

## SHORTER NOTICES

### THE FOUNDATION OF WORMEGAY PRIORY

*by* Nicholas Vincent

The Augustinian priory of Wormegay is one of the least well-documented religious houses of medieval Norfolk. It has left no surviving cartulary, and its muniments appear to have vanished at the time of the Dissolution. Previous commentators have attributed its foundation to William de Warenne, lord of Wormegay, at a date variously estimated at some time after 1189 and before William's death in 1209. The house remained a poor one, with an income of under £50 per annum and as few as two canons in residence at the low point of its fortunes. In 1468 it was suppressed as an independent community and re-established as a cell of Pentney Priory.<sup>1</sup> The two charters printed below are therefore of peculiar interest in illuminating the circumstances in which the priory was founded – more than a decade earlier than has previously been supposed – and charged with a mission, not previously suspected, to care for lepers and the sick.

Both of our new charters survive in the Public Record Office at Kew, copied into the Exchequer Memoranda Roll for the Trinity term of 1324 in response to a royal writ of 10 January 1315. This required the Exchequer barons to investigate the prior of Wormegay's claim to hold his lands in free alms and therefore to be exempt from the payment of aid to the king.<sup>2</sup> Forty years later, they were once again produced at the Exchequer, in response to a writ of Edward III, dated 28 October 1351, and again in the year 1362, on each occasion in order to obtain immunity from royal demands for aid.<sup>3</sup> The earliest and most significant of our two documents is a confirmation charter issued by King Henry II at Woodstock in Oxfordshire. The witnesses to this charter include bishops Richard of Winchester and Geoffrey Ridel of Ely, both of whom had been consecrated to their sees on 6 October 1174, and John (of Oxford) dean of Salisbury who on 2 November 1175 was elected bishop of Norwich, but who in our charter appears merely with his title as dean. This provides us with outside dating limits of October 1174 and November 1175. Since Henry II was overseas from October 1174 until the second week in May 1175, and since his movements are fairly well documented between May and October 1175, we can state with some confidence that his charter for Wormegay was issued during the clerical council held at Woodstock between 1 and 9 July 1175, for which we have attendance lists including all three of the bishops – of Winchester, Ely and Exeter – who witness our particular charter.<sup>4</sup> Henry II's confirmation proves that Wormegay priory was already established by July 1175, some fifteen years earlier than has previously been supposed, and that its founder was not William de Warenne of Wormegay (d.1209), but William's father Reginald de Warenne, lord of Wormegay by marriage to Alice daughter of William de Wormegay. Since Reginald did not succeed to his barony until 1166, we can further establish that the priory was founded at some time between 1166 and the date of the king's confirmation in July 1175.<sup>5</sup>

This in itself would represent a significant contribution to our knowledge of the priory's early history. But Henry II's charter exhibits several other points of interest. To begin with, it suggests that the original site and religious dedication of the priory were different from those recorded subsequently. In 1175 the priory appears to have been dedicated to the Virgin Mary and St John the Evangelist. Only at a later stage, at some time before 1209, was this dedication changed to one to St Mary and Holy Cross, as revealed by the second charter printed below which was issued by William de Warenne (d.1209), the founder's son and heir. Moreover, whereas in due course the priory was to be known as the priory of Wormegay, in Henry II's

charter it is described as the church of SS. Mary and John at Setchey in the vicinity (*in pertinentia*) of Wormegay. It was at Setchey rather than at Wormegay itself that the king licensed a fair for the canons, to be held on Holy Cross day in September and the two days following.<sup>6</sup> The choice of Holy Cross day here suggests either that veneration of the Holy Cross was already a feature of the priory's religious life, or alternatively that the later dedication to Holy Cross was inspired by the timing of the canons' fair. Since SS. Mary and John were intimately associated with the Cross and Crucifixion of Christ, it is easy to understand how the various feast days of Mary, John and the Cross could have become linked to one another, leading to the replacement of St John by Holy Cross in the priory's dedication.

Even more intriguing is the reference made in King Henry's charter to the priory's obligation to minister to the needs of a house already built by Reginald de Warenne, intended to support a community of 13 lepers. The precise term employed here – *leprosi* – would not necessarily denote lepers rather than paupers or the infirm, were it not for the fact that the house in question is said to have been built in honour of SS. Mary Magdalene and Lazarus, the patron saints of lepers. Despite the absence of any later reference to a hospital at Wormegay, the inclusion of a ministry to lepers amongst the canons' original obligations provides intriguing testimony to the role of the Augustinians as an order pledged to works of charity. Besides being cheap to found, Augustinian houses appealed to their patrons at least in part because of their relative degree of engagement with secular society and its needs. Rather than seeking seclusion and contemplative silence in out-of-the-way places, the Black canons were for the most part established in towns or villages, pledged to preaching and administering charity to those beyond the cloister. Hospitals were a common adjunct of this mission. In some cases, most notably at St Bartholomew's Smithfield and St Thomas' Southwark, a hospital might develop out of the canons' general charitable commitments, and in time become established as an independent entity, set apart from the Augustinian house which had given it birth. In other cases it was the hospital, rather than the priory, which came first, so that institutions which had been founded originally as hospitals for the reception of the poor and needy were, in course of time, brought under the supervision of Augustinian canons and thence transformed into small but fully fledged priories. It is this pattern which appears to have been applied to the foundation of Wormegay, as at the neighbouring Norfolk priories of Creake and Peterstone, both of which originated as hospitals but were later given into to the care of Augustinian canons, being eventually refounded as small Augustinian convents.<sup>7</sup> Henry II's charter for Wormegay allows us to make a significant addition to the catalogue of such charitable foundations.

The second of our two charters, although of less intrinsic significance than the royal confirmation, nonetheless provides us with proof of the circumstances in which the canons (by this stage specified as the canons of St Mary and Holy Cross at Wormegay) came into possession of land at Narborough, seven miles to the east of the priory's site. The charter was issued by William de Warenne, who died in 1209, and is witnessed by a considerable number of William's military tenants from the honour of Wormegay.<sup>8</sup> Another of its witnesses, Master William of Dunham, is known to have been instituted to the Norfolk church of Thurne at the presentation of the monks of St Benet at Holme at some time between 1188 and 1198.<sup>9</sup> No firm date can be supplied for William's charter within the span of his lordship at Wormegay between 1179 and 1209. However, the fact that the charter is said to have been issued following a resignation made to William in the king's court by Roger Buck, combined with the absence of any mention of litigation involving Narborough or Roger Buck from the feet of fines or records of the king's court which survive in relative abundance from 1198 onwards, suggests an early date for William's charter, perhaps c.1196. At this time Roger Buck is known to have been involved in

litigation over land at (?East) Walton in Norfolk, against the wife of John Monachus, eventually resolved by a resignation of the disputed property in favour of the canons of West Dereham.<sup>10</sup>

Reginald de Warenne, the founder of Wormegay priory, was a significant figure at the court of Henry II, whose career can be traced in some detail.<sup>11</sup> The second son of earl William II de Warenne (d.1138), he was appointed chief attorney to his brother earl William III (d.1148) on William III's departure for crusade in 1147. In this capacity he served as lay advocate to the Warenne foundations at Castle Acre in Norfolk and Lewes in Sussex, and, with William's death in Asia Minor, passed into the service of the earl's successor William IV, the younger son of King Stephen, married to Isabel the daughter of earl William III, count of Boulogne in his own right and earl Warenne by right of his wife.<sup>12</sup> As a leading figure in the administration of the Warenne and Boulogne estates, Reginald appears as the recipient of at least two writs from Stephen, and as a witness in his own right to several royal charters before 1154.<sup>13</sup> Towards the end of Stephen's reign he was charged by earl William IV with custody of the Warenne family castles of Bellencombre and Mortemer-en-Bray in Normandy, and at William IV's death in 1159 he supervised the allocation of land at Ickleton in Cambridgeshire to the hospital of Montmorillon in Poitou, where William IV was buried.<sup>14</sup> Thereafter, with the remarriage of Isabel to Hamelin, an illegitimate half-brother of King Henry II, Reginald maintained his position at court, witnessing various royal charters, and between 1167 and 1170 serving as a royal justice in a major judicial visitation of the southern and Midland counties.<sup>15</sup> Shortly before this, in the Exchequer year 1166, he had been allowed to fine 700 marks for custody of the lands of William of Wormegay, at the time of his marriage to William's daughter and heiress Alice. This marriage raised him into the ranks of the baronage, adding the 14½ knights of the honour of Wormegay to the lands in Sussex and Norfolk which Reginald already controlled by inheritance from his Warenne ancestors.<sup>16</sup> Between 1170 and 1176 he served as sheriff of Sussex, being one of the king's agents sent to receive Thomas Becket on his landing in England in December 1170, and in 1173-4 taking part in the defence of Hastings at the time of the great rebellion against Henry II.<sup>17</sup> At much the same time he headed an enquiry into royal demesne and the lands of the king's enemies in the counties of Kent and Sussex.<sup>18</sup>

In 1175, as we have seen, Reginald obtained the king's confirmation for the priory he had founded at Wormegay. Shortly afterwards, however, there are signs of a cooling in his relations with Henry II. Since 1166, the fine of 700 marks which he had made for his barony had gone unpaid: initially pending Reginald's return from Saxony, to which he was sent in 1168 as one of the courtiers attending the king's daughter Matilda on her marriage to duke Henry the Lion, and thereafter, we must assume, as a token of the king's favour.<sup>19</sup> In 1176, however, the same year in which he was removed as sheriff of Sussex, Reginald was persuaded to begin payments to the exchequer, in the first year clearing 250 of the 700 marks which he owed, and at the same time clearing an account of £14 charged against him for scutage on the king's Irish expedition of 1171-2, to which he had contributed neither personal service nor the service of his knights.<sup>20</sup> In the following year he cleared a further 200 marks, much of it in the form of payments to the Jews of Norwich, from whom we must assume that the king had borrowed money.<sup>21</sup> He died in the year 1178/9, having apparently taken the religious habit at his family's foundation of Lewes shortly before his death.<sup>22</sup> His widow, Alice, offered a further 200 marks for custody of his barony, which were paid in full, together with the money still owing from Reginald's fine of 1166, in regular installments made by William de Warenne, Reginald's son and heir who succeeded to the barony in 1179/80 and who, by 1190, had entirely cleared his family's debts at the Exchequer.<sup>23</sup>

With the exception of his foundation at Wormegay, Reginald appears to have been only a modest patron of the religious, awarding confirmations to the monks of Lewes and Belvoir, 30

shillings of rents at Shoebury to the nuns of Clerkenwell, and the church of Plumpton in Sussex to Southwark Priory, but granting little or no new land.<sup>24</sup> Wormegay Priory may well have been intended as a foundation commemorating Reginald's promotion into the ranks of the baronage. However, the fact that Reginald died as a monk at Lewes suggests that it was to Lewes rather than to Wormegay that he bequeathed his body. The failure of the priory at Wormegay to prosper in the century after its foundation can be ascribed principally to the death of Reginald's son William without male heirs, and the consequent descent of the barony of Wormegay, first to Hubert de Burgh, and then to the Bardolf lords of Shelford in Nottinghamshire.<sup>25</sup> As lay advocates of Shelford Priory, the Bardsols were already committed to patronage of the Augustinian canons, but in their native Nottinghamshire rather than in their newly-acquired Norfolk estates.<sup>26</sup> After 1209 Wormegay Priory received only a handful of new bequests, insufficient for its canons to eke out more than an impoverished existence pending their dissolution and merger with the neighbouring house of Pentney in the 15th century. Nonetheless, as an example of a monastery which developed from an earlier, hospital foundation, and as a token of the new-found influence of the courtier baron Reginald de Warenne, the history of Wormegay Priory, as revealed by the two charters published below, sheds at least some new light upon the religious life of 12th-century Norfolk.

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**APPENDIX 1. Confirmation by King H(enry II) of the foundation of Wormegay Priory. Woodstock [1 X 9 July 1175]**

B = Public Record Office, E.159/98 (Memoranda Roll, King's Remembrancer, 17 Edward II) m.19, enrolled in the Exchequer 1324.

C = Public Record Office, E.13/78 (Exchequer Plea Roll 27 Edward III) m.30, enrolled in the Exchequer 1353.

D = Public Record Office, E.13/84 (Exchequer Plea Roll 36 Edward III) m.19, enrolled in the Exchequer 1362.

H(enricus) Dei gratia rex Angl(orum) et dux Norm(annorum) et Aquit(anorum) et comes And(egauorum) archiepiscopis, episcopis, abbatibus, com(itibus), baron(ibus), iustic(iis), vic(ecomitibus) et omnibus ministris et fidelibus suis totius Angl(ie) salutem. Sciatis me concessisse et presenti carta confirmasse ecclesie sancte Dei genitricis Marie et sancti Iohannis ewangel(iste) apud Seggehidad in pertinentia de Wurmegai et canonicis ibidem Deo seruientibus domum religionis quam Reginaldus de Warenna construxit ad opus eorum et quicquid ipse Reginaldus et heredes sui eis rationabiliter dederunt in ecclesiis et terris et decimis et redditibus et pratis et pasturis et in omnibus aliis rebus sicut carte sue testantur. Concessi etiam predictis canonicis regularibus et confirmaui domum quam idem Regin(aldus) construxit ad opus xiii. leprosororum quibus canonici ministraturi sunt victum et vestitum in honore sancte Marie Magdalene et sancti Lazari. Preterea concessi eis et hac carta mea confirmaui unam feriam trium dierum apud Seggehidad, scilicet die sancte Crucis in Septembri et in duobus diebus subsequentibus, habendam et tenendam singulis annis imperpetuum, et ideo volo et firmiter precipio quod predicti canonici regulares habeant et teneant bene et in pace et libere et quiete et integre et honorifice domos predictas cum omnibus pertinentiis suis et feriam illam trium dierum apud Seggehidad et quicquid ipse Regin(aldus) et heredes sui eis rationabiliter dederunt vel daturi sunt vel quilibet alii. Hec omnia concessi eis et confirmaui pro salute anime mee et patris mei et matris mee et heredum meorum et pro anima regis H(enrici) aui mei et antecessorum meorum in perpetuam elemosinam. T(estibus) R. Wint', G. Elyensi, B. Exon' episcopis, Iohanne decano Sar', comite Willelmo de Mand', comite Willelmo de Arund', Willelmo filio Audel(ini) dap(ifero), Roberto filio Bern(ardi), Bertr(amo) de Verduno, Willelmo filio Rad(ulfi) apud Wodest'.

TRANSLATION: Henry, by God's grace King of England, Duke of Normandy and Aquitaine and Count of Anjou sends greetings to the archbishops, bishops, abbots, earls, barons, justices, sheriffs and all ministers and the King's faithful throughout England. Know that I have conceded and by this present charter confirmed to the church of Mary, the holy mother of God, and St John the Evangelist at Setchey in the vicinity of Wormegay, and to the canons serving God in that place, the house of religion which Reginald de Warenne has constructed for their work, together with whatever the said Reginald and his heirs have reasonably granted them in churches, lands, tithes, rents, meadows, pastures and all other things, as their charters testify. I have conceded and confirmed to the said canons the house which the same Reginald constructed for the use of thirteen lepers, to whose needs the canons are to minister in food and clothing, in honour of St Mary Magdalene and St Lazarus. Furthermore, I have conceded to the same and by this, my present charter confirmed a fair of three days at Setchey, on the feast day of the Holy Cross in September and on the two following days, to have

and hold in perpetuity; and therefore I will and command that the said regular canons are to have and to hold well and in peace and peaceably and wholly and honourably the said houses with all their appurtenances, and the three-day fair at Setchey, and whatever the same Reginald, his heirs or whosoever have reasonably given or may give in future. Witnessed: R(ichard) bishop of Winchester (and others named) . . . at Woodstock.

**APPENDIX 2. Grant by William de Warenne of land at Narborough, reserving two portions of the advowson of Narborough church. [1179 X 1209, ?c.1196]**

B = Public Record Office, E.159/98 (Memoranda Roll, King's Remembrancer, 17 Edward II) m.19, enrolled in the Exchequer 1324.

C = Public Record Office, E.13/78 (Exchequer Plea Roll 27 Edward III) m.30, enrolled in the Exchequer 1353.

D = Public Record Office, E.13/84 (Exchequer Plea Roll 36 Edward III) m.19, enrolled in the Exchequer 1362.

Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Willelmus de Warena filius Reginaldi de Warena concessi et dedi et hac presenti carta mea confirmaui Deo et ecclesie beate Marie et sancte Crucis de Wymegay et canonicis ibidem Deo seruientibus et seruituris totam terram meam de Nereburgh' cum pertinentiis quam Rogerus Buche michi reddidit et quietam clamauit michi et heredibus meis imperpetuum de se et heredibus suis in curia domini regis, scilicet medietatem totius terre que fuit Iohannis fratris ipsius Rogeri in predicta villa de Nerburgh' habendam et tenendam in puram et perpetuam elemosinam et quietam ab omni seculari seruicio et exactione pro salute anime mee et antecessorum meorum, scilicet in dominicis, in redditibus, in homagiis, in stagnis, in molend(inis), in pratis, in pasturis, in pascuis et in omnibus aliis ad predictam terram pertinentibus excepta aduocatione duarum partium ecclesie de Nerburgh' michi et heredibus meis reseruata. Hiis testibus: Herlewino filio Willelmi tunc senescallo, Regin(aldo) de Sancto Martino, Rogero de Sancto Dionisio, Waltero de Helingham, Petro de Watlington', Petro monacho, magistro Willelmo de Dunham, Willelmo capellano de Stowe, Alano monacho, Roberto tunc capellano Willelmi de Warena, Radulfo de Torcy, Roberto de Watlington', Iohanne de Watlington' et multis aliis.

TRANSLATION: All people, present and future, should know that I, William the son of Reginald de Warenne, have conceded and given and by this my present charter confirmed to God and to the church of the blessed Mary and the Holy Cross at Wormegay and to the canons serving or to serve God in that place, the whole of my land of Narborough with all the appurtenances which Roger Buck restored and quitclaimed to me and to my heirs in perpetuity in the court of the lord King, acting on behalf of himself and his heirs: namely, a moiety of the whole land which belonged to John the brother of the said Roger in the said vill of Narborough, to have and to hold in pure and perpetual alms, quit from all secular service and exaction, for the sake of my soul and the souls of my ancestors, in demesne lands, rents, homages, ponds, mills, meadows, pastures, feedings and in all other things pertaining to that land, save for the advowson of two parts of the church of Narborough reserved to myself and my heirs. Witnessed by Herlewin son of William, then steward, and others (named).

- 1 For what little is known, see *Victoria County History Norfolk*, ii, p.407; Sir William Dugdale and Roger Dodsworth, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, ed. J.Caley, H.Ellis and B.Bandinell, 6 vols. (London 1846), vi, 591; D. Knowles and R.N. Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses England and Wales*, 2nd edition (London 1971), 180; F. Blomefield, *An Essay towards a topographical history of the county of Norfolk*, 11 vols. (1805-10), vii, 499-502.
- 2 Public Record Office, E.159/98 m.19.
- 3 Public Record Office, E.13/78 (Exchequer Plea Roll 27 Edward III) m.30; E.13/84 (Exchequer Plea Roll 36 Edward III) m.19.
- 4 R.W. Eyton, *Court, Household and Itinerary of King Henry II* (London 1878), 192. Eyton's itinerary has recently been revised by Dr Judith Everard, working under my supervision as part of a British Academy Project to collect and publish all of the surviving charters of Henry II.
- 5 For the Warenne lords of Wormegay, see I.J. Sanders, *English Baronies: a study of their origin and descent 1086-1327* (Oxford 1960), 101; *Early Yorkshire Charters*, ed. W. Farrer and C.T. Clay, Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Record Series, extra series (1914-), ix, p.27ff. See also London, British Library MS Egerton 3137 (Blackborough cartulary) fo.105r for grants by Richard de Warenne and William his nephew to William of Yarmouth and Geoffrey fitz Thurketil of Lynn of 30 acres of marsh in Setchey.
- 6 Blomefield, vii, 499-500, states that the priory buildings, entirely razed by the late 18th century, lay close to the castle gate at Wormegay. For an aerial photograph of the site, and for a plan of the surviving earthworks, see R.J. Silvester, *Norfolk Survey, Marshland and Nar Valley*, East Anglian Archaeology Report 45 (1988), 148-9; B. Cushion and A.J. Davison, *Earthworks of Norfolk*, East Anglian Archaeology Report (forthcoming).
- 7 J.C. Dickinson, *The Origins of the Austin Canons and their Introduction into England* (London 1950), 145-8, esp. p.148 for Creake.
- 8 *The Red Book of the Exchequer*, ed. H.Hall, 3 vols., Rolls Series (London 1896), i, 399-400, where William fitz Herlewin, presumably the ancestor of Herlewin seneschal of William de Warenne; Alexander monachus,

- presumably the ancestor of Peter monachus, and Robert of Watlington, presumably the ancestor of the Peter, Robert and John of Watlington of the Wormegay charter, all appear as military tenants of the honour in 1166.
- 9 *English Episcopal Acta VI: Norwich 1070-1214*, ed. C. Harper-Bill (Oxford 1990), no.243.
  - 10 *Rotuli Curiae Regis*, ed. F. Palgrave, 2 vols. (London 1835), ii, 144; *Curia Regis Rolls of the reigns of Richard I, John and Henry III*, 18 vols. (London 1922-), i, 94; *The Chancellor's Roll for the 8th year of the reign of King Richard I*, ed. D.M. Stenton, Pipe Roll Society new series vii (1930), 130-1.
  - 11 In general, see W. Farrer, *Honors and Knights Fees*, 3 vols. (London 1923-5), iii, 323-7, and especially *Early Yorkshire Charters*, viii, pp.26-8.
  - 12 For Reginald's appointment as advocate at Castle Acre and Lewes, see London, British Library MS Harley 2110 (Castle Acre cartulary) fo.4v; *The Chartulary of the Priory of St. Pancras of Lewes*, ed. L.F. Salzman, 2 vols., Sussex Record Society 38, 40 (1933-4), ii, 25. For his ancestry, see *Ibid.*, 19. For his appearance as witness to charters of earl William of Boulogne and Warenne, see *The Lancashire Pipe Rolls and Early Lancashire Charters*, ed. W. Farrer (Liverpool 1902); *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum 1066-1154*, 4 vols., ed. H.W.C. Davis, C. Johnson, H.A. Cronne and R.H.C. Davis (Oxford 1913-69), iii, no.569; *Calendar of Documents preserved in France illustrative of the history of Great Britain and Ireland*, ed. J.H. Round (London 1899), no.961; Dugdale and Dodsworth, iv, 574 no.6; *The Coucher Book of Furness Abbey*, ed. J.C. Atkinson, 3 vols., Chetham Society (1886-7), i, 180, 186, ii, 456; *Eye Priory Cartulary and Charters*, ed. V. Brown, Suffolk Charters xii-xiii (1992-4), i, nos.23, 25; Public Record Office, C.56/52 m.3.
  - 13 *Regesta*, iii, nos.138, 177, 226, 272, 307, 403, 695, 822, and for debts owed by Reginald, apparently in his capacity as a royal officer in Norfolk, see *The Great Rolls of the Pipe for the second, third and fourth years of the reign of King Henry the Second*, ed. J. Hunter (London 1844), 127. As advocate of earl William, Reginald addressed at least two writs to the men of Lancaster, confirming land within William's honour of Lancaster to the monks of Furness and Shrewsbury: *Coucher of Furness*, ii, 457; *The Cartulary of Shrewsbury Abbey*, ed. U. Rees, 2 vols. (Aberystwyth 1975), ii, 290 no.314.
  - 14 *Regesta*, iii, no.272; *Recueil des Actes de Henri II roi d'Angleterre et duc de Normandie concernant les provinces françaises et les affaires de France*, ed. L. Delisle and E. Berger, 3 vols. (Paris 1916-27), i, no.220, and for a writ of Henry II to Reginald, probably 1155 X 1158, commanding him to ensure the monks of Ely possession of their rent of herrings at Dunwich within William (IV)'s honour of Eye, see *Acta of Henry II and Richard I*, ed. J.C. Holt and R. Mortimer, List and Index Society Special Series xxi (1986) 69 no.96.
  - 15 For Reginald as witness, see Eyton, 26-7, 43, 67, 77; *Calendar of Charter Rolls 1226-57*, 52; *Calendar of Charter Rolls 1257-1300*, 429; *Calendar of Charter Rolls 1341-1417*, 399. For the judicial visitations of 1168/9, see Eyton, 117, 130; *Pipe Rolls* (Pipe Roll Society 1883-) *14 Henry II*, 4, 67, 105, 182, 195, 214, 218; *15 Henry II*, 11, 27, 58, 63, 75, 101, 126, 146, 154, 164, 168, 172; Public Record Office, E.40/341. A second visitation, of the counties of Somerset, Wiltshire, Devon, Hampshire and Dorset is recorded in 1170-1: *Pipe Rolls 16 Henry II*, 64, 102, 117; *17 Henry II*, 15, 22, 28, 41.
  - 16 *Pipe Roll 13 Henry II*, 19. The fine must postdate the inquest into knights' fees of 1166, whose returns show that the barony of Wormegay was still in the hands of Alice's father: *Red Book*, i, 399-400.
  - 17 He accounts as sheriff from *Pipe Roll 16 Henry II*, 134, to *Pipe Roll 22 Henry II*, 201. For his payment of knights and serjeants at Hastings in 1173-4, by writ of the justiciar Richard de Lucy, see *Pipe Roll 20 Henry II*, 9. For Becket's return, see F. Barlow, *Thomas Becket* (London 1986) 223, 225-7, 230.
  - 18 For the inquest of 1172-3, see *Pipe Rolls 19 Henry II*, 87, 94; *20 Henry II*, 5; Eyton, 176, 185.
  - 19 *Pipe Roll 13 Henry II*, 19: *sunt in respectu per barones quia vadit cum filia regis in Saxon(iam)*.
  - 20 *Pipe Roll 22 Henry II*, 62, 65, and for the scutage of 1171-2, see *Pipe Roll 18 Henry II*, 30.
  - 21 *Pipe Roll 23 Henry II*, 126.
  - 22 *Early Yorkshire Charters*, viii, 27, 33.
  - 23 *Pipe Rolls 25 Henry II*, 2; *26 Henry II*, 16; *27 Henry II*, 82; *28 Henry II*, 65; *29 Henry II*, 8; *30 Henry II*, 3; *31 Henry II*, 31; *32 Henry II*, 58; *33 Henry II*, 51; *34 Henry II*, 54; *The Great Roll of the Pipe for the First year of King Richard I*, ed. J. Hunter (London 1844), 41.
  - 24 Public Record Office, E.40/15413; E.40/15520; *Chartulary of Lewes*, ii, 21, 25; *The Manuscripts of the Duke of Rutland at Belvoir Castle vol.iv*, Historical Manuscripts Commission (London 1905), 116; *Cartulary of St Mary Clerkenwell*, ed. W.O. Hassall, Camden Society 3rd Series lxxi (1949), 6, 11, 19-20; Dugdale and Dodsworth, vi, 171. For a further charter of Reginald, conferring land upon Philip (de Burgh) his servant, see Norfolk Record Office, MS Hare I no.3540, calendared in the *Third Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts* (London 1872), appendix p.251.
  - 25 Sanders, 76, 101; Farrer, *Honors and Knights Fees*, iii, 323-4.
  - 26 For Shelford Priory and the Bardolfs, see Dugdale and Dodsworth, vi, pp.577-8.