

◆ A nuns' priests' tale

THE FOUNDATION OF EASEBOURNE PRIORY (1216–1240)

By Nicholas Vincent

A charter recently brought to light in the British Library sheds light upon the foundation of Easebourne Priory, established first, c. 1216, as a college of priests rather than as a nunnery, only later, c. 1230, transformed into a community of nuns, as a dependency of Benedictine Ruspur. The charter assists in the reconstruction of the history of the Bohon family of Midhurst. The circumstances of its preservation also shed light upon the provenance of the copy of Magna Carta today displayed in the Australian Parliament at Canberra.

Thanks to the endeavours of Henry Mayr-Harting and more recently of Philippa Hoskin, the 500 or so charters issued by the bishops of Chichester between 1066 and the introduction of registration to the diocese in the early fourteenth century have all been published and supplied with learned commentary: all, that is, save for those few which still await discovery in obscure or poorly catalogued archives.¹ One such charter — in effect the foundation charter of Easebourne Priory — forms the subject of this article. Although housed in a well-known collection, amongst the series of Additional Charters in the British Library, it is ranked there amongst those deeds which were never properly indexed and which, as a result, are all too easily overlooked. Our particular charter, or rather the two original exemplars of our particular charter, are amongst a dozen deeds which, according to the Library's own catalogues, were gifted to the British Library (previously the British Museum) in 1905 by a Mr F. Quekett Zouch.² Mr Zouch was clearly a generous benefactor. He has also proved an elusive one, untraced in any directory or work of reference outside the British Library's own records of his bequest. It was only at a late stage, and thanks to the detective work of Christopher Whittick, that it became apparent to me that these records lie. Mr Quekett Zouch never existed. Instead, into his place there steps a Mr Francis Quekett Louch (1856–1922), born at Drayton in Somerset as the eldest of four children of John Louch (1825–1905), an attorney and solicitor at Drayton, and his wife Lucy Isabel Quekett (1837–1913), herself the daughter of Edward Quekett (1804–1875), a banker at Langport in Somerset. Schooled in Taunton, by 1884 Francis Louch had qualified as a solicitor and

was living at Shaw cum Donnington in Berkshire, from where he conducted what appears to have been a successful legal practice in nearby Newbury. In 1912, and by now Town Clerk of Newbury, Louch acted as treasurer of the fund for the excavation of an Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Little Shefford in Berkshire. He died on 25 January 1922, leaving a widow, Edith Maria *née* Shaw whom he had married in 1885, and one surviving daughter, Edith Blanche Quekett Louch (1889–1970), who in 1914 had married her distant cousin Arthur Scott Quekett (1881–1945), a barrister and from 1921 Parliamentary counsel to the government of Northern Ireland.³

I enter into these details at such length because, for quite other reasons, the charters of Mr Zouch, *recte* Mr Louch, have recently attracted attention. The small collection of documents that he gifted to the British Library included what has now been identified as a unique original exemplar of the Forest Charter issued in the name of Edward I in October 1297. Since this is clearly marked as the copy of the Forest Charter sent into Surrey, and since it is identical in format, markings and the name of its chancery clerk to a much more famous document — the Magna Carta of October 1297 discovered in the possession of Bruton School in Somerset, shortly after World War II, and in 1953 sold to the National Government of Australia, today on public display in the Australian Parliament House in Canberra — it is highly likely that both documents survived in the same archive until the not so distant past. What follows remains conjecture, but conjecture which has the advantage of making sense. The deeds, including the charters of Easebourne Priory and the 1297 Forest Charter which Mr Louch gave to the British Museum in

1905, had almost certainly come to him in his professional capacity as a solicitor, perhaps from the office of his father John Louch, who died in 1905, the year in which Francis Louch made his gift to the British Museum. It has recently been established that the 1297 Magna Carta now in Australia also emerged from the deed boxes of a Somerset solicitor, although in circumstances which have previously defied explanation. What seems to have happened, at some time before 1905, is that the elder Mr Louch's strongroom became disordered, so that the 1297 Magna Carta became detached from his own collection and instead migrated, probably within the same office, to the deed box of a small school in Somerset, the King's School Bruton, which by this happy accident found itself in a position, in 1953, to offer Magna Carta to Australia. I have told the story of the Bruton Magna Carta and its mysterious rediscovery at length elsewhere.⁴ It is highly satisfactory to be now able to lay this mystery to rest, and to suggest the precise means by which the Louch family lost, and Australia gained, a document which today must be valued at something over ten million pounds. Within the present context, and here returning from the ridiculous to the sublime, it is also worth noting that the 1297 Magna Carta and the 1297 Forest Charter, although addressed to Surrey, appear in the Middle Ages to have come to rest in the archives of a minor Sussex nunnery: Easebourne Priory. Quite why nuns, and Sussex nuns at that, should have been considered suitable guardians for the great charters of Surrey remains unclear, although it is worth remarking that Easebourne was by no means alone amongst nunneries in both being entrusted with, and successfully guarding exemplars of Magna Carta. The Wiltshire Magna Carta of 1225 was famously handed over by the knights of the shire for custody in the nunnery of Lacock, established only in the 1230s.⁵ Equally interesting is the fact that, besides the 1297 charters of liberties, Easebourne also preserved some of its more important early deeds, still in monastic custody at the time of the Dissolution and thence, by means as yet unclear, passed down to the Mr Louch who in 1905 gave his charters to the British Library.⁶

Of these early charters directly concerned with the history of Easebourne Priory, by far the most important is the document for the first time printed below. Unnoticed either by William

Dugdale or by the authors of the *Victoria County History*, our charter takes the form of an *inspeximus* issued by Ralph de Neville, bishop of Chichester (1224–1244), that itself carries no date but which was witnessed by Walter, archdeacon of Chichester, who seems to have been appointed to his office only after April 1234, and by Master Humphrey de Millières, canon of Chichester, who was dead by April 1241.⁷ In short, our charter of *inspeximus* must date from between April 1234 and April 1241. Bishop Ralph recites four earlier charters. The first of these, issued in the name of Enjuger de Bohon, is nothing less than the foundation charter by which Enjuger sought to establish a college of priests at Easebourne. This charter must date from after the Fourth Lateran Council (whose sessions did not close until late November 1215 and whose constitutions are specifically referred to in the charter) but before the translation of Richard Poer, bishop of Chichester to the bishopric of Salisbury in May–June 1217. The second of the inspected charters, issued by Ranulf of Wareham, bishop of Chichester, and dated at Amberley on 31 January 1221, purports to confirm Enjuger's foundation. The third, issued by Savaric de Bohon, Enjuger's brother and heir, grants to the chaplains of Easebourne the whole of his mill at Midhurst, in compensation for various tithes which Enjuger had earlier conferred upon them. This grant by Savaric is further recited and confirmed in the fourth of the charters, issued by Bishop Ranulf of Chichester at Aldingbourne on 6 February 1220. Finally, and only after all of these four charters had been confirmed, we come to the real purpose of Bishop Ralph de Neville's *inspeximus*. Since, Ralph declares, the projected college of priests had never acquired sufficient resources, and since the bishop was already concerned by the poverty of a community of nuns established at Rusper, he had determined to amalgamate the two foundations, handing over the resources intended for the priests of Easebourne to the nuns of Rusper, who were themselves now to be placed under the same subjection to the heirs of Enjuger de Bohon acting in the capacity of patrons as would have been the case had Enjuger's heirs served as patrons to the projected college at Easebourne. This, newly revealed and unimpeachably coherent account of the early histories of both Easebourne and Rusper priories contradicts all existing versions of Easebourne's foundation, not least that in the

Victoria County History, which itself follows the sixteenth-century antiquary, John Leland, in suggesting that Easebourne Priory was established towards the second half of the thirteenth century, by John de Bohon of Midhurst, as a priory of Augustinian canonesses.⁸ On the contrary, as our charter reveals, Easebourne was originally (c. 1216) a college of priests founded by Enjuger de Bohon, subsequently (c. 1230) re-established as a dependency of Benedictine Ruser, thereafter acquiring independent status by the end of the century but presumably as a Benedictine offshoot of Ruser, perhaps not recognized as Augustinian until the very eve of the Reformation, by which time it had fallen on distinctly hard times.⁹

There are several elements to the story which our charter tells that require individual exposition. Firstly, Enjuger de Bohon's original attempt to found a college of priests or chaplains, one chaplain for the parish church of Easebourne and another for each of its four subject chapels — Fernhurst, Midhurst, Lodsworth and Todham — was made at a particularly inauspicious moment, in the midst of the civil war that disturbed the end of the reign of King John and the beginning of that of King Henry III. On two occasions in his charter, Enjuger is made to refer to the constitutions of the Fourth Lateran Council, demanding that the chaplains wear a common habit 'in accordance with the constitution of the general council of the lord Pope Innocent III', and that they be placed under a provost elected 'in accordance with the form of election defined in the general council'. These references, to constitutions 16 and 24–6 (on clerical costume, and on elections) of the Fourth Lateran Council, are perhaps the very earliest references to the Lateran decrees found in an English source, and are all the more interesting for appearing in a charter sealed and overseen by bishop Richard Poer of Chichester. Richard Poer had himself attended the Lateran Council late in 1215, and in due course it was Poer's diocesan legislation for Salisbury, issued shortly after his translation from Chichester in 1217, that did most to ensure that the Council's decrees were widely disseminated in England.¹⁰ Not until the Council of Oxford in 1222 were the Lateran constitutions generally promulgated throughout the province of Canterbury.

Enjuger (II) de Bohon, Easebourne's founder, himself played no insignificant role in political events after 1215. Descended both from the lords of Bohon in Normandy and from an Anglo-Norman

family which had controlled Midhurst and a substantial collection of Sussex manors held as subtenants of the earls of Arundel since the early twelfth century, Enjuger chose after 1203 to remain in England and to hold onto Midhurst, rather than to side with the Capetians in the Conquest of Normandy.¹¹ As a result, the castle and honour of Bohon itself were confiscated by the French King, Philip Augustus. Enjuger was left with his Sussex estates to which King John appears to have added various other English lands in compensation for Enjuger's losses in Normandy.¹² Already an occasional presence at the court of King John, in the summer of 1213 Enjuger had been appointed as one of the two Norman marshals set alongside two English marshals to ensure good order within the King's army.¹³ These arrangements have generally been associated with the army mustered against the French in 1213. They might better, however, be associated with the King's as yet only half-fledged plans to take vows as a crusader.¹⁴ In 1214, Enjuger accompanied King John on campaign in Poitou and in the following year was entrusted with what seems to have been a particularly significant role in the supervision of the King's naval forces at Portsmouth.¹⁵ The men of Portsmouth appear to have impounded various of the King's vessels, pending the payment of debts owing to them from the King. Hence the issue of a series of royal commands that Enjuger de Bohon be permitted to carry away tackle and equipment from the King's ships.¹⁶ If we are correct in associating Enjuger's appointment as marshal in 1213 with the King's crusading plans, then his activities at Portsmouth in 1215–1216 may supply important evidence, confirming what is already known of King John's continuing attempts, despite the civil war, to keep alive his plans for a crusade.¹⁷ Alternatively, both in 1213 and 1215–1216, Enjuger's orders may testify merely to a role in King's John's projected expeditions, to France in 1213 and against the rebel barons after 1215. In the event, Enjuger himself, but not King John, prepared to sail for the Holy Land in December 1218, no doubt to join forces with the army of the Fifth Crusade by then encamped at Damietta. Enjuger, however, died either shortly before or shortly after sailing, at some point between 9 December 1218 and 10 January 1219, leaving as his executors Richard Poer bishop of Salisbury, Philip de Aubigné and Roger de la Zouche.¹⁸ Midhurst and his other

Sussex lands passed to his younger brother Savaric, married to Cecily, daughter of King John's former justiciar Geoffrey fitz Peter, via whom the Bohons of Midhurst acquired land in Essex.¹⁹ By the mid-1230s, there are signs that not all was well with Savaric. In August 1234, royal letters were issued to prevent him from alienating parts of his estate, and by the Spring of 1235 the King's courts were acting as if Savaric himself were a ward in the King's custody.²⁰ In November 1240, at the request of his brother-in-law John fitz Geoffrey, Savaric was, apparently temporarily, declared mad and perhaps suicidal.²¹ His appearance in litigation thereafter, from October 1241 onwards, suggests that he had recovered his faculties.²² He died before December 1243 leaving a son and heir, Franco de Bohon, subsequently married, without the King's permission, to Sybil daughter of William de Ferrers who was fined 300 marks for this breach of the royal prerogative.²³

Were we looking for a more precise date for Bishop Ralph de Neville's decision to suppress Enjurer's collegiate foundation and to transfer the resources of the priests of Easebourne to the nuns of Rusper, then we would need to bear in mind that Bishop Ralph specifically claims to have acted with the assent and support of Savaric de Bohon. To judge from the rarity of the evidence, bishops were in general reluctant to suppress religious foundations, even those with failing or inadequate resources, and the degree of bishop Ralph's interference at Easebourne was considerable, involving not only the suppression of one foundation but the transfer of its resources from priests to female religious and from a collegiate establishment to a Benedictine priory. Moreover, although Easebourne was a Bohon family foundation, Rusper had probably been founded by, and was certainly under the patronage of the neighbouring Anglo-Norman family of Braose.²⁴ In 1230–1231 we already find Ralph de Neville interfering on behalf of the nuns of Rusper, to appropriate to them the church of Horsham, first granted to them by their patron, John de Braose.²⁵ The circumstances of the mid-1230s might explain the otherwise apparently high-handed way in which bishop Ralph thereafter transferred Rusper from the patronage of the Braoses to that of the Bohons, in compensation for the Bohons' loss of patronage over Easebourne College. John de Braose of Bramber had died shortly before July

1232 in a riding accident, leaving as his heir a minor who did not succeed to the Braose estates until 1245.²⁶ The bishop's charter, suppressing the collegiate foundation at Easebourne and bringing the nuns of Rusper under the patronage of Savaric de Bohon and his heirs, must therefore date from a time when the Braose estates were in wardship but whilst Savaric de Bohon was in full possession of his faculties, and hence probably before the declaration of his madness in August 1240.

Let us turn now to the charters themselves, as recited in bishop Ralph's *inspeximus*. Enjurer de Bohon's 'foundation' charter, claiming the assent of his brother Savaric and his sisters Lucy and Strangia, declares that Easebourne parish church together with the church of St Margaret at Fernhurst and the chapels of Midhurst, Lodsworth and Todham (in Easebourne) was to be used for the endowment of a community of five chaplains dedicated to St Mary and St John. The union of these churches and chapels may suggest the existence of earlier 'minster' arrangements from which the two parishes and three chapels had emerged. The dedication to Mary and John is a common one, but suggests the spread of a particular devotion to the image of Christ crucified supported by the Virgin Mary and St John the Evangelist. Masses of the Virgin (daily) and of St John (when appropriate), together with the requiem (also on appropriate occasions) are specified amongst the chaplains' liturgical obligations, with one chaplain assigned to each of these duties and another set to minister to the spiritual needs of Easebourne's parishioners. Four of the chaplains were to be placed under the obedience of a fifth, serving as provost (*prepositus*) who was to receive and dispense the community's income, rendering accounts four times a year and holding the community's resources in a common purse (*unum siquidem erit marsupium*, echoing Proverbs 1:14). The common life was to be symbolized by common dining and sleeping arrangements, adoption of a common costume (of a single colour, in accordance with the constitutions of the Lateran Council) and by a common effort to live chastely and soberly. After three failures to repent, grave offenders were to be expelled from the community, with the community's discipline enforced by common oaths of obedience. On the death or resignation of their provost, the brothers were to have free election of his successor in accordance with the election procedures set out

by the Lateran Council and saving the assent of Enjurer who, or whose seneschal or heirs were then to present the newly elected provost to the bishop of Chichester. Should Enjurer or his heirs fail or deliberately delay granting their assent for three months, then the canons might approach the bishop directly to confirm their election. All these arrangements are reminiscent of those made for other contemporary colleges of priests, as for example in the statutes of Peter des Roches, bishop of Winchester, for the college of priests established at Marlow in Hampshire, only a few years after Enjurer's foundation at Easebourne.²⁷

Besides the grant of churches and chapels, Enjurer's charter continues with a further list of grants, including a second tithes of grain and vegetables in Ford and Climping, once the first tithes had been paid to the parish churches there, and a house at 'Hydegate' in which to store these tithes. The tithes or hay of Enjurer's demesne manors of Midhurst, Easebourne, Ford and Rustington, and a tithes of his demesne garden to the south of Easebourne church together with land to the east of the cemetery and free use of the watercourse at Easebourne conclude the temporalities of the new community which, despite the modest nature of these gifts, Enjurer nonetheless hoped might expand its number of chaplains, once further grants had been made. To insure against damage to the new community, Enjurer declared that neither he nor his heirs would exercise their rights as lord to demand entertainment for their men, horses, hounds or hawks. That these pious intentions and expectations were only partly met is suggested by the charter of Enjurer's brother, Savaric de Bohon.

This charter grants to the chaplains the whole of Savaric's mill in Midhurst with various lands adjoining it, further granting to the burgesses of Midhurst (our earliest reference to Midhurst's borough status) a wasteland 'super Dadeslye' so that they might render suit to the mill, obliging Savaric's customary peasants (*rustici consuetudinarii*) to repair the mill with timber to be supplied by Savaric and his heirs. The chaplains of Easebourne were thus freed from any obligation to maintain the enclosure of his park at Midhurst and were granted fourteen shillings of annual rents, this entire grant being described as compensation for Savaric's withdrawal of the second tithes in Ford, Climping and Rustington which the canons had hoped to obtain by grant of Savaric's brother, Enjurer: an important indication this that Enjurer's endowment of the college had been both limited and difficult for the chaplains to enforce. Savaric's charter specifically refers to his mill at Midhurst as the only such mill in the village so that it must have been from this same mill that Enjurer had earlier made a grant of an annual rent of one mark to the Cistercian monks of Waverley Abbey, a grant either replaced or more likely augmented by Savaric, Enjurer's brother, who offered Waverley an annual rent of one mark payable at Midhurst from his 'chamber' or private accounting office.²⁸ Savaric's charter to Waverley is written in the same or a similar hand to that of his brother Enjurer, which itself is witnessed by a man named Master Nicholas of Farnham: one of the rare early appearances in England by the well-known scholar of that name, subsequently physician to the court of King Henry III and bishop of Durham (1241–1257).²⁹

1. Inspeximus by Ralph (de Neville) bishop of Chichester of the early charters of Easebourne Priory.
[April 1234 X April 1241]

A¹ = BL Additional Charter 53713. Endorsed: *Kls Middelton'* (s.xiv/xv, ?notarial signature); various post-medieval endorsements. Approx. 290 × 444 + 34 mm. Sealed *sur double queue*, slits for three parchment tags, left-hand tag and linen seal-bag extant, the two other tags and all three seal impressions missing.

A² = BL Additional Charter 53714. Endorsed: *Kls Middelton* (s.xiv/xv, ?notarial signature); various post-medieval endorsements. Approx. 310 × 408 + 40 mm. Sealed *sur double queue*, slits for three parchment tags, left-hand tag and seal impression missing; central tag with seal

impression reduced to powder inside a linen seal-bag; right-hand tag, seal impression missing.

Omnibus sancte matris ecclesie filiis presens scriptum visuris vel auditoris Radulfus^a secundus Dei gratia Cycestr' ecclesie episcopus^a salutem in domino. Cartam nobil(is) viri Engigerii de Bohun^b cui appensum fuit sigillum venerabil(is) in Cristo fratris^c Ricardi quondam Cycestr' episcopi inspeximus in hec verba:

Omnibus sancte matris ecclesie filiis ad quos presens scriptum peruenerit Engigerius de Bohun^d salutem in Domino. Nouerit

uniuersitas uestra quod ego diuine pietatis intuitu pro salute mea et pro animabus antecessorum et heredum meorum assenciente etiam et auctoritatem prestante domino Ricardo Cycestr' episcopo, assensu quoque et voluntate Sauarici fratris mei et sororum mearum Lucie et Strangie, dedi et concessi ad ampliandum Dei cultum in ecclesia beate Marie de Eseburn' in liberam, puram et perpetuam elemosinam ipsam ecclesiam de Eseburn' cum ecclesia sancte Margarete de Fernhurst' et cum capellis de Midhurst^e et de Loddeswurd^f et de Thadcham cum omnibus pertinentiis earum integre, quiete et pacifice, quinque capellanis Deo et sancte Marie et sancto Iohanni ewangeliste^g perpetuo ministraturis hoc modo, unus qui secundum prepositi et aliorum prouisionem magis ad hoc fuerit ydoneus parochianis ipsius ecclesie spiritualia ministrabit, alius singulis diebus missam beate Marie sollempniter celebrabit, tercius missam pro defunctis in profestis diebus, quartus quotiens commode fieri^h poterit missam de sancto Iohanne euangelista et unusquisque onus alterius pro loco et tempore supportabit secundum prepositi prouisionem. Unus uero predictorum capellanorum alius preficietur cui et ipsi et alii clerici in eadem ecclesia ministrantes tanquam sibi preposito reuerentiam exhibebunt et canonicam obedientiam, reseruato tamen episcopo dyocesano quod eidem de iure dinoscitur esse reseruandum. Ipse uero prepositus omnes redditus, obuentiones et oblationes et omnia alia emolumenta ad eundem locum pertinentia recipiet et eadem de consilio confratrum suorum ad communes usus ipsorum et ad eiusdem ecclesie utilitatem prout uiderit expedire dispensabit et quater in anno de omnibus receptis et expensis in presentia fratrum suorum respondebit. Unum siquidem erit marsupium ipsorum omnium et de eodem omnia neccessaria eis prouidebuntur. In una domo reficientur et in una domo simul dormient, et omnibus illis pro congruentia temporis secundum eiusdem ecclesie facultatem vestes congruas et honestas idem prepositus administrabit, non nimis nitidas nec nimis abiectas sed secundum constitutum generalis concilii

domini pape^j Innocentii iii., ita tamen quod omnes uestibus unius coloris uestiantur. Omnes autem summo opere studeant caste uiuere, sobrie, ^khoneste et moderate se gerant^k, ut in tota eorum conuersatione ad multorum edificationem Dominus honoretur. Quod si quis eorum aliquo crimine notabil(i) quod absit fuerit repertus, si commonitus secundo et tercio incorrigibil(is) inueniatur, de prouisione prepositi et saniorum fratrum consilio, sine spe reuersionis ab eadem ecclesia eiciatur^l nec unquam repetet contentiose regressum, et si quis eorum ad maiorem uocatus sollicitudinem alium locum sibi preelegerit et de licentia prepositi et aliorum sacerdotium^m inde recesserit et alius pro eo in eadem ecclesia substitutus fuerit, numquam similiter licebit eiⁿ contentiose regressum repetere, et quicumque in eadem ecclesia fuerint admittendi, se constitutionem istam iurabunt obseruatuos. Obeuntibus uero aliquibus eiusdem ecclesie fratribus prepositus de confratrum consilio alios uiros ydoneos et honestos in locum defunctorum substituet absque symoniaca prauitate. Cum uero prefatum prepositum obire contigerit uel propter sui impotentiam euidentem uel ob aliam iustam causam sufficientem et honestam tantum onus sustinere non posse, fratres alii unum ex ipsis ^psi inter eos ydoneus^p inuentus fuerit, uel si ibi ydoneus non fuerit inuentus, alium forinsecum sub periculo ordinis sui et anime sue, ad Deum solum habito respectu, eligant secundum formam electionis in generali concilio diffinitam de assensu meo uel heredum meorum, quem ego tanquam patronus uel heredes mei uel senescallus meus uel heredum meorum domino Cycestr' presentabimus et ipse eum canonicè examinatum, receptum et confirmatum aliis preficiet capellanis. Si uero contingat quod ego uel heredes mei in partibus fuerimus remotis, ita quod electioni predictæ non possimus assensum prebere, senescallus meus uel heredum meorum uices nostras supplebit, et si per tres menses ego uel heredes mei aut senescallus noster electioni predictæ assensum prebere non potuerimus uel distulerimus, liceat predictis capellanis liberam habere sui prepositi presentationem, quem dominus episcopus

eis preficiat, non expectato meo vel heredum meorum assensu, sed post decessum illius qui taliter fuerit institutus saluum sit michi et heredibus meis ius quod habere debemus sicut prescriptum est in prepositi presentatione eiusdem ecclesie. Dum autem ipsius ecclesie prepositura vacauerit, nullus de rebus ipsius ecclesie siue possessionibus aliquid usurpare aut sibi attemptet appropriare, sed omnia integra et illibata custodie fratrum eiusdem ecclesie relinquuntur. Dedi autem predictis capellanis preter illa que superius sunt notata ad eorum sustentationem postquam bladum de dominicis meis de Fordes et de Climping' parochialibus ecclesiis sicut moris est fuerit, decimatum totius bladi mei et leguminum in predictis maneriis ad hostium^q grangiarum mearum redecimationem absque ulla diminutione recipiendam. Quod si terre de dominicis meis per alios fuerint culte, nichilominus habeant ipsi capellani de terris illis redecimationem, et ad illas decimationes reponendas dedi predictis capellanis locum qui vocatur Hydegate^r et domum que in eodem loco sita est. Dedi etiam eis totam decimam feni de dominicis maneriorum meorum de Midhurst' et de Eseburn' et de Fordes et de Rustiton' imperpetuum^s habendas et possidendas. Preterea dedi eisdem dominicum gardenum meum ex australi parte ecclesie de Eseburn' et totam terram ex orientali parte gardini cymiterii ecclesie de Eseburn' usque ad terram Roberti de Perers et a strata publica usque ad paruum parcum meum. Concessi etiam eis^t liberum cursum aque per officinas suas et omnia iura mea que habui in aqua de Eseburn'. Quod si largiente Domino imposterum^v per me vel heredes meos vel alios quoscumque fideles eiusdem ecclesie ampliate fuerint possessiones ut et etiam cultus diuinus sic amplietur, numerus capellanorum et aliorum ministrorum competenter augmentetur in eadem ecclesia. Ut autem hec mea elemosina pura et mere libera imperpetuum perseueret, eam ab omni exactione absoluens, nolo ut ego vel heredes mei vel aliquis meorum vel heredum meorum ratione dominii vel fundi homines siue equos siue canes siue aues causa more faciende in onus domus prefate ibi mittamus, nec aliquid temporale in domo

illa nisi caritatiue suscipiendi potestatem habeamus, ita quod aduentus meus vel heredum meorum predictis fratribus potius sit honori quam oneri. Ut autem mea donatio stabil(is) et firma imperpetuum perseueret, eam presenti scripto et sigilli mei appositione roborauimus. Hiis testibus: domino Eustach(io) de Faucunberg^w, Willelmo de Percy, Rogero de La Zuch', Willelmo de Altaripa, Roberto de Vilers, Hugone Sine Auerio, Willelmo de Millers^x, Nicholao de Wancy, Thom(a) de Sancto Vigor(e), Radulfo de Stopeham^y, Rad(ulfo) de Altaripa, Roberto de Montibus, domino Iohanne capellano, magistro Luca, magistro Ioscelino de Altaripa, Willelmo de Husseburn', Waltero de Faucunberg^z, Willelmo Auenel senescallo et multis aliis.

Inspeximus etiam confirmationem bone memorie Ranulfi quondam Cycestr' episcopi predecessoris nostri in hec verba:

Omnibus sancte matris ecclesie filiis ad quos presens scriptum peruenerit Ranulfus diuina miseratione Cycestr' ecclesie minister humilis salutem in domino. Venerabilem fratrem in Cristo Ricard(um) Sarr' episcopum in operibus pietatis que dum Cycestr' regeret ecclesiam ante translationis sue et nostre promotionis tempus prudenter ac religiose gessisse dinoscitur imitari cupientes, ordinationem quam nobil(is) vir Engigerius de Bohun^{aa} de assensu ipsius fecit in ecclesia de Eseburn' propter cultum domus Dei ampliand(um) approbantes, ipsam auctoritate episcopali concedimus et confirmamus, saluo nobis et successoribus nostris imperpetuum iure pontificali et parochiali. In cuius rei testimonium presens scriptum sigilli nostri appositione roborauimus. T(estibus) Radulfo decano de Westebertun^{bb}, Roberto de Amberly' senescallo nostro, Godefrido canonico Cycestr', magistro Iohanne de Arundll', Thom(a) de Berningeh^{cc}, Iohanne de Herlau', Willelmo de Cycestr' et Willelmo clericis nostris et aliis. Dat' apud Amberly per manum Ernis(ii) pridie Kal' Febr(uarii) pontificatus nostri anno quarto^{dd} [31 January 1221]

Inspeximus etiam cartam nobilis viri Sauarici de Bohun^{aa} in hec verba:

Omnibus Cristi fidelibus ad quos presens scriptum peruenerit Sauaricus de Boun

salutem in domino. Nouerit uniuersitas uestra me de consensu et consilio domini Ranulfi Cycestr' episcopi pro salute anime mee et Engigerii fratris mei et antecessorum et successorum meorum dedisse et hac presenti carta mea confirmasse Deo et ecclesie beate Marie de Eseburn' et capellanis ibidem Deo seruientibus totum molendinum meum de Midhurst habendum et tenendum de me et heredibus meis in liberam, puram et perpetuam elemosinam, ita libere et plenarie cum sequela et omnibus pertinentiis, libertatibus, consuetudinibus ad^{ee} molendinum pertinentibus sicut Engigerius frater meus vel aliquis antecessorum meorum plenius et melius tenuit. Dedi etiam et concessi burgensibus de Midhurst' brueriam super Dadeslye^{ff} ut faciant sequelam ad prefatum molendinum sicut facere solebant antecessoribus meis. Ego autem et heredes mei compellemus omnes debentes sequelam ad prefatum molendinum ut plene faciant sequelam sicut plenius facere solebant. Rustici uero mei consuetudinarii facient et reperabunt stagnum prefati molend(ini) sicut facere solebant, et ad hoc faciendum ego et heredes mei eos compellemus, et ego et heredes mei inueniemus rationabiliter meiremium ad predictum molendinum quando necesse fuerit reperandum per manum balliuorum meorum de Midhurst'. Concessi etiam eis et dedi totam terram adiacentem predicto molend(ino), scilicet duas acras terre in Milnefeld' et duas Hammas cum pertinentiis. Ego uero Sauaricus de Bohun^{aa} nec heredes mei faciemus molendina ad detrimentum illius molend(ini). Remisi etiam et quietam clamaui eisdem capellanis claustram de parco meo de Midhurst' quam persone ecclesie de Eseburn' facere consueuerunt. Preterea dedi eis quatuordecim solidatas redditus annui, scilicet in tenemento Willelmi⁹⁹ Chaperun sex sol(idos), in tenemento Willelmi de Grafham quinque sol(idos), in grauett(is), de Almaro Bere tres sol(idos)⁹⁹ reddendos ad terminos consuetos, scilicet ad festum beati Thom(e) apostoli et ad natiuitatem sancti Iohannis Baptiste, ita tamen quod predicti capellani nichil aliud exigere poterunt de predictis tenementis nisi redditum prenomiatum. Si uero tenentes

dictum redditum ultra terminos predictos detinuerint, licebit capellanis illos per namia sua secundum regni consuetudinem distringere. Predictum autem molendinum cum pertinentiis et redditibus prenomiatum dedi et assignaui eisdem capellanis in escambium omnium redecimationum maneriorum meorum de Fordes et de Climping' et de Rustiton' quas intendebant habere de dono fratris mei Engigerii, et ego Sauaricus de Bohun^{aa} et heredes mei omnia prescripta warantizabimus predictae ecclesie et capellanis ibidem Deo seruientibus contra omnes homines et feminas, et quia uolo quod hec mea donatio et huius carte mee confirmatio rata et inconcussa permaneat, sigilli mei appositione eam corroboraui. T(estibus)^{hh} magistro Willelmo Durand' archidiacono Cycestr', magistro Ioscelino de Altaripa, Waltero de Faucumberg', Waltero de Linces decano, Reginaldo Aguilun, Alano de Sancto Georgio, Rogero de Merlay, Hugone Sine Auer(io), Nicholao de Wancy, Bartholomeo de Elneste'd', Ricardo de Warneford', Thom(a) de Wisteruall', Iohanne Buc et multis aliis.

Confirmationem etiam memorati Ranulfi episcopi predecessoris nostri de eadem carta confectam inspeximus in hec uerba:

Omnibus hoc scriptum uisuris Ranulfus diuina miseratione Cycestr' ecclesie minister humilis salutem in domino. Ad omnium uolumus noticiam peruenire nos inspexisse cartam domini Sauarici de Bohun^{aa} in hec uerba: Omnibus Cristi fidelibus etc sicut in carta ipsius Sauarici superius continetur. Unde et eandem cartam auctoritate nostra confirmamus et presenti scripto et sigilli nostri munimine eandem roboramus. T(estibus) Geruasio capellano de Pecham, magistro Iohanne de Arundll', magistro A(dam) de Eklesdun', magistro W(illelmo) Sautir canonicis Cycestr', Godefrido de Wesenh' et Ernis(io) clericis. Dat' apud Aldingeburn' per manum ipsius Godefridi die sanctorum Vedasti et Amandi pontificatus nostri anno tercio [6 February 1220].

Visa itaque et diligenter pensata predicta ordinatione, cum nobis manifeste constaret ipsam hucusque ad plenum non fuisse seruatum nec in posterum posse seruari propter insufficientiam

reddituum ecclesie de Eseburn' qui predicto oneri non sufficiebant, pensata etiam paupertate domus monialium de Rughesparr^{jj} et importunitate eiusdem tam propter loci sterilitatem et aque defectum tam propter discrim(inationem) malarum gentium circa ipsum locum multotiens conuersantium, volentes ordinationem predictam in melius commutare et utilitati dictarum monialium pie prospicere, de assensu nobilis viri Sauarici de Bohun^{aa} patroni ecclesie de Eseburn' et de consilio et consensu capituli Cycestr', ad ampliandum Dei cultum in ecclesia beate Marie de Eseburn' per religionis incrementum et numerum religiosorum ita ordinauimus quod dicte moniales libere se transferant cum bonis suis a loco suo de Rughesparr' usque ad dictum locum de Eseburn' ibidem in religionis sue obseruantia Domino imperpetuum famulature, concedentes eisdem et confirmantes omnia bona que a nobilibus viris Engigerio et Sauarico de Bohun^{aa} ipsi ecclesie de Eseburn' ad sustentationem ministrorum eiusdem secundum ordinationem predictam pia deuotione canonice sunt collata simul cum omnibus que ante translationem suam canonice sunt adepti,

saluo nobis et successoribus nostris in omnibus iure pontificali et parochiali. Volumus etiam quod in ipsa ecclesia de Eseburn' perpetuus instituat vicarius qui populo ibidem spiritualia administret ab eisdem monialibus nobis et successoribus nostris presentandus. Volumus etiam quod dicte moniales habeant duos capellanos qui eis diuina celebrent pro ipsarum voluntate amouendos cum viderint expedire. Ordinauimus etiam quod quicquid iuris habuit patronus ecclesie de Eseburn' secundum predictam ordinationem in creatione prepositi, idem iuris habeat in creatione priorisse. Ut autem hec nostra ordinatio rata et stabilis permaneat, eam sigilli nostri munimine una cum sigillo domini Sauarici de Bohun^{aa} et capituli Cycestr' roborauimus. Hiis testibus: dominis Th(oma) decano et E(rnsio) precentore Cycestr', magistro R(eginaldo) archidiacono Lew', Waltero^{kk} archidiacono Cycestr', magistris W(illelmo) de Kaynesham^{ll}, Gentilio, I(o)hanne de Arundll' canonicis Cycestr', magistro Hunfrido de ^{mm}Millers, Nigello de Angemar', Thom(a) Makerel, Iames de Sancto Claro^{mm}, Geruas(io) de Sancto German(o).

a-a Dei gratia Cycestr' episcopus secundus A²
 b Euingerii de Boun A²
 c fratris A¹, patris A²
 d Euingerius de Boun A²
 e Midherst' A²
 f Loddessword' A²
 g euangeliste A²
 h fieri *not in* A²
 j pape *not in* A²
 k-k moderate et honeste se gerere A²
 l abiciatur A²
 m sacerdotum A²
 n ei licebit A²
 p-p si ydoneus inter eos A²
 q ostium A²
 r Hydegat' A²
 s in perpetuum A²
 t eis *not in* A²
 v in posterum A²

w Faucumberge A²
 x Millirs A²
 y Stopeh' A²
 z Faucumberg' A²
 aa Boun A²
 bb Westeburt' A²
 cc Berningeham A²
 dd ⁱⁱⁱⁱO. A²
 ee A² *inserts* prefatum
 ff Dadesly A²
 gg-gg sex solidos in tenemento Willelmi de Grafham in grauet(is) quinque solidos, de Almaro Bere tres solidos A²
 hh Hiis testibus A², T(estibus) *inserted over the line* A¹
 jj Rugesparr' A²
 kk W(altero) A²
 ll Kaynesh' A²
 mm-mm Milliers, Thoma Makerel, Iames de Seintcler, Nigello de Angemar' A²

2. Grant by Enjuger de Bohon to the monks of Waverley of an annual rent of one mark from his mill at Midhurst to support a monk praying for the souls of Enjuger and his family.

[1200 X 1218]

A = BL ms. Harley Charter 46.F.2. Endorsed: *Hengig' de Boun* (s.xiii); *D* (s.xiii/xiv); various post-medieval endorsements. Approx. 182 × 66 + 14 mm. Sealed *sur double queue*, parchment tag through a single slit, seal impression (broken) in natural wax varnished reddish-brown, originally ?round, a crescent, perhaps a crescent moon, legend defaced save for a single letter N. The last two lines, beginning *domino Philipp(o) de Aubeny*, written in a different pen and ink from the remainder of the text.

To be dated to a time when both Philip de Aubigné and Roger de la Zouche were active in England, and hence after the accession of King John but before the death of Enjuger de Bohon, probably later rather than earlier within this period.

Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Engegerus de Bohun dedi et concessi et hac carta mea confirmaui Deo et ecclesie beate Marie de Wauerl' et monachis ibidem Deo seruientibus unam marcam argenti in perpetuum percipiendam de molend(ino) meo de Midehurst singulis annis ad duas terminos anni, videlicet ad Natale Domini dimidiam marcam et ad Natiuitatem sancti Ioh(ann)is Bap(tist)e dimidiam marcam ad sustentandum unum monachum in augmentum conuentus pro salute anime mee et pro salute animarum patris et matris mee et antecessorum et heredum meorum. Et ut hec mea donatio firma sit et stabil(is), sigilli mei testimonio illam confirmaui. Hiis testibus: Adam capellano de Rustenton', Will(elmo) Auenell', Ioh(ann)le Buk, Rog(ero) de Richull', domino Philipp(o) de Aubeny, domino Sauarico de Bohun, domino Rog(ero) la Ceuche, Willelmo de Percy, Herb(erto) de Montibus, Hug(one) Sine Auer(io), Nichol(ao) de Wancy, magistro Nich(olao) de Fernam et multis aliis.

3. Grant by Savaric de Bohon to the monks of Waverley of an annual rent of one mark from his chamber, payable at Midhurst.

[1210 X 1218]

A = BL ms. Harley Charter 46.F.1. Endorsed: *Sauar(ici) de Bohum* (s.xiii, repeated); *D* (s.xiii/xiv); *f* (s.xiii/xiv); various post-medieval endorsements. Approx. 200 × 88 + 14 mm. Sealed *sur double queue*, parchment tag through a single slit, seal impression in dark green wax, round, a shield of arms with a crescent, on the edges of the shield six ?martlets, legend: SIGILL' SAVARI (according to St John Hope, *Cowdray and Easebourne Priory*, 5, who saw the seal before more recent damage: SIGILL' SAVARI DE BOUN). Written in the same hand as Enjuger's charter above no.2. Rubbed, some letters illegible.

Written in the same hand as no.2 above, and hence presumably of a similar date. It is not clear whether Savaric's grant was intended to augment or to replace his brother's grant of a mark's annual rent payable from the mill at Midhurst. There is no mention of an annual rent owing to Waverley in Savaric's grant of the mill to the priests of Easebourne, before 1221 (above no. 1). Nonetheless, the rent is referred to in 1299, when the monks of Waverley quitclaimed it to Anthony Bek Bishop of Durham: BL ms. Harley Charter 45.A.29, printed by St John Hope, *Cowdray and Easebourne Priory*, 5, 14.

Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Sauaricus de Bohun dedi et hac presenti carta mea confirmaui Deo et ecclesie beate Marie de Wauerl' et monachis ibidem Deo seruientibus pro salute anime mee et antecessorum et heredum meorum in liberam et puram et perpetuam elemosinam unam marcam argenti de camera mea singul(is) annis percipiendam apud Midehurst per manum senescalli mei ad duas terminos per annum, videlicet ad Natale Domini dimid(iam) marcam et ad Natiuitatem beati Ioh(ann)is Bap(tist)e dimid(iam) marcam ad sustentand(um) unum monach(um) in augmentum conuentus predictae ecclesie, et hanc predictam marcam percipient prefati monachi de camera mea sicut supradictum est donec ego vel heredes mei predictam marcam eis <ass>ignauerimus in loco certo et eis idoneo, et ego et heredes mei fidel(ite)r et plenarie persoluemus eis in perpetuum predictam marcam et eis illam warentizabimus contra omnes homines. Hiis testibus: domino Regin(aldo) senescall(o) com(itis) Arundell', Alano de Sancto Georg(io), Ric(ardo) de Warneford', Barthol(omeo) de Ellnested', Thom(a) de Gast<e>ni, Ioh(anne) le Buk et multis aliis.

Author: Nicholas Vincent, School of History, University of East Anglia, Norwich, NR4 7TJ.

NOTES

- ¹ H. Mayr-Harting (ed.), *The Acta of the Bishops of Chichester 1075–1207* ([London]: Canterbury and York Society, 1964); P. Hoskin (ed.), *English Episcopal Acta 22: Chichester 1215–1253*, and *English Episcopal Acta 23: Chichester 1254–1305* (Oxford: Oxford University Press/British Academy, 2001). For further additions to Mayr-Harting's collection, not noticed by Hoskin, see also Eton College Muniments Lyminster 55, nos 5–6; San Marino (California), Huntington Library, Stowe-Temple-Grenville Collection Box 37, no. 21.
- ² The collection is very briefly noted, with no listing whatsoever of the charters earlier than 1361, in *Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum in the Years MDCCCC–MCCCCV* (London: British Museum, 1907), 421.
- ³ For all of this information, I am indebted to Christopher Whittick. For various of the details, see the census returns in PRO RG/9/1630/12; RG10/2370/80; RG11/1272/86; RG12/970/37; RG13/1122/126; the brief notice of Francis Louch's death in the *Newbury Weekly News* (2 February 1922), 5; the probate records for Francis Louch's will, dated 6 July 1918, leaving an estate of £3334 gross, £2553 net; and the brief obituary of Sir Arthur Quekett K.C. in *The Times* (Thursday, 4 October 1945), 6. Francis Louch's involvement in the 1912 excavations at East Shefford is noticed by H. Peake & E. A. Hooton, 'Saxon graves at East Shefford, Berks', *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* **45** (1915), 93.
- ⁴ *The Magna Carta*, Sotheby's Sale Catalogue, 18 December 2007 (New York: Sotheby's, 2007), 78–9, 93–7.
- ⁵ London, British Library ms. Additional Charter 46144, endorsed *ex deposito militu(m) Wiltisir'* (s.xiii).
- ⁶ Besides the Surrey Forest Charter of 1297 (BL Additional Charter 53712) and the inspeximus printed below (Additional Charters 53713–14), the collection includes a notarial inspeximus by Walter Wodelond clerk of a suit before Master Richard de Cotyngham, official of the archdeacon of Chichester, between the priory of Easebourne and William atte Hethfelde and Roger de Durneforde, executors of Juliana wife of the said William, concerning a mortuary gift claimed by the priory which is declared to be their right, 5 March 1327 (Additional Charter 53715); a notarial certificate by John Boseham clerk of various cause papers passed between John (Langton) bishop of Chichester and Edith prioress of Easebourne over the institution of William de Cadenden to the perpetual vicarage of Easebourne church, assigning lands and 10 marks from the revenues of the church of Easebourne and of the chapels of Midhurst, Todham, Lodsworth and Fernhurst, 21 December 1330–22 July 1332 (Additional Charter 53716); a licence in mortmain from King Edward (III) to Easebourne priory to acquire land to the value of 10 marks annually, 12 January 1337 (Additional Charter 53717, cf. *Calendar of Patent Rolls 1334–8*, 350); proclamation by the official of the diocese of Chichester to the church of Petworth of a sentence of excommunication against Richard Drak of Fernhurst otherwise of Lodsworth, executor of John le Souter of Easebourne, for obtaining royal prohibition to impede the jurisdiction of court Christian in a suit between Richard and the priory of Easebourne over a mortuary offering, 21 December 1344 (Additional Charter 53718); grants by Peter de Wende rector of Woolbeding to Easebourne priory of a rent of 7s. 6d. in Bodiam, 25 July 1361, and by Richard Tille of East Harting to John Knapper of Elstead and Alice his wife of a cottage in East Harting and a rent of 3s. 6d. from the prioress of Easebourne priory in Minsted (in Midhurst), 1 October 1380 (Additional Charters 53719–20); a notarial certificate by William Treverdow, clerk of the diocese of Exeter, of a sentence by Richard (Praty) bishop of Chichester in a dispute between the parishioners of Fernhurst and Elizabeth prioress of Easebourne concerning service and tithe in the church of Fernhurst, 25 April 1440 (Additional Charter 53721); a notarial inspeximus by Richard Hormer clerk of an appeal by Thomas Surflet proctor of Easebourne priory, here specifically described as Augustinian, to the Holy See in a dispute during the vacancy of the bishopric of Chichester over the parish church of Up Marden, 1438 (Additional Charter 53722); a licence from Margery Pygon prioress of Easebourne issued at the request of William Baggele and other executors of the will of Nicholas the chaplain, farmer of the chapel of Midhurst, to bury Nicholas' body under the bell tower (*subtus campanile*) before the altar of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the chapel of Mary Magdalene at Midhurst for a payment of 40d. bequeathed by Nicholas, 20 April 1390 (Additional Charter 53723); grants by William Sterte of Tillington to John Mundy and Alice his wife, 1 December 1434, by John Mundy otherwise Mondy and Alice his wife and William Strete to Edward Mille and others, 6 October 1435, by John Mundy of Britton (Hampshire) to Henry Fycke and Thomas Portere of Lodsworth, 29 September 1450, and by Nicholas Husee, Humphrey Heuster and Richard Hormere clerk to Elizabeth Cooke the prioress of Easebourne, 4 April and 10 April 1456, all relating to land called Redeland and Sneland in Selham and land in Strethampton (in Boxgrove) (Additional Charters 53724–8), and a grant by Philip Mowssold of Midhurst to William Fitzwilliam treasurer of the King's household of land in Fernhurst, 24 October 1535 (Additional Charter 53730).
- ⁷ J. Le Neve, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1066–1300*, vol. V: *Chichester*, new ed. by D. E. Greenway (London: University of London Institute of Historical Research, 1996), 22, 60.
- ⁸ *Victoria County History Sussex* **2**, 84–5.
- ⁹ As noted by D. Knowles & R. N. Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales*, 2nd ed. (London: Longman, 1971), 280, the first certain evidence that Easebourne was Augustinian rather than Benedictine in affiliation does not occur until the Fifteenth Century, first in an appeal of 1438 (BL ms. Additional Charter 53722, cf. above n.6), then in a Durham obit roll of 1456, and thereafter in the visitation records of bishop Sherborne (August 1521), as printed in 'Episcopal Visitations of the Benedictine Nunnery of Easebourne', ed. W. H. Blaauw, *Sussex Archaeological Collections* **9** (1857), 1–32, at pp. 13, 23, and cf. W. St John Hope, *Cowdray and Easebourne Priory in the County of Sussex* (London: Country Life, 1919), 95.
- ¹⁰ F. M. Powicke & C. R. Cheney (eds), *Councils and Synods*

with other documents relating to the English Church II 1205–1313, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), 1, 48. For the significance of Poer's Salisbury legislation, see C. R. Cheney, *English Synodalia of the Thirteenth Century*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968), ch. 3.

- ¹¹ For Midhurst and its three knights' fees, held by the thirteenth-century Bohons of the earldom of Arundel, see *Close Rolls 1242–7* (London: HMSO, 1916), 250. For the family and its estates, the result after 1175 of the union of the Norman honour of Bohon with the Sussex patrimony of a man named Savaric fitz Cana, see in particular J. Le Melletier, *Les Seigneurs de Bohon* (Coutances: Arnaud-Bel, 1978); K. Thompson 'Historical notes', in J. Magilton & S. Thomas (eds), *Midhurst* (Chichester: Chichester District Council, 2001), 21–5 (in which Enjurer is referred to as Engelgar); St John Hope, *Cowdray and Easebourne Priory*, 1–5; L. C. Loyd & D. M. Stenton (eds), *Sir Christopher Hatton's Book of Seals* (Oxford: L. C. Loyd & D. M. Stenton, 1950), 303–5 no. 434, demonstrating that the original line of the lords of Bohon was extinguished c. 1175 on the death of Enjurer de Bohon I. Enjurer held principally in Normandy, having few English lands save for an estate at Heasley in Arretton on the Isle of Wight granted to the monks of Quarr, and a temporary custody of a portion of the manor of Bloxham in Oxfordshire conferred in reward for his service at the court of King Henry II (*Pipe Rolls 2–4 Henry II*, 149; *20 Henry II*, 76; *21 Henry II*, 10; S. F. Hockey (ed.), *The Charters of Quarr Abbey*, Isle of Wight Records Series **3** (1991), nos 1, 4, 19, 26, 124–5, 513). Enjurer II, the subject of the present enquiry, was descended from Enjurer I's sister Muriel, married to Savaric fitz Cana, tenant of Midhurst, himself a descendent of the Beaumont lords of Maine and from whom were descended the Savaric and Franco de Bohon, lords of Midhurst before Enjurer II, himself the son of Franco, son of Geldewin, son of Savaric fitz Cana. Muriel, wife of Savaric fitz Cana, may be the same woman who occurs elsewhere in possession of Dorset lands, at 'Adelinkton' (?Athenhampton) and Primsley (in Sherborne) part of which was used to endow an obit at Godstow Abbey, and another part for the nuns of Buckfast in Somerset Muriel having apparently at one time been married to Ralph de Bruere (A. Clark (ed.), *The English Register of Godstow Nunnery near Oxford*, 2 vols, Early English Text Society **129**, **142** (1905–11), i, 640 no. 859; J. Hutchins, *The History & Antiquities of the County of Dorset*, 3rd ed., 4 vols. (London 1868), 4, 298). The complications in the descent here explain why, in 1199, Ralph de Arden was able to persuade Enjurer II to recognize his claim to a substantial portion of the Bohon estate in Sussex, presumably as the son of another of Enjurer I's sisters. Enjurer II subsequently challenged the settlement of 1199, in 1212 paying 100 marks to the King that it might be the subject of an assize of mort d'ancestor. Although, in court, Enjurer argued that the 1199 settlement was not made in accordance with the surviving documentation, which he implicitly dismissed as forgery, there is no reason to doubt that the 1199 settlement is accurately recorded, not least because the dispute of 1199 is independently referred to in the 'Life' of William the Marshal. In 1212, largely through the political influence that he had acquired by this time,

Enjurer II obtained the restoration from Thomas, the son of Ralph de Arden, of various Sussex lands supposedly conferred upon Ralph in 1199. Nonetheless, disputes between the descendants of Enjurer and Thomas were still being aired in court in the 1230s: *Curia Regis Rolls of the Reigns of Richard I, John and Henry III preserved in the Public Record Office*, 20 vols (London: HMSO, 1922–), **6**, 321, 397–9, **15**, nos 78, 331; P. Meyer (ed.), *L'Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal*, 3 vols (Paris: Société de l'Histoire de France, 1891–1901), **2**, 60 lines 11,792–9, **3**, 158; L. F. Salzman (ed.), *An Abstract of Feet of Fines relating to the County of Sussex from 2 Richard I to 33 Henry III*, Sussex Record Society **2** (1903), 74 no. 273, and cf. *Calendar of Patent Rolls 1358–61*, 534–5, for a charter of Richard I, 31 March 1190, which implies that before July 1189 Franco, the father of Enjurer II, had already been persuaded to recognize the claims of Ralph de Arden: a recognition that was overturned by Richard I in 1190, only to be regranted in 1199 by Enjurer de Bohon.

- ¹² For the confiscation of Bohon, see F. M. Powicke, *The Loss of Normandy*, 2nd ed. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1961), 333, citing M. Bouquet *et al.* (eds), *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*, 24 vols (Paris, 1734–1904), **24**, 608, 611. For what appear to have been compensatory grants to Enjurer in England after 1204, see *Curia Regis Rolls*, 7, 203.
- ¹³ T. D. Hardy (ed.), *Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum in Turri Londinensi asservati*, 2 vols (London: G. Eyre & A. Spottiswoode, 1833–4), **1**, 164, where Enjurer and Philip de Aubigné were the Norman marshals, Ralph of Bray and Ralph de Normanville the English. As a witness, Enjurer is found at John's court in August 1212: T. D. Hardy (ed.), *Rotuli Chartarum in Turri Londinensi asservati* (London: G. Eyre & A. Spottiswoode, 1837), 187b.
- ¹⁴ John did not take the Cross until March 1215. For what appear to have been genuine preparations to muster a fleet to transport the King to the Holy Land, see N. Vincent, *Peter des Roches: an Alien in English Politics 1205–1238* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 119 n. 33. Note too that, amongst Enjurer's fellow marshals, Philip de Aubigné was later an enthusiastic crusader, as well as witnessing Enjurer's charter to Waverley Abbey, above appendix no. 2. The title 'Marshal' bestowed in 1213, helps to set in context the title 'Marshal of the army of God' later adopted by the rebel baron, Robert fitz Walter.
- ¹⁵ For his witnessing in Poitou, see *Rotuli Chartarum*, 207b.
- ¹⁶ He is already to be found in January 1215, taking receipt of timber sent from Ireland: *Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum*, **1**, 183. On 1 November, the bailiffs of Portsmouth were ordered to allow him the mast (*malus*) of the King's great ship, with subsequent orders that he be allowed a yardarm (*virga*) from each of the King's ships, the yardarm of the King's great ship, the anchor and cordage (*laurum*) of the King's great ship and, by February 1216, five cables and the big skiff from the same great ship: *Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum*, **1**, 234, 237b, 243, 246, 250. The result of all of these requisitions may have been 'the ship which Enjurer had made to go to the land of Jerusalem', for which royal protection was granted from May 1216: T. D. Hardy (ed.), *Rotuli Litterarum Patentium in Turri Londinensi asservati* (London: G. Eyre & A. Spottiswoode, 1835), 184, 195b; *Patent Rolls 1216–25*

- (London: HMSO, 1901), 16. In June 1216, Enjuger was with the King at Corfe: *Rotuli Chartarum*, 222b. In March 1217, he was granted custody of the manor of Alton in Hampshire, and in March 1218 was entrusted with the proclamation of Magna Carta and the Forest Charter within the county of Sussex: *Patent Rolls 1216–25*, 36; *Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum*, **1**, 377b.
- ¹⁷ See here especially *Rotuli Litterarum Patentium*, 186b.
- ¹⁸ *Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum*, **1**, 383b, 385, 404b, 429
- ¹⁹ For Cecily's Essex lands, see *Curia Regis Rolls*, 11, nos 96, 411, 635, 906, 1250, 1373; R. E. G. Kirk (ed.), *Feet of Fines for Essex*, vol. 1 (AD 1182–AD 1272) (Colchester: Essex Archaeological Society, 1899–1910), 67 no. 120.
- ²⁰ *Curia Regis Rolls*, 15, nos 1141, 1443; *Close Rolls 1231–4* (London: HMSO, 1905), 491.
- ²¹ *Calendar of Patent Rolls 1232–47* (London: HMSO, 1906), 238.
- ²² *Curia Regis Rolls*, 18, no. 87, and cf. *Feet of Fines Sussex*, nos 307, 404, where Savaric, with or without Cecily his wife, appears as a party to settlements in November 1235 and October 1241. The Savaric de Bohon who appears in November 1248 (*Feet of Fines Sussex*, no. 461) must either be a mistake for Franco de Bohon, or another, younger member of the same family.
- ²³ C. Roberts (ed.), *Excerpta e Rotulis Finium in Turri Londinensi Asservatis... AD 1216–72*, 2 vols (London: Public Record Commission, 1835–6), 1, 451, 2, 19; W. D. Peckham (ed.), *The Chartulary of the High Church of Chichester*, Sussex Record Society **46** (1946), 35 no. 152.
- ²⁴ H. Mayr-Harting (ed.), *Acta of Chichester*, 181 no. 129.
- ²⁵ *English Episcopal Acta 22*, nos 89–90.
- ²⁶ I. J. Sanders, *English Baronies a Study of their Origin and Descent 1086–1327* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960), 108, and for the circumstances of John's death, see T. Jones (ed.), *Brut y Tywysogyon or The Chronicle of the Princes (Red Book of Hergest Version)* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1955), 231.
- ²⁷ N. Vincent (ed.), *English Episcopal Acta*, vol. 9: *Winchester 1205–1238* (Oxford: Oxford University Press/British Academy, 1994), 24–7 no.31, and in general for collegiate foundations in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, see C. Fonge, 'Patriarchy and patrimony: investing in the medieval college', in P. Hoskin *et al.* (eds), *The Foundations of Medieval English Ecclesiastical History. Studies Presented to David Smith* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2005), 77–93.
- ²⁸ That the monks of Waverley continued to receive income from the mill at Midhurst even as late as 1299 is suggested by their quitclaiming of their rents there to Anthony Bek bishop of Durham: BL Harley Charter 45.A.29, as printed by St John Hope, *Cowdray and Easebourne Priory*, 14.
- ²⁹ For Nicholas, see the biography by R. M. Franklin in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, and P. M. Hoskin (ed.), *English Episcopal Acta*, vol. 29: *Durham 1241–1283* (Oxford: Oxford University Press/British Academy, 2005), xxiii–vii.

