, 166–7 no.729. A William de Pirou, son of Alexander de Pirou, tenant of Richard de Montagu, occurs in Somerset 1174 X 1180, apparently as successor to an earlier lord of Chedzoy named Alured de Pirou fl. before 1166, Richard de Montagu himself having married a woman named Alice de Pirou: Two Cartularies of the Benedictine Abbeys of Muchelney and Athelney, ed. E.H. Bates, Somerset Record Society xiv (1899), 135 no.33; A Cartulary of Buckland Priory, ed. F.W. Weaver, Somerset Record Society xxv (1909), 104–5 no.179; Two Cartularies of the Augustinian Priory of Bruton and the Cluniac Priory of Montacute, ed. T.S. Holmes, Somerset Record Society viii (1894), 25 no.105. For references to charters of William and Richard de Pirou in favour of the monks of Aunay and Blancheleande, formerly St-Lô, Archives départementales de la Manche H33, H102 and H326, see F.–N. Dubosc, Inventaire sommaire (des archives départementales de la Manche) série H, vol.1 part 1 (St-Lô 1875), 5, 15, 52. For a Ralph de Pirou and William de Pirou his son, temp. Richard bp of Coutances (1150–1178), see Paris, BN ms. Latin 17137 (St-Sauveur cartulary) fos.180r–v, 182r–v nos 235–6, 239. William de Pirou ‘the elder’, together with his wife Prebreia/Ebrea de Tracy, was still living in 1216, but seems to have been succeeded before 1217 when various grants were confirmed by William de Pirou ‘the younger’: P. Le Cacheux, Essai historique sur l’Hôtel-Dieu de Coutances, l’Hôpital-Général et les Augustins Hospitalières, 2 vols (Paris 1895–9), ii (‘Cartulaire de l’Hôtel-Dieu’), 9–10 nos 10–11, 16–17 no.20, concerning mills and forest rights at Montpinchon (Manche, cant. Cerisy-la-Salle) and La Vendele (Manche, cant. St-Malo-de-la-Lande), for which references I am indebted to Daniel Power.

318 CRR, vii, 29, x, 125, xi, nos 2, 1147, xii, nos 826, 1155, 1435, 1640, 2227; RLC, ii, 160; VCH Somerset, vi, 246.

319 Below appendix no.19.
320 Below appendix nos 20–2. In the 1190s, the manor appears to have been valued at £10 per annum (PR 7 Richard I, 39), so that the rent required from Brewer represented roughly half of the manor’s true value.
321 Below appendix no.20.
charters can often disclose details that would be entirely distorted were only a single charter to survive. Throughout, the reference by William de Pirou to sending Richard his son to the king, and Richard de Pirou’s own undertaking both to send properly accredited representatives to collect rent at Chedzoy and to obtain a full confirmation of his charter from William, his father, suggest that the Pirous themselves resided at some distance both from the king and from Somerset. What we have here, I would suggest, are letters and charters issued by Normans, in the aftermath of 1204, who though unable to obtain King John’s confirmation of their English lands, nonetheless determined to ensure a promise of future advantage, first by investing their claim in a member of the family, Richard de Pirou, who might hope to claim lands in England despite the allegiance of his father in Normandy, and then, when this failed, by transferring the land to the king’s henchman William Brewer, on the understanding that Brewer would pay rent if and when the Pirou family could regain seisin in England. The attempt itself failed. It nonetheless suggests that even after 1204 there were Normans who, although most anxious to retain their Norman lands and hence forced to recognise the authority of Philip Augustus, were by no means convinced either that the breach between England and Normandy would prove permanent or that they must abandon all claims to their English estates. As has been argued elsewhere, had John or Henry III shown greater sensitivity to the plight of those Norman lords caught up in the Capetian conquest, and had John not insisted, immediately after 1204, that all men make a clear choice between keeping their lands in England or in Normandy, then the chances of a Plantagenet reconquest might have been considerably improved.

The other charters printed below from the Duchy of Lancaster series concern relations with Normandy in the decades after 1204, and once again, as with the main series of Ancient Deeds in The National Archives, come from an archive rich in charters of the alien priories. We have seen already that a charter of King John, preserved in the fifteenth-century Norman Rolls, is crucial in proving that the abbey of Beaubec received its lands in Ireland as early as the 1180s, perhaps immediately after Henry II’s seizure of Ireland in 1172–3. Two of the Duchy of Lancaster deeds concern this same Irish daughter-house of Beaubec alias ‘Beybeg’, south of Drogheda, to which, at some time after his exile from Ireland during the reign of King John, Walter de Lacy confirmed an estate at ‘Killekeran’ (perhaps Castlekeeran, Templekeeran or Kilcarn, all in County Meath) together with the church

322 Below appendix no.22.
323 Below appendix nos 19, 21.
325 Below appendix no.2.
of St Patrick at Trim. Walter’s charters are interesting, in part because they show a secular lord endowing a vicarage (a function more usually left to bishops), in part because they distinguish between the English inhabitants of Ireland and the ‘Bethani’, the native Irish treated here as a subject people of lower legal status. De Lacy’s patronage of Beaubec was known to William Dugdale and rehearsed in the Monasticon, but only from a subsequent confirmation charter of King Henry III. The Duchy deeds here can be supplemented by a related charter, now preserved in the British Library, recording further grants by Walter de Lacy to the monks of Beaubec in Ireland. The other Duchy charters printed below, confirming a settlement between Simon de Montfort and the proctor appointed by the monks of Bec for their lands in England, represent two of at least three, another surviving in the archives départementales at Rouen, in which that most improbable of francophile English patriots, Simon de Montfort, is to be found negotiating with the religious corporations of Normandy.

We have seen that the Ancient Correspondence series of The National Archives (SC 1) contains numerous letters with a Norman focus. Below, I have printed a letter of 1234 from the archbishop of Rouen, sent in the midst of the upheavals at court occasioned by the king’s dismissal of the ministry of Peter des Roches, requesting the assistance of Edmund archbishop of Canterbury in protecting Rouen’s estate at Bentworth in Hampshire, menaced by the king’s bailiffs of Odiham. A further such Norman petition, from the dean and chapter of the collegiate church at Sauqueville, c. June 1286, has to be set in the context of a pair of charters, one in the archives at Rouen, the other in the British Library, setting out the terms of Jordan de Sauqueville’s augmentation of the college’s rents

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326 Below appendix nos 23–4, and cf. M. Potterton, Medieval Trim: History and Archaeology (Dublin 2005), 270, for access to which book I am indebted to Marie Therese Flanagan. For the manor of Beaubec near Drogheda, see also Inquisitions and Extents of Medieval Ireland, ed. P. Dryburgh and B. Smith, List and Index Society cccxx (2007), 135–6 no.250.


328 Below appendix no.25. This charter (BL ms. Additional Charter 19803) is one of more than two thousand acquired on 12 July 1873 from G.R. Attenborough. The source of these documents, previously overlooked, was almost certainly the private collection of the Elizabethan antiquary, Sir Christopher Hatton, reported by both Tanner and Dugdale to have possessed large numbers of charters from Sulby/Welford Abbey (in which the Attenborough collection in the BL is particularly rich) and who certainly owned what are now BL mss. Additional Charters 20419, 20544, 20554, printed as from Hatton’s collections by Dugdale in Monasticon, iv, 285, v, 410, vi, 520, and for Hatton’s private collections, see also Hatton’s Seals, p.xxvii. In 1874, a year after Attenborough’s bequest, a large collection of Hatton’s correspondence entered the library as BL mss. Additional 29548–85. By no means all of Hatton’s charters (which are to be distinguished from those belonging to his fellow antiquaries, temporarily gathered together for the making of Hatton’s ‘Book of Seals’) were acquired with the Attenborough bequest. Some had already strayed as long ago as the seventeenth century. See, for example, BL ms. Cotton Charter XI.13, printed as from the Hatton library, in Monasticon, iii, 578.


330 Below appendix no.28.
in 1201–2, granting the canons the manor of Helmingham in Suffolk: an important reminder this, of the fact that Anglo-Norman landowners were still making cross-Channel grants of land on the very eve of the Capetian conquest.331 Jordan de Sauqueville, indeed, was one of those rare Anglo-Norman landowners who, after 1204 and as a satellite of the Marshal earls of Pembroke, was able to retain his property on both sides of the Channel.332 The subsequent fortunes of his college at Sauqueville, deprived of its revenues from Suffolk and as a result fallen upon evil times, serves as a reminder of the extent to which the religious of Normandy, particularly those heavily dependent upon English revenues, were thrown into financial crisis as a result of the events of 1204.333

Turning now from The National Archives to evidences preserved in other English archives, it was not only religious corporations but a large number of secular Anglo-Norman lords who had at one time possessed Norman land. On rare occasions we find charters to secular beneficiaries, still preserved, not only in such archives as those of the Duchy of Lancaster, now in public custody, but in private, family collections in England, in which Norman estates or Norman dignitaries appear. Some of these charters have entered the British Library or the various English local record offices in which such collections are deposited. Others remain in private custody.334 Since the archivists who catalogued or listed such collections were rarely on the look out for Norman evidences or familiar with the means by which Norman place-names could be identified, it is not surprising that various Norman charters have been misidentified in the past as if they referred to English locations. Amongst the vast muniment collections of Lord Middleton, for example, now deposited in the archives of Nottingham University, there lurk at least two Norman charters, the most important being a grant by Henry de Montfort, lord of Beaudesert in Warwickshire c.1185, to Hugh de Montfort his brother, granting all his lands in ‘Pychauilla’, ‘Gouteuilla’ and ‘Cleuilla’ in return for an annual

331 Below appendix nos 29–34.
334 See the examples from Eaton Hall and Belvoir Castle, cited below p.91 n.338, and see a final concord made in the king’s court at Caen in 1204, concerning the English and Norman estates of Ralph de Argosis and Alured de Solenneio, once amongst the muniments of Sir E.O. Every at Egginton, Derbyshire, whence calendared by I.H. Jeayes, Descriptive Catalogue of Derbyshire Charters in Public and Private Libraries and Muniment Rooms (London 1906), 220 no.1753, not now to be found amongst the Every charters deposited at Matlock, Derbyshire Record Office, or at Derby, Local Studies Library, as drawn to my attention by Daniel Power. A grant of land in ‘Rochude’ and Caen by Henry Fitz Herbert to William de Aubenes, once amongst the muniments of Reginald Cholmondeley of Condover Hall, Shropshire (HMC 5th Report (London 1876), appendix p.534b), was sold at auction in 1887 and is since untraced. For the donor, Henry Fitz Herbert (fl.c.1170), subsequently a monk of St-Etienne Caen, see L. Jean-Marie, Caen aux XIe et XIIe siècles: espace urbain, pouvoirs et société (Condé-sur-Noireau 2000), 261, 270.
Norman Charters from English Sources

quit rent of a pair of spurs.\textsuperscript{335} The nineteenth-century cataloguer of this deed sought to identify ‘Pychauilla’ as Pickwell in Leicestershire. In reality it is Picauville (Manche, cant. Ste-Mère-Eglise), in which commune are to be found hamlets named Gueutteville and Clainville, supplying significant evidence for the Norman landholding of the Montforts of Beaudesert, in this instance lying well beyond the supposed homeland of the family in the Risle valley, in a manor of the Cotentin perhaps acquired by one or other of the Montforts through marriage. By what means this document came into the Middleton collection remains obscure, but it is preserved there in company with at least one other Norman charter, printed below, by which Oliver de Vrigny quitclaimed land in Normandy to John du Hommet, member of a distinguished Norman family.\textsuperscript{336} Other such Norman charters, in no small number, still await discovery amongst English family collections. Below, as a further example of the genre, from the muniments today belonging to the Wingfield-Digby family or dispersed from the Wingfield-Digby collection to the British Library, I have reassembled a pair of charters of Arnulf bishop of Lisieux, recording a division of the estate of an English archdeacon of Lisieux, Robert of Arden, for whose date and circumstances I would refer readers to the splendid edition of Mowbray charters by Diana Greenway.\textsuperscript{337}

Despite various of the examples cited thus far, even by 1200, and even in royal confirmations, it is unusual to find charters which refer to a mixture of English and Norman estates.\textsuperscript{338} The chancery of Henry II already demonstrated a tendency to issue distinct charters of confirmation to Norman houses, listing English lands separately from those held in Normandy itself. In part this must reflect the differences in land law between the duchy and the kingdom, in part the practical difficulties for a Norman landowner in transporting charters and documents across the Channel to defend title in England. In the case of the abbey of Bec, for example, it seems that as early as the 1150s, the monks obtained distinct charters of confirmation for their Norman and their English estates, the Norman charters to be kept at Bec itself, the English charters at one or other of their dependent priories in England.\textsuperscript{339} Several examples could be cited from later in the thirteenth

\textsuperscript{335} Below appendix no.35.
\textsuperscript{336} Below appendix no.36.
\textsuperscript{339} For charters of Henry II apparently produced to meet the particular requirements of the monks of Bec for their English priories, as opposed to a charter of confirmation solely for the monks’ Norman estates, see \textit{Acta Henry II}, nos 179–80, 184. For distinct charters of Henry
century, in which French churchmen sent transcripts rather than original documents to England, claiming that the perils of the sea crossing were too great to risk the dispatch of the originals.\(^{340}\) Such fears were by no means unjustified, as demonstrated in the case of the canons of Notre-Dame de Voeu at Cherbourg, who in the 1260s sent to England a charter of Henry II, confirming both their estate at Hough-on-the-Hill in Lincolnshire and their rights in the Norman forest of Brix (Manche, cant. Valognes), only to have the charter disappear amidst the turmoil of the baronial rebellion.\(^{341}\) The rarity of charters mentioning lands in both England and Normandy must also reflect the tendency, remarked by David Crouch and fully displayed in the three Bolingbroke charters printed below, for Anglo-Norman families, long before the debacle of 1204, to divide into distinct English and Norman branches. Many such families, even as early as the 1150s or 60s, had a very clear idea of the particular side of the Channel on which their principal interests lay and hence, after 1204, were left in doubt as to whether to side with John or Philip Augustus. This phenomenon, as Professor Crouch remarks, served as an important long-term factor in the collapse of Plantagenet lordship in France.\(^{342}\) With only the king himself and a few of the greater noble families possessing substantial estates both in England and in France, not only were the ties that bound the old Anglo-Norman realm together slowly loosened, but, after 1204, the king’s desire for reconquest met with a less than enthusiastic response from the majority of his English barons and knights.

These same tendencies can be observed in a pair of charters of 1201, issued on the eve of the Capetian conquest, by which Robert count of Meulan sought to endow his granddaughter Mary and her husband, Peter de Préaux, with his entire estate in France, Normandy and England in return for a cash payment of 10,000 marks. Previously known only from a nineteenth-century printing, one of these charters today survives amongst the muniments of the Trevelyans, deposited in the Somerset Record Office at Taunton. The other is known only from seventeenth-century copies.\(^{343}\) When this arrangement failed, in part through the defection of Peter de Préaux and of count Robert’s own son to the French, on 1 May 1204, Robert attempted a second settlement in favour of his daughter, Mabel, married to William de Vernon earl of Devon, this time known only

\(^{340}\) See, for example, Exeter, Devon Record Office ms. 312M/TY57, letters of William de Beaumont, bp of Angers in favour of Totnes priory, apologising for failing to dispatch the original charters here abstracted ‘cum periculosum esset … dictas cartas sigillatas propter alicuius rei infortunium ad partes vestras transmisse’.

\(^{341}\) CPR 1266–72, 206–7.


\(^{343}\) Below, appendix nos 39–40, and cf Hatton’s Seals, 135–6 no.191n.
from an early-modern transcript out of a lost Norman cartulary, to which Thomas Stapleton was the first modern historian to draw attention. On a similar note, two further charters, the first a division of English and Norman lands by the head of the Courcy family today known only from copies made in the seventeenth century by Elias Ashmole, the second the record of a settlement made at the Norman Exchequer but nonetheless referring to lands in Cambridgeshire, demonstrate that, although rare, such mixed, Anglo-Norman settlements are by no means unknown. A third charter, issued by Richard de Barentin, son of Henry II’s butler, Alexander de Barentin, reveals an interesting disposition of estates, again on the eve of the conquest of 1204, with Richard disposing of the majority of his Norman patrimony whilst seeking to retain rents from it, payable in England. Letters from the barons of Dover to the archbishop of Rouen, apparently sent after 1197 but before King John’s loss of Normandy, reveal the efforts made by the monks of St Augustine’s Canterbury to obtain exemption from toll at Dieppe, apparently by claiming to be fellow citizens of the men of Dover, themselves quit from such tolls. Selecting two from the fairly considerable number of charters surviving in English archives relating to the Norman possessions of English monks, Aldulf de Brachy’s foundation charter for a Sempringhamite house, intended to be established on his ancestral estate at Brachy in Upper Normandy, is one of the more remarkable examples, from the 1170s or 80s, of attempts made to integrate English monks into Norman society. The attempt was a total failure, so that the churches and lands here assigned to the Brachy house were, by the early 1180s, either recovered by Aldulf and his heirs or, in the case of the English lands, redistributed amongst other Sempringhamite foundations in England. On a slightly more successful note, and following the transfer of the church of Ecrammeville to the monks of St James’ Bristol by William earl of Gloucester before 1179, letters of King John to the bishop of Bayeux, sent in March 1202 and preserved only in a Tewkesbury cartulary, record actions over the advowson of the church of Ecrammeville, apparently involving an attempt by the Norman baron, William Infans, to subvert procedures in the Norman courts by bringing an action of ‘ultima presentatione’ without royal writ and before justices who had not been appointed by the king. As an illustration of the ‘slow death’ of Anglo-Norman England, and of the tenacity with which not only Norman religious institutions, but Anglo-Norman families in England continued to maintain their cross-Channel connections after 1204, I conclude this particular section of my sample with two transcripts, from the evidences of the Bussy family today divided between the Northamptonshire Record Office and the

345 Below appendix nos 41–2.
346 Below appendix no.43.
347 Below appendix no.44.
348 Below appendix no.45.
349 Below appendix no.46.
British Library, demonstrating that, as late as 1232, the Lincolnshire knight, Lambert de Bussy, was seeking a place for himself and his parents amongst the benefactors commemorated in the martyrology of the canons of Notre-Dame-de-Vœu near Cherbourg. From a similar date, or slightly earlier, a charter of the abbot of Valmont, today preserved at Eton College, reveals Norman monks not only extending spiritual benefits but dispatching relics of the saints to encourage devotion to an English daughter house.  

All of these documents survive because they were kept with the archives of particular English families or estates. As a result, without ever having passed through the Public Records, they were either deposited in English local record offices in the twentieth century, or were sold, ultimately to the British Library, that great mopper-up of historical evidences. On a similar note, the next portion of our collection, a series of more than a dozen deeds, today in the British Library, ranging in date from the mid-twelfth century to the 1290s and for the most part relating to the English estates of the nunnery of La Chaise-Dieu, a dependency of Fontevraud, survived the Middle Ages in English custody, as a result of the arrangements made by the nuns of La Chaise-Dieu, after 1243, by which their English revenues were at first farmed to their fellow Fontevraudists at Nuneaton in return for an annual pension, in 1291 being definitively sold to Nuneaton Priory. It was as part of the muniments of Nuneaton Priory that these charters, together with an isolated charter of the Norman abbey of Cormeilles, were passed down to the post-Reformation landowners who came into possession of the priory site, and thereafter, as recently as 1912, into the custody of the British Library. The collection of charters for La Chaise-Dieu is all the more valuable for the fact that the muniments of the house itself, in Normandy, failed in most cases to survive the French Revolution, so that today only a tiny handful of the charters preserved in the British Library have left any trace amongst the priory’s surviving inventories, now in the archives départementales at Évreux.

By contrast to such collections of deeds which have for centuries been in English custody, as I have already indicated, some of the richest of the collections of Norman evidences today in England result not from medieval estate management or the survival of family archives in English collections, but from the collecting activities of eighteenth and nineteenth-century antiquaries, who brought to England either copies or originals of documents in many cases no longer to be found amongst the Norman archives in which they were originally housed. We have seen here the important role played by Léchaudé d’Anisy as a collector and copier of...
documents. The richest of Léchaudé’s collections of transcripts, his so-called ‘Cartulaire de Basse-Normandie’, is best experienced in the original, by ordering it up in the search room of The National Archives at Kew. There is a great deal in Léchaudé’s ‘Cartulaire’ that was not abstracted in J.H. Round’s Calendar of Documents Preserved in France, and which has left little or no trace in the French archives in which Léchaudé himself worked. As a foretaste of some of the riches which Léchaudé’s transcripts have yet to disclose, I have printed below a charter of Henry II for the abbey of Longues, copied by Léchaudé from what he considered to be his own collection, most likely from evidences ‘abstracted’ from the departmental archives at Caen, some of which would have vanished without trace had they not been copied into Léchaudé’s ‘Cartulaire’.

Léchaudé, like others of the scholar collectors, was not averse to the removal or purchase of documents that by rights had been deposited in French public collections after the Revolution of 1789. We have seen already that Léchaudé was only one of these collectors. Others who were particularly active included the Abbé de la Rue, J.H. Wiffen, Sir Thomas Phillipps and, in some ways the hero of our story, Thomas Stapleton. Of the evidences preserved by such means, I have begun my selection (and once again, it is very much a selection rather than an attempt at anything more comprehensive) with one of the dozen charters from Lower Normandy that entered the British Library as a result of the collecting activities of J.H. Wiffen in 1832. This particular charter from Wiffen’s cache – a grant by Philippa de Rosel to the canons of Ardenne – preserves vital information on the membership of the Exchequer court at Caen in 1176. It can be supplemented by two closely associated charters granted by the same Philippa, both of them still in the Archives de Calvados, though the second of them at one time removed thence to what Léchaudé chose to regard as his own private collection, preserving details of the renewal of the gift of 1176 before the Exchequer at Caen in the first year of the reign of King John, once again with valuable details of the Exchequer officials in attendance. The three versions of our charter for Ardenne are followed by a charter for the nuns of Mortain, now amongst the papers of John Gage Rokewode in the Cambridge University Library, in all probability passed on to Gage by Léchaudé d’Anisy, the first discoverer of the Mortain charters, during one or other of the visits that Gage and Thomas Stapleton paid to Normandy in the 1830s. Simple theft explains the presence in

354 Below appendix no.64.
355 Below appendix no.65, part of a small collection of charters for the Norman houses of La Trinité at Caen, Montmorel, St-Sauveur-le-Vicomte, Aunay, Fontenay and Mont-St-Michel now BL mss. Additional Charters 15278–89, also including fragments of a cartulary for Montebourg (BL ms. Additional Charter 15288, whence Stein no.2525). All of these charters were acquired by the British Museum, 13 October 1860, by purchase from Mrs Wiffen, ultimately from the antiquary and historian of the Russell family, J.H. Wiffen. See here N. Vincent, ‘A Collection of Early Norman Charters in the British Library: The Case of Jeremiah Holmes Wiffen’, Cahiers Léopold Delisle, liii fasc.1–2 (2004), 21–45.
356 Below appendix nos 66–7.
357 Below appendix no.68.
the British Library of two extensive archiepiscopal confirmations of the possessions of the monks of Foucarmont, apparently ‘abstracted’ from the main series of the abbey’s muniments which, from the 1790s onwards, were rightfully deposited in the archives départementales at Rouen. The second of these very long charters, issued by archbishop Walter at Rouen in April 1204, supplies a poignant reminder of the way in which former Anglo-Norman courtiers, in this case King Henry II’s former seal-keeper, Walter of Coutances, found themselves in 1204 witnesses to a permanent collapse of the old Anglo-Norman realm.\(^{358}\)

Turning now to Thomas Stapleton’s own collection of Norman charters, I have already charted the means by which Stapleton’s extensive collection of nearly 200 charters was dispersed from Carlton Towers after 1920, the bulk of them coming to rest in the John Rylands Library at Manchester. Most of these Rylands charters are well calendared in the published catalogue.\(^{359}\) I have nonetheless printed below two of the Stapleton deeds now in Manchester, one as an example of a charter issued by the prominent Norman baron Robert de Marmion, concerning estates in both England and Normandy, the other for its references to the capture of Arthur of Brittany in 1202, to claims to hold land in Caen by grant of Henry II, and most significantly to the ‘royal rolls’ in which settlements made before the Norman Exchequer were already being recorded.\(^{360}\) These are followed by three of the twenty or so Stapleton charters now in the British Library, two of them chosen because of their references to the Norman Exchequer at Caen, both before and after 1204.\(^{361}\) Finally, and as a reminder that by no means all of the Stapleton charters sold at the Carlton Towers sale of 1920 have since entered public collections, I have concluded this selection with a Stapleton charter, today known only from the copy made of it in the nineteenth century by Léon Maître, which once again emphasises the degree to which inquests and returns to the crown were a standard part of administration in Normandy before 1204, in this instance with letters to King John from the abbot of St-André-en-Gouffern relating to the patronage of churches belonging to the nuns of La Trinité at Caen.\(^{362}\) Of the 76 charters presented here, only thirteen have previously appeared in print.\(^{363}\)

\(^{358}\) Below appendix nos 69–70, and cf. above p.79.

\(^{359}\) Above p.83.

\(^{360}\) Below appendix nos 71–2.

\(^{361}\) Below appendix nos 73–5.

\(^{362}\) Below appendix no.76.

\(^{363}\) Below appendix nos 2–4, 6, 26, 35, 39, 46, 55, 57, 64–5, 71.
Having dealt with these miscellaneous Norman evidences surviving in English collections, it remains to assess the richest group of French charters to have survived in any English archive from the Middle Ages through to the present day. Although long in the public domain, this collection of documents, from Canterbury Cathedral, has not received the attention that is its due. To date, only a small number of the Canterbury charters have been published. Here, whilst I do not claim to have edited all of the French or Norman charters surviving in the Canterbury Cathedral Archives, I have attempted a more comprehensive survey than is possible for the miscellaneous Norman evidences scattered across other English archives.

Ever since the sixth century and the arrival of St Augustine in England, the church of Canterbury had enjoyed close contacts with northern France. Ever since the sixth century and the arrival of St Augustine in England, the church of Canterbury had enjoyed close contacts with northern France. 364 Canterbury’s geographical proximity to the straits of Dover, combined with the regular traffic between its religious communities and the papacy in Rome, ensured that the cathedral, and its archbishops and monks, early established links with the religious of northern France, in particular with the Benedictine abbey of St-Bertin at St-Omer.365 The evidences presented below commence in the 1090s, within thirty years of the Norman conquest of England, with grants of immunity from toll and custom from the counts of Boulogne and Flanders, renewed at regular intervals throughout the

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364 For highlights amongst a very extensive literature, see the chapters by Stéphane Lebecq and Ian Wood in *St Augustine and the Conversion of England*, ed. R. Gameson (Stroud 1999), 50–82; W. Levison, *England and the Continent in the Eighth Century* (Oxford 1946); V. Ortenberg, *The English Church and the Continent in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries* (Oxford 1992). For assistance in the writing of this section, I am indebted to David Crouch, Elisabeth Lalou, Jean-François Nieus, Daniel Power and Cressida Williams.

365 By the 980s, at the latest, the archbishops of Canterbury were accustomed to stay at St-Bertin’s whilst journeying to and from Rome to receive their pallium: N. Brooks, *The Early History of the Church of Canterbury* (Leicester 1984), 279; Ortenberg, *English Church*, 26. For a miracle at St-Bertin’s supposedly inspired by an archbishop of Canterbury who had stopped there on his return from the papal curia and who had heard of the chanting of the psalms in the Holy Land beginning with the letters MARIA see BL ms. Additional 15723 fo.85r, also in Bnf ms. Latin 2040 fo.146r, whence Bnf ms. Baluze 69 fo.40bis r–v, briefly listed by A. Poncelet, ‘Miraculorum B.V. Mariae … index’, *Analecta Bollandiana*, xxi (1902), 329 no.1352. For attempts to supply a date for this story to the time of bp Andrew of Arras (1161–1173), see H.L.D. Ward and J.A. Herbert, *Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts the British Museum*, 3 vols (London 1883–1910), ii, 632–3 no.30. However, the bp of Arras mentioned in the story is perhaps better identified as Peter (1184–1203), formerly abbot of Pontigny and later of Cîteaux (cf. *GC*, iii, 328–9). As a result, the story could apply to any of the archbishops of Canterbury from Thomas Becket to Hubert Walter. For the exile to St Bertin’s and to the household of Richard de Gerberoy, bp of Amiens (1204–1210), of monks of Canterbury forced to flee during the Interdict of King John’s reign, see, for example, C.R. Cheney, *Innocent III and England* (Stuttgart 1976), 298n.; BL ms. Arundel 68 fo.28r.
twelfth and thirteenth centuries. These immunities were at first applied to the port of Wissant. As early as the 1170s, however, they were being extended to the ports of Boulogne and Nieulay, the latter transformed by the 1190s into the port of Calais. The precise savings here to the Canterbury monks are impossible to calculate. However, in the early fourteenth century we do know that the archbishop of Canterbury was expected to pay the considerable sum of 40 marks to the officers of the count of Boulogne for a single crossing to and from the port of Wissant. After the wandering exile in northern France of both archbishop Anselm (1097–1100 and 1103–6) and archbishop Becket (from 1164 to 1170), an enormous boost to Canterbury’s traffic with the northern French nobility was supplied by Becket’s martyrdom and subsequent canonization. From the early 1170s onwards, large numbers of foreign pilgrims flocked to Becket’s shrine. In particular, in August 1179, the king of France, Louis VII, came to Canterbury on pilgrimage to pray for the recovery from illness of his son, the future King Philip Augustus.

Amongst the gifts which Louis presented to the Canterbury monks, then in the process of rebuilding their cathedral church, destroyed by fire in 1174, was a grant of an annual rent of 100 measures of wine, set to be paid from the vineyards of Poissy, just to the west of Paris, itself the future birthplace of Louis’s grandson, Louis IX of France. In 1190, the wine was reassigned for payment from the vineyards of Triel-sur-Seine, close to Poissy. To safeguard the passage of this wine down the Seine into Normandy, and in other cases to commemorate their own pilgrimages to Canterbury, various of the lords of the French Vexin (the frontier region dividing Normandy from the Ile-de-France) made grants of their own to the Canterbury monks, including exemptions from toll at Mantes, Maisons-Laffitte, Rosny-sur-Seine and Meulan, and an annual rent at L’Isle-Adam, perhaps in compensation for tolls taken there. Apart from the counts of Meulan, whose loyalty had long been commanded by the kings of England, most of these lords fell within the Capetian rather than the Plantagenet sphere of influence at a time of critical significance in the history of the Norman frontier. Their semi-independence of either Capetian or Plantagenet authority is nonetheless signalled by the refusal, in the case of the lords of Poissy, Rosny-sur-Seine and Mantes, to grant complete remission from the tolls and customs owing on Canterbury’s wine, and this despite the total exemption in theory commanded by Louis VII and his

367 Below nos 97–8.
368 Lit. Cant., iii, 387–8 no.51.
369 For the cult of St Thomas on the continent, see the various essays of Raymonde Foreville, collected in her Gouvernement et vie de l’église au Moyen-Age (London 1979).
370 Below no.77. St Louis was born at Poissy on 25 April 1214.
371 Below no.79, and cf. no.80 where Louis IX refers, in 1235, to wine also payable from nearby Chanteloup-les-Vignes.
372 Below nos 100–102, 105–6.
successors, confirmed in turn by King Henry II of England and his sons, Richard I and John.373

Similar exemptions from toll were granted before 1200 by the lords of St-Valery-sur-Somme, Ponthieu and Guînes, and by Walter of Coutances, archbishop of Rouen, for tolls payable at his manor of Les Andelys on the Seine.374 All told, our evidences are of very great significance for the final years of Plantagenet rule in Normandy, and supply a keen insight into the relations between England and the lords of the Norman frontier. One frontier family, the Montfort lords of Montfort-l’Aumary and counts of Evreux, although signally absent from the lists of those granting exemption from tolls and taxes to Canterbury, can nonetheless be inferred to have adopted a favourable stance to the Canterbury monks, from the grants recorded below from Amaury III and IV, and Mabel countess of Évreux, of rents from a mill at Marlow in Buckinghamshire, grants that once again suggest particular personal devotion to the cult of St Thomas Becket.375 Most of Becket’s devotees in northern France took the Capetian rather than the Plantagenet side in the ensuing period of war and conquest, that culminated in 1204 with the Capetian seizure of Normandy. As this should remind us, although the links commemorated below suggest close association between Canterbury and the lords of northern France, Becket’s cult was politically ambiguous. Through their generosity to Canterbury, the French aristocracy was not necessarily demonstrating an attachment to England so much as approval of a saint, Thomas Becket, whose entire career could be read as a condemnation of the tyranny of the Plantagenet kings.376

Even after the loss of Normandy in 1204, the Canterbury monks continued to benefit from French patronage, most notably from a grant of further vineyards at St-Brice-sous-Forêt by Richoldis de Groselay, confirmed in 1212 by charter of the bishop of Paris, Peter of Nemours.377 Thereafter, at regular intervals throughout the thirteenth century, the kings of France and the counts of Guînes and of Boulogne, whose ports lay closest to the natural point of embarkation for Canterbury’s overseas trade, renewed the privileges granted by their ancestors.378 At Amiens in January 1264, for example, Louis IX confirmed his ancestors’ grants of the 100 measures of wine from Poissy and Triel, in the midst of his negotiation of a settlement between Henry III of England and the rebel barons, and on the same occasion that he himself received letters from the Canterbury monks promising him special obit celebrations after his death.379 As this last grant

373 Below nos 100, 109, and cf. nos 77–8, 91–3.
374 Below nos 103–4, 107–8, 113.
377 Below no.112.
378 Below nos 80–2, 110–11, 114–18.
379 Below no.81n.
should remind us, the reward of many of the northern French benefactors whose charters are printed below was inclusion within the confraternity, the prayers, or the post-obit celebrations of the Canterbury monks. The Canterbury obit lists are far from comprehensive. They fail, for example, to notice the obits or confraternity which our charters clearly show had been granted to such figures as the counts of Ponthieu, Guînes or Boulogne.380 Besides Louis VII of France, whose obit was also celebrated at the rival Canterbury abbey of St Augustine’s, no doubt as a result of a visit during Louis’ pilgrimage of 1179, the earliest of the thirteenth-century Canterbury obit lists suggests that the monks of Christ Church also commemorated such major French magnates as Henry ‘the liberal’, count of Champagne (d.1181), or, amongst ecclesiastical dignitaries, Master Simon, chancellor and canon of Rouen (fl. 1180–c.1208), for whom no charter evidence now survives in the Canterbury Cathedral archives.381 Nonetheless, a direct link between obit celebrations and grants to the Canterbury monks can be made for at least half a dozen of our charters, granted by the kings of France and England, by Thomas de St-Valery and by Mabel countess of Evreux.382 Even before 1170, various of the grants recorded here had almost certainly been made in commemoration of pilgrimages to Canterbury, including the very earliest which records that Eustace and Baldwin of Boulogne, before 1096, placed the charter of their grant on the altar of Christ, presumably the high altar of the cathedral church of Christ Church in Canterbury itself.383 The writing by English scribes of various of the original charters recording later French awards once again suggests charters granted whilst physically present in Canterbury.384 With the death and canonization of Becket, the connection between penance, pilgrimage and grants to the Canterbury monks became markedly closer, and this despite the fact, so splendidly exposed by Richard Southern, that in Becket’s lifetime, the Canterbury monks were far from being Becket’s keenest friends or supporters. The longstanding tensions between archbishop and monks were only resolved by the events of December 1170, as the monks discovered that their late archbishop, in life best regarded as a disastrous nuisance, had in death become their chief advocate both in heaven and on earth.385 Becket’s one-time secretary, Herbert of Bosham, describing Louis VII’s pilgrimage in 1179, drew specific attention to the appropriateness of Louis’ gift of a

380 Below nos 104, 107, 111, 114, all of which do not merely imply spiritual benefits for the donor but employ the language of confraternity, including references to the Canterbury monks as the donors’ ‘brothers’.
381 For Louis’ commemoration at St Augustine’s, see below no.77n. For the obit of ‘Henricus comes Trecas’ frater noster’ celebrated at Canterbury on 17 March, see BL ms. Cotton Nero C ix fo.7v (whence Fleming, ‘Christchurch’s Sisters and Brothers’, 136), not retained in the s.xv/xvi version of the Cathedral’s obit list in BL ms. Arundel 68. For Master Simon, see BL ms. Cotton Nero C ix fo.15v, whence Fleming, ‘Christchurch’s Sisters and Brothers’, 145; Spear, Personnel, 225–6.
382 Below nos 77–8, 81, 90–3, 113, 120.
383 Below no.94.
384 Below no.98, and cf. no.110n.
golden chalice and of wine with which to fill it, to commemorate not only the red blood of Becket shed in the Cathedral but the red blood of Christ remade daily in the sacrifice of the mass.\(^{386}\) In reality, although Louis was reputed to have granted the monks a great red ruby – the semi-mythical ‘regal’, supposed to have grown under a unicorn’s horn, at one time to have belonged to the emperor Charlemagne and later to have served in the coronation ring of the kings of France, still amongst the cathedral’s most treasured possessions at the time of the Dissolution in the sixteenth century – the wine assigned from the French vineyards at Triel and Poissy seems to have been exclusively white.\(^{387}\) Whatever red wine was produced there (and one can only speculate as to its quality), was reserved for the kings of France.\(^{388}\) Be that as it may, several of the grants recorded below seem to have been prompted either by the uneasy consciences of those, such as the courtiers Bernard de St-Valery, Walter of Coutances, and not least the kings themselves, Henry II and Louis VII, who had played a part in the Becket conflict, during the 1160s, or by a desire to emphasise Becket’s sacrifice in the political context of opposition to the Plantagenet kings, as, for example, with the renewal of quittance from toll granted by Matthew count of Boulogne, a leading figure in the great rebellion against Henry II after 1173.\(^{389}\) Other grants, such as those by John count of Ponthieu or Robert count of Meulan, can be directly linked to miracles of the 1170s, worked at Becket’s shrine and recorded in the extraordinarily rich collections of such stories maintained by the Canterbury monks.\(^{390}\)

Canterbury’s French evidences were not ignored in the later Middle Ages. Only a few years before the dissolution of the monasteries, in 1514, an inspeximus of various of the French charters was prepared at Canterbury, no doubt in expectation of a renewal of the cathedral’s quitances and rights.\(^{391}\) After the Dissolution, it was the French evidences with their magnificent seals that fell particular victim to the collecting activities of the antiquity, Sir Edward Dering (1598–1644), who plundered far and wide amongst the cathedral muniments.\(^{392}\) Nonetheless in scholarly terms, these charters were first rediscovered by precisely that generation of nineteenth-century antiquaries whose role in the writing of Anglo-French history we have already considered, beginning in 1861, when a local Kent clergyman,

\(^{386}\) MTB, iii, 538–9, with commentary by N. Vincent, *The Holy Blood: King Henry III and the Westminster Blood Relic* (Cambridge 2001), 45–6. Herbert is alone in suggesting that the wine was offered for festivities on the day of the martyr’s birth, presumably on Becket’s feast day, 29 December.


\(^{388}\) Below nos 80, 83.

\(^{389}\) Below nos 77, 91, 97, 103, 108, and cf. no.107n. for connections between Becket and Baldwin count of Guînes.

\(^{390}\) Below nos 104–5.

\(^{391}\) CCA ms. Chartae Antiquae F149, reciting the texts nos 77–82, 88–9 below.

\(^{392}\) For Dering, see below pp.107-8.
the Rev. Lambert B. Larking, printed a facsimile and brief commentary on one of the Canterbury charters of Philip Augustus. Ironically, Larking took his transcript, not from the muniments of the cathedral itself, but from the Dering collection at Surrenden. In 1861, the year of its publication, this same charter of Philip Augustus was sold by the Dering family at public auction for £2 10s., to a London book-dealer. It was not for a further fifteen years that the Cathedral’s first ‘scientific’ archivist, Joseph Brigstocke Sheppard (1828–1895), first drew proper attention to the many other surviving charters associated with Canterbury’s French wine. Sheppard went on to edit, for the Camden Society and the Rolls Series, a series of volumes dedicated to letters and documents from the fourteenth and fifteenth-century archives of Canterbury Cathedral, and in particular from the great series of priory registers, in which he carried the history of the French wine from the late thirteenth through to the early sixteenth century.

As Sheppard demonstrated, both from the letter evidence and from surviving financial accounts, by the 1270s, the Canterbury monks had abandoned any attempt physically to transport the wine from Triel, Poissy and St-Brice into England. Indeed, it is doubtful whether they had ever made much effort to take physical possession of their wine given the probable inferiority of these vintages (in Sheppard’s words ‘a liquid so austere and worthless that <in 1876> it can only be obtained outside the barriers’). Rather, they employed a local agent at Paris, to sell the wine in situ and to ensure the conversion of any profit, minus a commission, into credit payable in England. Sheppard calculated that the 100 measures of wine first granted in 1179 amounted to at least 1600 gallons of wine, suggesting a potential annual profit to the Canterbury monks of as much as £30 or even £50. He also demonstrated that a very large part of the correspondence between the monks and their French agents concerned non-payment of

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393 ‘Charter of Philip Augustus, King of France, 1180’, *Archaeologia Cantiana*, iv (1861), 127–130 and plates, and cf. below no.77 text A.


397 *Lit. Cant.*, i, p.lxxx. For various surviving taxation lists of the vineyards at Triel, written in French, with extensive details of tenants and cultivation, from 1280, 1288–9 and 1300, see CCA mss. Chartae Antiquae F104–7, whence briefly noticed in *HMC* 5th Report, appendix p.461.

398 *Lit. Cant.*, i, pp.lxxxi–iii, and for attempts to calculate profits, mostly from lists of arrears owing, see Ibid., i, 284–7 no.272, 310–11 no.302, 424–7 nos 407–8.
the profits of the wine, and the agents’ reluctance to render accounts.\textsuperscript{399} As a result, and in consequence of the regular warfare between France and England from 1294 onwards, the average annual profit to Canterbury never amounted to more than £7 or £8.\textsuperscript{400} The very earliest of the Canterbury financial accounts, for the profits of the shrine of St Thomas, suggest that the yield from the French wine was always erratic: 72s. in 1214 with a payment of 10d. owing to ‘those overseas’, presumably the local collectors; £6 6s. 8d. in 1215; 20 marks in 1216, apparently as a double payment ‘de duobus annis per manum magistri Willelmi filii Therrici’, at a time when the future Louis VIII was in occupation of Canterbury in the midst of civil war; a mere 4 marks in 1219; £7 13s. 4d. ‘for our wine in France of one year sold by the chanter’; 117s. 20d. ‘per manum Alani thesaurarii’ in 1221, whereafter the proceeds seem to have been shifted to another set of accounts.\textsuperscript{401} On the outbreak of war between France and England, in 1294, Philip IV of France entirely suspended payment of the wine, relenting, as our letters demonstrate, in 1300, when 200 livres tournois were offered in compensation for the missing years.\textsuperscript{402}

Thereafter, Philip’s actions were treated as a precedent by the Canterbury monks, who petitioned and obtained renewals of their wine from Charles IV in 1322, seeking similar confirmation from Philip VI in the 1330s and again, in the 1360s, petitioning for arrears calculated on the basis of Philip IV’s earlier grant of 200 livres.\textsuperscript{403} Even the Hundred Years War did not entirely put paid to the monks’ petitions. In 1419, after Agincourt, and again in the 1440s, there were attempts to reactivate the king of France’s award, in part brokered by the poet Charles duc de Orléans.\textsuperscript{404} In 1478, during a brief thaw in relations, Louis XI was prevailed upon to issue a charter transferring the wine from the vineyards of northern France to those of Bordeaux and Gascony.\textsuperscript{405} This southern wine was paid for the

\textsuperscript{399} \textit{Lit. Cant.}, i, pp.lxxx–ii, and for a series of letters from 1313 to the mid-1320s, for the most part concerning the arrears owed by the priory’s local collector, Robert de Longjumeau, see CCA mss. Chartae Antiquae F141/i–viii; F143/i–5; F159–62. For letters in similar terms, from the 1320s onwards, for the most part concerning arrears and delays in account, see \textit{Lit. Cant.}, i, nos 206, 272, 281, 302, 338, 367, 386, 407–8, 431, 439, 447, ii, nos 516–17, 534–5, 734–5.

\textsuperscript{400} \textit{Lit. Cant.}, i, p.lxxxi.

\textsuperscript{401} CCA ms. mA1 fos. 55r, 57r–v, 63r, 64v, 66r. For Louis VIII’s relations with the Canterbury monks during the civil war of 1216–17, see \textit{The Letters and Charters of Cardinal Guala Bicchieri Papal Legate in England 1216–1218}, ed. N. Vincent, Canterbury and York Society lxxiii (1996), 10–11 no.11.

\textsuperscript{402} Below nos 83–7.

\textsuperscript{403} Below no.88; \textit{Lit. Cant.}, i, nos 67–71, 161–2, ii, nos 506–8, 924–5.


\textsuperscript{405} Below no.89; \textit{Lit. Cant.}, iii, pp.xx–xii, with an extensive narrative at pp.292–4 no.1085 and cf. 300–1 no.1089, \textit{Christ Church Letters}, ed. Sheppard, 33–5 nos 30–1, 37–8 no.34, this last including a request from Louis XI for a token of St Thomas to wear in his hat.
next four or five years. As late as 1498 petitions were being addressed by the monks to Charles VIII, and in 1514 the monks were still preparing schedules of their French evidences. But the last practical evidence we have for the wine’s dispatch comes in the early 1480s. Nonetheless, for more than three centuries, and long after King John’s loss of Normandy in 1204, the ‘French wine’ represented a tangible reminder of Canterbury’s links to the French monarchy and of the abiding links between England and northern France.

Besides the charters relating to the French wine, the taxation exemptions and the charters of the counts of Evreux all printed below, the Canterbury archive continues to boast other, diverse French evidences. Some of these I have dealt with elsewhere: the acquisition, shortly after 1170, for example, of houses in and around Lyons in south-eastern France, still being claimed by the Canterbury monks as late as the 1380s; the right to mercantile privileges at La Rochelle, conferred by Louis VIII of France after 1224; the various confraternity arrangements made between Canterbury and religious communities scattered across northern Europe. Regularly, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, French clergy appear in the Canterbury archives, testifying in matters of canon law or issuing inspeximuses of earlier evidence. From the 1170s, for example, we have original letters of Giles bishop of Evreux, surviving in triplicate, addressed to Pope Alexander III and forwarding testimony as to events at the Council of Reims in 1131. From the 1220s and beyond, one might point to a series of inspeximuses of the rights of the archbishops and cathedral church of Rouen in England issued by bishop Richard of Evreux and the abbots of Bec, Jumièges, St-Ouen and Ste-Catherine at Rouen. Various charters in the cathedral collection, relating to the English lands of the counts of Perche, have recently been calendared by Kathleen Thompson. The earliest of the Canterbury letter collections, preserved not as registered copies but to start with as files of original documents now mounted in scrapbooks, contain

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406 Below no.89n.
407 For the petitions of the late 1490s, see CCA mss. Chartae Antiquae F114, F114A, F123, F128.
411 CCA mss. Chartae Antiquae C1264, R51–55, and for a sealed original charter of William abbot of Bec (1198 X 1211) relating to land in Dorset, see Ibid. P49.
412 Ibid. F155, R62, T27, only two of these briefly calendared by K. Thompson, ‘Matilda, Countess of the Perche (1171–1210): The Expression of Authority in Name, Style and Seal’, Tabularia, iii (2003), 84 nos 10–11 (online journal at http://www.unicaen.fr/mrsh/craham/revue/tabularia). Another charter of Geoffrey count of Perche from the cathedral archive, granting half a virgate and a mill to Adam de la More, was sold as lot 349 in the Dering sale (Puttick and Simpson, 14 July 1865) to a buyer named ‘Wood’ for 6s.
extensive correspondence with France, including, for example, petitions from William archbishop of Bourges and John aux Bellesmains, former archbishop of Lyons, to archbishop Hubert Walter, on the eve of the Capetian conquest of 1204, requesting intervention with King John on behalf of the Cistercians of La Grâce-Dieu in the Saintonge. The same source preserves letters of William archbishop of Reims c.1190, himself commemorated in the Canterbury obits, addressed to Philip count of Flanders, concerning the will of William de Mandeville, late earl of Essex and a bequest of £20 said to have been made to the Canterbury monks: an interesting document this, not least because it concerns the estate of Earl William whose disposition we have already considered from evidences preserved in The National Archives at Kew. A glance beyond the Canterbury archives to those of the kings of France very quickly reveals that the Archives nationales and the Bibliothèque nationale preserve much that is of relevance to the history of Canterbury’s French connections: proof, for example, of the confraternity arrangements promised to the kings of France, and certificates of the discharge of penitential pilgrimages vowed by Frenchmen to the shrine of St Thomas Becket. Rather than attempt a comprehensive edition of such evidences here, I have sought below merely to present the most important of the cathedral’s twelfth and thirteenth-century charters directly related to Normandy or northern France.

It remains only to explain the present whereabouts of various of the documents published below. Of our forty-five charters, no less than thirty-five still survive as originals, the other ten being preserved in one, or sometimes more than one, of the cathedral’s fourteenth-century cartularies. Of our thirty-five originals, no less than eleven survive in duplicate, and

413 CCA ms. Christ Church Letters II nos 2, 3, both relating to the Cistercian abbey of La Grâce-Dieu (Charente-Maritime, cant. Courçon, comm. Benon), the first of these, to be dated after the election of William de Donjeon archbp of Bourges (23 November 1200) and before the death of Hubert Walter (d. 13 July 1205), reading ‘Reuerendo in Cristo patri h(uberto) dei gratia Cantuar’ archiepiscopo et totius Angl(ie) prim(ati) W(illelmus) diuina permissione Bituricen’ ecclesie minister humilis salutem et sincere dilectionis affectum. Cum dilectus noster W. pro abbatia de Gratia Dei Xancton’ diocesis que preter guerrarum incomoda a balliuis domini regis Angl(ie) magna dampna sustinuit ad regiam serenitatem accedat, rogamus paternitatem vestram quatinus erga predictam abbatiam que admodum disolata est et afflicta compassionis affectum habentes, dominum regem si placet pietatis intuitu velitis inducere ut eidem abbatie restitutionem aliquam faciat de amissis cum balliu ipsius multa de rebus monasterii habuerint sicut litor presentium vobis exponere poterit diligenter’. For John aux Bellesmains, still living (in retirement at Cîteaux) in 1200, see Letters of Cardinal Guala, ed. vincent, 33–4 no.43.

414 Ibid. Christ Church Letters II no.224, whence printed by A.L. Poole in HMC Various Collections, i (1901), 233, and see below appendix no.92. For the Canterbury celebration of the obit of William archbp of Reims (1175 – d. 7 September 1202), himself a son of Theobald count of Champagne, see BL ms. Nero C ix fo.11r, whence Fleming, ‘Christchurch’s Sisters and Brothers’, 140.

415 See here, below no.81n., and for the presentation of letters testimonial (not recited) from the penitentiary of Canterbury in 1282, testifying that John de Welu, knight, had duly discharged a pilgrimage to Canterbury on the octaves of the feast of the Trinity, having earlier received similar letters from King Charles of Sicily relating to a pilgrimage to Rome, see AN X1a/2 (Olim II) fo.60r, whence Actes du Parlement de Paris, ed. E. Boutaric, 2 vols (Paris 1863–7), i, 230 no.2408.

416 Below nos 83–7, 90, 114, 116, 118, 121 are known only from cartulary copies.
one in triplicate.417 This is an extraordinary rate of survival for an English medieval archive: testimony first of all to the beneficent neglect of these documents after the 1530s and thereafter to the care lavished upon them since their rediscovery in the 1860s. Nonetheless, a significant number of our originals are no longer to be found at Canterbury itself but in the British Library in London. An explanation here is supplied by the collecting activities of Sir Edward Dering of Surrenden, 1st Baronet (1598–1644) and antiquary, whose pillage of the Canterbury archives is well known.418 No less than 42 Anglo-Saxon charters, most of them from Canterbury sources, passed by uncertain means from the Cathedral to Dering and thence, from Dering’s descendants, before December 1766, into the great collection of charters and manuscripts assembled by Thomas Astle (1735–1803), chief clerk of the Tower Record Office from 1782.419 Astle’s Saxon charters, together with Canterbury charters of kings Henry I and II, mostly acquired from a Canterbury source via Dering, ultimately came to the British Museum Library in 1883 as BL Stowe Charters 1–44.420 Various other charters, including Canterbury documents acquired by Dering and thence by Astle, were copied when in Astle’s possession in continuation of the ‘Aspilogia’ of John Anstis (1708–1754): an attempt to assemble facsimiles of early writing and seals, now BL mss. Stowe 665–6. By means unknown, but distinct from the Dering/Astle charters sold to the Grenville family and thence to the British Museum as BLcharters, this particular group of Canterbury originals, including nos 105–6, 110 and 111 below, all of them notable for their especially fine heraldic seals, passed from Astle into the collection of Lord Frederick Campbell (1729–1816), second son of the 4th Duke of Argyll, overseer of Scottish records and of the building of the Edinburgh General Register House, whose own impressive collection of charters was presented to the British Museum Library in 1814.421 Others of the French charters looted by Dering had either already escaped from Canterbury, via Dering, into the collections of Sir Robert Cotton (below no.81, and cf. no.97 version A2), in one case certainly before the Cotton fire of 1731, or remained in the possession of the Dering family at Surrenden, only entering the British Museum in the 1860s, as the result of further sales from the Dering collections at Surrenden in 1811, 1861 and 1865 (nos 78, 81–2, 88, 98).422 Even then, yet others of our charters, in circulation in}

417 Below nos 77–8, 81, 89, 100, 103 (triplicate), 104–8, 112, and cf. no.97 which apparently survived in duplicate into relatively recent times.
419 For Astle’s acquisition of Dering’s ‘Saxon’ charters, apparently before December 1866, see BL ms. Stowe 1085 fo.91v (p.84); Wright, ‘Sir Edward Dering’, 380–1, 384–5.
421 Today BL mss. Lord Frederick Campbell Charters.
422 For descriptions of some of the Surrenden charters, still in Dering family possession in the 1850s, and for what remains the most detailed account of Sir Edward Dering’s collecting
the seventeenth century as sealed originals, remain untraced. A detached impression of the seal of Robert count of Boulogne, sold at the Dering sale in July 1861, might suggest that an original of one or other of the charters of Count Robert not now known to survive (below nos 116, 118), was once in Dering’s possession.

Of the forty-five Canterbury charters edited below, only ten have previously been printed in full, often from copies rather than from the surviving originals. Ten have been printed in part or in calendar form, leaving twenty-five of our documents previously unpublished.

activities, see L.B. L(arking), ‘On the Surrenden Charters’, Archaeologia Cantiana, i (1858), 50–65. For the more important of his Saxon manuscripts, see Wright, ‘Sir Edward Dering’, at pp.378–9 noting the purchase of BL mss. Additional Charters 15480–2 (below nos 78, 82, 88) from the sale at Puttick and Co. of 13 July 1861, further sales, also at Puttick and Simpson’s, on 4–7 February 1863 (no.98, although apparently resold later that year) and 13–15 July 1865 (below no.89). Another of the charters below (no.81 version A'), seems already to have left Surrenden as the result of an earlier, and much less extensive sale at King and Lochée, of 3 December 1811 (noted by Wright, ‘Sir Edward Dering’, p.378n.), being recovered at some point and resold in the Dering sale of 15 July 1865. Dering had earlier, in 1623 and 1630 (Wright, p.380ff) given others of his charters to Sir Robert Cotton, which might explain the survival of no.81 below in the Cotton Library. For another early Christ Church charter, by the 1640s in the hands of the antiquary William Le Neve, see Hatton’s Seals, 198 no.287. One of the more important of the Christ Church charters to have passed from Dering to Cotton was the sealed bilingual writ of Odo bp of Bayeux, 1071 X 1082 (Hatton’s Seals, 301–2 no.431 and plate viii), now surviving only in mutilated condition as BL ms. Cotton Charter XVI.31. Another original writ of Odo still survives, unsealed, in the Canterbury Archives ms. Chartae Antiquae S246. Dering’s dispersal of the archive perhaps explains the survival of numerous Canterbury charters in the Hatton Wood Collection now in the archives of the University of Keele.

Cf. below no.121, of which a drawing was made by Roger Dodsworth in the 1620s or 30s. See here the BL’s marked-up copy of the sale catalogue: Catalogue of an Extraordinary Collection of Rare and Interesting Books … from the famous Surrenden Collection of Sir Edward Dering, Puttick and Simpson (10–13 July 1861) 4th day, lot no.1113, sold to the dealer Boone for £2 14s. It was from this same sale, lot nos 936–8, that three of the French royal charters, once in Dering’s possession, passed to the British Museum/British Library, below nos 78, 82, 88.
APPENDIX OF CHARTERS

1. Notification by King Henry I of his grant to the abbey of La Trinité(-du-Mont) at Rouen of the churches of Neufchâtel-en-Bray (Seine-Maritime), together with tithes from rents, toll, mills and the fair of the vill. Rouen [August 1133 X 1135]

B = TNA C 64/15 (Norman Roll 8 Henry V part 3) m.16, in an inspeximus, 20 February 1421. C = Bnf ms. Moreau 631 fo.61r–v, copy from B by Bréquigny, s.xviii. D = St-Pierre-de-Semilly, Marquis de Mathan ms. Lenoir 69 p.439, partial copy after a copy by Bréquigny from B, s.xviii.

To be dated after the consecration of Adelulf as bp of Carlisle (6 August 1133). The inspeximus of 1421 also recites a charter of Henry II confirming the present award (Acta Henry II, no.2254, not in Delisle, Recueil). For the abbey’s churches of St-Jacques and Notre-Dame at Neufchâtel, see Pouillés Rouen, 38–9. Amongst the witnesses, note the appearance of Richard de Beaufou (Calvados, cant. Cambremer), nominated bp of Avranches in 1134, consecrated 1135 (Spear, Personnel, 4), here apparently distinguished from the datary, another Richard de Beaufou, described as (the king’s) chaplain.

H(enricus) rex Anglie archiepiscopo Roth’, episcopis, abb(atibus), com(itibus), rustic(iis), vic(ecomitibus), baron(ibus) et omnibus fidelibus suis totius Norm(annie) salutem. Sciatis quoda dedi et concessi deo et ecclesie sancte trinit(atis) de monte roth’ et abb(atibus) et monach(is) in ea deo familiantibus in elemosin(am) perpetuam ecclesias meas de drincurt et totam decimam meam de censu ville et <de> teloneo et molend(inis) et feria et omnibus aliis redditibus meis qui ad me pertinent et cum decimis et beneficiis burgensium in villa et extra et cum omnibus rebus que ad ipsas ecclesias pertinuerint, et volo et precipio quod ecclesia sancte Trinitatis et abbas et monachi ea bene et in pace et libere possideant nunc et in sempiternum tanquam propriam elimosinam meam. T(estibus) Audino episcopo ebroic’ et Adel(wulfo) episcopo Carl’ et Roberto de Sigillo et Rogero archid(iacono) et Ric(ardo) de Bellef’ archid(icono) et Rob(erto) de Ver, Rob(erto) de Curci et Roscelino de Brioldic’ apud Roth’ per Ric(ardum) de Bellafago capell(anum).

* quia B, quod supplied
2. Notification by King John of his confirmation of the possessions and liberties of the abbey of Beaubec. Montfort, 26 October 1201

A= Rouen AD Seine-Maritime 2H464. Endorsed: Iohannes rex Angl(ie) de confirmatione om(ni)um possess(ionum) nostrarum et omnibus libertatibus quas ... (s.xiii); carta iii. reg(um) (s.xiv); various illegible or post medieval endorsements. Approx. 188 × 89 + 27mm. Sealed sur double queue, single slit, tag and seal impression missing. Foot damaged, with some letters missing. B = Ibid., in an original inspeximus by Henry V of England, 10 January 1421. C = TNA C 64/15 (Norman Roll 8 Henry V part 3) m.12, the enrolment of B, 10 January 1421. D = Rouen AD Seine-Maritime G851 (Coutumier de Dieppe) fo.58r–v, copy made in 1396. E = AN ms. JI46 (Register of Philip IV) fo.38r–v no.38, in an inspeximus by Philip IV of France, June 1311. F = A lost inspeximus by Charles VI of France dated 1400/1401, formerly in the AD at Rouen. G = AN ms. JJ155 (Register of Charles VI) fo.226r no.376, the registered copy of the inspeximus F, s.xv in. G = Dieppe, Bibliothèque Municipale ms.45 fos.102v–103r, copy from D, s.xvii. H = Bnf ms. Moreau 631 fos.10r–11r, copy from C by Bréquigny, s.xviii.

Printed (from F) Gurney, House of Gurney, i, 109–10 no.6; (from C) Monasticon, vi, 1069; (calendar from E) Registres du Trésor des Chartes: Tome I, règle de Philippe le Bel, ed. R. Fawtier and others (Paris 1958), 250 no.1312.

The inspeximus of 1421 also recites a charter of Henry I given at Clarendon, but with title as Henry II (Regesta, ii, no.1270, and by mistake for Henry II, Delisle, Recueil, no.314). For a charter of Henry II, 1172 X 1189, similar to the present confirmation, in which the Irish estate at ‘Gilleberan’ is also confirmed, see Acta Henry II, no.167 (Delisle, Recueil, no.477). For the identity of ‘Killekeran’ or ‘Gillekeran’, perhaps Castlekeran co. Meath, see The Irish Pipe Roll of 14 John, 1211–1212, ed. O. Davies and D.B. Quinn, Ulster Journal of Archaeology iv, supplement (1941), 40–1n; below nos 23–5. For various of the Norman place names, see S. Deck, ‘Le temporel de l’abbaye cistercienne de Beaubec’, Annales de Normandie, xxiv (1974), 131–56, 221–45. The English lands specified here lay at Aston on Carrant (in Ashchurch, Gloucestershire) and Ashton under Hill (Worcestershire), for which see SC 6/1125/15; VCH Gloucestershire, viii, 180, 246; Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous, i (London 1916), 145 no.440. The textual variants are noted below to provide some indication of the exactitude with which the inspeximus by Henry V was copied from the original award, and in turn of how accurately the original inspeximus is itself copied into the Norman chancery roll.

Iohannes Dei gratia rex Angl(ie), dominus Hibern(ie), dux Norm(annie), Aquit(anie) et comes And(egauie) omnibus ad quos presens scriptum peruenierit salutem. Scias nos pro salute anime nostre et animarum antecessorum et successorum nostrorum concessisse et confirmasse Deo et ecclesia de Belbec et monach(is) ibidem Deo seruentibus nemus in quo abbatia fundata est cum omni dominico circa idem nemus et de Mesnilboschet, de Spineto, de Balleteria, de morimont, de Cantecoc, de torniaco, de Corcell’ a, de Botell’ b, de Boscoputeorum, de Hadencort c, de Antiz d, de Mureaumont, de Sancto Oyno, de Haia Gonnor, de Gillekeran’ e, de Eston’ et de Ayston’ loca, domos, terras, nemora, vineas, prata, pascua, aquas, vias et semitas cum omnibus pertinentiis sui et omnia maneria, tenementa,
3. Notification by King John of his grant to the men of Falaise of quittance from passage, pontage, péage and lestage throughout his lands save at London. 

Argentan, 11 August 1202


The inspeximus further recites charters of Philip Augustus granting the leper house of Falaise a fair of seven days, May 1204 (Actes Philippe Auguste, ii, 370 no.791); Philip Augustus granting quittance to the men of Falaise from passage, pontage etc, given at Falaise, 1204 (Actes Philippe Auguste, ii, 368–9 no.790); Louis (IX) addressed to the bailli of Caen, granting the paupers of the Domus Dei at Falaise timber from the forest of Canivet (Calvados), April 1256; John Marshal lord of Argentan, son of Henry Marshal, granting quittance to the men of Falaise from passage, pontage etc at Argentan n.d.; Philip (III) on the rights to grain of the Domus Dei at Falaise, August 1280, these last three apparently unpublished. For letters patent sent to the newly appointed constable

terras, villas, redditus, redeuancias, decimas, patronatus ecclesiarum, molendina, viuaria, piscarias, gurgites, salinas, pasturagia, pasnagia, usagia et omnes res alias et possessiones quascunque acquisierunt et in futurum iustis modis acquirere poterunt in villis, burgis, portubus, castris, ciuitatibus et in cunctis alis locis. Quare volumus et firmiter precipimus quod omnia et singula predicta habeant et per quoscumque voluerint bene et in pace possideant in puram et perpetuam elemosinam, liberam penitus et quietam ab omnibus rebus pertinentibus ad regiam magestatem. Damus etiam eis et omnibus hominibus et seruientibus ipsorum presentibus et futuris per terram et per aquam vendendo, emendo et transportando omnes libertates quas dare possumus. T(estibus) Garin(o) de Glap’ sen(escallo) Norm(annie), Hub(erto) de Burgo camerar(io) nostro, Steph<ano de Longocampo apud M>ont(em)fortem< vicesima sexta die Oct(obris) anno regni nostri tercio.

*a* Corcellis BC* b* Botellis BC* c* Hadencourt BC* d* Autis BC* e* letters in brackets <> illegible A, supplied from BC
Iohannes Dei gratia rex Anglie, dominus Hibern(ie), dux Normannie, Acquitanie, comes And(egauie) archiepiscopis, episcopis, abbatibus, comitibus, baronibus, iusticiar(iis)b, vic(ecomitibus), prepositis et omnibus balliuis et fidelibus suis salutem. Sciatis nos dedisse et concessisse et hac carta nostra confirmasse burgensibus nostris de Falesia et heredibus suis quietiam per totam terram nostram excepta ciuitate London’ de passagio, pontagio, paagio et lestagio et omni alia consuetudine ad nos pertinente de omnibus rebus et mercandisis suis, et prohibemus ne quis eos aut homines eorum contra hanc concessionem nostram in aliquo vexet vel disturbet super decem librarum forisfacturam. T(estibus) W(illemo) com(ite) Arundell’, comite Willelmo Marescallo, Rad(ulfo) Tax’sen(escallo) Norm(annie), Rob(erto) de Harecourt’, Gir(ardo) de Forniuall’, Petro de Pratell’, Gileb(erto) de Aquila, Ric(ardo) de Reuertiis. Dat’ per manum Hugonis de Well’ apud Argenthoem xi. die Augusti anno regni nostri quarto.

\[\text{4. Notification by King John of his grant to the lepers of Le Bois-Halbout (Calvados, cant. Thury-Harcourt, com. Cesny-Bois-Halbout) and the canons of Notre-Dame du Val (Calvados, cant. Thury-Harcourt, com. St-Omer) of an annual rent of 30 livres in the manor of Ste-Mère-Eglise (Manche) previously held by William (de Ste-Mère-Eglise) bishop of London, in exchange for a moiety of the manor of Maldon (Essex) which the lepers have by gift of Eudo fitz Erneis, granting the land at Maldon to the church of St Paul’s London and to Bishop William in return for obit celebrations and prayers for King Henry II and King John.}
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[September 1202 X May 1203]

B = TNA C 52/26 (Cartae Antiquae Roll BB) no.11, headed \textit{carta episcopi London’ de manerio de Measdon’}, rubbed and illegible at the left and right hand sides, s.xiii in.

C = TNA C 52/1 (Cartae Antiquae Roll A) no.9, s.xiii. in. D = BL ms. Harley 85 fos.18v–19r (325v–326r), copy from B, s.xvii.

Pd (from C) \textit{Cartae Antiquae Rolls 1–10}, ed. L. Landon, PRS n.s. xvii (1939), 3–4 no.9.

For an annual rent of 35 livres 12s. paid to William de Ste-Mère-Eglise, bp of London (1199–1221), for his lifetime and that of his mother, first recorded in the Norman Pipe Roll account for 1184, still being paid in the account for 1203, see MRSN, i, 276, ii, 472,
506. The date of the present charter can nonetheless be fixed in the Exchequer years 4 or 5 John on the basis of entries in the English Pipe Roll where an allowance of £10 17d. from Maldon attributed at Michaelmas 1202 to the lepers of Le Bois-Halbout was transferred by Michaelmas 1203 to bp William of London per breve regis, the other moiety of the manor being held at this time by Robert fitz Erneis (PR 4 John, 258–9; 5 John, 123, and for Robert fitz Erneis’ English lands, see below no.5). In all likelihood, the present charter was originally entered on the Charter Roll 4 John (May 1202–May 1203), now missing. It does not appear on the surviving Charter Roll 5 John, suggesting a further narrowing of the date to the period before May 1203. For the leper hospital at Le Bois–Halbout, placed under the authority of the abbey of Notre-Dame-du-Val, for Eudo fitz Erneis’ grants, confirmed c.1170 by Robert fitz Erneis his nephew, and for grants made to the lepers before the present charter, by King Richard I in the manor of Ste-Mère-Eglise, 18 March 1190 renewed 5 November 1198, see M. Arnoux, ‘Actes de l’abbaye Notre-Dame-du-Val’, Le Pays Bas-Normand: Société d’Art et d’Histoire, ccxxxvii–viii (2000), 47–53 esp. nos 26a–b, 28; Book of Fees, i, 121; Round, Calendar, no.1457; Landon, Itinerary, 157 no.233. Cf. English Episcopal Acta 26: London 1189–1228, ed. D.P. Johnson (Oxford 2003), no.229, where, in 1223, bp Eustace of London assigned an annual payment of 5 marks for the term of his life from his moiety of the manor of Maldon, acquired by bp William, to be spent by the dean and chapter of St Paul’s on obit celebrations for kings Henry II and John.

<Iohannes>a Dei gratia rex Ang(ie) etc. Sciatis nos dedisse, concessisse et presenti carta confirmasse Deo et sancto Iacobo et leprosis de Bosco Hereboldi et canonici de Valle ipsos procurantibus pro salute nostra et anima patris nostri et antecessorum nostrorum <triginta libr>atas b terre Andegauenses) cum pertinentiis suis quas Will(eimus) London’ episcopus de nob(is) tenebat in manerio de Sancte Marie Ecclesie assensu et voluntate ipsius episcopi in puram et perpetuam elem(osinan) in escamb(oi) medietatis manerii de Mealdon’ quam idem leprosi habeb<ant de do>natione Eudonis filii Ernisii. Et h(oc) fecimus ad instantiam et petitionem dictorum leprosorum pro salute nostra et antecessorum nostrorum quia dicta terra de Sancte Marie Ecclesie eis melius sedens fuit et utilior. Dictam autem medietatem manerii de Meal<don’ cum pertine>ntisb quam idem leprosi habebant dedimus Deo et ecclesie beati Pauli Lond’c et prefato Willemo Lond’c episcopo et successoribus suis in puram et perpetuam elem(osinan) possidemandam pro salute nostra et animabus patris nostri et antecessorum nostrorum, et ipse episcopus tant(um) faciet <quod tempore>b suo et successorum suorum in cathedrali ecclesie beati Pauli sollemniter4 celebrabitur anniuaersarium patris nostri singulis annis et pro nobis speciales orationes quamdiu vixerimus in ecclesia sua facient, et post decessum nostrum singulis annis annuierusa<rium>b nostrum similiter facient celebrari. Quare volumus et firmiter precipimus quod predictus Will(elsmus) episcopus Lond’c et successores sui et predicti leprosi de Bosco Hereboldi et canonici de Valle ipsos procurantes habeant et teneant in perpetuum omnia predicta <sicut predictum>b est bene et in pace, libere et quiete, integre et plenarie et honorifice cum omnibus libertatibus et liberis consuetudinibus ad predictam pertinentiibus. His t(estibus): E(ustacio) Elyensi et H(erberto) Saresbiri’ episcopis.
Notification by King John of his grant to Geoffrey fitz Peter, earl of Essex, of the lands of Robert fitz Erneis in England, namely Wells next the Sea, Warham, Massingham (Norfolk), Hatfield Peverel, Debden (Essex) and Hemingby (Lincolnshire), with provision for restitution should Geoffrey or his heirs recover their own lands in Normandy or Robert and his heirs return to the king’s allegiance.

Winchester, 15 September 1208

Not enrolled in the Charter Roll 10 John, which nonetheless records a further grant of land in London to Geoffrey fitz Peter on 11 September 1208 (Rot. Chart., 182, also in Foedera, 102). For various of the lands listed here, see Book of Fees, i, 169, 284, 388, 615, 619; CRR, ii, 24–5, vii, 342; Red Book, ii, 610. The present grant is briefly noted from the confirmation to Geoffrey’s son (RLC, i, 154b), by R. Turner, Men Raised from the Dust (Philadelphia 1988), 59. Robert fitz Erneis seems to have been a relatively late defector to the Capetian allegiance, since his allowance of £10 for a moiety of the manor of Maldon (Essex, cf. above no.4n.) was only stopped in the year to Michaelmas 1207 (PR 8 John, 227; 9 John, 90). With the rebellion of Geoffrey fitz Peter’s heir, after 1215, there was a real prospect that Robert fitz Erneis might be restored to his English estates. In 1216, at the height of civil war, Robert was still negotiating, via the Templars, for the restoration of these lands (Rot. Ob., 576), and in 1220, following Robert’s death, his younger brother William fitz Erneis, restored to various of the family properties in Lincolnshire in 1217, was promised the restoration even of those estates previously granted to Geoffrey fitz Peter and his Mandeville descendants (RLC, i, 309b, 321, 442, and cf. CFR, ii, 283 no.15). The present charter is of significance, not least for clarifying the identity and landholding of the various twelfth-century branches of the Fitz Erneis family, descended from the first Robert fitz Erneis, nephew of Ralph Tesson who had died at the Battle of Hastings and for whose progeny, see L. Musset, ‘Actes inédits du Xle siècle: Autour des origines de Saint-Etienne de Fontenay’, Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie, lvi (1963 for 1961–2), 17–18, 23, 40–1; Fauroux, Recueil, 372 no.190; K.S.B. Keats-Rohan, Domesday Descendants (Woodbridge 2002), 883. As compensation to Geoffrey fitz Peter for the loss of his own estates in Normandy, including the Mandeville inheritance, it is interesting to compare the present gift with the valuation of £100 that in 1214 Geoffrey’s son, Geoffrey de Mandeville, placed upon his family’s lost Norman lands: CRR, vii, 110–11.

Ioh(anne)s Dei gratia rex Angl(ie) etc. Sciatis nos concessisse et commississe et hac carta nostra confirmasse Galfr(ido) filio Petri comiti Essex’ totam
Norman Charters from English Sources

6. Notification by King John of his grant to the abbot and monks of Le Bec-Hellouin (Eure, cant. Brionne) of forty-eight acres of new assart and two acres of old assart in the manor of Weedon Beck (Northamptonshire) quit of the forest regard with quittance from swanmoot for the abbey’s men.

Rouen, 31 March 1203

A = Eton College Records ECR 27/3. Endorsed: *carta reg(is) Ioh(annis) de (feria, cancelled) quitantia essart(orum) de Wedon’* (s.xiii); various post medieval endorsements. Approx. 238 × 180 + 38mm. Sealed *sur double queue*, fine seal impression in green wax on green silk cords through 3 holes. B = TNA C 52/10 (Cartae Antiquae Roll K) no.2, s.xiii in. C = TNA C 47/12/6 no.14, copies of charters relating to the forests, headed *cart(a) abbatis de Becco in com(itatu) Norht’,* s.xiii med.

For the fine of 100 marks offered by the abbot and monks for the present charter, the money apparently being paid via Hugh de Neville as the king’s chief forester, see PR 5 John, 135; 6 John, 31, 36. Note that the names of only the first three witnesses are preserved in the copies BC, omitting five further witnesses named in A.

Iohannes Dei gratia rex Angl(ie), 3dominus Hybernie, dux Norm(annie), Aquit(anie), comes Andeg(auie) archiepiscopis, episcopis, abbatibus, comit(ibus), baronibus, iustic(iis), vicecom(itibus), prepositis, ministris et omnibus ball(iu)is et fidelibus suis salutem\(^a\). Sciatis nos pro amore Dei et pro salute nostra et pro animabus antecessorum et successorum nostrorum concessisse et presenti carta nostra confirmasse abbat i et monachis de Becco quadraginta et octo acras de nouo assarto ad perticam nostram et duas acras de vteri assarto in manerio suo de Wedon’ libera et quieta de essarto et rewardo et de visu forestariorum et ab omni consuetudine et actione que ad forestarium pertinent et quod in numero assartorum non contineantur et quod homines predictorum abbatis et monachorum de predicto manerio de Wedon’ liberi et quieti sint de swanemot’ in perpetuum. Quare volumus et firmiter precipimus quod predicti abbas et monachi predicta essarta habeant et teneant bene et in pace, libere et quiete, integre, plenarie et honorifice in omnibus locis et rebus et predictos homines suos de Wedon’ liberos et quietos de swanemot’ in perpetuum sicut predictum est. Test(is) R(oberto) com(it)e Leyc’, G(alfrido) fil(io) Petri’ com(it)e Essex\(^b\), Will(elm)o com(it)e Sar’, \(^b\)Will(elm)o de Breosa, Will(elm)o Bryewerr’, Roberto fil(io) Walteri, R(oger) constab(ulario) Cestr’, Sahero de Quencib. Dat’ per manum Sym(onis) prepositi Beuerlac’ et archidiaconi Wellen’ apud Rothomagum xxxi. die Marcii anno regni nostri quarto.

\(^a\) etc BC \(^b\) not in BC

7. Notification by Peter de Préaux of his grant, for the souls of himself, his father and mother and of Simon, Roger, John and Enguerand his brothers, to the canons of Notre-Dame de Beaulieu of an annual rent of 100 livres Angevin at Rouen in the market and fairs, as granted to Peter by King John, the canons having their own servant to receive this rent and paying an annual rent of 20s. to the Hospital of St Mary Magdalene for the soul of Henry the Young King, Peter’s former lord. The canons of Beaulieu will celebrate two daily masses for Peter’s soul and the souls of the departed, burning two candles each Saturday night in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary, for Peter and for Roger his brother. \([\text{c. June 1200}]\)

B = TNA C 64/12 (Norman Roll 7 Henry V part 2) m.43, in an inspeximus by Henry V, in the castle at Rouen, 18 January 1420. C = Bnf ms. Moreau 630 fos.43r–44v, copy from B by Bréquigny, s.xviiii.
Apparently issued on the same occasion as, and sharing various of the witnesses with a charter of King John, 21 June 1200, first granting the 100 livres rent to Peter, this charter of King John being preserved both in the Charter Roll 2 John and in the Norman Roll, where the text is fuller and includes the names of five witnesses (Guérin de Glapion seneschal of Normandy, Robert of Thurnham, Robert fitz Erneis, Richard de Redvers and William de Cantiloupe) omitted from the Charter Roll version: Rot. Chart., 70b–71; TNA C 64/12 m.43. For the Augustinian abbey, later priory of Beaulieu (Seine-Maritime, cant. Darnetal, com. Préaux) founded c.1200 by John de Préaux, whose archives are now almost entirely lost, see Cottineau, i, 300. The supposed extracts from a lost cartulary (Stein no.385) in Bnf ms. Duchesne 22 fos.321–326 are in fact from the cartulary of Beaulieu-sur-Dordogne (Corrèze, cf. Stein no.380; Cottineau, i, 296–7), but that a cartulary of Notre-dame de Beaulieu did indeed once exist is suggested by the extracts in G.–A. de la Roque, Histoire généalogique de la maison de Harcourt, 4 vols (Paris 1662), iv, 1966.

Omnibus tam presentibus quam futuris ad quos presens scriptum peruenirit Petrus de Pratell’ salutem. Sciatis quod ego pro salute anime mee et patris mee et matris mee et fratrum meorum, videlicet Simonis et Rogeri, Iohannis et Engerranni, et dominorum et antecessorum meorum dedi et concessi in puram et perpetuam elemosinam sancte Marie de Belloloco et canonicis ibidem Deo servientibus centum libras redditus Andeg(auenses) apud Rothom’, scilicet in estallis fori Roth’ et in feria de Pardone et in feria sancte Marie de Prato, quem s(cilicet) redditud Johannes Dei gratia rex Angl(ie) dedit michi et concessit pro meo servicio, et si quid de predictis centum libras redditus annuatim recipiendis in predictis locis eis defuerit, de vicecomitatu Roth’ eis perficietur. Sciendum est etiam quod predicti canonicici debent habere dominicum suum seruentem ad recipiendas illas centum libras redditas in prefatis locis una cum vicecomite Roth’ vel cum eo qui in loco domini regis ibi erit. Item sciendum est quod iamdicti canonicici reddant singulis annis viginti sol(idos) Andeg(auenses) hospitaria sancte Marie Magdal(ene) de prefato redditu ad festum sancti Michaelis pro salute anime domini mei Henrici minoris regis. Predicti canonicici de misericordia Dei confisi et salutti animate mee et animabus antecessorum meorum subuenire desiderantes concesserunt michi quod singulis diebus cum duobus cereis accensis in honore beate Virginis Marie pro salute nostra unam missam solemniter celebrabunt, alteram vero pro defunctis. Preter hoc autem concesserunt michi quod duos cereos, unum pro me, alterum pro Rogero fratre meo, in honore beate Virginis Marie singulis noctibus sabbatorum in supradicta ecclesia ardere constitut, et ut hec donatio rata et inconcussa permaneat, cartam istam sigillii mei munimine roborauit. T(estibus) domino Waltero Rothom’ archiepiscopo, Willelmo de Constantis, Waltero de Sancto Walerico et magistro Garino Angeli Roth’ archidia(co)n(is), Willelmo Marescallo com(ite) de Pembrouch, Hugon(e) de Gorn’, Willelmo de Cahem, Warin(o) de Glapion’, Rob(erto) de Tornheam, Willelmo et Engerranno de Pratell’ fratribus, Gaufr(ido) de Bosco et Iohanne fratribus, Matheo Grosso maiore Roth’, Gaufrid(o) de
Norman Charters from English Sources

Valle Richeri, Iord(ano) Iolm’, Gaufredo clerico de Caprualiilla et multis aliis.

8. Notification by Reginald de Pavilly (Seine-Maritime) of his grant to St Thomas (of Canterbury) and the lepers of (Le Mont-aux-Malades at) Rouen, for the soul of his wife Alice, previously known as Pagana, of 10 sous from his rents at Pont-Audemer (Eure).

[1172 X 1190]

B = BN ms. Français 26476 fo.3 no.1, in an original inspeximus by Henry V, issued in the castle at Rouen, 3 January 1420, formerly AN Chambre des Comptes greffe 23659 (whence listed in the factitious listing AN P1913/2 no.23659), dispersed with other such ‘greffes’ as a result of the burning of the Chambre des Comptes in 1744, also reciting charters of Henry II (Acta Henry II, nos 2283–4) and William his brother (Delisle, Recueil, i (Introduction), 488). C = TNA C 64/12 (Norman Roll 7 Henry V part 2) m.25, the enrolment of B, 1420. D = Bnf ms. Moreau 630 fos.5v, copy from C by Bréquigny, s.xviii. E = St-Pierre-de-Semilly, Marquis de Mathan ms. Lenoir 3 pp.319–20, copy from B, s.xviii. F = Ibid. Lenoir 69 p.435, partial copy after a copy by C by Bréquigny, s.xviii. G = Ibid. Lenoir 76 p.54, copy from E, s.xviii. G = AN S4889b no.7, copy from C by William Ryley, 14 September 1674.

After the canonization of St Thomas, and the rededication of the priory of Mont-aux-Malades, previously dedicated to St James, whose prior, Nicholas, had acted as a close friend of Becket during the archbp’s exile of the 1160s. Related to an original charter written in a late twelfth-century hand, now Rouen AD Seine-Maritime 25HP1, by which Ralph de Wesneval (Esneval, Seine-Maritime, cant, et com. Pavilly) and William his brother granted St Thomas and the infirm and lepers of the ‘Monte infirmis’ 20s., comprising 10s. from the mill of Ste-Croix and 10s. from the English rents of William, Ralph’s brother, to pay for a pittance on the anniversary of their mother, witnessed by Reginald ‘de Palliaco frater meus’, Walter my brother, William Calceius, Peter de Deneuilla, Robert de Franchechesneio and Ralph de Plaseiz, and for the Wesnevals, active in the 1170s or early 80s with lands at Chippenham (Wiltshire), see Round, Calendar, no.277, re-edited as Acta Henry II, no.2291n.; Chippenham, Wiltshire Record Office 1213/5. For lands at Pavilly and Pont-de-l’Arche, by the 1540s administered on behalf of the lepers of the Lazarite order, see AN S4890. Reginald himself was a courtier, regular witness to charters of Henry II, and joint founder of the Augustinian abbey of Ile-Dieu (Eure, cant. Fleury-sur-Andelle, com. Perruel), to which he granted the vill of Charlton (near Upavon) in Wiltshire in a charter witnessed by Gilbert and Ralph de Wesneval, for which see Evreux AD Eure H353, and the foundation narrative in Des clercs au service de la réforme: études et documents sur les chanoines réguliers de la province de Rouen, ed. M. Arnoux (Brepols 2000), 297–306. In England he granted further land at Charlton to the monks of St-Georges-de-Boscherville (BL ms. Lord Frederick Campbell Charter XXIII.6), and the monks of Stanley part of a moor in Chippenham given him by King Henry II, his gift here being made ‘pro salute domini mei regis
Sciant uniueri tam presentes quam futuri quod ego Reginaldus de Pauilleio concessi et dedi sancte Thome martiri Cristi et infirmis de Monte super Rothm’ in perpetuam elemosinam pro salute anime mee et patris mee et matris mee Aeles que dicta fuit Pagana x. solidos in redditu meo de Ponte Aldemari singulis annis in festo sancti Mich(ael)is habendos. Testibus Rad(ulfo) de Werneuall’ et Willelmo fratre suo, Rogero de Pauilleio, Rob(erto) de Croismare, Rad(ulfo) de Pleissit et multis aliis.

9. Notification by Robert de Courtenay of his grant to the abbey of Notre-Dame of La Noë of 40 sous Tours in his prévôté of Conches (Eure) for lights in the chapel of the infirmary. [1215/16]


Nouerint uniueri presentes et futuri quod ego Robertus de Cortenaio dedi Deo et beate Marie de Noa pro salute mea et uxoris mee puerrorumque nostrorum quadraginta solidos Turonensium habendos singulis annis in prepositura mea de Conchis ad festum sancti Remigii <in> puram scilicet et perpetuam elemosinam ad luminare capelle infirmorum eiusdem domus. Quod ut firmum sit et stabile, presenti scripto et sigillo meo apposito confirmaui in anno dominice incarnationis mº đèn. quintodecimo.
10. Notification by Nicholas de Montaigne and Isabella his wife, eldest daughter of Aldulf de Brachy, of their grant to the abbey of Bonport of the hay of Vidame (Seine-Maritime, cant. Darnétal, com. Bois-Guillaume) to hold for an annual rent of 20 livres. Supported by oaths made in the Exchequer of the king of France at Rouen, and granted in the church of Saint-Eloi.

Rouen, 1208

B = TNA C 64/13 (Norman Roll 8 Henry V part 1) m.6, in an inspeximus at Rouen, 26 March 1420. C = Bnf ms. Moreau 631 fos.111v–112v, copy from B by Bréquigny, s.xviii.

The inspeximus B also recites charters of Richard I, 28 February 1198 (Landon, *Itinerary*, no.486; GC, xi, instr. 137–8), Louis IX, February 1246/7 (*Cartulaire de l’abbaye royale de Notre-Dame de Bon-Port de l’ordre de Cîteaux au diocèse d’Evreux*, ed. J. Andrieux (Evreux 1862), 159–61 no.156), the present charter, and charters of Robert de Courtenay, December 1211 (*Cartulaire de Bon-Port*, 47 no.45), Jordan du Mesnil-Jourdain, November 1243 (*Cartulaire de Bon-Port*, 128–9 no.129), William abbot of La Trappe, March 1270/1 selling to Bonport a rent of 60s. given by Robert de Courtenay in the prévôté of Conches, and of Giles Malet, 15 July 1383.

Not in the printed *Cartulaire de Bon-Port*, which nonetheless (406 no.372, from an ‘aveu’ of 15 November 1456), refers to the same land, here described as ‘en la viconte de Rouen, en la paroisse du Bos Guillaume, ung fief noble et basse justice, dont le chief est assis en la dite paroisse, en ung hostel nomme la Haie de Widasne, et se revient en rentes en deniers, terres labourables, corvees, grains, oyseux et autres aides de fief coustumieres’, and for the place-name, see *Dictionnaire topographique du département de Seine-Maritime*, ed. C. de Beaurepaire and J. Laporte, 2 vols (Paris 1982–4), ii, 1058. For Nicholas (d.c.1230), perhaps to be associated either with Montigny (Seine-Maritime, cant. Maromme) or Montagny (cant. Argueil, com. Nolleval), see also *Jugements*, nos 229, 441, 463, 469. For his father-in-law, Aldulf de Brachy, see below no.45.

Nouerint uniuersi presentem paginam inspecturi quod ego Nicholaus de Monteign’ et Isabel uxor mea primogenita filia Aldulphi de Bracheio dedimus et concessimus in perpetuam elemosinam Deo et ecclesie Boniportus et monachis ibidem Deo seruentibus haiam de Vicsasne cum pertin(entiis) suis integre, videlecit terram cum bosco et quicquid iuris et hereditatis ibidem habeabamus in dominicis, in hominibus et feodis, in redditibus et serviciis, in escaetis et releuiamentis et incrementis et in omnibus aliis predicte terre pertinentibus tenend(am) et possidend(am) libere, quieta et pacifice per viginti libr(as) cur(re)n(tis) monete de redditu nobis vel heredibus nostris, nostris annuatim persoluentes ad duos terminos, in festo sancti Remigii decem libr(as) et in Purificatione beate virginis Marie decem libr(as). Hanc predictam donationem ego Nicholaus et Isabel uxor mea in scacario domini regis Francie apud Rothom’ coram domino Waltero camerario et Odone Clement’ archidiac(ono) Parisien’ et fratre Guarino iuramento confirmauimus tenendam et bona fide
11. Notification by the dean and chapter of Mortain to their men of Hanging Langford (Wiltshire) of their grant of their manor and land there to Firminus de Gorron (Mayenne), priest, for the term of his life.  
[c.1260]

Decanus et capitulum sanctorum confessorem Ebrulfi et Firmati de Moreton’ fidelibus suis hominibus de Hangindelangeford’ in Wilt’ salutem in Domino. Noveritis nos manerium nostrum et terram nostram de Hangedelangeford’ cum hominibus nostris ibidem existentibus et omnibus aliis ad dictum manerium spectantibus tradisse et de co(mmun)i assensu concessisse Firmino de Gorranne presbitero tenend(um) et possidend(um) pro toto tempore vite sue reddend(o) inde nob(is) per singulos annos cum propriis suis sumptibus apud Moreton’ quandam summam argenti prout in carta a nob(is) eadem facta F(irmino) super hoc confecta continetur. Quapropter vob(is) mandamus etc.

* dictum after dcucum cancelled
12. Notification by Robert archbishop of Rouen that Ralph fitz Gerald, archdeacon of Eu, has resigned an annual rent that he used to receive in England from the monks of Lewes, restoring all the evidences that he had over the same to the prior of Etoutteville and brother Reginald, monks of Lewes.

Valmont, 18 March 1209 or 17 March 1210

A = TNA E 40/15643. No medieval endorsement. Approx. 137 × 86 + 18mm. Sealed sur double queue, single slit, tag and seal impression missing. Faded in part, some letters illegible even under ultra-violet light.

The calendar year in use here is not certain, so the charter might date to either 1209 or 1210. For benefactions by the Anglo-Norman Stuteville family to Lewes Priory, see EYC, ix, 2, 29, 118–19 no.43n. That Lewes maintained a small priory at Etoutteville-sur-Mer (Seine-Maritime, cant. Yerville) seems not previously to have been noticed by English historians, although cf. Cottineau, i, 1082, and above pp.86–7 for evidence that Lewes also controlled the revenues of the nearby priory of Mortemer-sur-Eaulne (Seine-Maritime, cant. Neufchâtel). For Robert Pullus, archbp of Rouen 1208–1221, see GC, xi, 59–60. For Ralph fitz Gerald, canon of Rouen, official of Rouen c.1204–6, archdeacon by 1207, see Spear, Personnel, 218, 226–7, 254. By the 1250s, the revenues and communal life of both priories had declined to an alarming extent, with the revenues of Etoutteville, where there were only two monks of Lewes in residence, farmed for life to Master Gilbert de Wyauville, alias Gilbert de Caux (‘Caleto’) who allowed the monks only 20s. tours per week, and with those of Mortemer, again housing only two monks of Lewes, farmed for life to Master Odo de St-Denis: Regestrum visitationum archiepiscopi Rothomagensis, ed. T. Bonnin (Rouen 1852), 354, 381, 432, 473, 518, 549, 565, 601, 630.

Omnibus Cristi fidelibus ad quos p<resens> scriptum peruenert Robertus Dei gratia Rothom’ archiepiscopus salutem in domino. Noverit uniuersitas vestra quod dilectus filius noster rad(ulfus) filius geroudi, archid(iaconu)s Augi, pro salute anime sue remisit monachis sancti Pancratii de Leawes totum redditum quem ab eis in Anglia solebat percipere annuatim. Munimenta etiam que inde ab eis habuerat in manus prioris de Estuteuill’ et fratris Reinaldi, monachorum eiusdem domus, libere resignauit et quieta concessit. Cartam etiam suam super hac resignatione sua fecit monachis predictis ad maiorem eorum securitatem. Nos vero quod in hac parte a predicto archid(iacon)o factum est volentes ad omnium noticiam peruenire, ad eiusdem facti testimonium presenti scripto sigillum nostrum duximus apponendum. Dat’ apud Walemont per manum Rad(ulf)i de L.. capellani nostri anno incarnationis dominice m°cc° nono, die mercurii proxima post festum sancti Gregorii.
13. **Notification by Abbot William and the convent of Fécamp of their grant of confraternity to Abbot Eler and the monks of Pershore (Worcestershire).**

25 February 1258

A = TNA E 210/10188. Endorsed: *conuentio Fiscam*’ (s.xiii/xiv). Approx. 200 × 100 + 26mm. Sealed *sur double queue*, two tags through two sets of slits, both seal impressions missing. Decorated initial letter O of *Omnibus*.

The feast day of St Mathias fell on a Monday in 1259 so that the present charter appears to be dated using a calendar year beginning on 1 January. For Eler, abbot of Pershore 1251–1264, previously a monk of Fécamp, sent to England c.1248 to oversee Fécamp’s cell at Cogges in Oxfordshire, royal escheator for lands south of the Trent from 1251 and a baron of the exchequer, see *VCH Worcestershire*, ii, 136; *The Heads of Religious Houses England and Wales II: 1216–1377*, ed. D.M. Smith and V.C.M. London (Cambridge 2001), 56; *CPR 1247–58*, 7, 77, 92, 104. I am indebted to David Carpenter for the information that Eler was almost certainly the principal patron of the *Flores Historiarum*, in its first incarnation a Pershore as much as a St Albans or Westminster chronicle. Fécamp already enjoyed extensive confraternity arrangements with other English monasteries, including St Augustine’s Canterbury (cf. BL ms. Cotton Vitellius C xii fo.155r), and Reading Abbey (BL ms. Cotton Vespasian E v (Reading Almoner’s cartulary) fo.37r: ‘fratribus de Fiscanno debemus officium et missam in conuentu et missas priuatas et L. psalmos et tricenarium’).

*Omnibus Cristi fidelibus ad quos presentes littere peruenierint Will(el)mus Dei gratia humilis abbas Fiscannen’ et eiusdem loci conuentus salutem in domino sempiternam. Nuerit uniuersitas vestra nos concessisse domino Elerio Dei gratia abbati Persoren’ et successoribus suis et eiusdem loci conuentui quod, audito obitu dominorum abbatum eiusdem monasterii Persoren’, fiet pro eis sollemniter et plenarie in monasterio nostro sicut pro abbatibus <monast>erii Fiscann’ fieri debet et solet in missis, orationibus, psalmis, disciplinis et elemosinis, et auditu obi<tu mon>achorum dicti Persoren’ monasterii, fiet pro eis similitur in monasterio nostro sicut pro <monachis monaster>ii Fiscann’, et nomina eorum in martyrologio Fiscannen’ scribentur. In cuius rei testimonium presenti scripto sigilla nostra duximus apponenda. Dat’ anno gratie m°cc°l° octauo, die lune proxima post festum sancti Mathie apostoli.*

14. **Counterpart notification by Eler abbot of Pershore.**

29 August 1258

A = Rouen AD Seine-Maritime 7H51. Endorsed: *societas Persorens’* (s.xiii); various post medieval endorsements including *L.17* (s.xvii/xviii) Approx. 206 × 78 + 28mm. Sealed *sur double queue*, parchment tag through a single slit on left hand side, white (?hemp) cords through 3 holes at centre, small fragment of dark brown wax, image illegible, legend mostly illegible save from central left hand side of obverse …<?A>NGELEUM… Written in a hand identified by Tessa Webber as English rather than French, and, although
similar, probably distinct from that of no.2 above.

Note the delay of six months between the two, more or less identical, parts of this agreement. The fact that both parts of the agreement are written in very similar (?English) hands may suggest that the impetus for these arrangements came chiefly from Pershore.

Omnibus Cristi fidelibus ad quos presentes littere perueniunt El(er(ius)
Dei gratia Persoren's ecclesie minister humil(is) et eiusdem loci conuentus salutem in domino sempiternam. Nourerit univeritas vestra nos concessisse domino Will(elm)o Dei gratia Fiscann' et successoris suis et eiusdem loci conuentui quod, audito obitu dominorum abbatum eiusdem ecclesie Fiscann', fiet pro eis solempniter et plenar(ie) in ecclesia nostra sicut pro abbatibus ecclesie Persor' fieri debet et solet in missis, orationibus, psalmis, disciplinis et elemosinis, et audito obitu monachorum dicte ecclesie Fiscann', fiet pro eis similiter in ecclesia nostra sicut pro monachis ecclesie Persor', et nomina eorum in martirologio Persor' scribuntur. In cuius rei testimonium presenti scripto sigillum nostrum apposuimus. Dat' anno gratie m°cc°l° octauo, die decollationis beati Ioh(ann)is Baptiste.

15. Notification by Roger de Tilleul that he has restored to William de Roumare all his lands in England in the soke of Bolingbroke at Hareby, Mavis Enderby and Hundleby in return for life possession of 16 livres angevin of rents in Normandy in Roumare (Seine-Maritime, cant. Maromme) and ‘Wiunville’ (?Yainville or Yville-sur-Seine, both cant. Duclair), including 100 sous in the multure of the mill of Barentin (cant. Pavilly), William further granting Roger and Ralph his nephew the whole of Roger’s land in Bouteilles (Seine-Maritime, cant. Offranville, com. Rouxmesnil-Bouteilles) in hereditary fee.

[1166 X 1198, ?c.1170 X 1180]

A = TNA DL 27/254. No medieval endorsement, but a parchment schedule sewn on to the front of the linen seal bag: cart(a) Rog(eri) de Tilliol de terra quam quietum clamauit Will(elm)o de Rom’ in soca de Bulingbroc (s.xii). Approx. 246 × 154 + 14mm. Sealed sur double queue, round equestrian seal in pinkish-red wax on tag through 3 slits, legend: SIGILL’ ROGERI DE ....IL+. The top of the parchment continues to show the downstrokes of the writing that preceded the writing of the present charter, and the parchment itself exhibits a large hole across which the letters of the name of Roger’s nephew (Butelles et Radul…fo nepoti meo) have been carefully arranged.

Norman Charters from English Sources

Roger de Tilleul fl.1172–3, see Monasticon, v, 455. Before the death of William III de Roumare in 1198, probably earlier rather than later during this period.

Rog(erus) de Tillol omnibus hominibus suis et amicis Francis et Anglis presentibus et futuris salutem. Notum vobis facio me reddidisse et quietam clamasse domino meo Will(elm)o de Rom’ totam terram meam Anglie quam habebam in soca de Bulinbroc, scilicet in Harebi et in Endrebi et in Hundlebi solutam et quietam de me et heredibus meis sibi et heredibus suis in perpetuum pro xvi. libratis redditus ad monetam Andegauensium quas michi dominus meus Will(elmus) dedit in Normannia habendas omnibus diebus vite mee, et post dies meos ille xvi. librate redditus ad se et heredes suos redibunt, et me de ill(is) attornauit in Romara et in Wiunuilla, scilicet in sua sicca moult Romare que pertinet ad molendinum suum de Barentino de c. solidis Andegauensium ita integre sicut illa supradicta moult fuit in anno antequam michi daret, scilicet illo anno quo Will(elmus) Pinchewerre emit de Roberto Drou, et si quis illam minuere presumserit de sicut fuit in illo anno per senescalduum suum Normannie et per seruientes suos Romare adretetur michi ut habeam moultam suam sicut supradictum est plenarie, et me attornauit in x. et nouem acris terre quas Gilleb(erus) le Tonir tenuit in Romara et una acra terre quam egomet Rog(erus) teneo in Romara de lx. et decem solidis Andegauensium, et in Wiunuilla me attornauit in quinque acris prati quod vocatur Latrenteine et iuxta illud pratum quod vocatur Laquerenteine in tribus acris prati et dimidia de vii. libris et x. solidis Andegauensium. Summa est inter totum xvi. libre Andegauensium. Has xvi. libratas redditus dedit michi habendas omnibus diebus vite mee pro tota terra mea Anglie quam habebam in soca de Bulinbroc, scilicet in Harebi et in Endrebi et in Hundlebi quam ei reddidi et quietam clamaui sibi et heredibus suis de me et heredibus meis, ita quod xvi. librate redditus post mortem meam ad se et heredes suos redibunt. Pro hac autem quietatione et concessione quam ego ei feci de terra mea Anglie concessit michi totam terram meam de Butelles et Radulfo nepotio meo post dies meos tenendam de se in capite et de heredibus suis michi et heredibus meis. His testibus: Hug(one) abbate de Reuesbi, Philippo de Kima, Rabodo de Kales, Gill(elmo) de Bolonia, Matheo de Benigword’, Ioslano de Autebarge, Rog(ero) capellano, Dauid de Totint’, Rad(ulfo) de Imouilla, Rad(ulfo) Cantel, Ric(ardo) fratre eius, Rob(erto) Nigro, Matheo Nigro, Rog(ero) clerico, Waleranno de Grochet, Rob(erto) de Bolon’, Gaufrid(o) de Totintona, Hug(one) nepote eius, Reingoto de Stikefort.


[1166 X 1198, ?c.1170 X 1180]

A = TNA DL 27/260. Endorsed: c(arta) Will(elm)i de Rom’ (s.xii); on a parchment schedule sewn to the front of the linen seal bag: carta Rog(eri) de Till’ de terra quam
reddidit Will(elm)o Rom´de wapentac de Bulinbroc (s.xii). Approx. 185 × 56 + 16mm. Sealed sur double queue on a parchment tag through 3 slits, seal impression natural wax varnished brown, equestrian but distinct from that of no.15 above, oval: SIGILL´… Date as above no.15.

Rog(erus) de Till´ omnibus hominibus suis et amicis Francis et Anglis salutem. Noscant tam presentes quam futuri me dedisse et concessisse domino meo Will(elm)o de Roum´ et hereditibus suis in feodo et hereditate totam terram meam de wapentac de Bolinbroc quam auus suus pro seruicio meo michi dedit quietam de me et hereditibus meis post dies meos sibi et hereditibus suis, et pro ista concordia et pro ista convenzione quam ei concessit dedit et concessit dominus meus Will(elmus) de Roum´ michi et hereditibus meis terram de Boteilles in feodo et hereditate tenendam de eo et hereditibus suis. Hiis testibus: Rogero de Beningorde, Matheo eius fratre, Daui de Totintonne, Rab(odo) de Cales, Rog(ero) clerico, Rob(erto) Marmiu.

17. Notification by Robert le Chalceis of his quitclaim to William de Roumare, his lord, of all his land held from William’s fee in England in Alkborough and Toynton St Peter (Lincs.) in exchange for all the land that William held in Le Bourg-Dun (Seine-Maritime), save for the service of the knights who hold from William there, and all the land that William had in La Chapelle-sur-Dun (Seine-Maritime) save for the service of Walter de Canteleu and Richard de Dun, Robert rendering the service of one knight and an annual rent of 20 livres angevin.

[1166 X 1173]

A = TNA DL 27/259. Endorsed: c(arta) Willelmi de Romar´ (s.xii/xiii); xxiii. s. (s.xiv); various post medieval endorsements. Approx. 232 × 67 + 17mm. Sealed sur double queue, parchment tag through a single slit. Seal impression inside linen seal bag, with a description sewn to the front of the bag, apparently in a s.xii hand distinct from that of the text itself: carta Rob(erti) Le Chalceis de terra quam quietam clamauit Willelmo de Rom´. Seal, round, light brown wax, approx. 62mm. diameter, a lion passant facing to the right, its front left paw pointing ahead, elaborate tail curling behind, legend +SIGILL’ ROBBERTI LE CALCHIS. B = TNA DL42/2 (Great Coucher Book II) fo.237r (251r) no.24, s. xv in.

The present agreement is confirmed in a charter of Henry II: Delisle, Recueil, no.429; Acta Henry II, no.2291, which can be dated 1166 X 1173, probably September 1167 X August 1171, and where (as a note in Acta Henry II) is transcribed a letter from Robert to King Henry II, referring to the present settlement and entrusting his lands to William his nephew for a term of three years pending Robert’s return from pilgrimage to Jerusalem, from Rouen AD Seine-Maritime 24HP75. For a grant by Robert to the Templars of land at Toynton St Peter, see Stenton, Danelaw Charters, 378–9 no.522.
Rob(ertus) le Chalceis omnibus amicis suis Francis et Anglis salutem. Not(um) sit vob(is) me concessisse et clamasse quietam domino meo Will(elm)o de Roum’ totam terram mean quam habui in Angl(ia) de feodo suo in Altebarge et Totintona in excambio tocius dominii sui quod habuit in Duno exceptis seruiciis militum suorum qui tenent de eo in eadem vill(a), et in excambio tocius terre quam habuit in Capella excepto servicio Walteri de Canteleu et Ric(ardi) de Duno, tenend(am) de eo et de hereditibus suis in feodo et hereditate per servicium unius militis ita quod ego et heredes mei annuatim reddemus sibi et heredibus suis in feodi firma xx. li(bras) And(egauensium) pro isto tenemento ad duo terminos, videlicet ad Pasch(a) x. li(bras) et ad festum sancti Remigii x. li(bras). His (estibus): Adam de Brus, Will(ermo) le Chauceis, Walt(ero) Enguainne, Math(eo) de Beningworde, Rog(ermo) de Dodeuill’, Rog(ermo) de Till’. Val(ete).

18. Notification addressed to King John by S(amson) abbot of (St-Etienne) Caen, Ralph L’Abbé, Hugh of Chacombe and Peter de Lions, who, in accordance with the king’s mandate, have held an inquest on the oath of twenty-three knights and men, finding that the late earl William de Mandeville died holding Beuzeval (Calvados, cant. Dozulé) in demesne, the land passing thereafter to King (Richard) for half a year until Richard de Montigny had seisin of it.

[May 1199 X May 1204]

A = TNA DL 25/722. Endorsed: Boseuall’ (s.xiv). Approx. 190 × 79 +13mm. Sealed sur double queue, slits for four tags, two inner tags extant, outer tags and all seal impressions missing.

After the accession of King John and before the evacuation of Peter de Lions and the Exchequer archive to England in May 1204. William de Mandeville died 12 December 1189. For Beuzeval and Ifs (Yz, Isibus), see C. Hippeau, Dictionnaire topographique du département du Calvados (Paris 1883), 27, 150–1. For Samson abbot of St-Etienne 1196–1214, and his fellow judges, see V. Gazeau, Normannia monastica, 2 vols (Caen 2007), ii, 55–7; D. Power, ‘En Quête de sécurité juridique dans la Normandie angevins: concorde finale et inscription au rouleau’, BEC, clxviii (2010), 370–1. For Richard de Montigny, ‘bailli’ of the Pays de Caux in 1195 and in the same year witness to a charter of King Richard I issued in Normandy, having served during the late disturbances as defender of the castle of Bellencombre, and having apparently deputed his son William de Montigny to carry gold coin into Germany to assist with the payment of the king’s ransom, see MRSN, i, 2, 134, 147, 157, 163–4, 167, 284, ii, 423, 436, 443; Landon, Itinerary, 100 no.441.

I(ohanni) Dei gratia illustri regi Angl(ie), domino Hibern(ie), duc(i) Norm(annie), Aquit(anie) et com(iti) Andeg(aunie) fideles sui S(amson) abbass Cad’ et Rad(ulfus) Labbe et Hug(o) de Chauc’ et Petrus de Liuns
salutem et obsequium. Nuerit excellentio vestra quod iuxta formam mandati vestri inquisiuimus si Will(elmus) com(es) de Mandeuile fuit saisisus de Boseual' cum pertinentiis anno quo obiit et die qua incepit egrotare egritudine qua obiit et die qua obiit in dominico suo sic(ut) de feodo per sacramentum legalium militum et hominum, scilicet istorum, Rob(erti) de Yz, Rob(erti) de Isibus, Will(elmi) de Burganuile, Rob(erti) de Turgisuiule, Ric(ardi) de Astin, Galfr(idi) Mani’at, Bose Heard, Ioh(annis) Allig, Bernard(i) de Campo Dolent, Saffr(idi) Turoude, Anketil de Veteriuilla, Simon(is) de Trusseauuile, Hug(onis) de Luiet, Rob(erti) de Valdoire, Thom(e) de Osberuiile, Rumt’ de Tol’uile, Rob(erti) de Gisros, Will(elmi) de Angeruiile marescall(i), Thom(e) de Gotteranuile, Thom(e) de Agernt, Galfr(idi) Keisnel, Ric(ardi) fil(ii) Houte, Rob(erti) Corsond, qui dic(un)t quod Will(elmus) com(es) de Mandeuile fuit saisisus de Boseual cum pertinentiis suis in dominico suo sic(ut) de feodo anno quo obiit, et die qua incepit egrotare egritudine qua obiit et die qua obiit et etiam quod post mortem predicti Will(elmi) com(its) fuit terra predicta, scilicet de Boseual, cum pertinentiis in manu domini reg(is) et eius custodia per spacium dimidii anni donec Ric(ardus) de Muntigni habuit in(de) saisinam, set nesciunt per q(uem) vel quomodo. Valeat excellentia vestra.

19. Letters of William de Pirou informing King (??Henry III) that he is sending Richard his eldest son to seek his inheritance at Chedzoy (Somerset). [1195 X 1226, ?1217 X 1218]

A = TNA DL 25/199. Endorsed: rem (s.xiii). Approx. 122 × 27mm. Sealed sur simple queue, tongue and wrapping tie, round seal in natural wax, a shield of arms, a label with five points, legend: .....I de PIrOU+

For William de Pirou’s fine of 30 marks to have possession of Chedzoy, paid in full at Michaelmas 1195, the land having been accounted for by the king’s local keeper of escheats from Easter until Christmas 1194, see PR 6 Richard I, 19; PR 7 Richard I, 39, 234. To be dated after William’s recovery of Chedzoy in the 1190s, and apparently after the acquisition of the estate by William Brewer (below nos 20–2), probably after King John’s loss of Normandy, and certainly before the death of William Brewer, perhaps of the same date as no.20 below. The reference in no.21 below to seisin being awarded by the king and his council might suggest a date during the minority of Henry III. For further indications of the date, see below no.20.

Domino suo regi Anglie balliuis suis et fidelibus Will(elmus) de Pirou salutem. Ego transmitto ad vos Ricard(um) filium meum primogenit(um) et heredem meum causa hereditatis mee perquirende michi et sibi penes vos apud Chedesie que terra de hereditate mea est, gratum et ratum habiturus
quicquid ipse Ric(ardus) erga vos super hoc negotio tam in servicio quam in alis rebus poterit impetrare.

20. Notificaton by Richard de Pirou that he has granted his land at Chedzoy to William Brewer and his heirs in fee, rendering 100 shillings each year at Chedzoy to Richard or his representative bearing Richard’s letters patent, any expense incurred by William or his heirs in discharging the land’s obligations to its chief lord being deducted from the 100 shilling rent. [1195 X 1218, 1217 X 1218]

A = TNA DL 25/201. Endorsed: in re (s.xii/xiii). Approx. 186 × 118 + 34mm. Sealed sur double queue, blue and green silk cords through 4 holes, seal impression in green wax as below no.21.

Witnessed by Enjuge (II) de Bohon, lord of Midhurst in Sussex, who died after 9 December 1217 but before 10 January 1219: RLC, i, 383b, 385, 404b, 429. William Brewer’s tenancy at Chedzoy is first referred to in March 1216, apparently as a gift made earlier by King John: RLC, i, 252b. William de Percy, witness to this and the next two charters, was a ward of William Brewer from c.1204 until his coming of age in 1218, being married to Brewer’s daughter: R.V. Turner, Men Raised from the Dust (Philadelphia 1988), 83. Ralph, son of Hasculf de Subligny, was granted custody of his father’s estates in Cornwall and Somerset in 1220, apparently whilst his father was absent on the Fifth Crusade from which he may never have returned: RLC, i, 410b. William de Pirou ‘the younger’ appears to have succeeded to the estate of William de Pirou ‘the elder’, his father, c.1217 (above pp.87–8), which might suggest that the present arrangements were provoked by this succession.

Sciant tam presentes quam futuri quod ego Ricardus de Pyro dedi et concessi et hac presenti carta mea confirmaui Will(elm)o Briwer’ et heredibus suis pro homagio et servicio suo totam terram meam de Chedesie cum omnibus pertinentiis suis et quicquid iuris habui in predicta terra et eius pertinentiis, habendam et tenendum predicto Will(elm)o et heredibus suis de me et heredibus meis libere et quiete, integre et pacifice cum omnibus libertatibus et liberis consuetudinibus ad eandem terram spectantibus, reddendo inde michi et heredibus meis ipse et heredes sui centum solidos sterlingorum singulis annis ad Pasca pro omni servicio et exactione ad me et heredes meos pertinentiis, et debet singulis annis ista solutio fieri ad predictum terminum in manerio de Chedesie michi et heredibus meos vel certo nuncio qui litteras mei vel heredum meorum patentes predicto Will(elm)o et heredibus suis inde attulerit, et ipse Will(elm)o et heredes sui aquietabunt de predictis centum solidis seruicium quod fieri debet de predicta terra versus capitalem dominum, et ego et heredes mei computabimus predicto Will(elm)o et heredibus suis in solutione predictorum centum solidorum
totum id quod capitali domino pacabunt pro seruicio predicte terre, et si forte idem Will(em)us et heredes sui non soluerint michi et heredibus meis predictos denarios ad predictum terminum, licebit michi et heredibus meis saisire predictam terram in manus nostras donec idem Will(em)us et heredes sui competenter satisfecerint michi et heredibus meis de predictis centum solidis, salvo seruicio quod debetur capitali domino de eadem terra sicut predictum est, et ego Ricardus de Pyro et heredes mei warantizabimus predictam terram cum pertinentiis predicto Will(em)o et heredibus suis contra omnem mortalitatem, et ut hec mea donatio et concessio rata et stabilis in perpetuum perseueret, presentem cartam sigilli mei appositione roboraui.


21. Notification by Richard de Pirou that he has sworn to obtain a charter from William de Pirou, his father, confirming the charter that Richard himself has granted William Brewer over the land of Chedzoy. [1195 X 1226, ?1217 X 1218]

A = TNA DL 25/200. Endorsed: rem’ (s.xii/xiii); in re (s.xii/xiii). Approx. 130 × 48mm. Sealed sur simple queue, tongue and wrapping tie, seal impression on tongue, natural wax, a shield charged with a label of five points, legend: SIGILL’M RICARDI DE PIROIO+

With similar witnesses to, and therefore probably issued on the same occasion as no.20 above.

Omnibus ad quos presens script(um) peruenierit Ricardus de Pyro salutem. Nouerit uniuersitas vestra quod ego tactis sacrosanctis iurauit quod faciam habere Will(elm)o Briwer’ cartam Will(elm)i de Pyro patris mei de terra de Chedesie talem qualem idem Will(elm)us habet de me de predicta terra et in eadem verba, et in huius rei testimonium has litteras meas patentes ei inde feci. Hii testibus: Rob(erto) de Curten’, Will(elm)o de Percy, Rad(ulfo) Gernun, Rob(erto) de Gouiz, Hascullo de Sulinn’, Oseberto Giffard’, Baldewino de Ver et multis aliis.
22. Notification by Richard de Pirou that he will not demand the 100 shilling rent referred to in his charter to William Brewer over the land of Chedzoy (above no.18), until he has full seisin of the land from the king and his council. [1195 X 1226, ?1217 X 1218]

A = TNA DL 25/202. Endorsed: rem (s. xii/xiii); in re (s. xii/xiii). Approx. 143 × 55mm. Sealed sur simple queue, tongue and wrapping tie, seal impression natural wax and hand as in above no. 21.

With similar witnesses to, and therefore probably on the same occasion as nos 20–1 above.

Omnibus ad quos presens scriptum peruenerit Ric(ardus) de Pyro salutem. Nouerit universitas vestra quod ego et heredes mei non exigemus nec exigi faciemus de Will(elm)o Briwer vel heredibus suis illos centum solidos quos michi annuatim soluere tenetur per cartam quam habeo predicto Will(elm)o de centum solidis michi annuatim soluendis pro terra mea de Chedesie quam eidem Will(elm)o et heredibus suis dedi et concessi pro homagio et seruicio suo, donec plenariam saisinam habuero de predicta terra cum omnibus pertinentiis suis per dominum regem et eius consilium, et in huius rei testimonium huic scripto sigillum meum apposui. Hiis testibus: Rob(erto) de Curten’, Will(elm)o de Percy, Rob(erto) de Guuiz, Baldewino de Ver, Will(elm)o de Pratellis, Rad(ulfo) Gernun, Oseberto Giffard’ et multis aliis.

23. Notification by Walter de Lacy of his grant to the monks of Beaubec (Seine-Maritime, cant. Forges, com. Beaubec-la-Rosière) of the church of St Patrick at Trim (Ireland, Co. Meath) to pay for the monks’ sandals, establishing a vicar’s portion in the church. [1215 X 1241, ?1235]


To be dated after the restoration of Meath to Walter de Lacy following his disgrace in 1210, and before his death, probably of the same date as no. 24 below. For the Irish priory of Beaubec in Co. Meath, near Drogheda, see A. Gwynn and R.N. Haddock, Medieval Religious Houses Ireland (London 1970), 128; Monasticon, vi, 1129, and for
Jocelin prior of the Irish house of Beaubec, active in Stephen of Lexington’s visitation of the Cistercian houses of Ireland 1228–9, see ‘Registrum epistolarum Stephani de Lexinton abbatis de Stanlegia et de Savigniaco’, ed. B. Griesser, *Analecta Sacri Ordinis Cisterciensis*, ii (1946) 46 no.37, 59–60 nos 55, 57, whence *Stephen of Lexington’s Letters from Ireland 1228–1229*, trans. B.W. O’Dwyer (Kalamazoo 1982), 66 no.27, 96 no.45, 98 no.47. For the term ‘Betani’, referring to the native Irish peasantry, see J.A. Watt, *The Church and the Two Nations in Medieval Ireland* (Cambridge 1970), 125 and references there cited. According to M. Potterton (*Medieval Trim: History and Archaeology* (Dublin 2005), 270), the church of Trim is to be identified with that granted by John count of Mortain to form a prebend in St Patrick’s church, Dublin, apparently for a set period of twenty years from 1193, thereafter renewed in 1213, at a time that the Lacy lands were in royal custody. This suggests that Walter de Lacy’s grant to Beaubec was never properly implemented, since the church remained one of the more valuable prebends of St Patrick’s from the 1250s onwards. An original charter of Geoffrey de Geneville, husband of Walter de Lacy’s grand-daughter and joint heiress Matilda or Maud, 13 May 1259, confirms various lands, but not the churches, to the monks of Beaubec: BL ms. Harley Charter 50.G.38. The castle at Trim is further referred to in a charter of Walter de Lacy in favour of Petronilla his daughter and Ralph (V) de Tosny her husband (d.1239), witnessed by John de Lacy as earl of Lincoln (d.1240) and Richard vicomte de Beaumont-sur-Sarthe (from c.1237 to 1242–3), hence datable 1237 X 1239: Taunton, Somerset Record Office ms. DD/SAS H/348 (Hungerford cartulary) fo.59r, whence the calendar in *The Hungerford Cartulary: A Calendar of the Hobhouse Cartulary of the Hungerford Family*, ed. J.L. Kirby, Wiltshire Record Society lx (2007), 12–13 no.999. Amongst the witnesses to the present grant, Potterton notes that Nicholas de ‘Ebroicis’ (?Evreux) was, by 1234, serving as Walter de Lacy’s seneschal for Meath. Note also the way in which an Irish landlord here endows a vicarage, usurping what in England would be regarded as a distinctly episcopal function.

*Uniuersis Cristi fidelibus ad quos presens scriptum peruenerit Walterus de Lascy salutem. Ad vesture uniuersitatis noticiam volo peruenire me diuini amoris intuitu et pro salute anime mee, sponse mee, patris mei, matris mee, antecessorum et successorum meorum dedisse et concessisse et hac carta mea confirmasse Deo et ecclesie beati Laurentii de Bellobecco et monachis ibidem Deo seruientibus quantum ad patronum pertinet ecclesiam beati Patricii de Trum cum omnibus pertinentiis suis, habendam et tenendam in liberam, puram et perpetuam elemosinam ad ipsorum monachorum et familiarium suorum calciamuram, salua vicaria perpetua in eadem ecclesia assignata ad quam ego et heredes mei personam idoneam presentabimus et assignabimus. Vicarius autem habebit alteragia eiusdem ecclesie beati Patricii et capelle sancti Thome cum minutis decimis et sepulturis mortuorum. Habebit etiam idem vicarius duodecim marcas assignatas in decimis Betasiorum meorum de Leuure que si in tantum non suffecerint, dicti monachi perficient, et si quid in dictis superfluerit decimis prefatis remaneat monachis. Idem etiam vicarius omnia honera ecclesie pertinentia sustinerebunt. Ut hec igitur mea donatio et concedio rata et inconcussa permaneat, eam presenti scripto sigilli mei munimine roborato confirmaui. Hiis testibus: Nichol(ao) de Ebroic’, Iohanne capellano, Alexandro clerico, Simone capellano, Willemo de Cenomann’, Ric(ardo) de Windesor, Adam de Notingeham’ clerico et multis aliis.*
24. Notification by Walter de Lacy of his grant to the monks of Beaubec of the vill of ‘Killekeran’ (Ireland, ?Castlekeeran, Co. Meath) as he held it before he was deprived of it by King John, further granting a burgage in the ‘vill of the mariners’ (?Mornington, Co. Meath) with a boat free from toll and custom, and free entry and exit to his lands with freedom from toll on the purchase and sale of the monks’ merchandise.

[1215 X 1235, ?1235]

A = TNA DL 25/532. Endorsed: carta ann(u)i redditus vi. marc(arum) de Gillikren’ (s.xiv); duplicat(ur) (s.xiv); xxii.a comitum (s.xiv). Approx. 173 × 120 + 26mm. Sealed as no.23 above.

To be dated after the restoration of Meath to Walter de Lacy following the seizure of the Lacy estates by King John in 1210 (A.J. Otway-Ruthven, A History of Medieval Ireland (2nd ed., London 1980), 79–86, 91–2), and before the confirmation of the present award by King Henry III, issued on 2 December 1235: Cal. Chart. R. 1226–57, 215, and cf. letters of Edward III, 4 May 1348 (summarizing the terms of the present grant and recounting the later history of the abbey, transferred by the monks of Beaubec in Normandy to the keeping of the Cistercian monks of Furness): Calendar of Close Rolls 1346–9 (London 1905), 459, whence Oxford, Bodleian Library ms. Dodsworth 71 fo.82r, and for the negotiations to alienate Beaubec’s Irish estate to Furness, in train since 1322, see also Inquisitions and Extents of Medieval Ireland, ed. P. Dryburgh and B. Smith, List and Index Society cccxx (2007), 135–6 no.250; CPR 1330–4, 383. Probably issued shortly before the king’s confirmation. For the identity of Killekeran, see above no.2n. For Nicholas de Ebroicis, one of the witnesses, as seneschal of Meath by 1234, see above no.23n. Note Walter’s specific reference to his deprivation ‘per voluntatem regis’.

Omnibus tam presentibus quam futuris Walterus de Lacey salutem in domino. Ad uniuersitas vestrar noticiam volo peruenire me dedisse et hac presenti carta mea confirmasse D(e)o et ecclesie beate marie sanctique Laurentii de Bello Becco et monachis ibidem D(e)o seruentibus totum dominicum carcarum mearum in villa Gillekeran cum omnibus pertinentiis et libertatibus suis sicut melius, plenius et liberius illud tenui antequam inde dissaisitis essem per voluntatem domini Ioh(ann)is regis Angl(ie). Dedi etiam predicte ecclesie et eiusdem loci conventui per salute anime mee et Marger(ie) uxoris mee et omnium antecessorum et successorum meorum totum terram quam Betani et Anglici tenuerunt in villa Gillekeran tenend(am) et habend(am) libere et quiete cum omnibus pertinentiis suis in bosco et plano, in pratis et pascuis, in aquis et molendinis, in omnibus libertatibus et liberis consuetudinibus ad eandem terram pertinentibus, pro qua terra et libertate possidenda sepedicti monachi reddent michi et heredibus meis annuatim quatuor libras esterlingorum, scilicet medietatem ad Annunciationem beate marie et aliam medietatem ad festum sancti Mich(aelis) pro omni seruicio seculari et exactione et demandis. Preterea dedi et concessi predicte ecclesie et conventui unum burgagium in villa

25. Notification by Walter de Lacy of his grant to the monks of Beaubec of the advowson of the church of St Patrick at Trim (Ireland, Co. Meath) to pay for the monks’ sandals and ‘pottages’, saving the right of himself and his heirs to confer a vicarage within the church. [1227 X 1237, ?1235]

A = BL Additional Charter 19803. Endorsed: carta Galt(eri) de Laci de ecclesia de Trim’ (s.xiii in); cum xxvii. comitum (s.xiii). Approx. 145 × 72 + 15mm. Sealed sur double queue, parchment tag through a single slit. Seal impression, round, dark brown wax, a shield showing a fess, legend: SIGILLUM WALTERI de LACI+ Part of a much larger collection of English charters acquired by the British Library from G.R. Attenborough, 12 July 1873, themselves ultimately from the collections of Sir Christopher Hatton of Kirby Hall (above p.89 n.328).


For Richard abbot of Stratford Langthorne (1218–1233 X 1237), see Smith, *Heads*, 313–14. After his disgrace in 1210, Hugh de Lacy was not restored as earl of Ulster until April 1227: *CP*, xii part 2, 168–71. Closely related to, and perhaps issued only shortly after Walter’s other charter relating to the church, above no.24. Preserved together with a grant by Walter Talbot, confirming the gift by Geoffrey his uncle and Hugh his brother and Richard his father of land at Feltwell (Norfolk) to the monks of Beaubec (BL Additional Charter 19804, and for the Talbot estate at Feltwell and the Talbots as benefactors of Beaubec, see also Ibid. Harley Charters 111.G.50, 112.D.57–9). Note the reference to the monks’ ‘pottages’ (‘pulmentorum’) or feedings.

Sciunt presentes et futuri quod ego Walterus de Lascy dedi, concessi et presenti carta mea confirmavi pro salute anime mee et omnium antecessorum et successorum meorum Deo et ecclesie beate Marie
Belli Beccy et monach(is) ibidem Deo seruientibus aduocationem ecleesie sancti Patricii de Trum cum omnibus pertinen(tiis) suis salua tamen mi(chi) et hereditibus meis vicaria eiusdem ecleesie in perpetuum conferenda et pretaxata, habendam et tenendum ipsis monachis de me et hereditibus meis in liberam, puram et perpetuam elemosinam ad aumontum emendationis calciamentorum et pulmentorum eorum in perpetuum, et ego Walterus et heredes mei warantizabimus predictis monachis aduocationem predicte ecclesie cum omnibus pertin(entiis) suis contra omnes gentes in perpetuum sit et stabilis in perpetuum perseueret, sigilli mei appositione eam roborauit. Hiis testibus: Ric(ardo) abbate de Straford’, Hugon(e) de Lascy com(ite) de Uluester’, Willelmo de Lascy, Simone de Clifford’, Waltero le Petit’, Iohanne de Cranford’, Ric(ardo) de Stangeland’, Nich(olao) de Criketton.

26. Convention made between Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester, and Brother William de Gineuil’, proctor in England of the abbot and convent of Bec, by which Earl Simon grants the monks of Bec the service, rent, land, a burgage and rights in exchange and recompense for pasture and commons for his beasts within the wood of Baltelay (in Hungerford, Berkshire). 8 September 1246

A = TNA DL 36/1/152. Endorsed: conventiones facte super parco de Hungerford’ (s.xiii/ xiv); xxvi s. (s.xiv/xv). Indented cyrograph. Approx. 207 × 195 + 20mm. Sealed sur double queue, slits for 2 tags, tags and seal impressions missing. B = TNA DL 42/2 (Great Coucher Book II) fo.72r–v (50r–v) no.26, entered by mistake amongst deeds for Leicestershire, s.xiv. C = Windsor, St George’s Chapel Muniments ms. XI.G.28, copy, s.xv.

Pd (calendar from C) The Manuscripts of St George’s Chapel, Windsor Castle, ed. J.N. Dalton (Windsor 1957), 46.

For Baltelay alias Batele in Hungerford, see The Place-Names of Berkshire Part 2, ed. M. Gelling, English Place-Name Society 1 (1974), 307, and for further exchanges of land there in the late 1240s involving Simon de Montfort in negotiations with Geoffrey Posard of Hungerford and William de Erpeham, see TNA DL 25/2296–7, whence DL 42/2 fo.176r–v (159r–v). The endorsements to the present award suggest that these transactions may have been related to the creation of a park at Hungerford, Simon having been granted licence by King Henry III to enclose his wood of ‘Bauteleg’ within Savernake forest by a charter of 3 May 1246: Cal. Chart.R. 1226–57, 293. For Simon’s jurisdiction at Hungerford, where by 1248 he was attempting to exclude the king’s bailiffs from entering to make distraints, see The Roll and Writ File of the Berkshire Eyre of 1248, ed. M.T. Clanchy, Selden Society xc (1973), 309 no.756. For Bec’s lands in Wiltshire, see also letters of abbot H. of Bec 1234, in TNA DL 42/2 fo.205r–v (188r–v).
Anno regni reg(is) Henr(ici) filii reg(is) Ioh(ann)is tricesimo ad festum Nativitatis beate Marie virginis facta est hec conventio inter dominum Simonem de Monteforti comitem Leicestr’ ex una parte et fratrem Willelmmum de Ginevill’ procuratorem abbatis et conventus de Becco tunc temporis in Anglia generalem ex altera. Videlicet quod dictus Simon dedit, concessit et confirmavit Deo et ecclesie beate Marie de Becco et monachis ibidem eis servientibus in escambium et recompensationem pasture et commune omnium mobilium suorum infra boscum suum de Baltelay secundum quod vetus fossatum et antique bunde bosci se habent et proportant totum servicium et redditum de tenemento Iordani de Mareis cum omnibus pertinent(iis) suis et omnimodis exitibus et escaetis que inde aliquo casu dicto S(imoni) vel heredibus suis possent accidere, et unam cotsetlandam terre cum marisco cum omnibus pertinent(iis) suis quam Iohannes Ginegone tenuit in villa de Hungerford’, excepta una acra que iacet apud Hanechull’ inter terram Ade de Helme et Iordani de Mareis. Preterea unam acram terre que fuit Regin(aldi) Hareng que vocatur Bergacra extra cimiterium de Hungerford’. Ad hec concessit et dedit eis unum dimidium burgagium cum omnibus pertinent(iis) suis quod Rogerus Pogge tenuit in villa de Hungerford’ et redditum quatuor denariorum que de terra quam Petrus le Sagiehere tenuit annuatim capere consuevit. Dedit insuper eis et concessit pro se et heredibus suis quod ipsi et eorum homines ac tenentes liberi sint et quieti tam in agris et villis quam extra et in omnibus alii locis de omni serviciio seculari, actione, querelis et demandis et omnimodis sectis curiarum suarum et hundredorum tam de tenemento prati quod vocatur Widemerch’ quam de omnibus aliis terris, tenementis et possessionibus suis unde dicto S(imoni) vel heredibus suis aliquod seruicium seculaire vel secta posset pertinere, ita quod dictus Simon nec heredes sui vel balliui aliquid ab eis in vite occasione alicuius servicii secularis de terris vel tenementis eorum exigere capere possint vel extorquere. Dicti vero monachi vel eorum successores nich(i) occasione herbagii pasture et commune infra antiquas bundas bosci de Baltelay prenominati exigere in perpetuum vel clamare poterunt vel debunt. Quare memoratus S(imon) com(es) de Leicestr’ voluit et concessit pro se et heredibus suis quod dicti monach(i) et eorum succ(essores) habeant et teneant omnia prenominata et omnes possessiones suas cum omnibus pertinen(tiis) suis et libertatibus tam in rebus spiritualibus quam secularibus in potestate sua in parochia de Hungerford’ constitutis in puram et perpetuam elemosinam libere, quiete, honorifice, bene et in pace de omnibus serviciis secularibus, querelis et exactionibus sicut predictum est ita libere sicut dictus Simon alicuius liberius potuit conferre. Dictus vero S(imon) et heredes sui prefatis monach(is) et succ(essoribus) suis omnia suprascripta cum omnibus pertinent(iis) et libertatibus suis contra omnes gentes in perpetuum warantizabunt, et ut ista conventio stabili(is) et inconcussa utrique permaneat, presenti scripto in modum cirographi confecto partes sigilla sua alternatim apposuerunt. Hiis testibus: dominis Roberto de Erpenham, Willelmo de Brethimuores, Iohanne de Columbar’, Alano filio Warini, Hug(one) de Standen’ militibus, Ricardo de Hauering’,

27. Notification by Abbot R(obert) and the convent of Bec of their confirmation of a settlement made between Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester, and Brother William de Gineuill’, their proctor in England, over the pasture of Baltelay in the parish of Hungerford (Berkshire).

24 July 1247

Omnibus presentes litteras inspecturis vel audituris r(obertus) divina permissione abbas de Becco herluini totusque eiusdem loci conventus salutem in domino. Noverit universitas vestra quod nos habemus ratam et gratam compositionem factam inter nobilem virum dominum Symonem de Monteforti comitem Leicester’ ex una parte et dilectum nostrum in Christo filium fratrem Willellum de ginevill’ procuratorem nostrum in Anglia generalem ex altera super pastura de Baltelay in parrochia de Hungerford’, et ad ipsius compositionis confirmationem presentibus lit(t)eris sigilla nostra duximus apponenda. Dat’ anno domini m˚cc˚xl˚ septimo, die mercurii proxima post festum sancte Magdalene.

28. Letters of Maurice archbishop of Rouen to Edmund archbishop of Canterbury, following complaints from the men of the manor of Bentworth (Hampshire) that the king’s bailiffs of Odiham have infringed their liberties and privileges conferred by earlier kings of England. Maurice requests Edmund’s intervention with the king.

20 July 1234

Omnibus presentes litteras inspecturis vel audituris r(obertus) divina permissione dominorum Cantuariensem archiepiscopo salutem in domino. Noverit universitas vestra quod nos habemus ratam et gratam compositionem factam inter nobilem virum dominum Regum Angliae et nostrum in Anglia filium fratrem Willellum de ginevill’ procuratorem nostrum in parrochia de Bentworth, et ad ipsius compositionis confirmationem presentibus lit(t)eris sigilla nostra duximus apponenda. Dat’ anno domini mccc’x’ septimo, die mercurii proxima post festum sancte Magdalene.
Sent shortly after the fall of Peter des Roches, King Henry III’s previous chief minister, at a time when archbp Edmund was in a position of authority at court. For the history of Rouen’s property at Bentworth and elsewhere in England, see Maddicott, Simon de Montfort, 198–9; J. Peltzer, ‘The Slow Death of the Angevin Empire’, Historical Research, lxxxi (2008), 563ff, esp. p.566.

Reuerendo in Cristo patri ac domino Ead(mundo) Dei gratia Cantuar’ archiepiscopo Maur(icius) diuina permissione Rothomag’ ecclesie minister indignus salutem et sinceram in domino cartitatem. Intimatum est nobis ex parte hominum manerii nostri de Bintewurdhe quod balliui domini regis Anglie de Odiham contra libertates et priuilegia ab antecessoribus suis Rothomagen’ ecclesie et ipsis hominibus concessa eosdem homines vexant multiplichter et molestan<>, ab ipsis hominibus exactiones indebitas extorquendo. Verum cum de vobis dicatur et sic esse credamus quod vos saluti anime dicti regis salubriter prouidentes, eidem consulitis quod Dei ecclesiam et eius ministros diligit et eosdem in libertate et iure suo conseruet, et idem rex tanquam deutos ecclesie filius salubribus paternitatis vestre consilii et monitis libenter obtemperet, paternitatem vestram attentius duximus exorandam quatinus memoria regem efficaciter inducatis ut balliuos suos compellat desistere a predictorum hominum molestatione indebita, et eos in suis immo potius Rothomagen’ ecclesie libertatibus tueatur. Valete in domino paternitas vestra. Dat’ in festo sancte Margarite <anno domini m°> cc° tricesimo quarto.

29. Notification by Jordan de Sauqueville of his grant to the collegiate church at Sauqueville (Seine-Maritime, cant. Offranville) of the manor of Helmingham (Suffolk), 10 livres in the vill of L’Epinay (?Seine-Maritime, cant. et com. Dieppe), the churches of either Fawley (Buckinghamshire) or Marlesford (Suffolk) at the next vacancy, and rents at Epreville (?Seine-Maritime, cant. St-Valery, com. Veules-les-Roses) and Les Hameaux (Seine-Maritime, cant. Tôtes, com. Gonneville-sur-Scie) to augment the collegiate establishment from two to six canons, for whose regular life rules are here established relating to discipline, residence and liturgy.

[c.1200 X 1202]

A = Rouen AD Seine-Maritime J294. An original, or possibly a contemporary copy. Mounted, dorse inaccessible. Approx. 200 × 425mm. No indication of sealing, perhaps foot cut away. Badly damp damaged, especially along folds and at left hand side, many letters missing or crumbling. Letters in brackets <> below supplied, for the most part from the confirmation, no.30 below. Recovered with no.30 in the 1880s from the
collections of a local notary, cf. Stein no.3625, where this and no.30 below are falsely described as a cartulary roll.

Of the same date as the archiepiscopal confirmation, no.30, whose date is discussed below. For Jordan, d.g. 1234, lord of Sauqueville in Normandy and of Fawley in Buckinghamshire, and for his rights in Helmingham passed down to his wife, Clementia, apparently as daughter and coheiress of William de Chesney of Norfolk, see W. Farrer, *Honors and Knights’ Fees*, 3 vols (London 1923–5), i, 210–13, iii, 317–18; *CRR*, xi, no.254; D. Power, ‘The French Interests of the Marshal Earls of Striguil and Pembroke, 1189–1234’, *ANS*, xxv (2003), 219–20; N. Vincent, ‘More Tales of the Conquest’, *Normandy and its Neighbours 900–1250: Essays for David Bates*, ed. D. Crouch and K. Thompson (Turnhout 2011), 276–87, 300–1. The present charter shares at least one witness in common with no.31 below, and perhaps two if the reconstruction of the witness name ‘Elias de Tilol’ be allowed. For the form ‘Fanleia’ or ‘Fanle’ to denote Fawley, and for the descent of the advowson there together with the lordship of the manor, neither of them, in the event transferred to the college at Sauqueville, see *VCH Buckinghamshire*, iii, 42; *Book of Fees*, i, 464, 467. For further charters or bequests by the grantor relating to his lands in Normandy, see Rouen AD Seine-Maritime 24HP45; 24HP75/1; 16H14 (Cartulary of St-Wandrille) fo.90v; *Monasticon*, vi, 1091.

<Omnibus Cristi> fidelibus ad quos presens scriptum peruenerit Iord(anus) de Sauqueuill’ salutem in domino. Nouerit uniuersitas vestra <ego Iordanus de Sauqueuill’ pro amore Dei et pro salute anime mee> et uxoris mee Clement(ie) et antecessorum et heredum meorum dedisse et consecisse et presenti carta mea <conferma>ss<e Deo et ecclesie beate Marie de S>auqueuill’ totam terram meam de Helmingeham cum omnibus pertinentiis suis et omnibus obuenti<onibus et f>uctibus que ad <u>s<us> suos spectare solent, que terra valet ad minus per annum cent(um) sol(idos) sterlingorum. Hoc siquidem concessi per concessi<onem et donationem domini> Walt(eri) Dei gratia Rothom’ archiepiscopi et uxoris mee Clement(ie) que heres est eiusdem terre de Helmingeh’, ita quod de terra illa <quatu>or fiant prebende in ecclesia de Sauqueuill’, quilibet de cent(um) sol(idis) Andeg(ausibus) et preter illas duas prebendas que ab antiquo ab antecessoribus me<is in> ecclesia illa ordinante sunt. Preterea decano illius ecclesie qui unus erit ex illis sex canonics canonice electus dedi et concessi decem li<bras> And(egauenses) <in villa de Spin>eto <de> redditu <meo> assiso annuatim nomine personatus d<onec> ecclesia de Faneleia vel ecclesia de Merlesford’ vaca<uerit nis>i inter<im de alio ecclesiastico beneficio poter>o prouidire ad valenciam decem librarum. Cantori qui similiter unus erit ex illis sex dedi et concessi quinquaginta sol(idos) <Andegauenses in redditu> meo de Sauqueuill’ annu<tim nomine personatus> Thesaurario qui similiter unus erit ex illis sex dedi et concessi <unam> marcam <argentii in redditu meo assi>so de> Es<peruilla annuati>m <nomine personatus de> ad luminare ecclesie <qui>nquaginta sol(idos). Similiter de <redditu> thesaurarii>. Preterea a<d com><m>iam ec<lesie> dedi et concessi predicte ecclesie et canonics in perpetuum t.............H<ameau> ...........</m>tonum ducentas et sexaginta <min>as ordei, et statui quod de illa com<munia habeat qui>li<bet c>anoni<cus in> die <d>uos panes et
unum <galone>m <c>eru<isie> et <si> predictum do<nationem> ad hoc non possit sufficere, ego d<e meo proprio qui>cquid defecerit perficiam. D<uo canonici> presb<iteri> qui ab antiquo <fuerunt et> sunt in ecclesia predicta habebunt <domo>s et redditus quos habent <et> successores eorum in perpetuum, qui semper <sac>erdotes erunt, et tenetur quil<ibet eorum> habere clericum suum sufficientem ad deseruendum ecclesiam. Aliis vero quatuor canonici dedi et concessi ad e<deficcia s>ua construenda et qui<cquid habeo> in domini<o> in magno gardino de <S>auqueuill’ iuxta ecclesiam. Omnes isti canonici tenen<turn> face<re res>id<entiam>, et qui residentiam n<on fecerit tantum> modo percipiet per annum quinque sol(idos) Andeg(ae)nes), et residuum de beneficio suo percipient illi qui resident<iam fec>erint et tenetur habere hab<itum> ca<n>onical<em> alieno hora canonica non intrabunt ecclesiam. Tenentur etiam canonici ad matutinas <sur> gere, et qui non interfuerit matutinis non habebit ea die communia sed illi qui interfuerint <totam> communiam habebunt. Decanus cum assensu meo <et heredum> meorum et <c>anonoricum canonice electus archiepiscopo per me et heredes meos et per canon<c>os> presentabitur et <in> stituendus qui ei et successoribus su<is can>onici obedientiam et reuerentiam pr<est>a<bit> et tandem securitatem q<um> decanus Rothom’ ecclesie <facet> meo et mi<sit>eribus et ecclesie <de Sauqueuill’ facere tenetur <sa>luo ordine suo et salua obedienti<a> <debita> arch<iepisco>po). Ego vero et <heredes mei> prebend<am cum vacau<er>it <infra> xx. dies, si in provincia Rothom’ fuerimus, persone idonee conferemus <et illam per>son<am> decano de Sauqueuill’ presentabimus instituend<am. Canonici>i autem honeste et ordinate <obserue>bunt usu<em> et ordi<n>e> Rothom’ ecclesie in omnibus, et intrabunt in capitul<um> et legent ib<idem o>bit<us statu<to>s et cetera que ad capitulum pertinent. Ad........ ege et heredes <mei> statu<m> us de Sauqueuill’ facere tenetur <sa>luo ordine suo et salua obedienti<a> <debita> arch<iepisco>po. Ego vero et <heredes mei> prebend<am cum vacau<er>it <infra> xx. dies, si in provincia Rothom’ fuerimus, persone idonee conferemus <et illam per>son<am> decano de Sauqueuill’ presentabimus instituend<am. Canonici>i autem honeste et ordinate <obserue>bunt usu<em> et ordi<n>e> Rothom’ ecclesie in omnibus, et intrabunt in capitul<um> et legent ib<idem o>bit<us statu<to>s et cetera que ad capitulum pertinent. Ad........ ege et heredes <mei> sta<tui> mus quod u<nus canonoricum sacerdos si voluerit et nos vol<uerimus s>uccurrer nob(is) et co<nsul>et ubicum<que> simus et quamdiu apud nos er<it poterit habere> unum sacerdotem idoneum ad des<eruiendum. Aliud sacerdos> autem poterunt aliquem ponere in locum suum. O<mnia hec> predicta in personati<si> et <in> communis ...p........ <ecclesias> tico <be>neficio ad valentiam .......... cuiuslibet ......... preter ......de............ Hec autem omnia que prescripta sunt ecclesie de Sa<que>uill’ data et statut<em> guarant<izabo> ....... et fite....im et a........ in perpet<em> contra omnes> homines. Q<uod> ut rata et constanter in perpetuum permaneat ...... sigilli<s nost>r is munim<us> et c<on>fi<rmamus>. Hiis testibus: R<i>c<aro de ardo> decano <Rothom> ecclesie, Rogero <cantore>, ......... rio, ma<ngistro> Ioh<anne> de .......... de <Vil>liers, Will(elm)o de Brue<r’ et Ric(ar)do Hairun canoniciis Rothom’, Ro<berto de Sancto Nicolao, G>ill<eberto de W<alemunt>, Ric<ardo Briton(e), Bart<holomeo de .......... de S>......, magistro Ioh(anne) de Sa............... illar’, Will(elm)o Marcei, Alano Marcei.................<Wi>ll<ol’> de .........., Hel(ia) de <T>ll<ol’>, ..........o. Will(elm)o Clare, Rad(ulfo) de ....el’, Will(elm)o de ..........H.f.... et multis <aliis>
30. Confirmation by Walter archbishop of Rouen of no.29, adding quittance from synodal exactions, limited freedom from excommunication by archdeacons or deans, and granting licence for a school.

Rouen, 17 January [1200 X 1202]

A = Rouen AD Seine-Maritime J294. Mounted, dorse inaccessible. Approx. 275 × 280 + 45mm. Foot flattened out. Originally sealed sur double queue, 4 holes for cords, cords and seal impression missing, B = Ibid. G8685, paper copy by the notaries of the Châtelet at Paris, apparently from A, 13 May 1762. Passages marked below as ..... shown as illegible in the copy by use of straight lines _____

Letters in brackets [] now illegible in A, supplied from B. Letters in brackets <> illegible in either A or B, supplied, for the most part from no.29 above.

The secondary authorities, apparently working from a copy of this charter, suggest a date of 17 January 1201 (i.e. 1201/2): M.–T. Duplessis, Description géographique et historique de la haute Normandie, 2 vols (Paris 1740), i, 167; Registre des fiefs et arrière-fiefs du bailliage de Caux en 1503, ed. A. Beaucousin, Société de l'Histoire de Normandie (Rouen 1891), 80, referring to possessions at Sauqueville, Gonneville and Les Hameaux. However, the final initial of the date ‘c°’, still visible in A, might nonetheless suggest a date of 1200 (‘ducentissimo’). For various of the witnesses, including Richard dean (1200–1207), Roger de Foucarmont chanter, and probably Amicus du Neubourg treasurer of Rouen, see Spear, Personnel, 204, 220, 222–3, 248, 256, 265–6.

Notification by Jordan de Sauqueville, with the assent of Clementia his wife and Jordan his son, of his confirmation to Richard of Bocking of a grant made by the dean and chapter of Sauqueville (Seine-Maritime, cant. Offranville) of a perpetual farm of the land of Helmingham (Suffolk) in return for an annual rent of 100s. [c.1202]

Of the same date as nos 29–30. At his death, Jordan left a son and heir, Bartholomew de Sauqueville, perhaps the witness to the present charter, suggesting that his elder son, mentioned below, had predeceased him. Despite the new endowment from Helmingham, and no doubt as a result of disruptions brought about in the aftermath of the Capetian conquest of Normandy, by the 1250s the college at Sauqueville was reported to be in a perilous state of both moral and financial collapse, its prebendaries more often resident in the local tavern than in the church: Regestrum visitationum archiepiscopi Rothomagensis, ed. T. Bonnin (Rouen 1852), 116, 145, 209, 285, 409, 652.
32. **Mandate from King Edward (I) to Edmund earl of Cornwall, to do justice in respect to the enclosed petition from the dean and chapter of Notre-Dame de Sauqueville (below no.33).**

*Paris, 13 June 1286*

A = TNA SC 1/20 no.124A. Endorsed: Habent ad mandatum regis a cur(ia) quicquid curia facere poterit (s.xiii ex). Approx. 220 × 54mm. Sealed sur simple queue, step for tongue or wrapping tie at lower left hand corner and similarly at lower right hand corner, sew holes at left hand side for attachment to the petition no.33 below.

Despite the forwarding of the petition (below no.33), there is no record in the chancery Charter, Patent or Close Rolls, of the king’s administration taking action in response to the dean and chapter’s request.

Edwardus Dei gratia rex Angl(ie) dominus Hibern(ie) et dux Aquitann(ie) dilecto consanguineo suo Edmundo comiti Cornub’ salutem. Requisuit nos magnificus princeps rex Franc(ie) ut decano et capitulo ecclesie beate Marie de Sauqueuill’ super quibusdam redditibus, arreragiis et debitis que eis debentur ut dicunt in Angl(ia) subueniri per ministros nostros seu iusticiarios curaremus, et quia sumus et esse debemus iusticie debitores, ponderantes etiam requisitionem regis Franc(ie) supradictam vobis mandamus quatinus, inspecta peticione decani et capituli predictorum presentibus interclusa, communicatoque consiliariorum nostrorum assistencium vobis consilio, memoratis .. decano et capitulo vel attornato ipsorum per viam qua poteritis breuiorem sine lite de plano fieri faciatis celeris iusticie complementum. T(este) me ipso Paris’, terciodecimo die lun(ii), anno regni nostri quartodecimo.

33. **Petition from the dean and chapter of Notre-Dame de Sauqueville, placed under the patronage of the king of France, asking that the king of England write to his bailiffs or justices to ensure the payment to the dean and chapter of all rights, rents or arrears arising from grants made in England by Jordan de Sauqueville or Matilda his wife or their heirs.**

[c.June 1286]

A = TNA SC 1/20 no.124. No medieval endorsement. Approx. 174 × 44mm. Sealed sur simple queue, step for tongue at bottom left hand corner.

For the response to this petition, by which Edmund earl of Cornwall forwarded it and the king’s letters to W(illiam) de Hamilton, requesting investigation and execution, see TNA SC 1/25 no.78. The reference to Jordan de Sauqueville and Matilda his wife rules
out an identification with the Jordan and Clementia of nos 27A–28, and could refer either to Jordan’s grandfather or grandson (fl.1240), for whom see Vincent, ‘More Tales of the Conqueror’ (above no.30 note).

Regie maiestati Anglie supplicant .. decanus et capitulum ecclesie beate Marie de Sauqueuill’ Rothomagen’ dyoc(esis) cuius ecclesie dominus rex Francie patronus existit quatinus dominus rex Anglie bailliusis seu iusticiaris suis scribere ac eis precipere dignetur ut cum ipsi decanus et capitulum sint pauperes nec habeant unde iura seu redditus et arreragia eiusdem ecclesie repetere seu defendere cum iudiciorum strepitu valeant in partibus Anglicanis, dicti baillui aut iusticiarii Anglie redditus, arreragia et debita que debentur eisdem decano et capitulo conjunctim vel diuisim nomine suo vel ecclesie supradicte a Iordano de Sauq(ue)uill’ milite, Matildi eius uxore et eorum heredibus ac quibusdam aliis coniunctim vel diuisim in Anglia sine litis et more dispendor faciant et percipiant liberari sicut in litteris et conventio[nibus] predictorum Iordani et Matildis continetur.

34. Notification by Ralph of Dean of his grant to Jordan de Sackville and his wife Ela, Ralph’s daughter, of a hide of land at Waldrington with the church of the same vill, and a virgate of land at Chalvington (Sussex) together with the land of ‘Geyle’ in Normandy with a promise to assist Jordan to acquire the whole of Ralph’s inheritance and right in Normandy, without offering Jordan monetary assistance. [c.1170]

B = BL ms. Additional 14291 fo.66r (p.125), a copy by John Anstis (1669–1744) from an original charter belonging to the Earl of Dorset, no longer in the Sackville family archives at Knole House or in the Kent Record Office at Maidstone, noting a large seal ‘with the arms of Den fritee or et vert circumscribed +SIGILLUM RADO[LPHI DE D]EN’.

Noted as part of the appallingly confused genealogy of the Sackville dukes of Dorset in Collins’ Peerage of England, ed. E. Brydges, 9 vols (London 1812), ii, 92–3, apparently from a fuller version of the lost charter ‘ex charta Rad(ulfi) de dene in stemmate’ (perhaps from a heraldic visitation), referring to Ralph’s gifts as noted above but adding ‘the land which Robert Franceis held at Sutton’s fee, the manor of Saperton, and a yard land in Chalventune, with the mansion thereto belonging’.

The present charter, as noted by N. Vincent, ‘More Tales of the Conquest’, Normandy and its Neighbours 900–1250: Essays for David Bates, ed. D. Crouch and K. Thompson (Turnhout 2011), 277 n.14, refers to Jordan de Sauqueville (d.c.1175), a namesake and cousin distinct from the Jordan of Fawley, Helmingham and Sauqueville who granted above nos 29.31. The Jordan of the present charter was son of Robert de Sauqueville
who had served as steward to King Stephen during Stephen’s time as count of Mortain, and brother of Stephen de Sauqueville who in 1180 was serving as the king’s bailli for the vicomté of Cérences. This Jordan, of Mount Bures and West Bergholt (Essex), married Ela daughter of Ralph of Dean (d.1187, himself the son of Robert of Dean, alias Robert ‘pincerna’, butler to the count of Mortain fl.1147). The date of the present charter can be supplied only approximately, from the fact that in 1185 Ela was said to have been a widow for the past ten years. Ela herself was still living in 1205: TNA E 40/4221. For supporting evidence here, in part drawn to my attention by Daniel Power, see H.M. Colvin, The White Canons in England (Oxford 1951), 109–11; L.F. Salzman, ‘Some Domesday Tenants II: The Family of Dene’, Sussex Archaeological Collections, lviii (1906), 171–3, 177, 189; Rotuli de Dominabus, ed. J.H. Round, PRS xxxv (1913), 70n.; MRSN, i, 14–15; E. King, ‘Stephen of Blois, Count of Mortain and Boulogne’, EHR, cxv (2000), 287. ‘Geyle’ is perhaps one or other of the estates named La Geôle or Le Gal, Seine-Maritime, as listed in the Dictionnaire topographique de du département de Seine-Maritime, ed. C. de Beaurepaire and J. Laporte, 2 vols (Paris 1982–4), i, 422–3, 430.

Radulphus de Dene omnibus hominibus suis et amicis Francis et Anglis salutem et dilectionem. Sciatis me dedisse et concessisse Iordano de Saucauill et Hele uxori sue filie mee hidam de Waldene cum ecclesia eiusdem ville etc et unam virgatam terre in Chaluentune etc et in Normannia terram meam de Geyle et omnem hereditatem et rectum meum Normannie illi perquirere adiuuabo ad posse meum cum labori absque pecuniam dare. Hii sunt testes: Reginaldus de Warenne etc Helias de Saccauill etc.

[1178 X 1199]

Printed HMC Middleton, 35–6 (as if relating to Pickwell Leics.).

For the Montfort family of Beaudesert (Warwickshire), ultimately perhaps from Montfort-sur-Risle (Eure), and for Henry de Montfort, lord of Beaudesert c.1183–c. 1199, son of Thurstan de Montfort (d.c.1170) by his marriage to Juliana daughter of Geoffrey Murdac, and younger brother of Robert de Montfort, see CP, ix, 120–2; CRR, v, 311; Mowbray Charters, ed. Greenway, p.xxxiv, 240–1 no.372, 264 no.25. Henry’s inheritance in England may have come to him some years before the generally accepted
date of 1183. His elder brother, Robert de Montfort, was the victim of a series of punitive fines, in part for forest offences, in the year to Michaelmas 1176, which seem to have led to temporary seizure of various of Robert’s lands, including Uppingham in Rutland (PR 22 Henry II, 109, 129, 176, 186; PR 23 Henry II, 32–4, 74, 104). By Michaelmas 1178, whether or not Robert was still living, his debts were assumed by Henry his brother, who thereafter emerges as the principal representative of the family in England, without any further evidence that Robert was still alive (PR 24 Henry II, 81; PR 25 Henry II, 113; 26 Henry II, 74; 27 Henry II, 74; 28 Henry II, 93, and cf. the sheriffs’ account for the manor of Wellesbourne, Warwicks., described as an escheat from Robert de Montfort and first recorded in the king’s hands for the year ending at Michaelmas 1179, PR 26 Henry II, 105; 27 Henry II, 79). In these circumstances, it is tempting, although wrong, to assume an identity between Robert de Montfort of Beaudesert and the great Norman landowner Robert de Montfort-sur-Risle, rebel during the civil war of 1173–4, who died in 1178 and who was succeeded, in Normandy, by a son named Hugh (V), by his marriage to Clemence, a sister of Ralph de Fougères, with Hugh having brothers named Ralph, William and Henry and a sister named Aelina, a nun at Mortain: ‘Torigny’, 279; AN L979 no.72. Robert de Montfort of Beaudesert, by contrast, is described as son of Thurstan de Montfort, a Warwickshire and Rutland landowner, in the last years of King Stephen, and left a widow named Alice de Harcourt: N. Vincent, The Lucys of Charlecote: The Invention of a Warwickshire Family 1170–1302, Dugdale Society Occasional Papers xlii (2002), 32–5 nos 3, 5; Oxford, Bodleian Library ms. Dugdale 21 fo.148r. The genealogy of the Norman Montfort family is extremely complicated and has still not achieved certainty. Amongst the parties and witnesses to the present charter, Hugh de Montfort occurs as witness to a charter of Henry his brother (Oxford, Bodleian Library ms. Dugdale 17 p.5). There were two Warwickshire knights named Aytrop Hastang, Aytrop (I) who was active from 1120 until 1158, and Aytrop (II), his son, who died in 1204: R. Dace, ‘The Hastang Family and their Lands, 1086–1204’, Warwickshire History, xii (2004/5), 221–38. Peter ‘the clerk’, identified as writer of the present charter, is perhaps the same man as Peter de Montfort who occurs as writer of another of Henry de Montfort’s charters, with similar witness list: BL ms. Harley 506 fo.122r (p.244). The senior branch of the Montfort family, although inconvenienced in Normandy after 1204, did not entirely lose possession of their estates, still controlling land there in the 1250s: AN L979 no.57. Nonetheless, Picauville was given by Philip Augustus, after 1204, to Matthew de Marly, a junior member of the Montmorency family: RHF, xxiii, 525l, 611c; Pouillés Rouen, 299. Since the Montforts of Beaudesert held in England of the Neubourg earls of Warwick, it is possible that Picauville came to them from the Neubourgs, who certainly possessed land in the Cotentin (RHF, xxiii, 610–11). Alternatively, it may have been the Montforts’ original Norman patrimony, before they achieved far greater possessions in the 1080s with the creation of the earldom of Warwick for their cousin, Henry de Beaumont.

Hen(icus) de Monte Forti omnibus hominibus suis et amicis Franciscus et Anglicis, clericis et laicis tam futuris quam presentibus salutem. Ad uniuersorum noticiam referatur me dedisse et concessisse et hac mea presenti carta confirmasse Hugoni de Monte Forti fratri meo et hereditibus suis totas terras meas de Pychauilla et de Gouteuilla et de Cleuilla cum omnibus eisdem terris pertinenciis et libertatibus, ad tenendum hereditarie de me et de hereditibus meis, redddendo annuatim m(ich)i et hereditibus meis...
duo calcaria deaurata pro omnibus seruiciis m(ich)i et heredibus meis
pertinentibus. Quare volo et firmera tempore predictus Hugo et 
heredes eius post illum habeant et teneant totas preminatam terras de me 
et de heredibus meis libere et quieta et honofrice cum omnibus libertatibus 
et liberis consuetudiniibus in bosco, in plano, in foro et extra, in pratis, in 
pascuis, in piscarisis, in stangnis, in molendinis, in aquis, in viis, in semitis, 
in exitibus et in omnibus alis locis prefatis terris pertinentibus per prefatum 
seruicium. His testibus: Aytrop Hasteng, Willelmo et Waltero de Monte 
Forti, Ric(ardo) capellano, Willelmo de Hulehale, Roberto filio Nic(olai), 
Clare de Beldesert, Willelmo de Rameham, Iohanne Brusle, Rand(ulfo) et 
Reimbaldono fratre suo, Gileberto de Brahal, Adam fil(io) Lamberti, Roberto 
fil(io) Henr(ici), Aytrop de Boilest’, Petro clerico qui hanc cartam scripsit 
et alis multis. Valete.

36. Notification by Oliver de Vrigny (Orne, cant. Mortrée) of his 
quitclaim to John du Hommet of his land in Airel (Manche, cant. St-
Clair-sur-l’Elle) held of John’s fee, undertaking that, should he or 
his heirs contravene the terms of this grant, John and his heirs are 
to have Oliver’s land of Ecrammeville (Calvados, cant. Trévières). 
[1192 X 1223, ?1204 X 1216]

A1 = Nottingham University Archives, Middleton Collection Mi D 4825. Endorsed: 
Hum’ (s.xiii); vacat (s.xiii); various post medieval endorsements. Approx. 162 × 62 
+ 25mm. Sealed sur double queue, parchment tag through 3 slits, seal impression 
round, green wax, an eagle or phoenix looking back to the right over its shoulders, 
legend SIGILL’...........INGNE+A2 = Ibid. Mi D 4826. Endorsed: Olivier de Vény vacat 
(s.xiii); various post medieval endorsements. Approx. 162 × 64 + 45mm. Sealed sur 
double queue, parchment tag through 3 slits, seal impression missing. Written in 
the same hand as A1.

The following information is for the most part supplied by Daniel Power. John du 
Hommet (d.c.1223) was the elder son of Jordan du Hommet (d.1192), himself the third 
and youngest son of Richard du Hommet (d.1179), constable of Normandy under King 
Henry II. John’s allegiance after 1204 was in doubt, although he eventually settled in 
England (cf. Powicke, Loss, 336), where he was taken prisoner as a rebel against the 
king after 1215 (RLC, i, 249, 289b; Patent Rolls 1216–25, 6). After his death, c.1223 
(RLC, i, 552; CFR 1216–24, 359 no.156, and cf. CRR, x, 199), his English lands passed 
to his daughter Lucy and her husband, Richard de Gray of Codnor, and were subsumed 
into the Gray estate (whose archives themselves, in large part, have come to reside 
amongst the Middleton papers now at Nottingham). His lands included Humberstone 
(Leics. acquired by Jordan du Hommet by marriage with Hawise de Crevecoeur), and 
Sheringham (Norfolk, given by Henry II to Richard du Hommet, Jordan’s father). The 
fate of his lands at Cléville (Calvados, cant. Troarn) and around Lisieux is complicated 
and was marked by attempts made by Lucy, his daughter, to reobtain possession, as late
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as 1260. Oliver de Vrigny was perhaps the heir of Wigan de Vrigny, in 1200 recorded in the wardship of Guérin de Glapion and thereafter apparently dragged into rebellion in Guérin’s wake, losing his lands in England as a result (Rot. Chart., 59b; Rot. Lib., 66; D. Power, ‘Guérin de Glapion, Seneschal of Normandy (1200–1): Service and Ambition under the Plantagenet and Capetian Kings’, Records, Administration and Aristocratic Society in the Anglo-Norman Realm, ed. N. Vincent (Woodbridge 2009), 164, 173, nn.52, 110). Airel was a Hommet manor in which several of the cadet branches of the family possessed an interest. Amongst the witnesses, Enguerrand de Fornet had strong links to the Hommet family. Perhaps to be dated shortly after King John’s loss of Normandy, at a time when John du Hommet’s allegiance was not as yet certain.

Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Oliuerus de Verignia quietam clamaui in perpetuum de me et de heredibus meis Ioh(ann)i de Humet et heredibus suis totam terram cum pertinenc(iis) quam habui in Arel de feodo prefati Ioh(ann)is excepto masagio quod emi de Galfrido filio Mabilie, et si ego Oliuerus vel heredes mei aliqua occasione huic carte contraire voluerimus, concedo quod prefatus Iohannes et heredes sui totam terram meam de Escrmeuville absque contradicutione habeant. Pro hac vero quieta clamacione dedit m(ich)i prefatus Ioh(anne)s unum equum et unam robam. Ut autem hec quieta clamacio rata sit et stabilis, illam sacramento et sigillo meo roborai. Hiis testibus: Ingeramo de furnet, Willelmo de Begueull’b, Iordano de Hotot, Willelmo de Tolewast, Alano de Euintona’c, Rob(erto) Barre, Willelmo filio Walkelini et aliis pluribus.

* Vereigni A² b Begeuill’ A² c Euinton’ A²

37. Notification by Bishop Arnulf, Dean Fulk and the (cathedral) chapter of Lisieux, informing R(oger) de Mowbray and Nigel his son that Robert of Arden, archdeacon of Lisieux, has in their presence granted his whole land of Hampton in Arden with the advowson of the church there to Peter and Roger his brothers, to hold from R(oger) and Nigel for the same service by which Robert previously held it, with remainder to whichever of the brothers lives longest.

[1148 X 1161, ?1154 X 1161]

A¹ = BL Additional Charter 21175. Endorsed: carta Luxouiensis episcopi et decani eiusdem (s.xii ex.). Approx. 125 × 108 + 16mm. Sealed sur double queue, 2 sets of single slits, right hand side tag and seal missing, left hand tag with fragment of seal impression in brownish wax, a bishop with both arms raised in blessing, legend: AR... Part of a much larger collection of English charters acquired by the British Library
Norman Charters from English Sources


Briefly noted from A¹ in Mowbray Charters, ed. Greenway, 218 no.336n.

For Fulk dean of Lisieux from before 1142, died or resigned before 1161, and for Robert of Arden serving as archdeacon c.1148–after 1171, possibly as late as 1191, see C.P. Schriber, The Dilemma of Arnulf of Lisieux (Bloomington 1990), 58, corrected by Spear, Personnel, 172, 175 Hence after the return of Arnulf of Lisieux from the Second Crusade, in which Roger de Mowbray had also taken part (Mowbray Charters, ed. Greenway, p.xxvi), perhaps at the time of Arnulf’s first contacts in England with the Empress Matilda and the future King Henry II (The Letters of Arnulf of Lisieux, ed. F. Barlow, Camden Society 3rd series lxi (1939), pp.xxv–viii). However, the address of the present letter to both Roger de Mowbray and Nigel his son (born only c.1142, cf. Mowbray Charters, ed. Greenway, p.xxix) might suggest a charter issued later rather than earlier within the period 1148–62, almost certainly after the accession of Henry II and the consequent easing in relations between England and Normandy. If dated to the period shortly after the Second Crusade, an interesting indication of Roger de Mowbray’s rapprochement with the Angevin party in the period 1149–53 (Mowbray Charters, ed. Greenway, pp.xxvi–vii).

Arnulfus² Dei gratia Lex’ episcopus et Fulco Lex’ decanus et totum capitulum eiusdem ecclesie dilectis amicis suis R(ogero)b de Molbraio et Nigello filio suo c et omnibus fidelibus ad quos presentes littere perueniret salutem. Sciatis quod Rob(ertus) de Ard’ Lex’ archid(iaconus) in vita sua et libera potestate nobis presentibus et multis aliis clericis et laicis dedit Petro et Rogero fratribus suis totam terram suam de Hantona d cum aduocatione ecclesie que in eadem terra est et boscum et omnia que tenebat de vob(is) apud Hanton ad tenendum de vob(is) sicut ipse tenuit per seruicium quod vobis faciebat, ita tam(en) quod ambo simul possideant⁹ predictam terram in vita sua et ille qui diutius vixerit totum tenementum possideat. Valete.

³Arn(ulfus) A² b Rogero A² c–c not in A² d Hant’ A e possideant A, teneant A

38. Notification by Bishop Arnulf and the (cathedral) chapter of Lisieux that Robert of Arden, their archdeacon, has granted the land of Hampton in Arden and the advowson of the church there to Peter and Roger his brothers with remainder to whichever of them lives longest.

[1148 X 1161, 71154 X 1161]

Date apparently as above no.37. Robert of Arden was succeeded as rector of Hampton in Arden by his brother Peter before 1179: Mowbray Charters, ed. Greenway, 129 no. 179n., citing BL ms. Harley 3650 (Kenilworth Cartulary) fos.22v–23r.

Arn(ulfus) Dei gratia Lex’ episcopus et uniuersum capitulum eiusdem ecclesie omnibus in Cris to fidelibus salutem et D(e)i bened(i)c(tionem). Nouerit uniuersitas vestra Rob(ertum) de Ar'd archidiaconum nostrum concessisse et donasse fratribus suis, Petro videlicet et Rogero, terram suam de Hantona in Ar'd et aduocationem ecclesie eiusdem ville, ita videlicet ut uter illorum diutius viueret totum iure hereditario possideret. Ne igitur taliter facta concessio in dubium decetero reuocetur, ipsam sigillorum nostrorum munimine duximus roborandam. Valete.

39. Notification by Robert (II) count of Meulan of his mortgage and gift to Peter de Préaux and to Mary, daughter of William earl of the Isle (of Wight, i.e. William de Vernon) and of Mabira, Count Robert’s own daughter, of his lands in France, Normandy and England, one third of it as a marriage portion, the other two parts in return for a payment of 10,000 marks, with reversion to Robert and his heirs should Peter and Mary die without issue.

March 1201 X March 1202

A = Taunton, Somerset Record Office ms. DD/WO Box 10 Bundle 3. No medieval endorsements. Approx. 248 × 113 + 22mm. Sealed sur double queue on green silk through 2 holes and a slit, central portion of a single sided seal impression in natural wax, varnished brown, the horse’s head from an equestrian seal.


For the witness Geoffrey, abbot of St-Ouen at Rouen (after 1193–1208), see GC, xi, 146; V. Gazeau, Normannia Monastica, 2 vols (Caen 2007), ii, 260–1. The second witness was prior of the Augustinian house of Beaulieu, founded in the vill of Préaux (Seine-Maritime, cant. Darnetal) c.1200 by another of the witnesses, John de Préaux, for which see above no.7. The story underlying the present charter and no.40 below is
a complicated one. It is nonetheless of central importance to our understanding of the
descent of two of the greatest estates in the Anglo-Norman world. It also has much to
tell us of the collateral damage inflicted upon the Anglo-Norman aristocracy as a result
of King John’s defeat by Philip Augustus. In 1200, arrangements were made by King
John for the two daughters and chief heirs of William de Vernon, earl of Devon, born to
his wife Mabira alias Mabel, daughter of Robert count of Meulan, to be married to the
courtiers Peter de Préaux and Hubert de Burgh. Keen to purchase the support of Peter
de Préaux, a key player in Anglo-Norman affairs, in January 1200, the king offered
Peter the islands of Jersey, Guernsey and Alderney, £60 of land at Alton (Hampshire)
and 100 livres of rents in Rouen (themselves destined for the Préaux family foundation
of Beaulieu, cf. above no.7n.), for the service of three knights’ fees and pending Peter’s
betrothal to Mary, eldest daughter of Earl William, and Peter and Mary’s inheritance of
Earl William’s estate. As yet, no formal betrothal had taken place between Peter and
Mary, but the 100 livres of rents in Normandy were promised by the king to Peter and
his heirs whether or not such a betrothal was concluded, with the king insisting that the
Channel Islands and the £60 of land in England were to be considered a gift to Peter and
his heirs should the king die before any final arrangements could be made for Peter’s
marriage: Rot. Chart., 33b, with a fuller version in TNA C 64/12 (Norman Roll 7 Henry
V) m.43. By April 1200, Hubert de Burgh had entered into formal arrangements to
marry Earl William’s younger daughter, Joan. According to the written settlement here,
Joan’s elder sister, Mary, was to bring her husband (unidentified, but undoubtedly Peter
de Préaux) the chief claim to the Vernon/Redvers earldom of Devon together with the
castle of Plympton. The younger daughter, Joan, was to bring Hubert de Burgh
Christchurch and the Isle of Wight. Since there was still a possibility that Earl William
and his wife Mabira might produce a male heir, Hubert was promised £60 of land and
10 knights’ fees from Earl William’s estate, even should the arrangements over
Christchurch and the Isle of Wight come to nothing. In all probability, similar guarantees
were extended to Peter de Préaux, who for the previous few months had been identified
as the potential husband for Earl William’s elder daughter: Rot. Chart., 52b–53. These
arrangements over the earldom of Devon were made as distinct transactions, but clearly
in expectation of the present division of the even more extensive honour of Meulan,
from which the two daughters of William de Vernon and Mabira could hope for some
portion as heiresses of their grandfather, Count Robert (II) of Meulan. Robert’s division
of his estate was no less complicated than the carving up of the earldom of Devon, and
was overshadowed by Anglo-French hostilities in which his own sons and grandson
were closely involved. Robert, who had succeeded to his county as long ago as 1166
and who was thus already an old man, had at least three sons: Waleran, the eldest, Peter
and Henry. Waleran died at some time between 1195 and 1203 (MRSN, ii, pp.cxcix–cc;
below no.106n.), leaving a son, Ralph, and at least one surviving brother, Peter, a clerk
in orders (MRSN, ii, pp.cxcvi–viii note). Apparently disregarding the claims of these,
his own male heirs, and hoping to secure the descent of the honour of Meulan intact,
whatever might happen in the disputes between King John and Philip Augustus, by the
present charter Count Robert in effect declared Peter de Préaux, the betrothed of his
granddaughter, Mary, heir to all his lands in France, Normandy and England. There
were, nonetheless, significant caveats. Robert conferred a third of his estate as a
marriage portion upon Peter and Mary, entailed to their joint issue. The entail is
specified in the present charter, unlike the details of the land assigned which are
reserved to a separate charter, below no.40, in which this third of the estate is defined
as Count Robert’s lands at Vatteville, Brotonne and Pont-Audemer (Eure). The
remaining two thirds of the estate were governed by the present charter, but in complicated fashion. These portions were mortgaged to Peter and Mary in return for 10,000 marks, according to the present charter already paid to Count Robert. Since it was presumably Peter de Préaux who advanced this money, it was agreed that should Mary die before him, Peter was to retain a life interest in the two thirds of Count Robert’s estate. Should Peter die before Mary, by contrast, the two thirds were immediately to revert to Count Robert and his heirs. However, if Peter and Mary produced issue, the two thirds, like the remaining third, were to be entailed upon such issue in perpetuity. All of this suggests an attempt to guarantee the descent of Count Robert’s vast estate through a single line of inheritance, setting aside his own son and grandson, but instead allowing descent to his eldest granddaughter and her husband, Peter de Préaux. In the process, Count Robert himself was bought out with a payment of 10,000 marks. Two events transpired to frustrate these arrangements. Firstly, perhaps very soon after April 1200, Earl William of Devon and his wife, Mabira the daughter of Count Robert, produced a son, Baldwin de Redvers, whose claims now trumped those of his older sisters and their prospective husbands, Hubert de Burgh and Peter de Préaux. As a result, and amidst the collapse of King John’s lordship in Normandy, both marriage partners seem to have repudiated their brides. Instead of marrying Hubert de Burgh, Earl William’s daughter Joan was married (before 1211) to William Brewer. Peter de Préaux, due to marry the elder daughter, Mary, remained loyal to King John but as a result found himself serving as the king’s commander of Rouen when the city was forced to surrender to Philip Augustus, in August 1204. He thereafter seems to have sought refuge in England. There is no evidence that his marriage to Mary was ever solemnized, and Mary herself was by 1211 promised in marriage to Robert de Courtenay of Okehampton, whose heirs succeeded to the earldom of Devon in the 1330s, following the extinction of the main Redvers line: *Charters of the Redvers Family and the Earldom of Devon 1090–1217*, ed. R. Bearman, Devon and Cornwall Record Society n.s. xxxvii (1994), 15–16, 172–3 nos 30–1; Powicke, *Loss*, 261–2, 350; MRSN, ii, p.ccxxxi; *Pipe Roll 13 John*, 61. Secondly, and with Count Robert’s own loyalty undecided between the French and English camps, in May 1203 his eldest surviving son, Peter de Meulan, betrayed the great family fortress of Beaumont-le-Roger to the French, leading in effect to the forfeiture of the family lands in both England and Normandy. Peter died shortly afterwards, at some time between April and October 1203. In May 1203, Count Robert had been obliged to enter into arrangements whereby King John offered him 5000 marks for the succession to the Meulan lands in Normandy, the king taking Pont-Audemer in the meantime and carving off another significant portion of the count’s estate, Elbeuf-sur-Seine (Seine-Maritime), as a peace offering to another Norman baron, Richard de Harcourt: *MRSN*, pp.cc–cci; Powicke, *Loss*, 161, 344-5; *Rot. Chart.*, 104b–5; Power, *Norman Frontier*, 209, 285. Count Robert responded to the French victories in Normandy with an attempt, on 1 May 1204, shortly before the fall of Rouen, to declare his daughter, Mabira countess of Devon, heiress to all his lands in England, Normandy and France: *Charters of the Redvers Family*, ed. Bearman, 201–3 nos 37–8. This, however, was ignored by both the French and English kings. Instead, Robert’s Norman and French estates were redistributed to King Philip’s supporters, with King Philip himself retaining Meulan for the French crown. Count Robert lived on until his death, c.1207, apparently as a pensioner of the English crown, his widow thereafter supported from dower in Cornwall and elsewhere, inherited from her father, Reginald earl of Cornwall (d. 1175), but unable to prove her title to her husband’s principal English manor at Sturminster in Dorset, which passed instead to William
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The Marshal claimed to possess Sturminster by a charter of Count Robert issued long before the recent turmoil. Even so, and whatever the precise terms of Count Robert’s gift, its acquisition was one of the collateral consequences of King John’s loss of Normandy. Ibid., 202–3 no.38n.; CP, vii, 739–40 appendix I; Hatton’s Seals, 135–6 no.191n.; CRR, iii, 124; D. Crouch, William Marshal: Knighthood, War and Chivalry, 1147–1219 (2nd ed., London 2002), 95. I am indebted to Robert Bearman and David Crouch for their assistance with these notes.

Notum sit tam presentibus quam futuris quod ego Robertus comes Melleti inuadiaui Petro de Pratell’ et Marie filie Willelmi comitis de Insula et filie Mabirie filie mee duas partes tocius terre mee et tocius terre que ad me pertinere debet quicumque illam teneat vel possideat ubicumque fuerit tam in Francia quam in Normannia et in Anglia pro decies mille marcis argentii quas michi propter negotium meum accomodaerunt. Cuius terre terciam partem ego dedi et carta mea confirmaui predicto Petro in maritigium cum predicta Maria nepte mea habendas et possidendas ipsis et eorum heredibus ab ipsis procedentibus, et si predicti Petrus et Maria obierint abaque herede ab illis progenito, ille duas partes reuertentur ad me et ad meos heredes quiete, et si predicta Maria obierit priusque predictus Petrus, predictus Petrus illas duas partes tenebit quamdiu vixerit. Si autem predictus Petrus obierit antequam prefata Maria, ille due partes reuertentur ad me et ad meos heredes statim post decessum sequentem Petri quiete. Si autem sequentem Petrus et Maria heredem vel heredes ab ipsis progenitos habuerint, ille due partes tocius terre mee remanebunt ipsis et eorum heredibus post eos in perpetuum. Et ut hoc ratum et stabile futuris temporibus perseveret, presentem cartam sigilli mei appositione confirmaui. Actum est hoc anno incarnationis domini m.cc.i.

Hiis testibus: Galfrido abbate sancti Audoeni, Galfrido priore Belli Loci, Iohanne, Willelmo, Engerammo de Pratel’ fratribus, Galfr(ido) de Bosco, roBERTO filio Land(ulf)i, Willelmo de Chaumont, Osberto de Bosco, Roberto Grandi, Willelmo de Putot et multis alii.

40. Notification by Robert (II) count of Meulan of his gift to Peter de Préaux in marriage with Mary, the daughter of William earl of the Isle (of Wight, i.e. William de Vernon), and of Mabiria, Count Robert’s own daughter, of a third portion of his lands in France, Normandy and England, namely Vatteville, Brotonne and Pont-Audemer (Eure), with descent to Peter, Mary and their issue in perpetuity, and with the right to Robert to recover these lands should they represent more than a third of his estate.

March 1201 X March 1202

B = London, College of Arms ms. Vincent 59 p.84, copy from a lost original, amongst a miscellaneous heraldic collection once belonging to Augustine Vincent (d.1626), the present transcript perhaps not in Vincent’s own hand, s.xvii. Vincent’s source is listed Ibid. p.208 as ‘A deed of Robert erle of Millent with a seal annexed’, so presumably
Notum <sit>a omnibus tam presentibus quam futur(is) quod ego Robertus comes Melenti\(^{b}\) dedi et concessi et hac presenti carta mea confirmavi\(^{c}\) Petro de Pratellis\(^{d}\) in maritagium\(^{e}\) cum Maria filia Will(el)mi comitis de Insula et filia Marb(iri)e filie mee tertiam partem totius terre mee \(^{e}t\) totius terre\(^{f}\) que ad me pertinere debet\(^{g}\) tam in Francia quam \(^{i}\)in\(^{c}\) Norman(n)ia et \(^{i}\)in\(^{c}\) Anglia ubicumque fuerit et quicumque illum teneat\(^{h}\) \(^{b}\)vel possideat\(^{h}\), et super illum tertiam partem assignaui predicto Petro totam terram meam de Wateuilla\(^{i}\) et \(^{de}\) Bretona\(^{c}\) cum omnibus pertinentiis suis tam in bosco \(^{i}\)quam in\(^{l}\) plano, et Pontem Audomari cum omnibus pertinent(iae)s suis tam in feodis militum quam in aliis rebus, habendas et possidendas\(^{m}\) ipsis et heredibus suis de me et heredibus meis iure hereditar(ius) in liberum maritagium integre, \(^{p}\)plenarie et honorifice, libere et quiete, bene et in pace,  
a ia quod si Wateuilla et Bretonam cum pertinentiis et Pont(em) Audomari cum pertinentiis magis valuerunt quam tertia pars terre mee, ego recuperabo super predictas Petrum et Mariam. \(^{s}\) Si autem minus valuerunt, ego vel mei heredes perficiemus\(^{p}\) predictis Petro et Marie valentiam tertiaris partis totius terre mee. \(^{t}\) Et ut hec mea donatio et concessio rata et stabulis futuris temporibus perseueret, present(em) chart(am) sigill(i) mei appositione muniui\(^{a}\) et roborauin. \(^{u}\) Actum est hoc anno incarnationis domini \(^{n}\)m\(^{o}\)c\(^{o}\)s. 

Hiis testibus: Ioh(anne) de Pratellis Willelmo de Pratellis\(^{d}\), Engeramo de Pratellis\(^{d}\), Galfrido de Bosco, Stephano de Longocampo, Gautero de Brionia, Will(eln)o de Chaumont\(^{j}\), Rob(erto) filio Landri, Rob(er)to Pontell, Roberto Grandi, Osberto de Bosco et multis alii.

\(^{a}\) sit in B, supplied from CD \(^{b}\) Melle... C, Mellenti D \(^{c}\) not in D \(^{d}\) Pratelli\(^{C}\) 
\(^{e}\) maritagio D \(^{f}\) not in BD, supplied from C \(^{g}\) tenet B over tenuit erased, teneat supplied from CD \(^{h}\) not in CD \(^{j}\) Watteuilla CD \(^{k}\) Bretona C, D ends here 

Actum est hoc anno incarnationis domini 1201 Test(ibus) Ioh(anne) de Pratellis Willelmo de Pratellis \(^{l}\) et C 

\(^{m}\) possidendas B, tenendas D \(^{n}\) not in D \(^{o}\) proficitius B, perficiemus supplied \(^{q}\) manui B, muniui supplied 

\(^{l}\) domini C \(^{s}\) 1201 B, moccio C \(^{t}\) C ends here etc
41. Notification by Robert (IV) de Courcy of the peace and final concord made with Roger de Escures, by which Robert granted Roger and his heirs the vill of Farlington (Hampshire) as Roger son of Walter, uncle of the said Roger, and William son of Walter, Roger’s father, held it from Robert de Courcy, Robert’s uncle, and from William de Courcy, Robert’s father; also granting Roger whatever right Robert has in the church of Farlington, and the fees of Geoffrey Polain and Thomas la Gatte, saving the rights of Geoffrey and Thomas, and whatever Robert has in the same vill. In Robert’s vill of Courcy (Calvados, cant. Morteaux-Coulibeuf), Robert grants Roger the tenement of Richard de Castello saving Richard’s right and that of the lord of the fee of Cropuz (unidentified, ?Calvados, com. Courcy) that remained to Robert in demesne as the result of a fine made between Robert and Robert de Cropuz. Roger and his heirs are to hold these lands in England and Normandy from Robert and his heirs in perpetuity for the service of half a knight’s fee. In return Roger has released to Robert all the lands which Roger claimed against him.

1202/3

B = BL ms. Lansdowne 203 fos.42v–43r, copy by Elias Ashmole, apparently from a lost original, s.xvii. C = Oxford, Bodleian Library ms. Dugdale 18 fos.43v–44r, copy by Dugdale from an unidentified source, s.xvii.

For the Courcy family, early divided into English and Norman branches, and for the Robert de Courcy of the present award, holder of the Norman honour with only minor lands in England, who defected to the French in John’s reign though perhaps not until 1204, see Powicke, Loss, 337; D. Power, ‘Angevin Normandy’, A Companion to the Anglo-Norman World, ed. C. Harper-Bill and E. van Houts (Woodbridge 2003), 75–6; RLC, i, 9b; Cartularies of Southwick Priory, ed. Hanna, ii, 141 no.393; S. Flanders, De Courcy: Anglo-Normans in Ireland, England and France in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries (Dublin 2008), esp. p.96 for Farlington, with a family tree at p.181. For disputes over the advowson of Farlington between Robert de Courcy and Roger de Escures alias Seures in the summer of 1200, during which Roger claimed to possess the advowson by grant to Roger his uncle and William his father, the sons of Walter, by Robert de Courcy (d.1157) steward to King Henry II, as confirmed by charter of Henry II, see CRR, i, 200–1, 239. Robert (III) de Courcy the steward (d.1157) was the father of the Norman landowner William de Courcy (not to be confused with William de Courcy of Stogursey in Somerset who also adopted the title of steward) and grandfather of the Robert (IV) de Courcy active in 1200: Acta Henry II, no.2448; Flanders, De Courcy, p.181. Whatever the rights of Roger de Seures, immediately after the hearings between Seures and Courcy in the summer of 1200, Robert de Courcy sued Roger de Merlay for the advowson of Farlington (CRR, i, 244, 438), and it was subsequently Roger de Merlay (d.c.1250) who held the manor from Matthew fitz Herbert and from Matthew’s son Herbert fitz Matthew, and who granted the advowson of the church there to Southwick Priory: English Episcopal Acta IX: Winchester 1205–1238, ed. N. Vincent (Oxford 1994), nos 64–5. Amongst the
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witnesses to the present grant, Theobald Pantolf appears in 1200 as steward of Roger de Scures, subsequently acting as attorney for Robert de Courcy, suggesting that the suit between Scures and Courcy may have been a fictitious one, intended to set the scene for the subsequent litigation against Roger de Merlay: CRR, i, 200–1, 244. The charter itself appears to have been granted in place of any more formal final concord issued by the king’s court, since there seems to be no foot of fine relating to these transactions amongst the relevant files of Hampshire feet of fines (TNA CP 25/1/203/1 et seq).

Omnibus hominibus presentibus et futuris ad quos presens scriptum peruenierit Rob(ertus) de Corci salutem. Notum sit omnibus vobis quod pax et finalis concordia talis facta est inter me et Rogerum de Escuris, quod ego Rob(ertus) de Corc(i) concessi et confirmavi predicto Rogero de Escur’ b et heredibus suis villam de Felling’tone cum pertinentiis sicut Rog(erus) filius Walteri auunculus predicti Rog(eri) et Willemusb filius Walt(eri) pater prefati Rog(eri) de Escur’ e prius tenuerunt eandem de Rob(erto) de Corc(i) auunculo meo et de Willelmo de Corc(i) patre meo. Preterea ego Rob(ertus) de Corc(i) dedi et concessi predicto Rog(ero) de Escur’ e pro pace et finali concordia quicquid habebam in ecclesia de Felling’ton’ d et feodum Gaufr(idi) Polanie e et feodum Thome la Gatetf, saluo iure predictorum scilicet Gaufr(idi) et Thome, et quicquid in predicta villa habebam cum omnibus libertatibus et consuetudinibus integre ad predictam villam de Felling’ton’ e pertinuit. Donaui etiam et concessi predicto Rog(ero) et heredibus suis in villa mea de Corc(i) masuram Ric(ardi) de Castello saluo iure predicti Ric(ardi) et illam terram de feodo de Cropuz que mi(c)hi remansit in dominio pro finali concordia facta inter me et Rob(ertum) de Cropuz. Hec autem omnia tenemtia tam in Anglia quam in Norm(annia) dedi et concessi predicto Rog(ero) de Escur’a et heredibus suis tenenda de me et heredibus meis integre et plenarie, libere et honorifice cum suis libertatibus et consuetudinibus per seruicium dimidii feodi militis, tali modo quod predictus Rog(erus) omnia tenemntia que aduersus me clamabat ab eo et heredibus suis mi(c)hi et heredibus meis quieta reliquit, et ut hec ratum et stabile nec aliqua fraude possit dequassari, hac carta presenti et sigilli mei testimonio confirmavi. Hoc autem factum est anno domini m.cc. secundo, Iohanne rege Ang(iae) regnante. Test(ibus) hiis: Willelmo de Corc(i) fratre meo, Ric(ardo) de Corc(i), Teob(aldo) Pantof, Iord(ano) de Maigni, Willelmo Bozon, Willelmo de Valle Logiarum, Fulc(one) de Maigni, Willelmo de Cad’t, Willelmo de Mascel et aliis pluribus.

a Escuris C  b Willielmus C  c Esquires C  d Fellingetone C  e Polain C  f Gaite C  g Felling’tone C
42. Notification by Matthew de Alençon of his lease to Walter of Ely, for 150 marks, of the land which William de Longchamp, bishop of Ely, granted Matthew for service and homage at Stretham and Wilberton (Cambridgeshire), to hold for twelve years from 29 September 1199, with restoration to Matthew and his heirs at the end of this term or thereafter if the money is repaid, and with provision for the compensation of Walter for any improvements or repairs.

The King’s Court at Vaudreuil [c.29 September 1199]


Highly significant as evidence that English landholding was occasionally regulated by the king’s courts meeting in Normandy. The king himself was at Vaudreuil in mid July, mid August and mid October 1199, but on 29 September 1199 was at Le Mans (RLP, itinerary of King John). For Matthew de Alençon as chamberlain of Bp William Longchamps, recorded in the company of Walter of Ely, the bp’s steward c.1191, see English Episcopal Acta 31, ed. Karn, pp.cxxii, 182 no.140. Walter of Ely occurs as a knight in the tournament at Lagny-sur-Marne c.1179 in the company of William Marshal, and later as a witness to charters of King John: History of William Marshal, ed. A.G. Holden and D. Crouch, trans. S. Gregory, 3 vols, Anglo-Norman Text Society Occasional Publications Series iv–vi (2002–7), i, 236 lines 4625–30, iii, 90, noting the longstanding close association between Walter of Ely and Robert de Wanchy, witness to the present charter. Amongst the other witnesses, both William de l’Etang (Stagno) and Hugh de Corny (Eure, cant. Les Andelys) occur in the History of William Marshal (ii, 6 lines 10137–40, 46, lines 10937–8, iii, 128, 135) as knights of Richard I.

Sciant omnes tam presentes quam futuri quod ego Math(eu)s de Alencon inuadiaui Galtero de ely totam terram meam quam Will(elmu)s de Longo Campo Elyensis episcopus mi(chi) dedit pro seruitio meo et homagio apud Estreham et apud Wilbretone pro centum et quinquaginta marc(is) argent(um) sibi tenendam et heredibus suis de me et heredibus meis a proximo festo sancti Michaelis post mortem domini regis Ricardi usque in duodecim annis, tali conditione quod si ad predictum terminum predicto Galtero predictam peccuniam reddido, predicta terra mi(chi) quieta remanebit vel heredibus meis. Sin autem totam terram illam tenebit de anno in annum donec totum debitum ei persolutur vel heredibus suis. Hanc vero predictam terram debet tenere predictus Galt(erus) libere et quiete et absolute in terris, in pratis, in mol(end)inis, in piscariis, in aquis, in alnetis, in viis, in semitis, in hominibus, in redditibus et in omnibus aliis exitibus illius terre sicut karta mea quam de illa terra habui testatur, saluo dominico
seruitio quod debetur domino Elyensi episcopo, et si predictus Galt(erus) in predicta terra aliquid edificii vel costamenti posuerit, per visum legalium hominum ad disuadiationem illius terre illi computabitur et reddetur. Hanc conuenitionem tenendam predicto Galtcro et heredibus suis affidaui tenere de me et heredibus meis et ut hoc ratum et inconcussum permaneat, sigilli mei munimine presentem kartam confirmavi. Hoc autem factum fuit in curia domini regis apud Vallem Rodolii, coram Willelmo filio Radulfi tunc senescallo Normannie et coram alis iusticiis domini regis. Hiis testibus: Roberto de Vacii, Willelmo de Stagno, magistro Rocelino, Petro Picot, Petro de Estoques, Galtcro filio Godefri(idi), Nic(ola)o de Witone, Johanne de Brai, Hug(one) de Corni, Willelmo de Lanceles, Willelmo de Ely, Y(u)one filio Milonis et pluribus aliis.

43. Notification by Richard, son of Alexander de Barentin, of his grant to Walter de La Rivière of the whole of his land in Barentin and Pissy-Pôville (Seine-Maritime, cant. Pavilly) with his mill at Barentin, retaining the multure of the men of Croix-Mare and Mont-de-L’If (cant. Pavilly) of the fee of Nicholas de Londe. Walter and his heirs are to pay an annual rent of 40s. to Richard and his heirs at Yeoveney (in Staines, Middlesex). [1193 X 1212, ?1193 X 1197]

Witnessed by William Longuespée as the king’s brother, and hence after the accession of Richard I and before the death of King John. Alexander de Barentin, who occurs as butler of King Henry II in the 1170s and 80s, acquired an extensive English estate, including property in London by gift of Richard of Ilchester, bp of Winchester, with reversion to Alexander’s sons Richard and Thomas, described as Bp Richard’s nephews, presumably as a result of a marriage between Alexander and a kinswoman, perhaps a sister of Bp Richard: Acta Henry II, nos 100–103. Alexander was dead by Michaelmas 1192, when Herbert Poer, archdeacon of Canterbury, himself son of Richard of Ilchester, fined for custody of Alexander’s heirs and their land; PR 3–4 Richard I, 305, and cf. PR 5 Richard I, 20, 182, where, in the following year, custody of the heir passed to the royal clerk William de Ste-Mère-Eglise. Richard was of age by 1203, lying ill at his estate at Yeoveney in 1204, may have joined the king on the Irish campaign of 1210, but was dead by 1212, when his younger brother Thomas fined for possession of his
lands: CRR, iii, 11, 111, iv, 6, 93; Rot. Lib., 190, 200, 217; RLC, i, 120b; Rot. Chart., 159; Book of Fees, i, 71; PR 14 John, 85. Walter de Riparia, alias de la Rivière, was a familiar of William Longuespée, which explains Longuespée’s appearance as witness to the present charter: cf. Cartulary of Bradenstoke, nos 278, 646, 649. The failure, nonetheless, to credit Longuespée with title as earl of Salisbury suggests a date before William’s marriage to the earldom’s heiress, c.1196–7.

Sciant omnes presentes et futuri quod ego Ricardus de Barentino filius Alexandri de Barentino concessi et tradidi et presenti carta confirmavi Waltero de Riparia totam terram meas de Barentino et de Pissi et molendinnun meum de Barentino cum omnibus pertinentiis ad easdem terras et ad molendinum prefatum pertinentibus, ita tamen quod ego in manu mea retinui moutam hominum de Croismare et de Montdelif qui sunt de feodo Nicholai de Londa, qui sine contradictione et impedimento molere debent ad molendinum predictum. Concessi autem predicto Waltero hec omnia predicta sibi et suis hereditibus pro servicio et homaggio suo de me et hereditibus meis iure hereditario tenenda, reddendo in(de) m(ichi) et meis hereditibus singulis annis pro omnibus seruiciis et consuetudinibus m(ichi) et meis hereditibus pertinentibus quadraginta sol(idos) sterlingorum apud Iueneiam in Anglia duobus terminis anni, scilicet viginti sol(idos) ad festum sancti Michael(is) et viginti sol(idos) ad Pascha, et predicta feoda adquietabit singulis annis de dimidio modio auene ipse Walterus et sui heredes post ipsum, et ut hec mea concessio futuris temporibus rata et inconcussa permaneat, eam presenti scripto et sigilli mei munimine confirmavi. T(estibus) Willelmo Longeespee fratre domini reg(is), Henrico de Mara, Lamberto le Tieis, Willelmo Talebot, Ricardo de Wrauill’, Ricardo Commín, Willelmo Pantof, Roberto de Tilluel, Radulfo fratre suo, Roberto de Barentino, Roberto de Pissi, Geru(asio) Angl(ico), Nicholao de Deppa, Willelmo Norman et aliis.

44. Notification from the barons of Dover to the archbishop of Rouen and his bailiffs at Dieppe that the abbot and convent of St Augustine’s and their household are fellow burgesses of the men of Dover and therefore should be quit of toll and customs throughout the lands of the king of England on either side of the sea.

[1197 X 1204]

B = BL ms. Cotton Julius D ii (Cartulary of St Augustine’s Canterbury) fo.89v (82v) no.179, s.xiii med. C = BL ms. Stowe 924 fos.214v–215r, copy from B by Sir Edward Dering, s.xvii.

After the transactions of October 1197 by which Dieppe passed to the archbpts of Rouen in exchange for the manor of Les Andelys (Landon, Itinerary, 123 no.482), and apparently before King John’s loss of Normandy.
Viro venerabili in Cristo Dei gratia Rotomagen’ archiepiscopo et balluiuis suis de Diepe et ceteris burgensibus eiusdem barones Douor’ salutem et tam debitum quam deuotum in omnibus obsequium. Sanctitati vestre duximus nunciandum dominum abbatem sancti Augustini Cant’ et totum eiusdem loci conuentum una cum illis qui eorum mensam sequuntur esse comburgenses nostros et per omnia ea qua et nos frui libertate debent ergo esse liberei de theloneo per uniuersam terram domini reg(is) Angl(ie) tam in partibus nostris quam vestris et de omnibus consuetudinibus de quibus et nos liberi debemus existere. Valeat sanctitas vestra in domino.

45. Notification by Aldulf de Brachy of his foundation of a priory at Brachy (Seine-Maritime, cant. Bacqueville) placed under the authority of Gilbert of Sempringham, here granted land at Rainfreville, Le Mesnil in the territory of Royville (cant. Bacqueville), the churches of Brachy, Saint-Ouen-sur-Brachy (com. Brachy), Greuville (cant. Bacqueville), Bornambusc and Manneville-la-Goupil (cant. Goderville), and in England the church of South Croxton (Leicestershire) and a tithe of rents in Eaton Bray (Bedfordshire). [c.1165 X 1184]

B = BL ms. Cotton Claudius D xi (Malton cartulary) fo.217r (213r), s.xiii ex.


For Aldulf, see B. Golding, *Gilbert of Sempringham and the Gilbertine Order c.1130–c.1300* (Oxford 1995), 256–7, at p.258, dating the present charter after c.1170 and Aldulf’s acquisition of the Martel estates (though at p.257 n.282 suggesting that Osbert Martel died or forfeited and that Aldulf succeeded to his English lands perhaps as early as 1165–6), and before 1184, by which time the land specified below at South Croxton was certainly in the hands of Malton Priory. For further examples of Aldulf’s religious patronage in England and Normandy, see *Acta Henry II*, nos 260, 798, 1344, 1658, 1660, and for his lands in South Croxton, see *HMC Rutland*, iv, 8 no.28. Of the Norman churches listed here, a valuation of the 1330s assesses them at a total of 174 livres, of which Manneville-la-Goupil (60 livres) and Brachy (50 livres) were much the more valuable. By the same date, both Greuville and Bornambusc were in the hands of the Augustinian abbey of L’Ile-Dieu (Eure, cant. Fleury-sur-Andelle, com. Perruel), to which Aldulf was already making grants by 1188, including land at Greuville: *Acta Henry II*, no.1344; *Pouillé Rouen*, 20–1, 30–1.

Omnibus sancte matris ecclesie filiis Aldulf(us) de Braci filius Gwerne, nepos Osberti Martel salutem. Sciatis uniuersi quod ego Aldulfus assensu heredis mei Gwerne et fratrii sui Aldulfi fil(ii) mei dedi et p(resenti) c(artha) m(ea) confir(mau) Deo et sancte M(ari)e et can(on)ecdis de ordine et capitulu
de Sempinham totum d(omi)nium meum quod habui in cultura mea que est inter villam de Ranfruiuile et Le Maygnyl in territ(orio) de Rouile, exceptis x. acris quas dedi ecclesie Sancti Wandregisili et duabus acris Gyleberti de Bouule et vii. acris et vii. acris Osberti de Royuile que sunt de eadem cultura, ut ipsi can(onici) predicti faciant in prefato d(omi)nio meo mansionem suam et prioratum constituant unius conuentus de can(onicis) sui ordinis secundum quod terra illa et el(emos)i(n)e que date fuerint illis can(onicis) sustinere rationabiliter poterunt. Ad sustentationem autem predictorum can(onicorum) dedi etiam et confirmaui ecclesiam de Bracy et ecclesiam de Sancto Audoeno et ecclesiam sancte M(arie)e de Greuvilla et ecclesiam de Burnebusc et ecclesiam de Magneuile cum omnibus el(emos)inis tam in decimis quam in terris et omnibus alisis rebus que ad easdem ecclesias pertinent. Dedi etiam omnem decimam omnium reddituum meorum in Normania tam in denar(iis) quam in mol(e)ndinis et furnis et altilibus et gallinis et acuis et pauibus et ouis. de d(omi)nibus autem carrucar(um) mearum aliam decimam non dedi nisi decimam garbarum debitam ecclesie. Preterea dedi eis in Anglia ecclesiam de Crokestune cum omnibus pertin(entiis) s(u)i et decimam reddituum meorum de Eituna. Hec omnia dedi eis et confirm(aui) in perpetuum possessionem et puram el(emos)inam soluta et quieta ab omni exactione et seculari servicio. Preter h(ec) dedi eis totam medietatem feudi mei de Crokestun tam in terra quam extra villam in terris et pratis et pasceuis et toftis et croftis et viis et semitis et bosco et plano et in omnibus alis rebus et libertatibus que m(ich)i et heredibus m(eis) adiacebant in perpetuum possessionem et puram el(emos)inam soluta et quieta ab omni exactione et seculari servicio quantum ad me et ad heredes meos attinet, salvo tamen servicio reg(is) et dominorum meorum quod ipsi per manum meam vel heredum meorum facient. Excipitur t(ame)n una bom(ata) terre quam canon(ici) de Crokestune iuxta Bealum habent in campo de Crokestun’ de ista medietate feudi et terra Rad(u)lf(i)i Puintel quam quam tenet de eod(em) feodo de qua ipse Rad(u)lfus et heredes sui facient forinse(cum) seruicium quantum pertinet ad terram suam, scilicet octauam partem de milite. Sciendo autem quod prefata medietas de isto feudo est illa quam Rog(erus) de Mustun tenuit. Hec omnia dedi predictis can(onicis) pro anima patris et matris mee etc. Et ego et heredes mei warantizabimus et manutenebimus hec omnia predictis can(onicis) in perpetuum, et sciendo(um) est quod ego adduxi de Anglia ad hoc prioratu in diebus meis vel in diebus heredis mei proximi post me nisi per electionem conuentus de isto prioratu et per assensum meum vel heredis proximi post me. Post dies autem nostros constitutatur prior siue de illis de prefato prioratu si ibi fuerit quis ad h(oc) ydoneus, siue de ceteris de ordine de Semplingh’ secundum quod institutiones eiusdem ordinis exigunt, etiam absque assensu ceterorum aduocatorum. Sed et priores de h(oc) prioratu debent recurrere ad magnum cap(itu)m de Semplingh’ singulis vel s(e)c(un)dis annis secundum quod iddem capitulum sibi disposuerit. Teste etc.
46. Notification by King John to H(enry) bishop of Bayeux, informing him that it has been determined in the king’s court that a settlement ‘de ultima presentatione’ over the church of Écrammeville (Calvados, cant. Trévières), disputed between the abbot of Tewkesbury and William Infans, was held without the king’s order or warrant of the seneschal, before justices who were not the king’s and who had no right to take the case, and in contradiction of earlier charters. The king orders the bishop to restore the church to the abbot, removing the incumbent whom the bishop placed there after the earlier settlement at the presentation of William Infans.

Montfort-sur-Risle, 13 March [1202]

B = BL ms. Cotton Cleopatra A vii (Tewkesbury cartulary) fo.92r (88r, 90r), s.xiii.

Pd (from B) Monasticon, ii, 79 no.79.

For the king’s presence at Montfort on 13 March 1202, see RLP, 7; Rot. Lib., 27–8. The present letters are otherwise unrecorded, although they might conceivably have been enrolled on the lost Norman chancery Contrabrevia Roll for the year 3 John. The same source (BL ms. Cotton Cleopatra A vii fos.90r–92r) recites the original grant of the church of Écrammeville to the church of St James Bristol (1164 X 1183, cf. Patterson, Earldom of Gloucester Charters, no.38), and its confirmation by King Henry II (1172 X 1179, cf. Acta Henry II, no.323), Henry bp of Bayeux (after 1165) and Rotrou archbp of Rouen (1164 X 1183, cf. Monasticon, ii, 78 no.79).

Iohannes) Dei gratia etc venerabili in Cristo patri H(enrico) eadem gratia Baioc’ episcopo salutem. Sciatis iudicatum esse in curia nostra quod stare non debet recognitio illa que facta fuit inter abbatem Theok’ et Willelum Infantem de ultima presentatione ecclesie de Escromouill’ quia recognitio illa capta fuit sine precepto nostro et warento senescalli vestri coram iust(iciis) nostris, et coram talibus coram quibus capi non debuit et contra cartam predicti abbatis quam habet de Willelmo quondam com(ite) Glouc’ qui ecclesiam illam dedit ecclesie sancti Iacobi Bristll’ que est cella de Theok’ et contra confirmationem H(enrici) reg(is) patris nostri et confirmationem Rotrodi quondam Rotomag’ archiepiscopi et etiam contra confirmationem vestram, et ideo vobis mandamus quod abbatii faciatis habere sine dilatatione talem seisinam de Willelmi Infante processisset, ammouentes omnino personam illam quam in ea posuisse post illum recognicionem ad presentationem ipsius Willelmi Infantis. Teste <me> ipso apud Munford xiii. die Marcii.

*sic, ?recte nostri
47. Notification by Lambert de Bussy, knight, of his grant to the abbey of Notre-Dame-de-Voeu near Cherbourg (Manche) of a piece of land lying between the river Witham and his own estate.  [1226 X 1233]


For Lambert de Bussy, who in 1209 offered a £20 relief for the lands of Hugh de Bussy his father, consisting of at least two knight’s fees held of the bps of Lincoln at Hougham (Lincs.), a rebel knight in the service of William of Lancaster, captured by King John at the siege of Rochester in 1215 and thereafter forced to pay a ransom of at least £40 to Peter de Maulay, see PR 11 John, 75; PR 12 John, 25; PR 17 John, 58; PR 5 Henry III, 95; Memoranda Roll 10 John, PRS new series xxxi (1955), 144; RLC, i, 289, 481b; Patent Rolls 1216–25, 11–12; Book of Fees, i, 186; The Registrum Antiquissimum of the Cathedral Church of Lincoln, ed. C.W. Foster and K. Major, 12 vols, Lincoln Record Society xxvii–ix, xxxii, xxxiv, xli–ii, xlvii, li, lxii, lxvii–viii (1931–73), vii, 96 no.2060n., ix, 51 no.2442. Lambert de Bussy probably attended at Rochester as a knight of Gilbert son of Robert fitz Reinfrey, by whom he had been granted land at Lambrigg in Westmorland: Facsimiles of Early Charters from Northamptonshire Collections, ed. F.M. Stenton, Northamptonshire Record Society iv (1930), 138-40 no.53. A Lincolnshire knight of assize in 1223, Lambert was still alive in the year to December 1234 when he exercised the patronage of the church of Thistleton (Rutland) in favour of John de Bussy, perhaps a kinsman, but had been succeeded by 1241 by his son Hugh, later recorded in possession of land at Hougham (Lincs.) and Wigsley (Notts.): CRR, xi, no.631; The Acta of Hugh of Wells Bishop of Lincoln 1209–1235, ed. D.M. Smith, Lincoln Record Society lxxxviii (2000), 210 no.438; Close Rolls 1237–42, 352; Close Rolls 1247–51, 18, 191–2; Cal.Chart.R. 1226–57, 471. The origins of the Bussy family remain unknown, although possibilities include both Boucey (Manche, cant. Pontorson) and Le Boussey (Manche, cant. Barenton, com. St-georges-du-rouelley). Lambert’s attachment could possibly have been more to the cell of Cherbourg at Hough-on-the-Hill (Lincs.) than to the mother house in Normandy, although a Norman connection seems much more probable. Although the location of the grant is not specified, it almost certainly refers to Lambert’s estate at Hougham (Lincs.), skirted by the river Witham, lying within only a few miles of Notre-Dame-de-Vœu’s daughter house at Hough-on-the-Hill (Lincs.), the present charter being preserved together with a transcript of other charters relating to Hougham church (Northampton, Northamptonshire Record Office, ms. Brudenell-Bruce D.x.27). The date is presumably before that of no.48 below but after the promotion of the witness named as Master William de Insula de Insula, who was presented by Lambert to the church of Hougham in the 17th year of Bishop Hugh of Lincoln, i.e. December 1225–6, and who is probably the same man, described as chaplain, presented in the year June 1238–9 by the canons of Cherbourg as vicar of the church of Hough-on-the-Hill: Rotuli Hugonis de Welles Episcopi Lincolniensis A.D. MCCIX-MCCXXXV, ed. W.P.W. Phillimore and F.N. Davis, 3 vols., Canterbury and York Society i, iii, iv (London 1907–9), iii, 148; Rotuli Roberti Grosseteste, ed. F.N.Davis, Canterbury and York Society x (London 1910–13), 34.

Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Lambertus de Buss’ miles dedi et
concessi et hac presenti carta mea confirmaui Deo et abathie sancte Marie de Voto iuxta Cesarisburgum et canonics ibidem Deo seruientibus in puram et liberam et perpetuam elemosinam quandam particulam terre que iacet inter Wythom’ et culturae meam cuius longitudo continet xxviii. percatas, et latitudo in capite versus orientem continet tres percatas et dimedium, et medium contenetquatour percatas et decem pedes, et in capite versus occidentem contenet vij. percatas et sex pedes, et peru(cet)a est decem et octo pedum scicuta per(cet)i diuidentes se extendunt ab oriente versus occidentem, et hanc donationem et concessionem feci eis pro anima patris mei et matris mee et pro anima mea et uxoris mee et Hugo filii mei et omnium antecessorum et successorum meorum et omnium fidelium defunctorum Dei, et ego Lambertus et heredes mei warantisabimus predictam particulam terre predictis canonics contra omnes homines imperpetuum. Hiis testibus: domino T. de Multon’, Alano fratre suo, Hugone de Calkurtorp’, magistro W(illelmo) de Insula tunc persona, Roberto scriptore et multis aliis etc.

*a sic B *contenes B, contenet supplied  **interlined**

48. Notification by Abbot William and the convent of Notre-Dame-de-Voeu near Cherbourg (Manche) of their reception, at the petition of Lambert de Bussy, knight, of the souls of his father and mother, himself and his sons and ancestors into annual commemoration within their house, deputing the recital of requiems to the house’s canons established at Hough-on-the-Hill (Lincolnshire), with the names of Lambert’s father and mother being recorded in the abbey’s martyrology. 1232/3

B = BL ms. Harley 1756 (Sir John Bussy’s Book of Fees) fo.47v, s.xv/xvi. C = BL ms. Harley 1436 (Lincolnshire pedigrees with evidences) fo.123v, copied from an unspecified source fo.56, perhaps ultimately from B, s.xvii/xviii.

For Abbot William (fl.1230), see GC, xi, 942.

Universis Cristi fidelibus ad quos presens scriptum peruenerit Willelmus dictus abbas sancte Marie de Voto iuxta Cesarisburgum et eiusdem loci conuentus humilis salutem in domino. Ad universitis vestre volumus notitiam peruenire nos ad iustam peticionem domini Lamberti de Bussy militis recepisse animas patris et matris sue et suam animam et filii sui et antecessorum suorum specialiter in anualid quod sit assidue in conventu nostro in omnibus aliis bonis que fiunt et fient deceterno in domo nostra, ut eorum sint participes et divine retribucionis premium sicut et nos communiter expectantes. Volumus etiam et concedimus quod canonici
49. **Notification by Nicholas abbot of Valmont of his dispatch of relics from Valmont to the dependent hermitage of St Leonard (Stratfield Saye, Hampshire) for the support of the monks of Valmont serving there and to attract visitors, granting annual commemoration and three weekly masses to all benefactors, listing the relics themselves, which include relics of Christ, the Virgin Mary, the Holy Innocents, St Thomas the apostle, St Andrew, St Leonard, St Mary Magdalene, St Gregory and St Katherine.**

\[1211 \times 1228\]

A = Eton College Records ECR 18/24. Endorsed: orac(i)ones de Wylmnt (s.xiii); Q. (?s.xvi). Approx. 262 × 154 + 20mm. Sealed sur double queue, 2 sets each of 3 slits, parchment tags, both seal impressions missing. B = BL ms. Additional 24319 fo.45r, copy from A, 1724.

There were two abbots of Valmont named Nicholas (GC, xi, col.279). The script of the present letters suggests the early thirteenth-century Nicholas I (c.1211 X c.1228) rather than Nicholas II (1290–1301). For Valmont’s cell at Stratfield Saye in Hampshire, the result of patronage extended by the Stuteville family, confirmed to the mother house in a charter of Henry II before 1184, see Delisle, Recueil, no.636; *Acta Henry II*, no.2720. The present letters are of interest for the continued contacts between Valmont and its English daughter house, for what they disclose of the relics held by the mother house and for their evidence of the rise of perpetual prayers for the dead. The very careless copying (as noticed in the textual notes below) suggests that, as with other such appeals, this may be the sole survivor from what was originally a mass-produced sheaf of such documents intended for distribution to the faithful. For comparisons here, see the mass-produced offer of indulgences described by R.N. Swanson, ‘Fund-Raising for a Medieval Monastery: Indulgences and Great Bricett Priory’, *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and History*, xi (2001), 1–7.

Omnibus sancte matris ecclesie fidelibus ad quos presentes littere peruenerint Nich(olaus) abbas sancte Marie de Walemont et eiusdem loci...
conuentus salutem in domino et precum assiduetatem. Gloria sanctorum est quotiens reliquiae et patrocinia eorum ad laudem et gloriam domini nostri Ihesu Cristi et eorum venerandam memoriam exaltanda per diuerras terrarum provincias deferuntur. Inde est quod ad noticiam omnium volumus peruenire nos communi assensu de reliquiis sanctorum quorum corpora et reliquiae in nostra continentur ecclesia ad heremum Sancti Leonardi super Lodanum ad loci promotionem et fratrum nostrorum qui ibidem Deo seruiunt sustentationem et ut ibi aduentionium et loci benefactorum orationes efficiatius exaudiantur aduentionium partes quasdam transmisisse. Concedimus autem omnibus sanctarum reliquiarum veneratoribus et Dei loci benefactoribus et fraternitatem suscipientibus omnia communia bona domus nostre in missis, in vigiliis, in disciplinis, in ieiuniis, in orationibus et elemosinis et omnibus aliis bonis. Preterea concedimus omnibus loci benefactoribus unum annuale in perpetuum faciendum in domo nostra et per unanquamque ebdomadam tres missas in perpetuum celebrandas, primam de sancto spiritu, alteram de sancta Maria ut pro ipsis filium suum deprecetur, terciam pro defunctis ut anime omnium fidelium defunctorum per misericordiam Dei requiescant in pace amen. Et quoniam os quod mentitur occidit animam, ne aliquis de sancti reliquiis mentiri audeat, nomina earum in hoc scripto commendauimus, de ligno Domini, de pane cene, de mensa Domini, de petra montis Caluarie, de Innocentibus, de vestimento beate Marie quo induebat quando peperit Cristum, de sancto Thoma apostolo, de sancto Andrei apostoli, de sancto Leonardo, de capillis sanctae marie madalene, de sancto Gregorio, de capill(is) sancte Katerine et alie reliquie de pluribus sanctis.

\[1\] Wisdom 1:11

\[a-a\] seruiunt(ur) sustentationem A, seruiunt sustentationem \textit{supplied} b qil’ A, quod \textit{supplied} \textit{sic} A for\ textit{cruce sancti Andree, with the cross sign interlined}.\n
50. \textit{Notification by Amicia countess of Leicester of her grant to Notre-Dame de Chaise-Dieu, with the assent of Earl Robert, her husband, of 26 shillings from the gold which she receives from the soke of Wimborne (Dorset).} [1153 X 1168]

A = BL ms. Additional Charter 47381. Endorsed: \textit{hec est carta Amicie comitisse Leencestrie (s.xii); Attisboro (s.xiv); various post medieval endorsements. Approx. 185 × 65 + 14mm. Sealed \textit{sur double queue}, parchment tag through a single slit, seal impression, vessica shaped, applied sideways, in natural wax varnished green, a female figure standing with a bird on her right hand and long flowing sleeves reaching almost to her feet, legend: .............SE LERECEST......}

For the countess Amice, married to Robert earl of Leicester (d. 5 April 1168), herself
entering the convent of Nuneaton after the death of her husband, dying 31 August, year uncertain, see CP, vii, 529–30. For her possible role in the foundation of the dependency of Fontevraud at Nuneaton, originally established by Earl Robert c.1153 at Kintbury in Berkshire, see B.M. Kerr, Religious Life for Women c.1100–c.1350: Fontevraud in England (Oxford 1999), 69–70. As pointed out to me by David Crouch, almost certainly to be dated after 1153 and the restoration of Robert of Leicester to his interests in Normandy. For the circumstances of the Leicester patronage of La Chaise-Dieu, see below no.51n.

Notum sit omnibus sancte D(e)i ecclesie filiis quia ego Amicia comitissa Leigr’ beneplacito D(e)i et assensu domini mei Roberti comitis Leigr’ dono et concedo Deo et beate Marie de Casa Dei et dominabus ibi Deo seruientibus xxxvi. sol(idos) quos habebam in socha Winburne in unciis meis auri, hoc autem dono ut Deus sanitati et incolumitati domini mei et mee et pueroour nostrorum sit prouisor, et etiam pro salute propinquerum et omnium amicorum nostrorum et etiam pro animabus patrum et matrum nostrorum et omnium antecessorum nostrorum. Quare volo et precor ut predicte famule Dei hanc prefatam elemosinam bene et in pace et honorifice et quiete teneant. T(estibus) Ern(aldo) de Bosco, Roberto de Craf, Reg(inaldo) de Bordigni, Gileberto de Vernet, Ric(ardo) Mallore, Ada de Ros, Rog(erro) de Cranford, Ric(ardo) de Teuerai, Willelmo de Bordigni, Sim(one) de Labelueisinera.

51. Notification by R(obert) earl of Leicester, addressed to Arnold du Bois and all his barons and men, that the land which the nuns of Chaise-Dieu held in his fee in ‘Olueia’ has been exchanged for six virgates and meadow in Nuneaton and Attleborough (in Nuneaton, Warwickshire).  
[1153 X 1159]

A = BL ms. Additional Charter 47382. Endorsed: de terra quam comes Leencestrie eschambiauit aput Etoniam et Eschebergam (s.xii); 12 (s.xiv); various post medieval endorsements. Approx. 182 × 98mm. Sealed sur simple queue, tongue and step for wrapping tie, seal impression in patterned silk seal bag, natural wax varnished reddish brown, round, equestrian, legend illegible.

Briefly noticed D. Crouch, The Beaumont Twins (Cambridge 1986), 204 (where ‘Olueia’ is assumed to lie in the Norman honour of Breteuil); VCH Warwickshire, iv, 167 (where it is identified with Olney in Buckinghamshire, despite the absence of any evidence for such a connection in the Olney entry of VCH Buckinghamshire, iv, 433). One possibility would be Olney in Coventry (J.E.B. Gover and others, The Place-Names of Warwickshire, English Place-Name Society xiii (Cambridge 1936), 167), but this seems always to have been an estate belonging to the earls of Chester, with no Leicester connections (P.R. Coss, Lordship, Knighthood and Locality: A Study in English Society
David Crouch suggests Les Aulnaies (Orne, cant. L'Aigle, com. St-Martin-d’Ecublais), not far from La Chaise-Dieu and adjacent to Earl Robert’s bourg of Rugles (Eure), with a place-name within this hamlet at La Chaise-Château. He further suggests that Earl Robert’s decision to found a nunnery, eventually settled at Nuneaton, may have been taken at the same time that he founded Leicester Abbey for Augustinian canons (c.1139), perhaps with La Chaise-Dieu as the intended mother house, plans which would have collapsed following Robert’s loss of his Norman estates c.1140. After the restoration of his Norman lands in 1153, Earl Robert not only granted the nuns of La Chaise-Dieu the present land in England but usages in the forest of Breteuil (Mémoires et notes de M. Auguste le Prévost pour servir à l’histoire du département de l’Eure, ed. L. Delisle and L. Passy, 3 vols (Evreux 1862–9), i, 482 from CN, 2 no.6). Set against this, the land at Attleborough and Nuneaton, already in the possession of the nuns of La Chaise-Dieu, was specifically excluded from Earl Robert’s foundation charter for Nuneaton Priory, itself expedited 1153 X 1159, suggesting that patronage of La Chaise-Dieu was intended to supplement the patronage granted to Fontevraud at Nuneaton, not to channel or supercede it: Round, Calendar, 376 no.1062; Crouch, Beaumont Twins, 203–4.

R(obertus) comes Legrec’ Ern(aldo) de Bosco et omnibus baronibus et hominibus suis Franc(is) et Angl(is) salutem. Sciatis quia terram illam quam sanctimoniales de Casa dei habebant in elemosina de feudo meo in Olueia escambiam in etona et in Atreberga de dominio meo tenendam de me in elemosina perpetue, scilicet vi. virgatas terre cum prato. Quare volo et firmiter precipio quatinus predicte sanctimoniales prefatam terram bene et libere et quiete et honorifice teneant. T(estibus) Ern(aldo) de Bosco, Ric(ardo) de Teurai, Rogero de Cranefort, Reginaldo de Bordigni, Gaufrido Abbate.

52. Notification by the countess Margaret (of Warwick) of her grant to the nuns of Chaise-Dieu of 25 shillings worth of land in Basildon (Berkshire) as confirmed by Robert du Neubourg.

[1139 X 1159, ?1153 X 1159]

B = BL ms. Additional Charter 47383. Endorsed: 335 (s.xviii). No indication of sealing. Hand of late s.xiv. Headed: Transcript’ cartarum que sunt apud Casam Dei. Inquiratur de istis cart(is) et aliis pro terra de Bastenden’ et mittantur ad domum de Eton’ quia impl(aci)tantur de dicta terra etc in curia reg(is).

During the episcopate of Rotrou bp of Evreux (Spear, Personnel, 134–5) and before the death of Robert du Neubourg (d.1159), probably of the 1150s. For Margaret (d. after 1156), daughter of Rotrou I count of Perche, married to Henry de Beaumont, earl of Warwick (c.1088–d.1119), herself mother of Roger second earl of Warwick (d.1153) and of Robert (d.1159), Rotrou (bp of Evreux, later archbp Rouen, d.1183) and Henry du Neubourg, see
Notum sit omnibus quod comitissa Margareta dedit terram monachabus de Casa Dei apud Bastendene de qua habent annuatim viginti quinque solid(os) sterlingorum et hoc concessit Robertus de Nouo Burgo ipso teste Rotrod(o) Ebroycensi episcopo, Henr(ico) de Nouo Burgo, Roberto fratre suo, Gilberto capell(an)o et pluribus aliis.

53. Notification by Henry du Neubourg of his confirmation to the nuns of Notre-Dame de Chaise-Dieu of the land of Basildon (Berkshire) granted by his ancestors, quit of all secular customs.

[1160 X 1193]
made by his mother rather than by his ancestors. A grant of rents at Pont-Audemer made
by Henry the younger to the abbey of Bec at Le Neubourg in 1193 appears to have been
a deathbed disposition: BN ms. Latin 13905 (Jouvelin’s copies for Bec) p.55 (reference
courtesy David Crouch). For the family, see Crouch, ‘Oddities’ (as above no.52 note);
Power, Norman Frontier, 511.

Henr(icus) dominus Noui Burgi omnibus qui presentes litteras viderint
tam presentibus quam futur(is) salutem. Nuoeritis me concessisse et
confirmasse Deo et beate Mar(ie) et conuentui monialium Case dei pro
salute anime mee et antecessorum meorum terram de Bastendene quam
antecessores mei eisdem monialibus in perpetuam elmosinam donauerunt,
et volo ut terra illa et homines in ea habitantes sint quieti a scutagio et
talliata et ab omnibus consuetudinibus secularibus que ad me vel heredes
meos pertinent. Quod ut ratum sit et firmum presentem cartam meam sigilli
mei munimine roborauix.

* C ends here etc

54. Notification by Earl R(obert) son of Robert earl of Leicester of
his confirmation to the nuns of Chaise-Dieu of six virgates of land
in Nuneaton and Attleborough granted by his father in exchange
for land which the nuns previously held from Earl Robert’s fee in
‘Olueia’.

A = BL ms. Additional Charter 47385. Endorsed: de Atleberg, carta R. com(itis) Leyc’
facta priorisse de Casa Dei (s.xiii/xiv); Non inrotulat(a) sed (tame)n mensio sit (s.xiv/
 xv); various post medieval endorsements. Approx. 150 × 58 + 23mm. Sealed sur double
queue, parchment tag through 3 slits, double-sided seal impression in natural wax,
equestrian, legend illegible, counterseal illegible.

For the witness named William de Breteuil (d.c.1189), elder brother of earl Robert
(1190–1204), placing the present charter in the lifetime of their father earl Robert
(1168–1190), see GC, vii, 533n. For ‘Olueia’, perhaps in Normandy rather than
England, see above no.51n.

R(obertus) comes filius Rob(erti) com(itis) Legr’ omnibus hominibus suis
salutem. Sciatis me concessisse et hac presenti carta mea confirmasse
sanctimonialibus de Casa Dei in perpetuam elmosinam vi. virgatas terre
cum prato quas pater meus de dominio suo in Etona et in Atleberga eis
escambiauit pro terra quam antea tenebant de feudo suo in Olueia. Quare
volo et firmiter precipio quatusin predicte sanctimonialies prefatam terram
bene et librere et quiete et honorifice teneant. Testibus his: Willelmo Britolii
filio com(itis) et Rob(erto) fratre eius, Ernaldo de Bosco filio Ermaldi, Hug(one) de Halneto, Willelmo de Camp’, Gilleb(erto) de Plesseit, Nichalao Nicholao (sic) de Glotis, Hanschitillo Mall’ et multis aliis.

55. Notification by Earl David, brother of the king of Scots, of his grant to the nuns of La Chaise-Dieu of an annual rent of a mark payable from the proceeds of his mill at Fotheringay (Northamptonshire).

A = BL ms. Additional Charter 47386. Endorsed: Frodrige d(e) i. marc’ redd(itus) concess’ priorisse de Casa Dei (s.xiii/xiv); Non irrotulatur quia domus de Eton’ nich(ill) ind(e) h(abe)t ut intellegitur (s.xiv/xv); various post medieval endorsements. Approx. 144 × 82 + 35mm. Sealed sur double queue, tag through 3 slits, central portion of round equestrian seal in natural wax, legend illegible.

Dated by Stringer August 1190 × 1194, or perhaps 1190 × 1208, after Earl David’s marriage and before the death of Reginald of Oakley. As noted by Stringer, the pro anima clause for Thomas Bigod, perhaps a younger son of Earl Roger Bigod (d.1221), suggests a connection between the Scottish royal house and the senior Bigod line, a generation before Isabel, daughter of William the Lion, was married to Earl Roger Bigod (d.1270).

Omnibus sancte matris ecclesie filiis presentibus et futuris comes David frater regis Scotie salutem. Sciatis me dedisse et concessisse et hac carta mea confirmasse Deo et ecclesie sancte Marie de Casa Dei et monialibus ibidem Deo seruientibus in puram et liberam et perpetuam elemosinam tenendam de me et heredibus meis unam marcam argentii ad festum sancti Michael(is) annuatim recipiendam de exitu molendini mei de Frodrigee pro anima patris mei et pro anima matris mee et pro salute anime mee et anime comitisse Matil(dis) sponse mee et pro anima regis David aui mei et pro anima Malcolm regis fratris mei et pro anima Thome Bigot et pro animabus antecessorum meorum et successorum. T(estibus) W. de Warennia, Rog(ero) conestab(u)l(ario) Cestrie, Eustacio de Vesci, Rob(erto) de Mortuo Mari, Henr(ico) filio meo, Simo(ne) de Sancto Licio, Ric(ardo) de Lindesia, Rob(erto) de Basingham, Will(elmo) de Essebi, Will(elmo) de Foleuill’, Regin(aldo) de Acle, Will(elmo) Daco, Rob(erto) de Lah’neill’ cum multis aliis.
56. Notification by Peter de la Rivière of a grant made by Rose de Helion his wife to the church of La Chaise-Dieu of a moiety of the vill of Sturmer (Essex), confirmed by Peter and by Daniel, Rose’s son.

A = BL ms. Additional Charter 47387. Endorsed: E(odem) mod(o) vill’ de Estrumele.......ss’ domui de Casa Dei (s.xiii/xiv); non irrotulatur quia domus de Eton’ nichil inde habuit ut estim(aui) (s.xiv/xv); various post medieval endorsements. Approx. 180 × 56 + 24mm. Sealed sur double queue, pink cords through 3 slits, seal impression in green wax, round, a shield of arms, arms and legend defaced.

Rose de Helion, daughter of Robert de Helion (ultimately of Breton descent, from Helléan, Morbihan) was married first to Ailward, chamberlain of Henry the Young King. Ailward, eventually succeeded by their son John, was dead by 1191, whereafter Rose made or confirmed a number of awards in the manor of Sturmer (Essex), clearly as part of her dower: *Acta Henry II*, no.34n.; *The Cartulary of the Knights of St John of Jerusalem in England Secunda Camera Essex*, ed. M. Gervers (Oxford 1982), 191–3 nos 322–4; *Stoke by Clare Cartulary*, ed. C. Harper-Bill and R. Mortimer, 3 vols, Suffolk Records Society Suffolk Charters iv–vi (1982–3), ii, 193–4 nos 260–1, 203 no.281; *Rot. Lib.*, 59; *Book of Fees*, i, 233. Peter de la Rivière, a Norman landowner and a member of the garrison of Verneuil in 1194 whose local knowledge is specifically referred to in the *Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal*, was charged scutage on a single fee in Essex in 1201, payment not pursued after 1204 presumably because of his defection to the French: Power, *Norman Frontier*, 76–7; *PR 3 John*, 72; 5 John, 129. In June 1203, he was promised possession of a marriage portion worth 80 marks in England, his wife being identified as Rose de Helion later that year: *Rot. Lib.*, 40–1, 59. In these circumstances, the present charter can be dated after the death of Rose’s first husband, and before Peter’s defection to the French. Daniel, Rose’s son, is otherwise unrecorded. There is no evidence that the grant of a moiety of Sturmer to the nuns of La Chaise-Dieu was ever allowed to take effect, although Rose de Helion undoubtedly made grants in the manor to other communities of nuns, at Chicksands and Shouldham: *Stoke by Clare Cartulary*, ii, 193–4 nos 260–1.

Petrus de Riuieria omnibus tam presentibus quam futuris ad quos presens carta peruenerit salutem in domino. Nouverit uniüeritas vestra quod Roes <d>e Helyon uxor mea assensu meo et voluntate dedit Deo et ecclesie sancte Marie de Casa Dei et monialibus ibidem Deo seruientes in liberam et quietam et perpetuam elemosinam pro salute anime sue et antececessorum suorum medietatem ville de Estrumele que est de patrimonio suo in terris et pratis et redditibus et generaliter in omnibus extra magistrum herbergagium et insuper brociam que est extra herbergagium ad faciendam granchiam suam et ut hec donatio firma esset et stabil(is) carta sua et sigillo suo confirmavit sui compos et in sua ligia potestate me presente et volente presente etiam Daniele filio suo et concedente qui et ipse inde habebit per manum predicte ecclesie xxiii. sol(idos) stellinorum quamdiu vixerit. Ego vero P(etrus) de Riuieria predicte R. sponsus hanc eius donationem ratam habens et approbans
concessi et presenti carta et sigilli mei a(u)ctoritate confirmaui perpetuo
duraturam. Test(ibus) Gilleb(erto) de Aquila, Rich(ardo) Gastinel,
Galt(ero) de Castello, Auberto lumell’, Girard(o) de Roseria, Randol filio
Giummmar, Willemo Calcio et pluribus aliis.

57. Notification by King John of his grant to the nuns of Chaise-Dieu
(Eure) of an annual rent of 20 livres angevin from the prévôté of
Verneuil.

Verneuil, 25 November 1201

B = Additional Charter 11352, copy under the seal of obligations of the vicomté
of Verneuil, 2 March 1379/80. Endorsed: de xxx. lib. de Verniel (s.xiv/ xv); pro Chezidieu
(s.xiv/ xv); purchased Moore’s sale 28 .... 1856; various post medieval endorsements.

C = tNA C 64/3 (Norman Charter Roll 2 John) m.2, s.xiii in. D = Evreux AD Eure
H1437 p.77, copy from a lost cartulary of Chaise-Dieu (Stein no.1786) no.187, s.xviii.
E = St-Pierre-de-Semilly, Marquis de Mathan ms. Lenoir 69 p.654, copy after a copy
by Bréquigny from C, s.xviii.

Pd (from C) Rot.Norm., 17; (fragment only, from an unidentified source, probably from
D) Mémoires et notes de M. Auguste le Prévost pour servir à l’histoire du département
de l’Eure, ed. L. Delisle and L. Passy, 3 vols (Evreux 1862–9), i, 482.

For La Chaise-Dieu-du-Theil (so-called to distinguish it from the Benedictine abbey
of La Chaise-Dieu, in the diocese of Clermont, dép. Haute-Loire), founded as a
dependency of Fontevraud on the river Iton (Eure, cant. Rugles) by Richer de L’Aigle
c.1132, see Cottineau, i, 669. The surviving archives of the house are now housed in
Evreux AD Eure (H1419–39), with fragments, from the fourteenth century onwards, in
the archives of the mother house at Fontevraud (Angers AD Maine-et-Loire 128H1–5).
Of those at Evreux, the most important comprise a s.xviii paper register of 43 folios
including copies of earlier charters (H1437, cf. Stein no.1786), and another similar in
16 folios (H1438). Note that the ‘Norman Roll’ copy (C) lacks much that is preserved
in the copies B and D. The anathema clause (phrased slightly differently in each of the
three principal copies) is also worthy of note.

Iohannesa dei gratia rex Angl(ie) bdominusc hybern(ie) dux Norm(annie)
et Aquit(anie) et comes And(egaue) archiepiscopis, episcopis, abbatibus,
comitibus, baron(ibus), iustic(iis), senescall(is), vic(e)comitibus) et
omnibus balliuise et fidelibus suis salutemb. Sciatis nos dedisse, concessisse
et presenti carta confirmaisse Deo et ecclesie sancte Marie de Casa Dei et
monialibus ibidem Deo seruentibus in purum et perpetuam elemosinam
vigintib libras Andegauen(ses) singulis annis percipiendas de preposutura
Vernolii ad duos terminos, scilicet medietatem ad Pascha et aliam
medietatem in festo sancti Michaelis. Quare volumus et firmenter precipimus
quod predicte monial(es) elemosinam illam singulis annis percipient de
nobis et successoribus nostris ad illos duos terminos in perpetuum, intregre
et libere sine omni contradictione et impedimento, et si quis eis inde molestiam fecerit vel grauamen, Dei et nostram incurrat maledictionem auctoritate qua rex inimic(os) malediceret potest. Hiis testibus: Willelmo Ymeliren episco, R(oberto) comite Leircestri, Gilleberto de Aquila, Roberto de Harecot, A(merico) vicecom(ite) Hoarcen, Hugone de Menill, Hen(rico) de Gray, Garin(o) de Glapion, Bricio camerario. Dat per manum Simonis archidiaconi et ab archidiacono apud Vernol die Nouembr(is) anno regni nostri tercio.

58. Notification by Gilbert de L’Aigle of his grant, made with the assent of Elizabeth his wife and Gilbert his eldest son to the nuns of Notre-Dame de Chaise-Dieu, of an annual rent of 45 shillings from the rent of his manor of Willingdon (Sussex), intended to pay for the nuns’ shoes.

A = BL ms. Additional Charter 47388. Endorsed: carta Gilberti de Aquila (s.xiii med) de xlvi. s(olidis) redd(itus) in Guillenden’ concess(is) priorisse de Casa Dei (s.xiii/xiv); Guillenden’ (s.xiii/xiv); non inrotulatur quousque stare poterit sed domus de Eton’ aliquid inde habere adhuc neconon (s.xiv/xv); various post medieval endorsements. Approx. 227 × 105 + 19mm. Sealed sur double queue, parchment tag through a single slit, round seal in white wax, an eagle with outstretched wings, legend illegible, smaller oval counterseal, ?a classical cameo of a man or boy, legend illegible. B = Evreux AD Eure H1418 p.8 no.19, notice only, after December 1673, claiming that the letter ‘O’ was endorsed on the charter, citing the original as ‘Cotte 15 lere Isasse des ancienches chartes’ and noting its appearance in ‘premier inventaire page 43 .... 2eme inventaire p.3 no.15’.

Cf. Evreux AD H1419, for a s.xviii copy, taken from a lost parchment register, of a charter by which Gilbert de L’Aigle and Elizabeth his wife and Gilbert their son and Richer, Gilbert the elder’s brother, confirmed the nuns of La Chaise-Dieu in all grants in Nouam Landam made by Gilbert’s grandfather and father, both named Richer, 10 June 1209. For Gilbert’s lands in England, seized following his defection to the Capetian cause in 1203, but held in custody from 1207 by William earl Warenne, brother of Gilbert’s wife Elizabeth alias Isabella, recovered by Gilbert himself during his time in England in 1215/16, thereafter held in conjunction with his Norman estate, as one of the few cases of continuing Anglo-Norman lordship through to his death in 1231, with Gilbert choosing to be buried at the new Augustinian priory he had established in the 1220s at Michelham (in Arlington, Sussex), see K. Thompson, ‘The Lords of Laigle: Ambition and Insecurity on the Borders of Normandy’, ANS, xviii (1996), 193–
5, at p.193 n.85 noting the present grant and suggesting that a grant by Gilbert to the Premonstratensian priory of Otham (in Hailsham, Sussex) (TNA E 210/3640) dates from much the same time.

Sciant omnes tam presentes quam futuri ad quos presens carta peruenerit quod ego Gislebertus dominus Aquile assensu et voluntate Elisabet uxoris mee et Gisleberti primogeniti mee et aliorum amicorum meorum dedi ecclesie beate Marie de Casa Dei et sanctimonialibus ibidem Deo seruentibus in liberam et perpetuam et quietam helosinam pro salute anime mee et Elisabet uxoris mee et omnium antecessorum meorum quadraginta et quinque solidos stellinorum in meo redditu mei manerii de Guillendone et volui et firmiter precepi quod quicumque balliuus meus erit de predicto manerio sine dilatione et absque contradicione reddat benigne nuntio sanctimonialium predictos quadraginta quinque solidos per singulos annos in perpetuum ad festum beati Petri ad vincula intrante Augusto. Iterum volui et precepi ut dominus quod si predictus nuntius sanctimonialium apud Guillendone moram fecerit pro defectu et dilatione predicti balliuui, a die transacto termini ad sumptus et grauamen ipsius balliuui moretur donec ab illo predictum redditum libere recipiat et quiete. Stabiliui autem hos predictos quadraginta quinque solidos stellinorum ad calciamenta predictarum sanctimonialium, et ut hoc ratum et inconcussum permaneat presentem cartam sigilli mei testimonio confirmaui pluribus testibus. Actum anno ab incarnatione domini mºccºxºvº.

59. Notification by William de Minières (?Les Minières, Eure, cant. Damville, or Les Minières, Eure, cant. Conches, com. Beaubray) that whereas he earlier granted an annual rent of 10 livres from the prévôté of Verneuil to two of his daughters, nuns of La Chaise-Dieu, specifying that the convent of Chaise-Dieu was to hold half of this rent in perpetuity and the other half only for the lifetime of his daughters, he now grants the entire rent of 10 livres in perpetuity.

February 1241/2

B = BL ms. Additional Charter 11353, as above no.57, copy under the seal of obligations of the vicomté of Verneuil, 2 March 1379/80. C = Evreux AD Eure H1437 p.77, copy from a lost cartulary (Stein no.1786) no.187, s.xviii.

Uniuersi(s) presentes litteras inspecturis Guiliermus de Mineriiis miles salutem. Nouerit uniuersitas vestra quod cum dedissem duabus filiabus meis monialibus apud Casam Dei decem libr(as) annui redditus in prepositura Vernol percepiendas, quarum decem libr(arum) redditus concesseram medietatem conuentui dicte domus in perpetuum tenendum et possidendam post decession(em) earum et alteram medietatem ad vitam earum, ego volo
et concedo quod conuentus dicte domus post decessum filiarum habeat et
possideat totas decem libr(as) predictas annui redditus in perpetuum sine
reclamatione mei vel heredum meorum, quas decem libr(as) annui redditus
predicto4 conuentui ego et heredes mei in perpetuum tenemur garantizare
vel alibi in hereditate nostra valore ad valorem excambire5. In cuiusdi(c)t(i)
confirmationem et testimonium sigillum meum litteris apponere6 dignum duxi. Actum anno domini m.cc.xx primo, mense Febriar(ii)7.

60. Notification by Audelina prioress and William prior of La Chaise-
Dieu of their grant to Ida prioress and Robert prior of Nuneaton of
their manor of Attleborough and all their possessions at Basildon at
a perpetual annual farm of 12 marks. La Chaise-Dieu, July 1243

A = BL ms. Additional Charter 47998. Bipartite polled cyrograph, with two diagonal
indentations at the top. Endorsed: Atlebergh’ et Bastendene terra dimiss(a) priorissae
de Eton’ ad perpetuam firmam per priorissam de Casa Dei (s.xiii/xiv); ex(tr)a (s.xiii/
xiv); Atleberge (s.xv/xvi); Amannoy (s.xv/xvi); various illegible or post medieval
endorsements, including 365 (s.xviii/xix). Approx. 220 × 112 + 15mm. Sealed sur
double queue, two parchment tags each through three sets of slits, both seal impressions
missing. B = Ibid. 47999, copy of an inspeximus of A by Abbess Aalidis and the convent
of Fontevraud, January 1243/4, s.xiii med.

CYROGRAPHUM

Notum sit omnibus tam presentibus quam futuris quod hec est conuentio
facta inter Adelinam priorissam et Willelmu(m) priorem et conuentum de
Casa Dei et Idam priorissam et Robertum priorem et conuentum de Eton’,
videliced8 quod dicti Adelina priorissa et Will(elmus) prior et conuentus
de Casa Dei tradiderunt et concesserunt dictis Ide priorissae et Roberto
priori et priorissis et prioribus qui pro tempore erunt in domo Eton’
et conuentui manerium suum de Atleberge cum pertinentiis ad perpetuam
firmam cum omnibus etiam que habent apud Bastenden’ pro duodecim
marcis bonorum et legalium sterlingorum singulis annis solvendis apud
Casam Dei infra Pentecost, quas dictas duodecim marcas dicti priorissae,
prior et conuentus Eton’ qui pro tempore fuerint facient deportare apud
Casam Dei suis sumptibus et suo periculo infra Pentecost’, et si contigerit
quod dicti priorissa, prior et conuentus Eton’ qui pro tempore fuerint in
dicta solutione dictarum duodecim marcarum in dicto termino cessauerint,
licebit priorisse vel priori qui pro tempore fuerint apud Casam Dei vel
eorum mandato statim possessionem dicti manerii sui de Atleberge et de
Bastenden’ cum omnibus pertinentiis integre, pacifice, sine contradictione aliqua et reclaimatione dictorum priorisse, prioris et conuentus Eton’ qui pro tempore erunt et omnium aliorum hominum quorumcumque, et omnia mobilia et immobilia que ibidem fuerint inuenta pacifice possidere sine contradictione aliqua et reclaimatione, nisi dicta solutio per guerram vel per mortem nuncii deferentis pecuniam dictam vel aliam iustam et rationabilem causam seu excusabilem fuerit impedita. Ut autem hec conuentio fidelitatis robur optineat in perpetuum, huic scripto in modum cyrographi confecto apponita sunt signa utriusque partis, videlicet scripto quod remanebit penes conuentus de Casa Dei sigilla priorisse et prioris Eton’ et scripto quod remanebit penes conuentum Eton’ sigilla priorisse et prioris de Casa Dei. Actum anno gratie m°.cc°.x°liii°. apud Casam Dei mense Iulii.

\(^{a}\) sic A

61. Notification by Margaret prioress of Chaise-Dieu of her receipt of 12 marks for the Pentecost term of her rent owing from the prioress and prior of Nuneaton, paid by Henry, servant of Grove Priory (Bedfordshire).

2 November 1286

A = BL ms. Additional Charter 47389. Various post medieval endorsements. Approx. 185 × 102mm. Sealed sur simple queue, fragment of small oval seal in green wax on tongue, an eagle with wings folded, legend illegible.

For the rent itself, see above no.60.

A touz ceus qui verront et orront cestes presentes lettres suer Marguerite priouresse de Chese De salut en nostre seigniour. Sachent tuyt que nos auon et comfesson a avoir receu par la mein’ Henri sergant an priour de la Graue on non don de la priouresse et dou priour de Estonne et pour icelz douze mars de estellins pour le terme de Pentecoust derrennement passe es quex los diz priours et priouressez sont tenuz a nos chascun an de certaine caus de quex douze mars desus diz nos nos tenon pleniement pour paiez, en quel testmoing de ces presentes lettres audiz priour et priouresse donames ces presentes lettres seelles de nostre seel. Ce fut fet en len de grace mil et deus cc. et quatre vinz et sis, on jour dou semadi enpre la feste de Touz Seinz.
62. Notification by Stephania, prioress, and Ralph, prior of La Chaise Dieu, of their receipt of 300 marks via Nicholas de Fengerons, their proctor, with the assent of M(arget) abbess of Fontevraud, paid by the prior and convent of Nuneaton via their clerk, Thomas of Ludbrook, as the sale price in place of the annual fee farm of 12 marks previously paid for lands and tenements in Attleborough and Basildon, which 300 marks were previously deposited with the prioress of Belhomer (Eure-et-Loir) until the prioress and prior of La Chaise-Dieu could find equivalent rents to substitute for those previously received from England.

La Chaise-Dieu, 28 October 1291

A = BL ms. Additional Charter 48002. Endorsed: Acquiet’ priorisse Cas(a) Dei de solutione den(ariorum) ...... renunc’ (s.xiv); carta de Attylborogh et Bastenden’ (s.xv); ii. (?s.xvi); various post medieval endorsements including 410 (s.xviii/xix). Approx. 210 × 74mm. Sealed sur simple queue, two tongues, upper tongue carrying an oval seal impression in natural, brownish wax, an eagle or bird with head craned backwards over its right wing, legend +STHEOPHAN’ PRIOROSSE DE CASA DEI, lower tongue carrying a round seal impression in red wax, two mitred figures, one with right hand carrying crook, the other with head inclined to the right, legend +FRA... RAD......

Cf. the confirmation of this sale by Margaret abbess of Fontevraud, December 1291: BL ms. Additional Charter 48003, referring to the 300 marks desposited by Brother William de Verno, late proctor of Grovebury Priory, previously responsible for the payment of the 12 mark annual farm, apud Bellum Mare prioratum nobis subditum ... sub clauibus, now transformed into an outright sale ut per hoc posset precludi via maris et regionum periculis. For the Fontevraudist priory of Belhomer (Eure-et-Loir, cant. La Loupe, com. Belhomer-Guéhouville), see Cottineau, i, 326–7.

Tenore presentium pateat uniuersis nos sororem Stephanam priorissam de Casa Dei et fratrem Radulfum loci eiusdem priori recepisse per Nicholaum de Fengeron presberiter mandatum nostrum seu attornatum assensu domine nostre domine M. Dei gratia Font’ Ebr’ abbatisse interueniente a relig(is) mulieribus priorissa et conuentu de Nunne Eton’ in Anglia per manus Thom(e) de Lodbrok’ earumdem dominarum clericum tricent(um) marcas steling(orum) pro duodecim marcis annui redditus quas ab eiusdem percipere solebamus annuatim pro terris et tenementis in Attleberge et Bastenden’ cum suis pertin(entiis) que prius ad perpetuam feodi firmam pro predictis duodecim marcis annui de nob(is) tenerunt per nos predictis priorisse et conuentui venditis et remissis, qui quidem denar(i) antedicti iuxta assensum domine nostre abbatisse antedicte necnon et assensum nostrum resterant in deposito apud Bellum Mare sub custodia domine priorisse loci eiusdem quouque redditus aliquos ad Valentiam dictorum denar(iorum) ad comperand(um) inueneri poterimus. In cuius rei testimonium has litteras nostras sigill(is) nostris consignatas predictis priorisse et conuentui fieri fecimus patentes. Dat’ apud Casam Dei, in festo apostolorum Symonis et Iude, anno Domini m°.cc. nonagesimo primo.
63. Notification by Abbot Harduin and the convent of Cormeilles of their grant to Roger son of Robert, earl of Leicester, of the first church in their gift to fall vacant.

[1174 X 1189]

A = BL ms. Additional Charter 47392. Various post medieval endorsements. Approx. 130 × 41 + 16mm. Sealed sur double queue, parchment tag through 3 slits, seal impression missing.

For Harduin, formerly prior of St-Hymer, abbot of Cormeilles (1174– d. 18 December, before 1200), see GC, xi, 847. For Roger (d.1202), son of Robert III earl of Leicester (d.1190), chancellor of William King of Scotland (1187), elected bp of St Andrews in 1189, and finally consecrated in 1198, see CP, vii, 533n.; Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae mediæ ævi ad annum 1638, ed. D.E.R. Watt and A.L. Murray (revised edn, Edinburgh 2003), 379. If Roger obtained his see at the earliest possible canonical age of 30, then he was born in 1159, which might fit the evidence of his having two elder brothers subsequent to his parents’ marriage c.1153. Cormeilles was an abbey in the advocacy of his father, Earl Robert, and had most likely been solicited for benefices with which to endow Roger. I am indebted to David Crouch for various of the details here.

Harduinus Dei gratia abbas Cormel’ totusque couentus eiusdem loci uniuersis sancte matris ecclesie filiis salutem in domino. Ad communem omnium volumus noticiam peruenire nos karitatis intuitu concessisse rogerio filio roberti comitis Leg(re)cestrie ecclesiam que prius in nostra donatione vaccauerit saluo iure antiquo ecclesie Cormel’. Ut igitur hec nostra concessio stabil(is) et rata futuris temporibus habeatur, eam presenti scripto sigilli nostri attestatione munito roboramus.


Bur-le-Roi [October 1174 X 1182, ? October 1174 X May 1175]

B = TNA PRO 31/8/140B part 2 pp.89–90 no.2, copy by Léchaudé d’Anisy from amongst his own collection (‘de ma collection’), 1836.

Printed (calendar from B) Eyton, Court, Household and Itinerary of Henry II, 221, 235 (February 1178, and again June X September 1180); Round, Calendar, no.1449; Acta Henry II, no.1655.

Supposedly after the consecration of Richard of Ilchester as bp of Winchester, and before the promotion of Walter of Coutances as bp of Lincoln in May 1183, and hence before the king’s departure from Normandy for the south in 1182. Probably before the promotion of William fitz Ralph as seneschal of Normandy, and hence before the king’s
return to England in May 1175. The similarity of the present text to another charter of Henry II also dated at Bur-le-Roi (Delisle, Recueil, ii, no.691, from an original still at Caen AD Calvados H6296) must at least raise a suspicion that, in making his final copy for the English Record Commissioners, Léchaudé d’Anisy conflated two distinct documents: a charter relating to Pouppeville (as in Delisle, Recueil, no.691), and another carrying the present witness list.

Henricus Dei gratia rex Anglorum, dux Normannie et Aquitanorum et comes Andegau(orum) archiepiscopis, episcopis, abbatibus, comitibus, baronibus, iusticiariis, vicecomitibus et omnibus ministris et fidelibus suis Normannie salutem. Sciatis me concessisse et presenti carta confirmasse abbatie de Longis et monachis ibidem Deo seruantibus terram de Pupeuilla quam Radulfus Druel dedit in perpetuam elemosinam. Quare volo et firmiter precipio quod predicti canonici habeant et teneant terram illum cum omnibus pertinentiis suis bene et in pace, libere et quiete, integre et honorifice cum omnibus libertatibus et libris consuetudinibus suis. T(estibus) Richardo episcopo Wintonensi, Henrico episcopo Baiocen’, mag(is)tro Waltero Constan’, Gaufrido de Lucy, Hamo pincerna, Willelmo filio Radulfì apud Burum.

65. Notification by Philippa, daughter of Hugh de Rosel, of her grant to the (Premonstratensian) abbey of Ardenne (Calvados, cant. Caen, com. St-Germain-de-la-Blanche-Herbe) by placing a book on the Lady altar, of ten acres of her demesne land at Gruchy (Calvados, cant. Creully, com. Rosel) lying in four fields. In return the canons have received her and her ancestors in their prayers and benefits and those of their order, granting her burial at Ardennes after her death, acquitting her of 30 livres angevin that she owed to the king, and giving her a further 100 sous angevin. The present grant has been made in public in the king’s hall at the castle of Caen, before the king’s justices sitting at the Exchequer.

Caen, 1176/7

A = BL ms. Additional Charter 15278. Endorsed: ii.a Philippe de Rosello (s.xii/xiii); Groucie iii. carta (s.xiv); various post medieval endorsements. Approx. 338 × 70mm. Sealed sur simple queue, two slits in middle of the foot, parchment tag through the upper slit, seal impression, oval in dark green wax, a ?female bust in profile facing to the left, legend: SIGILLUM PHIL...E DE ROSELLO+. Printed (with English translation ‘from the original deed at Caen’, and drawing of the seal) J.H. Wiffen, Historical Memoirs of the House of Russell, 2 vols (London 1833), i, 77–8, 82, 530 no.15; (calendar from A, then untraced) Round, Calendar, 182–3 no.517;

Notum sit omnibus tam presentibus quam futuris quod ego Philippa filia Hugonis de Rosello dedi D(e)o et ecclesie sancte Marie de Ardena et canonici ibidem Deo seruientibus offerendo per unum librum super altare beate Marie circumstante conuentu ecclesie et alis pluribus pro salute anime mee et animarum patris et matris mee et antecessorum meorum in perpetuam elemosinam solutam et quietam ab omni exactione x. acras terre de proprio dominio meo ad Groceium in iii. campis, campum qui vocatur Pratum et campum Wigo et campum Fullonis et ex alia parte vie dimidiam acram. Pro hac autem elemosina canonici receperunt me et antecessores meos in orationibus et beneficiis suis et ordinis sui et ad mortem meam liberam sepulturam concesserunt m(ich)i quam apud illos elegi. Preterea de rebus ecclesie sue adquietauerunt me ad scacarium regis de cxxx. lib(reis) And(egauensium) quas debebam regi et m(ich)imetipsi iam dederant c. sol(idos) And(egauensium). Eapropter quod in multiplici hominum genere multiplex viget genus fallatie, ne hoc obluiione deleretur et ne aliquis super hoc aliquam iniuriam predictis canonicis agere possit, sed firmae et illibatum futuris temporibus consuetur, presenti carta sigilli mei impressione munita eis confirmare curavi. Actum est autem hoc publice in aula regis in castello Cadomi coram iudicibus regis ad scacarium sedentibus, anno ab incarnatione domini mcclxxvi. Super hoc autem testes sunt dominus Ric(ardu)s Wint’ episcopus qui tunc temporis erat capital(is) iusticia, Gisleb(ertus) Pipart’, Ric(ardu)s Giphart, Simon de Tornebu, Gaufridus Monacus, Rannulfus de Grantual, Simon de Scuris, Rob(ertus) Belet, Will(elmus) de Caliz, Rog(erus) de Scuris, Willermus Tanetin et alii plures.
66. Notification by Philippa, daughter of Hugh de Rosel, of her confirmation of no.65 (recited in slightly different terms from no.65 above, with different witnesses and notice that the payment in 1176 included 30 livres to acquit Philippa’s debts at the Exchequer and a further 12 livres in money, rather than the 10 livres of no.65), made in the full pleas of the king, at the king’s Exchequer; in the first year of King John, in return for a further 4 livres and 15 sous angevines. [Caen] in the Exchequer, May 1199 X May 1200

A = Caen AD Calvados H322. Endorsed: Philipe de Rosello de terra de Groceio (s.xiii); Groucie iii. carta (s.xiii/xiv); Groucy (s.xvi/xvii). Approx. 188 × 132 + 26mm. Sealed sur double queue, single slit, parchment tag and seal impression missing. Written in the same hand as no.67 below. B = Bnf ms. Latin 10063 fo.107r no.4, copy from A by Léchaudé d’Anisy, s.xix. C = Caen AD Calvados AD F4068 Liasse 1 nos 32–33, copy by Léchaudé d’Anisy from A, cited as ‘Archives de Calvados’, s.xix.

Pd (calendar from BC) Léchaudé, Extrait, i, 2 no.3.

The lists of witnesses supplied here, both in augmentation of the witnesses listed in no.65 and for the confirmation of 1199/1200, are particularly valuable. The additions to the witness list of no.65 are entirely plausible. Master Hugh de Gaiet may possibly be identifiable as Master Hugh of Gayhurst, elsewhere recorded as a leading figure in the household of Richard of Ilchester as bp of Winchester: English Episcopal Acta VIII: Winchester 1070–1204, ed. M.J. Franklin (Oxford 1993), p.lviii. For a charter issued by Philippa in 1202, granting land at Rosel (Calvados, cant. Creully) to the nuns of La Trinité at Caen, see Charters and Custumals of the Abbey of Holy Trinity Caen: Part 2 The French Estates, ed. J. Walmsley (Oxford 1994), 39–40 no.6.

Notum sit omnibus tam presentibus quam futuris quod ego Philipa filia Hugonis de Rosello carens marito et omni matrimonio tempore Henrici regis Anglie dedi deo et ecclesie sancte marie de Ardena et canonicis ibidem Deo seruentibus pro salute anime mee et antecessorum meorum in puram et perpetuam elemosinam apud Groceium x. acras terre et dimidiam in his vi. campis, in campo qui vocatur Pratum, et in campo qui est inter campos Odonis filii Hosmundi sub vico, et in campo qui est iuxta viam de Carun, scilicet in capite predicti campi, et in campo Fullonis et ex alia parte vie dimid(iam) acram de proprio dominico meo sine redditu et servicio et omnimoda exactione, et apud illam ecclesiam sepulturam elegi, et Garinus tunc temporis illius abbas ecclesie et canonici de rebus suis et amicorum suorum dederunt michi xl. libras et ii. Andeg(ae)nses, scilicet de xxx. lib(ris) adquietauerunt me ad scacarium domini regis et xii. libr(æs) alibi ad voluntatem meam persoluerunt. Quod totum carta mea confirmauui. Actum fuit hoc apud Cad’ publice in castello reg(is), anno ab incarnatione Domini mº cº.lxxº.viº., coram his iudicibus tunc ad scacarium sedentibus: Ric(ardo) Winton’ episcopo tunc capitali justicia, Rog(ero) de Arre, magistro Hug(onis) de Gaiet, Ric(ardo) capellano de Falesia, Sym(one) de Tornebu, Gaufr(ido) Monacho, Gillebert(o) Pypart, Ric(ardo) Gifart et aliis pluribus. Postea autem,
primo anno Ioh(ann)is reg(is) Angl(ie) com essem vidua et carens omni matrimonio, in plenis placitis domini reg(is) et ad scaccarium eius eamdem donationem meam prefatam coram omnibus ibi presentibus recognoui et concessi et ad opus predicte ecclesie de Ardena presenti carta mea in puram et perpetuam elemosinam com terra quam Rob(ertus) le Franceis de feodo meo eidem dederat ecclesie fideliter confirmaui, et Rob(ertus) tunc temporis abbas Ardene et consequens de bonis ecclesie sue iterum dederunt michi iiiii. lib(ras) et xv. sol(idos) Andeg(aunes) et concesserunt unam acram illius terre ad luminare ecclesie sue. Hiis presentibus: Sansone tunc abbate Cad’, Rad(ulfo) dicto Abbate tunc capitali iusticia, magistro Henr(ico) clerico domini reg(is), magistro Rad(ulfo) de Luxou’, magistro Gaufr(ido) de Curtonia, Hug(one) Destas, Rad(ulfo) Maleherbe, Ric(ardo) filio Henr(ici), Rog(ero) de Gouiz, Henr(ico) de Caliz et aliis pluribus.

67. Notification by Philippa de Rosel as in no.66 above, but here with yet further details and witnesses.

[Caen at the Exchequer], May 1199 X May 1200

A = Caen AD Calvados AD H322. Endorsed: carta Philipe de Rosel de terra de Groceio (s.xiii); Philippe de Rosel (s.xiii); Groucie ii. carta (s.xiii/xiv); Groucy (s.xvi/xvii). Approx. 176 × 210 + 30mm. Sealed sur double queue, parchment tag through a single slit, seal impression missing, B = Ibid. F4068 Liasse 1 nos 32bis–33, copy by Léchaudé d’Anisy from A cited as ‘tiré de ma collection’, s.xix.

Date as above no.66.

Notum sit omnibus tam presentibus quam futuris quod ego Philippa filia Hug(onis) de Rosello carens marito et libera ab omni matrimonio tempore Henr(ici) regis Angl(ie) dedi Deo et ecclesie sancte Marie de Ardena et canonics ibidem Deo seruientibus x. acras et dimidiam terre offerendo eas com matre mea Aeliz per unum librum super altare beate Marie, circonstante conuentu ecclesie et laicis multis, scilicet Gaufr(ido) de Cambernol et Rad(ulfo) de Taun et Serlone de Buron, Willelmo filio Auberee, Rad(ulfo) Ruffo, Rob(erto) de Secheuil’ et aliis pluribus pro salute anime mee et antecessorum meorum in perpetuam elemosinam libere et quiete ab omni redeitu et seruicio et omnimoda exactione de proprio dominico meo ad Groceium in sex campis, in campo qui vocatur Pratum, et in campo qui est inter campos Odonis filii Hosmundi sub vico, et in campo qui est iuxta viam de Carun, scilicet in capite predicti campi, et in campo Wigo, et in campo Fullonis, et ex alia parte vie dimidiam acram. Pro hac autem elemosina canonici recerperunt me et antecessores meos in orationibus suis et ad mortem meam liberam sepulturam concesserunt m(ich)i quam apud illos preelegi. Preterea de rebus ecclesie sue et amicorum suorum dederunt michi xl. et ii. libras Andeg(aunes), scilicet de xxx. libris adqutiauerunt me ad scacarium domini reg(is) et duodecim libras alibi ad voluntatem meam persoluerunt, et
ne ego vel aliquis alius huic eleemosine et donationi mee contraire vel eam in aliquo perturbare presumat, set firma et inconcussa in perpetuum perseueret, presentis scripti munimine et sigilli mei appositione eam confirmare et corroborare curau. Actum est hoc publice in aula domini reg(is) in castello Cadom’ coram iudicibus domini reg(is) ad scacarium sedentibus anno ab incarnatione Domini m°.c°.lxx°.vi°. Super hoc autem testes sunt isti: dominus (sicelicit) Ric(ardu) Winton’ episcopus qui tunc temporis erat capitalis iusticia, Rog(erus) de Arre, mag(ister) Hug(o) de Gait, Ric(ardu) capellanus de Falesia et de laicis Sym(on) de Turnebu, Gaufr(idis) Monachus, Gillebert(us) Pipart, Ric(ardu) Giffart, Ran(ulfus) de Grantual, Willelmus de Caliz, Sym(on) de Escuris et alii plures. Anno iterum Ioh(ann)is reg(is) Angl(iae) primo, super prefata terra inter Rob(ertum) abbatem et conuentum Ardene ex una parte et me prefatam Philipam ex altera in curia domini reg(is) mota est discordia coram Sansone abbate Cad’ et Rad(ulfo) dicto Abbate tunc capitali iusticia et magistro Henr(ico) clerico domini reg(is) in plenis placitis, et ad scacarium domini reg(is) in hunc modum est terminata. Ego siquid prefata Philippa sicut supradictum est carens marito, totam prescriptam terram in puram et perpetuam eleemosinam sepedictis abbati et canoniciis dedi ab omni reclamatione mea et heredum meorum et ab omnimoda exactione liberrima, et Rob(ertus) tunc abbas Ardene iiii. lib(ras) et xv. solid(os) Andeg(ausenses) pro hac recognitione et donatione et concordia ad scacarium domini reg(is) apud Cad’ in aula reg(is) michi donauit. Ad petitionem vero meam prefatus abbasi concessit unam acram predicte terre ad luminare ecclesie sue. Quod totum com terra quam Rob(ertus) le Franceis dedit abbatie Ardene de feodo suo ego sepedicta Philipa presenti carta mea confirmaui. Hiis presentibus: magistro Rad(ulfo) de Luxou’, Gaufr(ido) de Curtunna, Ioh(ann) e Ruffo clericis et de laicis Hug(one) Destas, Rad(ulfo) Maleherbe, Willemlo de Sernen, Geruasio de Locell’, Walt(er) de Annell’, Henr(ico) de Caliz, Dinam* de Carun et alii pluribus.

* sic A

68. Notification by Richard Silvain, with the assent of Richard his son, of his grant to the nuns of the Abbaye-Blanche at Mortain of his lordship of Plain-Landes (Manche, cant. Sourdeval, com. Gathemo) within specified bounds.  

[1150 X 1180]
Cf. the abbé Desroches, *Annales civiles, militaires et généalogiques du pays d’Avranches ou de la toute Basse-Normandie* (Caen 1856), 192, calendaring what appears to be the present charter, but from a lost cartulary copy: ‘Nous voyons dans le Cartulaire de l’Abbaye-Blanche que Richard Silvain, ou Servain, du consentement de Richard Servain, son fils, donna pour le salut de son âme, de ses prédécesseurs et de ses héritiers, aux moniales de Mortain, son domaine de Plain-Laudes (*sic*), comme il était divisé et comme les fossés l’indiquaient jusqu’au chemin qui vient de Artay, comme on va au château de Vire, et jusqu’au domaine du comte’, noticing a further charter of the same, with the consent of his son Richard, granting the monks of Savigny two measures of corn from his mills at St-Pair, made in the presence of John ‘curé’ of Bellefontaine and Guy de Serlant, with another charter to Savigny given by the same Richard, with similar witnesses, granting land at Martigny.

The date of the charter can be established only approximately. The Silvanus or Silvain family were lords of St-Pois (Manche, arr. Avranches, between Mortain and Vire). The first Richard Silvain was killed during Stephen’s reign (*Orderic*, vi, 490–2). Another, benefactor of Montmorel and of the Abbaye-Blanche, was prominent at the Norman Exchequer and in assizes under kings Richard and John, being one of the knights of Mortain who later, c.1211, did homage to Philip Augustus. This man had a daughter, Margaret, married to Hasculf de Presles, and was succeeded by a son named Adam: AN L967 no.128; L979 nos 69, 108. For an attempted reconstruction of the family, see J. Pouëssel, ‘Les structures militaires du comté de Mortain (Xie et XIIe siècles)’, *Revue de l’Avranchin*, lviii no.307 (1981), 115–17, where, on the basis of the present charter (from the notice of it by Desroches) and another, to Savigny, the author suggests that the Richard of the present charter succeeded the Richard d. c.1137, being father to the Richard of the Norman Exchequer still active in 1211. Alternatively, the successor to the Richard of Stephen’s reign and the Richard active in 1211 may have been one and the same man, eventually succeeded by a (younger) son named Adam, since another charter of Richard’s to the Abbaye-Blanche, like this one witnessed by Guy and William de Basoche and by Jordan Cornall’, claims the assent of Adam his son: Bnf ms. nouv. acq. françaises 21823 fo.299r–v no.155, and for further grants by Richard Silvanus to the nuns of Mortain and the Augustinian canons of Montmorel, cf. fos.298r, 300r–302r nos 140, 142, 144, 156; Bnf ms. Latin 10078 p.144 nos 22–3; AN L972 no.679, L979 no.108; *Cartulaires de la Manche: Abbaye de Montmorel*, ed. M. Dubosc (St-Lô 1878), no.169.

Quoniam temporalia transitoria sunt et caduca et subito labuntur a memoria, idcirco ego Ricardus Siluanus assensu Ricardi Siluani filii mei presentium etati et eorum posteritati notum fieri volui me pro salute anime mee et antecessorum meorum et heredum meorum in perpetuam elemosinam dedisse D(e)o et beate Marie de Moret’ et sanctimonialibus ibidem Deo seruentibus et presenti carta confirmasse meum dominic(um) de Plano Landeto sicut fuit diuisum coram me extra tenementum hominum Renaldi Visus Lupi et hominum Willelmi Martini de Spina superiori Lande Ermouim sicut fossatum demonstrat usuque ad caminum per quod venitur de Ateis sicut itur ad castell(um) Vire usuque ad dominicum comitis, et ut hoc ratum maneat et immobile, sigilli mei munimine roborau. T(estibus) Guidone de Basoc’, Willelmo de Basoc’ militibus, Roberto Siluano, Petro
de Cormeliis, Petro de Bellofonte clericis, Willelmo Maubeec’, Iordano Cormail burgensibus et aliis pluribus.

69. Notification by Rotrou, archbishop of Rouen, of his confirmation to Foucarmont Abbey of possessions and privileges. [1165 X 1183]

A = BL Additional Charter 17839. Endorsed: Rotro Dei gratia Roth’ arch(iescopus) (s.xii); OO LXIII (s.xii/xiii); various post medieval endorsements in French and English including the archival note premier tiroir 5e liasse 1e(re) lettre de l’arch(vesque) de Rouen (s.xviii). Approx. 558 × 700 + 40mm. Sealed sur double queue, two holes for cords, cords and seal impression missing. 67 lines of a very fine bookhand. Pen decoration to the initial capital R.

To be dated to the archiepiscopate of Rotrou (Spear, Personnel, 199). Note the address to the abbot and convent, rather than a general address as might be expected, carried through with remarks later in the charter referring to ‘your church’. The first two thirds of the present charter recite the lands and possessions of the abbey in almost exactly the same order as a confirmation charter of King Henry II, to be dated 1156 X May 1162: Acta Henry II, no.1071 (Delisle, Recueil, no.176). The whole appears to be an earlier recension of the confirmation by Rotrou, dated 1178, recited in the Foucarment cartulary: Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale ms. 1224 fos. 20r-22r.

Rotro Dei gratia Roth’ arch(iepiscopus) dilectis filiis suis abباتи et conventui beate Marie sanctique Ioh(ann)is de Fulcardimonte tam presentibus quam futuris in perpetuum. Exigit officii nostri sollicitudo immo et caritas nos compellit iustis filiorum nostrorum annuere precibus <et> eorum precipue quos amplior comendat religio. Unde q(uoniam) in qualibet diocesi elemosine et beneficia ecclesiis et monasteriis collata in possidendo plus obtinent securitatis cum pontificis manu donata et eius confirmata fuerint priuilegio, domum vestram et omnia ad eam pertinentia ab insidias malignantium munire volentes, uniuaesa sub protectione nostra et ecclesie Rothomag’ tuenda et conservanda suscipimus, auctoritate Dei et nostra prohibentes ne quis vos super eis violenter aut iniuste perturbare presumat. Elemosinas autem vestras et beneficia nequis inscimenter usurpare presumat pagina annotauimus presenti, scil(icit) ex dono Henrici com(itis) Augi et Ioh(ann)is comitii eius Barilsartum, Enguerilisartum, Nouam Landam, per totam forestam Augi pasnagium, herbagium, ignem, edificium, decimam annone et denariorum in ministerio de Fulcardimonte, molendinum de Escenla cum pratis adiacentibus, in molendino castelli vii. modios frumenti, tres modios auene ad horreum apud VII. Molas, medietatem pratorum suorum, maeriam Augi, omnes culture suas de Fulcardimonte cum corueis carrucarum pro suprapositis vii.modiiis frumenti et tribus auene, decimam vicecomitatus eiusdem ville, totam Beeleiam inter eandem villam et forestam ad extirpandum, maeriam de Blangeio totam, procuratorem quoque ipsius sic(ut) et maerie de Augo ab
omni consuetudine liberum, sartum iuxta Novam Landam ad excolendum
ad extirpandum quoque quicquid nemoris est a Novalanda usque ad agros
foris positos, in foresta Augi v. aeras ad grangiam de Barilsarto
transferendam, ad grangiam quoque de Garinprato in eadem foresta
construendum v. aeras, terciam partem molendini de Maisneels, fratribus
quoque ecclesie et famulis et quibuslibet mercenariis suis per totam
terram suam in omnibus vendendis et emendis quietantiam et de omnibus
que in curte abbatie vel in grangias venduntur quieti sint vendentes et
ementes, Criolii hospitem unum, Septemmol’ alterum ab omni consuetudine
utrumque liberum, omnes messes eorum et mercedes  triturantium a
molatur et aliqua consuetudine quieta, quod si inter fratrum famulos vel
mercenarios aliqua contigerit querimonia vel clamor auditus fuerit per se
seu per alios quos voluerint terminetur. Curtes etiam et mansiones ad
grangias in foresta ubicumque necessarium fuerit construendas, ad
Campenesiamuillum in foresta loc(um) ad grangiam construendum et
quicquid nemoris est circa ipsam a via que ad eam venitur de Fulcardimonte
usque ad angulum Sancti Martini ultra ipsam grangiam quousque terra
fratrum protenditur et usque ad fundum vall(is) subitus eandem grangiam
iacentis et totam terram cultam que per diuisionem ei remansit apud
eandem villam inter forestam et terram quam de vauassoribus habeabant, eo
t(ame)n tenore quod ei tales redditus in(de) soluent quales antea
vauassoribus reddabant. Preterea etiam pro ortis quos ei dederunt apud
Fulcarm’ de cultura iuxta opidum dedit eis in elemosinam liberam apud
Campenesiamuillum terram fossato claudendam directe an(te) portam
grangie et iuxta Maram Roiilleice et inter duos campos Petricurie et sic(ut)
fossata que precep(it) facere claudunt terras eorum iuxta forestam suam
ubique, decimam omnium que in Anglia Io(hanne)s comes Augi acquisierit.
Hec omnia quieta et ab omni consuetudine libera et in perpetuam
elemosinam a fratribus possidenda. Porro ad Campenesiamuillum duas
carrucatas terre prorsus quietas, unam ex dono Roberti de Fanencort,
alteram ex done Roberto de Restoual et Oelardi filii sui assensu Roberti de
Fanencort, ex done Radulfi Rastel et Beatrices uxoris eius totum feodum
suum proprium de Campanesiauilla etiam doarium uxoris Engerranni de
Scoteignis ad campartum solum, terram etiam vauassorum ad firmam vel
campartum in presentia sua susciendia omni alia consuetudine et
exactione remota. Cum vero doarium ad ipsos redierit quod in campo de
Beroumont a fratribus marlatum non fuerit ipsorum erit quicquid vero a
monachis marlatum fuerit, monachos ad solum campartum remanebit.
Quod si vauassores a seruitio defeecerint nich(il) a fratribus exigi poterit
preter firmam vel campartum vauassoribus debitum, terras etiam cultas et
a cultoribus desertas ad campartum solum concesserunt quoadusque
cultores earum redeant vel pro eis aliis succedant. Cum vero tempus
affu<e>rit quo campartum reddi debebit predicte ecclesie fratres Radulfum
vel eius famulum in Campanesiauilla semel submonebunt et in eius
presentia si venerit campartum dabunt. Qui si inuentus non fuerit vel
inuentus venire distulerit, ipsi fratres per se campartum dabunt. Hoc totum
concessit Guido de Auesnis et Berhesia uxor eius preter terram Eustachii
Harenc qui t(ame)n preter predictam pactionem x. aeras terre Eustachii
Harenc grangie fratrum viciniores commutauerunt pro aliis x. in dominico
Norman Charters from English Sources

fratrum. Ex dono Engerranni et Will(elm)i de Gislemariuilla assensu matris eorum totam terram ad Campenesiamuillam ab angulo Fanencort usque ad metas iuxta campum Eu(er)ardi affixas ad campartum solum. Ex dono Roberti de Restoual et Oelardi filii sui totam terram suam incultam apud eandem villam et in terra a rusticis marlata campus solum et preter h(ec) ortum unum. Hec omnia ab omni consuetudine libera preter firmam xii. minarum frumenti et totidem auene. Quod si rusticani vel manentes vel inde recedentes terram suam incultam reliquerint, liceat monachis eam colere ad predictam firmam. Si vero rusticani terram suam marlatah monachis vendere voluerint, possunt monachi emere nich(il) in(de) d(omi)nis tribuentes. Ex dono Heleboldi de Fanencort v. acras terre apud Campanesiamuillum in angulo sancti Martini pro v. minis bladi, mediatet frumenti et medietate auene, ad mensuram grangie que olim fuit de Fulcardimonte. Item ex dono Engerranni filii Gihel ibidem ii. acras pro duabus minis lege qua supra. Ex dono Walteri Peurel et Pagani filii sui culturam de prato et illam de Busco Reinardi et campum supra viam de Predosaullia et duas acras in pomerium (e)cclesie, hec omnia quieta et assensu Gisleberti Caletot donata. Item ex eorumdem dono iii. acras in Campo Terrici et quod habent ad Buscum(um) Noberti et sartum fratris Gisleberti et supra acram unam nemoris et iii. iuxta campum Willemli filii Seburgis et campum ante domum infirmorum et alterum supra istum a Willelmo filio Seburgis olim excitum, tercium quoque iuxta domum infirmorum et quicquid habent pratum inter abbatiam et Fanencort. Omnia quoque auenna sua supra abbatiam et quicquid habent nemoris inter montem et Campum Terrici et ii. acras iuxta culturam monachorum. Hec omnia quieta preter annuum censum s. solidorum, et a Richolde et Cecilia sororibus concessa. Ex dono Bernardi molendirarii et fratrum eius et Alberei matris eorum concedentibus Cecilia et Recholde cum filiis suis quicquid habent ad Maisnil Ranulchon quietum, et iii. acras terre nemorose liberas. Ex feodo Willemii filii Nicholai et Gisleberti Caletot et Walteri Peuerel et Richoldis et Cecilia sororum et Alberei et Bernardi filii eius omnia prata inter abbatiam et Fanencort. Ex dono Angerii Longi concedentibus Ralufelo Rastel cum uxore sua et Guidone de Auesnis cum sua et Lamberto Girardi filio vi. acras ex una parte abbatie et iii. ex altera quietas. Ex dono Gisleberti filii Solicie et Ricardi filii eius concedente Thoma de Sancto Leodegario campus unum ad Nemus Noberti et alterum iuxta culturam ecclesie, tercium in monte super abbatiam, quarrariam quoque cum subiacente auenna, omnia hec quieta. Ex dono Hugonis Machonis et Rululii filii eius predicto Thoma concedente iii. acras terre supra abbatiam quietas. Ex dono eiusdem Thome Nemus Noberti pro xx. solid(is) Prouiniens(ibus). Ex dono Rogeri de Salcino i. acram terre foris Osbernii Maisnilii et totam eius terram in Monte Hastrie utrumque liberam. Ex dono Osbernii de Pilo Keruino et Widonis filii eius quicquid habent inter marleriam suam et abbatiam et ipsam marleriam et par(tem) nemoris ultra eam, preter h(ec) i. acram terre, omnia quieta. Ex dono Rainaldi et Rogeri de Septemmol’ et Amabil(ie) matris eorum iii. acras liberas. Ex dono Roberti sacerdotis prefato Reinaldo concedente iii. acras quietas. Ex dono Heruei de Sancto Sulpicio et Willemii filii sui in molendini sui decima viiii. minas frumenti et iiiii. bustellos et iiiii. nummos et obolum. Ex dono Galterii
de Sancto Aniano Torfrescalis iii. acras terre liberas et totam decimam illius feodi preter terciam partem, post obitum suum totem feodum suum cum decima liberum. Ex dono Roberti Augi ii. salinas apud Briencnon quietas. Ex dono Lamberti filii Girardi concedente Radulfo Rastel cum uxore sua iii. acras terre quietas et iii. ad Nemus Noberti ad campartum solum. Ex dono Radulfi filii Tustini campum unum supra abbatiam quietem. Ex dono Ioh(ann)is comitis Augi totam Beeleiam inter Fulcardimontem et Nemus Gaufridi ad extirpandum. Ex dono Guidonis de Bouencort et Cecile de uxorius eius dimidium territorii Nemoris Ulberti cum decima ab omni consuetudine quietum preter annuum censum lx. sol(idorum) Romesinorum. Residuum quoque eiusdem territorii totum. Ex dono Thome et Rainaldi de Sancto Leodegario sedem ville nemoris Ulberti cum dimidio eiusdem ville territorii et ecclesiam cum tota decima assensu Rogeri de Freeuluilla et Rogonis filii eius, omnia quieta preter annuum censum lx. sol(idorum) Prouiniesium. Ex dono Rogeri Baillol iii. minas frumenti in molendinis de Fanencort de decima, concedente Roberto de Fanencort. Ex dono Roberti de Hastinguis et Isabel uxoris sue et Aueline matris Isabel quicquid habebant et clamabant in territory Nemoris Ulberti. Ex dono Hug(onis) de Hisleis xii. acras terre in Fraitiz liberas et dimidiam culturam ad campartum solum. Reliquum vero eiusdem culture liberum, ex dono Roberti de Caneceris et uxorius eius assensu Ansoldi et Henrici Biset. Ex dono Engellanni de Hisleis decimam iii. acras terre in Fraitiz liberas et dimidiam culturam ad campartum solum. Reliquum vero eiusdem culture liberum, ex dono Willemi de Porcmort et Girardi filii eiusiam suum de Fraitiz et x. acras in Plaisencia totidem(um) ad Fossatum Regis, omnia quieta concedente Roberto de Alneto. Ex dono Riccardi Calemel x. acras terre liberas. Ex dono Ingelranni de Hisleis xii. acras terre et decimam in terris suis ad Froudam concesserunt Robertus de Alneto et Hugo de Bosco. Ex dono Willemi de Nosauilla unam acram liberam et quicquid ab illa est usque ad viam Mortuomaris totum cum decima. Campum quoque Waltheria Franchelin assensu eiusdem filiorum eius ad campartum solum et decimam per totem feodum. Ex dono Hugonis de Bosco ad Fossatum Regis xii. acras quietas. Ex dono Riccardi Calemel x. acras liberas. Ex dono Engelranni de Hisleis xii. acras ad campartum solum et decimam in terris suis ad Froudam concesserunt Robertus de Alneto et Hugo de Bosco. Ex dono Willemi de Nosauilla unam acram liberam et quicquid ab illa est usque ad viam Mortuomaris liberum concedentibus Walterio de Barc, Ansoldo Biset et Henrico filio eius. Ex dono Baldrici de Flamens unam acram liberam concedentibus Walterio de Barc et Radulfo de Nosauilla. Hec omnia de feodo et dono Willemi comitis Albemarle. Ex dono Hugonis de Sancto Germano et Will(el)mi fratris eius quietiam ad mortuam et sicutiam in terris suis ad Onesmaisnil concedentibus Hugone de Mortuomari. Ex dono Willemi de Onesmaisnil et Agnetis uxoris eius et Roberti filii eorum xvi. acras terre quietas et liberas ab omni servitio et communem pasturam animalibus eorum in omni terra sua. Ex dono Roberti prepositi viii. acras terre prorsus liberas concedente prex Sidmo et Agnete uxorius eius. Ex dono Willemi camerarii de Tancaruilla apud Arculas lxxx. sol(idos) annuatim. Ex dono quoque Ricardi filii comitis Gislerbi terram de Garinprato et de Frainello liberam et quietam a molturis et corueis et omni consuetudine preter seruicium vaussorum a quos si ipsi defece rent ad predictis fratribus nich(il)comes extorquere poterit preter firmam vel camperum a monachis vaussoribus debitum. Ex dono Oelardi de Cleies totam terram suum de
Garinpre ad campartum solum. Ex dono vero predecessoris nostri bone memoriae Hugonis archiepiscopi duas partes decime de Garinpre quas Oelardus in manu eius refutavit sicut ille ecclesie vestre in perpetuum habendas concessit et nos concedimus. Conuentionem quoque illam que inter vos et ecclesiam de Fesquis super decimatione de Warinpre et Fraisnello in presentia Hugonis archiepiscopi facta est consensu Willelmi sacerdotis ipsius ecclesie confirmamus, videlicet ut pro decimatione illa dimidium modum frumenti et dimidium auene auene ad mensuram ville singul(is) annis predicte ecclesie sacerdoti reddatis. Ex dono vero Will(el)mi de Fraisnello unam carrucatam terre concedentibus Osberno de Rouerai et Gaufrido de Salceio omnino liberam preter firmam viii. minarum frumenti melioris presem(i)ii, viii. quoque ordei et totidem auene ad mensuram de Luceio, reliquum quoque feodum ad campartum solum. Si vero prefatus Guillelmus a servitio prenominatorum Oelardi et Gaufridi resiliat, ipsi nich(il) alius a monachis nisi predictam firmam vel campartum exigent. Ex dono Radulfi de Fesques annuente Oelardo de Cleies totum feodum suum de Garinpre ad campartum solum. Ex dono Roberti de Fraisnello et uxoris sue et Willelmi filii eorum annuente Oelardo de Cleies totum feodum suum de Warinpre et in feodo de Fraisnello xv. acras annuente Will(el)mo fratre suo ad campartum solum. Ex dono Abberici de Fesques quicquid habent de feodo suo in perpetuum ad Garinpre quietum et ab omni actione liberum preter campartum. H(ec) scil(icet) campum Vall(is) Petri, campum mare, campum orti, campum castellarii, valliculum caue rue. Has autem auenas concessit prorsus quietas, auennam Frogerii, auennam de capite rogi. Insuper vero ii. garbas totius feodi sui Garinprati de decima similitur liberam et omnino quietas annuente Oelardo de Cleies. Ex dono Nicholai de Galteriuilla totum feodum suum de Garinpre pro xii. minis bladh, medietatem frumenti et medietatem auene. Ex dono Alberei filie Adelelmi totum feodum suum de Garinpre ad firmam x. minarum frumenti, totidemque auene ad mensuram de Luceio. Cum vero tempus affuerit quo campartum dari debebit, predicte ecclesie fratres Oelardum et eius famulum reliquos quoque prenominatos ad eundem modum in villa de Fesques semel submonebunt et in eius presentia si venerit campartum dabunt. Quod si ibi inuentus non fuerit vel inuentus venire distulerit, ipsi fratres per se facient quod in eius ocul(is) securius et libenter facerent. Si vero prenominati vacassores in servitio dominorum suorum minus quam debent fecerint, ipsi domini a monachis nichil exigit preter firmam vel campartum vacassoribus debitum. Ex dono Gisleberti de Sartis totam terram suam de Garinpre et quicquid iuris habebat in ea cum omnibus pertinentiis suis in pascuis, in viis et semitis et in omnibus alius locis et alius rebus ad illam pertinentibus nich(il) sibi in ea retinens preter rediviti l. solidorum Rotomagensis monete quem ei predicti monachi anuquatim reddiriti sunt. Ex dono Reinaldi de Mediana concedente Helia de Keurecort duas partes decime per totum feodum de Fraisneto liberam et omnino quietas preter annuam firmam xii. minarum frumenti cum sextario brasii minaque pisorum ad mensuram de Garinpre que fuit de Luceio. H(ec) vero concessit Osbernus de Roueraio. Guillelmu vero de Fraisnello et filii eius concesserunt monachi quicquid in eadem decima clamabant. Ex dono Rogeri de Scakerlanda et uxoris eius Alberei et Guill(el)mi filii eiusdem
Alberee terciam partem decime de Fesques in omibus territoriis ad eandem parrochiam pertinentibus nich(il) omnino ibi retinentes preter modum frumenti et sextarium brasii et minam pisorum per annum ad minam horrei de Garinpre que olim fuit\(^a\) de Luceio concedente et testificante presbitero de Fesques Willelmo. Ex dono vero predecessoris nostri Hugonis pie recordationis archiepiscopi ecclesiam de Campanosauilla cum decima eidem ecclesie adiacente. Decimam quoque loci qui dicitur Fraitiz de feodo Willelmi de Salcosamara et decimam lande de Barilessart atque decimam de Noualanda nemorisque quod est inter utrumque. Item ex dono eiusdem ecclesiam de Fesques cum iure patronatus et institutione sacerdotis liberam et quietam salvo iure pontificali et parrochiali. Animalium etiam vestrorum et nutriture vestre decimam ac terrarum vestrarum quas propriis laboribus et sumptibus laborabitis prout dominus papa concedit et nos concedimus et in usus pauperum et hospitum distribuenda specialius denunciamus. Ex dono Engelranni de Hisleis et uxoris eius et filii eorum primogeniti ii. garbas decime terre sue de Campo Belli quas in manus nostra reddiderunt et nos illas coram eis donauimus monachis et abbatie Fulcardimontis in perpetuum elemosinam, et quonia) terra illa erat de dote uxoris Engelranni, ex cambium dedit ei coram nob(is) pro ea, curtilllum i. et mansuram unam in villa de Hisleis et sic ipsa predicta elemosina concessit et dedit. Ex dono Walteri Peuerel ii. garbas decime terre sue. Ex dono Hugonis de Sancto Mauricio et Willelmi fratris eius salinas suas quas tenebant apud Ulterioremportum de comite Augi liberas et omni exactione quietas. Ex dono Richoardi et filiorum eius totam decimam feodi sui de Bosco Ulberti. Ex dono Rahier de Onomasnig duas acras terre prorsus quietas concedente Roberto de Flames. Ex dono Odonis de Oireual et Hildeardis uxoris eius Rogerique filii amorum duas garbas in feodo quod tenent de Helia de Cheurelcourt omnino liberas. Ne quis vero super his prefatum monasterium perturbare aut inquietare presumat, sub anathemate prohibemus et uniuersa que dicta sunt presenti scripto et sigilli nostri munimine confirmamus.

\(^a\) cell’ie A, (e)cclesie supplied \(^b\) fuit repeated A, marked for deletion

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70. Notification by Walter (of Coutances), archbishop of Rouen, of his confirmation to Foucarmont Abbey of possessions and privileges.

Priory of Le Parc near Rouen, 11 April 1204

A = BL Additional Charter 17841. Endorsed: Walteri Roth’ arch(iepiscopi) de confirmatione cartarum nostrarum (s.xiii); CLXVIII (s.xii/xiii); episcoporum p.xii (s.xv); Walterus (s.xii/xiii); 1er tiroir 5e liasse 2e lettre de l’arch(vesque) de Rouen (s.xviii); various other post medieval endorsements. Approx. 258 × 476 + 37mm. 72 lines of a neat business hand. Sealed sur double queue, 3 holes for cords, cords and seal impression missing. B = Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale ms. 1224 (Foucarmont
Norman Charters from English Sources

cartulary) fos.16v–18v, with significant variations, s.xiii.

Note that the *arenca* and closing remarks on rapine and pillage might well have been judged suitable to the circumstances of the charter’s issue, in April 1204, in the midst of the Capetian invasion of Normandy. For a chronology of the final days of Plantagenet rule, with the investiture of Rouen in May 1204 and its surrender on 24 June, see Powicke, *Loss*, 260–3; T.K. Moore, ‘The Loss of Normandy and the Invention of “Terre Normannorum”,’ *EHR*, cxxv (2010), 1084–6. For Robert I, abbot of Foucarmont, occ.1196 and 1209, see GC, xi, 305. For Master Simon, chancellor of Rouen, see Spear, *Personnel*, 225.

Omnibus sancte matris ecclesie filiis ad quos presens scriptum peruenerit
Walterus Dei gratia Rothom’ archiepiscopus salutem in domino. Ex
approbata descendit consuetudine ea que pie ecclesiis vel monasteriis seu
ecclesiasticis viris et religiosis intuitu Dei conferuntur, ne obliuione vel
inuidentium seu etiam ambiciosorum malignitate depereant litterarum
apicibus annotate et auctoritate pontificali communire. Inde est quod ad
universitatis vestre noticiam volumus peruenire nos divinae karitatis intuitu
ad petitionem et instantiam dilectorum filiorum in Christo r(oberti) abbatis
et conuentus beate Marie de Fulcardimonte cartas continentem
and

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heredum suorum. Ex dono Gilleberti de Euremeu assensu Gaufridi fratris eius decem sol(idos) annui redditus in molendino apud Euremeu. Ex dono Simonis de Gillem’cort assensu Gauf(dri) fratris sui et sororum suarum masuram Will(elm)i filii Moberht et sex acras terre et dimidiam eidem masure appendentes omnino liberas et quietas. Ex dono Rogeri fratris eiusdem Simonis masuram unam in eadem villa quam Robertus Pichon tenebat. Item in eadem villa ex dono Gilleberti de Sancto Audoeno masuram unam singulis annis reddentem septem sol(idos). Ex dono Ric(ardi) Destriemont apud Assigneium septem acras quietas et liberas. Ex dono Walteri de Sancto Martino assensu Isabel uxoris sue et Walteri filii sui decem modios bladi ad molendinum suum de Sancto Martino, unum circa festum sancti Thome apostoli et unum ad Pascha, et sciendum quod cuicumque isdem Walterus assignauerit molend(inum) suum primo omnium isdem redditus assignabitur. Ex dono Will(elm)i le Borgue decem sol(idos) annui redditus apud Augum in una masura super ripam aque. Ex dono Gauffridi de Augo decem et octo sol(idos) ex tenemento quod Trosse tenebat. Ex dono prepositi Augi apud Merleuill’ vi. sol(idos) et sex capones. Ex dono Walteri de Sancto Aniano culturam viginti acrarum apud Torfreescales assensu Walteri de Grancort et Ingerranni de Auesnes et unam acram apud Puis. Ex dono eiusdem Walteri de Grancort dimidiam multorum eiusdem culture viginti acrarum que eius erat et totam multorum aliarum duarum acrarum secundum quod carta ipsius testatur. Item apud Arculas quatuor libras Andeg(aunse) ex dono Will(elm)i camerarii de Tankaruill’. Ex dono Simonis de Sancto Remigio duodecim acras terre ad Crucem Fornullet omnino liberas et quietas assensu abbatis sancti Wandreg’ et conuentus eiusdem loci. Ex dono Matildis comitisse Augi centum sol(idos) Andeg(aunse) singulis annis ad molend(inum) suum de Torch, quinquaginta sol(idos) ad Pascha et quinquaginta ad festum sancti Remigii. Hunc autem redditum reddet ecclesie quicumque molend(inum) seruauerit. Ex dono Gauffridi de Berengeruill’ viginti sol(idos) et unam libram piperis ad Mesnill super Waregnam. Ex dono Helie de Allage et Isabel uxoris eius et Agnetis filie eius totam terram dominici sui de feodo de Erables et de Busco Tachel, illam de Erables ad sextam garbam, illam de Busco Tachel ad garbam, exceptis decem acris quas ecclesia omnino liberas et quietas habebit. Sciendum autem quod si monachi de terra vauassorius eius aliquid adquiruerint et seruicium defecerit ei, ad monachos tamen ad campartum recuperabit. Item si monachi de terra rusticorum adquiruerint si terra fuerit des Erables de feodo ad pactum eiusdem feodi si de feodo Buschitac Tachet ad pactum eiusdem feodi monachi eam habebunt. Item ex dono Rad(ulfi) Trichiet quinque sol(idos) annui redditus apud Augum ex domo que fuit Ancheri clerici ad festum sancti Remigii reddendos. Ex dono Willelmi Torel triginta acras terre que est inter divisiones ville de Caable et Nuilemont omnino liberas et quietas. Ex dono Roberti de Restolual quatuor minas bladi ad antiquam minam ad grangiam de Campenesiaulla. Ex dono Gaufr(idi) de Berengeruill’ octo sol(idos) Andeg(aunse) apud Fulcardimontem in domo Geroldi Bote. Item ex dono Ric(ardi) de Isleis totum campartum de decem acris terre quas ecclesia de Fulcardimonte tenet de illo ad Isleis assensu uxoris sue et Hug(onis) filii eius. Item ex dono eiusdem Ric(ardi) et antecessorum eius simulque filii ipsius quicquid
habeant in dominico suo in sede grangie de Fraitiz. Totam etiam culturam cum uniuersa decima ante ipsam grangiam iuxta viam de Albamarla liberam penitus et quietam ab omni servicio, consuetudine et exactione preter septem minas bladi annui redditus, tres scilicet minas et dimidiam auene reddendas ad caput Quadragesime et tres et dimidiam frumenti ad rogationes. Totam etiam terram de Bella Fossa de feodo de Flameis preter tres acras quas Rogerus de Gardin’ tenet ad garbam perpetuo possidendam. Item ex proprio dono ipsius Ric(ar)di in excambiam pro Valle de Bello decem acras ad Isliae omnino quietas. Item ex dono Rad(ulfi) de Drenuill’ campum de Corneual. Item ex concessione eiusdem Rad(ulfi) donationem quam Walterus de Gardin fecit, scilicet terram de Rotunda Spina et campum Gilleberti le Blont. Item terram de Rupticio, tres scilicet illas acras quas Raherius Hescelin, Guibertus et Robertus homines sui antea dederunt. Item ex dono ipsius proprio terram illam quam habebat inter tenementum Ricardi le Blont et terras de Agnemesuill’. Item donationem Guiberti de Haurdricort et Ric(ar)di le Blont quam tenebant de ipso in predicto campo Rupticii. Item in Hastiea campum Bernardi de Ronceio. Hec omnia quieta et libera in perpetuum concessit tenenda. Item ex dono Adan² Duredent concedente Hugu(onis) filio suo et matre sua Herm(en)gart assensu etiam abbatisse de Sancto Paulo et conuentus eiusdem loci viginti quatuor acras terre de qua terra dedit decem acras omnino quietas preter sex nummos singulis annis ad festum sancti Remigii reddendos. Residuum vero eiusdem terre ad campartum solum. Ex dono eiusdem Adan² Duredent totam terram suam super Bellam Fossam omnino quietam preter duas minas bladi et duas auene ad Pentecosten reddendas. Ex dono Will(elm)i Thorel de Maisnil D(aui)d decem acras terre illius que est inter viam que ducit Goislenfontaines et nemus de Flamez viciniores grangie de Fraitiz omnino liberas et quietas a camparto et omni alio redditu, servicio et consuetudine. Residuum vero eiusdem terre ad campartum quod modo. Ex dono Eremburgis matris Radulfi Poun² decimam totius feodi sui in Plaisentia. Item ex dono predicti Will(elm)i Thorel quinque acras terre, scilicet pratella Boscher omnino libera et quieta preter campartum solum. Concessit etiam nouem acras terre et ex toto dimisit quietas iuxta cultura ad Fossatuum Regis quas aduersus prefatos monachos alic(u)do clamabat. Ex dono Renaldi de Fisquis unum pratum apud Fesques quod Radulfus pater eius emerat a Math(e)o de Luceio. Ex dono Adan² de Warwanna concedente Will(elm)o filio suo assensu etiam Renaldi de Fesques pratum unum apud Fesques quod dicitur Pratum Garnerii. Ex dono Will(elm)i de Busco filii Rad(ulfi) unam acram terre omnino liberam et quietam. Ex dono vero Gilleberti auunculi eiusdem Will(elm)i aliam acram eodem Will(elm)o concedente. Item ex dono Alelmi Rambout quatuor minas bladi annui redditus ad minam de Luceio quas in grangia de Gairiniaprio recipiebat et quas de feodo iamdicti Will(elm)i iure hereditario tenebat. Ex dono Raineri Loisel tres acras terre ad garbam iuxta buscum Veteris ville et ex dono iamdicti Will(elm)i duas virgatas similiter ad garbas, unam in Valle Auberti et aliam iuxta buscum Veteris ville. Hec omnia quieta et libera a tallia, releuagio, auxilio et omni alia seculari exactione preter quinque sol(idos) Beluac(enses) quos in supradicto redditu prefati Alelmi Rambout iamdictus Will(elm)i s singulis annis recipiebat. Ex dono Reginaldi de Meduana
duodecim minas frumenti et duas minas brasii et unam minam pisorum ad antiquam minam de Luceio quas in grangia de Gariniprato pro decima Veteris ville quasi iure patrimonii singulis annis recipiebat, que omnia iamdictus Regin(aldus) in manu dilecti filii Phil(ippi) archid(iacon)i Augi sponte resignauit et ecclesie et monachis de Fulcardimonte in perpetuam elesmosinam confirmari postulauit. Ex dono Reginaldi de Fesques omnia camparta sua que habebat in terra que est ante grangiam de Gariniprato et preterea decem et octo denarios Beluacenses annui redditus quos habebat in eadem terra. Item ex dono eiusdem octo acras terre assensu Wiberti de Sancto Sansone, quinque in uno loco et tres in alio, omnino quietas et liberas ab omni consuetudine, servicio, tallia, auxilio, moltura et omni seculari exactione. Ex dono Guidonis de Peucheruin assensu Ermengarde uxoris sue et Will(elm)ii filii eius masuram unam apud Daiencort cum augmento coram eiusdem ville hominibus designato omnino quietam. Item ex dono Walteri de Castello concedente Thoma Rastel domino suo et Bonafilia uxore iamdicti Walteri et Mathio filio suo tres ortos inter culturam monachorum et villam de Foucardimonte omnino quietos preter duos sol(idos) Andeg(aeuenses) annui redditus ad luminare ecclesie sancte Marie de Foucard(i)monte pro quibus tam(en) duobus sol(idis) isdem Walterus excambiauit monachis alium redditum duorum solidorum in dubaus masuris apud Fulcar- mont quas Gillett(ertus) Michael et Rogerus de Furno de ipso tenebant. Item ex dono <Hu>gonis filii Ricardi de Petricuria concedente Nicholaa uxore eius et Simone filio suo quicquid in decima ecclesie sancti Petri de Petricuria ipse et antecessores sui <pos>sederant et hec decima elesmosinata fuit assensu et voluntate Phil(ippi) tunc archid(iacon)i Augi et in manu Will(elm)ii de Boaffle tunc decani de Folcard(monte). Item ex dono <Willelmi> Marescalli comitis de Pembroc quietantiam trium solidorum et quatuor denariiorum quociens prefati monachi ferrum ad proprios usus emerant in villa de Orbec. Item <ex> done Berte de Freauuill’ concedentibus Roberto et Thoma filiis suis quinque sol(idos) Andeg(aeuenses) annui redditus in vicecomitatu Criolli. Nos igitur videntes munde adeo deditum esse concupiscentii et rapinias, quod calumpniantium et invid<ium> maliciis veritas sepius impugnatur, cupientes paci et indempnitati sepedictorum monachorum de Fulcardimonte intuitu Dei et religiosis ipsorum pia solludicitudine prouidere ut liberius et quietius vacent orationi, predictas donationes et elesmosinas eis pie factas secundum quod in cartis donatorum plenus continetur eis in purum et perpetuum elesmosinam auctoritate nostra confirmamus, easque ad maiorem securitatem presentis scriptis annotatione et sigilli nostri appositione communimus, volentes et sub pena excommunicationis districtus inhibentes ne quis contra hanc nostra confirmationis paginam in preuidicium predictorum monachorum aliquid temere attemptare presumat. Quod si facere presumperit, maledictionem et iram omnipotentis Dei se nouerit incursurum. Dat’ per manum magistri Simonis cancellarii Rothom’ apud domum Grandimont(is) iuxta Roth’, anno incarnationis dominice m⁵°.cc°. quarto, iii°. Idus Aprilis.

a sic A b reading uncertain A, ?Porin or Porm
71. Notification by Robert Marmion of his grant to the monks of Barbery for his own soul and that of Philippa his wife and for the absolution of his journey to Jerusalem, of 500 livres angevins for the building of their church and of all his lands of Checkendon and Littlestoke (in Checkendon, Oxfordshire) saving various services owed to Robert and saving an annual payment of two pounds of wax from the monks to the monks of Thame for the wood of Hained-in-Wood (in Ipsden, Oxfordshire), the present grant being made in exchange for an earlier assignment made by Robert of £10 a year from his manor of Berwick (Sussex) for the monks’ vestments, and with the assent of William Marmion the clerk, Robert’s son, to whom he had previously given these lands. [1200 X 1218, ?c.1217/18]

A = Manchester, John Rylands Library Beaumont Charter 43. Endorsed: R. Marm’ (s.xiii/xiv); various post medieval endorsements. On the plica 216/5 (s.xx lot number), with attached paper sheet declaring this to be charter no.151. Approx. 140 × 143 + 16mm. Sealed sur double queue, single slit, tag and seal impression missing. Burned on the right hand side, with some letters illegible. B = Aylesbury, Buckinghamshire Record Office ms. AR.38/62/1 (Boarstall/Rede family cartulary) no.25, s.xv. C = Bnf ms. nouv.acq. latines 1428 fo.128r no.151, abstract from A (then in the possession of the Stapleton family at Carlton Towers) by Léon Maître, c. August 1881.

Pd (from A) GC, xi, instr. 87; MRSN, ii, p.ci note (without indicating provenance); (from B) The Boarstall Cartulary, ed. H.E. Salter, Oxford Historical Society lxxxviii (1930), 14–15 no.25.

To be dated after 1200, when the abbot of Thame secured lands from William and Robert Marmion in Benson including the wood of Hained-in-Wood (in Ipsden, Oxfordshire) in return for an annual rent of 2lbs of wax, and before the death of Robert Marmion. For Robert, of Fontenay-le-Marmion (Calvados, cant. Bourguébus), assumed to be the Robert Marmion son of Robert son of Millicent, who rendered homage for his father’s English lands late in the twelfth century, in the presence of at least 63 witnesses, and who crossed to England definitively after 1204, leaving his family’s Norman estates in the custody of a son and namesake, Robert ‘the elder’, dying c.1218, whereafter his English lands, including Tamworth (Staffordshire), were allowed to pass to another son of his, named Robert, half-brother of the Robert ‘the elder’ resident in Normandy since 1204, in return for a fine of £500 to the crown, see N. Vincent, Peter des Roches (Cambridge 1996), 162–3, 193–4, 361; The Thame Cartulary, ed. H.E. Salter, 2 vols, Oxfordshire Record Society xxv–vi (1947–8), i, 118–19 nos 166–7; Boarstall Cartulary, 12–13 nos 20–1; CFR, i, 20–1 no.75; Powicke, Loss, 339, with a particularly full account, by Thomas Stapleton, of the family and its religious patronage in MRSN, ii, pp.xcv–cvi. In addition to grants to Cistercian Barbery, a family foundation, Robert’s father had granted the church of Checkendon to Coventry Cathedral Priory and much of his land there to a cadet branch of the Marmion family headed by Geoffrey Marmion and William Marmion ‘the knight’. William Marmion ‘the clerk’ purchased an estate there from Robert for £100, saving the service of William ‘the knight’, but seems to have forfeited in 1221, after fleeing to
France. The abbots of Barbery subsequently granted the estate conferred upon them by the present charter, to William ‘the knight’ and then, following William’s death, c.1221, to another Geoffrey de Marmion whose heirs, c.1246, for 115 marks, purchased release from an annual farm of 12 marks to Barbery, provided that Geoffrey and his heirs continued to render the annual pension of wax to the monks of Thame: *Boarstall Cartulary*, 4–5 nos 1–2, 12–16 nos 20–31; *CFR*, i, 246–7 no.108, 253 no.161; *MRSN*, ii, p.ciii note. The ‘journey to Jerusalem’ from which Robert hereby sought to purchase absolution was presumably the Fifth Crusade, suggesting that the present charter represents a deathbed attempt to settle spiritual and worldly accounts.

*Uniwersis Cristi fidelibus ad quos presens scriptum peruenierit Robertus Marmion salutem in domino. Nouerit uniuersitas vestra quod ego pro salute anime mee et Philippe uxoris mee et omnium antecessorum et successorum meorum et pro absolutione itinerae miui Ierosolimitani donaui Deo et beate Marie de Barbereio et monachis ibidem Deo seruientibus ad edificandam et construendum ecclesiam suam quingentas libras Andegauen(es), et preterea pro eadem absolutione dedi eis in puram et perpetuam eleemosinam liberam et quietam ab omni servicio, auxilio et scutagio et omni s<ecula>ri exactione et ab omnibus ad me vel ad heredes meos pertinentibus terras absolutam <omnes> terras meae de Chekendane et de Estokes in hominibus et terris, pratis et nemoris<ibus> cum omnibus pertinentis suis, saluo michi et heredes meos servicio quod Willelmus M<armyon> miles et Hugo de Mighehan debent michi pro tenementis que tenent de me apud Chekend<ane> et Estokes, excepto quod ipsi monachi duas libras cere annuatim persoluent monachis de thame quas ego pro quadam parte nemoris que vocatur Hainges singulis annis soluere solebam. Hanc autem donationem feci eis in excambium decem librarum esterlingorum annui redditus quas ego illis ad eorum vestimenta singulis annis inuenienda in manerio meo de Berwic assignaueram, et hoc factum est concessione et assensu Willelmi Marm’ clerici, filii mei, cui antea easdem terras donaueram, et sciendum quod ego et heredes mei hanc meam donationem prefatis <monachis> garantizare tememur et defendere. Quod ut ratum et inconcussum teneatur in p<resen>tis scripti testimonio et sigilli mei appositione confirmaui.

*letters in brackets illegible A, supplied from B*
72. Notification by Geoffrey of Repton (Derbyshire) that Walter fitz Aiulf has granted to the (Premonstratensian) abbey of Ardenne (Calvados, cant. Caen, com. St-Germain-la-Blanche-Herbe) an oven and associated property at Caen, in the Rue Ecuyère, which Geoffrey had earlier, in error, claimed to hold by grant of King Henry (II), but which he later restored to the abbey, in the year that the lord Arthur was captured at Mirebeau (Vienne) together with many noblemen, granting all his rights there with the assent of Alice his wife and Gilbert his kinsman and heir; notwithstanding any recognizances or oaths or writings in the royal rolls, with Geoffrey decreeing that his burial should take place at Ardennes.

Ardennes [c.1202]

A = Manchester, John Rylands Library Beaumont Charter 4. Endorsed: de furno nostro de Cad’ (s.xiii); Caen denariorum c.xvi. (s.xiv); Gaufridi de Rapendonia de furno nostro (s.xiii); various post medieval endorsements. On the plica, rue escuyere four ibidem (s.xix); 69 (pencil, s.xix/xx); 202/6 (pencil s.xx lot number from the 1920 sale). Approx. 192 × 150 + 27mm. Sealed sur double queue, pink, blue and white cords through 2 holes, seal impression missing. B = Bnf ms. nouv.acq. latines 1428 fo.69r no.69, abstract from A (then in the possession of the Stapleton family at Carlton Towers) by Léon Maître, c. August 1881.

Pd (part only from A) D. Power, ‘En Quête de sécurité juridique dans la Normandie angevine: concorde finale et inscription au rouleau’, BEC, clxviii (2010), 348n., identifying the ‘rolls’ here as the enrolments of final concords equivalent to that which survives for the second year of King John, above pp.7–9.

Apparently soon after the capture of Arthur at Mirebeau in May 1202. For the Rue Ecuyère, and for Geoffrey of Repton, an important royal official at Caen from at least 1186, bailli, farmer of the town fair 1199–1200, mayor of the commune on the eve of the Capetian conquest, with significant properties at Caen and Anisy, his daughter and her descendants remaining prominent urban landowners after 1204, see below no.73; L. Jean-Marie, Caen aux XIe et XIIe siècles: Espace urbain, pouvoirs et société (Condé-sur-Noireau 2000), 116, 233, 235, 237, 261, citing another grant of his to Ardenne from Caen AD Calvados H119 (Ardenne cartulary) fo.8r.

Omnibus Cristi fidelibus ad quos presens scriptum perueniit ergo Gaufridus de Rapendonia salutem. Nourrit uniueritas vestra quod Walterus filius Aiulfii dedit Deo et abbatie sancte Marie de Ardena pro salute anime sue in perpetuam elemosinam apud Cadom’ in vico escuyerie quendam furnum quem ibi habebat et duas domos in anteriori parte a dextra et a sinistra et quandam plateam in posteriori parte in qua alias duas domos edificau, eumdem furnum omnes continue tangentes sicut ex multis scriptis auctenticiis que inde habet predicta abbatia et ex testimonio multorum bonorum virorum diligenter didicumus, et ego predictus Gauf(ridus) furnum
et domos predictas ex dono Hen(rici) illustris regis Anglorum existimans ad me pertinere errore non modico seductus, eundem furnum et domos iniuste diu detinere presumpsi. Postea autem anno quo captus est dominus Arturus com multis nobilibus viris apud Mirebel a domino Iohanne rege Ang(ie), intuitu pietaetis et caritatis et pro salute anime mee furnum et omnes domos prefatas et quicquid fuit ibi de omni tenemento prescripti Walteri totum prenominata abbatie de Ardena redditi, et sicut iustississimam elemosinam suam concessi, et quicquid in predictis furno et domibus erat mei iuris et reclamationis et heredum meorum de assensu Aeliz uxoris mee et Gilleb(erti) generis mei in puram et perpetuam elemosinam sepenominata abbatie de Ard’ spontaneus donau, non obstantibus recognitionibus vel sacramentis vel scriptis in rotulis regis vel quibuscumque impedimentis si forte contra abbatiam de Ardena a me vel ab aliis aliqua inde fuerint facta. Hanc autem meam redditionem et recognitionem et ius et reclamationem et donationem super altare beate marie de Ardena ego et Gillebertus gener meus diligenter obtulimus et pro posse nostro ubique garantizare promisimus, et Rob(ertus) tunc abbas eiusdem loci et conuentus in fraternitatem domus sue et tocius ordinis sui et orationes et beneficia ad peticionem meam pro amore Dei me et uxorem meam et heredes meos receperunt, quia apud eos Cristianam elegi sepulturam, et abbas et conuentus prefati <pro> hac concessione et donatione mea xl. lib(ras) Andeg(auenses) in caritate michi donauerunt. Actum hoc apud Ardenam his presentibus: Rob(erto) tunc abbate de Ardena et conuentu, magistro Rad(ulfo) de Fonte et Iuone fratre suo, magistro Willelmo de Seren’tot, Thoma de Agnell’, Rob(erto) de Burum, Thoma de Nouilla clericis, Sansone de esperun’, rob(erto) de Landa presbiteris, Willelmo de Pyrou, Gilleb(erto) de Vilers militibus, Rad(ulfo) de Sancto Aniano, Ric(ardo) de Curceio laicis et multis aliis.

73. Notification by Hugh ‘the villein’ that he has granted Roger his clerk and servant six and a half acres of land at Loucelles (Calvados, cant. Tilly-sur-Seulles) to hold in perpetual fee from the abbey of St-Etienne Caen for an annual rent of one pound of pepper, two chickens and 20 eggs.

Caen, 1187/8

A = BL ms. Additional Charter 67578. Endorsed: carta Hug(onis) Willain de vi. acris t(erre) apud Locell’ (s.xiii.); F (s.xiii/xiv); long s.xviii endorsement with archival reference cotte 25. Approx. 156 × 86 + 24mm. Sealed sur double queue, pink and white cords through 2 holes, seal impression missing. B = Bnf ms. nouv.acq. latines 1428 fo.18r no.17, copy from A (then in the possession of the Stapleton family at Carlton Towers) by Léon Maître, misdated 1186, c. August 1881. Briefly noted (from B) L. Delisle, Catalogue des manuscrits du fonds de la Trémoïlle (Paris 1889), 20 no.17 (misdated); Haskins, Institutions, 335 no.15 (also misdated).

For Hugh’s grant of 20 acres of land at Loucelles to St-Etienne Caen confirmed before
Notum sit presentibus et futuris quod ego Hugo villanus dedi et presenti carta confirmavi Rog(e)ro clerico servienti meo vi. acras et dim(idiam) terre me de Locel’ pro servicio suo tenendas feodaliter sibi et hereditibus suis de monasterio et monachis beati Stephani de Cad’, solvendo in(de) eis annuatim af seriam de Prato i. lib(ram) pipieris et ad Natalem Domini ii. gall(inas) et in Pascha xx. oua. Est autem terra h(ec) in locis istis, in Perrellia i. ac(ram), in Planicie ac(ram) et dim(idiam), super domum Corbelli i. ac(ram), in Nigra terra i. ac(ram), in via Sancte Crucis ii. ac(ras). Hoc autem factum anno incarnationis dominice mºcºlxxxºvº apud Cadom’. T(estibus) W(illelmo) fil(io) rad(ulfi) tunc senesc(allo) Normanni, W(illelmo) de Mara, W(illelmo) de Caluiz, Ric(arдо) fil(io) Henr(ici), Gaufr(ido) de Rapiend’ tunc baillius reg(is), Rog(e)ro priore Cad’, Rob(erto) de Curl’, Osb(erto) de Sag’, Rob(erto) de Longocampo, W. Rasulano monachis, Ric(ardo) Ospinel, W. Tailleb’, Rog(ero) de Cheus, Rad(ulfo) Biggerel, Rob(erto) de Platea et aliis multis.

74. Notification by Bartholomew de Livet that for 25 livres angevin Luke his butler has purchased from Roger the clerk the land at Loucelles (Calvados) which Hugh ‘the peasant’, Bartholomew’s uncle, granted Roger and which Roger held from Bartholomew until he resigned it into Bartholomew’s hand. Luke and his heirs are to hold the land from Roger and his heirs for the same service rendered by Roger. Luke has given Bartholomew 65 sous angevin.

A = BL ms. Additional Charter 67579. Endorsed: carta Barth(olomei) de Liuet de emptione Luce pincerna apud Locell’ (s.xiii; G (s.xiii/xiv); long s.xviii endorsement referring to Loncelles. Approx. 193 × 105 + 20mm. Sealed sur double queue, parchment tag through 3 slits, seal impression missing. B = Bnf ms. nouv.acq. latines 1428 fo.17r no.14, abstract from A (then in the possession of the Stapleton family at Carlton Towers) by Léon Maître, c. August 1881.

To be dated to the time of Samson abbot of Caen (above no.18n.). For Bartholomew and Luke, see also Léchaudé, *Extrait*, i, p.13 nos 106, 110, p.276 no.34, p.281 no.67.

Omnibus ad quos presens carta peruenirit Bartholomeus de Liuet salutem. Noverit uniuersitas vestra quod Lucas pincerna assensu meo et voluntate emit a Rogero clerico pro xxv. libris And(eagnesium) terram illam apud Locellias quam Hugo rusticus auunculus meus eidem Rogero pro suo seruiuco donauit et quam idem Rog(erus) de me tenebat, ita quod prefatus Rog(erus) terram predictam in manu mea reddidit et forsiuruit, quod decetero nichil in ea reclamabit. Ego autem tunc eandem terram tradidi.
et concessi predicto Luce tenendam et habendam sibi et suis heredibus de me et meis heredibus bene et pacifice, libere et quiete per talem redditum qualem memorat Rog(erus) de illa terra m(ich)i faciebat. Pro hac autem concessione mea eodem tenenda et garantiza, dedit m(ich)i idem Lucas lv. sol(idos) And(egauensium) et inde fecit m(ich)i hominagium, et ut hoc ratam et inconcussum habeat in posterum, presenti scripto et sigillo meo duxi confirmandum. Inde sunt test(es) S(amson) abbas Cad’, Rob(ertus) Rastel et Will(elmu)s de Corneliiis monachi, Rob(ertus) B(e)n(e)d(i)c(t)i, henricus le Rebree, Rog(erus) de Cheus, Will(elmus) de Montelles et alii plures.

75. Notification by Albereda de Ros that, following a dispute with Henry fitz Richard over lands and rents and a mill at Caen and Hérouville (Calvados, cant. Caen) which Albereda claimed Henry should hold from her at farm rendering 15 livres tournois each year, and which Henry claimed he held from Albereda for the same rent but in hereditary right by the terms of a charter of King Henry (II), Albereda hereby concedes Henry’s claim, Henry having paid her 73 livres tournois when he rendered homage to her.

In the assize at Caen, March 1214/15

A = BL ms. Additional Charter 67582. Endorsed: Cad’ (s.xv); various post medieval endorsements. Approx. 200 × 124 + 22mm. Sealed sur double queue, parchment tag through 3 slits, seal impression missing. B = Bnf ms. nouv.acq. latines 1428 fo.22r no.22, abstract from A (then in the possession of the Stapleton family at Carlton Towers) by Léon Maître, c. August 1881.

Briefly noticed (from B) RHF, xxiv, introduction p.134* n.4.

Omnibus ad quos presens scriptum peruenit Albereda de Ros salutem. Noueritis quod cum contentio esset inter me ex una parte et Henric(um) fil(ium) Ric(aridi) ex alia super quibusdam terris et redditibus et molendino in villa et territorio Cadomi et Herouuille quas dicebam me debere habere in dominicum meum sicut illas de quibus m(ich)i reddebat per annum xv. lib(ras) Tur(onensium) ad firmam et ille Henricus e contrario dicebat quod illas tenebat de me iure hereditario reddendo inde annuatim xv. lib(ras) Tur(onensium) et unde habebat cartam regis Henr(ici), tandem ita concordauimus quod predicte terre et redditus et molendinum remanent sepeditco Henrico possidendas iure hereditario sibi et heredibus suis de me et heredibus meis reddendo inde annuatim m(ich)i et heredibus meis xv. lib(ras) Tur(onenses) ad feriam Prati pro omnibus redditibus et auxiliis m(ich)i pertinentibus sicut continetur in carta regis Henr(ici) quam
sepedictus Henr(icus) inde habet. Actum est hoc in viduitate mea, anno domini mºccº quartodecimo, mense Martio, in assisa apud Cad’ coram Petro de Teill’ tune iusticiario domini regis Franc(ie) et pluribus aliis. Et sepedictus Henr(icus) inde m(ich)i dedit lxxiii. lib(ras) Tur(onenses) quando eius hominagium recepi. Quod ut ratum hab(e)atur, sigilli mei munimine roboraui.

76. Notification by Robert abbot of St-André-en-Gouffern to King John, that the churches of La Trinité and St-Gervais at Falaise and Notre-Dame at Guibray (Calvados, cant. et com. Falaise) pertain to the presentation and gift of the abbess and convent of La Trinité at Caen, the nuns drawing annual pensions from these churches and having presented the late priest, Erneis, to the church of La Trinité (at Falaise).

[1199 X 1204]

B = Bnf ms. nov.acq. latines 1428 fo.42r no.40, copy by Léon Maître from the Stapleton charters then at Carlton Towers, noting that the seal was missing, s.xix ex. The original was sold as one of the six charters in Lot 197 of the Sotheby’s sale of the Stapleton charters, 22 October 1920, to Maggs for £6 15s., since entirely untraced.

To be dated after the accession of King John but before the loss of Normandy. For Abbot Robert of St-André-en-Gouffern (pre 1190 – d. September 1221), see GC, xi, 744. For King John’s control over the patronage of Norman churches, see also above no.46. For these particular churches, grouped together for the purposes of taxation, taxed c.1335 at the value of 200 (Guibray), 120 (La Trinité) and 50 livres (St-Gervais), with respectively 400, 700 and 500 estimated parishioners, see Pouillés Rouen, 203–4, 208, 229–30.

Reuerentissimo domino suo I(ohanni) Dei gratia illustrissimo regi Angl(ie) domino Hibern(ie) duci Norm(annie) Aquit(anie) et comiti Andeg(auie) frater Rob(ertus) dictus abbas et conuentus sancti Andr(ee) de Bosco perpetuam in domino salutem cum omni reuerentia et constanti orationum deuotione. Quoniam vicinarum ecclesiarum patronatus et iura longo usu et certo et frequenti testimonio nobis innotuerunt, magnitudini vestre notum facimus et in veritate, que D(eu)s est, testificamus ecclesias sancte Trinitatis et sancti Geruasii de Fales et sancte Marie de Wiby’ ad presentationem et donationem abbatisses et conuentus sancte Trinitatis de Cadomo indubitanter pertinere ut pace de quibus singulis annuas et certas percipiunt pensiones scimus etiam et proculdubio prohibemus Ernesium presbiterum qui nuper decessit per presentationem dictarum abbatisse et monialium fuisset rationabiliter et canonice in ecclesia sancte Trinitatis institutum. Quamobrem supplicamus vobis deuotius et cum ipsis humillime petimus in Domino quatinus sicut decet honorem regium, exclusis malignis
THE CANTERBURY CHARTERS

77. Notification by King Louis (VII) of France that, at the instance of St Thomas at whose tomb the king sought the salvation of his soul and bodily healing, he has granted to the monks of Holy Trinity Canterbury 100 measures of wine to be taken during the vintage each year within the lordship of the castle of Poissy (Yvelines), further granting freedom from all passage for this wine and all the other food and drink of the monks. Canterbury, [23/24 August] 1179

A1 = CCA ms. Chartae Antiquae F90. Endorsed: carta Ludowici regis de centum modiis vini (s.xiii/xiv); i. (?s.xii/xiii); various post medieval endorsements. Approx. 221 × 209 + 53mm. Sealed sur double queue, pink cords through 4 slits, fine seal and counterseal impressions in natural wax varnished reddish brown. A2 = Ibid. F91. Written in the same hand as A1. Endorsed: carta L. regis Francorum de c. modiis vini (s.xii/xiii); carta prima Ludowici regis Francie de centum modiis vini (s.xiii/xiv); i. (s.xiii); various post medieval endorsements. Approx. 208 × 185 + 34mm. Sealed sur simple queue, four slits apparently for cords, cords and seal impression missing. B = Ibid. Register E fo.34r, copy from A1, s.xiv in. C = Ibid. Register A fo.267r (339r), copy from A1, s.xiv. D = Ibid. F108, copy from ?A2, s.xv ex. E = Ibid. F109, copy as in D, s.xv/xvi. F = Ibid. F110, copy as in D, s.xv/xvi. G = Ibid. F112, copy, s.xv/xvi. H = Ibid. F113, copy, s.xv/xvi. J = Ibid. F149, in an inspeximus by Nicholas Hyllington, official of the archdeaconry of Canterbury, 15 September 1514. K = Ibid. Register L fo.96v (92v), copy from A1, s.xiv med. L = BL ms. Stowe 924 fo.89r, partial copy from B, made for Sir Edward Dering, 1630.


Besides the present grant to Christ Church, Louis’ Canterbury pilgrimage of 1179 may explain his inclusion in the obit list of St Augustine’s Canterbury: BL ms. Cotton Vitellius C xii fo.141v, Ob(iit) Lodonius frater noster rex Francorum, sub 14 Kalends October (Louis VII died 18 September 1180). For his obit at Christ Church, and for letters of confraternity issued in his favour in the aftermath of the present gift, see BL ms. Cotton Nero C ix (Christ Church obits) fo.12r, whence (misdated) Fleming, ‘Christchurch’s Sisters and Brothers’, 140; BL ms. Cotton Claudius C vi (Christ Church martyrology) fo.197r, whence English Episcopal Acta II: Canterbury 1162–1190, ed. C.R. Cheney and B.E.A. Jones (Oxford 1986), 136 no.164; The Church Historians of England Vol.IV part ii: The History of William of Newburgh, The Chronicles of Robert de Monte, ed. J. Stevenson (London 1856), 794–5n., noting that Louis made his gift symbolised by his presentation of a golden cup.

a inpetranda A²b sint A²c comitis Theobaldi A²

78. Notification by King Philip (II) of France of his confirmation of no.77 above. Mantes, [April X September] 1180

A¹ = CCA ms. Chartae Antiquae F92. Endorsed: carta Philippi regis de centum modiis vini (s.xiii); ii. (s.xiii); various post medieval endorsements. Approx. 268 × 264 + 50mm. Sealed sur double queue repli redoublé, pink cords through a single trapezoid shaped hole, fine seal and counterseal impressions in natural wax varnished reddish brown. Written in the same hand as A³ below. A² = BL ms. Additional Charter 15480. Endorsed: carta Philippi regis Francie de centum modis vini (s.xiii ex); ii. (s.xiii); various post medieval endorsements including lot 936 (s.xix, i.e. lot 936 from the Dering sale of 13 July 1861, whose catalogue records the sale of this item to the dealer Boone, for £2 10s.). Approx. 264 × 230 + 46mm. Sealed sur double queue repli redoublé, pink cords through a single trapezoid shaped hole, detached seal and counterseal impression in dark green wax. B = CCA Register E fo.34r, copy apparently from A¹, s.xiv in. C = Ibid. Register A fo.267r (339r), copy from A¹, s.xiv. D = Ibid. F108, copy from ?A², s.xv ex. E = Ibid. F109, copy as in D, s.xv/xvi. F = Ibid. F110, copy as in DE, s.xv/xvi. G = Ibid. F112, copy, s.xv/xvi. H = Ibid. F149, in an inspeximus by Nicholas Hyllington, official of the archdeaconry of Canterbury, 15 September 1514. J = Ibid. F113, abstract only, s.xv/xvi. K = Bnf ms. Bréquigny 76 fo.34r, copy from A¹, s.xviii. L = Ibid. ms. Moreau 625 fo.53r, copy from A², s.xviii. M = CCA ms. Register L fo.96v (92v), s.xiv med.
Cf. below no.80, where the present charter is inspected in full in an inspeximus of 1235.


As dated by Delisle and by Delaborde (in *Actes Philippe Auguste*), according to the dates of Reginald the chamberlain. Delaborde also notes the unique nature of the monogram employed in A², subsequently altered in all known originals of Philip Augustus. For a petition from Prior Alan of Canterbury, addressed to Philip apparently very shortly after the death of Louis VII, asking that he confirm the late king’s gifts to the monks of Canterbury, see *Alani Prioris Cantuariensis postea abbatiss Tewkesberiensis scripta quae extant*, ed. J.A. Giles, Caxton Society (Oxford 1846), 33–4 no.1. For the commemoration of King Philip’s obit at Canterbury Cathedral on 13 July each year, see BL ms. Arundel 68 fo.34r. For a suggestion that he was cured of haemorrhoids by the merits of the relics of St Thomas at Dommartin, one of the principal cult centres of St Thomas in northern France, see below no.98n.

In nomine sancte et indiuidue Trinitatis amen. Philippus Dei gratia Francorum rex. Ea que ab antecessoribus nostris et precipe que a patre nostro Ludouico rege Francorum² pietatis intuitt sanctis ecclesiis vel alis locis venerabilibus sunt indulta non est nostri propositi aliquo modo extenuare sed opera misericordie immobili firmitate conseruare. Nouerint igitur uniuersi presentes pariter ac futuri quod intuitt beatissimi martiris Thome quondam Cantuariensis³ archiepiscopi, ad cuius tumulum pro salute anime et sanitate corporis impetranda pater noster in multa deuotione fuerat prefectus, conuentui monachorum sancte Trinitatis ibidem Deo seruentium centum modios vini ad mensuram Parisiensem singulis annis tempore vindemiarium in castellaria Pissiaci accipiendos in elemosinam concessit. Conuentui etiam predicto indulxit quatinus⁴ de predictis centum modiis vini et de omnibus que ad esum et potum suum pertinere sacramento unius seruentis de mandato alcius monachi de eodem conuentu probari poterit in omnibus passagiis suis et nostris quantum ad ipsum attinebat sint omnino liberi et immunes. Quod factum patris nostri ne aliqua possit obliuione deleri vel aliqua malignantium invidiae violari manu nostre confirmationis apposita precipimus immutabiliter custodiri, unde et sigilli nostri auctoritate ac regii nominis karaktere inferius annotato presentem cartam voluimus communiri. Actum Madunte anno incarnationis domini m².c².lxxx², regni nostri anno primo, astantibus in palatio nostro quorum nomina supposita sunt et signa. Signum comitis Theobaudi dapiferi nostri. S(ignum) Guidonis buticulartii. S(ignum) Reginaudi camerarii. S(ignum) Radulphi constabularii. Data per manum secundi [MONOGRAM] Hugonis cancellarii.
79. Notification by King Philip (II) of France to the prévôt of Poissy of his grant of 100 measures of wine to the monks of Canterbury in his close and rents at Triel-sur-Seine (Yvelines) or elsewhere from his cellar at Poissy, ordering him to hand over this wine during the vintage from the coming feast of St John the Baptist for the next three years, unless the king returns meanwhile from his pilgrimage (to the Holy Land).

March 1190

Ph(ilippus) Dei gratia Franc(orum) rex preposito Piss’ salutem. Noueris quod dilectis nostris monachis Cantuariensis monasterii viris religiosis assignauimus centum modios vini ad mensuram Paris(iensem) sicut in carta nostra continentur in clauso nostro et redditibus nostris apud Triel. Si autem in clauso et redditibus predictis centum modii vini non possent inueniri, residuum habeant monachi in cellario nostro de Pissiaco. Unde tibi precipimus quatinus tempore vindemiarum ab instanti festo sancti Ioh(ann)is Bapt(ist)e in tres annos, nisi interim a peregrinatione nostra redierimus, predictis monachis vel eorum nunciis vinum sic(ut) eis
assignauimus sine dilatatione et contradictione aliqua tradas. Act’ anno incarnati verbi n°.c°.lxx°. nono, mense Martio.

80. Notification by King Louis (IX) of France of his confirmation of no.78 above, specifying that the wine is to come from Triel and Chanteloup-les-Vignes (Yvelines, cant. Andrésy), saving to the king the red wine from the close of Triel. Saint-Germain-en-Laye, 1235


Briefly listed but not recited in the abstracts of French royal charters in CCA mss. F108, F109, F110 and F113 (s.xv/xvi).

Louis succeeded as king following the death of his father in November 1226, so the ninth year of his reign ran to November 1235.

In nomine sancte et indiuidue Trinitatis amen. Lud(ouicus) Dei gratia Franc(orum) rex. Notum facimus quod nos litteras clare memorie regis Ph(ilipp)i k(arissi)mi aui nostri vidimus in hec verba: (recites no.78 above, apparently after A²) Nos igitur piis antecessorum nostrorum deuotionibus volentes obsequi donationes et concessiones predictas, volumus et concedimus et ut predictorum centum mod(ium) elemosina firmior in posterum permaneant et stabilior nec ullo tempore sortiri valeat detrimentum eos in locis assignauimus subnotatis, videlicet in censu trelii decem et novem mod(ios) et dimid(iam) et tres sextar(ios) ad mensuram Pissiac’, residuum in clauso nostro apud Trelium et in vineis Cantus Lupi, salu'o nob(is) vino rubeo de clauso nostro de Trel’, omnem iusticiam et omnia alia que in dictis locis habebamus nob(is) et nostris heredibus retinentes, et si aliquid de dictis centum mod(iis) vini in locis determinatis deficeret, volumus quod residuum in castellania Pissiac’ capiatur. Iste autem centum modii per manum seruientis nostri qui pro tempore fuerit deliberabantur et

DATA VACANTE [MONOGRAM] CANCELLARIA.

81. Notification by King Louis (IX) of France of his confirmation of the grants made by Louis VII and Philip Augustus, renewing the monks’ quittance from passage money. Amiens, January 1264

A¹ = BL Cotton Charter xvi.47 (formerly Cotton charter Tiberius 4). Mounted, dorse inaccessible. Approx. 278 × 220mm. Originally sealed sur double queue, on cords through 2 holes, foot now fire damaged and cut away. Written in the same hand as A². A² = BL Additional Charter 16355. Endorsed: carta Ludouici reg(is) Francorum nona de centum modiiis vini et omnibus aliis ad usum conuentus pertinenticibus (s.xiii/xiv); v (s.xiii/xiv); various post medieval endorsements including Puttick and Co. 15 July 1863 lot 697 (?Madden, s.xix). On the lower part of the face of the plica: DTP 1811 from the library of Sir Edw(ard) Dering of Surrendon Kent (s.xix, perhaps the ownership mark of the antiquary the Rev. David Thomas Powell c.1773–1848, and presumably referring to the sale of Dering manuscripts from Surrenden at King and Lochée’s Rooms, 3 December 1811, cf. Wright, ‘Sir Edward Dering’, 378n.). Entered in the Puttick and Simpson sale catalogue for 15 July 1865 lot no.677 as ‘From the Dering Collection (former sale)’, in the 1865 sale bought by Boone for £2 2s. Approx. 284 × 173 + 45mm. Sealed sur double queue, pink and green cords through 2 holes, central portion of seal and counterseal impressions in dark green wax. B = CCA ms. Register E fo.34v, s.xiv in. C = Ibid. Register A fos.267v–268r (339v–340r), s.xiv. D = Ibid. F112, copy, s.xv/xvi. E = Ibid. F149, in an inspeximus by Nicholas Hyllington, official of the archdeaconry of Canterbury, 15 September 1514, noting a seal on silk cords. F = AN J655 Anglerterre pièces sans dates no.32, copy of the confirmation by Philip IV below no.82, s.xiii ex. G = Northampton, Northamptonshire Record Office ms. Finch-Hatton 170 (Sir Christopher Hatton’s Book of Seals), copy in facsimile from A¹, noting the endorsement carta Ludouici regis Francorum noni de centum modiis vini et omnibus aliis ad usum comuentus pertinenticibus (s.xiii), and with fine drawing of a seal and counterseal impression in green wax on green and red cords, s.xvii. H = BL ms. Additional 22641 fos.32r–33r, copy from G, s.xix.

Briefly listed but not recited in the abstracts of French royal charters in CCA mss. F108, F109, F110 and F113 (s.xv/xvi). Cf. below no.82, where the present charter is recited in an inspeximus of 1286, itself recited in a further inspeximus of 1322, below no.88.
Issued at the same time as Louis IX’s Mise of Amiens, intended to bring peace between King Henry III and the rebel barons, made in Henry III’s presence at Amiens in January 1264. Almost certainly to be associated with the grant of confraternity and the promise of obit celebrations made to Louis IX and his queen and children, issued at Canterbury by J. the subprior and the convent of Christ Church, today surviving as a sealed original in AN J461 Fondations II no.2215, whence Layettes, iv, 51–2 no.4803, there dated 5 January 1263 but more likely, allowing for a year dated by the incarnation, to be assigned to 4 January 1264. This followed an earlier award, of 1232/3, by which the prior and convent had granted Queen Blanche, Louis IX’s mother, and her immediate family participation in the prayers and masses of their church in recognition of her devotion to St Thomas and the church of Canterbury, undertakings to celebrate the obit of Louis (VIII), her late husband (who had died on 8 November 1226), with all the solemnities reserved for the obit of an archbp of Canterbury, on 31 October each year, the vigil of the feast of All Saints: AN J461 Fondations II no.9, a sealed original, whence calendared but not printed in Layettes, ii, 243 no.2221, and cf. BL ms. Arundel 68 fo.47v for Louis VIII’s obit at Canterbury, in the sixteenth century apparently still being celebrated on 8 November each year. Note the specific reference to the making of the present charter in duplicate ‘propter casus fortuitos’.

Lud(ouicus) Dei gratia Franc(orum) rex notum facimus uniuersis tam presentibus quam futuris quod cum bone memorie Lud(ouicus) rex Franc(orum) pater in clite recordationis reg(is) Ph(ilippi) karissimi aui nostri olim intuitu beatissimi Thome martiris quondam Cantuarien’ archiepiscopi conuentui monachorum in ecclesia ipsius beati Thome martiris Deo seruientium centum modios vini ad mensuram Parisiensem singulis annis tempore vindemiarium in castellaria Pissiaci accipiendos in eleemosinam concesserit ac eisdem indulsit ut de predictis centum modis vini et de omnibus que ad etum et potum suum pertinere sacramento unius seruientis de mandato alicuius monachi de eodem conuentu probari poterunt in omnibus passagiis suis quantum ad ipsum attinet essent omnino liberi et immunes, et postmod(um) idem karissimus auius noster Ph(ilippus) rex Franc(orum) concessionem huiusmodi confirmavit, et nos etiam post predictum auum nostrum donaciones et concessiones predictas voluerimus et concesserimus prout in litteris nostris super hoc confessis vidimus a contineri, nos volentes eidem conuentui ob reuerentiam predicti martiris facere super hiis gratiam ampliorem, concedimus eisdem ut de predictis centum modis vini et de omnibus que ad usum suum pertinere sacramento unius seruientis de mandato alicuius de eodem conuentu monachi ad hoc ab eodem conuentu deputati probari poterunt, in omnibus passagiis nostris quantum ad nos attinet sint omnino liberi et immunes. Hanc autem cartam propter casus fortuitos fecimus duplicari. Quod ut ratum et stabile permaneat in futur(um), presentes litteras sigilli nostri fecimus impressione muniri. Actum Ambian’ anno domini mº.ccº.sexagesimo tercio, mense Januario.

a <vi>dimus A¹, supplied from A² b pro<bari> A¹, supplied from A²
82. Notification by King Philip (IV) of France of his confirmation of no. 81 above.  
Le Château de Lyons-la-Forêt, August 1286

A = BL Additional Charter 15481. Endorsed: *carta Philippi regis Francie de centum modiis vini et omnibus aliis ad usum et esum conuentus pertinentibus* (s.xiv); vi. (s.xiii/xiv); various post medieval endorsements including *lot* 937 (s.xix, i.e. *lot* 937 from the Dering sale of 13 July 1861, whose catalogue records the sale of this item to the dealer Boone, for £3 8s.). Approx. 305 × 230 + 53mm. Fine pen and ink decorations to six capital letters. Sealed *sur double queue*, red and green cords through 2 holes, fine seal and counterseal impressions in dark green wax inside a magnificent silk seal bag in blue and pink stripes with flowers and stars. B = AN J655 Angleterre pièces sans dates no. 32, contemporary copy in an English hand preserved together with a petition to King Philip in French from the Canterbury monks, s.xiii ex. C = CCA ms. register E fos.34v–35r, s.xiv in. D = Ibid. Register A fo.268r (340r), s.xiv. E = Ibid. fo.268r–v (340r–v), s.xiv. F = Ibid. Chartae Antiquae F112, copy, s.xv/xvi. G = Ibid. F149, in an inspeximus by Nicholas Hyllington, official of the archdeaconry of Canterbury, 15 September 1514, noting a seal on silk cords.

Briefly listed but not recited in the abstracts of French royal charters in CCA mss. F108, F109, F110 and F113 (s.xv/xvi).


Ph(ilippus) Dei gratia Francorum rex. Notum facimus uniuersis tam presentibus quam futuris quod nos litteras inclite recordationis Ludouici quondam Francorum regis aui nostri carissimi vidimus in hec verba: (*recites no. 81 above*) Nos vero dictorum antecessorum nostrorum pia sequentes vestigia concedimus predicto conuentui immunitatem in omnibus passagiis nostris quantum ad nos attinet de dictis centum modiis vini et de omnibus que ad usum suum pertinere probati poterunt in forma predicta. Quod ut firmum et stabile perseveret, presentibus litteris nostrum fecimus apponi sigillum. Actum in Castro Leonum anno domini mº.ccº. octogesimo sexto, mense Augusto.

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*Norman Charters from English Sources*
83. Memoranda of the procedures by which the monks of Canterbury obtained their rents from the vineyards of Triel, Chanteloup-les-Vignes (Yvelines, cant. Andrésy) and of the means by which the monks’ local proctor could seek redress from the king of France’s bailli at Poissy, referring to the red wine of Triel reserved for the king of France (cf. above no.80), to the monks’ farming of their vineyards at St-Brice-sous-Forêt (Val-d’Oise, cant. Ecouen) to a local farmer who would render them half his wine as farm, to the proctor’s oversight of the pressing of wine to ensure that it be not adulterated, and to the disruptions caused by the period of war from 1294 to 14 July 1300, when the king of France restored the wine and gave 200 livres tournois as damages and arrears, Prior Henry of Eastry then being present with the king in France.        [c.1300]

B = CCA ms. Register A fo.272v (344v), headed diversa memoranda et alia munimenta de vinis Francie reperta in registris ecclesie Cantuar’, s.xiv.

Printed (part only, in English translation) J.B. Sheppard, ‘A Notice of Some MSS. Selected From the Archives of the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury’, Archaeological Journal, xxxiii (1876), 160–1.

Followed by the recital of nos 84–7 below, in the order 86, 84, 87, 85.

Apud Trielium et Cantuslupi sunt quidam tenentes qui tenent vineas suas de rege Francie reddendo inde annuatim conuentui ecclesie Cristi Cant’ certum redditum siue censum, videlicet certam mensuram vini singuli secundum quantitatem vinearum suarum tempore vindemiarii secundum mensuram Pesciat’, et si aliqui ipsos mensuram vini ipsos contingentem procurator conuentus temporae vindemiarii non soluereint, tunc procurator conuentus non nominat ipsorum scire faciet in script(is) balliuo reg(is) Franc(ie) apud Pesciat’, et idem balliuus statim iusticiabit omnes qui in arrerag(iis) fuerint per graues districtiones quousque huiusmodi arrerag(ia) procuratori conuentus plenarie persoluerint, et pro transgressione iniuste detentionis emendas ab eis capiet.

Item apud Triel rex habet unum claustrum vinee et continet quatuor arpent’, et istam vineam tenet quedam mulier de Pesciaco, reddendo inde annuatim ad opus reg(is) ad celar(ium) reg(is) de Pesciaco medietatem totius vini rubei dicte vine, et alia medietas vini rubei remanebit penes ipsam pro cultura vinee, et de eodem clauso reg(is) reddet dicta mulier procuratori conuentus ecclesie Cristi Cantuar’ medietatem totius albi vini eiusdem vinee, et alia medietas vini albi remanebit penes ipsam pro cultura vinee.

Et memorandum quod collectis et receptis vinis predictis, procurator conuentus ecclesie Cristi Cantuar’ ibit ad ball(iuu)m de Pesciaco et iurabit
quantum recepit de vino tam de redditu Trieli et Cantuslupi quam de predicto clauso reg(is), et quantum defuerit de centum modis vini, idem balliuus statim liberabit dicto procuratori de celario reg(is) apud Pesciacum.

Apud Sanctum Bricium habet conuentus ecclesie Christi Cantuar’ duas pecias vinee que continent circiter unam arpentam et dimid(iam), quarum una pecia continet in longitudine x. perticatas et in latitudine viii. perticatas, et altera pecia continet in longitudine septemdecim perticatas et in latitudin(e) quinque perticatas, et sunt dicte vinee ex parte australi ville sancti Bricii distantes a villa circiter tres quarentenas, et traditur dicta vinea per procuratores conuentus supradiicti Cantuar’ singulis annis ad firmam aliquando unii aliquando alteri, reddendo inde annuatim medietatem totius vini inde prouenient(is), et alia medietas remanebit firmario pro cultura vinee et omnimod(is) aliiis expens(is) suis.

Et memorandum quod tenentes predicti tam de Trielo et Cantilupi quam clauo reg(is) ac etiam firmarius conuentus apud Sanctum Bricium non debent fullar(e) vina sua nisi per visum procuratoris conuentus, ne forte apponenter aquam vel facerent deterius vinum ad opus conuentus quam ad opus proprium.

Item memorandum quod una arpenata vini quando vinum com(muni)ter se habet respondebit de octo modis vini, et aliquando de sex, et aliquando de decem.

Et memorandum quod anno domini millesimo cc. mo nonagesimo quarto, orta guerra inter regem Angl(ie) et Franc(ie) pro terra Vascon’, rex Franc(ie) cepit in manu sua omnia vina nostra ac etiam omnia bona omnium Anglicorum que habebant in regno Franc(ie).

Postea anno domini millesimo ccc. mo, ii. Idus Iulii, rex Franc(ie) restituit conuentui omnia vina et alia bona sua que priers ceperat in manum suam, et dedit conuentui cc. libras Turonens(es) pro dampnis et arrerag(iis) suis, et super hoc concessit ei litteras suas tenorem qui sequitur continentes, Henr(ico) de Estria, priore ecclesie Christi Cantuar’ tunc in Franc(ia) coram rege presente.

84. Mandate from King Philip (IV) to his treasurers at Paris to pay 200 livres tournois to the prior and convent of Christ Church for four years’ arrears of wine owing from Poissy, Triel and St-Brice-sous-Forêt (Val-d’Oise, cant. Ecouen). Arrabloy, 13 July 1300

B = CCA ms. Register A fo.273r (345r), s.xiv.

The king’s appearance here at Arrabloy (Loiret, cant. Gien) supplies an addition to the king’s published itinerary.
85. Mandate from King Philip (IV) to his keepers of lands and ports to grant safe conduct to the prior of Christ Church travelling to England with his household, horses, silver vessels and other possessions.

Arrabloy, 13 July 1300

B = CCA ms. Register A fo.273r (345r), s.xiv, headed et quia inhibitum fuit per totum regnum Anglie et Franc(i) ne aliquis extra regna predicta duceret vel mitteret aurum vel argentum, vasa vel localia, aurea vel argentea sine speciali licentia regum predictorum, dominus rex Franc(i) concessit priori qui tunc temporis cum ipso rege erat in Franc(i)a pro negotiis predictis litteras suas patentes de saluo conductu in forma sequenti.

Philippus etc omnibus iusticiar(iis) et custodibus districtuum et portuum regni nostri ad quos presentes littere peruenerint salutem. Mandamus vobis et vestrum cuilibet quatinus prior ecclesie Cristi Cantuar’ ad partes Anglie proficiente cum familia, equis, vessalamentis argenti et aliis rebus suis per loca et districtus nostros permittat(is) saluo et secur(e) ac libere pertransire, nullum ei impedimentum quomodolibet inferentes. Act’ apud Arralablenum die mercur(ii) post festum translationis Sancti Benedicti anno domini millesimo ccc.mo

86. Mandate from King Philip (IV) to his prévôt of Paris to release all wine owed to the prior and convent of Christ Church at Poissy and Triel and all possessions at St-Brice-sous-Forêt (Val-d’Oise, cant. Ecouen).

Saint-Ay, 14 July 1300

B = CCA ms. Register A fo.273r (345r), s.xiv, headed In regno Francie.

For Philip IV’s presence at Saint-Ay (Loiret, cant. Meung-sur-Loire), see Itinéraire de Philippe IV le Bel (1285–1314), ed. E. Lalou, 2 vols (Paris 2007), ii, 175.
Philippus Dei gratia rex Francorum preposito nostro Paris’ salutem. Mandamus tibi quatinus priori et conuentui ecclesie Cristi Cantuar’ vel eorum mandato omnia vina que ex concessione predecessorum nostrorum regum Franc(ie) apud Pesciacum et Trielum habent et habere consueuerunt et percipere prout in cartis inde confectis videbis plenius contineri necnon ea omnia que habent apud Sanctum Bricium ac quandam domum isporum sitam apud Trielum sine dilatatione et difficultate et quocumque impedimento ammoto facias liberare et ipsos predictorum possessione gaudere. Act’ apud Sanctum Agilum, die Iouis proxima post translationem sancti Benedicti anno domini millesimo ccc.mo

87. Notification from William Thibout, keeper of the prévôté of Paris, to his bailiff at Poissy of his receipt of letters of King Philip (IV), above no.86, ordering the bailiff to comply with the king’s orders.

18 July 1300

For William Thibout inspecting Louis IX’s confirmation of the Canterbury wine on the same day as the issue of the present letters, see above no.80 text F.

Gwillelmus Thibout garden de la prevost de Parys au suz bailliff de Pessi salucz. Nous vous fasmus a savoyr k(e) nous avoums receves le lettres nostre seygnur le roy de Fraunce en la furme k(e) seuusyt: Philippus Dei gratia etc, par la vertw des quels lettres desus dites nous vous mandums et comaundums ke vous totes les choses desus dites bailes e diliueres saunz delay au dit priour ou a soun certeyn comaundemen en la fourme e en la maner(e) contenu en dites lettres, car nous sumes certeyns des privileges k(e) il ont de nostr(e) seygnur le roy et de devanciers sur ceo entervoigne de ceo nous avoms mis en cestes lettres le seal de la prevoste de Parys le an de grase mil ccc. le lundi davant la Maudeleyne par le temoygne Huitace Pasee.

88. Notification by King Charles (IV) of France of his confirmation of no.82 above.

La Tour-du-Grain-en-Valois (Oise, cant. Betz, com. Gondreville), June 1322

A = BL Additional Charter 15482. Endorsed: carta Karoli reg(is) Franc(ie) de centum modiis vini et omnibus aliis ad usum conuentus pertinentibus (s.xiv); registratur (s.xiv, perhaps from the French royal chancery); xiii. (s.xiv); registrata est (s.xiv).
Acquired at the Dering sale of 13 July 1861 lot 938, with the catalogue recording the sale of this item to the dealer Boone, for 13s. On the front of the plica, at the left hand side contemporary with the writing of the document \textit{facta est collatio soluit v. s(olidos),} on the right hand side \textit{per dominum regem ad relationem domini Alberti de Roya z. Maillardus.} Approx. 398 \times 195 \pm 45\text{mm}. Sealed \textit{sur double queue,} pink and green cords through 2 holes, seal and counterseal impressions in brown wax painted green. B = AN JJ61 (Register of Charles IV) fo.36v no.97, s.xiv in. C = CCA ms. Register E fo.35r, s.xiv in. D = Ibid. Register A fo.271r–v (343r–v), s.xiv. E = Ibid. Register L fo.97r–v (93r–v), s.xiv med. F = Ibid. Chartae Antiquae F112, copy, s.xv/xvi. G = Ibid. F149, in an inspeximus by Nicholas Hyllington, official of the archdeaconry of Canterbury, 15 September 1514, noting a seal on silk cords.

Briefly listed but not recited in the abstracts of French royal charters in CCA mss. F108, F109, F110 and F113 (s.xv/xvi).


For the petitioning from which the present charter resulted, see \textit{Lit. Cant.}, i, 62–7 nos 62–71.

89. Notification (in French) by Louis (XI) king of France, at the supplication of the prior and convent of St Thomas of Canterbury in England, recording that many of the king’s progenitors and predecessors, kings of France, in honour of St Thomas, granted or confirmed 100 measures of wine by the measure of Paris, payable from the châtellenie of Poissy and other places, which gift the prior and convent long enjoyed until war between the kings of France and England disturbed these arrangements, so that the places from which the wine was paid were ruined and no wine could be had from them. Out of devotion for St Thomas of Canterbury, the king hereby reassigns the wine to be paid from his lands of the Bordelais and Gascony (‘Bourdelois et Gascongne’) payable each year at the time of vintage (‘la saison de vandenges’), free from all toll or subsidies, commanding his officials and treasurers to ensure annual payment at Bordeaux and to account for the same in their account to the officers of the king’s chamber.

Arras, 14 April 1478

For the petitioning from which the present charter emerged, including the promise of spiritual benefits, see Lit. Cant., iii, 292–4 no.1085; Christ Church Letters, ed. Sheppard, 33–4 no.30. Accompanied or followed by further letters (all in French): Chartae Antiquae F145/2, from the king’s officers of account at Paris, acknowledging receipt of the king’s grant and commanding the Exchequer at Bordeaux to implement the king’s command, given at Paris, 24 April 1479 after Easter; Ibid. F145/3, from Louis (XI) ordering his treasurers to implement the order of 1478, given at La Motte d’Égry (‘La Motte de Gry’) (Loiret, cant. Beaune-la-Rolande, com. Égry), 9 July
1480, sealed *sur simple queue*, seal impression missing; Ibid. F145/4, from the king’s treasurers commanding the Exchequer at Bordeaux to implement the king’s command, given at Briare (‘Briawre prez La Motte de Gry’) (Loiret, cant. et com. Briare), 10 July 1480; Ibid. F145/5, from the king’s general councillors, consenting to the grant of 1478, 10 July 1480, sealed *en placard* with a small round red seal. The whole now filed together with the original grant by Louis XI (Chartae Antiquae F145/1) and sealed with a round seal impression in white wax, showing a shield with the fleur de lys under a crown. Further mentioned in letters of Edward (IV), at Westminster 21 October 1482, which note Louis’ award and allow the prior and convent to bring into England 33 doles of wine from the Bordelais and Gascony free from all custom and subsidy (CCA ms. Chartae Antiquae F148, a fine sealed original letters patent, enrolled as CPR 1476–85, 328, and endorsed with a note that it was also enrolled in the Exchequer Memoranda Roll, now TNA E 368/255 (LTR Memoranda Roll 22 Edward IV) Michaelmas recorda rot.10). I am indebted to Elisabeth Lalou for the identification of various place names here, and to Adrian Jobson for the Memoranda Roll reference.

90. Notification by Pope Innocent (III) addressed to the prior and convent of Christ Church, confirming the 100 measures of wine granted by the late King Louis (VII) of France.

Lateran, 3 May 1200

B = CCA ms. Register A fo.271v (343v), headed *confirmatio domini Alexandri pape de c. modii vini*, s.xiv.


For the commemoration of the obit of Pope Innocent III at Canterbury on 16 July each year, see BL ms. Arundel 68 fos.34v–35r.

91. Notification by King Henry (II) of England of his grant of quittance from any custom payable on the transport of the 100 measures of wine granted by King Louis (VII) of France in honour of St Thomas.

Marlborough [August 1179 X September 1181, ?August 1179 X April 1180]

A = Canterbury Cathedral Library ms. Chartae Antiquae F138. Endorsed: *Carta H. regis (Angl’ s.xiii) de quitancia vini* (s.xii/xiii); *XXIII* (s.xii/xiii); various post medieval endorsements. Approx. 145 × 150 + 28mm. Sealed *sur double queue, repli redouble*,
Norman Charters from English Sources

parchment tag through 3 slits, seal impression in natural wax, varnished reddish brown, much perished. B = Ibid. F111, copy s.xv. C = Ibid. Register A fo.272r (344r), s.xiii ex. D = Ibid. Register E fo.38r no.33, s.xiii ex.

Printed (facsimile from A) F. Barlow, Thomas Becket (London 1986), plate 41; (calendar from A) BEC, Ixix (1908), 569 no.97; Acta of Henry II and Richard I, ed. J.C. Holt and R. Mortimer, List and Index Society Special Series xxi (1986), 57 no.70. T.A.M. Bishop, Scriptores Regis (Oxford 1961), no.132 and plate 35, identifies the writer as chancery scribe XLII.

After Louis’ pilgrimage of 22–26 August 1179, during which he was entertained by Henry II, and during which his grant was made: Howden, Gesta, i, 241; Gervase, i, 293; Gerald of Wales, Expugnatio Hibernica, ed. A.B. Scott and F.X. Martin (Dublin 1978), 222–3. Before the nomination of John Cumin as archbp of Dublin (6 September 1181). Probably in the immediate aftermath of Louis’ pilgrimage, before the king’s departure for France in April 1180. For a quittance of £32 owing from the monks’ wine at Rouen for the two years 1178–80, made per breue regis, see MRSN, i, 71. For the obit celebrations offered at Canterbury for the soul of Henry II on 6 July (the octave of SS Peter and Paul) each year, see BL ms. Arundel 68 fo.33r (31r).

H(enricus) Dei gratia rex Angl(orum) et dux Norm(anorum) et Aquit(anorum) et comes And(egauorum) com(itibus), baronibus, iustic(iis), vic(ecomitibus), prepositis et omnibus ministriis et balliuis suis totius terre sue salutem. Sciatis me pro dei amore et beati thome martiris concessisse monachis sancte trinitatis Cantuar’ ut habeant quietantiam per totam terram meam ducendi libere et quieta centum modios vini quos dominus L(udouicus) rex Franc’ dedit annuatim in perpetuam elemosinam Deo et beato Thome martiri et prefatis monachis, et ideo vobis prohibeo ne ab eis vel eorum seruientibus vinum illud ducentibus ullam inde consuetudinem exigatis vel exigi permittatis nec eos aliquo modo inde disturbetis. T(estibus) Godefr(ido) de Luci, Nicol(ao) capellano, Ioh(ann)e Cumin, Rog(ero) Bigoto, Regin(aldo) de Pauilli apud Merlebergam.

92. Notification by Richard (I) King of England of his grant of quittance from any custom payable on the transport of the 100 measures of wine granted by King Louis (VII) in honour of St Thomas.

Geddington, 17 September 1189

A = CCA ms Chartae Antiquae F93. Endorsed: carta regis Ric(ardi) de quietantia (s.xiii); xxvi. (s.xiii); various post medieval endorsements. Approx. 215 × 80 + 22mm. Sealed sur double queue, parchment tag through 3 slits, fragment from lower half of seal impression in natural wax varnished reddish brown. Badly damp damaged and illegible on folds and at right hand side, letters in brackets <> below supplied from B. B = Ibid. Register E fo.38r, s.xiv in. C = Ibid. Register A fo.272r (344r), s.xiv. D = Ibid. F111, copy, s.xv.
Norman Charters from English Sources


For the obit celebrations offered at Canterbury for the soul of Richard I on 6 April each year, see BL ms. Arundel 68 fo.23r (21r).

Ric(ardus) Dei gratia rex Ang(lorum), dux <Norn>an(norum) et Aquit(anorum) et com(es) Andeg(auorum) comitibus, baroni<bus>, iustic(iis), vicecom(itibus), prepositis et> omnibus ministris et balliuis suis tot<ius terre> sue salutem. Sciatis nos pro Dei amore et beati T<home martyris concessisse> monachis sancte Trinitatis Cant’ <ut h>abeant quietantiam per totam terram nostram <di libere et quiete centum modios> vini quos dominus <Lu>do<wycus> rex <Francorum> dedit annuatem in perpetuam elemosinam Deo et <beato Thome martiri et prefatis> monachis, et ideo <vobis> prohibemus ne <ab ei>s vel eorum seruientibus vinum illud ducentibus ul<lam inde consuetudinem exigas> vel exigi permittatis nec eos a<liquo> modo inde disturbetes. Test(ibus) Walterio Rothom’ <archiepiscopo, Regin(aldo) Bathon’>, Ioh(anne) Norwic’, Gileb(erto) Roffen’ e<piscopis, Ric(ard)o> London’, Godefr(ido) Winton’, Hub(erto) Sar’ electis, <roberto comite Leycestr’, Willelmo> de Manda<uill’> com(ite) Exessie, Rann(ulfo) de Glanuill’. Dat’ per manum Willeimi de Long<o Campo cancellari> nostri, anno> primo regni nostri, xvii. die Septembris(is) apud Gaidinton’.

93. Notification by King John of England of his grant to the monks of Christ Church Canterbury of perpetual quittance from ‘modiatio’ and all other customs for the 100 measures of wine given by the king of France.

L’Ille-d’Andely, 21 October 1201

A = CCA ms. Chartae Antiquae F95. Endorsed: carta regis Ioh(ann)is de c. modiis vini (s.xiii); reg(is) Anglie (s.xiii/xiv); xvii. (s.xiii); xv (?s.xvi); various post medieval endorsements. Approx. 227 × 102 + 47mm. Sealed sur double queue, green silk cords through 3 holes, seal impression in natural wax varnished reddish brown. B = Ibid. Register E fo.38r–v, s.xiv in. C = Ibid. Register A fo.272r (344r), copy from A, s.xiv. D = Ibid. F111, copy, s.xv.

For the obit celebrations offered at Canterbury for the soul of King John on 18 October each year, see BL ms. Cotton Nero C ix fo.14r, whence Fleming, ‘Christchurch’s Sisters and Brothers’, 143.

Iohannes Dei gratia rex Angli(e), dominus Hybernie, dux Norm(annie), Aquit(anie), com(es) Andeg(auie) archiepiscopis, episcopis, abbatibus, comit(ibus), baron(ibus), iustic(iis), vic(ecomitibus), prepositis, ministris et
omnibus ball(iu)is et fidelibus suis salutem. Sciatis nos intuitu Dei et ob reuerentiam beati Thome martyris et pro salute anime nostre et animarum antecessorum et successorum nostrorum concessisse et hac carta nostra confirmasse ecclesie Cristi Cantuar’ et monachis ibidem Deo seruientibus quod centum modii vini quos rex Franc(ie) eis dedit sint quieti in perpetuum de modiatione et omni alia consuetudine ad nos pertinente ubicumque deuenerint in potestatem nostram. Testibus Will(elm)o maresc(allo) comite de Penbroc, Hugon(e) de Gornaco, Roberto de Harecort, Ioh(ann)e de Pratell’, Gyrard(o) de Forniuall’. Dat’ per manum Sym(onis) archidiaconi Wellen’ apud Insulam Andeliac’ xxi. die Octobr(is) anno regni nostri tertio.

94. Notification by Eustace count of Boulogne, and Baldwin his brother, of their grant to Christ Church Canterbury of quittance from toll at Wissant (Pas-de-Calais, cant. Marquise) for all the church’s business, so that the monks and their men may freely cross, made for the souls of Eustace and Baldwin and of their father and mother and placed on the altar of Christ. [1093 X 1096, ?REWORKED]

A = CCA ms. Chartae Antiquae F130. Endorsed: carta Eustachii comitis Bolonie de libertate thelonei de Witsando (s.xiii); xiii. (s.xiii); various post medieval endorsements. Approx. 129 × 78mm. Sealed sur simple queue, tongue below wrapping tie, seal impression in natural wax varnished brown, an equestrian figure facing to the left, legend defaced. B = Ibid. Register E fo.37r, s.xiv. C = Ibid. Register A fo.270r (342r), s.xiv. D = Ibid. Chartae Antiquae F111, copy, s.xiv ex.


After Eustace’s succession as count of Boulogne, but before the departure of Baldwin for the First Crusade, following which he became first king of Jerusalem (1100–1118). Although in theory issued nearly thirty years before no.96 below, written in the same or a very similar book hand, presumably of the Canterbury scriptorium, suggesting that the present charter was remade or recopied at the time that no.96 was issued in confirmation. Note that the text itself is written as a narrative notice in the third person plural, rather than as a charter in the first person singular or plural, as in no.96 below. Nonetheless, the witness list is unobjectionable, and the final clause, guaranteeing the gift whether there be peace or war between the king of England and the count of Boulogne, although rehearsed in the confirmation (no.96), might much better suit a date in the late eleventh than the mid twelfth century.

Eustachius comes Boloniensis et Baldeuinus frater eius dederunt ecclesie Cristi Cantuariensi theloneum de Witsando de omni negotio quod ad ecclesiam pertinet, ita ut monachi eiusdem ecclesie et homines eorum
libere et secure transeant et redeant absque omni impedimento omni tempore, et hoc donum dederunt pro anima patris et matris sue et animabus eorum. Quod donum ut stabile esset propriis litteris proprio sigillo sigillatis confirmanuerunt et super altare Cristi posuerunt. Teste Haimone dapifero et Gosfredo dap(ifero) de Parentit et Winimero constabul(ari)o et Willemo nepote euisdem comitis et Egelbode de Witsando cum multis alis, et ista donatio rata erit semper siue pax sit siue discordia inter regem Anglie et comitem ipsius terre.

95. Notification by Robert (II) count of Flanders that the monks of Christ Church have his peace and protection throughout his land in transacting their business, quit from all disturbance or toll.

[1093 X 1111]

During Robert II’s years as count. Note that unlike the contemporary exemptions granted by the counts of Boulogne, which are presented as narrative notices in the third person, the present text, although written in a book hand quite possibly of the Canterbury scriptorium, is composed as a dispositive act in the first person singular. Jean-François Nieuws assures me that the seal and the vocabulary are entirely consistent with authenticity. For Robert’s years as count, and for his absence on Crusade from 1096 to 1100, see Actes des comtes de Flandre 1071–1128, ed. F. Vercauteren (Brussels 1938), esp. pp.xvi–xvii, with notes on his seal at pp.cv–cvi.

Robertus comes <Flandrens’ omnibus fidelibus et ministris suis salutem. Mando et precipio vobis ut> monachi ecclesie Cristi Cantuariensis et homines eorum habeant meam pacem et tuitionem per totam meam terram ad facienda negocia sua de quacunque re indiguerint et quieti et absque perturbatione sint et de> teloneo quantum <ad me pertinet. Valet(e)>.
96. Notification by Stephen (of Blois), count of Boulogne, and by the countess Matilda, his wife, of their grant of quittance from toll payable at Wissant as in no.94 above.

[1125 X 1135, ?REWORKED]

A = CCA ms. Chartae Antiquae F129. Endorsed: carta St(ephani) comitis Bolonie ut homines nostri liberi sint a theloneo de Withsant (s.xiii); xv. (s.xiii); various post medieval endorsements. Approx. 197 × 98mm. Sealed sur simple queue, on a tongue cut at right angles to the left hand margin of the document, with step and wrapping tie at left hand of foot. Seal impression, round, natural wax varnished brown, equestrian figure, upper part missing, legend ..........OLONIE ET MO..., presumably the seal used by Stephen as count of Boulogne and Mortain, before 1135. Two holes on the front of the document, certain missing letters replaced within brackets below from C. B = Ibid. F102, in an inspeximus by R(oger) abbot of St Augustine’s, H(ugh) prior of St Gregory’s and R. (rural) dean of Canterbury, damaged and illegible in part, 1264/5. C = Ibid. Register E fo.37r–v, s.xiv. D = Ibid. Register A fo.270r–v (342r), s.xiv. E = Ibid. Chartae Antiquae F111, copy, s.xiv ex.


After the succession of Stephen as count of Boulogne, but before his coronation as king of England. Like no.94, which is written in the same or a very similar book hand, a narrative notice in the third person plural, rather than a first person charter text as one would expect. For the obit celebrations for Stephen, as king of England, celebrated at Canterbury on 25 October each year, see BL ms. Cotton Nero C ix fo.14v, whence Fleming, ‘Christchurch’s Sisters and Brothers’, 143.

Stephanus comes Boloniensis et comitissa Mathildis coniunx videlicet eius dederunt ecclesie Cristi Cantuariensi thelon<em de Wy>tsando de omni negotio quod ad ecclesiam pertinet, ita ut monachi eiusdem ecclesie et homines eorum libere et secure transeant et redeant absque omni impedimento omni tempore, et hoc donum dederunt pro animabus suis et pro animabus patrum et matrum suorum. Quod donum ut stabile esset propriis litteris proprio sigillo sigillatis confirmauerunt et super altare Cristi posuerunt. Donatio autem ista rata semper erit siue pax siue discordia inter regem Anglorum et comitem ipsius terre. Test(ibus) Roberto de Creuequur et Willelmo filio Ric(ardi) et Hugone filio Fulb(erti) et mult(is) alis.
97. Notification by Matthew count of Boulogne to his ministers at Wissant, Boulogne and Nieulay that in honour of St Thomas and for the souls of himself, his wife and heirs he has granted his brothers of Christ Church quittance from toll taken on their goods at Wissant, Boulogne and Nieulay.

[1171 X 1173]

A¹ = CCA ms. Chartae Antiquae F132. Endorsed: *carta Mathei comitis de theloneo* <de> Witsando, Bolonia et Niwene (s.xiii); xvi. (s.xiii); various post medieval endorsements. Approx. 170 × 178 + 13mm. Sealed *sur double queue*, tag through single slit, seal impression, round, natural wax varnished brown, an equestrian figure with full helmet facing to the right, a device (?a lion rampant) on the shield held in the figure’s left hand, legend: ..........COM.......... A² = Lost, formerly Cotton Charter Vitellius B.xiii, assumed burned in the Cotton fire of 1731. B = CCA ms. Chartae Antiquae F102, in an inspeximus by R(oger) abbot of St Augustine’s, H(ugh) prior of St Gregory’s and R. (rural) dean of Canterbury, damaged and illegible in part, 1264/5. C = Ibid. Register E fo.37v, s.xiv. D = Ibid. Register A fo.270v (342r), s.xiv. E = Ibid. Register L fo.97v (93v), s.xiv med. F = Ibid. Chartae Antiquae F111, copy, s.xiv ex.

After the martyrdom of Thomas Becket but before the death of Count Matthew, fighting against Henry II in the great rebellion of 1173. Count Matthew is referred to in passing by William of Canterbury as a visitor to the shrine of Becket at Canterbury: *MTB*, i, 264. For the identification of ‘Niwene’ as Nieulay, the embryonic form of the later port of Calais, now the site of the Fort-Nieulay within the modern port (Pas-de-Calais, cant. et com. Calais), I am indebted to Jean-François Nieus, and cf. F. Lennel, *Calais des origines à la domination anglaise* (Calais 1908), 3, 11. Note the reference to the monks of Canterbury as ‘my brothers’, suggesting some sort of confraternity agreement.

Math(eu)s comes Bolonie omnibus hominibus et ministris suis de Witsando et Bolonia et Niwene tam presentibus quam postfuturis salutem. Sciatiss quod ego comes Math(eu)s pro honore Dei et beati Thome archiepiscopi Cantuariensis et gloriosi martiris et pro salute anime mee et uxoris mee et heredum meorum perdonaui fratribus meis monachis scilicet conuentui ecclesie Cristi Cantuarius in perpetuum theloneum et omnes consuetudines que exigi solent in Witsando vel Bolonia vel Niewene a transeuntibus. Volo (er)go et precicio ut ipsi et nuntii et omnes seruientes eorum liberi sint et quieti a me et ab omnibus heredibus meis in perpetuum a theloneo siue pedagio siue omni alia consuetudine et prohibeo ut nullus hominum vel ministrorum meorum eos pro hac re vexare presumat. T(estibus) Arnulf de Caio, Rogerio de Gauchin, Gileberto de Munfichet, Henrico de Chaumunt, Ysaac de Estru, Thomas de Aurenches, Alulfo de Boctune, Anselmo de Hesdein et aliis pluribus.
98. **Notification by Philip (of Alsace) count of Flanders and Vermandois to his bailiffs of Wissant, Boulogne and Nieulay of his grant of quittance from toll and pedage for the monks of Canterbury and their goods as granted by Matthew his brother (above no.97).**

[1173 X 1181, ?April 1177 or August 1179]

A = BL ms. Additional Charter 16200. Endorsed: *carta Philippi com(itis) Flandrie de theloneo et padagio* (s.xii/xiii); xxvii. (s.xiii); *purchased at Puttick’s 17 July 1863 lot 562 (s.xix, Madden). Approx. 133 × 38mm. Sealed *sur simple queue*, tongue torn away. Damaged and illegible in parts, supplied from B below within brackets. Almost certainly the charter of Philip count of Flanders offered in the Dering sale at Puttick and Simpson’s, 7 February 1863 lot no.1152, marked in the BL copy of the sale catalogue as sold to ‘Darcy’ for 3s. Offered for sale again at Puttick and Simpson’s 17 July that year, as from ‘the collection of manuscripts of a well-known collector in the West of England’, lot no.562, sold to Boone for the hardly princely price of 1s. B = CCA ms. Register E fo.37v, s.xiv. C = Ibid. Register A fo.270v (342v), s.xiv. D = Ibid. Chartae Antiquae F111, copy, s.xiv ex.


After no.97 above, but during Philip’s years as count of Flanders, apparently at a time when Philip had control over the county of Boulogne, so after 1173 and before 1181, perhaps at the time of Count Philip’s own pilgrimage to Canterbury, accomplished following a sailing from Wissant in April 1177, prior to the count’s departure for crusade, or during Louis VII’s pilgrimage in 1179, when the count of Flanders is said to have been in attendance at Canterbury, or in August 1184 when he is said to have conducted the archbishop of Cologne as a pilgrim to Becket’s shrine: Howden, *Gesta*, i, 158–9; Gerald of Wales, *Expugnatio Hibernica*, ed. A.B. Scott and F.X. Martin (Dublin 1978), 222–3; *Gervase*, i, 262, 313. For a candle of his own weight vowed by Count Philip to the Premonstratensians of Dommartin (Pas-de-Calais, cant. Hesdin, com. Tortefontaine, alias St-Josse-au-Bois), in thanks for a miracle worked by relics of St Thomas there, leading to the count’s recovery from a secret illness, see T. Stapleton, *Tres Thomae seu res gestae S. Thomae apostoli, S. Thomae archiepiscopi Cantuariensis et martyris, Thomae Mori Angliae quondam cancellarii* (Douai 1588), 147–8 no.63, whence 2nd ed. (Cologne 1612), 128 no.63, whence *Anecdota Bedae, Lanfranci et aliorum*, ed. J.A. Giles (London 1851), 157–8 no.63. According to Charles du Canda (prior of Dommartin), *La Vie de S. Thomas archevesque de Cantorbie* (St-Omer 1615), 270–1 nos 60–1, supplying a less bowdlerized version in French, the illness was haemorrhoids, and the count’s gifts included not just a candle but the count’s war horse, sword, lance and harness, and a sum of money, King Philip (Augustus) of France being cured of the same illness through the merits of St Thomas. For Count Philip’s role as an ally to the monks of Canterbury during their great dispute with Archbishop Baldwin after 1186, see *Epistolae Cantuarienses*, ed. W. Stubbs, Rolls Series (London 1865), 156–7 no.178, 314 no.328. The present charter is not the only English charter of the count. At some time before his death, Philip also confirmed a grant by Count Matthew, his late brother, to the Fontevraudist nuns.
at Westwood (Worcestershire), of a chapel dedicated to St Nicholas at Droitwich, also
confirmed by Ida countess of Boulogne as Matthew’s daughter: BL ms. Cotton Vespasian
E ix (Westwood cartulary) fos.5v–6r, whence Monasticon, vi, 1006–7 nos 17–19; De
Oorkonden, ed. De Hemptinne and Verhulst, 55 no.553 (1173 X 1180).

Ph(illippus) Flandr’ et Virom’ comes balliuiis suis de Witsando, Bolonia
et Niwena salutem. Mando vob(is) et precipio ut monachos et ministros
ecclesie sancte Trinitatis Cantuarensis euntes et redeuntes dimmitatis
liberos <ab> omni exactione thelonei et pedagii sicut confirmatum est eis
si<gillo c>omitis Mathei fratris mei, et sicut vos ipsos diligitis, ultra <hoc
nichil> de<ce>tero ab eis exigere presumatis.

99. Mandate from Philip (of Alsace) count of Flanders and
Vermandois to R. Lupus and his other bailiffs at Wissant that they
are to take no customs from the bearers of the present letters but are
to grant them free passage, promising the count’s favour to all who
grant or encourage others to grant alms to the church of Canterbury.
[1173 X 1181, ?April 1177 or August 1179]

A = CCA ms. Chartae Antiquae F118. Apparently in the same hand as no.98 above.
Endorsed: breue Phil’ com(itis) Fland’ de teloneo de Witsand (s.xiii); xviii. (s.xiii);
various post medieval endorsements. Approx. 147 × 47mm. Sealed sur simple queue,
step for tongue, tongue and seal impression torn away. B = Ibid. Register E fo.37v,
s.xiv. C = Ibid. Register A fo.270v (342r), s.xiv. D = Ibid. Chartae Antiquae F111, copy,
s.xiv/xv.

Pd (from ABC) De Oorkonden der Graven van Vlaanderen (juli 1128 – september
1191: II. Uitgave – band III. Regering van Filips van de Elzas (Tweede deel: 1178–
1191), ed. T. de Hemptinne and A. Verhulst, Recueil des actes des princes belges vi
(Brussels 2009), 24–5 no.533.

Date as above no.98.

Ph(illippus) Flandr’ et Viromand’ com(es) R. Lupo et aliis balliuiis suis
de Widsand salutem. Precipio et volo ut a presentium latoribus nich(il)
consuetudinis exigatis, sed euntes et redeuntes liberum et quietum transitum
inueniat. Scias etiam quod plurimum mi(chi) placebit et loco et tempore
grates eis referam qui ad opus sancte Trinitatis Cantuar’ ecclesie auxilium
et consilium impendent vel elemosinas suas illuc mittendo vel alios ad id
faciendum salubri ammonitione excitando. Val(et)e.
100. Notification by Gazo (V) de Poissy of his grant made in the chapter house at Canterbury, for love of God, the Blessed Virgin Mary and St Thomas and for the souls of himself and his wife and sons, of quittance at Mantes (Yvelines) and Maisons-Laffitte (Yvelines) for a boat belonging to St Thomas carrying wine and other purchases, save for the tithe payable to the monks of Notre-Dame de Coulombs (Eure-et-Loire, cant. Nogent-le-Roi), and save for a knife without silver or gold (‘knulpulum sine auro et argento’) payable to his bailiff at Mantes and another to his bailiff at Maisons.

[1179 X 1189]

A1 = CCA ms. Chartae Antiquae F115. In what could be an English hand. Endorsed: carta Gaze de Peisi de quietantia vini apud Maante et Maisuns (s.xiii); iii. (s.xiii); triplex (s.xv); various post medieval endorsements. Approx. 200 × 63 + 14mm. Sealed sur double queue, parchment tag through a single slit, central portion of seal impression in natural wax varnished brown, single sided, equestrian with sword in right hand, facing to the right, legend lost. A2 = Ibid. F120. In a French hand, distinct from that of A1. Endorsed: Gace de Peissi de transitu vini (s.xii/xiii); iiiii. (s.xiii); triplex (s.xv); various post medieval endorsements. Approx. 132 × 56 + 25mm. Sealed sur double queue, single slit, seal impression missing. A3 = Ibid. F136. Written in the same hand as A2. Endorsed: Gace de Peisi de quietantia vini (s.xii/xiii); iii. (s.xiii); various post medieval endorsements. Approx. 132 × 65 + 20mm. Sealed sur double queue, thin parchment tag through a single slit, seal impression, single sided, round brown wax, equestrian as in A1, legend: S.............CO. B = Ibid. Register E fo.36r, s.xiv. C = Ibid. Register A fo.269r (341r), s.xiv. D = Ibid. Chartae Antiquae F111, copy, s.xiv ex.

Almost certainly after the grant made by Louis VII in 1179 (above no.77). For Gazo (V) de Poissy fl.1182, lord of Maisons-sur-Seine (now Maisons-Laffitte) and his claims, renounced after investigation by the king of France, to levy tolls at Mantes on the ships of the monks of St-Wandrille as an agent of the count of Meulan 1166 X 1178, who died, apparently on the Third Crusade, in August 1189, see Cartulaire de l’abbaye de Saint-Martin de Pontoise, ed. J. Depoin (Pontoise 1895-1901), 436–8; Power, Norman Frontier, 96, noting a further renunciation of tolls at Mantes in favour of the monks of Jumièges issued in 1182 before King Philip Augustus by Gazo and Jaqueline his wife, in all probability a daughter of the late vicomte of Mantes. For Gerard de Fournival (Oise, cant. St-Just-en-Chaussée), see Ibid., 358n. For the Benedictine priory of La Madeleine (at Villarceaux, Val-d’Oise, com. Chaussy), founded by William Mauvoisin (father of the donor of no.109 below) as a daughter house of the abbey of Coulombs, see GC, viii, instr. 328. The reservation of token payments may suggest a determination on the part of the lords of Poissy to demonstrate their continuing independence of the control of the Capetian kings. According to Diceto, ii, 43, Gazo de Poissy had served alongside one of the witnesses to the present charter, Gerard de Fournival, as Henry II’s envoy to Philip Augustus in 1186.

Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Wazo de Peisiæ pro amore Dei et sancte Marie et gloriosi martyrïs Thome et pro salute anime mee et uxoris mee et filiorum et omnium predecessorum meorum in capitulo ecclesie
Cristi Cant’ dedi et concessi et hac carta mea in eleemosinam confirmaui monachis ibidem Deo famulantibus ‘aquietantiam’ unius naus sancti Thomecum vino et ‘cum ceteris que fuerint empta ad opus eorumdem monachorum in Maanthe et in Maysuns quantum ad me pertinet’ preter decimam monachorum sancte Marie de Columps’. Cum autem naus illa cum vino et ceteris que dicta sunt per loca iamdicta, (sicilicet) Maanthe et Maysuns, transierit, monachus ecclesie Cristi Cant’ vel eius seruiens habebat unum cnipulum sine auro et argento bailiuo meo de Maanthe et alium cnipulum ‘sine auro et argento dabit’ bailiuo meo de Maisuns si forte naus illa illuc ‘cum vino et ceteris transierit’ pro omni consuetudine in signum et recognitionem prefate quietantie memorate naus sancti Thome. Testibus his: Gerardo milite de Furniual, Willelmo de Auberuill’, Rob(erto) de Turolt’, Rob(erto) de Fresnil et multis aliis.

101. Notification by Adam de l’Isle-Adam (Val-d’Oise) of his grant to St Thomas for the souls of his father and mother of an annual rent of 10 sous parisis, of which 5 sous are his and 5 sous his brother Manasser’s, payable annually at Michaelmas to the envoy of the monks of Canterbury who comes every year to Poissy to collect wine.

[1179 X 1189]
Sciant tam presentes quam postfuturi quod ego Adam de Insula Ade dedi et concessi pro anima patris mei et matris mee et omnium antecessorum meorum singulis annis Deo et beato martiri Thome decem solidos Parisienses, quinque sol(idos) pro me et quinque pro fratre meo Manasse. Hos siquidem sol(idos) reddam ego Adam et heredes mei post me singulis annis ad festum sancti Michael(is) nuncio monachorum ecclesie Cristi Cant’ qui veniet pro vino eorumdem monachorum apud Pessi. Val(e)t(e).

102. Notification by Manasser de l’Isle(-Adam) of his grant to St Thomas and the monks of Canterbury of an annual rent of 5 sous parisis in perpetual alms for the souls of himself and his parents Anseau and Mabilia and Adam (IV) his brother and Anseau, Adam’s son, and his other brothers Adam and Lancelin, payable at the octave of the feast of St Denis (16 October) from Hemmarus de l’Isle, Manasser’s man, and his heirs at L’Isle-Adam. Confirmed by Manasser’s brother Adam (IV), with the assent of Anseau his son.

[1179 X 1189]

A = CCA ms. Chartae Antiquae C174. Endorsed: Manaserius de Insula (s.xii/xiii); cart(a) Manasserii de Insula de quinque sol(idis) Paris’ redditus (s.xiii); ii. (s.xiii); various post medieval endorsements. Approx. 148 × 81 + 16mm. Sealed sur double queue, single slit for a tag, tag and seal impression missing. B = Ibid. Register E fo.36r, s.xiv. C = Ibid. Register A fo.269r (341r), s.xiv.

Date apparently as above no.101. For Manasser, brother of Adam IV, lord of Rémérangles (Oise, cant. Clermont), married to Amicia daughter of Robert de Milly, see Cartulaire de l’abbaye de Saint-Martin de Pontoise, ed. J. Depoin (Pontoise 1895–1901), 418–21.

Manasserius de Insula omnibus Cristi fidelibus salutem. Uniuersitati vestre notum facio quod ego M(anasserius) de Insula dedi et concessi Deo et beato martyr Th(ome) Cantuarien’ et fratibus ibidem Deo seruientibus v. sol(idos) Parisien’ monete in perpetuam elemosinam pro salute anime mee et parentum meorum Anselini et Mabilie et fratris mei Adam et filii eius Anselini et aliorum fratrum meorum, Ade videlicet et Lancelin(i), et omnium propinquorum et amicorum meorum, accipiendos singulis annis in octauis sancti Dionisi ab Heremaro de Insula homine meo et heredibus suis apud Insulam. Cui donationi frater meus Adam de Insula consensit et filius eius Anselinus presens assensum prebuit, quam et ego presenti scripto confirmatam sigilli mei appositione roborau. Val(e)t(e).
103. Notification by Bernard de St-Valery to all his knights and ministers of the honour of St-Valery(-sur-Somme) (Somme) that for the souls of his father, mother, wife and heirs he has pardoned the prior and monks of Holy Trinity Canterbury and their servants traversing his lands all pedage and customs out of love for St Thomas ‘whom in my needs I wish to have (as advocate) with the just judge’.

[1173 X 1191]

A1 = CCA ms. Chartae Antiquae F116. Endorsed: carta Bernardi de Sancto Walerico de pedagio et aliis consuetudinibus (s.xiii); viii. (s.xiii). Approx. 159 × 147 + 18mm. Sealed sur double queue, parchment tag through 3 slits, upper half of round seal impression in natural wax varnished brown, equestrian with sword in right hand and shield in left, SIGILLUM..... Counterseal, small round, a lion passant facing to the right, legend illegible. A2 = Ibid. F119. In a different, possibly English or Canterbury hand, distinct from that of A1. Endorsed: carta Bernardi de Waleri de pedagio (s.xiii); viii. (s.xiii); various post medieval endorsements. Approx. 213 × 52 + 19mm. Sealed sur double queue, parchment tag through a single slit, central portion of seal impression as in A, showing the lower part of the horse on the obverse, legend entirely missing, and preserving the entire counterseal. A3 = Ibid. F140. Apparently in the same hand as A1, although in format closer to A2. Damaged and illegible at the beginning and end. Endorsed: carta Bernardo de Sancto Walerico de padagio et aliis consuetudinibus (s.xiii); viii. (s.xiii); various post medieval endorsements. Approx. 210 × 58 + 18mm. Sealed sur double queue, parchment tag through a single slit, seal impression as above A1A2. B = Ibid. C1277, in an inspeximus by William Thibout, keeper of the prévôté of Paris, 11 October 1300. C = Ibid. ms. Register E fo.36v, s.xiv. D = Ibid. Register A fo.269v (341v), s.xiv. E = Ibid. Chartae Antiquae F111, copy, s.xiv ex.

After the canonization of Thomas Becket (February 1173), and before the death of Bernard de St-Valery, for which see I.J. Sanders, English Baronies: A Study of their Origin and Descent 1086–1327 (Oxford 1960), 10.

Bernardus de Sancto Walerico omnibus militibus suis et ministris de honore Sancti Walerici salutem. Sciatis quod ego pro animabus patris et matris mee et pro salute anime mee et uxoris mee et heredum meorum perdonau priori sancte Trinitatis Cantuar’ et omnibus eiusdem ecclesie monachiis et eorum seruiwentibus qui per terram meam transierint pedagium et omnes alias consuetudines que in terra mea a transeuntibus exiguntur siue in terram meam aduenientibus, et ideo volo et firmiter precipio ut pacem meam in terra mea habeant ipsi et omnia sua et omnes sui, et prohibeo ne aliquis aliquam consuetudinem que ad me spectat in terra mea amplius ab eis exigat neque eos propter tales consuetudines vexet vel in placitum ponat. Has libertates specialiter concessi eis propter amorem sancti martyris Thome quem in meis necessitibus apud iustum iudicem adiutorem habere desidero. His testibus: Erufelo clerico, Milon(e) capell(ano), Bernardo Tachelu, Anchero de Cheresi, Waltero Mabun, Weremundo Caldel.

\[\text{\textsuperscript{a-a}} \text{ not in A}^{3}\text{b} \text{A}^{3} \text{ inserts et pro animabus patris et matris mee}^{c-e} \text{iu.......cem A}^{2}, \text{letters mostly lost}^{d} \text{Testibus his A}^{3} \text{ of Weremund A}^{3}\]
104. Notification by John count of Ponthieu that he has quitclaimed to the church and monks of Holy Trinity Canterbury and their servants all pedage and toll out of love for St Thomas, making this gift in the monks’ chapter house at the time that the convent granted him the society and benefit of their house. [1171 X 1190]

A¹ = CCA ms. Chartae Antiquae F131. Endorsed: Iohannis comitis Pontiui (s.xii/xiii); carta I. com(itis) Pontiui de pedagio et teloneo (s.xiii); x. (s.xiii); various post medieval endorsements. Approx. 165 × 73 + 25mm. Sealed sur double queue, parchment tag through 3 slits, round, single-sided seal impression in natural wax varnished brown, an equestrian figure facing to the right with round shield in left hand and long lance with pennant in his right hand, legend: SIGILLUM ..HAN......PO.....

A² = Ibid. F121. Written in the same hand as A¹. Endorsed: Iohannis comitis Pontiui de pedagio et teloneo (s.xiii); x. (s.xiii); various post medieval endorsements. Approx. 165 × 72 + 27mm. Sealed sur double queue, 3 slits, tag and seal impression missing.


After the martyrdom of Thomas Becket and before the departure of Count John for the Third Crusade, during which he died in June 1191. For the family, see Recueil des actes des comtes de Ponthieu (1026–1279), ed. C. Brunel (Paris 1930), which at pp.v–vi supplies a family tree, and at p.165 no.109 notes a charter of Count John to the men of Abbeville witnessed by Walter Senioratus of St-Riquier (dép. Somme), Ingelram seneschal of Ponthieu and Baldwin de Dorcat in 1184, but which fails to notice the present charter. For miracles reported at Becket’s shrine concerning men from the region of Ponthieu, see MTB, i, 282, ii, 201. Count William (III Talvas) of Ponthieu (d.1221) is recorded as being cured of evil affections through the grace of St Thomas, and thereafter made offering to the relics of St Thomas preserved at Dommartin, including two mills: Charles du Canda (prior of Dommartin), La Vie de S. Thomas archevesque de Cantorbie (St-Omer 1615), 271 no.62, 276, recording this count’s anniversary as 5 (recte 4) October.

Iohannes comes Pontiui omnibus baronibus, militibus et ministris terre sue salutem. Sciant omnes tam presentes quam futuri quod ego comes Ioh(ann)es clamo quietos et liberos ecclesiam sancte Trinitatis de Cantuar’ et eiusdem ecclesie monachos et omnes seruientes et omnes homines⁵ suos a pedagio et teloneo et omnibus aliis consuetudinibus terre mee que ad me pertinent, et prohibeo ne aliquis eos vel homines suos in tota terra mea in aliquo vexare presumat. Hec autem omnia concessi prefate ecclesie pro amore Dei et reuerentia beati martyris Thome et pro salute anime mee et uxoris mee et heredum meorum et pro animabus patris et matris mee in capitulo predicte ecclesie quando conuentus mi(chi) concessit societatem suam et eiusdem ecclesie beneficium. Testibus his⁶: Gautelero Seinurei de Sancto Richero, Yngelranmo⁷ dapifer de Ponteiid, Hugone de Beamunt, Baldewino Durcat, Roberto de Beloi.

⁵ homines not in A¹, supplied from A²
⁶ His testibus A²⁶ Yngelranmo A²⁷ Punteii A²
105. Notification by Robert (II) count of Meulan to his bailiffs at Meulan (Yvelines) that he has granted the monks of St Thomas Canterbury for the soul of his father and ancestors free transit at Meulan for their wine and quittance from customs throughout his land.

[1173 X 1207, ?1179 X 1190]

A1 = BL ms. Lord Frederick Campbell Charter XXII.1. Endorsed: carta comitis Roberti Mellenti de quietancia vini (s.xiii); vi. (s.xiii); various post medieval endorsements including v. Aspil no.10 (s.xviii). Approx. 174 × 80 + 28mm. Sealed sur double queue, seal impression in reddish brown wax on red cords through 3 slits, on the face a mounted figure with drawn sword, legend: SIGILLUM ROBERTI COMITIS M’LL[E]. On the reverse, a mounted warrior carrying a pennant, legend: SIGILLUM ROBERTI DOMINI BELL[U]M[UNTIS]. A2 = CCA ms. Chartae Antiquae F124. Apparently in the same hand and format as A1. Endorsed: Rob(erti) comitis de Mellent de pedagio ibidem (s.xiii); vi. (s.xiii, cancelled); various post medieval endorsements. Approx. 170 × 78 + 32mm. Sealed sur double queue on red cords through 3 slits, seal impression round dark brown wax as A1 above. B = Ibid. Register E fo.36r–v, s.xiv. C = Ibid. Register A fo.269v (341v), s.xiv. D = Ibid. Chartae Antiquae F111, copy, s.xiv ex. E = BL ms. Stowe 665 (John Anstis ‘Aspilologia’) fo.79r (p.181) no.10, copy with facsimile drawing of the seal made when ‘penes Thomas Astle’, s.xviii.

After the canonization of Becket and before the death of Count Robert (d. c.1207, cf. CP, vii, 739–40 appendix I), almost certainly earlier rather than later within this period, probably after the grant of wine by Louis VII. For a scribe (cursor) of Count Robert of Meulan, cured of leprosy through St Thomas’ intervention, see MTB, i, 337. The second witness, Richard ‘abbate de Tornai’ carries a surname (‘Abbas’) rather than a title as abbot, and can be identified as Richard L’Abbé ‘de Tournay’ (?Eure, cant. Beaumont-le-Roger, com. Thibouville), who with Geoffrey his son, before 1162, granted the chapels of Saint-Benoît-des-Ombres (Eure) and Tertu (Orne, cant. Trun, com. Villedieu-lès-Bailleul) to the monks of Ste-Barbe-en-Auge (Calvados, cant. Mézidon, com. Ecajeul): Delisle, Recueil, nos 169, 756. He attests a number of acts of Count Robert II before 1166, in the lifetime of Waleran count of Meulan, notably as ‘Ricardus abbas de Torn’: Select Documents of the English Lands of the Abbey of Bec, ed. M. Chibnall, Camden Society 3rd series lxiii (1951), 16–17 no.30. He also appears as ‘Ricardus abbas de Tornai’ in the count’s foundation charter to his Grandmontine priory near Beaumont-le-Roger: BN ms.Vexin 8 p.820. Howden records him in 1173 as rebelling with his lord, Count Robert: Howden, Gesta, i, 46. It is tempting to identify Richard with the ‘Ricardus filius Gaufridi abbatis’, who appears in the 1165 Pipe Roll owing a relief for his fees of Empingham in Rutland: PR 11 Henry II, 55; PR 12 Henry II, 52. This Richard was son and heir of Geoffrey L’Abbé, seneschal of Earl Robert II of Leicester, uncle of Count Robert II of Meulan: D. Crouch, The Beaumont Twins (Cambridge 1986), 92, 142, 219. The family connection between the Leicesters and the Meulans makes the identification more likely, as does the fact that Richard L’Abbé de Tournay called his son Geoffrey. Amongst the other witnesses, Peregrine the chaplain of Count Robert appears to have been the brother of Ralph de Beaumont, ‘medicus’ of both Waleran II of Meulan and King Henry II: Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine ms. 3417 (Beaumont cartulary) fo.8r. I am indebted to David...
Robertus comes Mellenti bailliuis suis de Mell’t et omnibus suis presentibus et futuris salutem. Sciatis me concessisse et in elmosinam confirmasse monachis sancte Trinitatis Cantuarie pro amore Dei et beati Thome martyris et pro anima patris mei et antecessorum meorum et mea apud Mell’t transitum vini quietum quod ducent ad proprium usum suum et preter hec consuetudinem in tota terra mea de omnibus que emerint ad usus ipsorum que poterunt iuste facere assecurari sua propria esse. Test(ibus) Willelmo Pipart, Ricardo Abbate de Tornai, Rannulfo de Bigart, Radulfo de Botemont, Rogerio Harpin, Peregrino et Hugone capellanis meis.

106. Notification by Waleran (III) count of Meulan to his bailiffs at Meulan that he has granted free transit to the monks for their wine at Meulan and confirmed quittance from custom throughout his land for all goods purchased, as previously granted by (Count Robert) his father.

A¹ = BL ms. Lord Frederick Campbell Charter XXII.3. Endorsed: carta comitis Galeranni Mellenti de transitu vini (s.xiii); vii. (s.xiii); various post medieval endorsements, including v. Aspil’ 331 (s.xviii), referring to the drawing of Waleran’s seal, from a Bordesley Abbey charter, in BL ms. Stowe 666 fo.26v no.331, itself taken from BL Harley Charter 45.1.30. Approx. 145 × 74 + 24mm. Sealed sur double queue, parchment tag through 3 slits, round equestrian seal impression in natural wax varnished red, legend: [S]IGILLUM VALERANI [DE ...LLENT], the missing letters here being supplied from the drawing in E below. A² = CCA ms. Chartae Antiquae F139. Endorsed: carta Galeranni filii comitis Mellenti de transitu vini sancti Th(ome) (s.xiii); vii. (s.xiii); various post medieval endorsements. Approx. 152 × 84 + 28mm. Sealed sur double queue, 3 slits, tag and seal-impression missing. B = CCA ms. Register E fo.36v, copy from A¹, s.xiv. C = Ibid. Register A fo.269v (341v), copy from A¹, s.xiv. D = Ibid. Chartae Antiquae F111, copy, s.xiv ex. E = BL ms. Stowe 666 (John Anstis’ ‘Aspilogia’) fo.69r no.585, copy with facsimile drawing of the seal from A¹ made when ‘penes Thomas Astle’, s.xviii.


The reference to St Thomas suggests that the present charter can only be of Waleran III of Meulan, son of Count Robert II, rather than (as assumed by Crouch) Waleran II (d.1166) son of Robert I (d.1118). Waleran III predeceased his father, dying at some date after 1195 (see here CP, vii, 740–1 appendix I, dating Waleran III’s death to 1191–2 and the Third Crusade, contradicted by Cartulaire de l’église de la Sainte-Trinité de Beaumont-le-Roger, ed. E. Deville (Paris 1912), 24–5 no.16 (as drawn to my attention
by David Crouch), where he attests a charter of his father dated 7 January 1195. Professor Crouch has pointed out to me a parallel charter to this Canterbury act in a cartulary copy of an act by ‘G. comes Mellenti filius R. comitis’ to the abbey of L’Estrée (Eure, cant. Nonancourt, com. Muzy), transferring to L’Estrée a grant ‘quem auus meus G. dedit monachis de Pontiniaco’ (i.e. Pontigny, Yonne): Evreux AD Eure H 319 fo.58r–v, and cf. Cartulaire de l’abbaye royale de Notre-Dame de Bon-Port de l’ordre de Citeaux au diocèse d’Evreux, ed. J. Andrieux (Evreux 1862), 10 no.12 (transcribed as ‘Galeranus filius Roberti comes Mellentis’, as drawn to my attention by Daniel Power). The witnesses to the Estrée charter are familiar from acts of Robert II of Meulan, as is the case with the Canterbury act. The reference in the L’Estrée act to ‘G(a)leranus’ as the grantor’s grandfather makes it certain that Walera III, son of Robert II and grandson of Walera II, is intended and that he did in fact use the title ‘count’ in his father’s lifetime. It is worth adding that both acts are addressed to Walera (III)’s officers in Meulan, where it appears from this that he exerted comital authority. After 1204, however, Meulan was taken into the Capetian royal demesne by Philip Augustus and remained in royal hands until the fifteenth century, with Robert II’s heirs surviving merely as minor bannerets at Courseulles-sur-Mer (Calvados, cant. Creully), with the surname ‘de Mellento’ as the only reminder of their comital past. As Professor Crouch has further suggested to me, the witness list to the present charter supplies the names of three men (John de Bosc-Bénard (Eure, cant. Bourgtheroulde), Walter de Flancourt (Eure, cant. Bourgtheroulde) and Richard del Val) all of whom are known to have been in the service or following of Count Robert II in the 1180s and 90s. In A2, he suggests, the names of the witnesses have been written subsequent to the writing of the main part of the text, in a different colour ink and ignoring the ruled lines already laid out, but I can see no such disjunction and would certainly attribute the writing of text and witness list to the same occasion. The duplicate original now in the British Library is written throughout in a single hand of the late twelfth century, with no disjunction between text and witness list. The seal impression still attached to A1 is entirely consistent with a date after 1179, and it is worth noticing that the seal, unlike the preamble to the present charter, significantly fails to credit Walera, here presumed to be Walera III (d. after 1195), with his title as count. The seal, despite Astle’s supposition (above notes to ms. A1), is most definitely not the same as that of Count Walera II attached to BL ms. Harley Charter 45.I.30, which is double-sided, much larger (85mm. in diameter) than the present seal (a mere 60mm. in diameter), and carries an entirely different legend. For further examples of sons adopting comital titles during their fathers’ lifetimes, see D. Crouch, The Image of Aristocracy in Britain, 1000–1300 (London 1992), 68–70.

Galeranus\(^a\) comes Mellenti bailiiuis suis de Mellent et omnibus suis presentibus et futuris salutem. Scias me concessisse et in perpetuum elmosinam confirmasse monachis sancte Trinitatis Cantuariæ pro amore Dei et beati Thome martiris et pro anima patris mei et antecessorum meorum et mea apud Mell’t transitum vini quietum quod de proprium usum suum, et preter feci consuetudinem in tota terra mea de omnibus que emergit ad usus ipsorum que poterunt iuste facere assecurari sua propria esse, sicut pater meus eis prius concessit et sua carta confirmavit. Test(ibus) Ioh(ann)e de Bosco Bernardi, Gualterio de Florentcurt\(^b\), Ricardo del Val, Ricardo de Bardauile, Baldewino clerico.

\(^a\) Galeraninus A\(^2\) \(^b\) Gualtero de Frolentcurt A\(^2\)
107. Notification by Baldwin (II) count of Guînes to all his men of Guînes (Pas-de-Calais) that from love of God and St Thomas and for the souls of himself and his wife and heirs he has pardoned his brothers, the monks of Christ Church Canterbury, from toll and all customs taken in Guînes from travellers. [1171 X 1206]

A1 = CCA ms. Chartae Antiquae F133. Endorsed: cart(a) Baldewin(i) comit(is) de GISNES de theloneo ibidem (s.xiii/xiv); xii. (s.xiii); various post medieval endorsements. Approx. 200 × 65 + 15mm. Sealed sur double queue, single slit, tag and seal impression missing. A2 = Ibid. F137. In the same hand as A1. Endorsed: Gines (s.xii/xiii); carta Baldewini comitis de theloneo de GISNES (s.xiii); xii. (s.xiii); various post medieval endorsements. Approx. 181 × 77 + 12mm. Sealed sur double queue, parchment tag through a single slit, seal impression in dark brown wax, round, equestrian figure facing to the right, legend: S........DE........NSIS B = Ibid. Register E fo.37r, s.xiv. C = Ibid. Register A fo.270r (342r), s.xiv. D = Ibid. Chartae Antiquae F111, copy, s.xiv ex.

After the martyrdom of Thomas Becket and before the death of Count Baldwin II, for whom, and for whose particular devotion to St Thomas, by whom he had been knighted c.1157 X 1163, who had been received at Guînes during his progress back into England in 1170, and of whom Count Baldwin had subsequently acquired relics used in the foundation of a chapel at La Montoire (Pas-de-Calais, com. Nielles-lès-Ardres), see Lambert of Ardres, The History of the Counts of Guînes and Lords of Ardre, trans. L. Shopkow (Philadelphia 2001), 110–11, 120–2, from MGH Scriptores, xxiv, 596, 601–2. The witness named Baldwin ‘minister of Newington’ (i.e. Newington near Hythe, Kent), implies a date before the loss of the count’s English estates, apparently unaffected by the events of 1204, whereafter Baldwin II’s son, Count Arnold II, was permitted to do homage to King John for his English lands in April 1206 (RLC, i, 68). Newington passed to Hubert de Burgh in somewhat murky circumstances, before 1216: N. Vincent, Peter des Roches (Cambridge 1996), 323n.; BL ms. Egerton 3789 fo.22v.

Baldeynus comes GISNENSIS omnibus hominibus et ministris suis de GISNES tam presentibus quam postfuturis salutem. Sciatis quod ego Baldeynus pro honore Dei et amore beati Thome archiepiscopi Cantuariensis et pretiosi martyris et pro salute anime mee et uxoris mee et heredum meorum perdonau friatribus meois monachis scilicet conventui ecclesie Cristi Cantuariae in perpetuum theloneum et omnes consuetudines que exigi solent in GISNES a transeuntibus. Volo (er)go et precipio ut ipsi et seruentes eorum liberi sint et quieti a me et ab omnibus heredibus meis in perpetuum a theloneo siue pedagio siue omni alia consuetudine, et prohibeo ut nullus hominum vel ministrorum meorum eos pro hac re vexare presumat. Testibus militebus Simone de Echardere, Alelmo de GISNES, Eustachio de Balingeham, Willelmo de Freitun, Michaelae a capellano eiusdem comitis, Oliuio clerico, Baldeyno ministro comitis de Niwetune.

* Machaele underlined for correction A1, Michaele A2
108. Notification by Walter (of Coutances), archbishop of Rouen, of his grant, for his lifetime, to the prior and monks of Canterbury, out of devotion to St Thomas, of free passage of the Seine at Les Andelys (Eure) for their wine and all their victuals. [March 1185 X 1189]

A¹ = CCA ms. Chartae Antiquae F134. Endorsed: ad vitam concedent valet (s.xiii); carta Walterii Rothomag’ archiepiscopi de quietantia vini (s.xiii); various post medieval endorsements. Approx. 129 × 92 + 11mm. Sealed sur double queue, pinkish brown cords through 2 holes, double-sided seal impression in light brown wax, an archbishop with mitre and crozier, right hand raised in blessing .......OTHOMAGENSIS ARCH<IEPS>...., counterseal, the Agnus Dei with a cross behind, legend partly illegible: S’ WALTERI DE CON<StA>NtIS. A² = Ibid. F122. Endorsed: ad tempus concederunt valet (s.xiii/xiv); Walt’ Rothom’ de transitu vini (s.xiii); various post medieval endorsements. Approx. 126 × 110 + 14mm. Sealed sur double queue, pinkish brown cords through 2 holes, double-sided seal impression in light brown wax. Written in the same hand as A¹. Rubbed and partially illegible. B = Ibid. Register A fo.270r (342r), copy from A², s.xiii/xiv. C = Ibid. fo.274r (346r), copy from A¹, s.xiv in. D = Ibid. Register E fos.36v–37r, copy from A², s.xiv.

Printed (brief notice from A¹/A²) HMC 5th Report, appendix, 461.

After the translation of Walter of Coutances from the see of Lincoln to Rouen (March 1185), and before the election of John of Coutances, alias John archdeacon of Oxford, as bp of Worcester (January X June 1196), almost certainly before his promotion as dean of Rouen in 1189 (Spear, Personnel, 180, 203). As Walter of Coutances, royal clerk, the archbp had previously played a not entirely blameless role in the Becket conflict, before 1170. To this extent, arguably yet another Canterbury charter prompted by a guilty conscience over Becket. For a similar quittance, issued by Walter as archbp of Rouen to the Augustinian canons of Waltham in Essex, themselves founded as a result of Henry II’s penance for Becket’s murder, see The Early Charters of Waltham Abbey, 1062–1230, ed. R. Ransford (Woodbridge 1989), p.44 no.81, and for attempts by the monks of St Augustine’s Canterbury to claim quittance from toll at archbp Walter’s port of Dieppe, see above no.44.

Uniuersis sancte matris ecclesie filiis ad quos presentes littere perueniunt Walterus dei gratia Rothom’a archiepiscopus in domino salutem. Ad uniuersitatis vestre noticiam volumus peruenire nos diuinò intiuitu et ob deuoctionem et reuerentiam quam habuimus et habemus erga beatum Thomam matirem concessisse dilectis amicis nostris et fratribus .. priori et conuentui sancte Trinitatis Cant’ transitum vini sui per Secanam apud Andeleium manerium nostrum et omnium que seruientes predictorum fratum nostrorum fide firmauerint ad eorumdem victualia pertinere liberum et quietum quoad vixerimus ab omni consuetudine et passagii exactione, salvo scilicetb iure successorum nostrorum et salua post decessum nostrum indemnitate Rothom’ ecclesie. Ut autem h(ec) nostra concessio quoad vixerimus rata et firma perseveret, eam presenti scripto et sigilli nostri patrocinio dignum duximus confirmare. Test(ibus) Ioh(ann)e ÒXeneford’
archid(iacono), Elya et Nichol(ao) capellanis nostris, magistro Roberto de Sancto Paterno, magistro Willelmo de Torintona\(^a\), Willelmo de Brueria\(^d\).

\(^a\) Bathom’ D \(^b\) scilicet not in A\(^2\) \(^c\) Torint’ A\(^2\) \(^d\) Bruer’ A\(^2\)

109. **Notification by Guy Mauvoisin of his grant to God, the Blessed Mary, St Thomas and the monks of Christ Church Canterbury of 10 sous parisis each year in his rents at Rosny-sur-Seine and Mantes (Yvelines, cant. Mantes) from the passage money still payable on the monks’ wine, made for the soul of William Mauvoisin, Guy’s father, and his ancestors, mother and brothers, with this gift being placed on St Thomas’ tomb on the day of his passion (29 December), pronouncing anathema on all those who might infringe this grant.**

[1190 X 1200]

For Guy lord of Rosny, son of William Mauvoisin fl.1190-1201 and Adelina his wife, see the family tree supplied by Power, *Norman Frontier*, 507 table 20, and cf. N. Civel, *La Fleur de France: les seigneurs d’Ile-de-France au XIIe siècle* (Turnhout 2006), 441. For a similar renunciation by William de Mauvoisin of rights over the ships of the monks of Fécamp on the Seine, see Power, *Norman Frontier*, 95n. Note that Guy specifically does not exempt the monks from all passage money payable in his lands, but merely reduces by 10 sous the sum that would otherwise have been payable in passage money. The use of the letter ‘thorn’ in the name of the first witness suggests strongly a charter written by an English rather than a French scribe, and note also the grammatical error, in note ‘a’ below.

Sciant tam presentes quam futuri quod ego Guido Maleuitinus dedi et concessi Deo et beate Marie et sancto Thome martyrise\(^a\) monachis ecclesie Cristi Cantuarie ibidem Deo famulantibus decem solidos Parisienses singulis annis in redditus meis de Roeni et Madunte in passagis de vino predictorum monachorum in puram elemosinam, et si plus debent, magis soluent, pro anima patris mei Willelmi Maleucicini et antecessorum meorum et pro salute mea et matris mee et fratrum meorum, et hoc donum super tumbam beati Thome martyris in die passionis sue obtuli et sigillo meo proprio confirmavi, et ideo precipio et prohibeo ne aliquis balliourum meorum et quicumque eam tuenierit predictos monachos aud nuntios eorum

a sic A, recte martyris et

110. Notification by Baldwin count of Flanders and Hainault, that the bearers of the present letters, monks of Canterbury, and their envoys and goods, have been taken under the count’s safe conduct throughout his lands, requesting that the addressees of these letters offer similar free passage.

[1191 X 1204, ?September X November 1197]


The donor could be either Baldwin VIII or Baldwin IX, before the latter’s elevation as Emperor of Constantinople. Nonetheless, almost certainly issued by Baldwin IX during his recorded pilgrimage to Canterbury in 1197 (Howden, Chronica, iv, 24).

Bald(uinus) Flandr’ et Hayn’ comes omnibus hominibus et amicis suis salutem. Nouritis quod latores presentium, monachos de Cantuaria et nuntios eorum, cum omnibus rebus suis per totam terram et potestatem meam in conductu meo accepi. Inde vos omnes tanquam amicos meos affectuosius rogo ut eos similiter per totam terram, potestatem vestram cum omnibus rebus suis amoris mei intuitu secure conducatis, quia quicquid ipsis feceritis, michi factum sciatis.
111. Notification by Reginald count of Boulogne and the countess Ida his wife to their men and ministers at Wissant, Boulogne, Nieulay and Calais of their grant, in honour of God and St Thomas, of pardon to their brothers, the monks of Christ at Canterbury, and their messengers and servants, from all toll and custom payable at the four ports above mentioned, whether there be peace or discord between the king of England and the count of Boulogne.

[1191 X 1214, ?1197 X 1201]

A = BL ms. Lord Frederick Campbell Charter VII.3. Endorsed: carta Reginaldi comitiis Bolonie de quitancia pagagii et omnibus consuetudinibus de Witsando, de Bolonia, de Nwene et de Caleis (s.xiii); xxi. (s.xiii); various post medieval endorsements, including A.sp.n.4 (s.xviii, cf. F below). Approx. 135 × 112 + 13mm. Sealed sur double queue, two double-sided seals on parchment tags, both seal impressions in dark green wax. On the left-hand tag, a round equestrian seal with the mounted figure carrying a shield charged with a shield of arms, a barry of six within a bordure, legend: SIGILL’ [REI]NALDI [C]O[M]ITIS BOLO[NIE]. Counterseal a shield of arms as above, legend: SECR[ETU[M] REINALDI [CO]MITIS BOLONIE+. Seal on the right-hand tag, vessica shaped, a female figure standing with a hawk or bird on her left wrist, legend: SIGILL’IDE COMITISSE BOLONIE. Counterseal, two interlinked shields, at the top three torteaux, in the lower shield a barry of six, legend lost. B = CCA ms. Chartae Antiquae F102, in an inspeximus by R(oger) abbot of St Augustine’s, H(ugh) prior of St Gregory’s and R. (rural) dean of Canterbury, damaged and illegible in part, 1264/5. C = Ibid. Register E fo.37v, s.xiv. D = Ibid. Register A fos.270v–271r (342v–343r), s.xiv. E = Ibid. Chartae Antiquae F111, copy, s.xiv ex. F = BL ms. Stowe 665 (John Anstis’ ‘Aspilogia’) fo.77r (p.177) nos 3–4, partial copy with facsimile drawings of the seals from A, then said to be ‘penes Thomas Astle’, s.xviii.

For Reginald, count of Boulogne in right of his wife with whom he did homage to Philip Augustus in December 1191, in formal alliance with Richard I of England in 1197–8, and again with King John in 1199–1201 and again 1211–14, thereafter a prisoner after the battle of Bouvines, see H. Malo, Un Grand feudataire: Renaud de Dammartin et la coalition de Bouvines (Paris 1898), esp. pp.40–1, 55–6, 137ff., at pp.251, 314 no.26 recording a similar remission of toll at Wissant in favour of the monks of St Bertin’s at St-Omer. Various of the witnesses to the present charter, including Baldwin de Doudencaveille (Pas-de-Calais, cant. Samer), Daniel de Bethencourt, seneschal of the count in 1203, and Peter de Caiuë (Pas-de-Calais) occur elsewhere as witnesses to others of Reginald’s charters, with Guy Lieschans and Ralph, the count’s brother, serving amongst his pledges in the treaty negotiated with King John at Les Andelys in August 1199: Malo, Renaud de Dammartin, 264–7 nos 46–7, 270 no.51; Rot. Chart., 30. Several of them also appear in the witness list of a quittance from toll at Wissant granted, apparently at much the same time, by Reginald and Ida to the monks of Bury St Edmunds: BL ms. Harley 625 (Bury Register) fo.230r–v (230r–v) (‘Hiis testibus): Radulfo fratris comitis, Roberto filio Walteri, Gwydcone Leschans, Galfrido fratre eius, Danielle de Betencurt, Willelmo de Fossa, Baldewyno de Asenuilla etc.’). Note the addition of Calais to the list of ports (not in no.97 above), now clearly emerged from its previous embryonic state as the port of Nieulay, and note also the reference to the monks of Canterbury as ‘our brothers’, suggesting confraternity.
Reginaldus comes Bolonie et Yda comitissa uxor eius omnibus hominibus et ministris suis de Withsando et Bolonia et de Niwene et Caleis tam presentibus quam futuris salutem. Sciatis quod ego comes Reginaldus et Yda comitissa pro honore Dei et beati Thome archiepiscopi Cantuar’ gloriosi martyr’ et pro salute animarum nostrarum et parentum et heredum nostrorum perdonauimus fratribus nostris monachis scilicet conuentui ecclesie Cristi Cantuar’ in perpetuum theloneum et omnes consuetudines que exigi solent in Withsando vel Bolonia vel Niwene vel Caleis a transeuntibus. Volumus (er)go et precipimus ut ipsi et suntii et omnes seruentes eorum liberi sint et quieti a nob(is) et ab omnibus heredibus nostris in perpetuum a theloneo siue pedagio siue omni alia consuetudine, et prohibemus ne aliquis hominum vel ministrorum nostrorum eos pro hac re vexare presumat. Volumus etiam ut donatio ista rata sit semper siue pax siue discordia sit inter regem Anglie et comitem Bolonie. Hiis testibus: Rad(ulpho) fratre comitis, Guidone Leschans, Baldewino de Dudeuilla, Petro de Caeu, Daniele de Betencurt, Baldewino de Esseuilla, Maneserio de Bolonia tunc capellano, Nicholao clerico et multis aliis.

112. Notification by Peter (of Nemours) bishop of Paris that in his presence Richoldis de Groslay (Val-d’Oise, cant. Montmorency), for the sake of her soul and the soul of Guy her late husband, has granted the monks of St Thomas at Canterbury 5 measures of wine in perpetuity at St-Brice-sous-Forêt (Val-d’Oise, cant. Ecouen).

March 1212
Petrus a Dei gratia Parisien’ episcopus omnibus presentes litteras inspecturis salutem in domino. Uniuersitati vestre notum facimus quod, constituta in nostra presentia Richoldis de Grolloa, pro anima sua et ‘quondam mariti sui Guidonis’ dedid et concessit in puram et perpetuam elemosinam monachis sancti Thome Cantuariensis quinque quarterios vinea sitos apud Sanctum Bricium. Nos vero ut hce donatio perpetuo perseveret, ad petitionem dicte Richoldis has litteras fieri fecimus et sigilli nostri impressione muniri. Actum anno domini millesimo ducentesimo undeceimo, mense Marcio, pontificatus nostri anno quarto.

113. Notification by Thomas de St-Valery that for his own soul and the souls of Edelina his wife and his father, mother and ancestors and successors he has granted to the monks of Christ Church Canterbury out of reverence for St Thomas that the monks and their servants may come and go via his port at St-Valery(-sur-Somme) and throughout his land free from all toll, pedage and custom, save when they trade as merchants when they are to pay custom as other merchants do.

[1191 X 1219]

A = CCA ms. Chartae Antiquae F117. Endorsed: Th’ de Sancto Wal(er)ico de perdonacione telonei in portu de Sancto Walerico (s.xiii); ix. (s.xiii); various post medieval endorsements. Approx. 164 × 92 + 30mm. Sealed sur double queue, parchment tag through 3 slits, seal impression, round, green wax, equestrian figure facing to the right with full helmet and a shield charged with one (or possibly two) lion(s) passant, legend .................LERICO. Counterseal, small round, ? a lion. B = Ibid. Register E fo.36v, s.xiv. C = Ibid. Register A fo.269v (341v), s.xiv. D = Ibid. Chartae Antiquae F111, copy, s.xiv ex.

For Thomas de St-Valery, son of Bernard, and his uneasy relationship with the kings of England after 1204, see Power, Norman Frontier, 454–5. As ‘frater noster’ he was commemorated with an obit at Canterbury Cathedral on 5 December: BL ms. Cotton Nero C ix fo.17r, whence Fleming, ‘Christchurch’s Sisters and Brothers’, 147.

Omnibus Cristi fidelibus ad quos presens scriptum peruenerit Thomas de Sancto Walerico salutem. Nouririt uniuersitas vestra quod ego Thom(as) de Sancto Walerico pro salute mea et Edel(ine) uxoris mee et pro salute patris et matris mee et omnium antecessorum et successorum meorum dedi et concessi et hac presenti carta confirmavi Deo et monachis ecclesie Cristi Cant’ ob reuerentiam beati martiris Thome quod ipsi et seruientes eorum veniant et redeant in portum meum de Sancto Walerico et per totam terram meam liberi et quieti ab omni exactione telonei et pedagii et consuetudine ad nos pertinente de omnibus que ad necessaria et ad proprios
usus eorum pertinuerint. Si tamen predicti monachi vel seruientes eorum more mercatorum aliquod attulerint de partibus transmarinis, reddant aliorum consuetudines mercatorum. Hiis testibus: magistro Ph(illipo) le Ver, Ingerr(ano) capellan(o), Roberto de Mostellet milite et multis alis.

114. Notification by Baldwin (III) count of Guînes, son of Count Arnold (II), that out of love of God and St Thomas and for the souls of himself and his wife and heirs he has pardoned his brothers, the monks of Christ Church Canterbury, from toll and all customs taken from travellers in Guînes.

February 1233

B = CCA ms. Register E fo.37r, s.xiv. C = Ibid. Register A fo.270r (342r), s.xiv. D = Ibid. Chartae Antiquae F111, copy, s.xiv ex.

Coincides with a visit paid by Count Baldwin to England, during which he briefly recovered possession of his family’s manor of Newington near Hythe in Kent, and assisted the king against rebels in the Welsh Marches, for which see CPR 1232–47, 2, 25; N. Vincent, Peter des Roches: An Alien in English Politics 1205–1238 (Cambridge 1996), 323, 395 n.141, 406.

Uniuersis sancte matris ecclesie filiis ad quos presens scriptum peruenerit Baldewynus comes de Gisnes filius Arnulphi\textsuperscript{a} comitis de Gisnes salutem eternam in domino. Nouerit uniuersitas vestra quod ego Baldewynus comes filius Arnulphi\textsuperscript{a} comitis de Gisnes pro honore Dei et amore gloriosi martiris Thome quondam Cantuariensis\textsuperscript{b} ecclesie archiepiscopi et pro salute anime mee et uxoris mee et heredum meorum perdonauit fratribus meis monachis, videlicet Cantuariensis\textsuperscript{c} ecclesie\textsuperscript{d} conuentui, in perpetuum theloneum et omnes consuetudines que exigi solent in Gisnes a transeuntibus. Volo ergo et precipio ut ipsi monachi ecclesie Cristi Cantuariensis\textsuperscript{d} et eorum seruientes liberi sint et quieti a me et ab omnibus heredibus meis in perpetuum a theloneo et pedagio et omni alia consuetudine que exigi solent\textsuperscript{a} a transeuntibus per totum comitatum de Gisnes\textsuperscript{f}. Prohibeo etiam ut nullus hominum vel ministrorum meorum predictos monachos vel eorum seruientes vexare presumat in hac parte. In cuius rei testimonium presenti scripto sigillum meum duxi apponendum. Act’ anno domini millesimo tricesimo tercio, mense Februario.

\textsuperscript{a} Arnulfi CD \textsuperscript{b} Cant’ C, Cantuar’ D \textsuperscript{c} Cantuarien’ CD \textsuperscript{d} D inserts Cristi \textsuperscript{e} solet CD \textsuperscript{f} Gines D
115. Notification by Matilda countess of Boulogne to her men at Wissant, Boulogne, Nieulay and Calais of her confirmation out of love for God and St Thomas and for the souls of herself and her parents and heirs of all liberties granted by her father and mother (above no.111), namely quittance from toll and customs at Wissant, Boulogne, Nieulay and Calais.

La Neuville-en-Hez, June 1234

As pointed out to me by Daniel Power, the forest of Hez formed part of Matilda’s inheritance from the county of Clermont-en-Beuvaisis, so ‘Villam Novam in Hez’ is more likely to be La Neuville-en-Hez (Oise, cant. Clermont) than a location such as Villeneuve-d’Ascq (Nord) within the ancient county of Boulogne.

Mathildis comitissa Bolon’ omnibus hominibus et ministris suis de Witsando et Bolonia et Niwene et Caleis tam presentibus quam futuris salutem. Noueritis quod nos pro honore Dei et beati Thome archiepiscopi Cant’ et gloriosi martiris et pro salute anime nostre et parentum et heredum nostrorum volumus et confirmamus omnes libertates illas quas anteceessores et pater et mater nostri dederunt et concesserunt monachis et conventui ecclesie Cristi Cant’, scilicet theloneum et consuetudines que exigi solent in Witsando et Bolonia et Niwene et Caleis a transeuntibus. Volumus igitur et precipimus ut ipsi et nuncii et seruiientes eorum liberi sint et quieti a nobis et heredibus nostris in perpetuum a thelonio siue pedagio siue omni alia consuetudine, et prohibemus ne aliquis hominum vel ministerorum nostrorum eos pro hac re vexare presumat. Act’ apud Villam Nouam in Hez, anno domini m°.cc°. tricesimo quarto, mense Junio.
116. Notification by Robert (V) count of the Auvergne and Boulogne to all the men of Wissant, Boulogne, Nieulay and Calais of his grant of quittance from toll and custom.

Étaples (Pas-de-Calais), August 1267

B = CCA ms. Register E fo.38r, s.xiv in. C = Ibid. Register A fo.271r (343r) s.xiv in.
D = Ibid. ms. Chartae Antiquae F103, copy s.xiv ex.

For Robert V, count of Auvergne from 1247 and of Boulogne 1260–d.1277, see L’Art de vérifier les dates, 3rd ed., 3 vols (Paris 1783–7), ii, 364–6. For some idea of the exactions charged at Wissant, see Lit. Cant., iii, 387–8 no.51, where, in 1306, Archbishop Robert Winchelsea was charged 40 marks passage money for a single crossing to and from the port.

Robertus comes Aluernie et Bolonie omnibus hominibus et ministris suis de Wythsando, Bolonia, Niewene et Caleys tam presentibus quam futuris salutem in domino. Noueritis quod nos pro honore dei et beati thome archiepiscopi Cantuarie et gloriosi martyris et pro salute anime nostre et parentum et heredum nostrorum volumus et confirmamus omnes libertates illas quas antecessores nostri dederunt et concesserunt monachis et conuentui ecclesie Cristi Cantuariet, scilicet theloneum et consuetudines que exigi solent in Wythsando, Bolonia, Niewene et Caleys a transeuntibus. Volumus ergo et precipimus ut ipsi et nuncii et seruientes eorum liberi sint et quieti a nobis et heredibus nostris in perpetuum a theloneo siue pedagio siue omni alia consuetudine, et prohibemus ne aliquis hominum vel ministrorum nostrorum eos pro hac re vexare presumat. Acte apud Stepl’as anno domini m°.cc°.lxvii°. mense Augusto.

a Witsando CD b Niwene CD c Cantuar’ D d Cant’ C, Cantuar’ D e Actum D f Stopl’as C, Staplas D

117. Notification by Robert (VII) count of Boulogne and the Auvergne to his men at Wissant, Boulogne, Nieulay and Calais confirming, in honour of St Thomas, all liberties granted to the church of Canterbury by his ancestors.

6 December 1314

A = CCA ms. Chartae Antiquae F142. Endorsed: carta Rob(erti) fil(ii) ...com(itis) Bolon’ et Aluern’ de consuetudinibus in Witsand, Niwene et Caleys (s.xiv); various post medieval endorsements. Approx. 236 × 67 + 17mm. Sealed sur double queue, parchment tag through a single slit, seal impression, lower half only, in dark green wax, round, equestrian with sword in right hand, legend illegible. Counterseal, round, ?a shield of arms, now illegible. Damaged, illegible letters shown within brackets below, restored from B. B = Ibid. Register E fo.35v, s.xiv. C = Ibid. Register L fo.97v (93v),
Issued by Robert VII (c.1314–c.1326) in the year that he succeeded as count.

Robertus comes Bolognie et Aluernie omnibus hominibus et ministris nostris de Wissando, Bologna, Niwene et Caleis tam presentibus quam futuris salutem in domino. Noveritis quod nos pro honore Dei et beati Thome archiepiscopi Cantuarie et gloriosi martiris et pro salute anime nostre et parentum et her<edum nostrorum> volumus et confirmamus omnes libertates illas quas antecessores nostri dederunt et consequerunt monachis et <conuentui ecclesie> Cristi Cantuarie, scilicet theloneum et consuetudines que exig(i) solent in Wissando, Bologna, Niwene et Caleis a transeuntibus. Volumus ergo et precipimus ut ipsi et nuncii et seruientes eorum liberi sint et quieti a nobis et heredibus nostris in perpetuum in dictis locis a theloneo, pedago et consuetudinis supradictis, et prohibemus ne aliquis hominum vel ministrorum nostrorum eos pro hac re vexare presumat. In cuius rei testimonium sigillum nostrum presentibus litteris duximus apponendum. Datum anno domini millesimo trecentesimo quatuordecimo, die veneris in festo beati Nicholay hyemal(is).

118. Notification by Robert (VII) count of Boulogne and the Auvergne in similar terms to no.117. 8 September 1317

Robertus comes Boloignie et Aluernie omnibus hominibus et ministris nostris de Wyssando, Boloignia, Niwene et Caleys tam presentibus quam futuris salutem in domino. Noveritis quod nos pro honore Dei et beati Thome archiepiscopi Canturiae et gloriosi martiris et pro salute anime nostre et parentum et heredum nostrorum volumus et confirmamus omnes libertates illas quas antecessores nostri dederunt et consequerunt monacis et conuentio ecclesiae Cristi Canturiae, scilicet theloneum et consuetudines que exig(i) solent in Wissando, Boloignia, Niwene et Caleys a transeuntibus. Volumus ergo et precipimus ut ipsi et nuncii et seruientes eorum liberi sint et quieti a nobis et heredibus nostris in perpetuum in dictis locis a theloneo, pedago et consuetudinis supradictis, et prohibemus ne aliquis hominum vel ministrorum nostrorum eos pro hac re vexare presumat. In cuius rei testimonium sigillum nostrum presentibus litteris duximus apponendum. Datum anno domini millesimo trecentesimo quatuordecimo, die veneris in festo beati Nicholay hyemal(is).

* Niwenene D b Kaleys CD c honore BD, amore C d Cantuar' CD e Witsando CD f nostrorum not in C
119. Notification by Amaury (III) count of Evreux that out of love of God and St Thomas he has granted the monks of Christ Church Canterbury an annual rent of one mark to participate in the benefits of the church payable within the octave of St Andrew.

[1181 X 1193]

A = CCA ms. Chartae Antiquae C172. Endorsed: *de marca comitis d(e) Ebroicarum* (s.xiii); various post medieval endorsements. Approx. 180 × 65 + 23mm. Sealed *sur double queue*, 3 slits, tag and seal impression missing. B = Ibid. Register H fo.34v, s.xiii med.

The present charter must have been issued by Amaury III count of Evreux, rather than his son, Amaury IV, since, following Amaury III’s death on the Third Crusade, Amaury IV remained a minor in custody until the fall of Evreux to the French in 1199: Power, *Norman Frontier*, 63–4, 228–31.

120. Notification by Mabel (of Gloucester) countess of Evreux, and Amaury her son, of their grant to God and St Thomas of an annual rent of one mark from their mill of ‘Goseham’ at Marlow to pay for a light at St Thomas’ tomb.

[1187 X 1200]

A = CCA ms. Chartae Antiquae M261. Endorsed: *carta Mabilie comitisse de Euereus de marca arg(entis) recipiend’* (s.xiii) *de molendino de Merlaue ad luminar’* (s.xiii) *Thom(e)* (s.xiii/xiv); *diuers’* (s.xiii); various post medieval endorsements. Approx. 204 × 41 + 14mm. Sealed *sur double queue*. Tag through a single slit, vescica-shaped seal impression in natural wax varnished brown: a woman standing in full length with a bird on her left hand and her right hand holding a flower. Legend mostly illegible: ..........S... ROICA. Back of the seal repaired with modern plaster of Paris. B = Ibid. Register B fo.402r, s. C = Ibid. Register H fo.34v, s.xiii ex.

Apparently issued by Mabel after the death of Count Amaury III, which occurred at some point between 1187 and 1193, during the Third Crusade, whereafter her son, Amaury IV, remained a minor until the fall of Evreux to the French in 1199 (Power, *Norman Frontier*, 63–4, 230). The countess Mabel, as ‘Mabilia comitissa Ebroicensi’ soror et be(nfactrix) nostra’, was commemorated at Christ Church Canterbury with an obit on 1 November: BL ms. Cotton Nero C ix fo.15r, whence Fleming, ‘Christchurch’s
Sisters and Brothers’, 144.

Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Mabilia comitissa de Euereus et Amauricus filius meus dedimus et concessimus et presenti carta confirmauimus in liberam et perpetuam elemosinam Deo et sancto Thome martiri ad inueniendum luminare coram predicto martire unam marcam argenti annuatim de molendino nostro de Goseham in Merlaue pro salute nostra et omnium predecessorum nostrorum, et ut h(ec) nostra donatio rata in posterum et stabilis permaneat eam presenti scripto et sigilli nostri appositione confirmauimus. Hiis testibus: Nicolao de Tokeuill’, Iohanne de Wailun, Hug(one) filio Gregori, Turstano de Crascherne, Hug(one) de Breinmustier, Ric(ardo) de Lintot, Rob(erto) de Beauchamp, Walt(ero) de Boseboc, Rad(ulfo) Angl(ico), Rad(ulfo) pistore et multis aliis.

121. Notification by A(maury IV) count of Evreux of his grant to God and St Thomas and the church of Canterbury of an annual rent of one mark which A(maury) his father granted and the countess M(abel) his mother confirmed from the mill of ‘Goseham’ at Marlow (Buckinghamshire) to pay for lights at St Thomas’ tomb.

[1199 X 1213]

B = CCA ms. Register H fo.34v, s.iii med. C = Oxford, Bodleian Library ms. Dodsworth 90 fo.113r, copy by Dodsworth from a lost original, with drawing of a vescica-shaped seal impression charged with a shield, bendy, legend: +SIGILLUM AMERICI COM[ITIS], s.xvii.

After Amaury IV achieved his majority, and before his death in 1213, for all of which period Amaury was effectively exiled from Evreux itself, for a time being recognized as earl of Gloucester by virtue of his descent from his mother, Mabel of Gloucester. Cf. T. Madox, Formulare Anglicanum (London 1702), 184 no.303 for a grant by Amaury IV to Jordan Dimidiofrancisco of land in Marlow (‘ex autogr(apho) in arch(ivis) S(ancti) Petri Westmon’), noting a green wax seal and witnesses named William de Hesteland ‘my steward’, G. de Aultil, W. de Wilekers, R. clerico, G. camerario meo, R. Revel, R. de Perepont, R. de Gurneio and eight others.

A(imericus) comes ebroicarum omnibus hominibus suis tam Normannicis quam Anglicis salutem. Sciatis me concessisse et hac carta mea confirmasse in perpetuam elemosinam Deo et sancto T(home) martyri Cant’s ecclesie ad inueniendum luminare coram predicto martyre unam marcam argenti annuatim quam A(imericus) comes Ebroicarum pater meus ei dedit et M(abel) comitissa mater mea ei concessit pro salute nostra et omnium predecessorum nostrorum ad diem sancti Michael(is) percipiendam de
molendino meo de Goseham apud Marlaue\textsuperscript{b}, et ut hec nostra concessio et confirmatio rata et stabilis in posterum\textsuperscript{c} permaneat, eam presenti scripto et sigilli mei appositione confirmav\textsuperscript{d}. Testibus hi\textsuperscript{e}: Willelmo de Estillant, Reginaldo de Autoil, Willelmo Puintel, Willelmo de Wilekers, Reginaldo de Bayllol, Rogero clerico et multis aliis.

\textsuperscript{a} Cantuariensis  \textsuperscript{b} iuxta Merlaue  \textsuperscript{c} in posterum B, imperpetuum C  \textsuperscript{d} roborau C  
\textsuperscript{e} B ends here, witnesses supplied from C
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OF PERSONS AND PLACES

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