LLANTHONY PRIORY

Augustinian priory of St John the Baptist

County of Monmouthshire: Diocese of Glamorgan, later St Davids
Founded c. 1108

Llanthony St John is situated in the remote vale of Ewyas in the Black Mountains at a height of some 700'. The *Historia fundationis, et postea translationis eiusdem*, which is preserved in a single manuscript of the late thirteenth century (BL MS Cotton Julius D. x, fols. 31r–53v; part printed *Monasticon*, vi. 128–34, no. 1; transl. by R. Atkyns, *The Ancient and Present State of Glostershire* (1712), 502–14, whence reprinted G. Roberts, *Some account of Llanthony Priory* (London, 1847), 47–63; discussed by M. Richter, ‘Giraldus Cambrensis and Llanthony Priory’, *Studia Celtica* 12/13 (1977–78), 118–32), relates how the Norman magnate Hugh de Lacy was hunting with his kinsman and attendant William, who was a soldier, and others. They entered the remote valley where William lay down to rest and fell to reverie. Spying a chapel where it was said St David had retired from the company of men, he determined to remain there living an eremitical life. In 1103, after William ‘had lived long in the place’, he was joined by Ernisius, who had been chaplain to Queen Matilda, wife of Henry I, until he too had determined to become a hermit. The *Historia* separates the building of the church and the decision to found a monastery. Hugh de Lacy ‘undertook the patronage . . . of the temporal affairs of this
place’. The church, it says, was consecrated in 1108 by Urban, ‘bishop of the diocese’, and Rameline, bishop of Hereford, and dedicated to St John the Baptist. Ernisius persuaded the reluctant William to concur in the foundation of a convent; Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, gave his advice and approval. It was determined that the Augustinian rule should be followed, and men came from the priories of Merton, Holy Trinity in London, and Colchester, to join the community. Ernisius was chosen to be the first prior. Queen Matilda is said to have shown her support by giving William a large purse of gold, herself placing it ‘between his coarse shirt and iron bodice’. Walter the constable chose to retire to Llanthony, and some time later Prior Ernisius died, when Robert de Bethune was chosen as the new prior. When Robert was nominated bishop of Hereford, Robert de Bracy was chosen as prior. After the death of Henry I turmoil and lawlessness around Llanthony caused many people, including women and children, to take refuge inside the priory. The brethren asked their former prior Robert de Bethune for advice, and he beckoned them to come to him. Most did so and lived in his house in Hereford for two years. Miles of Gloucester gave land in Gloucester called Hyde, where they erected a church which was consecrated in 1136 and dedicated to St Mary. But some of the brethren remained behind in Wales, and the place was never entirely without religious. The Historia continues until the election of Geoffrey de Henlaw as the prior of Llanthony c. 1191, although its table of contents includes chapter headings for events in the second half of the thirteenth century.

Gerald of Wales says that ‘a certain knight called William’ was the first to discover the place and see its possibilities, but that he and his companion Ernisius, a priest, were reluctant and greatly concerned when Hugh de Lacy began to endow it. Gerald tells how Roger, bishop of Salisbury, spent some time at Llanthony. He was impressed by its situation and on his return to the king told him of its merits at some length (Giraldus Cambrensis, Itinerarium Kambriae, vi. 37–47; transl. at Gerald of Wales, The Journey through Wales and The Description of Wales, ed. and trans. L. Thorpe, Penguin Classics (1978), 96–107).

1 For the interdependency of the Historia and Gerald of Wales’s account, see M. Richter, ‘Giraldus Cambrensis and Llanthony Priory’, Studia Celtica 12/13 (1977–78), 118–32.
confirmed by papal bull of 1146 as a cell to Llanthony-in-Wales, also called Llanthony Prima or Llanthony St John. But the priors remained seated in Gloucester, and in 1205 it was agreed that each establishment should have its own prior and that their joint possessions should be divided between them. Agreements made during the reign of King John gave Llanthony Secunda the lands in Gloucestershire, half the Irish lands, Kington (Herefs), Llantrisant, and Caldicot (Monm). The Welsh house did not thrive, and in 1481 it was granted by the Crown to Llanthony Secunda and so became its dependent, though keeping its own prior (VCH Glos, ii. 87–91; Brooks, pp. vi–vii; Rhodes, pp. xiv–xv, 51–2).

There is no clue to the identity of William, other than the statement that he was a knight and a kinsman of Hugh de Lacy, who provided the initial endowments of the priory. Hugh de Lacy was a younger brother of Roger de Lacy, tenant-in-chief in 1086 in Herefordshire and Gloucestershire. The two were sons of Walter de Lacy, who had established himself in those counties in the time of William I. Walter had fought in Wales alongside William fitz Osbern (Orderic IV, ed Chibnall, ii. 261) and is said to have died on 27 March 1085 (Ctl. Gloucester, iii. 73). Walter evidently acquired some interest in Ewyas, for Domesday says ‘Roger (de Lacy) also had one land called Ewyas on the boundary of Ewyas (‘in fine Ewias’). This land does not belong to the castlery (of Ewyas) nor to the hundred. From this land Roger has fifteen sesters of honey, fifteen pigs when men are there, and (administers) justice over them’ (DB, i. 184a; Herefs § 10. 2). Round, followed by modern Domesday editors, identified the ‘land called Ewyas’ as Longtown, some four miles east of Llanthony (VCH Herefs, i. 266), and it is unclear exactly when the vale of Ewyas, i.e. the valley of the River Honddu, including the site of Llanthony, came under Lacy control. When the lands of Roger de Lacy were confiscated and he was banished from England after his rebellion in 1095, William II gave his inheritance to his brother Hugh, who had remained loyal (Orderic VIII, ed Chibnall, iv. 284–5). Hugh’s name is the first in the list of the bishop of Worcester’s tenants from whom William II’s writ of 1095 demanded a relief (W2/0000, Regesta 387) and he occurs as a tenant in Winchcombe, Lower Quinton, and Slaughter in Domesday ancillaries from Evesham (Phillimore, Glos, §§ EvK 1. 116, EvN 11). He was addressed with Gerard, bishop of Hereford, and the barons of Hereford by Henry’s writ for Lyre of December 1100 (0000, Regesta 500), so may then have been sheriff of the county. His gifts to
Gloucester abbey were confirmed in a fabricated charter of apparent date 1101–2 (0000, Regesta 602). The gifts to St Peter’s (sc. St Guthlac’s), Hereford, made by Walter de Lacy and Roger and Hugh his sons were confirmed in 1107 × 1123 (0000, Regesta 1358). Hugh was living after 28 December 1113, for his gift of the church of Quenington to Gloucester abbey was made with the consent of Bishop Theulf of Worcester, who was nominated on that date (EEA 33 Worcester 1062–1185, 26–7, no. 3). Hugh’s heir was Sybil, wife of Pain fitz John. Pain thereby acquired ‘the honour of Hugh de Lacy’, which he gave to his daughter Cecily in marriage with Roger, son of Miles of Gloucester (Ste/312). Sybil was apparently the daughter of Geoffrey Talbot and Agnes, a sister of Hugh de Lacy (Complete Peerage, ix. 424n–6n). As Pain fitz John was named in the papal injunction against those despoiling the see of Llandaff in 1119, whereas Hugh de Lacy was not, it is possible Hugh was then dead (JL 6754; Book of Llan Dâv, 93–4). Another indication that Hugh had been succeeded by Pain appears in a document of 1121, describing the boundary between the land of Gloucester abbey and the land of Pain fitz John, which was said to run through Salcombe, in Cranham in Gloucestershire, not far from the manor of Painswick held in 1086 by Roger de Lacy (CtI. Gloucester, i. 63, 205; DB, i. 167d; Glos § 39. 8; for the identification of Salcombe, see W. Bazeley, ‘History of Prinknash Park’, TBGAS 7 (1882–3), 268–9). Further references for Hugh de Lacy and Pain fitz John are at W. E. Wightman, The Lacy Family in England and Normandy 1066–1194 (Oxford, 1966), 172–81.

In contrast to the case of the supposed first prior of Nostell and king’s chaplain Ralph Aldlaver, there is some supporting evidence for Ernisius, first prior of Llanthony and queen’s chaplain. Matilda’s writ for York Minster concerning the church of Laughton-en-le-Morthen, datable 1102 × 1106, is witnessed by Ern(isius) chaplain (0000, Regesta 675). Huneycutt, in her note to this writ, says Ernisius ‘appears elsewhere in conjunction with Aldwin’ (Huneycutt, Matilda, 155). But no reference is given and Ernisius does not attest other acts of Queen Matilda.

The published histories of Llanthony Prima have not closely examined the early charter evidence. This includes four acts in the

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name of Henry I, an 1131 confirmation by Pope Innocent II (Holtzmann, i. 239–40, no. 16), an act of Theulf, bishop of Worcester, giving a modius of wine annually ‘for the health of the king and queen and their children’, datable 1115 × 1118 (EEA 33 Worcester 1062–1185, 28, no. 34), several acts of Robert de Bethune, bishop of Hereford and formerly prior of Llanthony (EEA 7 Hereford 1079–1234, 33–43, nos. 35–44) and a deed of Miles of Gloucester confirming the grants of his father, datable before August 1127 (Walker, ‘Charters of the Earldom of Hereford’, 13, no. 1). The charters are contained in the remarkable series of cartularies for the house. These, together with the equally remarkable series of registers, are discussed in detail by R. I. Jack, ‘An archival case history: the cartularies and registers of Llanthony Priory in Gloucestershire’, Journal of the Society of Archivists 4 (1970–73), 370–83. The table below is supplementary to Davis, Medieval Cartularies, which does not give the references by which the volumes were known before the latest renumbering.

The editors of the Monasticon were unable to trace the cartularies, though they noted and reprinted the excerpts from a register that had appeared in a history of Gloucestershire referenced as ‘MSS Prinn.’ (Monasticon, vi. 128a; T. D. Fosbrooke, An Original History of the City of Gloucester (1819), 147). A single volume, described as an ‘abridgement... olim Lord Scudamore, of Home Lacy’, was included in Phillipps and Madden’s list of cartularies of 1834–5; the revised list of 1839 notes fourteen volumes, thirteen in the hands of Lord Scudamore, and one belonging to Phillipps himself (‘no. 65’), as well as a number of nineteenth-century abridgments from several of the original volumes.

The Llanthony cartularies had doubtless passed with the site of Llanthony-by-Gloucester when it was sold to Arthur Porter in 1540 or 1541. Porter was a servant of the king who had been appointed receiver of the rents of the priory in August 1539 (LP Hen. VIII, xv. 539; ibid. xvi. 383–4, no. 780.4). John Scudamore, 1st viscount, of Holme Lacy (Herefs), married Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Sir Arthur Porter, grandson of the purchaser of Llanthony of the same name, in 1615 (Complete Peerage, xi. 572–3; T. D. Fosbrooke, Abstracts of Records and Manuscripts respecting the County of Gloucester (Gloucester,
1807), i. 249–50; VCH Glos, iv. 395–6). The cartularies descended in the family with the Scudamore estates, through Frances Scudamore, wife of Charles Fitzroy, to their daughter, Frances Fitzroy-Scudamore, who married Charles Howard, 11th duke of Norfolk, and died childless in 1820 at the age of 70 (ODNB, s.n. Scudamore family; Complete Peerage, xi. 575). In 1816 the lord chancellor instructed Thomas Braithwaite, steward of the duchess of Norfolk, to get Thomas Bird, a solicitor of Hereford, to compile an inventory of the Scudamore records, as Frances Scudamore had been ‘deemed lunatic’. The archive subsequently entered Chancery as exhibits in connection with her maintenance. Bird’s schedule, which provides the running numeration 6678–91, is now PRO, IND 1/23396. The single volume owned by Phillipps in 1839 was in the hands of Lady Vestey at Stowell Park by 1958.

All the cartularies except one were produced at Llanthony Secunda during the period when the two priories were independent of one other: the exception is the volume of Irish deeds belonging to Llanthony Prima. Thus we know much more about the possessions of Llanthony Secunda in England and Wales than we know about those of Llanthony Prima. In particular, deeds concerning the site of Llanthony Prima have not been preserved, although some information can be gleaned from general confirmations made before the two priories were separated. 0000 below, Regesta 1748, for example, confirms property in the Ewyas valley but has been preserved because it also confirms Nigel fitz Erfast’s gift in Henlow (Beds). Whether any early charters remained at Llanthony Prima is doubtful: the foundation history says that it was despoiled of its books, deeds, charters, and other valuables, by the daughter house during the time of William of Wycombe, prior from 1137 until c. 1150 (Monasticon, vi. 133a–b; Atkyns, 512b).

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### Table of Reference Numbers to Llanthony Cartularies and Registers

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<td>Cole, 1458</td>
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### Registers

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<td>Reg. Henry Deane, 1467–1501, said in Furney’s notes at Bodl. MS Top. Gloucs c.5, to be in the possession of the city of Gloucester in 1720, comprising 103 leaves (Furney’s notes cal. by Rhodes, 50–53)</td>
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<td>Reg. Edmund Forest, 1501–25 (calendared Rhodes)</td>
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### Terrier

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<td>C 115/73</td>
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<td>K1</td>
<td>6678</td>
<td>‘Steymur and Cole’s Gloucester terrier’</td>
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There is a schedule of the ‘carte regum’ in the opening folios of the Registrum Antiquum, amongst other lists of muniments. All the known acts of Henry I and Henry II are included in the schedule, although the compiler assumed they all belonged to Henry II (C 115/74, fol. viii”). There are two items in the schedule that have not been traced: ‘Item carta eiusdem H. de excambio de Prestham’, presumably an act of Henry II associated with Margaret de Bohun’s gift of the meadow of
Prestham (H2/1614) and a second general confirmation of possessions. We have the texts of four acts in the name of Henry I, of which one is forged and another inflated. There is a charter of the empress, datable 1141, to Llanthony-by-Gloucester, concerning Great Barrington; and a deed of Miles earl of Gloucester giving Hempstead (Glos) to the priory in the same year, which is attested by the empress (EM/497–8). Henry II’s general confirmation is datable 1155; a further sixteen of his acts have been preserved in the cartularies. Of these acts, fourteen are for Llanthony and three for laymen (H2/984–5, 1602–15, 1873). Further general confirmations were made by Richard I and John (Landon, Cartae Antiquae Rolls I–10, 35–8, nos. 62–3; RChart, 7).


00 Confirmation of gifts by Walter of Gloucester, Richard fitz Pons, and Brian fitz Count. 1127, before 15 August

CARTULARY COPIES: PRO C 115/77 (Llanthony cartulary A. 1), section III, no. 4, new fol. 64r–v (‘Carta H(enrici) regis Angl(orum) de medietate uille de Bernynton’ et de terra de Turkedena’ et terra in uilla sancti Michaelis’) [B]; PRO C 115/83 (Llanthony cartulary A. 4), old fol. cxxxv, new fol. 160r (‘Secuntur carte de Turchedena et de Eilworth’ et Hereford’ uidelicet carta confirmationis domini H(enrici) regis Angl(orum) secundi de Turchedenae inter alia ut infra’) [C].


CALENDAR: Not in Regesta.

H(enricus) rex Angl(orum) archiepiscopis episcopis abbatibus uicecomitibus baronibus et omnibus fidelibus suis francis et angl(is) et walensibus totius Anglie et Wallie salutem. Sciatis me concessisse deo et ecclesie sancti Iohannis Baptiste Lanth’ et fratribus ibidem deo seruientibus
Henry king of the English to archbishops bishops abbots sheriffs barons and all his sworn men French and English and Welsh of all England and Wales greeting. Know that I have granted to God and the church of St John the Baptist of Llanthony and the brethren there serving God for the salvation of my soul and of my parents [1] that half of the vill of [Great] Barrington which is on the side of the river where the church is sited just as Walter of Gloucester gave and granted it to the brethren and just as Miles his son granted with him and afterwards. And I grant them [2] the land of Turkdean just as Richard fitz Pons gave and granted it to them and his son Simon granted. And likewise I grant them [3] two carucates of land in the vill of St Michael just as Brian fitz Count gave and granted them to them. And I will and firmly command that they shall hold all the foresaid lands with the customs and quitances and all things belonging to them as well and in peace and quit and honourably as the abovenamed Walter and Richard and Brian well and honourably granted to them.

Witness Richard bishop of Hereford and Simon bishop of Worcester and Bernard bishop of St David and William the chamberlain of Tancarville and William d’Aubigny pincerna and Brian fitz Count and Miles of Gloucester and Geoffrey fitz

[a–a et aliis B, which omits remaining witnesses and place-date]
Pain and Pain fitz John and Robert fitz Martin and Ranulf de Boscherville. At Hereford.

DATE: After the return of Simon, recently elected bishop of Worcester, to England after Easter (29 March) 1125 (John of Worcester, iii. 158–9), and before the death of Richard de Capella, bishop of Hereford, on 15 August 1127; therefore after the king’s return from Normandy on 11 September 1126. After Richard fitz Pons’s deed giving Turkdean, which is dated 1127.

ADDRESS: General address including Wales.


PLACE: Hereford.

CONTEXT: Of the three gifts confirmed here the first was probably made in 1126 and confirmed by the donor’s son in 1126 × 1127, and the second was made in 1127. This suggests there may have been an earlier charter confirming gifts made before 1126. [1] The donor, as Walter fitz Roger, held eight hides in (Great) Barrington in 1086, which had been held before the Conquest as two manors (DB, i. 169a; Glos § 56, 1). No deed has survived for Walter of Gloucester’s gift, which was perhaps made when he retired to the Llanthony in 1126, before 11 September. His son Miles the constable’s confirmation of the church of Barrington and that half of Barrington where the church was sited, witnessed by Richard fitz Pons and his son Simon, among others (Walker, ‘Charters of the earldom of Hereford’, 13, no. 1) was presumably given between Walter’s retirement and this confirmation. In November 1131 Innocent II confirmed ‘dimidiam Bernintonam, quam dedit Gualterus de Gloucestria ueste ecclesie et Milo eius heres concessit’ (Holtzmann, i. 239–40, no. 16). The other half of the land was given to the leper hospital of Dudstone, at Wotton, in Gloucester, by Miles of Gloucester, for the support of thirteen lepers. The hospital at some time came under the control of Llanthony Secunda (VCH Glos, iv. 15; EEA 33 Worcester 1062–1185, 48–9, no. 66; and see Gloucester Dudstone Headnote). A further four hides in Barrington were in 1086 held of the king by Alfsi of Farington, and another four by Godwin of Stanton (DB, i. 164b; §§ Glos 1. 66–7). This was doubtless the land represented in the empress’s charter of 1141, by which she gave to Llanthony four liberates of the eight liberates land she had in (Great) Barrington. The canons were to hold the remaining four liberates by paying her £4 annually (EM/497). Henry II gave a similar charter in 1155 × 1158 (H2/1604). [2] For the gift in Turkdean (Glos), see 0000, Regesta 1681, § 2 below. [3] The papal confirmation of 1131 includes ‘apud sanctum Michaelem terram ex dono Brienti comitis filii’. A subsequent papal confirmation of 1146 includes ‘apud sanctum Michaelem duas carucatas terre et mediatatem unius prati et latus montis Banarau usque ad supercilium, ad quos usus volueritis, ex dono Brieni filii comitis’ (Holtzmann, i. 268, no. 35); Henry II’s general confirmation has ‘duas carucatas terre in villa sancti Michaelis ex dono Brientii filii comitis (H2/1602). This was identified by Williams, 32, as ‘territory in Llanfihangel Crucornau’ (Llanfihangel meaning ‘the church of St Michael’). Banarau is perhaps Bryn Arw, two miles west of Llanvihangel Crucorney. The donor Brian fitz Count, otherwise Brian of Wallingford, an illegitimate son of Duke Alan Fergant of Brittany, was referred to as lord of ‘prouinciae illius’ (sc.
Abergavenny) by Gerald of Wales when describing events of 1136 (Giraldus Cambrensis, *Itinerarium Kambriae*, I 4, ed. Dimock, vi. 48). He was named in papal letters of 1119 and 1128 as one of the despoilers of the church of Llandaff (JL 6754, 7308; *Book of Llan Dâv*, 37–8, 93–4). It is unclear how he gained the lordship of Abergavenny: Dugdale, following the genealogy in the muniments of Abergavenny priory, made him the nephew of Hamelin de Ballun, who had held it previously (Dugdale, *Baronage*, i. 453a; *Monasticon*, iv. 615). Round’s view was that Brian was unrelated to Hamelin and had obtained Abergavenny by grant of Henry I (Round, *Ancient Charters*, 44–5; Round, *Pedigree and Peerage*, ii. 210–11). If so, it is difficult to explain why Brian’s grant of the castle of Abergavenny to Miles earl of Hereford in 1141 × 1142 was made in conjunction with Maud of Wallingford, his wife (EM/394).

**AUTHENTICITY:** This authentic act helps to corroborate the witness list and place-date of a fabricated act for Great Malvern (000, *Regesta* 1490).

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00  Writ-charter confirming the land of Turkdean (Glos) which Richard fitz Pons had granted to them in alms with the consent of Hugh fitz Osbert. 1127 × 1135, possibly 1133 × 1135

**CARTULARY COPY:** C 115/75 (Llanthony cartulary A. 2), section XXVI, no. 3, new fol. 229r (‘Confirmatio Hen(rici) regis primi canonici de Lanth’ facta de terra in Turkedene’) [B].

**PRINTED:** *Regesta* ii. 371 (no. ccxlvii) [from B].

**CALENDAR:** *Regesta* 1681.

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H(enricus) rex Angl(orum)\(^a\) episcopo Wigorn(iensi) et uicec(omiti) et omnibus baronibus et fidelibus suis francis et anglis de Glouc’sire salutem. Sciatis me concessisse canonici de Lanthon’ terram de Turkedena quam Ric(ardus) filius Pontii eis in elemosinam dedit concessu Hugon(is) filii Osberti de cuius feodo terra illa est sicut idem Ric(ardus) eam eis dedit et Hugo concessit. Et uolo et precipio ut ita bene et in pace et quiete in omnibus rebus teneant sicut Ric(ardus) et Hugo eis eam concesserunt et cartis suis confirmauerunt. Test(ibus) Brient(io) filio comitis et Hugon(e) Big(od) et Milon(e) Gloec(estre) et Willelmo filio Odon(e). Apud Crucem Sancti Leufredi.

\(^a\) Anglie B
Henry king of the English to the bishop of Worcester and the sheriff and all his barons and sworn men French and English of Gloucestershire greeting. Know that I have granted to the canons of Llanthony the land of Turkdean which Richard fitz Pons gave to them in alms with the consent of Hugh fitz Osbert of whose fee that land is, just as Richard gave it to them and Hugh granted. And I will and command that they shall hold as well and in peace and quietly in all things just as Richard and Hugh granted it to them and confirmed by their deeds. Witness Brian fitz Count and Hugh Bigod and Miles of Gloucester and William fitz Odo. At La Croix-Saint-Leufroy.

DATE: After the succession of Miles of Gloucester in 1126, and after the gift of the land of Turkdean, made by deeds dated 1127. If, as is suggested in Context, this renewed confirmation was required because the consent of Hugh fitz Osbert had become significant, then perhaps after the papal confirmation of November 1131, which does not mention Hugh, and if so, then after Henry’s return to Normandy in August 1133.

ADDRESS: Shire court of Gloucester.

WITNESS: Brian fitz Count, Hugh Bigod, later earl of Norfolk, Miles of Gloucester, later earl of Hereford, and William fitz Odo.

PLACE: La Croix-Saint-Leufroy in Eure. A grant to the monks of Montebourg was place-dated here, datable only to 1121 × 1135 (000, Regesta 1682).

CONTEXT: Richard fitz Pons gave the land in Turkdean he held of Hugh fitz Osbert, and had held of Hugh’s father, by deed dated 1127 at Dorstone (‘in Stradel apud Dorsetetonam uillam meam’), agreeing that he would pay the due rent of 25s and a red sparrowhawk to Hugh from his land at ‘Standon’, presumably Domesday ‘Stantune’ (either Staunton on Arrow or Staunton on Wye, Herefs), where Drogo (fitz Pons) held of Osbern fitz Richard in 1086 (DB, i. 186d; Herefs § 24. 8). Richard’s deed refers to the consent of his wife Maud and son Simon. Hugh fitz Osbert confirmed the gift on the same occasion (PRO, C115/75, Llanthony cartulary A. 2, section XX, fol. 182r). As it seems the king had already granted the gift of Turkdean by his charter of 1127, before 15 August (000 above, not in Regesta), it is unclear why this charter was needed, and it may be that confirmation of the consent of Hugh fitz Osbert, not mentioned in 000, is significant. The land of Turkdean was confirmed to Llanthony (‘Turchedenam ex dono Ricardi Pontii filii concedente Symone suo filio et herede’) by Pope Innocent II in November 1131 (Holtzmann, i. 239–40, no. 16; not in JL); Henry II’s general confirmation of 1155 notes Hugh’s consent (H2/1602).

Two estates in Turkdean were recorded in 1086. Geoffrey held 5 hides and 1½ virgates of William Leofric in (Lower) Turkdean; Robert held 5 hides and 2½ virgates of Robert d’Oilly in (Upper) Turkdean (DB, i. 167c, 168c; Glos §§ 38. 5, 48. 2). Oilly’s holding became part of the honour of Wallingford, and so A. R. J. Juřica, VCH Glos, ix. 220–23, suggested that it was William Leofric’s manor that passed to Llanthony. J. H. Round tentatively identified William Leofric with William fitz Richard, who held in chief in Berkshire in 1086, on the basis of the former’s shared holding in the Wiltshire portion of Coleshill and the latter’s shared holding in the Berkshire portion (VCH Berks, i. 320; DB, i. 72d; Wilts § 49. 1a; DB, i. 61b; Berks § 28. 1). A Gloucestershire entry suggests William fitz Richard was brother to Osbern fitz Richard (DB, i. 163a; Glos § 1. 11). Of the nine estates held by William Leofric in
two, i.e. Coleshill (Berks) and Shipton (Olliffe) (Glos) were subsequently incorporated into the honour of Richard’s Castle (VCH Berks, iv. 520b; VCH Glos, ix. 193b), which was held in the reign of Henry I by Hugh fitz Osbern fitz Richard Scrob (Sanders, English Baronies, 75). Thus it is reasonably certain that ‘Hugh fitz Osbert’, Richard fitz Pons’s lord, was Hugh fitz Osbern, lord of Richard’s Castle, for whom see Eyton, Shropshire, iv. 304–5; Darlington, Ctl. Worcester, xxiv–xxv.

Mahel of Hereford (youngest son of Miles of Gloucester, first earl of Hereford) gave and confirmed to Llanthony ‘Turkedene quam mihi dominus meus Henricus rex dedit in feodo et hereditate pro seruicio meo. Ita liberet et quieta dono eam sicut eam tenui a domino meo rege’ by a deed assigned to 1165 by Walker. It is unclear whether this was a separate estate (Walker, ‘Charters of the Earldom of Hereford’, 50–51, no. 85).

The family of Richard fitz Pons has been discussed by Eyton, by Round, and by Sanders (Eyton, Shropshire, v. 146–61; Round, Ancient Charters, 9, 20–25; Sanders, English Baronies, 35–6) and more recently by Hugh Clifford (The house of Clifford from before the Conquest (Chichester, 1987)) but his relationship to his predecessor, the Domesday tenant-in-chief Drogo fitz Pons, remains uncertain. The 1130 pipe roll makes no reference to Richard fitz Pons or his son Simon; the Walter fitz Richard who occurs in Wiltshire, Hertfordshire, Gloucestershire, Bedfordshire and Berkshire (PR 31 Henry I, 23, 62, 80, 104, 124) is usually identified as Walter fitz Richard fitz Gilbert, Richard fitz Gilbert being the Domesday lord of Clare. Richard fitz Pons first occurs in 1101, when with Osbern fitz Richard he attested a writ-charter for Lyre (0000, Regesta 500). The Brut y Tywysogyon, s.a. 1113, true year 1116, says that Gruffudd ap Rhys attacked Richard fitz Pons’s castle at Llandovery, describing him as the man to whom King Henry had given Cantref Bychan. The castle was defended by Maredudd ap Rhydderch ap Caradog, who held the chieftanship of Cantref Bychan under Richard (Brut y Tywysogyon, ed. Jones, 40). Richard attested the king’s confirmation of Bishop Richard’s gift of Little Hereford and Ullingswick to (his father-in-law) Walter of Gloucester c. Easter 1121 (0000, Regesta 1268). Henry’s charter of 1121 giving Miles of Gloucester the Neufmarché heiress Sybil mentions Richard’s tenure of Cantref Bychan (0000 for Miles of Gloucester, Regesta 1280). Richard was not named in the 1119 list of despoilers of the church of Llandaff; but he was among those commanded to restore what they had taken from it in 1128 (JL 6754, 7308; Book of Llan Dâv, 37–8, 93–4). His gifts to Malvern of the church in his castle in Cantref Bychan, with two carucates and the tithes of his rents there, with the church of Leach (Glos) and a hide and a virgate and the tithes there, and the tithe in Richard’s demesne ‘in Estradel que vocatur Becchen sicut predictus Ricardus et Matildis coniunx sua et Simon filius suus dederunt’ is included in Henry’s inflated confirmation ostensibly datable 1127, before 15 August (0000, Regesta 1490; Monasticon, iii. 448–9, no. iv). Richard fitz Pons was apparently succeeded by a younger son Walter of Clifford. A deed in the Haughmond cartulary was given by Hugh de Say and Lucy his wife ‘filia Walteri de Clifforde filii Ricardi filii Puncii’ (Ctl. Haughmond, 181, no. 919). If it was the same Walter de Clifford who is said to have died in 1190 he was most likely a minor when the pipe roll of 1130 was drawn up.
Interpolated writ-charter confirming the gifts of Nigel fitz Erfast in Henlow and Marston (Beds) in the fee of Henry d’Aubigny. September 1126 × November 1131

CARTULARY COPY: C 115/77 (Llanthony cartulary A. 1), section X, no. 87, new fol. 229v (‘Concessio et confirmatio Henrici regis Anglie super donatione et concessione Nigelli filii Erfasti de tota terra in socha de Henlowe de feudo Henr(ici) de Alben(io)’) [B].

PRINTED: Regesta ii. 376 (no. cclxv) [from B].

CALENDAR: Regesta 1738.

H(enricus) rex Angl(orum) episcopo Linc’ et uicecomiti et omnibus baronibus et fidelibus sui de Bedefordsir(a) salutem. Sciatis me concessisse canonicis de Lanthon(ia) donationem terre quam Nigellus filius Herfasti eis dedit et concessit scilicet quicquid habebat in socha de Henl(owe) [de feodo Henr(ici) de Alben’ preter tres uirgatas et duas partes decime de dominio quas ipse Nig(ellus) tenet de monachis de sancto Nicholao] et hoc concessu Henr(ici) de Alben’ de cuius feodo hec sunt. Et uolo et firmiter precipio ut bene et in pace et honorifice et quiete teneant [de omni seruicio quod pertineat ipsi Nigello et heredibus sui. Et tali conditione quod si Nigell(us) de seruicio eisdem terre faciendo predicto Henr(ico), ipse Henric(us) non justificabit eum per hanc terram canonicorum, sed per aliam terram suam de feodo suo iustificabit, donec habeat de eo seruicium istius terre quod ei facere debuerit. Et preter hoc concedo eis unam uirg(atam) terre in Mereston’ quam idem Nigellus eis dedit et concessit liberam ab omni seruicio suo et heredum suorum de feodo predicti Henr(ici). Et hec omnia eis concedo ut ita bene et in pace et honorifice et quiete teneant de omni seruicio] sicut idem Nigellus eis dedit et sicut Henricus eas concessit. Testibus W(illelmo) archiepiscopo Cantuar’ et G(aufrido) canc(ellario) et B(rientio) filio comitis et Roberto de Sigillo [et aliis] a<Mil(one) de Gloec’ Pagan(o) filio Ioh(annis). Apud Westmonast(erium).> a

a a Supplied from Nigel fitz Erfast’s deed, PRO C 115/83 (Llanthony cartulary A. 4), fol. 83v.
Henry king of the English to the bishop of Lincoln and the sheriff and all his barons and sworn men of Bedfordshire greeting. Know that I have granted to the canons of Llanthony the gift of land that Nigel fitz Erfast gave and granted to them, namely whatever he had in the soke of Henlow [of the fee of Henry d'Aubigny except the three virgates and two parts of the tithe of the demesne which the same Nigel holds of the monks of Saint Nicholas] and this with the consent of Henry d'Aubigny of whose fee these are. And I will and firmly command that they shall hold well and in peace and honourably and quit [of all service which pertains to the same Nigel and his heirs. And only on the condition that if Nigel is unable to perform service of this land to the foresaid Henry, then Henry shall not compel him by this land of the canons, but compel him by other land of his fee, until he shall have from him the service of this land which he ought to do for him. And besides this I grant to them one virgate of land in Marston which the same Nigel gave and granted to them free from all his service and of his heirs of the fee of the foresaid Henry. And all these things I grant to them so that they shall hold as well and in peace and honourably and quit of all service] just as the same Nigel gave to them and Henry confirmed to them. Witness William archbishop of Canterbury and Geoffrey the chancellor and Brian fitz Count and Robert de Sigillo [and others] <Miles of Gloucester Pain fitz John. At Westminster.>

DATE: While Geoffrey was chancellor, so between Spring 1123 and May 1133; after Miles of Gloucester succeeded his father in 1126; most likely before the papal confirmation of November 1131 which includes the gifts in Henlow and Marston confirmed here. After 11 September 1126 when the king returned to England.
ADDRESS: Shire court of Bedfordshire.
PLACE: Westminster.
CONTEXT: In 1086 Erfast had 8 hides and half a virgate in Marston (Moretain) held of Nigel d'Aubigny and 5½ hides in Henlow also held of Nigel d'Aubigny. Of the 5½ hides in Henlow, the abbey of St Nicholas in Angers held 3 virgates of Nigel d'Aubigny in alms (DB, i. 214b; Beds § 24. 8, 29). Erfast was living in 1107, but Nigel d'Aubigny had been succeeded by his son Henry, who gave land to Abingdon in that year (note to 0000 for Abingdon, Regesta 812). For the family of Aubigny of Cainhoe, see L. C. Loyd, ‘The origin of the family of Aubigny of Cainhoe’, Bedfordshire Historical Record Society Publications 19 (1937), 101–9, which revises previous accounts; Sanders, English Baronies, 26. A deed in the name of Nigel fitz Erfast, for his health and that of his wife Marsila and of his children, gives to the canons of Llanthony everything in the soke of Henlow which his father and he afterwards held of the fee of Henry d’Aubigny, to be held free and quit of all service to the donor and ‘de exercitu et de equitatu et de operatione castrorum et custodia’. Nigel’s service to his lord would be done from his other land of that fee in Marston. Nigel promises to acquire the king’s confirmation, and notes that the promise has been fulfilled: ‘De hac donatione et libertate promisi canonici perquirere confirmationem regis Henrici et eam perquisiui cum intercessione Henrici de Alb' apud Westm’. Testibus Willemo archiepiscopo G. cancell(ario) Rob(erto) de Sigillo Bren(tio) filio comitis Mil(ione) de Gloec(estra) Pagan(o) filio Ioh(annis)’. There is no mention of the land belonging to the monks of St Nicholas (PRO C 115/83, Llanthony
cartulary A. 4, fol. lxviii, new fol. 83v). It is very difficult to make sense of the early deeds concerning Henlow in the Llanthony archive, which have been the subject of extensive tampering (see Authenticity). B. J. Parkinson attempted to do so, but her account does not consider the possibility of forgery (Parkinson, ‘The life of Robert of Bethune by William of Wycombe’, BLitt diss., 1950, Bodl. MS BLitt d. 85, pp. 2–9). Henry II referred to a charter of Henry I, probably this one, when he ordered that the canons of Llanthony should hold their land in Henlow ‘sicut rex H(enricus) auus meus per cartam suam precepit’ in 1155 × 1158 (H2/1603).

AUTHENTICITY: The writ-charter is unobjectionable until the first mention of the service due to Nigel, but from then on the clauses are highly unusual, and appear to have been interpolated to assist in some dispute over services. We find evidence of exactly such a dispute elsewhere in the Llanthony cartularies, in particular a notification by Robert de Bethune, bishop of Hereford, datable 1143 × 1146, addressed to Bishop Alexander of Lincoln, stating that Nigel fitz Erfast gave land at Henlow to the priory with the consent of his lord Henry d’Abigny, but that Richard, Nigel’s heir, refused to do the service for it. The bishop’s letter mentions Henry I’s confirmation, ‘hoc confirmauit rex Henricus’, a reference either to this confection or to an authentic predecessor (EEA 7 Hereford 1079–1234, 39–40, no. 41). It cannot be assumed, however, that the authentic writ-charter on which this is based necessarily concerned Henlow and Marston. The papal confirmation of 1131 may be the best guide to the original gift: ‘quicquid preterea Nigellus filius Erfasti apud Heneslawiam ecclesie vestre contulit et uirgatam terre apud Merstonam uobis ab eodem Nigello donatibus Willelmo eius filio et herede et Henricio suo domino cum filio suo Roberto’ (Holtzmann, i. 239–40, no. 16). If the papal confirmation is authentic and accurate, it seems Nigel fitz Erfast’s eldest son William had consented to the gift, but that Nigel was eventually succeeded by a younger son Richard.

00 Purported charter confirming the gifts of Hugh de Lacy, Pain fitz John, and Nigel fitz Erfast

CARTULARY COPY: C 115/75 (Llanthony cartulary A. 2, Davis 531), section XXVI, no. 2, new fols. 228v–229r (‘Confirmatio Henr(ici) regis primi de diuersis possessionibus quas Hug(o) de Laci et alii dederunt’) [B].
PRINTED: Regesta ii. 377 (no. cclxvii) [from B].
CALENDAR: Regesta 1748.

H(enricus) rex Angl(orum)a et dux Normannorum omnibus archiepiscopis episcopis abbatibus et omnibus baronibus suis francis et anglis et omnibus sancte ecclesie filiis salutem. Notum sit uobis omnibus me concessisse ecclesie sancti Johannis Baptistie in Lanthoeni et fratibus ibi deo seruientibus pro mea salute et uxoris mee et pro animabus patris mei et matris mee et uxoris mee Matild(is) et filii mei
Ego Henricus rex confirmo.
Ego Turst(inus) archiepiscopus Eborac’ testimonium perhibeo.
Ego Gaufr(idus) cancell(arius) subscribo et alii.

*a Anglie B

Henry king of the English and duke of the Normans to all archbishops bishops abbots and all his barons French and English and all sons of holy church greeting. Be it known to you all that I have granted to the church of St John the Baptist in Llanthony and the brethren there serving God for my salvation and that of my wife and for the souls of my father and my mother and my wife Matilda and my son William and my ancestors [1] whatever Hugh de Lacy and Pain fitz John gave to the foresaid church in alms, namely Cwmyoy (Monm) and Rethresanc (? Redcastle, Mon) and Rethwernan (unidentified) and Vetus Villa (Oldcastle, Mon) and [2] Froma Minor (Canon Frome, Herefs) and [3] half a hide at Aclam (Ocle Pychard, Herefs) and [4] in Archenfield (Herefs) certain portions of land and [5] in Hamma (Holme Lacy) one
fishery with four acres of land and [6] that which Orc and his predecessors had from the fisheries of Tidenham (Glos) and the weir of Hadnock (Monm) and all the fishing of the water pertaining to that and [7] two marks of silver every year which Pain by his own gift had added to the foresaid alms. I also grant to that church [8] that which Nigel fitz Erfast gave to it in Henlow of the fee of Henry d'Aubigny by the consent and request of the same Hugh just as I granted, namely three hides and a quarter part of one virgate and an eighth part of one virgate. And this I will and command that they shall hold as well and honourably and quietly and freely in alms just as Hugh de Lacy and Pain fitz John and Henry d'Aubigny ever well and honourably and quietly and freely held when they held them in their demesne. Witness Archbishop Thurstan and Geoffrey the chancellor and Adel’.

I King Henry confirm.
I Archbishop Thurstan of York give witness.
I Geoffrey the chancellor subscribe and others.

DATE: Ostensibly while Geoffrey was chancellor, Spring 1123–May 1133. As there is no mention of the three gifts included in 0000 above, not in Regesta, made in 1127, apparently before that date.
ADDRESS: General address.
WITNESS: Thurstan, archbishop of York; Geoffrey Rufus the chancellor; Adel’ is perhaps intended for the bishop of Carlisle, but he was not nominated until August 1133.
PLACE: No place stated.
CONTEXT: Although this charter is fabricated, there is little doubt that it provides a good guide to the early benefactions of Llanthony. §§ 1–6 are repeated almost verbatim at the beginning of Henry II’s general confirmation of 1155 (H2/1602). The papal confirmations of 1131 and 1146 do not follow this charter so closely and sometimes provide additional information. [1] The 1131 papal confirmation gives more detailed information on the gifts in the immediate vicinity of the priory: ‘in ualle uidelicet circa ipsam ecclesiam prata et pascua certis metis distincta et de nemore, quantum sufficit fratrum necessitatibus, que ex dono Hugonis predicte ecclesie fundatoris et Pagani Iohannis filii concessione eidem sunt ecclesie attributa, inferius in eadem ualle Rumenou, Cunion, Rederessou et uetus castellum’. The priory had interests in Cwmyoy and Oldcastle at the Dissolution (Lands of Dissolved Houses, iii. 1). Williams tentatively identified Rethresanc/Rederessu as Redcastle, represented by Redcastle cottage in the census of 1851, on the east side of the Cwmyoy valley, where the priory had property at the Dissolution, but made no attempt at Rethwernan/Rumenou (Williams, 32, 35; Lands of Dissolved Houses, iii. 1). [2] In 1086 Roger de Lacy had interests in all four places in Herefordshire named Frome. He held in chief in Halmonds Frome (‘Nerefrum’), four hides; Castle Frome (‘Brismerfrum’), five hides; Canon Frome (‘Frome’), four hides; and Bishop’s Frome (‘Frome’), one hide (DB, i. 184b–c, 185a; Herefs § 10. 29–30, 33, 67). Only in Bishops Frome (‘Frome’), where the bishop of Hereford had ten hides, did anyone else hold in chief in these places (DB, i. 181d; Herefs § 2. 21). Coplestone-Crow finds references to ‘Parua Frome’ and ‘Frome Minor’ only in Llanthony muniments and in the cartulary of St Guthlac’s priory. He equates Frome Minor with Canon Frome, and ‘Maioris Frome’ with Castle Frome, but the evidence cited is insubstantial (B. Coplestone-Crow, Herefordshire Place-names (Almeley, Herefs, 2009), 100–102).
As far as can be ascertained Llanthony held only in Canon Frome and Bishops Frome (Monasticon, vi. 140; Lands of Dissolved Houses, i. 167; Williams, 47). The size of Bishops Frome precludes its identification with ‘Frome Minor’, so it seems the identification of the latter place as Canon Frome is safe. [3] Identified in Regesta as Ocle Pychard. In 1086 Roger de Lacy held seven hides in Ocle Pychard (‘Acle’) in chief (DB, i. 184a; Herefs § 10. 5). The papal confirmation of 1131 refers to one hide rather than half a hide, but this is apparently a mistake, for the 1146 papal confirmation has half a hide. The Ocle Pychard holding appears only in the royal and papal confirmations: there is no trace of it at the Dissolution. Perhaps the holding was exchanged with St Guthlac’s priory, which had the church of Ocle Pychard by the mid-twelfth century (EEA 7 Hereford 1079–1234, 23–4, 64, nos. 22–4, 87) and held in Ocle Pychard at the Dissolution (Lands of Dissolved Houses, i. 210). Llanthony held in Okle Clifford (Glos), also known as Okle by Newent, but this appears to have been by purchase during the time of Prior Henry Dean, 1467–1501 (Monasticon, vi. 140; Lands of Dissolved Houses, i. 164; Rhodes, 86; VCH Glos, xii. 49). [4] Archenfield (Welsh Ergyng) was an area of territory between the River Monnow and the River Wye, in southern and western Herefordshire. The formula ‘portiones quasdam terrarum’ or similar is followed in the general confirmations of Henry II, Richard I, and John, but the papal confirmation of 1131 gives ‘in Erchenesfeld, Lanwara, Rosneth’. Coplestone-Crow identifies Rosneth with Little Hill, Hills Farm, and Hill Gate in Llanwarne, but adduces no evidence and gives no examples of the name beyond the Llanthony papal confirmations (B. Coplestone-Crow, Herefordshire Place-names, 151). In 1086 the church of Llanwarne, where there were three ploughs, belonged to the bishop of Hereford’s manor of Holme Lacy and was held by Roger de Lacy (DB, i. 181d; Herefs § 2. 12) [5] In 1086 Holme Lacy (‘Hamme’) was held in chief by the bishop of Hereford: Roger de Lacy is not named as a tenant except in the church of Llanwarne which belonged to Holme Lacy (DB, i. 181d; Herefs § 2. 12). The fishery at Holme is not mentioned in the papal confirmation of 1131, but that of 1146 includes ‘piscaria Hamma que fuerat Reginaldi Pilati cum quatuor acris terrii iuxta ripam’. [6] In 1086 Roger de Lacy had half a hide in chief in Tidenham, where there were 4½ fisheries (DB, i. 167d; Glos § 39. 11). Hadnock is not mentioned in DB. The weir at Hadnock was still in the canons’ possession in 1446, when Prior John of Llanthony Prima granted at fee-farm lands in ‘Hodenak in the lordship of Monmouth, with an adjacent croft and mill pond on the other side of the river Wye, close to our weir of Hodenak, and near the hospital of St Michael’ (Edward Owen, Catalogue of the manuscripts relating to Wales in the British Museum, part III, Charters and Rolls, Cymmrodorian Record Series 4 (London, 1908), 683, no. 1221). The papal confirmation of 1131 includes ‘piscaria de Hocnac, apud Tudeham terram cum quibusdam piscariis’. [7] The two marks given by Pain do not appear in the royal or papal confirmations, so the rent was presumably extinguished by an exchange of some kind. [8] For Henlow see 0000, Regesta 1738 above.

AUTHENTICITY: The number of deviations from normal formulation, even at the most elementary level, is sufficient to demonstrate forgery. Examples include ‘et dux Normannorum’, ‘et omnibus sancte ecclesie filiiis’, ‘Notum sit uobis’, ‘uolo ut teneant et precipio’. The dual attestation is also suspicious.