

Family-Entries in English *Libri Vitae*,
c.1050 to c.1530: Part II

John S. Moore
University of Bristol

I. Introduction¹

Far less introduction is required to the *liber vitae* of Thorney Abbey, because of the extensive studies made by the late Cecily Clark preliminary to her edition which will be completed for publication by Dr John Insley of Heidelberg University.² The *liber* (British Library, Additional MS 40,000, fols. 1–12) was written in various stages between the late eleventh century and the last quarter of the twelfth century, which have been thoroughly elucidated by Cecily Clark jointly with Elisabeth Van Houts.³ Many of the individuals involved can be traced in the fine fourteenth-century cartulary of the abbey, the 'Red Book', now Cambridge University Library, Additional MSS. 3020–21.⁴ More may be traced in the cartularies (and original charters where these survive) of other religious houses in the East Midlands and East Anglia, many of which are in print: these include Alvingham (Lincs.),⁵ Barnwell (Cambs.),⁶ Belvoir (Leics.),⁷ Binham (Norfolk),

¹ This is the second instalment of my series on families recorded in English *libri vitae*; see Moore, 'Family-Entries, Part I'. Even more than the first article it is a tribute to the inspiration and help of the late Cecily Clark. For a list of abbreviated references, see pp. 111–13, below.

² Clark, 'Additional MS 40,000' and 'Catchment Area', and C. Clark, 'A Witness to Post-Conquest English Cultural Patterns: the *Libri Vitae* of Thorney Abbey', in *Studies in honour of René Derolez*, edited by A. M. Simon-Vandenberghe (Ghent, 1987), pp. 73–85.

³ Clark, 'Additional MS 40,000'.

⁴ Davis, *Medieval Cartularies*, p. 110, no. 964. Cecily Clark drew extensively on the evidence of the 'Red Book' in her studies of the Thorney *liber* and I have not thought it necessary to retrace her footsteps.

⁵ Stenton, *Gilbertine Charters*, pp. 102–13. Details of the manuscripts of the cartularies listed below are given in Davis, *Medieval Cartularies*.

⁶ *Libri Memorandum . . . de Bernewelle*, edited by J. W. Clark (Cambridge, 1908).

Blythburgh (Suffolk),⁸ Bradwell (Bucks.), Bromholm (Norfolk), Bury St Edmunds (Suffolk),⁹ Canons Ashby (Northants.), Castle Acre (Norfolk), Chatteris (Cambs.), Coxford (Norfolk), Creake (Norfolk),¹⁰ Croyland (Lincs.), Daventry (Northants.),¹¹ East Deeping (Lincs.), Dunstable (Beds.),¹² Ely (Cambs.),¹³ Eye (Suffolk),¹⁴ Harrold (Beds.),¹⁵ Hickling (Norfolk), St Benet of Holme (Norfolk),¹⁶ Huntingdon (Hunts.),¹⁷ Kirkstead (Lincs.), Langley (Norfolk), Leiston (Suffolk),¹⁸ Lincoln (Lincs.),¹⁹ Marham (Norfolk), Mettingham (Suffolk), Missenden (Bucks.),²⁰ Newnham (Beds.),²¹ Northampton Abbey and Priory (Northants.), Norwich (Norfolk),²² Nun Cotham (Lincs.), Peterborough (Northants.),²³ Pipewell (Northants.), Ramsey

⁷ *Rutland MSS*, IV, 98–173.

⁸ *Charters of Blythburgh Priory*, edited by C. Harper-Bill, Suffolk Charters, 2–3 (1980–81).

⁹ *Feudal Book of Abbot Baldwin*, pp. 45–189.

¹⁰ *A Cartulary of Creake Abbey*, edited by A. L. Bedingfield, Norfolk Record Society, 35 (1966). This contains no pre-1200 material.

¹¹ *Daventry Cartulary*.

¹² *Dunstable Cartulary*.

¹³ *Liber Eliensis*, edited by E. O. Blake, Camden Society, 3rd series, 92 (1962).

¹⁴ *Eye Priory Cartulary*.

¹⁵ *Records of Harrold Priory*, edited by G. H. Fowler, Bedfordshire Historical Records Society, 17 (1935).

¹⁶ *St Benet of Holme, 1020–1210*, edited by J. R. West, Norfolk Records Society, 2–3 (1932).

¹⁷ W. M. Noble, 'The Cartulary of . . . Huntingdon', *Transactions of the Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire Archaeological Society*, 4 (1930), 89–106, 109–24, 217–32, 257–80 and 257–80, deals only with fols 1–27.

¹⁸ *Leiston Abbey Cartulary*, edited by R. H. Mortimer, Suffolk Charters, 1 (1979). This volume also contains the surviving original charters for Butley priory, but there are few before 1200, and none relevant to the present article.

¹⁹ *Registrum Antiquissimum of Lincoln*.

²⁰ *Missenden Cartulary*.

²¹ *The Cartulary of Newnham Priory*, edited by J. Godber, 2 vols, Bedfordshire Historical Records Society, 43 (1963–64).

²² *Norwich Cathedral Charters*, edited by B. Dodwell, 2 vols, PRS, n.s., 40 and 46 (1974, 1985).

²³ The contents of the Peterborough cartularies are surveyed in J. D. Martin, *The Cartularies and Registers of Peterborough Abbey*, Northamptonshire Record Society, 28 (1978). The only Peterborough cartulary in print, *Carte Nativorum*, edited by C. N. L. Brooke and M. M. Postan, Northamptonshire

(Hunts.),²⁴ St Neot's (Hunts.), Sibton (Suffolk),²⁵ Snelshall (Bucks.),²⁶ Spalding (Lincs.), Stixwould (Lincs.), Stoke by Clare (Suffolk),²⁷ Walsingham (Norfolk), Wardon (Beds.),²⁸ and Wymondham (Norfolk). In addition, the Norfolk and Cambridgeshire sections of the Lewes Priory cartulary are in print,²⁹ and scattered references also occur in the records of non-local foundations and in modern editions of charters and charter-collections.³⁰ All the national sources and reference works based on them, listed in part I of this series, remain relevant to the identification of individuals in the Thorney *liber*,³¹ together with the Lincoln and Norwich volumes of the *English Episcopal Acta* series and Dr Farrer's notable work on *Feudal Cambridgeshire*.³² In addition to Domesday Book itself, there are the two 'satellite' texts, the *Inquisitio Comitatus Cantabrigiensis (ICC)* and the *Inquisitio Eliensis (IE)*, copies of documents from earlier stages in the Domesday survey preserving additional information which was 'edited out' in the final version of Domesday Book, especially in the so-called 'Exchequer Domesday'.³³

Thanks to the work done by Cecily Clark, no discussion is needed either of the chronology of the Thorney *liber* or of the 'catchment area' from which its donors came.³⁴ As I have already noted in part I, *libri vitae* are of considerable value for a variety of historical matters

Record Society, 20 (1960), contains little pre-1200 material; what there is is of no help in the present context.

²⁴ *Ramsey Cartulary*.

²⁵ *Sibton Abbey Cartularies and Charters*, edited by P. Brown, Suffolk Charters, 7–10 (1985–88).

²⁶ *Cartulary of Snelshall Priory*, edited by J. G. Jenkins, Buckinghamshire Record Society, 9 (1952).

²⁷ *Stoke Cartulary*.

²⁸ *Old Wardon Cartulary*.

²⁹ *Lewes Chartulary (Norfolk); The Cambridgeshire Portion of the Chartulary of Lewes*, edited by J. H. Bullock and W. M. Palmer (Cambridge, 1938).

³⁰ *Book of Seals*; Stenton, *Danelaw Charters, Northamptonshire Charters and Gilbertine Charters; Mowbray Charters*; and *Rutland MSS*, IV, 3–91. D. C. Douglas, *The Social Structure of Medieval East Anglia* (Oxford, 1927), Appendix I, contains nothing relevant to the Thorney *liber*.

³¹ Moore, 'Family-Entries, Part I', pp. 110–12.

³² *Lincoln Acta; Norwich Acta*; Farrer, *Feudal Cambs.*

³³ I have a new edition of *ICC* and *IE* in preparation.

³⁴ See references cited in n. 2 above.

besides their interest for historical demography. There is plenty of evidence in the Thorney *liber*, as in the Hyde *liber*, of the prevalence of married clergy in late Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman England. On fol. 10r, dated by Clark and Van Houts to 1099 × 1113, occur 'Sumerlede the priest, Wilfred his wife and Ælvive his daughter' (entry no. 63, below) and 'Gunni the priest, his wife Iswara and Meryet his daughter' (entry no. 64, below). On fol. 9v, dated to 1100 × 1115/1120, there are references to W[ul]fwi the priest 'and his son Ægelwine' and, later on the same folio, to Godgifu 'wife of Wulwi the priest' who may be the same man. On fol. 3v, written in the 1130s, there is a reference to 'the wife of the archdeacon', who Cecily Clark thought was either the chronicler Henry of Huntingdon or his father, also a married archdeacon.³⁵ Finally, on fol. 2v, written between 1140 and 1160, are recorded, in the time of Bishop Nigel of Ely (1133–69), Wulfric, priest of Tydd (Lincs.), who was the son of Lefsi 'the priest, his father'. It is clear from these entries that the Gregorian programme for clerical celibacy had made little headway in the East Midlands before the mid-twelfth century;³⁶ the enthusiastic attempts of some bishops to enforce celibacy, even decreeing enslavement for clerical wives in the Council of 1129,³⁷ were of no avail given resistance at grass-roots level, the persistence of marriage even among the bishops—Henry I's chief minister, Bishop Roger of Salisbury, being the most prominent example,³⁸ whilst a local bishop, probably Everard of Calne, bishop of Norwich 1121–45, is recorded in the *liber* as having four sons and a daughter (entry no. 56, below)—and the collusion of the Crown. As Henry of Huntingdon himself noted after the 1129 Council, 'nothing had changed'.³⁹

³⁵ Clark, 'Additional MS 40,000', pp. 63–64.

³⁶ For other evidence of continued clerical marriage, see the references assembled in Moore, 'Family Entries, part I', p. 109, n. 43, and for the complete failure of the campaign against clerical marriage in Norwich diocese see C. Harper-Bill, 'The struggle for benefices in East Anglia', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 11 (1989), 113–32 (pp. 126–28).

³⁷ *Councils and Synods with other Documents Relating to the English Church*, I, 871–1204, edited by D. Whitelock, M. Brett and C. N. L. Brooke, 2 parts (Oxford, 1981), II, 748. The ineffectiveness of prohibitions on clerical marriage is demonstrated by their repetition in 1138, 1156, 1175, 1195 and 1200 (*ibid*, pp. 776, 833, 979, 1051, 1067 and 1072).

³⁸ E. J. Kealey, *Roger of Salisbury* (Berkeley, 1972), pp. 22–23 and 272–74.

The Thorney *liber* also provides evidence for intermarriage between Norman and English and for the adoption by English parents of Norman forenames for their children, which were themes developed by Cecily Clark.⁴⁰ The evidence for the intermarriage of Normans and English (or, to be precise, men with Norman names and women with English names) is set out in Table 1 (see Appendix, pp. 114–17), arranged chronologically, in which the forenames of husbands and wives have been classified as Insular (I) or Continental (C); the dating adopted, both in this table and in Section II, is that of the handwriting on each folio as worked out by Clark and Van Houts, unless there are good historical reasons to support an earlier date for specific entries. As Clark showed, although the earliest part of the *liber* (fols. 10r–v) was written probably between 1099 and 1113, its 'horizon' or 'catchment period' dated back at least to the 1030s, since on fol. 10r the 'names of the brothers of this place' started with Kings Cnut, Harold [Harefoot] and Harthacnut, and Cnut's second wife, Queen Emma.⁴¹

As a comparison with the corresponding Table in part I (*Nomina*, 16) shows, there is very much more evidence bearing on this point of intermarriage in the Thorney *liber* (names of 105 couples between c. 1060 and c. 1190) than in the Hyde *liber* (names of 23 couples between c. 1060 and c. 1140). The period after the Norman Conquest witnessed a change from marriages in which both spouses bore English or Anglo-Scandinavian names and were indeed of English or Anglo-Scandinavian descent, towards an increasing number of marriages in the period from 1066 to c. 1120 between men who in the main have Continental names and women who still mainly have Insular ones. Since we are for the most part dealing with people able to give land to Thorney Abbey in return for the spiritual benefits of confraternity, we are therefore principally considering men who are at least substantial free peasants and mostly of knightly rank, and it is thus hard not to see here incoming foreign bachelors acquiring English

³⁹ *Henrici Huntendunensis Historia Anglorum*, edited by T. Arnold, Rolls Series (London, 1879), pp. 250–51.

⁴⁰ C. Clark, 'Willelmus Rex? vel alius Willelmus?', *Nomina*, 11 (1987), 7–33. For an attempt to develop the historical implications of this linguistic analysis, see J. S. Moore, 'The Norman Yoke?', *Bulletin of the Manorial Society of Great Britain*, n.s., 2 (1993), 5–13.

⁴¹ Clark, 'Additional MS 40,000', pp. 57–58.

wives, often, we may suspect, together with their wives' land. After about 1120, marriages at this social level involving either men or women with English names decline to vanishing point by the middle of the twelfth century: the last two married couples recorded in the Thorney *liber* who both had recognisably native names date from the 1130s: Den and Stanburh, Huscarl and Estrild. Already by then men with Insular names are marrying women with Continental names Tovi and Agnes, Turchil and Cecilia. After the mid-twelfth century all the married couples in the Thorney *liber* have Continental names: but since there is no historical evidence for any large influx of foreigners after the time of the Domesday survey in this area—unlike, say, the North of England or Pembrokeshire⁴²—the only possible explanation for the phenomena observed is the widespread adoption of Continental names by native people, earlier by men, later by women, in and after Henry I's reign. (A complicating factor here is the need to distinguish between Insular Scandinavian names and Norman Scandinavian names, and the difficulty of so doing.) By the middle of the reign of Henry I's grandson Henry II the very great majority of men and women in the upper social strata—all those in the Thorney *liber*, as noted—have Continental names, regardless of their racial origin. And it is precisely at this time, early in Henry II's reign, that Richard Fitz Nigel, interestingly the son of the local bishop Nigel of Ely, remarked in his *Dialogue of the Exchequer* that 'Nowadays, when English and Norman live close together and marry and give in marriage to each other, the nations are so mixed that it can hardly be decided, in the case of freemen, who is born English and who is born Norman.'⁴³

As I have noted elsewhere, there may have been some exaggeration, but not a lot; if the picture had been wildly overdrawn

⁴² See W. E. Kapelle, *The Norman Conquest of the North: the Region and its Transformation, 1000-1135* (London, 1979), chapter 7, especially pp. 225-30, for the settlement of northern England by immigrants from Lower Normandy, Brittany and Flanders in Henry I's reign. I. W. Rowlands, 'The Making of the March: Aspects of the Norman settlement in Dyfed', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 3 (1981), 142-57 (pp. 146-48 and 152), and references cited on pp. 222-23, notes 17-18 and 21-24, summarises the evidence for the settlement of Flemings in Pembrokeshire from the 1110s.

⁴³ *The Course of the Exchequer*, edited by C. Johnson and others, 2nd edition (Oxford, 1983), p. 53.

its didactic purpose would have been frustrated.⁴⁴ Royal policy also played a part: Henry I married Edith-Matilda, who next to Edgar Ætheling was the senior representative of the old Wessex dynasty, to help secure his position on the throne, and according to a near-contemporary he encouraged Norman nobles to marry English gentlewomen.⁴⁵ And, of course, Edith-Matilda herself is a case in point of assimilation through name-change or, in her instance, name-addition.

Hardly surprisingly, therefore, there is also plentiful evidence for the increasing adoption of Norman names for their children even by parents bearing English or Anglo-Scandinavian names, who must have been English or Anglo-Scandinavian by origin since there is no evidence for the adoption by Normans of English names much before the thirteenth century, when it was restricted to a few popular names such as Alfred or Edward. Moreover, the offspring of presumed mixed marriages sometimes had forenames recalling both parental bloodlines. A husband with the Anglo-Scandinavian name *Arnthórr* ('Arturus') who is recorded in *DB* in 1066 and had a wife with the English name *Godgiua* nevertheless gave his son the continental name *Ingelran* (entry no. 43): this must have happened very soon after the Norman Conquest since Ingelran was an adult in the 1080s. 'Alfgar and his sister Matilda' on folio 10r at the very least exemplify the adoption of a French name, interestingly (and rarely) by a girl before the boy, by c.1110: since their names immediately follow, and are apparently in the same hand as, the entry relating to 'Vivian', probably Vivian the Angevin of Churchfield (Northants.), a minor knightly tenant of Peterborough Abbey in Henry I's reign, they may well be younger children of 'Vivian', whose wife bore the English name *Hilwet* and whose eldest son was named Robert (entry no. 62). On folio 3v, written in the 1130s, Berengar is recorded as the son of Brictrmer and his wife Ædiue, and further down that folio Den and Stanburh, both of English stock to judge from their names, had two sons and a daughter to whom they gave Norman names (Hugh, William, Emma) and one daughter with the English name *Leuiua* (entry no. 59). In the same period the Englishman Tovi of Lowick (Northants.) is recorded

⁴⁴ Moore, 'Norman Yoke?', p. 9.

⁴⁵ Walter Map, quoted in A. L. Poole, *From Domesday Book to Magna Carta, 1087-1216*, 2nd edition (Oxford, 1955), p. 2.

as having married a wife named Agnes and both their sons bore Norman names, Ralph and Robert, whilst Avice, who may well have been their daughter, bore a Continental name (entry no. 37); similarly, the Anglo-Scandinavian Huscarl had a wife with the Anglo-Danish name *Estrild*, a son Robert and probably two daughters with Norman names, *Ivretta* and Siron (entry no. 39).

II. Family-entries in the Thorney Abbey *Liber Vitae*

The entries are cited below from Cecily Clark's typescript, checked against the manuscript. Names are given as in the manuscript, except that consonantal u has been altered to v; passages in square brackets are mainly not restorations of lost manuscript readings, but historical deductions. The discussion of each entry is necessarily compressed, and to save further space the titles of works frequently cited have been abbreviated: these are listed at the end of the article (pp. 111–13). The foliation of the MS is indicated, followed by Clark's dating of each folio, within square brackets, in bold type. The transcript of each family entry in the *liber*, also printed in bold type and numbered for ease of reference in a continuous sequence following on from the Hyde Abbey family-entries, starting at no. 34, is followed by a discussion of the evidence for identification and dating. Where my discussion is based on conversations with Cecily Clark the contents of which have not been printed, these are denoted by '(C.C.)'. It will also be apparent how much I owe to the Anglo-Norman database being developed by Dr Katherine Keats-Rohan and the Linacre Unit for Prosopographical Research at Linacre College, Oxford.

fol. 1v. [1175 × 1190]

34. Ricardus de Fleth et Juliana uxor eius et Sarra filia eorum.

Richard of Fleet (Lincs.) was active from 1160 to 1195.⁴⁶ In addition to Fleet Richard also held land in Market Rasen and witnessed two grants of land there to Sixle Priory.⁴⁷ Richard's father Goce[lin] appears in entry no. 46.

⁴⁶ Clark, 'Additional MS 40,000', p. 61, and 'Catchment Area', p. 62; Smith, *Lincoln Acta*, pp. 64–65 and 186.

⁴⁷ Stenton, *Gilbertine Charters*, pp. 21 and 30.

fol. 2r. [1130 × 1140]

35. Willelmus de Albinico, Cecilia uxor eius, filii eius Willelmus, Rogerius, Matildis filia eius.

Compare entry no. 38, entered presumably at a slightly later date after the births of Robert and Basilia, where the family will be considered in detail.

36. Guillelmus Flandrensis de Tornehaga et Mabilia uxor eius [et filii eius] Aluredus, Rodbertus, Hugo.

William the Fleming, of Thornhaugh (Northants.), occurs in the 1129–30 Pipe Roll as paying a fine 'for [having] Mabel, the widow of Richard de St Medard, with her dower'.⁴⁸ Although Alured, Robert and Hugh are not stated to be William's sons, their names are written on the same line and in the same hand as William and Mabel. Since William can hardly have married Mabel before 1129, this entry must have been made late in the 1130s if Alured, Robert and Hugh were indeed their sons. William the Fleming certainly witnessed a grant of the mill of Welford (Northants.) to Northampton Priory in 1138 × 1150 and was probably the *W^o Flandrensis* who witnessed a grant by Geoffrey Ridel of lands in Leicestershire, Northamptonshire and Rutland in c. 1160,⁴⁹ since Richard de St Medard's widow, whom William the Fleming married as her second husband, was Mabel Ridel: William the Fleming therefore held Thornhaugh and other lands constituting the St Medard fees of Peterborough Abbey *iure uxoris*. William also gave land in Midloe (Hunts.) to Old Wardon Abbey in 1146 × 1153.⁵⁰ William may have succeeded Walter the Fleming, lord of the barony of Odell (Beds.) in 1086, about whom nothing is known after 1087 (*DB*), and William may therefore have been Walter's son.⁵¹ Richard de St Medard was the son of Ansketel who in 1086 held Wittering, which then included Thornhaugh, from the abbot of Peterborough (*DB*), and he can be identified from the

⁴⁸ *P.R. 31 Hen.I*, pp. 83–4; Clark, 'Additional MS 40,000', p. 60.

⁴⁹ *Mowbray Charters*, p. 259; Stenton, *Danelaw Charters*, pp. 337–38.

⁵⁰ *Pytchley's Book of Fees*, pp. xviii, li, 22 and 26 n.1; *Old Wardon Cartulary*, p. 147.

⁵¹ Sanders, *English Baronies*, p. 68; *Dunstaple Cartulary*, p. 266.

'Northamptonshire Survey' and other sources as Ansketel de St Medard. Richard was in turn succeeded by his son Geoffrey, who had come of age by 1146.⁵²

37. Touius de Lufuico et Agnes uxor eius et Radulfus filius eius et alter filius eius Rodbertus.

Tovi of Lowick granted lands in Lowick and Raunds (Northants.) to Thorney Abbey *pro fraternitate*;⁵³ he was dead some years before 1136 × 1138, when Adeliza, widow of Gilbert Fitz Richard (see entry no. 44), confirmed his gifts to Thorney, at which time one of Tovi's sons was dead and Avice, wife of Ralf fitz Nigel, was described as one of Tovi's heirs, along with one of Tovi's sons; whether she was Tovi's daughter, as Stenton speculated, is not known, though this seems a reasonable surmise.⁵⁴ Tovi may well be the son of Algar who held land in both Lowick and Raunds in 1086 (*DB*).

38. Willelmus de Albenico, Cecilia uxor eius, Willelmus, Rodbertus, Rogerus filii eius, Matildis, Basilia filie eius.

Compare entry no. 35, entered presumably rather earlier, since Robert and Basilia are not recorded in the first entry and must have been born later. This entry also mentions William's clerk, Roger, and two of his knights, Godfrey and Ralph. William d'Aubigny Brito (I), who died in 1133 × 1155, was lord of the barony of Belvoir (Leics.) *iure uxoris*, Cecily de Bigod; his eldest son William (II), who succeeded him, died in 1168.⁵⁵ William (I) granted lands at Pipewell and Stoke Albany (Northants.) to Thorney Abbey, probably in the first quarter of the twelfth century; he also witnessed royal charters in favour of Ramsey Abbey in 1129.⁵⁶ William (II) granted the church of Redmile (Leics.) to Belvoir Priory in c. 1165 'with the assent of Cecily my mother'; Robert was a major tenant of his brother William (II) in 1166.⁵⁷

⁵² Round, *Feudal England*, p. 157; *VCH Northants*, II, 530; *Pytchley's Book of Fees*, pp. li and 26 n.1.

⁵³ Clark, 'Catchment Area', p. 63; *Lincoln Acta*, p. 169.

⁵⁴ Stenton, *Northamptonshire Charters*, pp. 52-4; Clark, 'Additional MS 40,000', p. 60.

⁵⁵ Sanders, *English Baronies*, p. 12.

⁵⁶ Clark, 'Catchment Area', p. 66; *Lincoln Acta*, p. 169; *Ramsey Chronicle*, pp. 224 and 226; *Ramsey Cartulary*, I, 243 and 245.

The block in which this entry occurs begins with the name of William (I)'s father Main, who is probably not Mainou le Breton, lord of the barony of Wolverton (Bucks.) in 1086, but Main of Saint-Aubin-d'Aubigne (Ille-et-Vilaine).⁵⁸ The entry also names Humphrey de Bohun (I), lord of the barony of Trowbridge (Wilts.), who died in c. 1129, as his uncle. Since Humphrey's wife is known to have been Maud, daughter of Edward of Salisbury, who died in 1130, lord of the barony of Chitterne (Wilts.) and also one of the eleventh-century lords of the barony of Trowbridge,⁵⁹ this statement presumably means that Mainou married a sister of Humphrey de Bohun (I), very possibly the Adeleisa who is entered in the *liber* between Main and Humphrey, since charter evidence exists to prove that Main's wife was called Adeleisa.⁶⁰ In addition to William, Robert and Roger, William (I) had a fourth son Ralph, who witnessed both a charter of Simon de Ropsley granting land at Long Clawson (Lincs.) to Belvoir Priory before 1168, and his mother Cecily's charter granting the church of Uffington (Lincs.) to Belvoir Priory in 1168 × 1177, and whose assent to the grant of Redmile church to Belvoir Priory by his elder brother William (II) in c. 1165 is also recorded.⁶¹ There is apparently no other evidence for the existence of William (I)'s daughters Matilda and Basilia.

39. Huscarl, Estrild uxor eius, Ivtetta, Siron, Robertus filius Huscarl.

Huscarl is quite possibly the Huscarl named in the *ICC*, who can thus be identified as one of the three freemen holding Swaffham Bulbeck (Cambs.) from the abbot of Ely in 1066; these three freemen can further be identified with the three knights still holding that vill in 1086 (*DB*), when 'Huscarl of Swaffham' was named as one of the jurors for Stane hundred (*ICC*). 'Ivtetta' (*recte* Ivetta) and Siron, entered

⁵⁷ *Rutland MSS*, IV, 99-100; *Red Book of the Exchequer*, I, 328.

⁵⁸ Clark, 'Catchment Area', p. 66; E. King, 'The Foundation of Pipewell Abbey', *Haskins Society Journal*, 2 (1990), 167-88 (p. 175); information from Dr Katherine Keats-Rohan.

⁵⁹ Sanders, *English Baronies*, pp. 91, 100 and 112.

⁶⁰ Bibliothèque de la ville d'Avranches, MS 210, fols. 78r-v, a reference for which I am again indebted to Dr Keats-Rohan.

⁶¹ *Rutland MSS*, IV, 99-100, 130 and 144.

between Estrild and Robert in the same hand, were probably Huscarl's daughters.

40. *Asketinus de Ros, Beatrix uxor eius, Willelmus de Ros, Asketinus [filii eius].*

Asketinus de Ros has not yet been identified, unless this is a mistake for either Ansketel of Rots, who held parts of Sheepshall and Watton-at-Stone (Herts.) and parts of Gillingham and Maidstone (Kent) from the archbishop of Canterbury, Ashenfield (Kent) from St Augustine's abbey, Canterbury, and ten Kentish manors from Odo of Bayeux in 1086 (*DB*);⁶² or for a man called *Ascelinus* (which could easily be miscopied as *Asketinus*): possible identifications include 'Azelin, Gilbert of Ghent's man' who held Little Lavington (Lincs.) in 1086, or the 'Ascelin' who held several manors in Essex (*DB*). Dr Keats-Rohan in correspondence has noted, firstly, that Ansketil de Rots was, as stated above, a major tenant in Kent of Odo of Bayeux, who also held a large fief in Lincolnshire, and, secondly, that Tydd St Mary (Lincs.) probably came to William de Ros from his mother Beatrice de Montbegon. This would explain why no-one called *A(n)sketin* or *A(n)sketel* was recorded in 1086 in connection with Tydd St Mary (*DB*), where Asketin's son William gave land to Thorney (see next entry), or indeed anywhere in Lincolnshire either in 1086 or in the 'Lindsey Survey' of 1115 × 1118.⁶³ William and Asketinus [junior], entered on the same line and by the same hand as Asketinus [senior] and Beatrix, were probably their sons. Given the rarity of the name *Asketinus* or *Anketinus* and also the Lincolnshire connection, it is perhaps significant that an Aschetinus was priest of Wainfleet (Lincs.) in c. 1180, and that an Anketin son of Hugh was lord of Prestwold (Lincs) in Henry II's reign.⁶⁴

Accepting as a working assumption the identity of 'Asketinus' de Ros and Ansketel of Rots, it is necessary to produce confirmatory evidence. The later history of the de Rots manor of Watton-at-Stone is obscure, and the archbishop's part of Sheepshall had been returned to St Albans' Abbey by 1087.⁶⁵ Although the tenancy of part of

⁶² *Domesday Monachorum*, pp. 18, 29, 36, 85–6, 101 and 105.

⁶³ *The Lincolnshire Domesday and the Lindsey Survey*, edited by C. W. Foster and T. Longley, Lincoln Record Society, 19 (1924).

⁶⁴ *Feudal Book of Abbot Baldwin*, p. 178; Stenton, *Gilbertine Charters*, p. 93.

Gillingham from the archbishop was shared between Ansketel de Rots and Robert Brutin in 1086, this is later found solely in the hands of the Brutin family: but Ansketel de Rots's tenancy of part of Maidstone from the archbishop of Canterbury in 1086 was represented in 1171 by the hamlets of Cooling and Cossington in Maidstone held by William de Ros, who is arguably the William de Ros, son of 'Asketinus', in this entry and the husband of Matilda de Ros in the following entry.⁶⁶ The final confiscation of Odo of Bayeux's honour in 1088 may have provided the occasion for Ansketel de Rots to move into part of Odo's estates in Lincolnshire; alternatively, his move may have followed his marriage to Beatrix de Montbegon, a member of a Lincolnshire family. If this identification is correct, the family originated from Rots in Calvados, and other members of the family besides Ansketel were 'prominent in eleventh-century Kent'.⁶⁷ As an alternative, Dr Keats-Rohan has also suggested to me that the family may have come from Roz-sur-Couesnon in Brittany, and thus formed part of the Breton immigration into the East Midlands in Henry I's reign.

41. *Matildis uxor Willielmi de Ros, Rodbertus filius eius.*

William de Ros is presumably not entered again because he was entered above (no. 40) as probable son of Asketinus de Ros [senior]. William de Ros gave 60 acres in Tydd St Mary (Lincs.) to Thorney Abbey in return for spiritual benefits for himself and his wife Maud before 1151, and witnessed other grants in favour of Thorney.⁶⁸ If my identification of his father is correct, William de Ros was still alive in 1171, when he was recorded as the tenant of Cooling and Cossington (Kent), but must have died soon afterwards, since his son Robert had died by 1210 × 1212 when a later William de Ros held these lands. William de Ros had certainly died before 1185 when his widow Matilda, described as daughter of Richard de Camville, and their three sons and four daughters were in royal custody together with their lands in Hildersham (Cams).⁶⁹ Since the *Rotuli de Dominabus* do not

⁶⁵ *VCH Herts*, II, 443, and III, 161; du Boulay, *Lordship of Canterbury*, p. 45, n. 5.

⁶⁶ du Boulay, *Lordship of Canterbury*, pp. 345 and 357.

⁶⁷ *Domesday Monachorum*, pp. 29–30 and 36.

⁶⁸ Red Book of Thorney, p. 244 (C.C.); *Lincoln Acta*, pp. 166–67; Clark, 'Catchment Area', p. 71.

cover Kent, they throw no light on the suggested identity of the Ros families of Cambridgeshire and Kent. A minor puzzle is that Matilda is described in 1185 as aged 40 although her eldest son was then 20; even allowing for the stated age being approximate, this would cast doubt on the dating of this folio as 1130 × 1140, since Matilda, even if born in the late 1130s, could hardly be recorded as already married to William de Ros by 1140 and already having a son. This problem can be resolved if we assume that 'xl' in the *Rotuli* was a mistake for 'lx': Matilda would then have been born in the early 1120s and could have married William de Ros and had a son by c. 1140. But the Robert recorded in the entry above must have died before his father since the unnamed eldest son was only 20 in 1185: even so, the two other surviving sons must have been born after 1165, when their mother would have been in her forties.

42. Gilebertus de Fulchesuurðe, Erenburg uxor eius, Rodbertus, Radulfus, Henricus, filii eius.

Gilbert [Meilleme] of Folksworth (Hunts.) witnessed an agreement of 1127 between Thorney Abbey and Robert of Yaxley and was admitted to confraternity in Abbot Robert's time (1113–51), though he later became a monk at Crowland Abbey.⁷⁰ The entry is followed by 'Wido, Elias, Rohes filia eius' in the same hand: the Crowland cartulary proves that Guy was certainly Gilbert's son whilst Elias, alias Elias of Whitwell, who died in c. 1199, was Gilbert's brother and Roesia was certainly Elias's daughter.⁷¹

43. Arturus, pater Ingelranni, et Godgiva mater eius.

Arturus, a form of Old Norse *Arnthórr*, was probably the man of the same name ('Artor') holding Keddington (Lincs.) from the bishop of Durham in 1066 (*DB*; C.C.). It is uncertain whether Arnthórr's son was the Ingelram who is known to have been admitted to confraternity in Abbot Gunter's period of office (1085–1112), when he restored lands in Whittlesey (Cambs.) to Thorney Abbey, or Ingelran the chamberlain who frequently witnessed Thorney charters, if indeed

⁶⁹ du Boulay, *Lordship of Canterbury*, p. 357; *Rotuli de Dominabus*, p. 84.

⁷⁰ Clark, 'Additional MS 40,000', p. 60, and 'Catchment Area', p. 62.

⁷¹ *Lincoln Acta*, pp. 67–68; *VCH Cambs*, V, 162.

these are not the same man.⁷²

44. Gilebertus filius Ricardi, Ricardus filius eius . . . Aaliz uxor Gileberti filii Ricardi, Comes Gilebertus, Galterius, Hervicus, Hugo, Guido filii sui, . . . Rohes, Aviza, Margareta, Aaliz natae sue.

Gilbert Fitz Richard, also known as Gilbert of Tonbridge (Kent) and Gilbert de Clare, was lord of the barony of Clare (Suffolk) from c. 1090 to 1114 × 1117; his wife Adeliza or Alice was the daughter of Hugh, Count of Clermont, and his wife Marguerite who are entered, with Marguerite's second husband Burchard de Montmorency, immediately after Gilbert's eldest son Richard Fitz Gilbert, alias Richard de Clare II, who succeeded his father as lord of Clare, and died in 1136. 'Comes Gilebertus' was Gilbert Fitz Richard's second son, Gilbert Fitz Gilbert, Earl of Pembroke from 1138, who died in c. 1148. Soon after 1136, probably in 1138, Gilbert joined with his mother, his surviving brothers Walter and Baldwin (who is unaccountably omitted from this entry) and his sister Roesie in giving land to Thorney.⁷³ Thus all the *filii sui* and *nate sue* were Gilbert Fitz Richard's sons and daughters, except for Hervey who was a posthumous stepson, being Alice's son by her second husband. Of Gilbert's daughters, the firstborn, Margaret, married William de Montfichet, lord of the barony of Stansted Mountfichet (Essex), who died in 1135 × 1156; she was still alive, aged '60 and more' in 1185. The second daughter, Aviza, also known as Adeliza, married William de Percy (II), lord of the barony of Topcliffe (Yorks.), who died in 1174–75; the third daughter, Rohese, married Baderon of Monmouth, lord of the barony of Monmouth, who died in 1170 × 1176; and the fourth daughter, Alice, married Aubrey de Vere II, who died in 1141 (see entry no. 74).⁷⁴

⁷² Clark, 'Additional MS 40,000', pp. 56 and 65.

⁷³ Stenton, *Northamptonshire Charters*, pp. 52–54.

⁷⁴ J. H. Round, 'The Family of Clare', *Archaeological Journal*, 56 (1899), 221–31; *Complete Peerage*, III, 243, VI, 498–99, and X, 348–49; Sanders, *English Baronies*, pp. 34–35, 52, 65, 83 and 148; J. C. Ward, 'Royal Service and Reward: the Clare family and the Crown, 1066–1214', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 11 (1989), 261–78, especially the genealogical chart on p. 262, which corrects M. Altschul, *A Baronial Family in Medieval England: The Clares, 1217–1314* (Baltimore, 1965), Table I following p. 332; *Rotuli de Dominabus*, pp. 85–86.

Gilbert Fitz Richard founded Clare Priory shortly after the death of his father Richard Fitz Gilbert in c. 1090; his son Richard relocated it at Stoke by Clare.⁷⁵ The entry also mentions Robert the chaplain and Robert the steward, presumably of Richard de Clare (II)'s eldest son Gilbert, who was created Earl of Hertford in c. 1140, and who also appears in the entry as 'Gilebertus comes de Hereford', *Hereford* being a known twelfth-century variant form of Hertford.⁷⁶

45. Anandus et uxor sua et filii sui et filie.

Anand, an Old Norse name, is not common in England or Normandy; he may well be either the Anand who was 'one of King Edward's huscarls' holding part of Bengeo (Herts.) in 1066 or the Anand, thegn, who held Dersingham, Langley and Shropham (Norfolk) in 1066 (*DB*), though both these references seem rather too early, since most of the people mentioned on this page were active in the period c.1090 – c.1140. Another, and perhaps better identification, is the Anand whose widow Batilda held his land in Massingham (Norfolk) when it was granted to Lewes Priory, presumably before c. 1150 since Hugh son of Anand witnessed another grant to Lewes Priory of land in Eton and Walpole (Norfolk) in 1156–57.⁷⁷

fol. 2v. [1140 × 1160]

46. Goce de Flet, Gunnor [uxor eius], Ricardus filius eius, Fulco filius eius.

Goce[lin] of Fleet (Lincs.) granted lands in Tydd St Mary (Lincs.) to Thorney Abbey, probably in the second quarter of the twelfth century, his sons Richard and Fulk being witnesses. As Gocelin of Fleet, he gave Fleet church to Castle Acre priory in Henry II's reign.⁷⁸ Goce[lin]'s elder son Richard appears as a husband in entry no. 34.

47. Johannes de Nova Villa, Emmecina, Matildis filie eius.

John de Neville has not yet been certainly identified: he cannot be reliably linked to either the Nevilles of Scotton (Lincs.) or the Nevilles

⁷⁵ *Stoke Cartulary*, I, 54–62 and 108–21, and III, 2.

⁷⁶ *PN Herts*, p. 225.

⁷⁷ *Lewes Chartulary (Norfolk)*, pp. 48 and 63.

⁷⁸ Clark, 'Catchment Area', p. 62; *Lincoln Acta*, pp. 64–65 and 167; Stenton, *Danelaw Charters*, p. lxxxvi, n. 2.

of Walcote (Lincs.), both of whom were tenants of Peterborough Abbey. Gilbert de Neville of Walcote held his lands from before 1086 (*DB*) to after 1115 × 1118; by 1146, the holder was Geoffrey de Neville, though he may not have been Gilbert's immediate successor.⁷⁹ Ralph de Neville of Scotton also held his lands from before 1086 (*DB*) to after 1115 × 1118; by 1166, these lands were held by Robert de Neville.⁸⁰ In both cases, therefore, John could be fitted into the direct line of descent in a period of obscurity, but since he apparently only had daughters he can hardly have been succeeded by a man (presumably a younger brother) bearing the same surname. Much more probably, however, John was himself a younger son. In 1139 John de Neville certainly gave Great Sturton (Lincs.), held of the bishop of Lincoln, to the monks of Fountains for a new monastery which was moved to Kirkstead (Lincs.) in 1187.⁸¹ Given the relative rarity of the diminutive form *Emmecina*, it is possible that John's elder daughter was the Emmecina who was first the wife of Geoffrey son of Fulk d'Oyry in the second quarter of the twelfth century and secondly the wife of Walter de Cantelu in the 1150s: she apparently passed her inherited lands at Gedney and Whaplode (Lincs.) to her d'Oyry descendants.⁸²

48. Robertus pater Johannis [de Stuteuilla] et mater eius Erenburga.

Robert de Stuteville II was the eldest son of Robert de Stuteville I who succeeded to the barony of Cottingham (Yorks.) held by Hugh Fitz Baldric in 1086. Both father and son supported Count Robert of Normandy and were imprisoned for life after the battle of Tinchebrai in 1106, losing their English estates as a result. Robert de Stuteville II had at least four other sons and a daughter as well as John de Stuteville, whose wife Agnes is also mentioned later in the same entry. John founded a junior line in Warwickshire in c. 1138 and died in c. 1184; he gave the church and half the village of Wing (Rutland) to Thorney in 1151 × 1154, doubtless the occasion for this entry in the *liber*.⁸³

⁷⁹ *EYC*, II, 462; *Pytchley's Book of Fees*, p. 104, n. 1.

⁸⁰ *Pytchley's Book of Fees*, p. 106, n. 1.

⁸¹ Stenton, *Danelaw Charters*, p. 150; *Lincoln Acta*, p. 87.

⁸² K. Major, *The d'Oyrys of South Lincolnshire, Norfolk and Holderness, 1130–1275* (Lincoln, 1984), pp. 1, 3–7, 9, 14, 46–47 and chart following p. 80.

49. Walerannus . . . Hugo pater Waleranni, mater eius Matildis.

Since the references to Waleran and his family are interspersed among the references to John de Stuteville in entry no. 48, he can probably be identified with the Waleran who witnessed the abovementioned grant by John de Stuteville of Wing (Rutland) to Thorney Abbey in 1151 × 1154 and another grant by John de Stuteville of Long Lawford (Warks.) to Pipewell Abbey in 1161 × 1182.⁸⁴ Given this geographical span, Waleran may perhaps be the brother of Gilbert of Hoby, both of whom witnessed a charter of land in Twyford (Leics.) in Henry II's reign.⁸⁵

50. Radulfus Cheneduit, Willelmus Cheneduit filius suus, Radulfus Cheneduit, Simon Cheneduit, Roger Chehneduit, . . . Matildis de Port uxor eius, Matildis et Matildis filie eius.

The genealogy of the Cheneduit family is a little difficult to unravel, and its elucidation is further impeded by the non-appearance of the volumes of *VCH Northants* covering the western part of the county where many of the family estates lay.⁸⁶ In 1086 a man called Ralph held of Robert Count of Mortain the manor of Shenley (Herts.) and part of King's Langley (Herts.) which later formed the manor of Chenduits or Shendish (*DB*); he also held from the Count of Mortain the manors of Charlton, Charwelton, West Farnden, Foxley, Furtho, Nether Heyford, Hanging Houghton, Middleton Cheneduit [later Middleton Cheney], Syresham, Toffield and Welton (Northants.) (*DB*), most of which were held by or from Simon Cheneduit of the honour of Berkhamstead in the 'Northamptonshire Survey' of 1124 × 1153; in Buckinghamshire he held, again from the Count of Mortain, the manors of Cheddington, Ivinghoe Aston, Pitstone Morants, Salden in Mursley and Swanbourne, all of which the Chenduits later held, as well as Horsenden, Wavendon and Woughton where no later Cheneduit interest is traceable (*DB*).⁸⁷ Round therefore deduced that

⁸³ *EYC*, IX, 1-5, 23-26 and 132.

⁸⁴ *EYC*, IX, 131-32.

⁸⁵ Stenton, *Danelaw Charters*, pp. 340-41.

⁸⁶ Compare *Dunstaple Cartulary*, pp. 290-91.

⁸⁷ *VCH Herts*, II, 240 and 265; *VCH Northants*, I, 368-71, 373-74, 377 and 380; *VCH Bucks*, III, 332, 382, 404, 407-08 and 430.

Ralph could be identified as Ralph Cheneduit and that Simon was his son, a conclusion which can now be confirmed by charter evidence. Ralph Cheneduit (I) died before 1121 × 1127, when a royal confirmation charter included a record of the gift of the churches of Breedon (Leics.), Cheddington (Bucks.) and Charwelton (Northants.) to Nostell Priory by Ralph's widow Agnes and their sons Simon and Hugh; and two later confirmation charters include their later gifts to Nostell Priory of the churches of Chadlington and Langley, land in Milton and Sarsden (Oxon.), and the advowson of King's Langley (Herts.).⁸⁸ As noted above, Ralph (I)'s eldest son Simon is recorded as the holder of many of his father's manors in the 'Northamptonshire Survey'; his date of death is unknown, but was probably c. 1150.

Ralph (II), the father in the *liber* entry, was presumably Simon's son: he quitclaimed land in Charwelton (Northants.) to Thorney Abbey in 1148 × 1161; at about the same time, or slightly later, he granted land at Seabrook in Cheddington (Bucks.) to Dunstaple Priory and, as Ralph *Chened'*, he confirmed a grant by Rocius of Houghton, clearly the 'Rocinus' recorded as holding Hanging Houghton in the 'Northamptonshire Survey', of lands in Thrupp and Welton to Daventry Priory.⁸⁹ Ralph (II) died in c. 1179, when his eldest son William paid a fine of 200 marks to succeed him. William also occurs in 1181, and he confirmed land in Charwelton in c. 1190,⁹⁰ at about the same time as he confirmed the church of Preston Capes (Northants.) to Daventry Priory. Both this grant and a sale of the Shenley property to Richard Fitz Reiner before 1191 were confirmed in c. 1204 by William's own son, Ralph Cheneduit (III), who also witnessed various charters in favour of Missenden Abbey between c. 1200 and his death in c. 1229.⁹¹ Ralph Cheneduit (II)'s son Ulian and a daughter Rose are also mentioned in 1181; this suggests that one of the daughters called Matilda whose names are entered above is certainly an erroneous scribal duplication instead of 'Rohesia', whilst 'Ulianus' must be added to the list of son's names (Ulian may have been born after his father's

⁸⁸ *VCH Herts*, I, 319, n. 1, and II, 244; *EYC*, II, 132 and 182.

⁸⁹ *Dunstaple Cartulary*, pp. 60-61; Clark, 'Additional MS 40,000', p. 61; Clark, 'Catchment Area', p. 67; *Daventry Cartulary*, pp. 164-65.

⁹⁰ *PR 25 Hen. II*, p. 56; *Book of Seals*, p. 115; *Cartae Antiquae Rolls, 1-10*, p. 57; Stenton, *Northamptonshire Charters*, p. 136

⁹¹ *Daventry Cartulary*, pp. 220-21; *VCH Herts*, II, 265; *Missenden Cartulary*, II, 48-50, 51-52, 59, 64, 69-72, 74-5, 99-100 and 101-2.

grant to Thorney and the corresponding grant of fraternity by the abbey). 'Radulfus . . . Simon . . . Roger . . .' are not stated to be Ralph (II)'s sons in the *liber*, but their names are written in the same hand as the rest of the entry, and Ralph and Simon at least both witnessed a grant by Geoffrey Fitz Peter of land in Hemel Hempstead (Herts.) in 1199 × 1213. Ulian Chenduit was recorded in 1230 as lord of Ashridge (Herts.) *iure uxoris*, and was still alive in 1240 × 1258 when he witnessed a lease of land in Hemel Hempstead by Abbot Roger of Missenden.⁹²

51. Wido cocus Henrici regis, Hodeard uxor eius . . . Willelmus filius Widonis.

Wido the king's cook in c. 1115 held one hide in Braybrook (Northants.), which had been held by Robert de Vesci in 1086 (*DB*) and had then escheated to the Crown, and Wido's son William in 1129–30 paid a fine to succeed to his father's position.⁹³ Neither Wido nor William is mentioned in Round, *King's Serjeants*, or Kimball, *Serjeanty Tenure*.

fol. 3r. [1115 × 1140]

52. Thurstanus pater Herberti monachi de Ramesia et Albereða mater eius.

Thurstan has not been identified for certain. Herbert the monk witnessed charters of Abbot Walter of Ramsey relating to Walsoken (Norfolk) in 1133 × 1160.⁹⁴ Richard and Ingelran, sons of Thurstan, who may well have been brothers of Herbert the monk, witnessed charters relating to Burwell (Cambs.) by both Abbot Reginald of Ramsey, 1114 × 1130, and Abbot Walter, but no other references to Thurstan, and none to his wife Albreda, appear in the Ramsey records.⁹⁵ Two possible identifications for Thurstan can be suggested from *DB*: either Thurstan, called 'Thurstan son of Richard' in *ICC*, who held Camps (Cambs.) in 1086; or one of the men called Thurstan

⁹² *Book of Seals*, p. 215; *VCH Herts*, II, 209; *Missenden Cartulary*, II, 72–73.

⁹³ *VCH Northants*, I, 384 and n.16; *PR 31 Hen. I*, p. 84.

⁹⁴ *Ramsey Cartulary*, I, 153, and II, 268; *Ramsey Chronicle*, p. 274.

⁹⁵ *Ramsey Cartulary*, I, 151–52; *Ramsey Chronicle*, pp. 262 and 272.

who held land in 1086 in Baconthorpe, Creake, Shipden, or Thetford (Norfolk). The former seems much more likely: Camps is the nearest of all these places to Ramsey and Thorney, and Richard son of Thurstan could well have been named after his grandfather.

53. Laurentius pater dom[i]ni Benedicti monachi, Osilia mater eius, fratres sui Paganus, Hugo, Gosfridus, Martinus.

Laurence has not yet been certainly identified. The name is rare in eleventh-century England (though it becomes rather more common in the twelfth century), occurring only three times in *DB*: the reference nearest to the Thorney area is to the holder of part of Husbands Bosworth (Leics.) in 1086 under Robert de Vesci. The mesne tenant of this holding is not recorded in the Leicestershire Survey of 1129–30 and therefore no evidence exists to confirm or refute this suggested identification.⁹⁶

54. Rainaldus de Lon[ga] villa, Rorzeis filius eius et Galterius frater eius et Emma soror eorum.

Reginald and his son Henry, not mentioned above, witnessed a grant of Huntingdonshire lands to Thorney Abbey, probably early in the twelfth century. Rorzeis was admitted to confraternity during Abbot Robert's period of office (1113–51), granting land at Stanton (Hunts.) to Thorney, and witnessed the agreement of 1127 between the abbey and Robert of Yaxley.⁹⁷ Since the name is rare, Rorzeis is perhaps the Rorges or Rorgos who witnessed charters relating to Ramsey abbey in Abbot Reinald's time, 1114–1130; Reginald was dead by 1166, when Henry held Orton Longville (Hunts.), a village named from the family.⁹⁸

55. Gesfridus de Traili et uxor eius Albreða, Gefridus filius eius.

Compare entry no. 78, which presumably refers to the family at a slightly later date since the other sons and the daughters are then included; the family is there discussed in detail.

⁹⁶ C. F. Slade, *The Leicestershire Survey, c. A.D. 1130* (Leicester, 1956), p. 23; compare *VCH Leics*, V, 30.

⁹⁷ Clark, 'Additional MS 40,000', p. 59, and 'Catchment Area', p. 69.

⁹⁸ *Ramsey Chronicle*, pp. 252 and 265; *Ramsey Cartulary*, I, 141 and 148; *VCH Hunts*, III, 191.

56. Rodbertus filius Episcopi et Gilebertus et Galterius et Nicholaus; Beatrix soror eorum.

The bishop in question is not easy to identify. Although Ranulf Flambard, bishop of Durham 1099–1128, had a mistress in Northampton, none of the names here matches the known children of Ranulf: Thomas, Elias, Osbern and Ralf. The only English bishop of the first half of the twelfth century who is known to have had a son with any of the names Gilbert, Walter or Nicholas was Richard de Belmeis I, bishop of London 1108–27, who had a son Walter but also a son William.⁹⁹ If, as seems likely, the bishop of this entry resided near Thorney, the choice is limited to the bishops of Ely, Lincoln and Norwich (the last replacing Elmham and Thetford). Hervey, bishop of Ely 1108–31, Alexander, bishop of Lincoln 1123–48, William de Beaufai, bishop of Thetford 1085–91, and Herbert Losinga, bishop of Thetford and then Norwich 1091–1119, are not known to have had children. Of the local bishops with children, Nigel, bishop of Ely 1133–69, had a well-known son Richard Fitz Nigel; Robert Bloet, bishop of Lincoln 1094–1123, had a son Simon, later Dean of Lincoln; and Herfast, bishop of Elmham then Thetford 1070–84, had sons of which the only one known by name was Richard. By a process of elimination we are left with Everard of Calne, bishop of Norwich 1121–45, whose unnamed sons are mentioned in a charter of 1121 × 1135: 'the sons of venerable bishop Everard of Norwich'.¹⁰⁰

57. Godzive uxor Petri cementarii et filia sua Æpeliza.

Peter the mason has not been identified with certainty. Very probably he was the master mason engaged on the rebuilding of Thorney Abbey under Abbot Gunter from c. 1086 onwards before the saints' relics were translated to the re-dedicated church in 1098, though the church was not completed until 1108 and the towers not until 1109.¹⁰¹

⁹⁹ C. N. L. Brooke, 'Married Men among the English Higher Clergy, 1066–1200', *Cambridge Historical Journal*, 12 (1956), 187–88 (p. 187); *PR 31 Hen. I*, p. 146; information from Dr Diana Greenway, to whom I am greatly indebted for help with this matter.

¹⁰⁰ *Norwich Acta*, pp. xxviii, xxx and xxxii, citing *DB* and *Monasticon Anglicanum*, III, 330, and V, 152.

¹⁰¹ *VCH Cambs*, II, 213; Hart, 'Ramsey Computus', p. 44; *Monasticon Anglicanum*, II, 611.

fol. 3v. [1130 × 1140]

58. Bricmer et filius eius Berengarius et uxor illius Ædive.

Bricmer has not been identified. Since Berengar Giffard and Berengar of Tosny can be eliminated as possible identifications, being Normans, only two references to men called *Berengar/-er* are left in 1086, both of which in fact refer to the same man: Berengar, 'the abbot of St Edmunds' man', holding Micklefield and Uggeshall (Suffolk), and Berenger who held land at Howe, Shotesham and Topcroft (Norfolk) from the abbey of Bury St Edmunds (*DB*).¹⁰² Berengar's descendants took the surname Howe from their chief residence, William de Ho holding the estate in 1161–66.¹⁰³

59. Den et uxor eius Stanburh et f[il]ii eius Hugo et Willelmus et filie eius Leviva et Emma.

Den, presumably for *Dena*, has not yet been identified. The name is not common in Anglo-Norman England, and in *DB* it is found only near Thorney in Lincolnshire (at Banthorpe, Barlings, Braceborough, Carlby, Claxby, Ringstone and Sloothby), all in 1066, a date which is far too early for consideration.

fol. 9v. [1100 × 1120]

60. Almer nummularius et uxor eius Estrild et Ælfgar filius eius.

A(e)lmer the moneyer occurs at Lincoln producing 'pyramids' pennies from 1056 to 1068/71.¹⁰⁴

61. Sebern et uxor eius Edild et filia eius Lefus.

Sebern has not yet been identified: the name is rare and is not found in *DB*.

¹⁰² *Feudal Book of Abbot Baldwin*, p. 16.

¹⁰³ *Book of Seals*, p. 221; Farrer, *Honors and Knights' Fees*, III, 137–38.

¹⁰⁴ Freeman, *Moneyer and Mint*, I, 32 and 108–09, and II, 545; G. C. Brooke, *Catalogue of English Coins in the British Museum: The Norman Kings*, 2 vols (London, 1916), I, ccxviii–ix, and II, 19; E. J. Harris, 'The Moneyers of the Norman Kings and the Types they are Known to have Struck', *Seaby's Coin and Medal Bulletin*, 800 (1985), 149–52 (p. 149); *Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles*, 27 (1981), plate XXIX, nos 797, 804–05, 807 and 809–11.

fol. 10r. [1090 × 1115]**62. Vivianus et uxor eius Hilpet, Rodbertus filius eius.**

The name *Vivian* is very uncommon, and is not found in *DB*. Vivian can therefore probably be identified as Vivian of Churchfield (in Benefield, Northants.), a minor knightly tenant of Peterborough Abbey in c. 1100 × 1140; later Peterborough sources describe him as Vivian the Angevin.¹⁰⁵

63. Sumerlede presbiter et Wulfled uxor eius et filia eius Ælvive.

Sumerled the priest may perhaps be the Sumarlithi who held Osgodby (Lincs.) in 1066; although he was not styled 'priest', he was succeeded by Siward the priest in 1086. An alternative identification is the Sumerled, also not styled 'priest', who held Wareley (Hunts.) in 1086 (*DB*).

64. Gunni presbiter et uxor eius Iswara, Merzet filius eius.

Gunni the priest has not yet been identified. The name is rare and is found in *DB* (near Thorney) only in Buckinghamshire and Norfolk, but in neither case was the holder styled 'priest'.

65. Rozer et uxor eius Osmoth, Rodbertus filius eius.

Roger has not been identified: both Roger and Robert are extremely common names in Norman England.

66. Æstmund et uxor eius et filii eius.

Estmund son of Godric witnessed a grant to Thorney Abbey of a fishery in Upwell (Cambs.) in the first half of the twelfth century (C.C.).

fol. 10v. [1090 × 1115]**67. Rozer le Byzod et uxor eius et filii eius.**

Roger Bigod I, died 1107, was lord of the barony of Framlingham (Suffolk). He probably came to England with William the Conqueror

¹⁰⁵ King, 'Peterborough *Descriptio*', pp. 90–1, 95, 97 and 101; *Pytchley's Book of Fees*, pp. xxi, liv and 120–21.

and had certainly acquired Earsham (Suffolk) before 1071: he added further lands after the downfall of Ralph de Gael, Earl of the East Angles, in 1075. By 1086 he was a major landholder in Norfolk and Suffolk, also holding lands in Essex (*DB*). He was first married to Adelaide, by whom he had a son William, who succeeded him and died in 1120. His second wife was Adelia (Alice) de Toden, by whom he had a second son Hugh and three daughters: Gunnor, wife of Robert de Essex alias Robert FitzSwein, lord of the barony of Rayleigh (Essex), who died in 1132 × 1140; Maud, wife of William d'Aubigny (I) *Pincerna*, lord of the barony of Old Buckenham (Norfolk), who died in 1139; and Cecily, wife of William d'Aubigny *Brito*, who died in 1135 × 1155 (see entry no. 38). Roger Bigod (I) was present at Thorney in 1098 when the saints' relics were translated to the new church at its re-dedication, probably the occasion at which this entry was made.¹⁰⁶

68. Atselinus de Waltervile et uxor eius Mulier [recte Muriel] et filii eius Raulfus, Willelmus, Gosfridus, Hugo.

Acelin de Wa(l)terville of Marholm (Northants.) witnessed a deed concerning Thorney Abbey's rights in Charwelton (Northants.) before 1112; by 1086 he held three knight's fees at Marholm and elsewhere in Northamptonshire of Peterborough Abbey (*DB*), and granted land at Laughton near Folkingham (Lincs.) to Sempringham Priory; he died after 1125 × 1128.¹⁰⁷ By 1129–30 Acelin had been succeeded by Hugh (not mentioned in the above entry) who also accounted for the lands of Peterborough Abbey during the abbatial vacancy, presumably as steward of the abbey.¹⁰⁸ There is no later record of Ralph, who presumably predeceased his father, but Acelin's other sons William and Geoffrey are independently documented. William was abbot of Peterborough in 1155–75; Geoffrey, who died in 1162, became lord of a quarter of the barony of Bourn (Cambs.) *iure uxoris*, Asceline Peverel.¹⁰⁹ The family, who were hereditary stewards of Peterborough

¹⁰⁶ Sanders, *English Baronies*, pp. 46–47, 70 and 139; Hart, 'Ramsey *Computus*', p. 44; Clark, 'Catchment Area', p. 66.

¹⁰⁷ *Pytchley's Book of Fees*, pp. xviii, lii, 41 and 43–45; *VCH Northants*, II, 499–500, and III, 136 and 169; Stenton, *Danelaw Charters*, p. cviii, n. 1; King, 'Peterborough *Descriptio*', p. 98.

¹⁰⁸ *PR 31 Hen. I*, pp. 83 and 86.

¹⁰⁹ Sanders, *English Baronies*, p. 19.

Abbey, should be distinguished from the Watervilles who gave their name to Orton Waterville (Hunts.), held in 1086 by 'Ansgered' alias Anfred.¹¹⁰

69. Winemer et uxor eius et filii eius.

Winemer is almost certainly Winemar the Fleming who in 1086 was lord of the barony of Hanslope (Bucks.) (*DB*) and had been succeeded by Michael de Hanslope, probably his son, sometime before 1118, the latest date for Queen Matilda's grant to him of Barrowden (Rutland), and probably by 1104 × 1106.¹¹¹ He may well be the Winemar who witnessed an agreement by Abbot Aldwin of Ramsey in 1091 × 1102.¹¹² Winemer also had a son Walter, whose land at Courteenhall (Northants.) was excepted from a grant to Cluny Abbey in 1107 × 1113, and who witnessed, as 'Walter son of Winemer', a grant of Great Paxton church (Hunts.) by King David of Scots in 1124 × 1128.¹¹³

70. Roger Olivard et uxor eius et filii eius.

The Roger who held Oakington and Over (Cambs.) in 1086 (*DB*) was probably Roger Olifard; part of Oakington was certainly recorded as held by the Olifard family by 1158.¹¹⁴

71. Walter Olivard et uxor eius et filii eius.

The Walter who held Lilford (Northants) in 1086 (*DB*) was probably Walter Olifard, who died after 1108; Lilford was certainly held by William Olifard later in Henry I's reign.¹¹⁵

¹¹⁰ *Pytchley's Book of Fees*, pp. xix and 53-55; E. King, *Peterborough Abbey, 1086-1310* (Cambridge, 1973), pp. 24, 32-33, 38-39 and 141; *VCH Hunts*, I, 331, and III, 198-200; Clark, 'Catchment Area', p. 72.

¹¹¹ *VCH Bucks*, IV, 349-50; *VCH Rutland*, II, 170; Sanders, *English Baronies*, p. 50.

¹¹² *Ramsey Cartulary*, I, 128; *Ramsey Chronicle*, p. 234.

¹¹³ Stenton, *Northamptonshire Charters*, pp. 159 and 161-62; *Registrum Antiquissimum of Lincoln*, III, 150.

¹¹⁴ Round, *Feudal England*, p. 224; Clark, 'Catchment Area', p. 70; Farrer, *Feudal Cambs*, p. 186. For the Olivard family, see Round, *Feudal England*, pp. 223-24, and Farrer, *Honors and Knights' Fees*, II, 354-35.

¹¹⁵ Round, *Feudal England*, pp. 216 and 223-24; Clark, 'Catchment Area', p. 70.

72. Randulfus de War' et uxor eius et filii eius.

War' could represent *Wara* or *Ware*, twelfth-century forms of Ware (Herts.), but if Ranulf was named from Ware, he is unrecorded.¹¹⁶ A much more likely identification is with Ranulf 'the nephew' (of William de Warenne I, Earl of Surrey, who died in 1088), who held Middleton (Suffolk) after 1066 and gave land at Great Easton (Essex) to Lewes Priory but died before 1086 (*DB*); his son William Fitz Ranulf before 1121 added the church of Little Canfield and land at Yeldham (Essex) and the tithes of Great Easton, Middleton and Yeldham.¹¹⁷

73. Reinaldus Corbof et uxor eius et filius eius.

Reginald Cor[(n)de]beouf cannot be identified with anyone called Reginald in *DB*, and there is no tenurial link in 1086 between the three places where the family are later known to have held land in East Anglia. The family can be traced as landholders in Norfolk and Suffolk from c. 1160 onwards. Hubert Cor(n)debeouf (I), who may have been Reginald's son, is the first recorded member of the family, giving his tithes at an unnamed place to Eye Priory in the period 1155 × 1168. He was succeeded by John Cor(n)debeouf (I), probably his son, who was in turn succeeded by his son, Hubert Cor(n)debeouf (II) in 1205. Hubert (II), recorded as holding lands at Banningham and Erpingham (Norfolk) and Mendlesham (Suffolk) by crossbow serjeantry, died in 1235, being succeeded by his son John Cor(n)debeouf (II), who died in 1250.¹¹⁸ The Cor(n)debeouf serjeantry is not recorded in Round, *King's Serjeants*, or Kimball, *Serjeanty Tenure*.

74. Albri et uxor eius et filii eius.

Aubrey is almost certainly Aubrey de Vere II, who died in 1141, lord of the barony of Hedingham (Essex), but may just possibly be his father Aubrey de Vere I, who died in c. 1112. Aubrey de Vere I held lands in Essex, Suffolk, Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire in 1086

¹¹⁶ *PN Herts*, p. 206; *VCH Herts*, III, 385.

¹¹⁷ *EYC*, VIII, 37.

¹¹⁸ *Book of Seals*, pp. 230 and 240; *Eye Priory Cartulary*, I, 59-61, and II, 65; *Red Book of the Exchequer*, I, 143, 458 and 480; *The Book of Fees*, edited by H. C. Maxwell-Lyte, 3 vols (London, 1920-31), I, 127, 138, 280, 282, 338, 346, 390 and 402-03.

(DB), and was subsequently a royal chamberlain and sheriff of Berkshire: he married Beatrice and had five sons: Godfrey or Geoffrey (died 1100 × 1107), Aubrey II, 'Albericus junior', Roger, Robert and William. Aubrey de Vere I, 'Albericus senior', gave Kensington church with two hides of land and a house in Westminster (Middx.) to Abingdon Abbey for the soul of his eldest son Godfrey or Geoffrey during the abbacy of Faritius (1100–17) and in the presence of Bishop Maurice of London (1086–1107), therefore in 1100 × 1107; and in 1111 he founded Colne Priory as a daughter-house of Abingdon Abbey.¹¹⁹ If, as is usually the case in *libri vitae*, *fili* means 'sons', not 'sons and daughters', this entry should refer to Aubrey de Vere I, since he is not known to have had any daughters: on the other hand, since Aubrey I is not known to have any connection with Thorney Abbey, 'Aubrey' is more probably to be identified as Aubrey II.

Aubrey de Vere II acknowledged his tenure of Twywell (Northants.) from Thorney Abbey and gave the abbey tithes there in c. 1112 (C.C.), very probably in commemoration of his father's death, and 'a little time afterwards', following the death of his youngest brother William, he gave land at *Scaldew[e]lla* (which has not been identified) to Abingdon 'in memory of his brother'. He was sheriff of various counties in 1121–30, and was confirmed as Master Chamberlain in 1133. Aubrey II, besides confirming and adding to the endowments of both Colchester Abbey and Colne Priory, also in c.1135 founded Hatfield Broad Oak Priory, as is shown by a confirmation charter of 1139 × 1141 by his son Earl Aubrey de Vere III, which is witnessed by Aubrey de Vere II himself and his younger sons Geoffrey and Robert.¹²⁰ Aubrey II married Alice, daughter of

¹¹⁹ Sanders, *English Baronies*, p. 52; *Abingdon Chronicle*, II, 55–60, 111 and 179; Round, *Feudal England*, 388–9; *Colne Cartulary*, pp. 1–3 and 7; *Two Cartularies of Abingdon Abbey*, edited by C. F. Slade and G. Lambrick, Oxford Historical Society, n.s., 32–33 (1990–91), I, 76–77.

¹²⁰ *Abingdon Chronicle*, II, 60; *Complete Peerage*, X, 195–99; *Colne Cartulary*, pp. 17–18; P. Morant, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Essex*, 2 vols (London, 1768), II, p. 506 and n. 'Y'; *Cartularium Monasterii Sancti Johannis Baptiste de Colecestria*, edited by S. A. Moore, 2 vols, Roxburghe Club, 131 (1897), I, 152; misdated 1154 × 1194 (*ibid.*, p. liii), since its confirmation by 'his son Earl Aubrey de Vere [(III)]' (*ibid.*, pp. 152–53) was witnessed by Prior William of Hatfield (c. 1135 – c. 1180), and therefore must be dated 1139 × c.1180, not 1194 × 1214 (as *ibid.*, p. liii).

Gilbert Fitz Richard of Clare (see entry no. 38), and is said to have had four sons and either two or four daughters.¹²¹ In fact, Aubrey II certainly had five sons and had probably three, but perhaps four, daughters. His sons were Aubrey de Vere III, Geoffrey, Robert, William, and Gilbert; his known daughters were Rohese, Alice or Adeliza and Juliana. Aubrey de Vere III succeeded his father as baron of Hedingham in 1141, but was already styled Earl as early as 1139, as shown by the Hatfield charter cited above; he died in 1194. Geoffrey and Robert both became knights who were promised baronies by the Empress Matilda in 1142 and eventually received lands as a result of their support of the Angevins—Robert held half a knight's fee, probably at Drayton and Islip (Northants.), in 1166—whilst their younger brother William, a priest who became a canon of St Osyth's (Essex), was promised the post of chancellor by the Empress in 1142.¹²² William was described in his father's charter granting the churches of Dovercourt and Great Bentley (Essex) and Castle Camps (Cambs.) to Colne Priory as 'my most dear son' and a grant by Earl Aubrey de Vere III was witnessed by 'William de Ver my brother'; a confirmation charter of Earl Aubrey de Vere III was witnessed by 'William de Ver and Gilbert de Ver, my brothers'; Gilbert (who is ignored by Round and other genealogists) also witnessed other charters for Colne Priory, often in the company of Geoffrey and William, and was overlord of Great Wratting (Suffolk) in the 1170s.¹²³

Aubrey de Vere II's daughter Rohese married first Geoffrey de Mandeville II, lord of the barony of Pleshey (Essex) and from 1140 Earl of Essex, who died in 1144, and secondly Pain de Beauchamp, lord of the barony of Bedford. His second daughter Alice or Adeliza married first Robert of Essex, lord of the barony of Rayleigh (Essex), died 1132 × 1140, and then William de Sackville of Great Braxted (Essex), who died in c. 1158, a marriage dissolved in 1141 × 1143 on the grounds of pre-contract between William and Albreda de Tregoz; Alice was still alive in 1185 when she was said to be aged 60 or 80 (the latter seems more likely). Aubrey II's third daughter Juliana married

¹²¹ *DNB*, LVIII, 221; *Complete Peerage*, X, 199, note d.

¹²² J. H. Round, *Geoffrey de Mandeville* (London, 1892), pp. 182 and 389; *DNB*, LVIII, 221; *Red Book of the Exchequer*, I, 335.

¹²³ *Colne Cartulary*, pp. 13–14, 18–23, 25, 27 and 29–30; *Rotuli de Dominabus*, p. 59.

first Walkelin de Maminot I, lord of the barony of West Greenwich (Kent), who died in 1145 × 1157, and secondly Hugh Bigod I, lord of the barony of Framlingham (Suffolk) and from 1140–41 Earl of Norfolk, who died in 1177; she was still alive in 1185, when her age was not stated.¹²⁴ Round also concluded that, since the sons of Roger de Ramis were described in the Empress Matilda's charter of 1142 to Earl Aubrey de Vere III as 'lawful nephews of the same Earl Aubrey', Roger de Ramis (who succeeded his father William in 1129–30) had married a sister of Earl Aubrey and died before 1142: the name of Roger de Ramis' wife is, however, unknown.¹²⁵ Aubrey II's widow Alice died in 1163, after retiring to St Osyth's Priory.

75. Walterius filius Odonis et uxor eius et filii eius.

Walter son of Odo paid a fine in 1129–30 to secure his inheritance from the Countess of Chester in Lincolnshire. His father Odo can be identified as the Odo holding numerous manors in Lincolnshire in 1086 from Ivo Taillebois (*DB*), who in fact held his lands *iure uxoris*, Lucy; on Ivo's death in c. 1094 she remarried twice, finally to Ranulph le Meschin, Earl of Chester, who died in c. 1129; hence the reference in 1129–30 to the Countess of Chester. Walter son of Odo may well be the man of the same name who witnessed a charter by William de Lisle granting Beckenham (Kent) to Quarr Abbey in c. 1130, since there are connections between the Lisles or Esturmis and both Lincolnshire and Yorkshire: this would explain the preservation of this charter in Belvoir Castle, which puzzled Round, and may indicate a local connection.¹²⁶ But the man called Walter son of Odo who witnessed an episcopal charter of 1161 × 1173 is probably too late for consideration.¹²⁷

¹²⁴ Round, *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, p. 393, n. 1; J. H. Round, 'The Essex Sackvilles', *Archaeological Journal*, 64 (1907), 217–26 (pp. 224–26); Sanders, *English Baronies*, pp. 47, 71 and 97; *Rotuli de Dominabus*, pp. 29–30, 71 and 76–77.

¹²⁵ *PR 31 Hen. I*, p. 54; Round, *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, pp. 181 n. 4, 399 and 401.

¹²⁶ *P.R. 31 Hen. I*, p. 114; Sanders, *English Baronies*, p. 18; *EYC*, II, 40–41; information from Dr Katherine Keats-Rohan; *Rutland MSS*, IV, 58.

¹²⁷ *Norwich Acta*, p. 90.

76. [. . . et uxor eius] Isenberch [et filii] Willelmus . . . et frater eius Hugo . . . Conan frater Willelmi et Rodbertus et Willelmus [sic], Odo, Achard, Benedictus, Morin, Nicholaus, omnes fratres Willelmi.

This is a retrospective entry for the mother and brothers of the William commemorated in entry no. 77. The name *Conan* suggests a Breton or perhaps west Norman connection, whilst the name *Isenberch* is of Germanic origin, suggesting a Flemish connection; but the family does not yet appear in Dr Keats-Rohan's Anglo-Norman database.

77. Willelmus et uxor eius Godgive . . . filii eius Radulfus, Adam, Athselinus, Johannes, Gislebertus, Odo, et filie eius Hoderne, Ingerith, Mahalt, Haðewis.

William has not yet been certainly identified. William's eldest son Ralph may be one of the two men called Ralph son of William who were pardoned Danegeld in Cambridgeshire, Leicestershire and Yorkshire, one of whom paid a fine to secure Juliana, daughter of Richard Winter, with her land in Essex, in 1129–30.¹²⁸ The Ralph son of William who was pardoned Danegeld in Yorkshire succeeded his father, William son of Ulf, in his estates at Fangfoss, Grimthorpe, Meltonby and Givendale in c. 1129, and was in turn succeeded by his son Ralph in 1154 × 1170; when the younger Ralph died in 1197–98, his widow claimed dower only from his lands in Yorkshire.¹²⁹ This suggests that this Yorkshire Ralph son of William is not identical with the man of the same name who held lands in Cambridgeshire and Leicestershire and married an Essex bride in 1129–30, and who is much more likely to have been a benefactor of Thorney abbey. Since neither Ralph nor his father William can be traced in either Farrer, *Feudal Cambridgeshire*, or Slade, *Leicestershire Survey*, no certain identification can be made. Another possible William is William son of Istannus who had a son Ralph and who was probably William de Trumbleville, but that William is not known to have held any estates in England, and hence is rather unlikely to have had an English wife.¹³⁰

¹²⁸ *PR 31 Hen. I*, pp. 34, 46, 59 and 89.

¹²⁹ *EYC*, I, 348–50.

¹³⁰ *EYC*, VIII, 81.

78. Gosfridus de Trailli et uxor eius Albreiða et filii eius et filie.

Compare entry no. 55, which presumably refers to the family at slightly earlier date since the daughters were not then included. Geoffrey de Trailly (I), who took his name from Trelly south of Coutances, in 1086 held from Geoffrey, bishop of Coutances, the manors of [Chellington] and Yelden (Beds.) (*DB*), and later acquired the manors of Turvey (Beds.) and Ludgershall (Bucks.) which the bishop himself had held in 1086, probably after the bishop forfeited his lands for rebelling in 1088. Geoffrey (I) was received into confraternity with his wife Albreda (Aubrey) before 1112 on granting land and tithes at Yelden to Thorney Abbey, probably the occasion at which this entry was made.¹³¹ He is generally thought to have become lord of half the barony of Old Wardon (Beds.) *iure uxoris*, Albreda, sister of Walter Espec who died in 1155, and to have died himself 'before 1158', by implication in 1153 × 1158 or 1155 × 1158.¹³² Both these beliefs, however, appear to be ill-founded and chronologically improbable. Geoffrey de Trailli (I) could hardly share his brother-in-law's honour before, at the earliest, Walter Espec entered Rievaulx Abbey in 1153, and in fact the formal partition of Walter's estates was not effected until 1158, three years after his death.¹³³ The only land that Geoffrey (I) gave to Thorney was part of the manor of Yelden which he had held in his own right since before 1086. Moreover, a landholder who was already adult in 1086 could hardly still be alive in the later 1150s. In reality, the Geoffrey de Trailli who witnessed King Stephen's confirmation in 1135 to Old Wardon Abbey of the lands given by Walter Espec must be Geoffrey de Trailli (II) since he is there explicitly described as witnessing 'with all the other nephews of Walter Espec'; Geoffrey is even more precisely described in the Rievaulx Abbey foundation charter of 1132 by Walter Espec as one of 'my nephews Geoffrey de Trailli and William and Gilbert and Nicholas, sons of my middle sister Albreda'.¹³⁴ It therefore follows that Albreda's husband, Geoffrey de Trailli (I), as well as Albreda herself, must already have

¹³¹ Farrer, 'Honour of Old Wardon', p. 35; Clark, 'Additional MS 40,000', p. 58; Clark, 'Catchment Area', p. 72.

¹³² Sanders, *English Baronies*, pp. 52-53 and 133-34.

¹³³ *PR 4 Hen. II*, pp. 140 and 146.

¹³⁴ *Cartularium Abbathiae de Rievaille*, edited by J. C. Atkinson, Surtees Society, 83 (1889), p. 21; *Old Wardon Cartulary*, pp. 286-87.

been dead; otherwise, as Albreda's husband, his consent would certainly have been thought desirable to both foundation grants. But neither Geoffrey (I) nor his sons displayed any other apparent interest in Old Wardon Abbey. Given the reference to 'sons' in this entry, 'Rodbertus et Willelmus et Gilebertus' who immediately follow 'Gefridus' [Geoffrey (II)] in entry no. 55 must be his brothers, since their names are written in the same hand as the rest of that entry. This deduction is confirmed by charter evidence: the foundation charter of Kirkham Priory in c. 1122 was witnessed by, amongst others, Geoffrey de Trailli (I), his wife Aubrey and their sons Geoffrey (II), William, Nicholas and Gilbert, and these four sons, as we have seen, also witness Rievaulx Abbey's foundation charter in 1132.¹³⁵ Presumably Robert had died, and William had been born, in the period between his parents' gift to Thorney before 1112 and their attestation of the Kirkham foundation charter in c. 1122, whilst both Geoffrey (I) and Albreda must have died between c. 1122 and 1132.

79. Swezen, Tole uxor eius et filius eius Toraldus.

Swegen has not yet been identified.

80. Radulfus de Milituna, Agnes uxor eius, Galterius filius eius.

Almost certainly, Ralph is Ralph of St Germain, lord of the manor of Milton (Cambs.) in 1086 (*DB*), whose wife is known to have been Agnes, daughter of Picot the sheriff of Cambridgeshire and his wife Hugoline. The objections to this identification are, firstly, that there is no other evidence for this Ralph having a son Walter and, secondly, that Milton (Cambs.) was originally *Middeltun*, and no other reduced form of the place-name (lacking the *-d-*) has been found before 1275.¹³⁶ The most likely identification of *Milituna* in the Thorney area on etymological grounds appears to be Milton Park in Castor (Northants.), but no historical evidence has been found for a Ralph or a Walter holding Milton Park in the twelfth century.¹³⁷ 'Beatrix' who follows Walter in the same hand is probably Ralph's daughter.

¹³⁵ Farrer, 'Honour of Old Wardon', p. 6.

¹³⁶ Farrer, *Feudal Cambs*, pp. 125 and 195; *PN Cambs*, p. 182.

¹³⁷ *PN Northants*, p. 233; *VCH Northants*, II, 475.

81. Rodbertus de Rocolunda, Ema uxor eius et filii eorum.

Presumably Robert came from either Rockland (Norfolk) or Ruckland (Lincs.), but no other reference to him has yet been found.

82. Turstanus de Stanforde monetarius, Gunware uxor eius, Frepegist [filia eius].

Thurstan the moneyer can hardly be the moneyer of that name active at Stamford (Lincs.) from the reign of Cnut until early in the reign of Edward the Confessor.¹³⁸ Since this folio was written in 1090 × 1115, the Thurstan of this entry must be the later moneyer also called Thurstan who produced Types 7 and 11 pennies for Henry I at Stamford.¹³⁹ *Frepegist* is written in the same hand as Thurstan and his wife and is doubtless their daughter.

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¹³⁸ H. A. Grueber and C. F. Keary, *Catalogue of English Coins in the British Museum, Anglo-Saxon Series*, II (London, 1893), pp. 248, 294, 304 and 333; Freeman, *Moneyer and Mint*, I, 35, 120 and 123, and II, 554.

¹³⁹ E. J. Harris, 'Moneyers of the Norman Kings and the Coins they are Known to have Struck', *Seaby's Coin and Medal Bulletin*, 819 (1987), 88-91 (p. 89).

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APPENDIX: TABLE 1

CLASSIFICATION OF NAMES OF MARRIED COUPLES
IN THE THORNEY *LIBER VITAE*

As in Part I, names are classified as Continental [= (C)] (Breton, Norman-French, Old German) or Insular [= (I)] (Old Danish, Old English, Old Norse).

<i>Folio</i>	<i>Part II, entry no.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Husband</i>	<i>Wife</i>
10r	-	Before 1066	Eadwine (I)	Æzelsweð (I)
10r	-	Before 1066	Os3ot (I)	Ælf3ifu (I)
10r	-	Before 1066	Atsere Hofð (I)	Ægelfled (I)
10r	-	Before 1066	Turi Welper (I)	Anlef (I)
10r	-	Before 1066	Ulfketel (I)	Leofcild (I, masc.)
10r	-	Before 1066	Ælfwine (I)	Æd3yð (I)
10r	-	Before 1066	Ulfketel (I)	Leofswyð (I)
9v	60	1056 × 1070	Almer (I)	Estrild (I)
10r	63	c.1066	Sumerlede (I)	Wulfled (I)
10r	64	c.1066	Gunni (I)	Iswara (I?)
9v	-	c.1066	Dunnig (I)	Golda (I)
9v	-	c.1066	Scott (I?)	Læftreþ (I)
9v	-	c.1066	Wulnoð (I)	Godlef(I)
9v	-	c.1066	Sælide (I)	Asa (I)
9v	-	c.1066	Harold (I)	Aluiþ (I)
9v	-	c.1066	Lefsune (I)	Ægelgið (I)
9v	-	c.1066	Godwine (I)	Ringuen (I?)
9v	-	c.1066	Siric (I)	Wulgive (I)
9v	-	c.1066	Wulfwi (I)	Leofcuene (I)
9v	-	c.1066	Leofric (I)	Goda (I)
9v	-	c.1066	Ægelmer (I)	Ælfgive (I)
9v	-	c.1066	Leofwine (I)	Wulgive (I)
9v	-	c.1066	Leofwine (I)	Godgive (I)
9v	-	c.1066	Huchtred (I)	Ælfgive (I)

[continued]

<i>Folio</i>	<i>Section II, entry no.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Husband</i>	<i>Wife</i>
9v	-	c.1066	Bernard (C)	Sifled (I)
9v	-	c.1066	Alfsi (I)	Ælfgifu (I)
9v	-	c.1066	Walter (C)	Aðelasc (I?)
9v	-	c.1066	Lemmær (I)	Godgifu (I)
9v	-	c.1066	Lefred (I)	Eadgifu (I)
9v	-	c.1066	Eadward (I)	Eadgifu (I)
9v	-	c.1066	Alman (I/C)	Hersed (I?)
9v	-	c.1066	Ulf (I)	Agelgif (I)
9v	-	c.1066	Batswegan (I)	Wulgyð (I)
9v	-	c.1066	Ælfwine (I)	Godgifu (I)
9v	-	c.1066	Godsaule (I)	Lefgifu (I)
9v	61	c.1066	Sebern (I)	Edild (I)
9v	-	c.1066	Swift (I)	Eadgifu (I)
9v	-	c.1066	Godman (I)	Godgi (I)
9v	-	c.1066	Ægelmer (I)	Aganild (C)
9v	-	c.1066	Sæman (I)	Emma (C)
9v	-	c.1066	Godmær (I)	Godgif (I)
9v	-	c.1066	Reinold (C)	Welliduc (C?)
9v	-	c.1066	Oðin (I/C)	Mabilia (C)
9v	-	c.1066	Aðelm (I)	Swetluf (I)
9v	-	c.1066	Wulwi (I)	Godgifu (I)
9v	-	c.1066	Kinebriht (I)	Lefquen (I)
9v	-	c.1066	Wlfric (I)	Estrild (I)
9v	-	c.1066	Rin3olf (I)	Leofcwen (I)
2r	43	c.1066	Arturus (I/C)	Godgiva (I)
10r	-	1066 × 1100	Walter (C)	Ranhildis (C)
10r	-	1066 × 1100	Dræwe (I?)	Bærta (C)
10r	-	1066 × 1100	Ive (C)	Lizarda (C)
10r	-	1066 × 1100	Lef3et (I)	Leovive (I)
10r	-	1066 × 1100	In3olf (I)	Sweterun (I)
10r	65	1066 × 1100	Ro3er (C)	Osmoth (I)
10r	-	1066 × 1100	Rin3olf (I)	Syleve (I?)
10v	-	1066 × 1100	Rodbertus (C)	Botild (I)
10v	-	1066 × 1100	Vitalis (C)	Emelina (C)

[continued]

<i>Folio</i>	<i>Section II, entry no.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Husband</i>	<i>Wife</i>
3v	58	1070 × 1080	Bricmer (I)	Ædive (I)
3r	52	1075 × 1110	Turstanus (I)	Albereða (C)
3r	53	1075 × 1110	Laurentius (C)	Osilia (C)
10r	62	1099 × 1113	Vivianus (C)	Hilpet (I)
10r	-	1099 × 1113	Ernardus (C)	Rimild (C)
10v	68	1099 × 1113	Atselinus (C)	[Muriel] (C)
10v	-	1099 × 1113	Hu3o (C)	A3nes (C)
10v	-	1099 × 1113	Landbertus (C)	Wlfleda (I)
10v	-	1099 × 1113	Simon (C)	Mahalt (C)
10v	-	1099 × 1113	Malgerus (C)	Mahald (C)
10v	-	1099 × 1113	Anserth (C)	Hodierne (C)
10v	-	1099 × 1113	Ælfricus (I)	God3ive (I)
10v	-	1099 × 1113	Ro3erius (C)	Sæ3iven (I)
10v	-	1099 × 1113	Goeram (C?)	Cristinæ (C)
10v	76	1099 × 1113	Willelmus (C)	Godgive (I)
10v	55, 78	1099 × 1113	Gosfridus (C)	Albreiða (C)
10v	-	1099 × 1113	Herveus (C)	Mahald (C)
10v	79	1099 × 1113	Swe3en (I)	Tole (I)
10v	80	1099 × 1113	Radulfus (C)	Agnes (C)
10v	81	1099 × 1113	Rodbertus (C)	Ema (C)
10v	82	1099 × 1113	Turstanus (I)	Gunware (I)
9v	-	1100 × 1120	Willelmus (C)	Cuenelef (I)
9v	-	1100 × 1120	Hugo (C)	Heldeburch (C)
9v	-	1100 × 1120	Rotbert (C)	Hathawis (C)
9v	-	1100 × 1120	Morandus (C)	Estrild (I)
9v	-	1100 × 1120	Rotbert (C)	Odolina (C)
9v	-	1100 × 1120	Adelmus (I/C)	Emma (C)
9v	-	1100 × 1120	Rainulfus (C)	Ailflada (I)
2v	48	1110 × 1130	Rodbertus (C)	Erenburga (C)
2v	49	1110 × 1130	Hugo (C)	Matildis (C)
2v	50	1110 × 1130	Roger (C)	Matildis (C)
2v	51	1110 × 1130	Wido (C)	Hodeard (C)
3r	-	1115 × 1140	Ingoldus (I)	Sægive (I)
3r	-	1115 × 1140	Clarun (C)	Alburh (I)

[continued]

<i>Folio</i>	<i>Section II, entry no.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Husband</i>	<i>Wife</i>
3r	-	1115 × 1140	Turkil (I)	Cicilia (C)
3r	-	1115 × 1140	Reinerus (C)	Godgive (I)
3r	-	1115 × 1140	Radulfus (C)	Emma (C)
3r	57	1115 × 1140	Peter (C)	God3ive (I)
3v	59	1130 × 1140	Den (I)	Stanburh (I/C)
2r	35, 38	1130 × 1140	Willelmus (C)	Cecilia (C)
2r	36	1130 × 1140	Guillelmus (C)	Mabilia (C)
2r	37	1130 × 1140	Tovius (I)	Agnes (C)
2r	-	1130 × 1140	Willelmus (C)	Mahalt (C)
2r	-	1130 × 1140	Iosfridus (C)	Ala (I)
2r	39	1130 × 1140	Huscarl (I)	Estrild (I)
2r	40	1130 × 1140	Asketinus (C/I)	Beatrix (C)
2r	41	1130 × 1140	Willelmus (C)	Matildis (C)
2r	42	1130 × 1140	Gilebertus (C)	Erenburg (C?)
2r	-	1130 × 1140	Gilebertus (C)	Aaliz (C)
2r	-	1130 × 1140	Hugo (C)	Adeliz (C)
2v	-	1140 × 1160	Eustachius (C)	Lece (C)
2v	46	1140 × 1160	Goce (C)	Gunnor (I/C)
2v	-	1140 × 1160	Iohannes (C)	Agnes (C)
2v	-	1140 × 1160	Waleram (C)	Margareta (C)
12r	-	1175 × 1190	Walter (C)	Iohanna (C)
12r	-	1175 × 1190	Willelmus (C)	Muriele (C)
12r	-	1175 × 1190	Hugo (C)	Alina (C)
1v	34	1175 × 1190	Ricardus (C)	Juliana (C)