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Editor Alison Taylor

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Editorial

My first task in this volume is to thank and pay tribute to the retiring editor, Audrey Meaney. She took the Proceedings through several difficult years, from 1993-7, coping in particular with new publishing technology and increasingly complex archaeological reports. In this time she made tremendous efforts to catch up with annual publication, so that, by September 1998, we are only nine months behind the date for which the issue is intended. This is despite the size and professional standards required for the only vehicle for regular reporting of most archaeological discoveries to a wide local and international readership in Cambridgeshire, as well as publishing historical and other antiquarian research.

1996-7 once again had a well-filled programme for the Society, with two conferences, on Fenland Waterways in March and on recent archaeological excavations in November. There was an impressive programme of lectures, headed by Barry Cunliffe and our own ex-President Christopher Taylor, and some enjoyable excursions. It was also a year when the Council, and in particular its President and Secretary, were involved in efforts to protect local services for archives, archaeology and local studies. Sadly, just as this volume was being prepared for the press, we heard of the deaths of two of our stalwart members and supporters. Nesta Rooke, for many years Sites and Monuments Officer for Cambridgeshire, and Brian Charge, Director of the Haverhill and District Archaeological Group, died in July 1998.

This volume contains a few minor changes in design, principally with the intention of making better use of expensive space, and it follows the usual format except for the revival, after several years, of a Reviews section. As a first attempt it perhaps appears rather incestuous, but I hope that in future we will receive a wider range of books, and I would also welcome offers of suitable reviews by other writers. This is an important way to bring works that might easily be missed to the attention of members, and to entice them to read reports which are often more interesting than their titles suggest.

Alison Taylor

The Foundation of an Alien Priory at Linton, Cambridgeshire

J. A. Everard

Linton has been the subject of several articles in this journal, but little mention has been made of Linton priory.¹ It would appear that the priory had a minimal role in the medieval development and growth of Linton, yet it was in possession of the large and handsome church of St Mary which occupied the strategic site bounded by the ford, church, high street and bridge. Linton priory may have had only a minor role in the urban development of Linton, but it had a continuous existence from soon after the Norman conquest until the 15th century, when it was dissolved as an alien priory and its estates granted to Pembroke College, Cambridge.²

Perhaps so little attention has been devoted to Linton priory because its history was obscure, at least until the last decades of its existence. A document which has recently come to light dispels much of this obscurity and it is the purpose of this article to bring its contents before a wider audience. The author makes no pretence at detailed knowledge of Linton, and hopes that those with better local knowledge will be able to draw further conclusions from the texts which are printed here.

Alien priories are a phenomenon of the Norman conquest and the succeeding generation.³ The conquerors used their newly-acquired lands in England to endow continental monasteries with which they, their families or their lords had connections. It is not surprising, therefore, that alien priories tend to be seen as a Norman phenomenon. Not all of the conquerors were Normans, however. A substantial minority were natives of Brittany.⁴ In the same spirit as their Norman colleagues, the Bretons used their new possessions to endow monasteries 'back home'. The extent of this been underestimated because there is now little evidence for the endowment of Breton monasteries with English lands. The most prominent endowments by Bretons were in fact made for the benefit of abbeys situated outside Brittany; on the borders of Brittany and Normandy (Mont Saint-Michel and, in the 12th century, Savigny), and in the Loire valley; notably St Florent at Saumur and Ss Sergius and Bacchus at Angers.

This apparent preference for patronage of non-Breton abbeys, and the absence of donations to 'native'

Breton houses, could lead one to speculate on the motives and preferences of the Bretons in England. Patronage of particular 'foreign' abbeys may be explained by the fact that, in the 11th century, Mont Saint-Michel and the Angevin abbeys had established priories in northern and eastern Brittany. As Dr Keats-Rohan has demonstrated, the majority of the Bretons in England came from this region, and therefore they already had connections with these monasteries. This does not, however, explain the lack of patronage of Breton houses, which is more apparent than real, an illusion created by the available documentary evidence, or lack thereof. Substantial collections of 11th and early 12th-century documents survive from the abbeys just mentioned. In contrast, the archives of Breton abbeys seem to have suffered much greater losses, if they ever were as extensive or sophisticated as those of their Norman and Angevin neighbours, such that some are virtually non-existent today. In support of this argument is the fact that traces of English possessions in the hands of Breton abbeys do survive in scattered manuscripts, notably English records of government such as the Hundred Rolls. Thus it is well known that Linton priory was dependant upon St Jacut, a Benedictine abbey situated on the north coast of Brittany (*arrondissement* Dinan, *département* Côtes-d'Armor).⁵ The circumstances of the priory's foundation, however, are obscure. The medieval archives of St Jacut are almost completely lost, the few extant documents recording the abbey's affairs before the 16th century having been pieced together from a variety of sources.⁶

The earliest known reference to Linton priory hitherto was a papal bull confirming the possessions of St Jacut issued by Pope Alexander III in 1163. At the end of a list of the abbey's possessions appear two which are situated in England, 'the church of Saint Margaret of Isleham and the church of Linton'.⁷ Despite the lack of direct evidence, it was not unreasonable to assume that the founder of Linton priory was one of the early lords of the honour of Richmond, who were younger sons of the great Breton baron, 'comes' Eudo of Penthièvre.⁸ The first of these was Alan Rufus, who, as Alan 'comes', is conspicuous as one of the greatest

landholders in Cambridgeshire in Domesday Book. Alan was the only tenant-in-chief named in the Domesday entry for Linton, and he was also recorded as holding substantial estates in domain in the adjacent manors of Little Linton, West Wickham and Barham. Alan was also the founder of the only other alien priory in Cambridgeshire, the priory of *Ss Sergius and Bacchus, Angers*, at Swavesey.⁹ The abbey of *St Jacut* was situated within the barony of *Penthièvre* and was patronised by Alan's family.¹⁰

The document which is the subject of this article appears to have been overlooked hitherto.¹¹ It has been preserved as a single sheet of parchment bound as the fly-leaf of a register of the temporal possessions of the bishops of Rochester.¹² It contains late medieval copies of four texts recording the foundation and endowment of Linton priory by Alan Rufus and his immediate successors, his brothers Alan Niger and Stephen. The folio has on one side a charter of Benedict of Sawston, bishop of Rochester, dated 12 September 1219.¹³ The charter records the settlement of a dispute between the parson and vicar of *Isleham* and the abbey of *St Jacut* over tithes in the parish of *Isleham*. The four texts, written in the same hand, appear on the other side. They have no direct relevance to the *Isleham* dispute, referring only to property in Linton and its environs. One can only surmise that they were produced for the bishop's inspection in 1219 as evidence of the antiquity of, and royal patronage enjoyed by, Linton priory, and that this somehow supported *St Jacut's* claims to receive ecclesiastical revenues in *Isleham*. The relationship between Linton priory and *St Jacut's* possessions in *Isleham* is obscure. At the risk of over-simplification, it appears that the Linton possessions were administered from a conventual priory at *Isleham* until around the mid-thirteenth century, when the conventual priory moved to Linton.¹⁴ Whatever the reason for their transcription as an appendix to the 1219 charter, the four texts represent a precious survival, for the history of both Linton priory and the abbey of *St Jacut*.

The first three texts are of charters. No. 1 is the foundation charter of Alan Rufus, made between 1079 and 1087, but probably recording events of several years earlier. This is indicated by the fact that it includes a prayer for the soul of Alan's father, Eudo, who must therefore have been dead. Text no. 4, however, describes Eudo as praising his son's foundation of Linton priory, which indicates that the initial grant was made some time before the charter was written. In contrast, the reference to King William I seems to distinguish the king from the dead. The charter must therefore have been written between the death of Eudo in January 1079 and the death of William I in September 1087.¹⁵

Number 2 is drafted as a notice, but reproduces the text of a charter, casting it in the third person. It is derived from a charter of Alan Niger, lord of *Richmond* from 1089 to 1093,¹⁶ confirming and augmenting the grants of his brother Alan Rufus. No. 3 is a charter of the youngest brother, Stephen, lord of *Richmond* from 1093 to 1135/6,¹⁷ confirming his predecessors' grants.

The corruptions of personal names and place-names which occur in these three texts can be explained by the fact they were copied, more than once, by Breton monks and Rochester clerks unfamiliar with the persons and places involved.

The last of the four texts is more problematical. It is a notice composed by the monks of *St Jacut* at an unknown date before 1219, relating the history of the foundation of Linton priory. The notice generally reiterates the content of the lords' charters, but embellishes them with considerable detail. If this text can be relied upon, it provides remarkable evidence for the process of the foundation of an alien priory. Most interesting in this context is the fact that a lone monk from the mother-house was sent on ahead, without delay, to take possession of the property granted, and to wait there until the abbot himself could travel to England. Was the abbot too busy with other matters to attend to this immediately, or was it envisaged that the abbot would travel at a more comfortable and leisurely pace?

Since the notice ends with Alan Niger's confirmation and does not mention Stephen, it may have been written between 1089 and 1093. Contemporary documents from *St Jacut* record other late 11th-century endowments in the form of notices.¹⁸ There is nothing inherently improbable about the narrative. It conforms perfectly with recent historiography which demonstrates that the foundation of a religious house in the 11th and 12th centuries was not a single event, but rather a process that extended over a period of years involving a range of verbal, symbolic and written acts performed by the donor and the donee, and by the donor's lord and his kin.¹⁹ Nevertheless, a close inspection of the text reveals two significant problems. One is the anachronistic list of witnesses to William I's confirmation. The other is that the description of the properties donated by Alan Rufus and Alan Niger in the notice does not exactly correspond with their donations as recorded in their charters.

The witnesses to the royal act listed in the notice are; Geoffrey archbishop of Canterbury, Richard bishop of London and W[alter?] bishop of Ely. The terminology of the notice at this point suggests that it is copied from a royal charter. No charter of William I could be attested by a bishop of Ely (the diocese of Ely was only created in 1108) or an archbishop of Canterbury named Geoffrey (Lanfranc was archbishop of Canterbury from 1070-1089). It is arguable, however, that this anachronistic witness-list is the result of gross corruption by copyists. The corruption of an abbreviated form of the name Lanfranc, such as 'Lanfr', to 'Gaufr' (for 'Gaufridus', Geoffrey), is plausible. The royal charter would have been copied first by a Breton monk unfamiliar with the English episcopacy, possibly copied again for its production in 1219, and finally much later by a Rochester clerk, who knew perfectly well that Linton was in the diocese of Ely and therefore was inclined to read 'episcopus Eliensis' for something a bit garbled in the manuscript before him. In any event, I am reluctant to discard the entire notice as a contemporary source on

this ground alone.

The second problem also involves consideration of the sources used to compile the notice. It is apparent that the sources for details of the grants made by Alan Rufus and Alan Niger were not, as one might expect, the charters which are printed in the Appendix (no's 1 and 2). The particulars of the lands and rights granted vary somewhat between the notice and the charters. Yet the terminology of the notice in recording the grants of Alan Rufus and Alan Niger appears to derive from charters. In the case of Alan Niger's grant, recorded at the very end of the notice, a witness-list confirms this. That the witnesses named are completely different from those named in Alan Niger's charter (no. 2) confirms that it was a different charter. In the case of Alan Rufus' grant, it appears that the scribe composing the notice drew the particulars of the grant from a charter made at an earlier stage of the foundation of the priory than the charter published here (no.1), that is, before Abbot Guihomar had crossed to England. This earlier charter, therefore, recorded Alan's original grant and his wish that it should be confirmed by William I. In contrast with the charters of Alan Rufus, it is difficult to determine in which order the two charters of Alan Niger were made. The only clue lies in the precise identification of the property listed in each charter, which may be compared by setting them out in tabular form:

No. 2 (charter of Alan Niger)

two parts of tithe of *aula* of Linton
all the tithe of *aula* of Wickham

tithe of manor of Barham
the land of *Hales*
three acres at the entrance of the vill

No. 4 (charter reproduced in notice)

two parts of tithe of Linton
all the tithe of Wickham (except two acres
pertaining to the church of Wickham).

two parts of tithe of Barham
the land of *Hans*

—
four acres in Little Linton

Some of the differences here are insubstantial. The tithe of the *aula* of Linton and of Wickham may be equated with so much of the tithe of these two manors as was the lord's entitlement to receive and to dispose of. Similarly, because Alan Rufus had earlier given a third part of the tithe of Barham (see no. 4), in giving the remaining two parts, Alan Niger was in effect giving the whole tithe.

The only discrepancy is in the last two items and this may provide the key to the order in which the charters were made. The three acres '*de foris ville*', which I have translated as 'at the entrance of the vill' (presumably Linton) are said to be given on account of Alan's own crofts. The whereabouts of the crofts is not stated. Since no. 2 includes this grant, but omits the four acres in Little Linton, one may have been exchanged for the other. A possible scenario is that Alan's original grant included four acres in Little Linton, but this land was not satisfactory to the monks who persuaded Alan to give them land elsewhere instead. The explanation for the monks' dissatisfaction is hinted at in no. 2, as being the presence of the crofts of Alan's tenants on the Little Linton land.

The grounds for their objection to the crofts cannot be ascertained, but presumably the monks wanted a 'green-field site', not one already subdivided and occupied by crofts, so a piece of land just outside the vill was preferable. Based solely upon this reasoning, the charter incorporated in no. 4 must be the earlier, no. 2 the later. This interpretation is supported by the order in which the properties are listed. In no. 2, the three acres '*de foris ville*' appear last, with the explanation '*propter croftos*', whereas in no. 4 the (then uncontested) grant of four acres in Little Linton is incorporated amongst the other grants. This also explains the conclusion of the witness list of no. 2, 'and other barons who were witnesses to the first gift'. If the apparent duplication of charters should give rise to any doubts about the authenticity of some or all of the texts, one has only to compare Alan Rufus' foundation of Swavesey priory. The surviving evidence for that foundation is a notice incorporating the texts of two charters made by Alan on different occasions.²⁰

It is interesting to note that although the notice, no. 4, contains parts of the texts of at least three charters, other episodes, specifically Eudo de Penthièvre's visit to St Jacut with his entourage, and Abbot Guihomar's journey to England, must derive from other sources. These may include the eye-witness testimony of the scribe himself or information supplied orally by fellow-monks or lay-men with personal recollections of

the events.

Despite the difficulties discussed above, I would accept the notice as a contemporary primary source for the foundation of Linton priory. Even if one discards the notice, however, there is no reason to doubt the validity of the three charters appended hereto. They provide good evidence for the original foundation of Linton priory by Alan Rufus, probably before 1079, and its augmentation by Alan Niger before 1093, and detailed evidence of the lands and rights which formed the priory's original endowment.

It is hoped that the publication of these texts will ensure that, in future studies of alien priories, Linton priory receives due consideration as a well-documented foundation of the decades immediately after the Norman conquest.

Appendix – Documents concerning the foundation of Linton priory²¹

1. [1079 x 1087] Charter of Alan Rufus, a count of Brittany, granting the church of Linton (Cambs.), with the land and tithes appurtenant thereto, to the abbey of St Jacut, with the consent of King William I.

Ms. CKS, ms DRb/Ar2 (Rochester Episcopal Registers, *Registrum Temporalium*), f. iii v.

In the name of the Holy and Undivided Trinity, I, Alan the Red, a count of Brittany, concede to God and to Saint Jacut the church of Linton, which is in England, with the land which pertains to it and the tithe of the parish and part of the tithe of the same manor, to lord Guidomar the abbot²² and his monks in perpetual alms. I also give pasture for the livestock and pigs of the aforesaid church with my own and with its men according to lots.²³ I give and confirm this gift with the agreement and assent of William the first, king of the English and duke of the Normans, free and quit of all rents just as it was in ancient times, having soc and sac, tol and tem and infangtheof, for the soul of my father Eudo²⁴ and my mother and of all the faithful who are deceased, for the health of the king and of my friends. Witnesses of this; Lord Guidomar the steward²⁵, Odo the chamberlain²⁶, Inisan Musard²⁷, Ansketil de Furneaux²⁸, Robert the chaplain, Ribad the count's brother²⁹, Ralph³⁰ and Bordin³¹ and many other barons. Whosoever should presume to break or to disturb this gift will be anathematised and excommunicated. Amen.

In nomine sancte et individue trinitatis Ego Alanus Ruffus comes Britanie concessi Deo et Sancto Jacuto ecclesiam de Linton que in Anglia est cum terra que eidem pertinet et decima parrochie et partem decime eiusdem manerii domini Guidomari abbatis suorumque monachorum in elemosina perpetuali. Dedi etiam pasturam pecoribus — pecudibus et porcis predictae ecclesie cum meis propriis et hominibus suis *connillata*. Hoc donum dedi et confirmavi nutu et assensu Guillelmi primi Regis Anglorum et Ducis Normannorum liberum et quietum ex omnibus redditibus sicut ex antiquis temporibus fuerat, habentes soc et sac et tol et tem et infangtheof pro anima comitis Eudonis patris mei et matris mei omnesque fidelium defunctorum pro salute Regis dominique amicorum meorum. Testes isti dominus Guidomari dapifer, Odo camerarius, Innisani Musard, Allrestini de Furnes, Robert' capellani, Ribad' frater comitis, Radulf et Bordin et multis alii Barones. Qui hoc donum frangere vel turbare presumpserit sit anathematisatus et excommunicatus. Amen.

2. [1089 x 1093] Notice recording that Alan Niger, a count of Brittany, confirmed and augmented the grant made by his brother Alan Rufus to the abbey of Saint-Jacut, with the consent of King William II.

Ms. CKS, ms DRb/Ar2 (Rochester Episcopal Registers, *Registrum Temporalium*), f. iii v.

To the praise and glory of God, Alan the Black, a count of Brittany, learning of the gift which Alan the Red his brother gave to God and the monks of Saint Jacut, joyfully praised and confirmed [it]. Wishing to augment the alms, he gave to God and Saint Jacut in alms two parts of the tithe of the *aula* of Linton, which formerly were his chaplains', with the consent of the same, and the tithes of all the *aula* of Wickham which the aforesaid chaplains had, and the tithes of the manor of Barham and the land of *Hales*³² [and] three acres at the entrance of the vill on account of his own crofts. He conceded this with the consent of William the second, king of the English, and confirmed it in the hand of Abbot Guidomar by right of inheritance in perennial alms for the health of his soul and of all of his, and these were the witnesses: Glem the chaplain, Rib' the bastard³³, *Venodi* the bastard³⁴ and other barons who were also witnesses of the first gift.

Ad laudem et gloriam nomine Dei Alanus Niger comes Britanie audiens donum quod Alanus Ruffus frater suis dederat Deo et monachis Sancti Jacuti gaudio repletus laudavit atque confirmavit. Volens agere elemosina .ii. partes decime aule Linton' que fuerunt prius suis capellanis eisdem concedentibus dedit Deo et Sancto Jacuto in elemosina et decimas omnes aule Vicham quas predicti capellani habuerunt et decimam manerii [ms - *mauricii*] de Bercham et terram de Hales .iii. acris de foris ville propter croftos propria. Voluntate Guillelmi secundi Regis Anglorum hoc concessit atque confirmavit in manu Guidomari abbatis jure hereditario in elemosina perhenni pro salute anime sue omniumque suorum et his sunt testes Glem capellanus et Rib' bastard, Venodi bastard et alii Barones qui ex primo dono [ms - *ausi*] testes fuerunt.

3. [1093 x 430] Charter of Stephen, a count of Brittany, confirming the grants made by his brothers Alan Rufus and Alan Niger to the abbey of St Jacut.

Ms. CKS, ms DRb/Ar2 (Rochester Episcopal Registers, *Registrum Temporalium*), f. iii v.

Stephen, a count of Brittany, to all sons of Holy Mother Church, salutation. Let it be known that I have conceded and confirmed the gift which my brothers, that is count Alan the Red and count Alan the Black, gave to God and Saint Jacut and his monks, that is the church of Linton with tithes of all the parish, also the tithe of the *aula* of the same vill and lands pertaining to the church and pasture with my own [livestock] and the tithe of the *aula* of Wickham and the tithe of the manor of Barham and the land *Habes* and three acres on account of the crofts. I have conceded and confirmed this for the king and this

I have done for the health of [the souls of] the same king and mine and all of my own and all the faithful who are deceased. The witnesses were Guidomar the steward, Odo the chamberlain, Scolland³⁵ and several others.

Stephanus comes Britanie omnibus sancte matris ecclesie filiis salutem. Noverit dilecto vestra me concessisse et confirmasse donum quod fratres mei A. scilicet et comes Ruffus et A. comes Niger dederunt Deo et Sancto Jacuto monachisque suis scilicet ecclesiam Linton' cum decimis totius parrochie etiam decime aule eiusdem ville et terris ecclesie pertinentibus et pascis cum meis propriis et decima aule de Vyham et decima manerii [ms. – *mau'r'm*] de Br'cham et terram Habes et .iii. acris propter croftos. Concederete et confirmarete hec pro Rege habui et hec feci pro salute eiusdem Regis et meaque omnium meorum et omnium fidelium defunctorum. Testes his fuerunt Guidomari dapifer, Odo camerarius, Scollant et alii plures.

4. [After 1089] Notice recording the foundation by Alan Rufus and Alan Niger of the priory of Linton (Cambs.), dependant upon the abbey of St Jacut.

ms. CKS, ms DRb/Ar2 (Rochester Episcopal Registers, *Registrum Temporalium*), f. iii v.

In the time of William, most glorious king of the English, Alan, who is known as 'the Red', son of Eudo a count of the Bretons, came to the place of Saint Jacut, where Abbot Guidomar was at the time with a large number of monks. He gave to them in alms, for the soul of his father Count Eudo and for the souls of his relations alive or dead, in England, where at the time he was constituted *comes* by the king of the English, a certain church of Linton with land and tithes, a third part of his *messio* pertaining to the church, a third part of the tithe of Barham and similarly a third of the tithe of Little Linton. Count Alan indeed ordered that the abbot should send one of his monks to England, who might receive this gift and remain there until the abbot came to England in order that the gift might be authorized before the king of the English. Thus it came about that the abbot sent one of his monks who was called *Kemneriot*, who received this gift which Count Alan had given and there awaited Abbot Guidomar. The witnesses who saw this and participated are these; Count Eudo, father of Alan the Red, who at that time had come from Normandy, with many noble men, to the community of Saint Jacut for hospitality, and he greatly praised the gift which his son gave, and also Judicael son of Gicael and *Hystomar* son of Adam and many others.

Afterwards, Abbot Guidomar crossed to England and in the presence of King William, count Alan confirmed the gift which he gave to God and Saint Jacut and his monks. King William, being a pious and merciful [prince?], for the benefits and prayers of the monks, freely conceded this gift and he ordered all his heirs to protect it in perpetuity and he ordered that this charter should be upheld and it should be corroborated in many places and with witnesses. The witnesses who participated: Geoffrey (*sic*) archbishop of Canterbury, Richard (*sic*) bishop of London, W—bishop of Ely (*sic*), Count

Alan the Red who gave and authorized this gift and several others.

After the death of Count Alan the Red, of whom the soul will be watched over by God, Alan the Black, his brother, received all his land from the king. He himself, wishing to augment [Alan's] alms and by no means to diminish but to increase [them], gave to God and Saint Jacut and his monks for the soul of his father Count Eudo and for the soul of his brother Alan, who had acquired that land, certain land which is called *Hans* and four acres of land in the other part of the manor of Linton³⁶, similarly also two parts of the tithe of Linton, similarly two parts of the tithe of Barham and all the tithe of Wickham except two acres which pertain to the church of that vill. The witnesses who participated; Guidomar dapifer, Odo the chamberlain, Thomas archdeacon of London³⁷.

Tempore Willelmi gloriosissimi Anglorum Regis Alanus qui vocatus est Ruffus filius Eudonis comitis Britannorum venit ad locum Sancti Jacuti ubi tunc erat abbas Guidomarus cum multitudine monachorum. Dedit ergo illis in elemosina pro anima patris sui Eudonis [ms. – *eiusd'*] comitis et pro animabus parentum suorum vivorum et defunctorum in Anglia terra, ubi tunc erat comes constitutus a Rege Anglorum, quandam ecclesiam de Linton' cum terra et decima, terciam partem ipsius missionis ad ecclesiam pertinentem, terciam partem decime de Bechaham et de parva Linton' similiter terciam partem decime. Jussit ergo Alanus comes ut abbas aliquo ex suis monachis in Anglia transmitteret qui hoc donum susciperet et ibidem esset usquequo abbas ad Anglia terra veniret ut hoc donum ante Regem Anglorum autorizatur esset. Ita ergo factum est et Abbas unum de suis monachis misit qui vocatur Kemneriot qui hoc donum quod Alanus comes dederat suscepit et abbatem Guidomar' ibidem expectavit. Testes qui hoc viderunt et interfuerunt his sunt Eudo comes pater Alani Ruffi qui tunc de Normannia veniebat cum multi nobilibus viris apud cenobium Sancti Jacuti hospitandi gratia venerat et donum quod filius eius dedit multum laudabat et Judicael filius Gicael et Hystomar filius Adam et multis alii.

Postea Guidomarus Abbas transivit in Anglia et in presencia Regis Willelmi donum quod iam Alanus comes Deo et Sancto Jacuto et monachis eius dederat iterum concessit. Rex autem Willelmus ut pius et misericors et *?princeps* esset beneficiis et orationibus monachorum libenter concessit hoc donum et omnibus heredibus suis iussit custodere in perpetuum precepitque ut hec carta foveretur et in multis locis et testibus corroboraretur. Testes qui interfuerunt Gaufridus archiepiscopus Cantuarien', Richardus episcopus London', W—rus episcopus Elien', Alanus Ruffus comes qui hoc donum dedit et auctorizavit et plures alii.

Post mortem Alani Ruffi comitis, cuius anima sit in conspectu Dei, Allan Niger frater eius omnem terram illius a Rege suscepit. Ipse munerari cupiens et elemosinam eius nequaquam minuere sed auctare volens dedit Deo et Sancto Jacuto et monachis eius pro anima patris sui Eudonis comitis et pro anima fratris sui Alani qui ipsam terram adquisierat quedam terra' que vocatur Hans et .iiii. acris terre in alia parte manerii Linton' similiter etiam duas partes decime de Linton' similiter duas

partes decime de Brecaham et tota decima de Wicham absque .ii. acris que pertinet ad ecclesiam ipsius ville. Testes qui interfuerunt Guidomarus dapifer, Odo camerarius, Thomas archidiaconus Londonie.

Endnotes

- 1 The most relevant being A.E. Brown & C.C. Taylor, 'Little Linton and the Linton landscape', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society*, LXXXIV (1995) 91–104.
- 2 L.F. Salzmänn (ed.), *Victoria History of the county of Cambridge and the Isle of Ely*, ii (London 1948) [hereafter VCH, ii] pp. 314–5; A.P.M. Wright (ed.), *Victoria History of the county of Cambridge and the Isle of Ely*, vi (Oxford 1978) [VCH, vi] p.88
- 3 See C.W. New, *History of the Alien Priors in England to the confiscation of Henry V*, (University of Chicago 1916)
- 4 This was observed by Sir Frank Stenton in *The First Century of English Feudalism, 1066–1166*, (2nd edn, Oxford 1961) pp. 25–7. Recently, the role of the Bretons has been examined in detail by Dr Katherine Keats-Rohan ('William I and the Breton contingent in the non-Norman conquest of 1066–1087', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, XIII (1990) 157–72; 'The Bretons and Normans of England, 1066–1154: The Family, the Fief and the Feudal Monarchy', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 36 (1992) 42–78).
- 5 J. Geslin de Bourgogne & A. de Barthélemy, *Anciens évêchés de Bretagne*, iv (Saint-Brieuc 1864) [AE], pp 251–296; New, *op. cit.* pp. 68, 88; VCH, ii pp. 314–5.
- 6 AE, pp. 251–2.
- 7 AE, pp. 278, 'ecclesiam Sancte Marguerite de Hisleam et ecclesiam de Lentona cum omnibus supradictarum ecclesiarum pertinenciis'.
- 8 New is excessively cautious in his summary (*op. cit.* p.88). cf. VCH, ii p. 314.
- 9 C.T. Clay (ed.), *Early Yorkshire Charters, IV: The Honour of Richmond, part 1*, (Yorkshire Records Society, Wakefield 1935) [hereafter EYC, iv] p.1; VCH, ii, p. 315.
- 10 See text no. 4 below.
- 11 I am extremely grateful to Dr Nicholas Vincent for bringing it to my attention. I am also grateful to the staff of the Centre for Kentish Studies, Maidstone, for their assistance, and to Professor Michael Jones for reading a draft of this article.
- 12 Centre for Kentish Studies, County Hall, Maidstone [CKS], ms DRb/Ar2, Rochester Episcopal Registers, *Registrum Temporalium*, f. iii.
- 13 CKS, ms DRb/Ar2, f. iii v, published in J. Thorpe (ed.), *Registrum Roffense*, (London 1769) p. 437.
- 14 Dr A.P.M. Wright, personal communication. cf. New, *op.cit.* p. 26; Thorpe, *op.cit.* p. 449–50; AE, p. 296 note 3.
- 15 See below, note 24.
- 16 AE. p. 785.
- 17 G.E.C. *The Complete Peerage*, x (London 1945) *ibid.* p. 787.
- 18 AE, pp. 276–7.
- 19 Eg. S.D. White, *Custom, Kinship and Gifts to Saints: the Laudatio Parentum in Western France, 1050–1150*, (University of North Carolina 1988), chapter 2.
- 20 EYC, iv, p. 1.
- 21 Each document is given in translation, followed by the Latin text. In editing the Latin texts, I have aimed to provide a useful edition for the local historian, rather than an exercise in palæography. Accordingly I have added punctuation and extensions. Words or parts of words where the manuscript has a lacuna or is illegible are given in italics. I have also amended some obvious corruptions, but have noted the manuscript version in parentheses. I assume full responsibility for errors in transcription or translation.
- 22 The dates of Guihomar's abbacy are not known, but he occurs between c.1075 and 1092 and was dead by 1118 (AE, p. 267)
- 23 The manuscript appears to have here a single word, *co[n]nillata*. Elsewhere in medieval English sources, *conilla* has appeared as a corruption of *covilla/cavella*, English 'cavel', lot or share (R.E. Latham (ed.), *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*, fasc. I (London, 1975), p. 307; OED, 'cavel'). This may therefore refer to the allotment of shares or doles in common pastureland.
- 24 Eudo de Penthievre, died 7 January 1079 (*Complete Peerage*, x, p. 781).
- 25 Anglicised as Wimar, dapifer/steward of the lords of Richmond. A tenant of Alan Rufus in 1086, dead by 1130 (C.T. Clay (ed.), *Early Yorkshire Charters, V: The Honour of Richmond, part 2*, (Yorkshire Records Society, Wakefield 1936) [hereafter EYC, v] p. 19).
- 26 Chamberlain of the lords of Richmond. A tenant of Alan Rufus in 1086, dead by 1130 (EYC, v pp. 168–9).
- 27 Probably constable of the lords of Richmond. A tenant of Alan Rufus in 1086, died between 1121 and 1130 (EYC, v, pp. 82–5).
- 28 Ansketil de Furneaux, who held Barham of Alan Rufus in 1086, and whose descendants continued to hold the manor of the honour of Richmond for the next three hundred years (EYC, v, pp. 179–82; VCH, vi, p. 86).
- 29 Ribald, an illegitimate son of Eudo de Penthievre (EYC, iv, pp. 85–6; EYC, v, pp. 298–9).
- 30 In this context, *Radulf* may be a corruption of Bardulf, the name of another illegitimate son of Eudo (EYC, iv, pp. 85–6; EYC, v pp. 199, 316–7).
- 31 Bodin, another illegitimate son of Eudo (EYC, iv, pp. 85–6; EYC, v, pp. 197–9).
- 32 Unidentified. See also no.3 – *Habes* and no. 4 – *Hans*.
- 33 Alan's half-brother Ribald. See note 29 above.
- 34 Possibly yet another illegitimate son of Eudo de Penthievre, but the name is too corrupt to identify.
- 35 Sometime dapifer/steward of the lords of Richmond, occurring from c. 1093 to 1145/6 (EYC, v, 201).
- 36 Little Linton?
- 37 Thomas does not appear in the list of archdeacons of London in D.E. Greenway (ed.), *Fasti Ecclesie Anglicanae, 1066–1300, I, St Paul's London* (London 1968) pp. 8–9, but could have occupied the office before William de Belmeis I.

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