A ROSE BY ANY OTHER NAME: ANOTHER DAUGHTER OF RICHARD DE LUCY

by Rosie Bevan[1] and Peter G. M. Dale[2]

ABSTRACT

The proposition of this article is that Richard de Lucy, Chief Justice of Henry II, had another daughter named Rose whose existence has fallen into obscurity. She was wife first of William de Mounteny, progenitor of the Mounteny family of Mountnessing, Essex, and secondly of Michael Capra. Rose was also mother of Muriel de Mounteny, who with her husband, Jordan de Bricett, was patron of St Mary's nunnery in Clerkenwell, London.

Foundations (2014) ***6****: 13-46* *© Copyright FMG and the author*

Introduction

Richard de Lucy maintained a successful career in the service of kings Henry I, Stephen, and Henry II in various government, military and judicial roles, culminating as Chief Justiciar of Henry II for several years before his death in 1179. During this time he acquired a considerable estate of over 30 knights' fees - seven and a half knights' fees in Norfolk, Suffolk and Kent[3] held in chief during the reign of Henry I; ten and a half fees pertaining to the vill of Greenstead in Essex from Earl William of Gloucester, and ten fees held of Reginald, earl of Cornwall, also located in Essex, during the reign of King Stephen.[4] King Stephen himself granted him an estate in Stanford, Ongar, Roding and Chrishall, Essex, of the honour of Boulogne, and Laughton (*'Lestona'*) and Chinting in Seaford (*'Centinges'*) in the Rape of Pevensey, Sussex, pertaining to forfeit L'Aigle holdings. The gift was ratified by King Stephen's son, William, in 1153.[5] Towards the end of his life, Richard founded the abbey of St Thomas the Martyr at Lesnes in Kent. It was there that he and his descendants, as patrons of the abbey, were buried.

Since J H Round's original ground breaking research at the turn of the 20th century into the devolution of Lucy's landed possessions and descendants, the established genealogy of the family has not changed materially, despite the fact that Richard de Lucy has continued to be of particular fascination to historians and genealogists alike.[6] Recent research conducted by the authors has led to the discovery that the established pedigree may be enlarged to include a daughter named Rose, wife first

1 rbevan@fernside.co.nz

2 pdale@peterdale.com

3 These were in Lesnes and Newington in Kent (the latter was on the main route between London and Canterbury and Dover) held for the service of doing castle guard at Dover; Diss, Sprowston, and Tacolneston in Norfolk, and Newton in Suffolk.

4 Emelie Amt, "Richard de Lucy, Henry II's Justiciar," *Medieval Prosopography* **9**(1) (1988): 61-87 at 70. Nine of these were held of Adam de Malherbe and one of the honour of Clare in Suffolk.

5 H A Cronne & R H C Davis, eds. *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum, 1066-1154 [RRAN III]* (1968), no.569.

6 J H Round, "The Honour of Ongar," *Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society* NS**7** (1900): 142-152; J H Round, "The Heirs of Richard de Lucy," *The Genealogist*, NS**15** (1898-1899): 129-133; Emelie Amt, *op.cit.* (1988), 61-86.

of William de Mounteny, becoming progenitor of the Mounteny family of Mountnessing,[7] and secondly Michael Capra.

Fig 1 Lesnes Abbey, burial place of Richard de Lucy



Three factors have conspired to obscure the existence of Rose. First of these is Blomefield's account of Diss from his nineteenth century seminal study of Norfolk, in which he stated that the ancestor of the Mounteny family of Norfolk was a fourth daughter of Richard de Lucy, but erroneously named her Denise, as a result of which no contemporary record could be found of such an individual;[8] secondly, the absorption of the Mounteny fee by the FitzWalter barony by 1207; and third, early thirteenth century *curia regis* cases disputing the ownership of land in Lesnes and Newington by various descendants of Richard de Lucy, which led Horace Round to conclude that Richard had only three daughters Maud, Aveline and Alice.

This article will give a précis of the life of Richard de Lucy and his family, then explore the complex evidence for the existence of Rose, her immediate family and her descendants, and explain in greater detail how her identity became lost to history owing to the peculiar circumstances outlined above. Lastly, the descent of the Mounteny family, documented for the first time, will be presented in an appendix.

---

7 The main branch became extinct in 1409 with the death of Sir Robert Mounteny, and the secondary branch daughtered out before 1419 with Elizabeth, wife of Henry Elveden and Margaret, wife of John Jermyn of Metfield, Suffolk (ancestral to the Duke of Cambridge and Prince George amongst many others). A Yorkshire branch of the family flourished into the fifteenth century, as did various cadet branches in Essex and Norfolk.

8 Francis Blomefield, *An Essay towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk* **1** (1805): 4. It is likely he copied the mistake from an earlier lesser known work by Mostyn John Armstrong, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Norfolk* **9** (1781): 10.

Richard de Lucy, Justiciar

Emilie Amt's study of Richard de Lucy has enlarged Round's original work by expanding on Lucy's career and exploring his ancestry which originated in Luce in Orne in south west Normandy, from whence his family derived its name.[9] Luce is situated nine miles from Lonlay-l'Abbaye, where Richard's brother, Walter, later to be abbot of Battle Abbey, began his career. Further to the south lies Gorron in Maine, presumably where Geoffrey de Gorron (d.1146), abbot of St Albans, and kinsman of Walter and his brothers, originated. As Geoffrey de Gorron was from a noble family, and related to the Lucys, it is possible that Richard's ancestry provided a foothold to his career.[10] That the de Lucy family was of a landed class is demonstrable by the fact Richard and his mother Aveline appear in two charters of 1131, in which Henry I notified that he had *"...given to SS. Gervase and Protase of Sees, for the use of the bishop, the fee of Laleu [Orne] which William Goth held and the King bought from his niece Aveline and her son Richard de Lucy (Luceio) and they delivered to Robert Earl of Gloucester".*[11]

As heir to the fee in her own right, Aveline sold it with the assent of her son and heir. That she was able to do this freely was owing to its allodial title, which meant it was held without feudal dues. It may be due to inheritance that Richard acquired his early English estate, for there is evidence that Aveline had dower rights in Newington, Kent, having given land there to William de Corbeil, Archbishop of Canterbury (d.1136), who afterwards used it to refound the ancient Saxon abbey of Minster on the Isle of Sheppey.[12] Richard would have been well established on his career path in the king's service by this time, for his presentation to Henry II of his *Carta* in 1166 states that he held lands of the old feoffment - that is before the death of Henry I in 1135. Two other sources from 1212 state that he received from Henry I, the manor of Diss in Norfolk, and an estate in Thorney near Stowmarket in Suffolk,[13] while a full entry in the *Rotuli Hundredorum* states King Henry I also gave him a half of the Hundred of Diss with all its liberties.[14] These gifts will prove pivotal to the evidence presented about Rose below.

Through Richard's influence, his younger brother, Walter was appointed abbot of Battle in 1139. This position had a qualifying age of 30, indicating that Richard was probably born earlier than traditional commentary suggests, and an earlier chronology will be borne out by evidence presented in this article.[15]

---

9 Emelie Amt, *op cit*. (1988), 62.

10 Geoffrey's name was anglicised to Gorham and reflected in the name of Gorhambury, also known as Westwick, just outside St. Albans, a manorial estate owned by the abbey that was enfeoffed to the Gorham family and later passed to Alice de Sanford, Countess of Oxford, by purchase. One must wonder whether the name of Aveline's uncle, William Goth, has been misread and was an abbreviated version of Gorham, *i.e.* "*Gorh' ".*

11 C Johnson & H A Cronne, eds., *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum [RRAN II]* (1961), nos.247, 249. The second charter notes that William's fee lay between the rivers Sarthe and the Tanche. The later Lucy of Newington arms of *Gules, three pikes or*, are derived from the fact that *Esox Lucius* is the Latin name for the northern pike.

12 J Caley, H Ellis & B Bandinel, eds., Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum [Mon.Ang.]* (1817-1830 edition), **2**:50.

13 *Book of Fees*, 131, 135.

14 *Rotuli Hundredorum*, **2**:466. *"Henricus rex senex reddidit Ricardo de Luci Disce..".; "..dns Rex H p'mus feof' dnm Ric' de Lucy cu toto man'io de Disce cu di hundr' & cum foro & cu aliis liber' ad Maniu & hundr'."*

15 J H Round, *op. cit*. (1900), 146.

Apart from Herbert, of whom we know nothing, except that he defended Wareham for King Stephen in 1142,[16] Richard also had another younger brother named Robert, who held five fees in the Honour of Boulogne in Essex at Chrishall (held of Richard), as well as Duddenhoe, La Lee in Elmdon, and Crawley.[17] Robert's wife was Emma, daughter of Robert de Sackville, steward of the English lands of the counts of Boulogne,[18] and sister of Jordan de Sackville who was explicitly named in a charter of Robert de Lucy pertaining to his land in Chrishall.[19] Jordan's wife was Ela de Dene, widow of William son of Ralph de Marci, tenant of Faramus de Boulogne.[20]

Robert and Emma de Lucy had two sons named Hubert and Robert who attested one of their charters.[21] Hubert evidently died without issue and Robert II's daughter was married at a young age to William son of Geoffrey de Tregoz of Tolleshunt in Essex, whom Robert II held in wardship.[22] William's aunt was Albreda, the repudiated wife of William de Sackville, who afterwards married Robert de Beseville.[23] There was no surviving issue from either Robert II de Lucy's daughter or her father, as the paternal estate descended via the elder Robert's daughters. These daughters were Letitia, wife of Henry de Pinkney (Picquiny)[24] of Weedon Pinkney (now Lois Pinkney), Northamptonshire; Agnes, wife of Roger de Somery of Elmdon, Essex; Beatrice, wife first of Jordan de Anneville and secondly Roger de Neville; and Emma, wife of Serlo de Marci of Bobbingworth, Essex, tenant of the honour of Boulogne.[25]

The elder Robert de Lucy had a brother, Campion Walkefare, who attested three of his charters relating to Chrishall in favour of the knights of St John of Jerusalem in England.[26] As Richard and Robert de Lucy would appear to have shared the same parents, Campion was probably their half brother by another marriage of either their mother or father. We do not know what Richard's father was called - although one would suspect it may have been Herbert - nor do we know whether the toponym of Lucy came from his mother's or his father's family. We also do not know how many marriages Richard had, as throughout the medieval period it was considered one's Christian duty to be constantly married and fruitful - notwithstanding the usefulness of tapping into a wife's marriage portion, inheritance, or dower if widowed.

---

16 Emilie Amt, *op. cit*. (1988), 64.

17 *Book of Fees*, 240.

18 *DD*, 678.

19 Michael Gervers, *The Cartulary of the Knights of St John of Jerusalem in England* (1982), no.214.

20 Stuart A Moore, *Cartularium Monasterii Sancti Johannis Baptiste de Colecestria* **1** (1897), 213, 355, 356. By William, she had a son, Ralph de Marci, who was termed brother of Geoffrey de Sackville in a charter.

Jordan and Ela's son, Jordan, was married to a daughter of William de Chesney whose sister married Robert fitz Roger.

21 Michael Gervers, *op. cit.* (1982), no.213.

22 J H Round, ed., *Rotuli De Dominabus et Pueris et Puellis de XII Comitatibus, 1185* (1913), 57, 78. Keats-Rohan mistakenly states that William married a daughter of Richard de Lucy in *DD* 745.

23 *CRR*, 1207-1209, 137; *DD*, 342.

24 *DD*, 636.

25 *Book of Fees*, 240, 1432, 1435. Emma with the assent of her husband Serlo de Marci gave an annual rent of 12d. in Bobbingworth in a charter to Thoby priory, witnessed by Michael de Munteny. Essex Record Office, Petre Family Deeds, D/DP T1/52.

26 Michael Gervers, *op. cit.* (1982), nos.213-215.

The Family of Richard de Lucy

Horace Round concluded from his research that the extent of Richard de Lucy's issue were - his son and heir Geoffrey; Godfrey, Bishop of Winchester; Aveline wife of Gilbert de Montfichet of Stansted Mountfitchet in Essex; Maud wife of Walter fitz Robert of Little Dunmow, Essex,[27] and Alice, wife of Odinel de Umfraville of Prudhoe, Northumberland.[28] As a servant of the king it is natural to expect that a few of the marriages of the children of Richard de Lucy would have taken place within the circle of the royal household, and this holds true in the case of Maud who married Walter the son of Robert fitz Richard, Steward to kings Henry I and Stephen. Aveline's husband was a cousin of Walter's by common descent from Richard de Clare and Rose Giffard.[29]

Richard de Lucy's only known wife was Rose, who died sometime before Queen Maud's death in 1152. Queen Maud and her son and heir, Eustace, witnessed a notification by Richard that he had, "*granted to the canons of Holy Trinity, London, in frank almoin, 20s. yearly rent from Niweton [Newington] for the soul of Roheis his wife, who is buried in their church…*"[30]

Holy Trinity was highly favoured by King Stephen and his family, who endowed it with the manor and advowson of Braughing in Hertfordshire in the honour of Boulogne, when its church became the burial place for two of their children, Baldwin and Maud. Moreover, the queen's father confessor was the abbot there.[31] Having no personal interest in Newington, Maud and Eustace may have witnessed Richard's charter as patrons of Holy Trinity, but more likely because of familial ties. Apart from the year of her immediate succession as queen, when she witnessed around 15 charters, Maud only witnessed three to four charters per year, so her attestation of Richard's may be considered significant.[32] Likewise Richard de Lucy witnessed many charters of Queen Maud pertaining to her inheritance as Countess of Boulogne, probably in the same way that William de Ipres, a kinsman of King Stephen, witnessed many of the king's charters.[33]

Kinship between the Lucy and Boulogne families was first identified in 1986 by C.R. Cheney and Eric John, who noted that Godfrey son of Richard de Lucy, Bishop of Winchester, was nephew of Faramus of Boulogne as inferred from Godfrey's charter to Merton priory confirming the gift of the advowson of Carshalton church by the nobleman Faramus, his uncle, *"Inde est quod nos, inspectis instrumentis predictorum canonicorum super ecclesia de Aultona a nobili viro Pharamuso de Bolonia avunculo nostro eis donate …".*[34] The manor of Carshalton in Surrey, in the diocese of Winchester, had been the marriage portion of a daughter of Geoffrey de Mandeville when she

---

27 Walter fitz Robert was a scion of the Clare family, being grandson of Richard fitz Gilbert. Owing to the prolific nature of this family, his family kinship network was impressive. His parents were Robert de Clare and Maud de St Liz, sister of the earl of Huntingdon.

28 J H Round, *op. cit*. (1898-1899), 130.

29 Specifically a first cousin once removed.

30 H C Maxwell Lyte, *Descriptive Catalogue of Ancient Deeds in the Public Record Office* **2** (1894): 64.

31 Gerald A J Hodgett, ed., *The Cartulary of Holy Trinity Aldgate* (1971), 193, 64. Richard later gave the priory land worth 12d. a year for the soul of his son and heir, Geoffrey.

32 Heather Tanner, *Families, Friends and Allies: Boulogne and Politics in Northern France and England, c. 879-1160* (2004), 208, fn.123.

33 William was second cousin of the king, sharing a descent from Baldwin V Count of Flanders.

34 C R Cheney & E John, eds., *English Episcopal Acta III: Canterbury 1193-1205* (1986), 202. Faramus was constable of Dover in the reigns of Stephen and Henry II.

became wife of Geoffrey, son of Count Eustace of Boulogne.[35] Other estates which may have been part of this marriage portion, but held of the Mandeville fee at any rate, were Clapham and Wanborough in Surrey, the manor of Aston le Walls and Appletree in Northamptonshire.[36]

Faramus outlined his descent from Geoffrey in a charter confirming the gift of a hide in Balham, belonging to the manor of Clapham to Bec abbey, referring to his father, William de Boulogne,[37] and his grandfather, Geoffrey son of Count Eustace de Boulogne. The charter was testified specifically by family members, who were both witnesses and grantees, *"... his brothers Eustace, Simon, Hugh de Beseville with his wife, and his son William and Robert de Beseville..."*.[38] The last phrase is important because the heavy Beseville presence implies that Hugh was a brother-in-law, and his wife was sister of Faramus, otherwise there would be no legal reason for her involvement. The Besevilles[39] held no interest in Clapham - their interest laid in other parts of the *maritagium* - in Carshalton and Aston le Walls, so the family's attestation must be regarded as a tangible claim to land in which they held a hereditary right.

A *maritagium* was customarily reserved to provide for the marriages of daughters and could descend down several generations of daughters, [40] and so the Mandeville *maritagium* being passed down to provide marriage portions for daughters in the family is entirely consistent with this usual practice. Hugh de Beseville attested a charter of William de Boulogne confirming to Hugh fitz Ulger dower belonging to his (Hugh's) sister in Alswick in Layston, Hertfordshire, and when Faramus confirmed this gift later, William de Beseville witnessed it.[41]

It is worth noting that Hugh's younger son, Robert de Beseville, married Albreda, the widow of William de Sackville, cousin of Emma de Sackville, wife of Robert de Lucy, which indicates a secondary kinship tie between the Lucy and Boulogne

---

35 The first wife of Eustace II is said to have been Goda, sister of Edward the Confessor, but they divorced owing to being related within forbidden degrees of consanguinity, having a common descent from Alfred the Great. If she was mother of Geoffrey, he would have been barred from inheriting the parental estate, owing to resulting illegitimacy caused by their divorce. Alan V Murray, *The Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: a Dynastic History 1099-1125* (2000), 155-165.

36 J H Round, "Faramus of Boulogne," *The Genealogist,* NS**12** (1896):145.

37 *"Willelmus nepos comitis"* and *"Herold nepos comitis"* together witnessed a charter of Count Eustace III of Boulogne in 1106. Marion Gibbs, ed., *Early Charters of the Cathedral Church of St Paul, London* (1939), no.198.

Presumably Harold was a brother of William.

38 Marjorie Chibnall ed. *English Lands of the Abbey of Bec* (1951), no. XLIX. *"Omnibus fidelibus ecclesie tam presentibus quam futuris Faramus filius Willelmi Bolonie, que est in Christo salutem. Notum sit fraternitati vestre quod ego recognosco et ex parte mea concedo donacionem quam antecessores mei, scilicet Gaufridus filius comitis Eustacii de Bolonoi avus meus et Willelmus de Bolonia filius ipsius, pater meus, fecerunt ecclesie Sancte Marie Becci; scilicet unam hidam in Belgheam que pertinebat ad manerium de Clopham in elemosinam in perpetuum possidendam, solutam et quietam ab omni servicio quod ad me et ad heredes meos pertinet. Hanc donacionem antecessorum meorum concedo pro salute anime mee et ipsorum antecessorum meorum prefate ecclesie Sancte Marie Becci. Huius concessionis mee fuerunt concessores et testes fratres mei Eustacius et Simon, Hugo de Bosevilla et uxor eius et filii ipsius Willelmus et Robertus de Bosevilla, Balduinus Richetala."*

39 The family originated in Beuzeville, Normandy. Variations of the name also occur as Beseville, or Boseville in later record.

40 See an example of the descent of an estate in Knottingley down four generations through the Lacy, Brus, Meinell and Everingham families in Rosie Bevan, "Keeping it in the Family," *Foundations* **5** (2013): 3-36.

41 A de Rosny. "Faramus de Boulogne – La Famille de Bolonia en Angleterre Descendance des Comtes de Boulogne," *Bulletin de la Société Académique de l'arrondissement de Boulogne-sur-Mer* **7** (1904): 160-162.

families, for marriage was the secure means by which political networks were continually forged and enhanced.

Owing to the paucity of information about Richard's ancestry and marriage, and the marriage(s) of Faramus, the exact nature of the avuncular relationship between Godfrey and Faramus is nebulous. The absence of any of the Lucy family attesting the charters of Faramus is noted, as is the absence of any identifiable *maritagium* in the estate of Faramus.

Although the term *avunculus* was a term used in classical Latin to mean maternal uncle, in this medieval period it was commonly also used to refer to a paternal uncle. Cheney and John assumed that Faramus had married a sister of Richard de Lucy, but another theory that Rose was a sister[42] of Faramus de Boulogne is also feasible. If Rose was indeed a full blood sister of Faramus, then Queen Maud would be her first half cousin once removed.[43] Other permutations are possible - that Faramus was a half-brother of Richard de Lucy, or married to a half sister of Richard. However the word "*avus*" means grandfather, so that its derivative "*avunculus*" means literally "a little grandfather". The meaning of the word indicates that the closeness of the relationship through a parent is the point being defined, meaning Faramus was probably either a brother or half brother of Richard - given that it is possible both of his parents had other marriages - or of Rose.

This being so, Richard's career must have taken off owing to a direct fortuitous family connection to the house of Boulogne, when Stephen succeeded to the English throne. Having established himself successful as an all rounder in military, judicial, administrative, and political affairs, Richard's reputation and depth of experience earned him respect enough, not only to survive a new dynastic succession, but also to prosper through the reign of Henry II. This may have been achieved in part owing to a secondary important connection - to the Mandevilles. Geoffrey de Mandeville, 2nd earl of Essex, found favour under Henry II who arranged a marriage for him with his kinswoman, Eustacia. When Geoffrey died in Chester in 1166 he was with Richard de Lucy while conducting a general eyre as justiciars after the promulgation of the Assize of Clarendon.[44] Afterwards his brother and successor, William de Mandeville, became constant companion of Henry II, and no doubt Richard profited politically by this association - as would his extended family.

In 1203 Richard de Lucy's son, Godfrey, Bishop of Winchester, confirmed his father's gift of 20 shillings rent in Newington to Holy Trinity in a deed witnessed by his extended kin: Henry de Pinkeny, his cousin once removed, Hubert de Anesty, great grand-nephew of Robert de Lucy[45]; and William de Mounteny

---

42 Douglas Richardson made an inconclusive case for this relationship in 2005 on https://groups.google.com/forum/?hl=en#!forum/soc.genealogy.medieval under the thread, 'Faramus of Boulonge *[sic]* and Richard de Lucy'.

43 Maud was daughter of Eustace III of Boulogne, half brother of Geoffrey de Boulogne.

44 Diana Greenaway & Leslie Watkiss, eds., *The Book of the Foundation of Walden Monastery* (1999), xxiii.

45 Hubert's grandmother was first cousin of Emma de Sackville, aunt of Godfrey, and while there is no directly known connection of Hubert de Anesty to Godfrey, despite frequent interaction in family charters, and his grandfather, Hubert, was chamberlain to Queen Maud, and operated in the same circle as Richard de Lucy, one possibility may yet lie that he was related to the Lucys, in the agnatic line, as he constantly referred to Richard de Lucy as 'my lord' and Richard actively helped him in his persistent bid for justice to inherit the lands of his uncle, William de Sackville, according to his own lengthy account. The bloodlines were certainly united in the marriage of their great grandchildren, Nicholas de Anesty and Alice Pecche.

(*Monteigerni)*, whom the authors propose was Godfrey's great-nephew, being grandson of Godfrey's sister Rose.[46]

The Mounteny Claim of Descent from Richard de Lucy

The *Quo Warranto* inquisition for Norfolk, which was held around the early 1270s, records that Henry I granted Richard de Lucy the whole manor of Diss and half the Hundred and the market and other liberties, for the service of 40d. towards the upkeep of Norwich castle.[47] Afterwards, Richard de Lucy gave the ancestor of Robert de Mounteny a third of the manor with a third of the market and a third part of the half Hundred **in free marriage with Rose his daughter**, *"…dns Rex H p'mus feof' dnm Ric' de Lucy cu toto man'io de Disce cu di hundred' & cum foro & cu aliis liber' ad Maniu & hundr'…Et p'ea dns Ric' dedit cuid ancessor' dni Rob. de Munteney qui nc tenet t'ciam pte pdci manii cu iii pte fori & tcia pte hundr' in liber' maritag' cum Rosya fil' sua."* [48]

While the *Quo Warranto* inquisition took place well over a century after the claimed marriage, there does not seem to be any reason to doubt its veracity, particularly as the other co-partners, Robert fitz Walter and Gilbert Pecche, are well documented to have descended from Richard de Lucy.[49] Despite the fact that Blomefield apparently mistook Denise for Rose, inducing following historians to repeat the error, it is surprising that this entry in the *Rotuli Hundredorum* has remained unnoticed before now. Corroborative evidence for the existence of Rose can be found when one looks for it.

The Norwich Cathedral Priory cartulary contains a charter dated sometime between 1146 and 1174, by Robert de Mounteny, who gave his mill at Little Plumstead to the priory for the souls of his father, William, and mother, Rose, *"…pro salute mea et uxoris mee et omnium parentum et amicorum meum, et nominatum pro anima patris mei Willelmi de Mounteney et Raiesie matris mee…"*.[50] Little Plumstead was part of the fee of Sprowston, a fee anciently pertaining to Ralph the Staller, consisting of small parcels of disconnected land in Sprowston,[51] Catton, Beeston and Hassingham, and Freethorpe all located just east of Norwich.[52] In 1086 Little Plumstead was held by Godric the steward on behalf of King William, but was later part of the fee that Henry I gave to Richard de Lucy.

The Robert of this charter can only be the same Robert de "Munteni",[53] whose five knights' fees were held of Richard de Lucy according to the latter's Carta in 1166. These comprised a knight's fee in Newton in the Hundred of Stowe, Suffolk, a

---

46 M J Franklin, ed., *English Episcopal Acta VIII: Winchester 1070-1204* (1993), 167.

47 Diss straddles the border between Norfolk and Suffolk so that the two halves of the Hundred of Diss were in separate counties.

48 *Rotuli Hundredorum*, **2**: 466. The Mounteny share in this territory was a manorial estate called Heywood which included Walcote and Burston situated to the north of present day Diss.

49 As evidence of kinship Sir Robert de Mounteny witnessed a gift to Thoby priory by Gilbert Pecche and Joan his wife, widow of Richard de Dover, grandson of Rose II de Dover. Essex Record Office, Petre Deeds, D/DP/ T1/109.

50 Barbara Dodwell, ed., *The Charters of Norwich Cathedral Priory*, **2** (1985), 113.

51 When the estate in Sprowston was sold in 1545 it consisted of the manor, 4 messuages, 200 acres of pasture, 2 acres of land, 6 acres of wood, 500 acres of furze and 30s. rent, Francis Blomefield, *op cit*. **10** (1810): 458.

52 Francis Blomefield, *op. cit*. **10** (1810): 403; *DP*, 219.

53 For the purposes of this article the name is standardised to Mounteny, but appears variably as Munteni, Munteny, Monteni, Monteny, Monteigerny, Montigny in medieval record and appears to originate from Montigny in Normandy.

knight's fee in Walcote a part of Diss, a knight's fee in Sprowston, and two knights' fees in Tacolneston, Norfolk, *" Robertus de Monteni, feoda v militum, scilicet, in Neutone, quae est membrum de Stowa, feodum j militis. Et Walcote, quae est membrum de Dice feodum j militis. Et in Sprectone, feodum j militis. Et in Tacolvestone, feoda ij militum."*[54] Thus the Little Plumstead charter above provides us with additional evidence that a member of the Mounteny family was holding in the Sprowston fee of Richard de Lucy. Robert's son, William, would later enlarge the gift to Norwich by giving two parts of the tenths of sheaves from Sprowston and Catton for the use of the poor.[55]

Again, this Robert is most likely the same Robert de Mounteny who was attached to a gift by Michael Capra and Rose his wife to the priory of St Mary's Clerkenwell, sometime between 1146 and 1175.[56] This gift was two shillings rent from any of Michael's sokeman in the town of Burston of the nun's choice. As Burston was appurtenant to the manor of Diss from her marriage portion, this is likely to be Rose, daughter of Richard de Lucy, with Robert joining in as her son and heir. The charter also indicates that Rose had by this time married a second husband.[57]

In 1166 Michael Capra was returned as a tenant of 4 knights' fees of Walter fitz Robert,[58] husband of Maud de Lucy - the family connection clearly prompting this second marriage of Rose.[59] Michael held a large estate in Mountnessing,[60] Essex stretching across the western part (Chevers Hall) to the eastern (Mountnessing Hall). From this estate, sometime before 1151,[61] Michael and Rose founded the priory of St Leonard,[62] also known as Thoby priory, named after Tobias who was its first prior.[63] The charter was witnessed by Jordan de Bricett and Robert de Mounteny, which gives us parametric dating for the death of the first husband of Rose. A great part of his estate in Mountnessing, which included the lordship of the manor and the advowson of the church of St Giles, Michael Capra evidently gave to his stepson, Robert de Mounteny, in marriage with his daughter Maud, in accordance with the common practice of marrying off step children to cement

---

54 Hubert Hall, ed., *Red Book of the Exchequer* (1896), 351.

55 Barbara Dodwell, *op. cit*. **2** (1985): 110.

56 W O Hassall, ed., *Cartulary of St Mary's Clerkenwell* (1949), no.189.

57 *Capra* being Latin for goat, was clearly a by-name appearing in French as *Chevre*, and anglicised, it mutated into Chevere or Cheever.

58 Hubert Hall, *op. cit*. (1896), 347. He held in Tittleshall, Norfolk, Wixoe, Suffolk and Sturmer, Essex. The earliest record of him the authors have found is in the 1127 charter by Richard fitz Pons notifying the exchange of his wife's dower of the manor of Ullingwick with the manor of Leach. Ullingwick was given to their daughter Bertha in marriage with Elias Giffard. Michael Capra attested the exchange. John Horace Round, ed., *Ancient Charters* **1** (1888), no.12.

59 In 1086 Mountnessing was held by Ranulf brother of Ilger but his estates were later dispersed by Henry I, who gave them to his steward Robert fitz Richard de Clare, who must have given it to Roger fitz Richard, who then enfeoffed Michael Capra, as his generosity is mentioned in his foundation charter of Thoby *"... pro anima quoque Rogeri filii Ricardi ex cujus munificentia mihi idem fundus pervenit." Mon.Ang.* **6**(1), 554.

60 Mountnessing is a derivation of Mounteneys Ginge. In this time frame the place name was simply Ginge.

61 The foundation charter is addressed to Robert, bishop of London, who became archbishop of Canterbury in 1151

62 St Leonard was a popular saint in the twelfth century whose intercession was credited with miracles for the release of prisoners and women in labour.

63 R Kirk, *Feet of Fines for Essex 1182-1272* **1** (1910), 141. In 1528 the heir under male entail, John Mountney, quitclaimed his interest in the Thoby priory estate to Thomas Wolsey's college in Oxford. It consisted of the manor of Thoby, five messuages, 200 acres of land, 40 acres of pasture, 50 acres of wood, £6 rent in Thoby and Mountnessing, and the advowson of the church of Mountnessing. P H Reany & Marc Fitch, eds., *Feet of Fines for Essex 1423-1547* (1964), 168.

alliances by blood, and retain control over inheritance of property. Of that relationship, more will be investigated later.

It is interesting to note that one of Thoby priory's early benefactors was Emma de Lucy, who, with the assent of her husband, Serlo de Marci, gave it an annual rent of 12d. from Bobbingworth in a charter witnessed by Michael de Mounteny.[64] Serlo de Marci also witnessed a family charter of William II de Mounteny confirming land to Thoby priory, on which the grange of his brother Elias stood.[65] According to the thesis of this article Emma de Lucy was a cousin of Rose.

Clerkenwell Priory and the Mounteny Family

Rose's gift to St Mary's Clerkenwell mentioned above is of deep significance. This Augustinian nunnery was founded after 1145 by the above mentioned Jordan de Bricett, a knight of Breton descent, lord of the manor of Clerkenwell, which was held of the bishop of London within the manor of Stepney.[66] Jordan also founded the priory of St James in Clerkenwell, where he and his wife, Muriel de Mounteny, were buried. He was a younger son of Ralph fitz Brian of Great Bricett in Suffolk, who had founded a Benedictine priory of St Leonard there as a cell of Nobiliac. Jordan's wife, Muriel, who along with her daughters continued to identify themselves using her family name of Mounteny, enlarged on its possessions from family estates, and appears frequently in the Clerkenwell cartulary. In recent years it has been subject of much interest amongst historians not only owing to the prominence of its benefactors, but of its female patrons, who were clearly of high status given the confidence, care and knowledge with which they conducted their temporal and spiritual affairs.[67]

The focus of attention has been on Muriel de Mounteny, whose gifts have been the subject of some confused debate as to whether they were from her marriage portion or dower, in an attempt to identify her.[68] As a widow, she was entitled to both her *maritagium* and dower after her husband's death, with the power to alienate them, and this can be problematic in identifying which family they originated from. However, Muriel clearly referred to one particular gift as from her *'maritagium'* in her charter, which meant it was part of her marriage portion. This gift was land which William fitz Godwin held of her in 'Ginge' (Mountnessing).[69] This must be considered evidence that Muriel belonged to the family of William and Rose de Mounteny, and may indicate that the Mounteny family already held an estate in Mountnessing prior to Robert's marriage to Maud Capra.[70] Further evidence of Muriel's connection to the Mounteny family of Mountnessing is contained in a general confirmation charter of possessions in the diocese of London

64 Essex Record Office, Petre Family Deeds, D/DP T1/52.

65 Essex Record Office, Petre Family Deeds, D/DP T1/248.

66 Pamela Taylor, "Clerkenwell and the Religious Foundations of Jordan de Bricett: a re-examination," *Historical Research* **63** (1990): 17-27. Jordan also founded the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem in the city of London. His pedigree given in *Mon. Ang.* **6**(2), 805, is hopelessly in error.

67 Emilie Amt, "Muriel's Convent: The Munteny Women at Clerkenwell Priory, London," *International Congress on Medieval Studies* (2001); Pamela Taylor, *op. cit.* (1990), 17-27.

68 Emilie Amt, *op. cit*. (2001), 2. Amt seems confused between the differences between dowry (*maritagium*), and dower (*dos*) and makes the erroneous statement that as "*domina donationis*" Muriel was the source of the founding gift of land in Clerkenwell.

69 W O Hassall, *op. cit*. (1949), no. 108.

70 This may have been the estate in Mountnessing later known as Arnold's Hall. It is now known as Arnold's Farm.

by the Bishop of London, Richard of Ely, to Thoby priory, which records a gift to Thoby priory by Muriel of land of William the weaver, and 30d. rent from the land of Robert Bungey in Mountnessing.[71]

Fig 2 St Giles Church, Mountnessing



Evidence for the Mounteny/Capra marriage can be gleaned from a fine of 1241 in which Robert's grandson, Arnulph[72] de Mounteny, quitclaimed the advowson of St Giles church in Mountnessing to the prior of Ginges priory who had received it from Michael Capra, Arnulph's ancestor, whose heir he was.[73] Michael had granted the church of St Giles to Thoby priory sometime between September 1152 and the summer of 1154 when his gift was confirmed by the then Bishop of London, Richard de Belmeis.[74] Afterwards the *"gift of the church of St Giles of Ginges, which is of Robert's fee"* was confirmed after 1207 by Robert de Mounteny, father of Arnulph, *"by persuasion of William bishop of London."* [75] Arnulph was technically only Michael's heir in so far as he had inherited Maud's marriage portion of the advowson and appurtenances there, making him patron of the priory. In 1227, Hamon Capra, great grandson of Michael, had the custody of his estate in Mountnessing, when Arnulph, still in his minority sued him unsuccessfully for waste.[76]

That Maud was daughter of Michael Capra, can also be inferred onomastically, for identical Capra names, Michael and Elias, appear amongst Robert's elder sons in the next generation. The estate which passed to the Mounteny family was to the east of the village of Mountnessing, and is most likely centred where Mountnessing Hall is situated today on a rise, next to the parish church of St Giles. An Inquisition Post Mortem of an heir male descendant of the family, John Mounteney, who died in 1528, shows that it then consisted of 300 acres of arable land, 100 acres of meadow, 200 acres of pasture, 100 acres of wood, and £10 rent in the parish.[77] Today it is still a working farm.

Robert de Mounteny was also a benefactor to the nuns of Clerkenwell with his own gift of his villein Ailward with a tenement in Mountnessing, which paid 3 shillings

---

71 *"...tenementum in Ging..." "...ex dono Muriel de Munten' terram Willelmi tixtoris et tresdecim denarius de terra Robert Bungeie."* D P Johnson, ed., *English Episcopal Acta: London 1189-1228* (2003), no. 61.

72 This name invariably appears in medieval record as Arnulph, Ernulph, Ernald, Arnold.

73 R E G Kirk, ed., *Feet of Fines for Essex* **1** (1910), 141.

74 Falko Neininger, ed., *English Episcopal Acta: London 1076-1187* (1999), no.73.

75 Essex Record Office, Petre Deeds, D/DP T1/1238. This was attested by Serlo and Hamo de Marci and Gilbert Capra.

76 *CRR*, 1227-1230, 181.

77 TNA C 142/49/22. The authors are grateful to Chris Phillips for providing a translation of this inquisition.

yearly, for his salvation, the salvation of his heirs and the soul of his wife Maud.[78] Significantly, the witnesses were Reginald de Ginges[79] (Muriel's son-in-law), and William and Elias Capra, Maud's brothers, demonstrating family presence. In a previous charter to Clerkenwell, Robert de Mounteny and Maud his wife appear as witnesses to a gift by Michael Capra and Rose his wife, in which the latter notify the bishop of London that they have given the land held by Boniface the doctor outside Ludgate. Also attesting were Maud's brothers, Geoffrey Capra and Elias Capra.[80]

Because Robert de Mounteny and Maud were young and unlikely to have been married until after the marriage of their respective mother and father, it is possible that Rose was widowed young enough to have had children by Michael Capra. If so, they would have been half siblings of both Robert and his wife, but of that there is no clear evidence. It was most certainly a second marriage for Michael, as he had already fathered William his son and heir, who was included in Michael's foundation charter of Thoby priory described as his son and heir, but not Rose's, *"... Michael Capra et Rohecia uxor sua, et Willielmus filius ejusdem Michealis et haeres..."*.[81] From benefactions to Stoke priory Michael's other sons are known to be Elias who became a monk at Stoke, and Geoffrey, who fathered a son named William. [82]

Robert de Mounteny, appears numerous times in the Clerkenwell cartulary witnessing five grants of Muriel de Mounteny and her husbands, Jordan de Bricett and Maurice de Totham of Great Totham, (the latter who, it is pertinent to note, was a tenant of Richard de Lucy of three knights' fees pertaining to the 10½ fees in the vill of Greenstead confirmed to him by William, earl of Gloucester),[83] two grants of Reginald de Ginges, husband of Emma, Muriel's daughter, two grants of Michael Capra and Rose his wife, and two more of William and Geoffrey Capra.[84] The inescapable impression is that Rose, Muriel and Robert de Mounteny are all related. If Robert is son of Rose, where does Muriel fit into the picture?

An indication of Muriel's ancestry is given in a law suit instigated by Nicola, widow of Muriel's grandson Hugh de Ginges, who claimed reasonable dower in 'Ginges' (it is not possible to distinguish whether this is Mountnessing or Ingrave), Dunton, Wickford and Diss.[85] Again in 1242 Reginald's son, Ralph, put in his claim in a fine between Hamon Capra and Arnulph de Mounteny in Diss.[86] The Ginges' family interest in Diss gives us the crucial evidence - this could only have descended via Muriel from Rose de Lucy and William de Mounteny, having formed part of Muriel's own marriage portion, and passed down to her daughter, Emma. This leads us to the position that Muriel was daughter of Rose.

---

78 W O Hassall, *op. cit.* (1949), no.75. It seems likely that Maud had recently died.

79 In 1166 Reginald was recorded as holding two fees of the Bishop of London and one fee of the old feoffment of Walter de Mayenne. Hubert Hall, *op. cit.* (1896), 187, 195. In this case the surname Ginges is derived from the place name Ginges Radulphi, which evolved into Ingrave, and not Mountnessing.

80 W O Hassall, *op. cit.*, (1949), nos.75, 302.

81 *Mon.Ang.* **6**(1), 554. *"...Michael Capra and Rose his wife and William son of Michael, and his heir."*

82 Christopher Harper-Bill & Richard Mortimer, eds., *Stoke by Clare Cartulary: BL Cotton Appx.xxi* (1982-1984), nos, 245, 250. In light of the earlier mention of Michael Capra's witnessing of the gift of Bertha's marriage portion when she became wife of Elias Giffard, this name may be significant and point to Giffard ancestry.

83 Robert B Patterson, ed., *Earldom of Gloucester Charters* (1973), 111.

84 W O Hassall, *op. cit.*, (1949), nos. 49, 52, 55, 74, 75, 84, 90, 99, 113, 189, 289, 302.

85 *CRR*, 1201-1203, 187.

86 Walter Rye, ed., *A Short Calendar of the Feet of Fines for Norfolk* (1885), 65.

That Muriel was sister of Robert de Mounteny, and outlived him, is evident from a gift she made around 1178 granting her daughter, Rose, a nun at Clerkenwell, five shillings rent for clothing to be received from Wigar Kitte's tenement from her *maritagium* *"in villa de Niwetona,"* and after Rose's death the income was to be retained by the priory. This gift was made for the health of the souls of her mother and father and her brother Robert de Mounteny, *"...fratris mei Roberti de Munteni..."* [87] The charter was witnessed by Maud abbess of Barking, illegitimate daughter of Henry II, Reginald de Ginges and Lecia de Monteny, as well as three of Robert's sons – William, Michael and Robert, indicating that it took place very shortly after Robert's demise - as is implied by the terms of the gift for his soul. In another of Muriel's charters she donated Wigar Kitte and his whole tenement which he held of her *'...in Neutonia de maritagio meo..."*[88] W Hassall, editor of the Clerkenwell cartulary, stated that Stoke Newington was meant by the *'villa de Niwetona'*, but there is no indication of this within the cartulary. Knowing what we now know of Mounteny landholdings, this place is probably Newton in Suffolk, or perhaps even Newington in Kent, if Rose de Lucy had been given a parcel of land there as her marriage portion, but of that there is no evidence.

Muriel's placement in the Mounteny family is again reinforced by a charter of her husband, Jordan, who gave to Canterbury Cathedral priory a payment of 12d. It was witnessed by her family - Michael Capra, Robert de Mounteny, Tobias the Hermit (presumably prior of Thoby), and Elias Capra and Geoffrey Capra.[89] Perhaps of greatest significance, as mentioned above, is the fact that as *"Jordan de Briesete"*, Muriel's husband witnessed the foundation charter of Thoby priory of Michael and Rose Capra. Jordan was possibly dead by 1160, as implied by an entry in the Pipe Roll, which records Reginald de Ginges owing a fine of 40 marks to have the marriage of the daughter of "*Jordan de Brieseta"*.[90]

The Capras and the Mandevilles

Michael Capra was well connected to the Mandeville faction, his son being possibly the same William Capra, knight of Geoffrey de Mandeville (d.1144) named in the famous Second Charter of 1141 in which Maud the Empress guaranteed Geoffrey the earldom of Essex and his followers their land in return for his support. In this instance, William Capra and his heirs were guaranteed that he should have his father's lands without a plea, *"...et quod Willelmus Cap(ra) habeat terram patris sui sine placito, et ipse et haeredes sui."*[91]

Later, in 1166, William Capra is recorded holding four and a half knights' fees in the barony of Walter fitz Robert and half a fee of the fee of Maud de St Hilaire in Carbrooke.[92] This William Capra is the only candidate for being husband of Alice, whose kinsman was William de Mandeville, earl of Essex (d.1189). Alice Capra issued a notification to the effect that her heirs would not be able to claim William de Mandeville's gift to her of Pinsley if she died before him.

---

87 W O Hassall, *op. cit.*, (1949), no. 90.

88 W O Hassall, *op. cit.*, (1949), no. 84.

89 Canterbury Cathedral Archives CCA-DCc-ChAnt/C/1139.

90 *Pipe Roll*, 7 Hen II, 65. A sale of an heir's marriage could also be conducted by the parent with the king's consent.

91 *RRAN III,* no. 275. Whether or not he was related to the Domesday William Capra, Lord of Bradninch and brother of Ralph Pomeroy, is not known. *DP,* 469.

92 Hubert Hall ed. *Red Book of the Exchequer* (1896), 348, 407.

'Adelid' Cap' to all men and her friends French and English clerics and laymen, greetings. Know that in the grant of the land of Pinesle, which my nepos William earl of Essex made to me, none of my heirs shall be able to claim anything by me if I die before him. Witnessed by Simon de Bellocampo, Geoffrey de Saj, William de Reinnj, Walter de Chaudne, David de Jarpenuil', John and Simon his brothers, Guy de Langefort.'[93]

Horace Round mentioned this lady in his volume on Geoffrey de Mandeville, omitting the source of the charter.[94] He suggested that Alice was a sister of the elder Geoffrey de Mandeville, but this does not seem likely. William de Mandeville had been generous to his aunt, Alice de Vere, to whom he later gave the town of Aynho, *"in free dower over and above the dower she had received from Roger fitz Richard her lord."* Previously, in 1170, he had confirmed to her husband, Roger fitz Richard, the town of Aynho which had been exchanged for Compton in Warwickshire for the service of one and a half knight's fees.[95] From this estate Alice and Roger endowed a hospital, the confirmation charter of which records that the gift was made for the souls of Roger fitz Richard, his wife Alice, and his children William, Robert and Alice.[96]

As mentioned above Michael Capra referred to the great generosity of Roger fitz Richard from whom he derived his estate, in his foundation charter of Thoby, which seems to point to Alice Capra also being a kinswoman of Alice de Vere.[97]

That Alice Capra kinswoman of the earl, was the same as wife of William Capra, is also inferred by the appearance of Guy de Langford acting as witness to two of their charters - the *Pinsle* charter of Alice Capra to William de Mandeville, and the charter by William Capra and Alice, along with their son William, of half a mark rent in Grateley, Hampshire to Clerkenwell priory. Guy de Langford was evidently a tenant of William Capra in his estate in Langford, Essex, held of Walter fitz Robert.[98]

As well as a son, William, who died without issue, William Capra and Alice had three daughters, Alice, wife of Robert de la Mare,[99] Agnes, wife of Walter fitz Humphrey,[100] and Constance, wife of Geoffrey de Amblie,[101] who sometime before 1176 between them granted a rent of 30s. in Langford to Clerkenwell priory for the souls of William Capra their father, and Alice Capra, their mother who had

---

93 TNA - Records of the Duchy of Lancaster DL 25/5. The authors are grateful to Chris Phillips for locating this record and providing this translation.

94 J H Round, *Geoffrey de Mandeville a study of the Anarchy* (1892), 169. Possibly Pinsley in Oxfordshire.

95 Horace Round. "A Charter of William Earl of Essex (1170)," *English Historical Review* **6** (22) (1891): 364-367.

96 Magdalen College Library. Estate Records 137/1. The Hospital of Aynho was founded by Roger Fitz Richard and Alice his wife, with the consent of their two sons, William and Robert. The grant was confirmed by William de Mandeville, earl of Essex, as lord of the fee. Roger and his son William attested Beatrix de Mandeville's charter of gift of Elsenham church to Walden priory after 1178, but later that year Roger was dead and was succeeded by William. Diana Greenway & Leslie Watkiss, *op. cit.* (1999), 181; *Pipe R.* 25 Henry II, 6.

97 *Mon.Ang.* **6**(1): 554. Alice's husbands were Robert of Essex and Roger fitz Richard. Diana Greenway & Leslie Watkiss, *op. cit.* (1999), 77. Alice's charter of gift to the Knights of St John of Jerusalem in England was probably made in her legal widowhood after the death of Robert de Essex. Michael Gervers, ed., *The Cartulary of the Knights of St John of Jerusalem in England Secunda Camera* (1982), no. 392.

98 W O Hassall, *op. cit.*, (1949), no. 187.

99 Their daughter and heir married William Mauduit the king's chamberlain. *Pipe R*, 13 Hen II, 184.

100 Walter held 5½ fees of Roger de Clare in 1166, Hubert Hall, *op. cit.* (1896), 403.

101 Geoffrey held 2 knights fees of Henry fitz Gerold in 1166, Hubert Hall, *op. cit.* (1896), 354.

become a nun there, along with a niece.[102] Each daughter had brought to her husband a third share in estates in Langford, Grately and Norton held of Robert fitz Walter, as her *maritagium*. William evidently had an earlier marriage to a lady named Mabel and had sons named Michael and Brian by her.[103]

Alice de Vere cannot be the lady in question. Towards the end of her life she retired to Walden abbey where she died and was buried.[104] She is recorded in the *Rotuli de Dominabus* of 1185 holding dower in Clavering, Essex, from the barony of her first husband, *"Alice de Essex is in the gift of the lord king and is 80 years old and holds Clavering as her dower of the fee of Henry de Esse," "the said Alice has two sons who are knights, and in the county of Northamptonshire has 30 librates of land of the fee of the earl William."* Also under Northamptonshire it says, *"Alice de Essex is in the gift of the king and is 60 years and is the aunt of earl William, and sister of earl Aubrey and has two sons who are knights and one daughter married to John Constable of Chester."*[105] It is unlikely she ever had issue by Robert de Essex,[106] and in fact after her death her dower of Clavering, derived from the forfeit honour of Henry de Essex, was granted to her son Robert fitz Roger by king Richard. There is nothing that would associate her with William Capra.

So who was Alice Capra? One possible solution to this puzzle is that she was daughter of Rose de Vere and Payne de Beauchamp – hence the first witness being Simon de Beauchamp of Bedford. Although unrecorded as such, one would expect Rose de Vere to have had a daughter named Alice, after her own mother. Whether it is significant or not, it is pertinent to note that Alice Capra's grandson, Robert fitz Humphrey of Pentlow, was steward of William de Beauchamp of Bedford,[107] a post generally held by a minor kinsman, who would act in the best interests of the family. Under this scenario Robert fitz Humphrey would have been first cousin once removed to Baron William de Beauchamp, and Alice would have been half niece of William de Mandeville, but one would perhaps have expected the term used in her *Pinsle* charter to be an avuncular one.

Muriel de Mounteny's daughters and their interaction with the Lucy family

Onomastic evidence that Muriel was daughter of Rose de Lucy may be derived from the name Rose occurring amongst Muriel's immediate descendants, one being her daughter Rose, the nun at Clerkenwell, and the other Muriel's granddaughter, Rose Foliot, daughter of Lecia de Mounteny, wife of Henry, son of Gilbert Foliot.[108] This daughter, Lecia, gave to Thoby priory 26d. from her tenement in Mountnessing in a charter witnessed by Gilbert Foliot, her son and heir, and his brother John

---

102 W O Hassall, *op. cit.* (1949), no. 34.

103 Christopher Harper-Bill & Richard Mortimer, eds., *Stoke by Clare Cartulary* (1983), nos. 246, 248. The name Brian appearing may suggest that Mabel was a daughter of Brian fitz Ralph of Bricett, which would explain the later marriage between Jordan de Bricett and Muriel.

104 Diana Greenway & Leslie Watkiss, *op. cit.* (1999), 77.

105 J H Round, *op. cit.* (1913), 29, 77.

106 Robert de Essex had left her mortgaged land of William Goet, free and unencumbered to be passed on to an heir. This she gave to Robert, her second son by Roger fitz Richard.

107 *Book of Fees*, 478.

108 Lecia unsuccessfully sued her parents in-law, Gilbert Foliot and his wife, Hawise, for dower in 1210. *CRR*, 1210-1212, 37-38.

Foliot.[109] Muriel's other daughters were Emma,[110] wife of Reginald de Ginges of Ingrave (who in 1166 held two fees of the bishop of London in Middlesex and one fee of Walter de Mayenne in Kent), and Maud.[111]

The last named daughter Maud, does not figure much in the Clerkenwell cartulary. Her name is mentioned in relation to Lecia's confirmation as a widow of her husband' gifts to Clerkenwell including the service of a sixth part of a knight's fee in Wanstead inherited from the paternal estate of Jordan de Bricett, which, because Rose was a nun, descended in thirds to the other three daughters.[112] Maud's only attestation is of one of her mother's gifts made some time between 1163 and 1176.[113]

Maud's share of Wanstead passed into the hands of Robert Brito, leading to the intriguing possibility that her husband was Ralph Brito.[114] A series of charters in the Clerkenwell cartulary by Robert Brito with the consent of his son and heir Roger, (who appears to have died without issue, as Robert was succeeded by his next son, William), relates to the service of a third part of Wanstead and one mark rent with the service of a sixth of a knight's fee. The gift was witnessed by Reginald de Ginges. Roger Brito confirmed the grant in a charter witnessed by Geoffrey and Michael Capra and Emma de Mounteny. Robert's gift was again confirmed in a separate charter by Reginald de Ginges and Emma his wife, in which it is said that the land in Wanstead had descended to Robert Brito by hereditary right, *…"illam partem de Wenstede cum pertinenciis suis que pertinebat iure hereditario ad Robertum Britonem…".*[115] This charter was attested by Maurice de Totham, second husband of Muriel de Mounteny, and Elias Capra; and was then also confirmed in another charter by Henry Foliot and Lecia de Mounteny, witnessed by Ralph Brito (presumably younger brother of Robert), Reginald de Ginges and Muriel de Mounteny.[116] Taking the above into consideration a reasonable conclusion is that Maud de Mounteney was wife of Ralph Brito and mother of Robert, and the confirmation charters were issued because Robert, Emma and Lecia were co-parceners in the Wanstead estate.

Ralph Brito was undoubtedly the same as Richard de Lucy's former protégé and member of his household, who was granted Richard's manor of Chigwell by charter to be held of him for a knight's fee, and the gift later confirmed by Richard to Ralph's son, Robert.[117] Ralph Brito, in his capacity in the king's service, was

---

[109] Essex Record Office, Petre Records, D/DP T1/271. Rose Foliot also later became a nun at Clerkenwell. Taylor is in error in assuming that the Foliots left no heirs. The unsuccessful law suit in 1233 against a number of individuals for dower by Maud, widow of Gilbert, and her second husband John de Jarpenville, is tangible evidence of it, particularly as she was suing for dower in Mountnessing '*Ginges de Muntigny'*. In 1246/47 this estate in Mountnessing was again subject to a fine between Peter Foliot and the abbot of Strafford, whereby Peter, son and heir of Gilbert Foliot, confirmed two marks rent with appurtenances in Mountnessing to the prior. Pamela Taylor, (1990), 23; *CRR*, 1233-1237, no. 383; R Kirk, *op. cit*. (1910), **1**: 117.

[110] Evidently named after the mother of Jordan. Christopher Harper-Bill, ed., *English Episcopal Acta **6** Norwich 1070-1214*, (1990), no.146.

[111] Hubert Hall, *op. cit*. (1896), 187, 195. Their grandson, Reginald de Ginges, served as sheriff of Essex.

[112] W O Hassall, *op. cit.*, (1949), no. 83.

[113] W O Hassall, *op. cit.*, (1949), no. 86.

[114] *VCH Essex* **6**: 322-327.

[115] W O Hassall, *op. cit.*, (1949), no. 97.

[116] W O Hassall, *op. cit.*, (1949), no. 98.

[117] Robert's son, William Brito, was involved in a lawsuit over the manor Chigwell against Andrew Blund in 1214. *CRR*, 1213-1215, 205.

custodian of the lands of Henry de Essex after his forfeiture in 1163, and accounted for the Honour of Boulogne when in the king's hands in 1169.[118] He was Constable of Colchester castle during the rebellion of the king's son in 1173-4, and was appointed Justice Itinerant for Essex and Hertford in 1176/1177. He founded St Laurence's hospital in Brentford for the salvation of the souls of Henry II and his children, of his patron Richard de Lucy, and of himself, wife and children. The foundation charter was confirmed by Gilbert Foliot, Bishop of London in 1176/1177.[119]

Of further note is Ralph Brito's interest in Thorney. When he died in 1186 his escheated land in Thorney, Suffolk, was valued at £8 per annum.[120] Later, in 1212, William Brito, grandson of Ralph Brito, was recorded holding in Thorney along with Robert de Mounteny, the heirs of Richard Montfichet[121] and the heirs of Odinel de Umfraville. The record's narrative notes that king Henry I originally held Thorney in demesne and gave it to Richard de Lucy but it was not known by what service.[122] From the landholdings listed it is reasonable to assume that an estate in Thorney was part of Rose de Lucy's marriage portion, and her interest must have descended to her son and heir, as well as a parcel to her daughter Muriel as marriage portion, which then passed to Maud. In a similar way the descendants of Alice and Aveline de Lucy also held their part of it as the sisters' heirs. By 1212, the "*Robert de Munteni"* of this record was the grandson of the former Robert, having succeeded his father William, who died shortly before 1207.[123]

Richard de Lucy's estate of one knight's fee in Ickleton, Cambridgeshire, in 1162,[124] belonging to the Honour of Boulogne, was another parcel of land part of which passed into Brito hands.[125] In 1183 Ralph Brito held it, and it probably represented the one carucate that William Brito gave to Robert Hovel in 1222.[126]

Ralph Brito would appear to have been a descendant of Meinfelin Brito of Wolverton, for his grandson, William, produced a number of charters to Missenden relating to a gift of land in Ellesborough. His charters were witnessed by members of the Pinkeny family, with Alan son of Meinfelin, witnessing the confirmation charter of Hamon fitz Hamon, grandson of Meinfelin.[127] Richard de Lucy and Meinfelin knew each other well in the royal household having witnessed many of King Stephen's charters together through his reign. That Richard de Lucy had brokered a marriage between his great-granddaughter, Maud, with his protégé Ralph Brito, seems all too obvious.

---

118 *Pipe R* 16 Hen II, 110.

119 Emma Mason, ed., *Westminster Abbey Charters 1066-c.1214* (1988), no. 206.

120 *Pipe R* 33 Hen II, 58.

121 Avelina granted 40 shillings of rent from her *maritagium* in Thorney to Lesnes abbey for the health of the souls of her father and son. Unfortunately the editor misread Anselm for Avelina. W H Turner ed. *Calendar of Charters and Rolls Preserved in the Bodleian Library* (1878), 109.

122 *Book of Fees*, 135.

123 Thomas Duffus Hardy, ed., *Rotuli de Oblatis et Finibus in Turri Londinensi asservati tempore Regis Johannis.* (1835), 383; *CRR*, 1207-1208, 209.

124 *Pipe R* 8 Hen II, 48. Richard was pardoned Danegeld worth 12d. there.

125 Hubert Hall, *op. cit*. (1896), 529; *Book of Fees*, 239.

126 Walter Rye ed. *Pedes Finium: or Fines Relating to the County of Cambridge* (1891), 11. Hovel had married the daughter and heir of Thomas Brito tenant there in 1218. Richard, son of Reginald de Lucy, was mesne lord of Ickleton in 1212.

127 J G Jenkins, ed., *The Cartulary of Missenden Abbey* **3** (1962): nos. 600-605.

This leads us to another burning question. Was this Ralph Brito the same R. Brito, *"amicus et affinis"* of Bishop Gilbert Foliot, whose younger son was described by Gilbert as his nephew in Gilbert's letter to his uncle Robert de Chesney, bishop of Lincoln?[128] After an advantageous marriage was secured for Robert, Ralph Brito's heir, to the daughter and heir of William Golafre, who held 4 knights' fees of the Honour of Eye, '*R Brito'* approached Gilbert asking for help in procuring a place for his younger son in the church. Gilbert wrote to his uncle Robert de Chesney, Bishop of Lincoln, pleading in the name of kinship to help, *"...pater itaque pro filio, ego pro nepote, ambo pro vestro vobis abnepote suplicamus."* Gilbert refers to *R Brito's* younger son as nephew of himself, and great nephew of Bishop Robert. If we accept that Robert was son of Maud de Mounteny, and the next son was kin to the Foliots, the implication would be that Maud had died young, explaining her fleeting presence in the Clerkenwell cartulary compared to her sisters. Ralph Brito had afterwards married a lady of the Foliot family, evidently a sister of Gilbert, by whom he had another son.

As Jordan de Bricett was a tenant of the bishop of London in Clerkenwell, it is entirely possible that the marriage of Lecia, Jordan's daughter and co-heiress was arranged by Bishop Gilbert to his kinsman, Henry Foliot, after Gilbert's accession in 1163. As Morey and Brooke point out, Richard de Lucy and Gilbert Foliot were allies at court and 'partners in misfortune' in the Becket dispute, a marriage alliance as well as a political one between the families does not seem unlikely. Of particular interest is the fact that Gilbert's mother Agnes de Chesney was sister of William de Chesney, whose wife was Margaret de Lucy.[129] It is not known how Margaret fits into the Lucy family but she may have been Richard's sister.

Further intimation of kinship between the Foliot and Lucy families was given by Bishop Godfrey de Lucy's illegitimate son, Geoffrey, when dean of St Paul's, London. In a charter Geoffrey gave his manor of Acton to St Paul's, with provision for life tenure in the property by Richard Foliot, whom he named as kinsman.[130] If this Richard was son of Henry Foliot and Lecia de Mounteney, then their common descent would be traced from Richard de Lucy.

The chronology of Rose de Lucy's marriages and the probability that she was named after her mother, make it likely that she was one of the older daughters, if not the eldest, to be married. She would certainly appear to be older than Maud if we can believe the *Rotuli Hundredorum* account of the manor of Diss, *"Richard de Lucy gave the third part of the said manor with the third part of the half Hundred and court to the ancestor of the lord Robert de Munteny who now holds, in marriage with Rose his daughter, and afterwards the said Richard gave the other two parts of the whole manor with the two parts of the half Hundred and court to lord Walter fitz Robert grandfather of the lord Walter fitz Robert, father of lord Robert who now holds, in free marriage with Maud his daughter… "*[131]

For Robert Brito's marriage to have been procured before 1166, probably when he was past the age of 7, the year of Rose's birth must have occurred around the early 1100s, and likewise that of Richard de Lucy to a decade or more before the turn of the century. Rose's marriage would have been arranged to William de Mounteny as a young girl probably around the 1120s. Her daughter, Muriel,

---

128 Adrian Morey & C Brooke, eds., *The Letters and Charters of Gilbert Foliot* (1967), no. 173.

129 C W Foster, ed., *The Registrum Antiquissimum of the Cathedral Church of Lincoln* **2** (1935), no. 894.

130 Marion Gibbs, *op. cit*. (1939), no. 300.

131 *Rotuli Hundredorum*, **2**, 466.

evidently had her four daughters before the death of her husband Jordan around 1160, when Reginald de Ginges bought the marriage of Emma.

It is clear that Rose's first marriage occurred long before Richard de Lucy's change in fortune in 1135, hence her marriage to his tenant. Her later marriage to Michael Capra was consistent with Richard's political predilection to marry his daughters to Essex knights surrounding his castle at Chipping Ongar, the centre of the Hundred of Ongar, which encompassed and controlled the route between Colchester and London. Walter fitz Robert was located at Little Dunmow 14 miles north east of Richard's castle, the Montfichets were at Stansted Mountfitchet 18 miles north west, and Mountnessing where the Capra/Mounteny family was centred was 8 miles to the south west. Only Alice appears to have married out of the locality on her marriage with Odinel de Umfraville, a follower of the king of Scotland, but this was apparently a political move to switch Odinel's allegiance away from William of Scotland to Henry II, along with the control of the northern counties of Northumberland and Cumberland. While the marriage would have increased Richard in Henry II's favour, it demonstrates the length to which Richard would use his family towards such political and personal ends.[132]

Aside from Robert and Muriel, whom we have already identified, Rose and William de Mounteny may have had two younger sons - Roger and Richard. Roger was named as brother of Robert de Mounteny among witnesses of a charter to Clerkenwell by Michael Capra and Rose his wife.[133] He was probably the same as Roger de Mounteny, seneschal of Robert de Mounteny.[134] He may also have been the same Roger de Montigny who acted as witness for the abbot of Caen in London, when the latter recovered a property there fraudulently expropriated from his abbey's possession.[135]

The other possible son was a contemporary named Richard de Mounteny, who had a son called William. Onomastically this is consistent with a son of Rose de Lucy and William de Mounteny named after his illustrious grandfather, and whose eldest son was named William after his father. A Richard de Mounteny was bailiff of Caux in 1195 and he and his son, William, occur in an official capacity in Auffay, Arques, Normandy.[136] They also witnessed a charter of William de Mandeville, Earl of Essex, at Le Vaudreuil, France in 1189, shortly before he died, their names placed after Henry de Vere, who was present at his death.[137] Richard and William de Mounteny also appear in an earlier charter of William de Mandeville granting his chamberlain, Simon, tenements in Streatley, Berkshire.[138] Both charters clearly show them to be among his circle of followers. In the latter they appear as witnesses in order between Henry de Vere, who was William de Mandeville's first cousin (son of his mother's brother Aubrey de Vere, Earl of Oxford) and Ralph de Mandeville,

---

132 Laurence Keen, "The Umfravilles, the Castle and the Barony of Prudhoe, Northumberland" in *Anglo-Norman Studies V: Proceedings of the Battle Conference 1982*, ed. R Allen Brown (1983), 172. The marriage may have been a successful one, as between them Alice and Odinel had produced four sons and perhaps four daughters by the time he died in 1181.

133 W O Hassall, *op. cit.*, (1949), no. 302.

134 Barbara Dodwell, *op. cit.* **2** (1985): 113.

135 R H Inglis Palgrave, ed., *The Collected Historical Works of Sir Francis Palgrave, K.H.: The Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth, Anglo Saxon Period. Part II* (1921), 249.

136 Thomas Stapleton, ed., *Rotuli Scaccarii Normanniae sub Regibus Angliae* **2** (1844): cxxx, cxxxiv.

137 This charter was confirmed by King Richard in 1190 at La Londe. Diana Greenway & Leslie Watkiss, *op. cit. (*1999), 178-9.

138 J G Milne, "Muniments, Berkshire, of Corpus Christi College, Oxford," *The Berkshire Archaeological Journal* **46** (1942): 37-38.

William's nephew (son of Arnulf de Mandeville and Alice d'Oilly). This placement very much implies that the Mountenys were within William's kinship circle, which might be considered evidence that their great, great grandmother was a Mandeville, and if so, Richard de Mounteney would have been second cousin twice removed of William de Mandeville. Moreover, Arnulph de Mandeville II and III appear to have been very influential in finding placements for younger sons of the Mounteny family in the early thirteenth century, as will be shown below. While one would normally expect a closer relationship to be of more significance, it has to be remembered that the Mandeville family was not a particularly prolific one, so its extended family network was of greater importance to it.

A *"William de Montigny"* also occurs as a witness to a gift by William Hommet, Constable of Normandy, to Southwick priory before 1190 for the salvation of the souls of himself, his wife Lucy and their children. William's name occurs along with members of the Hommet family, as well as William de Say and Peter de Beseville. William de Say, husband of Beatrice de Mandeville, appears by reason of being uncle of William Hommet, but the only reason William and Peter appear are probably as part of the extended family kinship to Beatrice. Whether this William was of Mountnessing, or son of Richard de Mounteny, Bailiff of Caux, is immaterial, as in either case they would have been kin of the Mandevilles.

That Richard de Mounteny found himself in the circle of William de Mandeville is not inconsistent with the practice of a younger son finding a career in the service of a kinsman. In January 1195, a few years after Mandeville's death, both Richard and William Mounteny appear in the entourage of King Richard in La Londe, France, when he made a charter exchanging Conteville with the abbey of Jumieges for Pont de l'Arche.[139] It is probable that Richard de Mounteny witnessed the charter as an official of the king, as other witnesses included William fitz Ralph seneschal of Normandy and William Marshal.

As for the origin of this family, nothing is known for fact. However, it is probable that they originated from Montigny in the Pays de Bray, in Normandy, which was part of the Gournay fief. A Richard de Monteni witnessed the charter of Hugh de Gournay IV on the foundation of the priory of Beaubec, and the branch of the Gournay family holding the Montigny fief also held an estate in Suffolk, in Mendlesham and Cotton in the Hundred of Hartesmere, of the Dammartin family.[140] Intriguingly Michael de Mounteney was holding this manor of Mendlesham in the early thirteenth century, but this was most likely because the Dammartin heiress, Galiena, had married Arnulf de Mandeville, who had placed him there.[141]

Problems with the Lucy Genealogy

How is it possible that Rose de Mounteny failed to be recognised as a daughter of Richard de Lucy? The answer is surprisingly simple. Horace Round compiled the genealogy of the family from a series of law suits over parcels of land in Lesnes and Newington in the early thirteenth century. What he did not seem to consider was the deliberate tailoring of evidence presented in the suits according to what was to be the desired outcome.

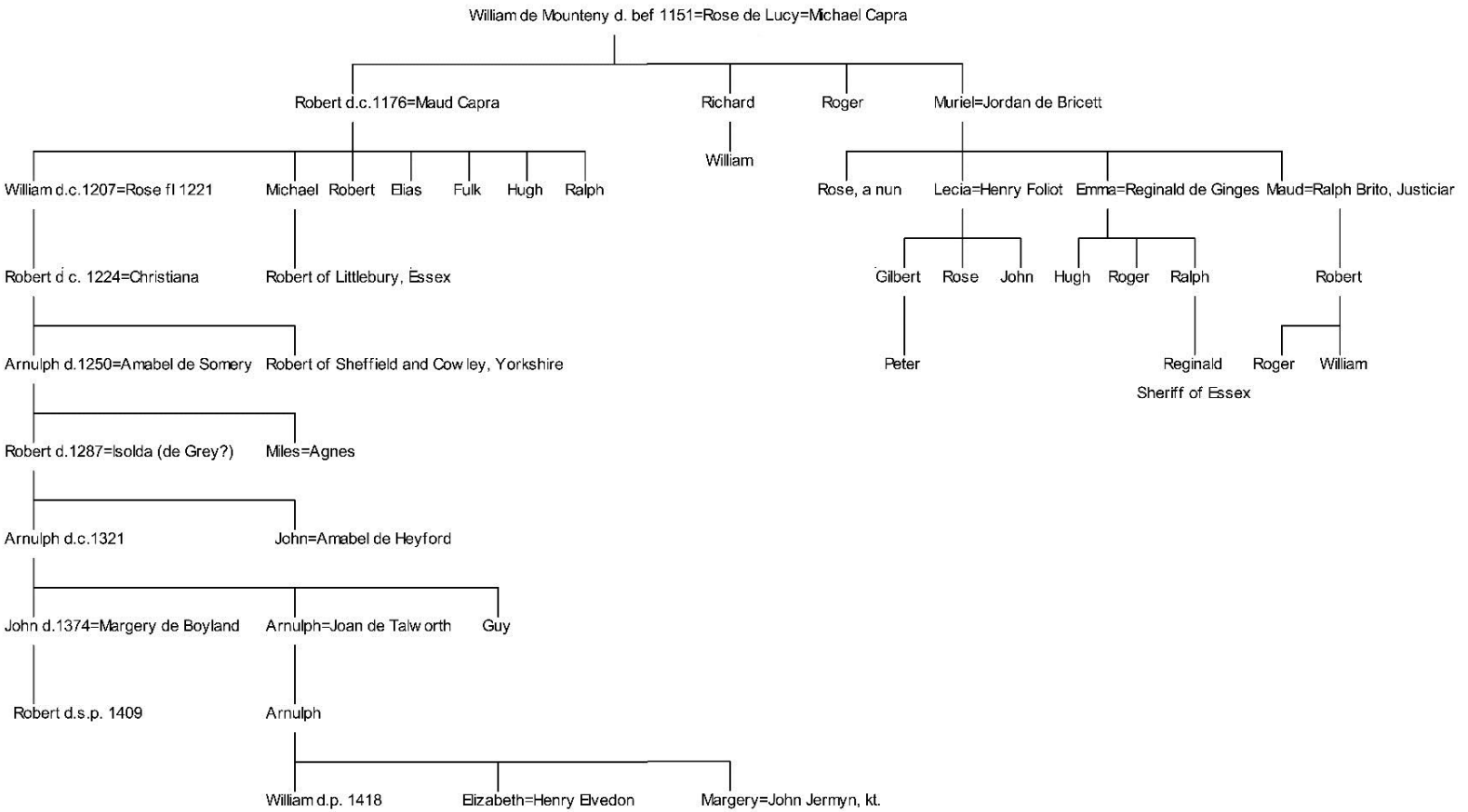
---

139 J Horace Round, ed., *Calendar of Documents preserved in France, vol.1: 918-1206* (1899), 57.

140 Daniel Gurney, *The Record of the House of Gournay* part **2** (1848), 289- 293, 299.

141 J M Rigg, ed., *Calendar of The Plea Rolls of the Exchequer of the Jews* **1** (1905), 19, 24.

Fig 3. A proposed pedigree of the Mounteny family from Rose de Lucy



In 1185, the brother and heir of Richard II de Lucy, Herbert de Lucy was aged 14 and had been in the wardship of his uncle Godfrey Bishop of Winchester since the age of 10.[142] When Herbert died, still underage, Godfrey appears to have retained custody of the lands until 1194 when King Richard quarrelled with him and disseised him. Godfrey's niece, Rose de Dover sought her inheritance in her own right and offered the king £700 to have the honour and marry whom she chose.[143] However, falling behind in her payments, part of it was handed over to Geoffrey Lascelles, husband of her niece. Godfrey de Lucy spent four months with the king in Normandy in 1198[144] and regained custody of the honour by pledging £1000 to have two manors of "Mienes" and Wargrave which pertained to the church of Winchester and *"for part of his inheritance for which Rose de Dover his niece made a fine with the king, which two manors with pertinences the king sells, and the portion of his inheritance."*[145] It is plain enough that Godfrey bought part of the Lucy estate and could not have gained it by hereditary right at all, despite the terminology used in the rolls.

Godfrey had died by Michaelmas 1204 when three new oblations appear in the Pipe Rolls. Richard de Umfraville, Aveline de Lucy and Robert fitz Walter each pledged 100 marks to have their share of the lands which belonged to bishop Godfrey the day he died.[146] These estates may represent the marriage portions of the Lucy daughters, which Godfrey had bought from the king.

In 1207, a few years after Godfrey's death, Rose de Dover again pledged a substantial sum to have the barony which had belonged to her brothers Richard and Herbert de Lucy by hereditary right *"saving the lands which Robert fitz Walter held".*[147] Here we see acknowledgement by all parties that Robert fitz Walter had de facto possession of some of these.

Claims instigated by Rose II de Dover and her husband Richard de Chilham (illegitimate son of king John) in 1219,[148] 1225 and 1227[149], over relatively small amounts of land in Lesnes and Newington, but of importance in establishing their overlordship, provide details about the family, according to what the suitors intended to reveal. The 1219 suit was defended by the descendants of the sisters and 'heirs' of Godfrey de Lucy - Richard de Montfichet, Robert fitz Walter, and Richard de Umfraville, who held the lands as co-partners. The 1225 suit provided the names of the sisters - Maud, Alice and Aveline, mothers and grandmother of the three defendants, on the evidence of Robert fitz Walter.[150] Rose II de Dover's suit in 1227 only mentions her aunts Aveline and Maud, because a settlement had already been reached with the other co-partner Richard de Umfraville, although the protagonists brought up the defence that Rose I de Dover had three sisters who were also her coheirs, who by right should be part of the suit as co-partners, which Rose was forced to acknowledge, but said that they had already received

---

142 J H Round, *op. cit.* (1913), 75, 76.

143 It was during this time that she settled a knight's fee in Newington on her half brother, Geoffrey de Lucy, who established a family line that thrived into the mid fifteenth century. Maitland, W F, ed., *Bracton's Note Book* (1887), no.1593.

144 Lionel Landen, *The Itinerary of King Richard I* (1935), 126, 131.

145 *Pipe Rolls* 10 Ric, 26.

146 *Pipe Rolls* 6 John, 22, 32.

147 Hardy, *op.cit., Rot. de Obl. et Fin.* (1835), 414.

148 *CRR*, 1219-1220, 25-26

149 W F Maitland, *op.cit.* (1887), nos. 1044, 1764.

150 W F Maitland, *op.cit.* (1887), **3**: 77 "*...Et Robertus dicit quod Matillis mater sua et Aleisia mater Ricardi de Umfraville et Avelina avia Ricardi de Muntfichet fuerent sorores..."*

their portions elsewhere.[151] The defendants also said that Godfrey de Lucy bought the land freely from King Richard and sold it to Robert fitz Walter and the father of Richard de Montfitchet. The fact that neither party could prove the other in the wrong probably led to a stalemate that instigated the duel that ended in victory for the Chilhams.

That plaintiffs could be economical with detail to achieve their ends is reinforced by Maud de Lucy's claim for four and a half acres of land in Newington in 1230.[152] She claimed it as daughter and heir of Maud, sister and heir of Herbert de Lucy, but the defendant said that he ought not respond because Herbert, brother of Maud, had a sister Rose, grandmother of Rose wife of Richard fitz Regis, who had as much right in the plea. On the first failed attempt Maud brought in her co-partner Rose and repeated the suit.[153]

A further suit in 1236[154] also reveals similar deception, for in the Lucy pedigree that Sara de Lascelles presented, she claimed that the devolution of a moiety of the manor of Ongar and East Stanford passed from Richard de Lucy to Geoffrey as his son and heir, and from Geoffrey to Richard as his son and heir, and from Richard to his brother and heir Herbert de Lucy, who had a daughter *[sic]* and heir Maud[155] who had two daughters - the plaintiff Sara, who married William de Lascelles of Normandy, and Maud, wife of Geoffrey de Lascelles. Apart from the fact of the outright untruth, there is no mention of the other sisters of Richard and Herbert de Lucy, her co-partners, because acknowledgement of their existence would have complicated the suit, as well as brought to light the true relationships.

As is evident from feudal tenancy records, Rose de Mounteny, sister of Geoffrey and Godfrey de Lucy, did not hold any portion of the land in Lesnes or Newington under dispute in these suits. It was for this reason her name never appeared in connection to the Lucy family estate, and she was thus overlooked by Horace Round and other historical commentators.

Additional information from the Pipe Rolls given above throws up another important consideration. Robert fitz Walter must have acquired the overlordship of the Lucy lands held by the Mounteny family, which would explain how he was able to settle the four knights' fees of the Mounteny fief in Newton, Diss, Sprowston and in Tacolneston (amongst many others) as dower on his second wife Rose on their marriage sometime after 1212.[156] Why the Mounteny family did not take any part in the acquisition was probably due to its modest estate in comparison to that of Robert's, who held 63 knights' fees of his own, as well as his wife's barony consisting of over 50 fees.[157] As consolation to the Mounteny family, it was infinitely preferable to be a direct tenant of a well intentioned kinsman, than of a

---

151 These were evidently Maud, wife of William de Beauchamp, Mabel, and Aveline, wife of Ralph Patric.

152 *CRR*, 1227-1239, 571.

153 *CRR*, 1230-1232, 186.

154 *CRR,* 1233-1237, 435-6.

155 Maud is described as daughter and heir, but it is evident from other suits that she was sister of Herbert, not daughter.

156 *CCR,* 1234-1237, 230. The date is estimated by the last mention of his first wife Gunnor occurring in 1211, as she seems to have died during the dispute with Binham priory 1210-1212. Rose was probably a daughter of Simon Beauchamp of Bedford, and in 1243 instrumental in arranging the marriage of her son Walter fitz Robert to Ida Longespee, niece of Ida Longespee (d.1270), wife of William de Beauchamp, her brother. The other fee in Tacolneston had been lost by William de Mounteny in a suit against Reginald the Falconer in 1187. *Pipe R* 33 Hen II, 12.

157 Hubert Hall, ed., *Red Book of the Exchequer* (1896), 348, 360-363.

capricious king. Robert fitz Walter's status made him much better placed to procure the Mounteny fief at a time when a king could be induced to part with it. It is possible that this procurement was compensation for part of the Valognes fee belonging to his wife that had been lost in Normandy in 1204.

Thus the medieval practice of presenting biased genealogical information in lawsuits to bring about a particular desired outcome has resulted in Round's artificially truncated pedigree of the Lucy family. This means we may now consider that Richard de Lucy may have had other issue, which has implications for one individual in particular - Reginald de Lucy of Egremont. In 1209 king John confirmed Reginald de Lucy's gift of a moiety of the church of Walkhampstead to Lesnes abbey,[158] giving rise to the opinion of later historians that he must have been a near relation of Richard de Lucy, the Justiciar, but probably illegitimate. However, there is nothing about the life of Reginald that would indicate that he was illegitimate. As a younger son, Reginald was settled with the manor of Walkhampstead in Surrey worth £24 per annum, (which had among its appurtenances fifteen houses in London and Southwark, worth 6s. and 2,000 herrings), and land known to pertain to Richard de Lucy worth a quarter of a knight's fee in Ickleton, Cambridgeshire, both estates pertaining to the Honour of Boulogne. Later he came into the manor of Langenhoe worth another £15 per annum after his nephew Herbert de Lucy's death.[159] Between 1167 and 1174 Reginald had witnessed the confirmation charter of the gift to Richard de Lucy by William, Earl of Gloucester of the territory pertaining to Greenstead in the Honour of Ongar, along with his brother Godfrey de Lucy.[160] He pursued a career in the service of kings Henry II and Richard, after his father's death, becoming a justiciar in his own right and was given the advantageous marriage of Amabel, daughter and coheir of William fitz Duncan, Earl of Murray, and Alice de Rumilly, which brought him the lordship of Egremont and some very influential in-laws.[161] His son and heir, Richard, having increased his estate by marriage to Ada, daughter and coheir of Hugh de Morville, disposed of the moieties of the manor of Walkhampstead, by settling them on his two sisters in marriage to Odo de Dammartin and Roger de St John.[162] The quarter fee in Ickleton, however, passed to Thomas Multon his grandson.[163]

Conclusion

From the direct statement of Robert de Mounteny's ancestry recorded in the *Rotuli Hundredorum* to the devolution of part of Richard de Lucy's landholdings through certain descendants, in particular the Mounteny family, and its religious benefactions from estates in Little Plumstead and Burston from the Mounteny fee, the authors hope to have succeeded in identifying Rose de Lucy and her descendants. Significant conclusions can also be drawn about Muriel de Mounteny's world – that the authority upon which she drew derived from her influential grandfather and his political and family connections in London. The Mounteny family continued to fulfil its feudal commitments in the service of the monarchy

158 T Duffus Hardy, ed., *Rotuli Chartarum in Turri Londinensi asservati, 1199-1216* (1837), 164.

159 *Book of Fees*, 239, 243, 1432.

160 Robert B Patterson, ed., *Earldom of Gloucester Charters* (1973), 111.

161 *CP* **8**, 247; Joseph Bain, ed., *Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland,* **2** (1881-88): 16.

162 *VCH Surrey* **4**: 283-291. Caution is needed with the accuracy of the account of Walkhamstead, as the references do not show that Faramus had any interest in this manor.

163 W Farrer, *Feudal Cambridgeshire* (1920), 272.

throughout the medieval period until it daughtered out in the early fifteenth century.

Appendix

The Descent of the Mounteny Family of Mountnessing. This is a selective pedigree dealing with the descent of the main branch, including some of those individuals mentioned in the text.

1.William de Mounteny. (d.bef.1151). Of Mountnessing, Essex; Newton, Suffolk; Diss, Walcote, Sprowston, and Tacolneston, Norfolk. His wife was Rose de Lucy, daughter of Richard de Lucy, Justiciar, with whom he received a third of the manor of Diss and a third of the half Hundred of Diss and issues of its court, and an interest in Thorney.[164] Their son Robert gave his mill at Plumstead to Norwich Cathedral Priory sometime between 1146 and 1174, for the souls of his parents William de Mounteny and Rose, *"pro salute mea et uxoris mee et omnium parentum et amicorum meum, et nominatum pro anima patris mei Willelmi de Mounteney et Raiesie matris mee…"*[165] William was dead before 1151. Rose remarried Michael Capra. William and Rose had issue:

2. Robert (see below)

2. Roger. He was named as brother of Robert de Mounteny among witnesses of a charter to Clerkenwell by Michael Capra and Rose his wife.[166] Possibly seneschal of Robert.[167]

?2. Richard de Mounteny

3. William de Mounteny

2. Muriel, wife of Jordan fitz Ralph de Bricett who was founder of the Benedictine Clerkenwell Priory. She married secondly Maurice de Totham, tenant of Richard de Lucy. By her first husband she had:

3. Rose, a nun at Clerkenwell

3. Lecia, wife of Henry Foliot (d.bef. 1197).[168] She was still living 1210[169]. They had:

4. Gilbert Foliot

5. Peter Foliot

4. John Foliot

4. Rose Foliot

3. Emma, wife of Reginald de Ginges who held a knight's fee in Kent of Walter de Mayenne in 1166. They had:

4. Hugh d.s.p. 1203

4. Roger d.s.p.

4. Ralph, kt.

5. Reginald, Sheriff of Essex in 1276.[170]

3. Maud, wife of Ralph Brito, Justiciar

4. Robert Brito, d.1199. His wife was Philippa, da. and h. of William Gulafre of Okenhill, Suffolk

---

164 *Rotuli Hundredorum* **2**: 466; Hubert Hall, *op. cit*. (1896), 351.

165 Barbara Dodwell, *op.cit.* **2** (1985): 113.

166 W O Hassall, *op.cit.* (1949), no. 302.

167 Barbara Dodwell, *op.cit.* **2** (1985): 113.

168 Hardy, W J & W Page, eds., *Calendar of Feet of Fines for London and Middlesex* (1892), 11.

169 *Pipe R* 12 John, 182.

170 The National Archives E 40/764.

5. Roger Brito d.s.p. bef 1212

5. William Brito married Eva dau of John de Grey, kt. of Rotherfield, Oxon.

2. Robert. (d.*c.*1178).[171] In 1166 Richard de Lucy returned his *Carta* showing that his tenant, Robert de Monteni, held 5 knights' fees of him in Newton, Suffolk, and Walcote in Diss, Sprowston and Tacolneston in Norfolk, which Richard held in chief. Before 1174 Robert gave a charter to Norwich Cathedral Priory for the souls of his parents William and Rose (as above). He witnessed Richard de Lucy's gift of land in Chigwell to Ralph Brito. Married Maud Capra, daughter of his stepfather, Michael Capra with whom he received a manorial estate, which included the church, in Mountnessing. A papal bull issued by Pope Urban III on 19 October 1186 confirming the gifts to Clerkenwell priory, makes mention of a gift by Robert de Mounteny and William his son of 50 shillings of land from Mountnessing.[172] Robert and Maud had issue:

3. William (see below)

3. Michael. Witnessed his brother William's gift of his wood at Ginges (Mountnessing) to Thoby priory,[173] and Michael II Capra's confirmation charter of William's gift of his tenement to Simon son of Marcian.[174] In 1213 Michael and his wife Maud were in debt to the abbot of St Bartholomew's, London for £10 of silver for which they promised to repay, in a deed witnessed by Robert Foliot.[175] He held a manor in Mendlesham, Suffolk, of Galiena de Dammartin and her husband, Ernulf III de Mandeville in 1220.[176] He witnessed a charter of Hubert de Anesty to the canons of Christchurch, London.[177] He was dead by 1241 when his son Robert of Littlebury manor in Stanford Rivers, answered for his debt.[178] Robert was the tenant of Robert fitz Walter in Essex of a quarter of a knight's fee in 1235/36.[179] In the 1320's this branch of the family still held Littlebury manor evidently of Arnulph de Mounteney, "chief lord of the fee".[180]

3. Robert. Referred to William de Mounteny as his lord and brother in a charter of gift to Geoffrey fitz Robert before setting out to the Holy Land, probably in 1190.[181]

3. Elias, priest of the church at Mountnessing and brother of William de Mounteny. He gave seven acres in Mountnessing to Thoby priory.[182]

3. Fulk. Received a gift of land in Mountnessing from Henry fitz Oger in a charter witnessed by Adam Prior of Mountnessing, William Capra and William de Mounteny.[183]

3. Hugh. Witnessed charters of William.[184]

3. Ralph. Witnessed a charter of William.[185]

---

171 *Pipe R.* 24 Hen II, 36. The last documented record of Robert.

172 W O Hassall, "Two Papal Bulls for St Mary, Clerkenwell" *English Historical Review* (1942), 99.*"...ex dono Roberti de Montagn' et Willelmi filii sui quinque solidatas terre in Ynge..."*

173 Essex Record Office. Petre Deeds D/DP T1/50.

174 Stuart A Moore, ed., *Cartularium Monasterii Sancti Johannis Baptiste de Colecestria* **2** (1897): 304.

175 Nellie J M Kerling, *Cartulary of St Bartholomew's Hospital* (1973), no. 839.

176 J M Rigg, ed., *Calendar of the Plea Rolls of the Exchequer of the Jews: Henry III, 1218-1272* **1** (1905): 19, 24.

177 Maxwell Lyte, *op.cit.* **1** (1890): 116-127.

178 *Pipe. R.* 26 Hen III, 225; Essex Record Office. Petre Deeds D/DP T1/45.

179 *Book of Fees*, 479.

180 *CCR*, 1318-1323, 330. Richard de Mounteny, kt., of this branch was summoned as a knight of Hertfordshire to attend the Great Council at Westminster in 1324. Theobald de Mounteny, kt, d. 1362, king's yeoman, was also perhaps of this branch. He was one of the beneficiaries and executors of the will of Otto de Grandison in 1359.

181 Essex Record Office. Petre Deeds D/DP T1/2110.

182 Essex Record Office. Petre Deeds D/DP T1/248;D/DP T1/1539;D/DP t1/2074.

183 Essex Record Office. Petre Deeds. D/DP T1/1576.

184 Essex Record Office. Petre Deeds D/DP T1/49-50.

185 Essex Record Office. Petre Deeds D/DP T1/49.

3. William (d.1207). He appeared with his father in a gift of 50 shillings of land in Mountnessing to Clerkenwell priory (as above). William also witnessed gifts by Muriel and Lecia de Mounteny to Clerkenwell.[186] Succeeded Robert by 1178 and on the day of his father's death William gave the wood at Mountnessing to Thoby priory in a deed witnessed by his brothers Michael, Hugh and Elias de Mounteny.[187] He also gave two parts of the tithe from his demesne in the vills of Catton and Sprowston to Norwich cathedral priory for the use of the poor.[188] William lost one fee in Tacolneston in a suit against Reginald the Falconer in 1187.[189] This William was the same *William de Monteigerni*, who witnessed the charter of Godfrey de Lucy confirming the gift of his father of rent in Newington to Holy Trinity around 1203. William's wife was possibly Rose, who in 1221, as widow of William de Mounteny sued against Christina widow of William de Flexmere for 18 acres of land and pertinences in King's Walden in Hertfordshire, which were part of her marriage portion.[190] William had a daughter Alice who gave two acres of land in Mountnessing to Thoby priory in a charter witnessed by Michael de Mounteny and his son Robert.[191] William's son, Robert, succeeded to the estates.

4. Robert (d.1224). He succeeded his father, answering for William's debts in 1207.[192] Recorded as a tenant of Robert fitz Walter *c.*1212 in the latter's contract for dower with his second wife, Rose, on whom he settled four knights fees pertaining to Robert.[193] Recorded in 1212 holding land in Thorney in the Hundred of Stowe, Suffolk, which Henry I had given Richard de Lucy, as co-partner with William Brito, the heirs of Richard Montfichet (d.1204), and the heirs of Odinel de Umfraville.[194] Confirmed the gift *"of the church of St Giles of Ginges, which is of Robert's fee' after 1207 'by persuasion of William bishop of London."* [195] His wife was possibly a daughter of Arnulph II de Mandeville of South Mimms. He was dead by Michaelmas 1224 when his heirs paid scutage of 80 shillings in Norfolk and Suffolk for two fees.[196] His widow was probably Christiana who paid 40 shillings scutage for one knight's fee in Norfolk which she held in dower, and whom Hamon Capra sued for half a knight's fee with appurtenances in Diss in 1235.[197] Had issue:

> **5. Arnulph** (see below)
>
> 5. Robert. Of Shirecliffe in Sheffield, and Cowley, Yorkshire. Knight of his kinswoman Maud de Lovetot (d.1250), granddaughter of Maud de Lucy and Walter fitz Robert, wife of Gerard de Furnival of Sheffield. Her step father was Arnulph II de Mandeville[198]. Robert witnessed a charter by her in her legal widowhood of a grant to the priory of Worksop for the souls of her husband, Gerard, and son William.[199] His wife was Margaret daughter and coheir of Jordan de Reinville of Cowley and founded the Yorkshire branch of the family. This branch bore the arms of *azure a bend between six martlets azure, three roundels sable on the bend.*[200]

5. Arnulph de Mounteny, kt. (c.1210-1252). He was a minor in 1227 when he unsuccessfully sued Hamon Capra for waste in his land in Mountnessing.[201] As '*Ernulf de Munteny son of Robert'* he granted to the church and canons of Blessed Mary and St. Leonard of Ginges (Thoby Priory) the Church of St. Giles of Mountnessing which belonged to his fee and all appurtenances of the said church both of the parsonage

---

186 W O Hassall, *op. cit.*, (1949), no. 65, 73, 80, 85, 87, 90.

187 Essex Record Office. Petre Deeds D/DP T1/50.

188 Christopher Harper-Bill, *English Episcopal Acta **21**: Norwich 1215-1243* (2004), 74.

189 *Pipe R* 33 Hen II, 12.

190 *CRR*, 1221-1222, 54, 183.

191 Essex Record Office. Petre Deeds D/DP T1/34.

192 Hardy, *op.cit., Rot. de Obl. et Fin.* (1835), 383; *CRR,* 1207-1208, 209.

193 *CCR,* 1234-1237, 158.

194 *Book of Fees,* 135.

195 Essex Record Office. Petre Deeds. D/DP T1/1238. This bishop was elected in 1198 and died in 1222. The charter was attested by Serlo and Hamo de Marci and Gilbert Capra.

196 *Pipe R,* 8 Hen III, 195.

197 *CCR*, 1234-1237, 158 Hamon also sued Peter de Mounteny for a carucate of land in Diss.

198 Anon., *Feet of Fines of the Reign of Henry II and of the first seven years of the reign of Richard I A D 1182 - A D 1196* (1894), no. 99. On 26 Jan 1196 Ernulph de Mandeville and his wife Maud fitz Walter quitclaimed all her Luvetot dower rights in Whiston to Robert Brito.

199 Maxwell Lyte, *op.cit.* **6** (1915): 279-290.

200 Gerard J Brault, ed., *Rolls of Arms Edward I (1272-1307)* **1** (1997): 207.

201 *CRR*, 1227-1230, 181.

and the presentation of the vicarage etc.[202] In 1240 he sold his estate in Burston pertaining to his manor of Diss to Stephen de Brockdish for 20 shillings. The sale may have been prompted by debt to Hamon Capra to whom he owed 45 marks over a plea of land. Arnulph de Mandeville and Ralph de Camoys[203] stood as sureties for his debt.[204] He married Amabel, daughter and coheir of Miles de Somery, eventual coheir to the estates of her great-grandfather Robert de Lucy, brother of Richard de Lucy. Arnulph and Amabel were thus related in the 6th and 4th degree of consanguinity. They had two sons Robert and Miles.[205] In 1240 he paid homage for his wife's inheritance,[206] and in 1241 quitclaimed the advowson of the church at Mountnessing to the prior of Thoby who had received it from Michael Capra his ancestor.[207] In 1242/3 he was guarantor for the fine of Hubert de Monchensy, his brother-in-law, for marrying Ela de Somery without consent of the king.[208] He was given protection while overseas in the king's service in 1242 and 1245.[209] In 1243 he is recorded as a tenant of Walter fitz Robert in Sprowston, Diss, Catton, and Thorney.[210] In 1247 he enfeoffed the abbot of Stratford in a messuage and 140 acres of land in Mountnessing, and the same year acting along with Gilbert Peche and William de Say, he was a guarantor for his kinsman Hugh Peche who was fined £500 for abducting Ida, widow of Stephen de Segrave.[211] In 1252 he was killed during a tournament by Roger de Leyburn and was succeeded by his son Robert.[212]

6. Robert de Mounteny, kt. (*c.*1230-1287). Of the *Rotuli Hundredorum* inquisition conducted *c.*1270. In 1253 the king ordered the Exchequer to urgently make a fine with reasonable terms for Robert to pay off the debts which Arnulph, his father, had owed the Jews.[213] That same year Robert was given protection to go with the king to Gascony.[214] In 1257/58 Robert and Isolda his wife[215] made a fine with Roger le Gros in Earl Saham, Monks Saham, Ashfield and Thorp, Suffolk.[216] In 1267/68 he made another fine with John de Skolakel and Isabel his wife of the manor of Great Waldingfield and the advowson.[217] In 1270 Robert had licence to appoint his wife Isolda and son, John,[218] attorneys for four years while away in the Holy Land with Edward, the King's son, and licence to rent his manor of Mountnessing for four years.[219] By 1275 Robert was deeply in debt and in 1276 accounted with Cok' Hagyn, a Jew, touching a charter for £400. The sum of the charter and the interest accruing amounted to 2100 marks owing.[220] The same year Sir Robert de '*Munteni*' and Arnulph his son witnessed a charter of feoffment of land in Gipping Newton.[221] In 1278 Robert settled the manors of Sprowston, Heywood (Diss), Newton, Mountnessing and Elmdon on his son Arnulph for life for the yearly rent of a pair of gilt spurs, with reversion to Arnulph and his heirs on

---

202 Essex Record Office. Petre Deeds D/DP T1/289.

203 Ralph's mother was Maud, widow of Hubert de Anesty (d.1213).

204 Eric Gallagher, ed., *The Civil Pleas of the Suffolk Eyre of 1240* (2009), 14, 82.

205 Miles de Mounteney, attorney of Robert de Mounteney around 1265, of Kelvedon Hatch and High Ongar, *CIM*, **1**: no. 814. Lent his great nephew, John, son of John de Mounteney, 200 marks in 1310, TNA C241/82/203. In 1316 he appears in a fine with his wife, Agnes, widow of Thomas Prior of Kelvedon Hatch, concerning 12 acres of land in High Onger, R Kirk, ed., *Feet of Fines for Essex* **2** (1928): 172. He died after 1337, R Kirk, *Feet of Fines for Essex*, **3** (1949): 16, 42.

206 *CFR*, 1234-1242, 270.

207 R Kirk, *op. cit*., **1** (1910): 141.

208 *CRR*, 1242-1243, 78.

209 *CPR*, 1232-1247, 294, 454.

210 *Book of Fees*, 484, 903, 904, 914.

211 R Kirk, *op.cit*. **1** (1910): 179; *CFR* www.finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_044.html, no.424.

212 *CPR*, 1247-1258, 154; *CIM*, I, 132.

213 *CCR*, 1251-1253, 316.

214 *CPR,* 1247-1258, 231.

215 Evidence points to her identity as Isolda de Grey, daughter of John de Grey of Shirland, widow of Robert Tateshale (d.1249).

216 Walter Rye, ed., *A Calendar of the Feet of Fines for Suffolk*, (1900), 60.

217 Walter Rye, *op. cit. (1900)*, 65.

218 He had a son name John, possibly by his wife, Amabel de Heyford, widow of William Golafre. She later remarried Reginald de Hotot, G R Elvey. *Luffield Priory Charters* **2** (1975): no.362.

219 *CPR,* 1266-1272, 443, 454.

220 Hilary Jenkinson, ed., *Calendar of the Plea Rolls of the Exchequer of the Jews* **3** (1929): 207.

221 Suffolk Record Office. HD 1538/236/3.

the death of Robert.[222] The *Rotuli Hundredorum* record that Henry I granted Richard Lucy the whole manor of Diss and half the Hundred, and other pertinences, for the service of 40d. towards the upkeep of Norwich castle. The said Richard gave the ancestor of the lord Robert de Mounteney a third of the manor with pertinences in marriage with Rose his daughter.[223] Sir Robert de Mounteny witnessed a gift by Gilbert Pecche and Joan his wife, widow of Richard de Dover, grandson of Rose II de Dover, to Thoby priory.[224] In 1283 the king ordered that the lands of the late Joan de Somery (widow of Stephen de Somery) should be delivered to Robert.[225] Robert died in 1287 when his inquisitions post mortem stated he had enfeoffed his son and heir Arnulph in his manors of Elmdon, Mountnessing, Essex; Haslingfield, Cambs., Newton, Suffolk, and Heywood in Diss, Norfolk before his death.[226] Bore arms *Azure, a bend between six martlets or.*[227]

7. Arnulph de Mounteny, kt. (*c.*1250-*c.*1321) Granted protection for four years to accompany Prince Edward to Jerusalem in 1270.[228] Arrested for the murder of Richard de Paris in 1276 but escaped from Newgate prison.[229] In 1277 he accompanied Edward I to Wales for military service.[230] Between 1285 and 1286 he was in the king's service as a knight receiving payments from the king's household.[231] Named as son and heir of Robert, Arnulph was stated to be aged between 30 and 40 at his father's death in 1287, and the king ordered the lands late of his father, with which had been enfeoffed, to be delivered to Arnulph.[232] Around 1296 he leased in fee simple an acre of land in Edmonton Marsh called "*Mymmemade*" lying between the meadow of Peter Picot and Ranulph de Monchensy to Edmund de Totenhale.[233] He was recorded as overlord of Chrishall in 1296.[234] In 1302 Arnulph was co-parcenor of the 7 knights' fees which had belonged to Miles de Somery, tenant of Humphrey Bohun, in North Mimmes, and Shenley in Hertfordshire, and Haslingfield and Sawston in Cambridgeshire.[235] In 1303 he is recorded holding half a fee in Mountnessing, and in Chrishall and Elmdon, Essex, and Diss, Tacolneston, Little Plumstead, Hassingham, Freethorpe, and Sprowston, Norfolk.[236] In 1305 and 1306 he acknowledged debts to Nicholas Basing and William de Hamilton, Dean of York, which were to be levied from his lands in Essex, Norfolk and Suffolk in default of repayment.[237] In 1316 he is recorded holding Chrishall, Essex, Newton, Suffolk, North Mimms, Herts., Haslingfield, Cambridgeshire, and Plumstead Parva, Hassingham, Wroxham, Beeston and Diss in Norfolk.[238] In 1317 Arnulph had licence to grant Henry le Mount and Joan his wife land in Haslingfield, Cambridgeshire, and in 1319 had licence to enfeoff Nicholas de Segrave of a messuage and carucate in Elmdon, Essex.[239] In 1320 Arnulph settled a messuage and land in Mountnessing on his younger son, Arnulph, to be held of Arnulph senior (himself) and his heirs, by Arnulph junior and his heirs with remainder to Guy de Mounteney, brother of Arnulph junior, for a rose rent.[240] In 1321, presumably as he was approaching death, and not wanting an encumbrance on his estate, he was pardoned for his part in the death of Richard de Paris 45 years earlier.[241] Arnulph died about 1321. His

---

222 R Kirk, *op. cit*. **2** (1928): 19; *CIPM*, **2**: no. 636.

223 *Rotuli Hundredorum*, **1**: 466.

224 Essex Record Office. Petre Deeds. D/DP/ T1/109.

225 *CFR,* 1281-1292, 187.

226 *CIPM*, **2**: no. 636.

227 Gerard J Brault, *op. cit.* **2** (1997): 310.

228 *CPR*, 1266-1272, 44.

229 *CPR,* 1272-1281, 316; Reginald Sharpe, ed. *Calendar of Letter Books Relating to the Period c.1275-c.1312 Preserved at the Guildhall* (1900), 263.

230 *CPR*, 1272-1281, 220.

231 Benjamin Byerly & Catherine Ridder Byerly, eds., *Records of the Wardrobe and Household 1285-1286* (1977), 1678, 1670.

232 *CIPM*, **2**: no. 636; *CFR,* 1281-1292, 236.

233 S J O'Connor, ed., *A Calendar of the Cartularies of John Pyel and Adam Frauncis* (1993), 308.

234 *CIPM* **3**: 366.

235 *CIM* **1**: no. 1870.

236 *Feudal Aids*, **2**: 134, 150; *Feudal Aids* **3**: 393, 412, 418, 419.

237 *CCR,* 1302-1307, 340, 342, 428.

238 *Feudal Aids*, **2**: 150; **5**: 35; **2**: 425; **1**: 153; **3**: 472-474, 477.

239 *CPR*, 1317-1321, 391, 653.

240 R Kirk, *op. cit.* (1928), **2**: 196.

241 *CPR,* 1321-1324, 33, 37.

wives are unknown but because of the extended chronology of the sons, it seems likely he had no surviving issue by an earlier wife, and his sons were born by a subsequent wife when he was in his forties. He was succeeded by his son John.

8. John de Mounteney, kt. (c.1285-d.bef.1365). He was son and heir of Arnulph. In a deed dated 1317 he enfeoffed Sir Simon de Swonland in his land in N. Mimms, which *"Robert son and heir of Sir John de Mounteneye"* later confirmed in 1365.[242] In 1323 he granted 3 crofts in Mountnessing to Adam Curtis and Beatrice his wife.[243] In 1324 he was appointed commissioner to array men at arms to embark for Gascony.[244] Probably on account of continual debt, in 1324 John enfeoffed his brother, Arnulph, in his Norfolk lands and acknowledged he owed him £100 to be levied in default of payment in his lands and chattels in Essex.[245] In 1325, as *"John son of Ernulph de Munteny"*, he sold 12 acres in Gipping Newton to William Newton, and in 1329 he sold half an acre in Gipping Newton to Stephen Kebel.[246] In 1346 he held half a fee in Newton, Suffolk that Arnulph de Mounteney once held, Diss and Tacolneston, Norfolk, half a fee in Mountnessing, but the estates in Haslingfield, Chrishall and Elmdon appear to have been alienated.[247] He was accordingly assessed at one man at arms, 3 footmen and one archer for the war with France.[248] In 1346 an inquisition reveals he still held a small parcel of land in Thorney, Suffolk, which was tenanted by Avice, late the wife of Robert Hotot.[249] In 1348 he owed Robert de Ufford, Earl of Suffolk £80 to be levied in default of payment from his lands and chattels in Essex, and the same year he settled the manor of Heywood in Diss on himself and his wife Margery.[250] The manor of Sprowston and the advowson of the church with lands in Catton, Beeston, Rekky *[sic]*, Great Plumstead, Thorp juxta Norwich were tenanted by Thomas Aslack and Elizabeth his wife.[251] The inquisition post mortem of his overlord, Walter fitz Walter in 1387 recorded that five knights' fees in Diss, Tacolneston, Sprowston, Beeston, Hassingham and Newton, were *"lately held by John de Mounteneye"*.[252] He was dead before 1365 and was buried in the church at Stowmarket.[253] He was succeeded by his son Robert.

9. Robert de Mounteney, kt (c.1325-d.s.p.1409). In 1346 as *"son and heir of John de Mounteney"* he was holding a quarter part of one fee in Haslingfield, Cambs.[254] In 1374 he agreed to provide dower to his father's widow, Margery, and her husband, Sir John de Braham, of a yearly payment of £38 from his manors of Heywood, Gipping, Newton and Mountnessing to be paid quarterly, in return of which they surrendered their interest in the manor of Heywood in Diss, a third part in the manor of Gipping Newton, Suffolk, and Mountnessing, Essex, and 20 marks of rent taken from the manor of North Mymmes.[255] In 1397 Robert Mounteny, kt and Robert Hotot granted a charter with warranty of the manor of *"Zinge Mounteney"*, Essex with wards, marriages, reliefs, escheats etc. to George and Simon Felbridge, knights, Roger Cavendish, Robert Goshalm, and Thomas Willinghall.[256] In 1401 he was holding in Diss for half a

---

242 *CCR,* 1364-1368, 163.

243 Essex Record Office. Petre Deeds. D/DP T1/1558.

244 *CPR*, 1324-1327, 77.

245 *CCR,* 1323-1327, 177.

246 Suffolk Record Office**.** HD 1538/236/5-6.

247 *Feudal Aids*, **2**: 160; **3**: 494, 528; **2**: 160, 179.

248 *CFR*, 1337-1347, 508.

249 *CIM* **2**: no. 1967.

250 *CCR*, 1346-1349, 543; Walter Rye, ed., *A Short Calendar of the Feet of Fines for Norfolk* **2** (1886): 321.

251 Walter Rye, *op. cit.* **2** (1886): 433.

252 *CIPM,* **16**: no. 392.

253 *CCR*, 1374-1377, 106; Will of his son Robert dated 1409. TNA PROB 11/2A.

254 *Feudal Aids*, **1**: 164.

255 *CCR*, 1374-1377, 106. John's widow was Margery de Boyland, daughter and heir of Sir John de Boyland of Boyland Hall in Bressingham, but unlikely to have been mother of his heir. She remarried John de Braham, kt. (d.1375), by whom she was mother of his heir, Sir John (d.1420). Afterwards she married John de Lancaster, Knight of the Shire for Norfolk and Suffolk (d.1424), who in 1401-2, was holding her dower of a third of a fee in Sprowston, Catton, Beeston, Plumstead, and Hassingham. However some of the estate appears to have devolved to his son, John Lancaster (d.1470) who appears in 1428 holding the manor in Diss and Mounteney's manor in Tacolneston. *Feudal Aid*s **3**: 560, 586, 629; John Roskell ed. *History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1386-1421* (1992), **1**: 330; **2**: 548.

256 *CCR*, 1399-1402, 135.

fee.[257] His will is dated 1409, the year in which he died without legitimate issue.[258] His heir male was William de Mounteny, kt., a cousin once removed, *i.e.* William, son of Arnulph[259], son of Arnulph,[260] brother of John, and father of this Robert.

9. William de Mounteney, kt. He was heir male both to his father, and kinsman Sir Robert Mounteny to the Mounteny estates in 1409, becoming patron of Thoby priory.[261] On 6 November 1412 William granted to John Tyrell, Lewis John and John Cornewailles, citizens of London all the services of John Huntingdon tenant of said William in the town of Sawston, Cambridgeshire and elsewhere in the same county of which Sir Robert Mounteney or his ancestors were formerly seised.[262] In 1413 the king granted him the keeping of the manors of Tuderley and Lockerley, Hampshire, but the order was revoked.[263] He was appointed castellan of Caen in 1417, and granted free warren and licence to empark in Mountnessing on 8 February 1418 while serving in France with Henry V.[264] William was recorded as holding in Mountnessing in 1428,[265] but had died without surviving issue before 1419,[266] leaving as his heirs general his two sisters. His heir male was his kinsman Robert Mounteny who succeeded to the Mountnessing estate and patronage of Thoby priory.[267]

9. Elizabeth, wife first of Henry Elveden of Gatesbury, Hertfordshire, by whom she had issue[268], and secondly John Chamberlain. [269]

---

257 *Feudal Aids,* **3**: 643.

258 He died leaving a possible illegitimate son named John May for whom he left generous provision. TNA PROB 11/2A.

259 Arnulph de Mounteney IV, Dead by 1401/2. *Feudal Aids*, **3**: 622.

260 Arnulph de Mounteney III. Probably the same as Bailiff of Colchester in 1319/20. A small estate in Mountnessing was settled on him by his father in 1320. R. Kirk, *op.cit.* (1949), **3**: 98. It appears that owing to debts his brother John enfeoffed him in his lands in Norfolk for £200 – for in 1324, as *"Arnold son of Arnold de Mounteney,"* he and William Perham acknowledged that they owed John son of Arnulph de Mounteney, kt., £200 to be levied from their lands in Norfolk and Suffolk. *CCR*, 1323-1327, 177, 326. In 1325 he was pardoned for acquiring for life from Richard Grey of Codnor 8 marks of rent held in chief in Eastwood, Notts. *CPR,* 1324-1327, 181. In 1346 held lands in Parva Plumstead, Hassingham, Freethorpe, Sprowston, Catton, Beeston, Norfolk, held **of John de Mounteney** *Feudal Aids* **3**: 545. He was thus assessed to provide a footman for the war in France *CFR*, 1337-1347, 522. He was given exemption for life for being put on assizes, juries or hold office against his will in 1349, *CPR,* 1348-1350, 444. By 1350, but probably long before, Arnulph had married Joan de Talworth, widow of Henry Bedyk (d.1335), when the manors of Walthamstow and Roding Beauchamp and its advowson, representing her dower, were settled on the couple for life. In 1359 John de Beauchamp brother of the Earl of Warwick and John de Bovundon acknowledged that they owed Arnold and Joan £40 to be levied in the city of London. *CCR*, 1354-1360, 618. The following year he and Joan appeared in a fine in which they gave William ate Welde, citizen and draper of London, Joan's life interest in Roding Beauchamp for 40 marks yearly. R. Kirk, *op.cit.* **3** (1949): 98, 129. In 1351 they demised to the dean of Lichfield land in Kentish Town, Islington (Iseldon), St. Andrew's, Holborn, and St. Giles of the Lepers whereof the reversion has been granted to the said dean by Thomas son of Henry Bedyk late the husband of the said Joan, TNA E 329/8. Joan was probably mother of Arnulph IV. In 1386 an inventory was made of Arnulph's goods at Mountnessing, "Greteredene", (High Roding or Rote Redings, evidently belonging to the Bedyk estate) Sprowston and Catton. Essex Record Office. Petre Deeds. D/DP T1/152.

261 *CIPM*, 2nd series, Henry VII: **3**, no.408.

262 Essex Records Office. Petre Deeds. D/DPT1/1694.

263 *CPR,* 1413-1416, 232, 254.

264 T Duffus Hardy, ed., *Rotuli Normanniae*, (1835), 243, 287.

265 *Feudal Aids,* **2**: 216.

266 Essex Record Office. Petre Deeds. D/DP T1/170.

267 His wife was Margaret, daughter of Edward Tyrell. E F Jacobs, ed., *Register of Henry Chichele, Archbishop of Canterbury 1414-1443* **2** (1938): 628-636.

268 The Elveden line daughtered out in 1498 with an heiress Denise, wife of Humphrey Fitzherbert, of Uphall, Hertfordshire. They were ancestral to the Fitzherberts of Begbrooke in Oxfordshire.

269 "*Henry Elveden esquire, to Thomas Chicheley clerk, William Chamberleyne, Henry Chichele, Robert Chichele esquires, Richard Chamberleyne, William Danvers, Richard Maryet 'gentilmen,' John Benton and John Robert, each of Northmymmes co. Hertford 'yoman,' their heirs and assigns. Demise of a yearly quit rent of 20 marks to him due granted by Simon de Swanlond sometime merchant of London to John de Mounteneye knight of all*

9. Margaret, wife of John Jermyn, kt, of Metfield, Suffolk, by whom she had issue.[270]

Acknowledgements

The authors wish to acknowledge the kind assistance of Chris Phillips.

Bibliography

Anon. *Feet of Fines of the Reign of Henry II and of the First Seven Years of the Reign of Richard I A D 1182-A D 1196.* London: The Pipe Roll Society, 1894.

Amt, Emilie. "Muriel's Convent: The Munteny Women at Clerkenwell Priory, London." Paper read at the *International Congress on Medieval Studies.* Kalamazoo, MI, 2001.

Amt, Emilie. "Richard de Lucy, Henry II's Justiciar", *Medieval Prosopography* **9(**1): 61-87, 1988.

Bain, Joseph, ed. *Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland,* 4 vols. Edinburgh: HMSO, 1881-1888.

Bevan, Rosie. "Keeping it in the Family: Sex, Scandal, and Rebellion in Baronial Cleveland." *Foundations* **5**: 3-36, 2013.

Blomefield, Francis. *An Essay towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk.* 11 vols. London: William Miller, 1805-1810.

Brault, Gerard J, ed. *Rolls of Arms Edward I (1272-1307).*Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1997.

Byerly, Benjamin F & Catherine Ridder Byerly, eds. *Records of the Wardrobe and Household 1285-1286*. London: HMSO, 1977.

Cheney, C R & E John, eds. *English Episcopal Acta III: Canterbury 1193-1205.* Oxford: University Press, 1986.

Chibnall, Marjorie, ed. *English Lands of the Abbey of Bec.* London: Royal Historical Society, 1951.

Cronne, H A & R H C Davis, eds. *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum, 1066-1154 [RRAN III].* Oxford: Clarendon, 1968.

Dodwell, Barbara, ed. *The Charters of Norwich Cathedral Priory.* 2 vols. London: Pipe Roll Society, 1974-1985.

Dugdale, W, ed. *Monasticon Anglicanum [Mon.Ang.].* Revised edn. by J Caley, H Ellis, & B Bandinel, 6 vols in 8. London: Longman, 1817-1830.

Elvey, G R, ed. *Luffield Priory Charters.* 2 vols. Welwyn Garden City: Northamptonshire Record Society, 1968-1975.

Farrer, William, ed. *Feudal Cambridgeshire.* Cambridge: University Press, 1920.

Foster, C W, ed. *The Registrum Antiquissimum of the Cathedral Church of Lincoln.* Vol.2. Hereford: The Lincoln Record Society, 1935.

Franklin, M J, ed. *English Episcopal Acta VIII: Winchester 1070-1204.* Oxford: University Press, 1993.

Gallagher, Eric, ed. *The Civil Pleas of the Suffolk Eyre of 1240.* Woodbridge: Boydell, 2009.

Gervers, Michael, ed. *The Cartulary of the Knights of St John of Jerusalem in England Secunda Camera.* Oxford: University Press, 1982.

Gibbs, Marion, ed. *Early Charters of the Cathedral Church of St Paul, London.* London: Camden Society, 1939.

---

lands, rents etc. in Northmymmes, which the said Simon had by his feoffment, and after confirmed by William son and heir of the said Simon to Robert son and heir of John de Mounteneye, his heirs and assigns. Dated 13 November, 4 Edward IV." "Henry Elveden, to Thomas Chicheley, William Chamberleyne, Henry Chicheley, Robert Chicheley, Richard Chamberleyne, William Danvers, Richard Maryet, John Benton and John Robert (as above), their heirs and assigns. Demise of the rent (above mentioned), demised and confirmed (as above), as in several writings indented of the said Simon and William may appear, which rent after the death of John Mounteney did descend to Henry Elveden as his cousin and heir, namely son and heir of Elizabeth one of the daughters and heirs of Arnald son and heir of Arnald his brother, for that the said Robert his son and heir died without issue." (dated as above) *CCR,* 1461-1468, 225; TNA C 1/80/21; C 1/92/14-15.

[270] C 1/80/21; C 1/92/14-15. In 1428 Sir John Jermyn held in Little Plumstead, Hassingham, Freethorpe, Catton, Beeston, Wroxham. *Feudal Aids*, III, 598-599. In 1413 he appears described as "of Metfield" in a settlement of the manor of Gosbeck on himself and his wife, Margaret, who still held it in 1433. Walter Rye ed. *A Calendar of the Feet of Fines for Suffolk* (1900), 283; *CIPM* **24**, no.115.

Gournay, Daniel. *The Record of the House of Gournay.* London: The Author, 1848.

Greenway, Diana & Leslie Watkiss, eds. *The Book of the Foundation of Walden Monastery.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999.

Hall, Hubert, ed. *Red Book of the Exchequer.* London: HMSO, 1896.

Hardy, T Duffus, ed. *Rotuli Normanniae in Turri Londinensi asservati, vol 1 1200-1205, necnon de Anno 1417.* London: Record Commission, 1835.

Hardy, Thomas Duffus, ed. *Rotuli de Oblatis et Finibus in Turri Londinensi asservati tempore Regis Johannis.* London: Record Commission, 1835.

Hardy, T Duffus, ed. *Rotuli Chartarum in Turri Londinensi asservati, 1199-1216.* London: Record Commission, 1837.

Hardy, W J & W Page, eds. *Calendar to the Feet of Fines for London and Middlesex. Volume 1 Richard I to Richard III.* London, 1892.

Harper-Bill, Christopher & Richard Mortimer, eds. *Stoke by Clare Cartulary: BL Cotton Appx.xxi.* 3 vols. Woodbridge, Boydell, 1982-1984.

Harper-Bill, Christopher, ed. *English Episcopal Acta VI: Norwich 1070-1214*. Oxford: University Press [OUP], 1990.

Harper-Bill, Christopher, ed. *English Episcopal Acta XXI: Norwich 1215-1243.* Oxford: University Press, 2004.

Hassall, W O, ed. *Cartulary of St Mary Clerkenwell.* London: Royal Historical Society, 1949.

Hassall, W O "Two Papal Bulls for St Mary, Clerkenwell" *English Historical Review* (1942) LVII (CCXXV): 97-101.

Hodgett, Gerald A J, ed. *The Cartulary of Holy Trinity Aldgate.* London: London Record Society, 1971.

Inquisitions and Assessments relating to Feudal Aids, with other Analogous Documents, 1284-1431. [Feudal Aids]. 6 vols. London: HMSO, 1899-1921.

Jacobs, E F, ed. *Register of Henry Chichele, Archbishop of Canterbury 1414-1443,* 4 Vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1937-1947.

Jenkins, J G, ed. *The Cartulary of Missenden Abbey, pt III.* London: HMSO, 1962.

Jenkinson, Hilary, ed. *Calendar of the Plea Rolls of the Exchequer of the Jews: vol. 3 Edward I 1275-1277.* London: The Jewish Historical Society of England, 1929.

Johnson, C & H A Cronne, eds. *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum [RRAN II*]. Oxford: Clarendon, 1961.

Johnson, D P, ed. *English Episcopal Acta: London 1189-1228.* Oxford: OUP, 2003.

Keats-Rohan, K S B. *Domesday People [DP]: A Prosopography of Persons Occurring in English Documents, 1066-1166, **1** Domesday Book*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1999.

Keats-Rohan, K S B. *Domesday Descendants [DD]: A Prosopography of Persons Occurring in English Documents, 1066-1166, **2** Pipe Rolls to Cartae Baronum.* Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2002.

Keen, Laurence. "The Umfravilles, the Castle and the Barony of Prudhoe, Northumberland" in *Anglo-Norman Studies V: Proceedings of the Battle Conference 1982,* ed. R Allen Brown, 165-184. Woodbridge: Boydell, 1983.

Kerling, Nellie J M, ed. *Cartulary of St Bartholomew's Hospital.* London: St Bartholomew's Hospital, 1973.

Kirk, R E G, ed. *Feet of Fines for Essex (A.D 1182-A.D. 1272).* 3 vols. Colchester: Essex Archaeological Society, 1899-1949.

Landon, Lionel. *The Itinerary of King Richard I.* London: Pipe Roll Society, 1935.

Maitland, W F, ed. *Bracton's Note Book.* London: Clay and Sons, 1887.

Mason, Emma, ed. *Westminster Abbey Charters 1066-c.1214.* London: London Record Society, 1988.

Maxwell Lyte, H C, ed. *Descriptive Catalogue of Ancient Deeds in the Public Record Office.* London: HMSO, 1890-1915.

Milne, J G "Muniments, Berkshire, of Corpus Christi College, Oxford". *The Berkshire Archaeological Journal* **46:** 37-38, 1942.

Mon.Ang., see Dugdale (above).

Moore, Stuart A, ed. *Cartularium Monasterii Sancti Johannis Baptiste de Colecestria,* 2 vols. London: Chiswick Press, 1897.

Morant, Philip. *The History and Antiquities of the County of Essex.* 2 vols. London: T. Osborne et al., 1768.

Morey, Adrian & C Brooke, eds. *The Letters and Charters of Gilbert Foliot.* Cambridge: University Press [CUP], 1967.

Murray, Alan V. *The Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: a Dynastic History 1099-1125.* Oxford: Unit for Prosopographical Research, 2000.

Neininger, Falko, ed. *English Episcopal Acta: London 1076-1187.* Oxford: OUP, 1999.

O'Connor, S J, ed. A *Calendar of the Cartularies of John Pyel and Adam Frauncis.* London: Royal Historical Society, 1993.

Palgrave, R H Inglis, ed. *The Collected Historical Works of Sir Francis Palgrave, K.H.: The Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth, Anglo Saxon Period. Part II.* Cambridge: CUP, 1921.

Patterson, Robert B, ed. *Earldom of Gloucester Charters.* Oxford: Clarendon, 1973.

Publications of the Pipe Roll Society. London: Pipe Roll Society, 1884-present.

Reaney P H and Marc Fitch, eds. *Feet of Fines for Essex 1423-1547.* Colchester: Essex Archaeological Society, 1964.

Rigg, J M ed. *Calendar of the Plea Rolls of the Exchequer of the Jews: vol. I Henry III, 1218-1272.* London: The Jewish Historical Society of England, 1905.

Roskell, John, ed. *History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1386-1421.* Stroud: Sutton, 1992.

Rosny, A de. "Faramus de Boulogne – La Famille de Bolonia en Angleterre Descendance des Comtes de Boulogne." *Bulletin de la Société Académique de l'arrondissement de Boulogne-sur-Mer* **7**: 157-185, 1904.

Rotuli Hundredorum temp Hen III & Edw I in Turr' Lond'. 2 vols. London: Record Commission, 1812-1818.

Round, John Horace, ed. *Ancient Charters, Royal and Private prior to A D 1200.* London: Pipe Roll Society, 1888.

Round, J H. "A Charter of William Earl of Essex (1170)" *English Historical Review* **6** (22): 364-367, 1891.

Round, J H. *Geoffrey de Mandeville: a Study of the Anarchy.* London: Green, 1892.

Round, J H. "Faramus of Boulogne", *The Genealogist,* NS**12**: 145-151, 1896.

Round, J H. "The Heirs of Richard de Lucy", *The Genealogist*, NS**15**: 129-133, 1898-1899.

Round, J H, ed. *Calendar of Documents preserved in France,* **1:** 918-1206. London: HMSO, 1899.

Round J H. "The Foundation of the Priories of St Mary and of St John, Clerkenwell." *Archaeologia* **56**: 223-228, 1899.

Round, J H. "The Honour of Ongar", *Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society*, NS**7**: 142-152, 1900.

Round, J H, ed. *Rotuli De Dominabus et Pueris et Puellis de XII Comitatibus, 1185.* London: Pipe Roll Society, 1913.

RRAN II, see Johnson & Cronne (above); *RRAN III,* see Cronne & Davis (above).

Rye, Walter, ed. *A Calendar of the Feet of Fines for Suffolk.* Ipswich: Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and Natural History, 1900.

Rye, Walter, ed. *A Short Calendar of the Feet of Fines for Norfolk.* Norwich, 1885.

Rye, Walter, ed. *A Short Calendar of the Feet of Fines for Norfolk, part II.* Norwich, 1886.

Rye, Walter, ed. *Pedes Finium: or fines relating to the County of Cambridge.* Cambridge: Cambridge Antiquarian Society, 1891.

Sharpe, Reginald, ed. *Calendar of Letter books preserved among the Archives of the Corporation of the City of London at the Guildhall, relating to the period c.1275-c.1312.* London: Corporation of the City of London, 1900.

Stapleton, T ed. *Magni Rotuli Scaccarii Normanniae sub Regibus Angliae.* London: Society of Antiquaries, 1840-44.

Tanner, Heather J. *Families, Friends and Allies: Boulogne and Politics in Northern France and England, c. 879-1160.* Leiden: Brill, 2004.

Taylor, Pamela. "Clerkenwell and the Religious Foundations of Jordan de Bricett: a re-examination". *Historical Research* **63**: 17-27, 1990.

Turner, W H, ed. *Calendar of Charters and Rolls Preserved in the Bodleian Library.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1878.

The Book of Fees commonly called Testa de Nevill [Book of Fees]. London: HMSO, 1921-1931.