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The Counts of Louvain and the Anglo-Norman World (c. 1100 – c. 1215)

In a recent monograph, Eljas Oksanen has explored the interactions and exchanges between the county of Flanders and the Anglo-Norman world from the battle of Hastings to the end of King John's troubled reign.¹ His book has convincingly demonstrated how complex and vigorous cross-Channel relations were in the High Middle Ages. The question of the interactions between the Isles and the Continent investigated by Oksanen has fascinated British, French and Belgian historians for decades. Most of the works devoted to this topic have focused logically on the powerful county of Flanders, which was located a stone's throw from the heart of the Anglo-Norman world. However, the Flemish aristocracy never had a monopoly on the exchanges with England. Strong ties also existed between the Anglo-Norman realm and the other principalities of the Low Countries, especially the county of Louvain.

In the High Middle Ages, the county of Louvain was an important principality located at the heart of Lower Lotharingia, at the western border of the German Empire (see map 1). The counts of Louvain were the descendants of the Regniers of Hainault, one of the most turbulent lineages in Lotharingia in the tenth and the eleventh centuries (genealogical tables 1 and 2). The towns of Louvain, Brussels and Antwerp were at the centre of their power.² Due to the lack of sources, the history of the counts of Louvain is poorly known from the death of Lambert I in 1015 until the end of the eleventh century. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that they were key players in the area between France and the Empire towards 1100. Along with the counts of Flanders and the counts of Hainault, they were the most powerful princes in the Low Countries. In 1106, King Henry V gave the prestigious title of duke of Lotharingia to Count Godfrey I of Louvain (1095–1139), who had inherited the county from his elder brother the preceding year. Except between the years 1128 and 1140, the title remained in the hands of the comital family. The status of the duke of Lotharingia evolved after the diet of Schwäbisch-Hall (1190), which limited the authority of the dukes to their own county and their imperial fiefs.³ The counts of Louvain used a surprising number of titles in their charters. They are alternatively described as *dux* of Lotharingia, *comes* or *dux* of Louvain, and later *dux* of Brabant. Nevertheless, the title

* I would like to thank Godfried Croenen, Harmony Dewez, John Gillingham, Lindy Grant, David Guillardian, Jean-François Nieus, Milan Pajic, Daniel Power, and Nicholas Paul for their useful comments during the Battle Conference or their advices on the early drafts of this article. I am particularly grateful to Liesbeth Van Houts for her help and her warm welcome in Cambridge in 2017.

¹ Eljas Oksanen, *Flanders and the Anglo-Norman World, 1066–1216*, Cambridge 2012.

² On the Regnier and the early counts of Louvain, see Léon Vanderkindere, *La formation territoriale des principautés belges au Moyen Âge*, 2 vols., 1899–1902, II, 102–17; Walter Mohr, *Geschichte des Herzogtums Lothringen*, 4 vols, 1974–86, II; Arnoud-Jan A. Bijsterveld and David Guillardian, 'La formation du duché (843–1106)', in *Histoire du Brabant, du duché à nos jours*, ed. Raymond Van Uytven, Zwolle, 2004, 41–63; David Guillardian, 'Les sépultures des comtes de Louvain et des ducs de Brabant (XI^e siècle–1430)', in *Sépulture, mort et représentation du pouvoir au Moyen Âge. Actes des 11^e Journées lotharingiennes. 26–29 septembre 2000*, ed. Michel Margue, Luxembourg 2006, 491–540.

³ Paul Bonenfant and Anne-Marie Bonenfant-Feytmans, 'Du duché de Basse-Lotharingie au duché de Brabant', *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 46, 1968, 1129–65.

of duke of Brabant seems to impose itself from the end of the twelfth century.⁴ I will use these different titles as synonyms in this article.

Following in the footsteps of Belgian and Dutch historians, I would like to examine the relationships between the counts of Louvain and the Anglo-Norman aristocracy from the beginning of the twelfth century until the end of the First War of the Barons (1215–1217). The political, military, and commercial interactions between the county of Louvain and England grew in intensity and in complexity during these years. Although these cross-Channel relations were unquestionably less significant than the connections between Flanders and the Anglo-Norman world, they constituted the first steps in the development of strong exchanges between Brabant and England.⁵ This article aims to shed new light on the origins of Anglo-Brabantine relations. My argument will focus on two crucial periods for the development of these exchanges. Firstly, I will deal with the marriage between Adeliza of Louvain and King Henry I of England in 1121, as this union marked the first move towards a closer connection between these two ruling families. I will then turn to the late twelfth century and the early thirteenth century. Even though Duke Henry I of Brabant played an important role in the negotiations for the release of Richard I the Lionheart in 1194, the relations between King John, Duke Henry I and his representatives in England were complicated in the context of the political turmoil of the first quarter of the thirteenth century. As we shall see, the interactions between the rulers provided mutual benefits. The English kings used their relations with the Brabantine rulers to challenge the authority of their rivals on the Continent, while the counts of Louvain gained lands, prestige, and political support from the English monarchs.

Adeliza of Louvain's marriage in context

Few connections existed between Brabant and the Isles before 1100. Nevertheless, some lay people and clergymen originating from the area of Louvain and Brussels were present in England during the Anglo-Saxon period. For instance, Giso, chaplain of King Edward the Confessor (1042–1066) and then bishop of Wells, was a native from St. Truiden, some forty kilometres to the east of Louvain.⁶ The counts of Louvain and the Brabantine aristocracy did not take part in the Norman Conquest of England. The Domesday Book and the earliest known Anglo-Norman records do not mention them among insular landholders.⁷ It is likely, however, that isolated Brabantines moved to England after 1066 with the objective of making a fortune in the Anglo-Norman Eldorado, as did so many of their contemporaries. A charter of the Abbey

⁴ The charters of the counts of Louvain and the dukes of Brabant have been published and studied by David Guillardian, *Les actes des comtes de Louvain – ducs de de Brabant (XI^e–XII^e s.)*. Contribution à l'étude la formation de la principauté territoriale, Brussels 2018 (Université Libre de Bruxelles, Unpublished PhD dissertation).

⁵ Jean De Sturler, *Les relations politiques et les échanges commerciaux entre le duché de Brabant et l'Angleterre au Moyen Âge. L'étape des laines anglaises en Brabant et les origines du développement du port d'Anvers*, Paris 1936. De Sturler's thesis is fundamental for the study of Anglo-Brabantine relations. I owe much to this book, in which almost all the relevant sources are cited.

⁶ Malmesbury, *Gesta pontificum*, chap. 90, 305

⁷ Some Lotharingian aristocrats, such as Gerard of Lotharingia and Albert the Lotharingian, appear in the Domesday Book, but we cannot be sure that they came from Brabant. See, for instance, Katharine S. B. Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People: A Prosopography of Persons Occurring in English Documents, 1066–1166*, I, *Domesday Book*, Woodbridge 1999, 133 and 206.

of St. Truiden indicates that in 1095 an anonymous *servus* came back to the monastery after several years spent in England. This *servus* was most probably a *ministerialis* specialized in martial practices, because the charter indicates that he must fulfil military services for the monks.⁸ It seems, however, that the interactions between the Brabantine and the English aristocracies did not involve the comital and royal families until the early twelfth century.

The relations between the English and the Brabantine upper aristocracies grew in frequency only after 1100. According to the *Annals* of Cologne, the young Empress Matilda reconciled King Henry V (1099–1125) with Count Godfrey I of Louvain in 1110 in the context of a conflict about the ducal title.⁹ This represents the first documented interaction between the counts and the English rulers. Although it is difficult to evaluate the reliability of this evidence, there is no doubt that the relations between the Anglo-Norman kings and the Brabantine counts were quite good in the first quarter of the twelfth century. This is further confirmed by the marriage between King Henry I (1100–1135) and Adeliza, the daughter of Count Godfrey I of Louvain, in January 1121.¹⁰ In the king's view, the motives for the union were twofold. The birth of a legitimate male heir was the main objective of the king, because of the death of his son William Æthling in the White Ship disaster the previous year.¹¹ Adeliza's constant presence at Henry's side during the first years of their marriage explains why the young queen was less politically active than her predecessors and, during her husband's reign, played a role in literary patronage only.¹² Unfortunately, their union remained infertile.¹³ King Henry's second aim was to reinforce his alliance with the German throne and the eastern neighbours of Flanders. By marrying the daughter of one of the most powerful princes in the Empire, Henry challenged the influence of his nemesis William Clito. Indeed, William was supported by the counts of Flanders Baldwin VII (1111–1119) and Charles the Good (1119–1127), who were at the same time the main rivals of Godfrey I.¹⁴ The marriage between Adeliza and Henry could be seen therefore as an Anglo-Brabantine alliance against common enemies in the context of the political turmoil of the early 1120s.

If the marriage was beneficial to Godfrey of Louvain on a political level, it also brought considerable prestige to the Brabantine rulers. Thanks to this union, Godfrey became the father-in-law of the English king and could reasonably expect to be the grand-father of a future royal heir. In addition, the count of Louvain received prestigious gifts from the Anglo-Norman

⁸ *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Trond*, ed. Charles Piot, 2 vols, 1870–4, I, no. 21, 28–9 (see also the database *Diplomata Belgica. The Diplomatic Sources from the Medieval Southern Low Countries* [now *DiBe*], Brussels 2015 (www.diplomata-belgica.be/), no. 1395). On this document, see the comments of François-Louis Ganshof, *Étude sur les ministeriales en Flandre et en Lotharingie*, Brussels 1926, 172, and Michael MATTHEUS, 'Forms of Social Mobility: The Example of *Zensualität*', in *England and Germany in the High Middle Ages*, ed. Alfred Haverkamp and Hannah Vollrath, London 1996, 357–69, at 357–9.

⁹ *Annales Coloniensis maximi*, ed. Karl August Pertz, in MGH, SS, vol. 17, Hannover 1861, 723–847, at 748.

¹⁰ About Adeliza of Louvain, see Laura Wertheimer, 'Adeliza of Louvain and Anglo-Norman Queenship', *HSJ* 7, 1995, 101–16, and Kathleen Thompson, 'Queen Adeliza and the Lotharingian connection', *Sussex Archaeological Collections* 10, 2002, 57–64.

¹¹ Judith A. Green, *Henry I: King of England and Duke of Normandy*, Cambridge 2006, 168–70.

¹² Wertheimer, 'Adeliza of Louvain', 107. Adeliza commissioned a few works during her reign, including the *Bestiaire* of Philippe de Thaon, the first known French bestiary. A new edition of the text has just been published: Philippe de Thaon, *Bestiaire*, ed. Luigina Morini, 2018.

¹³ Kirsten A. Fenton, *Gender, Nation and Conquest in the Works of William of Malmesbury*, Woodbridge 2008, 65–6.

¹⁴ Green, *Henry I*, 169; Oksanen, *Flanders and the Anglo-Norman World*, 24–6.

monarch. Thanks to a marginal note in the thirteenth-century autograph manuscript of the *Gesta episcoporum Leodiensium* of Giles of Orval, we know, that Adeliza gave her father a banner which he proudly displayed on the battlefields until 1129, when it was lost in a battle in Duras.¹⁵ Moreover, Adeliza might have planned to give a precious relic of saint Bregwine, an early bishop of Canterbury, to the Brabantine abbey of Affligem in the months following her marriage¹⁶. It is likely that Adeliza's marriage was part of a broader political project, as the count of Louvain always tried to strengthen his relations with foreign ruling families. Godfrey I was keen to marry his children to high ranking families settled outside or on the borders of Lower Lotharingia: his son Godfrey II (1139–1142) and his daughter Ida married members of two prominent German families (genealogical table 2). These prestigious unions, and particularly Adeliza's marriage, were long remembered in Brabant. Adeliza was still commemorated as Queen of England in the text and in a miniature of a fifteenth-century manuscript containing a copy of the *Brabantse Yeesten*, a late medieval Dutch chronicle highlighting the political actions of the dukes of Brabant.¹⁷

In such a context, the counts of Louvain enjoyed very good relations with the Anglo-Norman rulers around 1120. The ruling monarchs and the counts were allied on several occasions. As we have seen, Count Godfrey I sided with King Henry I in the conflict against William Clito. Moreover, Godfrey closely collaborated with his son-in-law, in the Flemish civil war that broke out in Flanders after the assassination of Charles the Good in March 1127.¹⁸ The conflict coincided with his brief deposition as duke of Lotharingia.¹⁹ Therefore, Godfrey only acted as count of Louvain in these troubles, and not as a representative of the imperial authority. According to the Flemish chronicler Galbert of Bruges, Henry I, Stephen of Blois, and Godfrey I of Louvain supported the same candidate to the county of Flanders in 1127–1128. They agreed to back Charles the Good's nephew, a young noble called Arnulf of Denmark, against William Clito, who had the support of King Louis VI of France (1108–1137). Moreover, they planned that Arnulf would marry Ida, one of the daughters of Count Godfrey of Louvain. In case of success, this alliance would have benefited both parties, as it might have extended their influence in Flanders to the detriment of William Clito.²⁰ However, the plan quickly failed, probably because Arnulf was captured by Clito in Saint Omer and was forced to abandon his

¹⁵ *Captum est et vexillum ducis, quod dicitur Gallice standarre, opera plumario, quod dicitur cum acu factum, quod miserat ei regina Anglie, quod fastu superbike ex precepto illius quadriga boum ferebat; ambientes illud qui omnes custodientes decollate sunt, et omnia castra eius fugata. Dictum vexillum per multos annos postea deportabatur per Leodium in rogationibus ab ecclesia beati Lamberti* (Giles of Orval, *Gesta episcoporum Leodiensium*, ed. Johannes Heller, in MGH, SS, vol. 25, 1880, 1–129, at 98–9).

¹⁶ Bernhard W. Scholz, 'Eadmer's Life of Bregwine, archbishop of Canterbury', *Traditio* 22, 1966, 127–48, here at 146–7. I am very grateful to Liesbeth Van Houts for this reference. Prof. Van Houts will give a full interpretation of this text in a work about cross-Channel marriages and multilingualism.

¹⁷ *Vier kindere liet die prince hoghe: / Godevaert, die bleef hertoghe, / Ende Heinric, die wart monnec daer na / Te Haffelgheem, als ic versta, / Ende Aliten, als ict bescreven vant, / Die coninghinne was van Enghelant, / End Yde, van Cleven gravinne, / Ende Clarisse, die om die Gods mine / Maghet bleef, ende maghet starf, / Daer si hemelrike mede verwarf* (Jan van Boendale, *De Brabantsche Yeesten, of Rymkronyk van Brabant*, ed. Jan Frans Willems, 2 vols, 1839–43, I, 359–60). The fifteenth-century illuminated manuscript is now in Brussels, Royal Library, MS IV.684, fol. 6r, online: <https://belgica.kbr.be/belgica/>

¹⁸ Oksanen, *Flanders and the Anglo-Norman World*, 26–9.

¹⁹ Bonenfant and Bonenfant-Feytmans, 'Du duché de Basse-Lotharingie au duché de Brabant', 1138.

²⁰ Galbert of Bruges, *De multro, traditione et occisione gloriosi Karoli comitis Flandriarum*, ed. Jeff Rider, *Corpus christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis* 131, 1994, chap. 99 and 101, 146–7. See also Laurent Feller, *L'assassinat de Charles le Bon comte de Flandre. 2 mars 1127*, Paris 2012, 191–2 and 204, and Green, *Henry I*, 197–9.

dream of ruling the Flemish county.²¹ In the following months, Godfrey renounced his alliance with Henry I and joined the party of William Clito for reasons that remained unclear. Godfrey and William Clito were indeed allies when the latter unexpectedly died during the siege of Alost on 27 July 1128.²² We do not know how Henry I reacted to Godfrey's apparent betrayal. The event probably had negative consequences on the friendship between the Brabantine and the Anglo-Norman rulers. Indeed, there is little doubt that relations between the counts of Louvain and the kings of England appear became less intensive in the second third of the twelfth century compared with what they were during the Flemish civil war, possibly because of this treason. Nevertheless, we cannot exclude that the political troubles experienced by the English kingdom during the Anarchy may also explain why the cross-Channel relations between Brabant and England loosened.

It must be noted that Queen Adeliza did not come alone in England in the early 1120s. Her half-brother Joscelin and her household accompanied her. We do not know the nature of the relationship between the young queen and Joscelin before their departure from Brabant, but it is likely that they were bound by a strong friendship. They repeatedly collaborated on the political field in the context of the Anarchy. Joscelin made several gifts to the abbey of Reading for his half-sister's soul after her death in 1151.²³ Joscelin also married and settled in England. Towards the middle of the twelfth century, he married Agnes, co-heiress de Percy and daughter of William II de Percy.²⁴ Adeliza contributed to the promotion of some other Brabantines in England at the very beginning of her reign. For instance, her secretary, Godfrey, was appointed bishop of Bath by King Henry I in 1123.²⁵

Thanks to her marriage, Adeliza acquired several properties in England. At Henry I's death in 1135, she held lands and monastic houses in Oxfordshire, Hertfordshire, and Gloucestershire.²⁶ These lands may have constituted her dower. Her main holding was the honour of Arundel, on the southern coast, which then passed to her children with her second husband, William d'Aubigny, the future earl of Arundel and Lincoln (map 2 and table 1).²⁷ Adeliza married William d'Aubigny towards 1138. He was the son of King Henry's butler and a close ally of King Stephen (1135–1154).²⁸ Adeliza chose Joscelin as castellan of Arundel. At the same time, Joscelin became lord of the barony of Petworth, some twenty kilometres to the north of Arundel. This grant was confirmed by the future Henry II (1154–1189) in 1153–1154.²⁹ There is no doubt that these lands and rights did not belong to the counts of Louvain, but to Adeliza and Joscelin respectively in their own name.

A more debatable point is the fact that Adeliza may have ended her days in England. According to early-modern Brabantine sources, she was buried in the transept of the abbey

²¹ Galbert of Bruges, *De multro*, chap. 97, 144–5.

²² *Ibid.*, chap. 119, 165–6.

²³ *The Percy Fee*, ed. Charles Travis Clay, Early Yorkshire Charters 11, 1963, nos. 289–91, 359–60.

²⁴ David Crouch, *The Reign of King Stephen, 1135–1154*, London 2000, 264.

²⁵ ASC, I, 375, and II, 219; Thompson, 'Queen Adeliza', 57–64, here at 58.

²⁶ Wertheimer, 'Adeliza of Louvain', 109–10.

²⁷ About her possessions, see also *Reading abbey cartularies*, ed. Brian Richard Kempf, 2 vols, 1986–8, I, nos. 268–72, 370–1, and 534–6, at 225–228, 301–303, and 403–406.

²⁸ Wertheimer, 'Adeliza of Louvain', 110; Crouch, *The Reign of King Stephen*, 264.

²⁹ *The Percy Fee*, no. 288, 358.

church of Affligem, a monastic house greatly favoured by the comital family.³⁰ However, a charter of Joscelin of Louvain dated 1151–1157 states that his sister was buried at the abbey of Reading.³¹ This twelfth-century evidence appears trustworthy, even though a tomb build in honour of a queen and containing the skeleton of a woman was discovered in Affligem in 1930.³² A way to explain this apparent contradiction is to hypothesize that Adeliza's body might have been 'carved up', with a part having been buried in Reading and the other in Affligem. So, both monastic houses could have claimed the ownership of her body. However, this hypothesis cannot be demonstrated. Until this question is solved we cannot state with certainty that she was buried in Affligem and thus question the strength of her ties with Brabant at the end of her life.

Godfrey I's children never acted as representatives of the Brabantine comital power in England. Adeliza and Joscelin always pursued their own interests. This was particularly true in the context of the Anarchy, during which they tried in vain to reconcile King Stephen with Empress Matilda.³³ Adeliza and Joscelin's names rarely appear in the Brabantine documentation. Should we conclude that they no longer had any relations with Brabant once they settled in England? Of course not. Even after King Henry's death, Adeliza still had interactions with her family and her native country. In 1143, Adeliza and her second husband gave twenty *libratas terre* in the honour of Arundel to the abbey of Affligem. This gift was confirmed in 1154 by Henry II in the presence of Joscelin of Louvain, Adeliza's brother.³⁴ The witness lists of the charters reveal that a Brabantine delegation came to England for the reception of the gift. Some English aristocrats were also present in Brabant in the middle of the twelfth century. A charter indicates that a man called 'Godfrey the English, cousin of the duke,' was present at the Brabantine court in 1173. This man was probably one of the youngest sons of William I d'Aubigny and Adeliza or a son of Joscelin of Louvain and Agnes of Percy.³⁵ Thus, one cannot affirm that the exchanges between Brabant and England were interrupted in the second third of the twelfth century, as Adeliza, Joscelin, and their heirs still had strong ties with their native country until their death.

Duke Henry I, the Brabantine aristocracy, and the Anglo-Norman world

The interactions between the dukes of Brabant and the kings of England received a new impetus at the turn of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Thanks to his political talent, Duke

³⁰ Wertheimer, 'Adeliza of Louvain', 115; Guillardian, 'Les sépultures des comtes de Louvain', 502–3.

³¹ *Et preter hoc quando fui Radingie ad sepeliendam dominam et sororem meam Adaleidem reginam concessi predictis monachis essarta que prenominati tres homines occupaverant de dominio meo unde neque mihi neque monachis aliquod servitium faciebant* (*The Percy Fee*, no. 290, 360).

³² Guillardian, 'Les sépultures des comtes de Louvain', appendix 1, 536.

³³ Adeliza's role in the context of the Anarchy was particularly complex. As it does not concern her relations with her native country, I do not examine it here. On the topic, see Crouch, *The Reign of King Stephen*, 107–10; Wertheimer, 'Adeliza of Louvain', 112–5.

³⁴ *Cartulaire de l'abbaye d'Affligem et des monastères qui en dépendaient*, ed. Edgard de Marneffe, 1894, nos. 67–8, 104–7 (*DiBe*, nos. 1924 and 1965).

³⁵ [...] *Godefridus Anglicus, ducis cognatus* [...] (*Ibid.*, no. 145, 217–218; *DiBe*, no., 1976). See also David Crouch, *The English aristocracy, 1070–1272. A social transformation*, New Haven–London, 2011, 34.

Henry I of Brabant (1190–1235) became one of the most prominent figures of his time.³⁶ He played a major role on the political scene in the conflicts between King Philip II Augustus (1180–1223), the English monarchs, and the candidates to the Imperial throne. His relations seem to have been quite good with King Richard I (1189–1199), probably because their political agendas converged. Duke Henry is likely to have taken part in the final negotiations with Emperor Henry VI (1191–1197) for Richard’s release in February 1194.³⁷ The Lionheart promised to give him annual pensions in exchange for his homage. Richard made similar promises to several Lotharingian princes, such as Duke Henry III of Limburg (1165–1221) and his son Bishop Simon of Liège (1193–1194).³⁸ Richard spent almost a month in Brabant just after his liberation, which is quite surprising for a king whose position was particularly critical in his lands. Richard travelled to Louvain and Brussels, before boarding a ship in Antwerp. From there, he sailed to England, after a few days spent in the Zwin estuary, on the Flemish coast.³⁹ As John Gillingham has underlined, this long stay in Brabant and at the borders of Flanders probably followed a political agreement between the rulers. Indeed, Henry I and Richard I were allies of convenience in the middle of the 1190s.⁴⁰ Whereas Richard was in an open conflict with Philip II Augustus, tensions existed between Henry I and his neighbours Counts Baldwin V (1171–1195) and his son Baldwin VI of Hainault (1195–1205), who ruled over the counties of Flanders, Hainault and Namur (see map 1). In such a context, Richard and Henry concluded a treaty of mutual alliance. According to Gislebert of Mons, the chancellor and chronicler in the service of Baldwin V of Hainault, Richard I ‘promised aid to the duke against the count of Flanders and Hainault and marquis of Namur, and all the men enfeoffed by him promised aid for him against the king of France, so that at least they made such great war against the count of Flanders and Hainault that the count could by no means bring help to the lord king of France’.⁴¹ Gislebert claims that the treaty was never put into practice. Nevertheless, John Gillingham has convincingly argued that Richard I’s long stay in the Zwin estuary may have been part of the agreement, as his presence intimidated and assuaged Baldwin V, who had

³⁶ On Duke Henry I, see Georges Smets, *Henri I, duc de Brabant (1190–1235)*, Brussels 1908.

³⁷ On these events and the implication of the duke, De Sturler, *Les relations politiques*, 95–7, and John Gillingham, *Richard I*, New Haven 1999, 249–50.

³⁸ *Deinde rex Anglie promisit, et cartis suis confirmavit, quibusdam archiepiscopis et episcopis, et ducibus et comitibus, et baronibus multis de imperio, redditus annuos pro homagiis et fidelitatibus et auxiliis eorum contra regem Franciae. Receptit itaque homagium [...] de duce de Luvain [...] salva fidelitate imperatoris* (Howden, *Chronica*, III, 234). Towards 1200, King John was still indebted to the duke of Brabant (*Rotulus cancellarii, vel Antigraffum Magni Rotuli Pipae de tertio anno regni regis Johannis*, 1833, 157). According to De Sturler, *Les relations politiques*, 96, n. 76, this may have resulted from Richard’s liberation.

³⁹ Jacques Falmagne, *Baudouin V, comte de Hainaut (1150–1195)*, Montréal 1966, 248. Two charters of Richard I are dated from Louvain and Brussels. See *Hansisches Urkundenbuch*, ed. Konstantin Hölbaum, 4 vols, 1876–96, I, no. 40, 22–3, (Louvain, 16 February; Duke Henry I appears in the witness list), and *Chronique de l’abbaye de Ter Doest*, ed. Ferdinand Van de Putte and Charles Carton, 1845, no. 9, 40 (Brussels, 25 February; *DiBe*, no. 2758)

⁴⁰ Gillingham, *Richard I*, 250.

⁴¹ [...] *ipsique duci contra comitem Flandrie et Hanonie et marchionem Namurcensem auxilium promisit, et omnes infeodati ab eo auxilium ei promiserunt contra regem Francorum, ita quod saltem tantam comiti Flandrie et Hanoniensi guerram facerent, quod comes nequaquam domino regi Francie auxilium ferre posset* (*La chronique de Gislebert de Mons*, ed. Léon Vanderkindere, 1904, chap. 198, 284–5; here in the translation of *Chronicle of Hainaut*, transl. Laura Napran, Woodbridge 2005, 156). On Gislebert of Mons and the political context in Hainault at the turn of twelfth and thirteenth centuries, see Nicolas Ruffini-Ronzani, ‘Laws in the Making. The Production of the ‘Feudal’ and ‘Penal’ Charters of Hainault (July 1200)’, in *Identifying Governmental Forms in Europe, 1100–1350. Palaeography, Diplomats and History*, ed. Alice Taylor, Cambridge, forthcoming.

attacked several Brabantine towns in 1194.⁴² In return for the support he gave to Richard I, Duke Henry I received several possessions in Eastern England. The honour of Eye was the heart of the Brabantine insular estates at the turn of twelfth and thirteenth century, although the dukes also had possessions in Herefordshire, Lincolnshire, and Nottinghamshire (map 2 and table 1).⁴³ Henry I acquired the honour of Eye in fief, thanks to his marriage with Matilda, the daughter of Count Matthew of Boulogne (1160–1173), who once claimed rights on Eye.⁴⁴ Most of the English possessions of the dukes of Brabant were probably acquired at the end of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth century after the conclusion of political and military agreements.

These fiefs were pivotal in the relations between Duke Henry I and King John (1199–1216). Due to the political context, the relations between the rulers were particularly complicated. The Brabantine duke remained faithful to the English king in the months following the death of the Lionheart. According to the *Annales Wintonienses*, Duke Henry I and his relative Renaud of Dammartin, count of Boulogne (1190–1227), came in person to Westminster to pay homage for their English fiefs in May 1199, at the very beginning of John's reign.⁴⁵ However, Henry's position evolved in the following years. Like Renaud of Dammartin in 1202, he chose to support Philip II Augustus against King John in the early years of the thirteenth century.⁴⁶ In February 1205, the French king received the homage of Henry I at Pacy-sur-Eure in exchange for an annual pension of 200 silver marks.⁴⁷ A few days later, Henry and Renaud concluded in presence of Philip II Augustus the treaty of Vernon, according to which the duke of Brabant renounced his former claims on the Boulonnais in exchange for an annual pension. Both princes also reached an agreement about the English possessions of their father-in-law, the late Matthew of Boulogne.⁴⁸ This resulted in a major political crisis between Duke Henry I and King John. From February to April 1205, the latter ordered his officers to seize Henry's possessions in Eye, Sedgebrook, Croxton, and Costessey.⁴⁹ King John became reconciled with Henry I in 1208, probably because the latter distanced himself from Philip II

⁴² Gillingham, *Richard I*, 250; *La chronique de Gislebert de Mons*, chap. 204, 89–91.

⁴³ On the early history of the castle and honour of Eye, see Chris Lewis, 'The king and Eye: a study in Anglo-Norman politics', *EHR* 104, 1989, 569–89. Fourteenth-century documents reveal the composition of the fief of Eye given to the duke (*Calendar of the close rolls 1313–1318, Edward II*, 1893, 108). This explains why some sources written later than Henry's death in 1235 appear in table 1.

⁴⁴ [...] *et insuper duci Lovaniensi quandam terram in Anglia, quam Matheus comes Boloniensis, pater uxoris sue, reclamaverat, in feodo reddidit* [...] (*La chronique de Gislebert de Mons*, chap. 198, 285). According to De Sturler, *Les relations politiques*, 97, n. 78, it is likely that Matthew never had the real possession of Eye. About Matilda of Brabant, see Jean-Louis Kupper, 'Mathilde de Boulogne, duchesse de Brabant († 1210)', in *Femmes, mariages, lignages, XII^e–XIV^e siècles. Mélanges offerts à Georges Duby*, Brussels 1992, 233–55. On the duke's possessions in Eye, see also *Eye priory: cartulary and charters*, ed. Vivien Brown, 2 vols., Woodbridge, 1992–1994, particularly vol. 2, 31–33.

⁴⁵ *In crastino autem coronationis sue venerunt ad eum dux Lovanie et comes Bolonie et comes de Guines, exigentes ab eo iura sua, que tenentur habere in Anglia* (*Annales Wintonienses*, ed. Felix Liebermann and Reinhold Pauli, in MGH, SS, vol. 27, 1885, 449–458, at 453).

⁴⁶ Henri Malo, *Un grand feudataire : Renaud de Dammartin et la coalition de Bouvines. Contribution à l'étude du règne de Philippe Auguste*, Paris 1898, 72–3; Smets, *Henri I, duc de Brabant*, 114–5.

⁴⁷ Léopold Delisle, *Catalogue des actes de Philippe Auguste*, Paris 1856, no. 909, 209 (*DiBe*, no. 13710).

⁴⁸ Malo, *Un grand feudataire*, nos. 57–8, 283–6 (*DiBe*, nos. 13711–2).

⁴⁹ *Rotuli litterarum patentium in Turri Londinensi asservati* [now *RLP*], ed. Thomas Duffus Hardy, 1835, 50b (Eye, 25 February); *Rotuli litterarum clausurarum in Turri Londinensi asservati* [now *RLC*], ed. Thomas Duffus Hardy, 2 vols, 1833–44, I, 21 (Sedgebrook and Croxton, 2 March; see also *DiBe*, no. 13715) and 22 (Costessey, 11 March); De Sturler, *Les relations politiques*, 98–9.

Augustus.⁵⁰ Hence, the duke of Brabant recovered his English lands and rights.⁵¹ The fate of the Brabantine possessions in England was determined by the political relations between Henry I and the English kings. Henry's political positions evolved quickly and frequently during the 1210s and the 1220s, at the eve of the battle of Bouvines, during the First War of the Barons, and in the first years of Henry III's reign (1216–1272).⁵² As a result, the kings' officers seized the honour of Eye between 1213–1215, 1216–1217, and 1221–1225.⁵³ Henry I definitively lost Eye in 1227, when King Henry III attributed it to his brother Richard of Cornwall, probably because of a new conflict with the duke.⁵⁴ It is interesting to note that during these years Henry I tried in vain to marry one of his daughters to William II Marshall, the son of the famous earl of Pembroke and regent of England.⁵⁵ As has been stressed De Sturler, the tensions between Henry I and the English rulers were especially damaging for the Brabantine merchants, who were at times arrested and whose goods were frequently seized.⁵⁶

Duke Henry I and the English kings almost never personally met. They probably encountered each other on the Continent on important political occasions (for instance, during the negotiations regarding the liberation of Richard I), but such meetings seem to have been very rare or, at least, did not leave any traces in the records. Even though he had fiefs in eastern England, the duke of Brabant was hardly present on the Isles. It seems that he came into England only once, to perform homage for his fiefs in 1199. However, this does not mean that Henry I did not take an interest in his insular possessions. The duke made donations to English churches, granted some of his properties, and ordered works in his lands⁵⁷. In fact, Henry I mainly acted in England through representatives, who sometimes were members of the ducal family. Henry I's main right-hand man in England was Godfrey of Louvain, Count Godfrey III's illegitimate son (genealogical table 2). William of Louvain, Henry I's half-brother, may also have played such a role during the early thirteenth century.⁵⁸ These men maintained strong relations with their native country and frequently crossed the Channel to accomplish diplomatic missions for the Brabantine duke or the English king. This is certainly revealing of a reinforcement of the exchanges between Brabant and the Anglo-Norman world.

⁵⁰ Smets, *Henri I, duc de Brabant*, 124–5. We do not know why Henry I distanced himself from Philip II Augustus. According to Smets, the reconciliation between the duke of Brabant and King John in March 1208 was not linked with the struggle for the Imperial throne between Otto IV of Brunswick and Philip of Swabia, who was supported by the King of France. It must be added that a few months later, in the summer following the assassination of Philip of Swabia, Duke Henry I allied with the French king. They hoped that Henry will be able to grab the Imperial throne. See the charters published in Malo, *Un grand feudataire*, 279–80, nos. 65–6 (*DiBe*, nos. 14166–7).

⁵¹ *RLP*, 81 (26 March, Eye); *RLC*, I, 109b (7 April, Eye); *PR 1208, John*, 13 (Laxfield); *Rotuli chartarum in Turri Londinensi asservati*, ed. Thomas Duffus Hardy, 1837, 176b and 177b (1 May, Dennington).

⁵² Smets, *Henri I, duc de Brabant*, 135–85; De Sturler, *Les relations politiques*, 89–115. On Henry I's role in the battle of Bouvines (1214), see recently Dominique Barthélemy, *La bataille de Bouvines. Histoire et légendes*, Paris 2018, and Sergio Boffa, 'Le rôle équivoque joué par le duc de Brabant Henri I^{er} à la bataille de Bouvines (27 juillet 1214)', *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 59, 2016, 337–56.

⁵³ De Sturler, *Les relations politiques*, 102–5.

⁵⁴ *Calendar of the charter rolls* 6 vols, 1903–1927, I, 101 (6 October 1227).

⁵⁵ Ernest Van Bruyssel, 'Liste analytique des documents inédits concernant l'histoire des provinces belges qui existent en Angleterre, dans les archives de la chancellerie', *Bulletin de la Commission royale d'histoire* 12, 1859, 33–55, at 46–8.

⁵⁶ De Sturler, *Les relations politiques*, 106–11.

⁵⁷ *Eye priory*, vol. 2, 31–33.

⁵⁸ On William of Louvain, see *ibid.*, 92–3, n. 65

The case of Godfrey of Louvain is particularly interesting. As a natural child, he did not receive lands in Brabant. This did not prevent him from playing a major political role in the prince's entourage. Godfrey was present in England mostly from 1195 onwards. He was warden of the castle of Eye, which belonged to the dukes of Brabant from 1194 and for which he paid scutage in 1199.⁵⁹ Godfrey was also in the king's service. In 1208, for instance, he went on a diplomatic mission on the Continent for King John.⁶⁰ He also acted as an intermediary between the ruling monarch and the duke of Brabant in 1212, in the difficult context of the conflict between Frederick Hohenstaufen (1220–1245) and Otto IV of Brunswick (1209–1215) for the Imperial throne. Unfortunately for King John and Duke Henry I, who were among the supporters of Otto,⁶¹ Godfrey was arrested in Flanders by Louis of France, son of Philipp II Augustus, during his mission.⁶² He regained his freedom in the following months. Godfrey was frequently rewarded by the king for his services. For instance, he received a tunic and a grey coat from King John in January 1208 following a reconciliation between the king and the duke.⁶³ Although he shared his time between Brabant and England, as it appears through the witness lists of the Brabantine charters and the English rolls,⁶⁴ Godfrey chose to settle in England in the first quarter of the thirteenth century in company of Brabantine followers.⁶⁵ In 1200, he married Alice of Hastings, the widow of Ralph of Cornhill. He had to pay scutage on the latter's fiefs from that year on.⁶⁶ Godfrey of Louvain's possessions in England were scattered between different shires and were far away from the possessions of Duke Henry I (map 2 and table 1). It is clear that Godfrey was more than a simple Brabantine representative in England. He tried to make his own way in the Anglo-Norman world, probably because he knew he had no future in Brabant. The least that can be said is that he was highly successful in his undertaking. After his death around 1225, he was succeeded by one of his sons, Matthew, who also remained in England and who also played an intermediary role between the English

⁵⁹ *Godefridus de Luvein C. et quattuor XX. et I. m. de scutagio honoris de Eye (Rotulus cancellarii, 339)*. See also in 1208 and in 1225: *RLP*, 81, *RLC*, II, 10b, and the discussion of the family in *Eye priory*, XI–XII.

⁶⁰ *Invenite dilectis et fidelibus nostris H., archidiacono Staffordis, et Gerardo de Rodes et Godefrido de Luvanis et T. Theutonico, nunciis nostris quos mittimus circa negocia nostra, bonam et securam navem [...]* (*RLC*, I, 108).

⁶¹ On this topic, see Smets, *Henri I, duc de Brabant*, 131–2, and Natalie M. Fryde, 'King John and the Empire', in *King John: New perspectives*, ed. Stephen Church, Woodbridge 1999, 335–46.

⁶² *Godefridus de Luvein ex praecepto regis per Flandriam latenter iter faciens, ad ducem Luvein iturus, a filio regis Francie Lodowico captus est (Annales sancti Edmundii, in Memorials of St. Edmund's abbey, ed. Thomas Arnold, 3 vols, RS, 1890–1896, II, 22)*. See also, the same year, *RLC*, vol. 1, 130b: *Rex Heinrico duci Lovanii refert de hoc quod efficaciter intendit promotioni nepotis sui Othonis imperatoris Romani*.

⁶³ *RLC*, I, 100.

⁶⁴ In Brabantine charters: *Cartulaire d'Afflighem*, no. 235, 318–20 (1202, *DiBe* no. 13318); Joseph Daris, 'Notice historique sur l'abbaye de Beaurepart à Liège', *Bulletin de l'Institut archéologique liégeois* 9, 1868, 348 (1202, *DiBe* no. 31085); *Oorkondenboek van Noord-Brabant tot 1312*, 2 vols, 1979–2000, II/1: *De heerlijkheden Breda en Bergen op Zoom (709–1288)*, ed. Martien Dillo and Geertrui Van Synghel, no. 939, 159–60 (1212, *DiBe* no. 14893), etc. For mentions of Godfrey of Louvain in the royal documentation, see, among others, *RLC*, I, 14 (1204), 100, 108–109 (1208), 143, 147 (1213), 196 (1215), and vol. 2, 10 (1225); *RLP*, 50b (1205), 81 (1208), 105b (1213), etc.

⁶⁵ In the middle of the 1190s, Godfrey was sometimes accompanied by some followers in England: *Alexander capellanus Godefridi de Luvein debet I. m. pro iniusta retrencatione cursus aque. Serlo, serviens eius, debet dimidium m. pro eodem (PR 1195, Richard I, 6)*.

⁶⁶ *PR 1200, John*, 43, 46, 48, and 51. Alice of Hastings and Godfrey had at least three sons. Godfrey and Matthew were hostages of King John in 1213: *Duo filii Godefridi de Lovain obsides liberati sunt Roberto de Burgate in custodia (RLC, I, 143)*. John was a clergyman and is mentioned from the 1220s (*Eye priory*, vol. 1, nos. 68–69 and 187, 73–76 and 152–153).

and Brabantine rulers, as his father.⁶⁷ Some other Anglo-Brabantine aristocrats were also present in the duke's entourage in the middle of the thirteenth century, such as Robert of England, who appears in a ducal charter in 1243.⁶⁸

Of course, Duke Henry I and Godfrey of Louvain were not the only Brabantines in frequent contact with the English rulers. Dozens more were in England during King John's reign, especially for military and commercial purposes. The presence of Brabantine mercenaries in the Anglo-Norman world was nothing new. The anonymous warring "serf" mentioned in the above-mentioned charter of the abbey of St. Truiden might have been a mercenary.⁶⁹ Paid soldiers designated as 'Brabantines' are found in the sources from the middle of the twelfth century onwards.⁷⁰ It seems that their number increased in England from the beginning of King John's reign. Several Brabantine aristocrats and mercenaries appear in the chancery rolls of the early thirteenth century, particularly in the context of the First Barons' War. Some of them played a major role in the king's armies. As the terms *Brabantini* and *Brabantiones* were often used for referring to paid soldiers in general, it is difficult to determine whether the mercenaries designated as Brabantines in the sources really were native from Brabant or whether they came from other principalities, such as Flanders. In some cases, however, there is no ambiguity. Walter III Berthout, Godescalc of Machelen, the lords of Diest and the ministerial family of Huldenberg were among the Brabantines frequently present in England. Walter III Berthout, a member of one of the most powerful families from Brabant, was present in the king's entourage before 1215. As one of his main representatives in the Low Countries, he was put in charge of diplomatic missions, such as political negotiations with Count Louis II of Loos (1191–1218) in 1208.⁷¹ Godescalc of Machelen and Walter Buc, whose origin is unclear, were among the chiefs of the Brabantine paid soldiers in the king's armies.⁷² In 1215, they had the responsibility of recruiting mercenaries in the Low Countries and were allowed to promise payments in the king's name.⁷³ These men also exerted ward duties in important castles such as Rochester and

⁶⁷ On Matthew I of Louvain, De Sturler, *Les relations politiques*, 97, n. 67. Matthew became the new warden of Eye after his father's death. See the undated charter of Duke Henry I published in *Ecclesiastical documents*, ed. Joseph Hunter, 1840, 63–4, and its confirmation by King Henry III in April 1226: *Patent rolls of the reign of Henry III*, 6 vols, 1901–13, II: 1225–1232, 27 (*DiBe*, no. 34908). See also *Eye priory*, vol. 1, no. 187, 152–153.

⁶⁸ [...] *Roberto de Anglia, nostro consanguineo* [...] (Roger De Ganck, 'The three foundations of Bartholomew of Tienen', in *Cîteaux. Commentarii Cistercienses* 37, 1986, 49–75, at 73).

⁶⁹ *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Trond*, I, no. 21, 28–9.

⁷⁰ Sergio Boffa, 'Les mercenaires appelés « Brabançons » aux ordres de Renaud de Dammartin et leur tactique défensive à la bataille de Bouvines (1214)', *Revue du Nord* 99, 2017, 7–24, at 18 (see the bibliography at n. 79). See also Eljas Oksanen, 'The Anglo-Flemish treaties and Flemish soldiers in England, 1101–1163', in *Mercenaries and paid men. The mercenary identity in the Middle Ages*, ed. John France, Leiden–Boston 2008, 261–273.

⁷¹ *RLP*, p. 82b; De Sturler, *Les relations politiques*, 90–1. About the Berthouts, see Godfried Croenen, *Familie en macht. De familie Berthout en de Brabantse adel*, Louvain 2003.

⁷² De Sturler, *Les relations politiques*, 90, n. 45, and Boffa, 'Les mercenaires', 22, regard Walter Buc as Brabantine. There was indeed a knightly or ministerial family called Boc in Brabant during the thirteenth century (Croenen, *Familie en macht*, 190 and 250). Nevertheless, a survey in the *Diplomata Belgica* reveals that people called *Buc* or *Buk* were also originating from Flanders at the beginning of the thirteenth century. See *DiBe*, nos. 14200 and 15457 for John and Lambert Buc in Ypres (1208 and 1215), 28547 for Jordanus Buc in Eeckhout, near Bruges (1211), etc. On these mercenaries, see also Stephen D. Church, *The household knights of King John*, Cambridge 1999, 113–114. Historians have traditionally seen Godescalc as an aristocrat from the city of Mechelen. However, he is more likely Godescalc of Machelen, a small village in Brabant. I am grateful to Godfried Croenen for his very useful remarks about the Brabantine aristocracy.

⁷³ For instance, see *RLC*, I, 138 and (1213, Walter Buc and Gerard of Zottegem); *RLP*, 156 (1215, Walter III Berthout, Gerard of Zottegem, and Godescalc of Mechelen); De Sturler, *Les relations politiques*, 90–91.

Winchester.⁷⁴ Some of them received money-fiefs and lands as a reward for their support to the English rulers (map 2 and table 1). Godescalc of Mechelen and his heirs settled in Montgomery, at the Welsh frontier, while the bulk of the possessions of the lords of Diest were in Yorkshire and Nottinghamshire. Their presence oversea demonstrates how effective the ties between Brabant and the England were at the beginning of the thirteenth century.

Conclusion

From the aftermath of the Anglo-Norman Conquest of England until the end of King John's turbulent reign, interactions between Brabant and England intensified, although they were never as strong as the Anglo-Flemish relations. Even though Brabantine warriors and clergymen were present in England during the eleventh century, the cross-Channel exchanges between Brabant and the Isles grew in number only from the early twelfth century, when King Henry I sought to reinforce his authority on the Continent at the expense of William Clito. The marriage between Henry I and Adeliza, daughter of Count Godfrey I of Louvain, marked the beginning of a new proximity between the two rulers, who allied during the Flemish civil war in 1127–1128. After a hiatus of a few decades likely due to the Anarchy, the exchanges between Brabant and England intensified at the turn of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, in the context of the rivalries between the Angevin kings and Philip II Augustus. Duke Henry I was most of the time a precious ally to Richard I and John. However, it should be noted that he always acted in his own interests, and not necessarily in accordance with the English political agenda. This was also the case of the other members of the Brabantine family who were present in England, such as Joscelin and Godfrey of Louvain.

The Anglo-Brabantine relations provided mutual benefits to both sides. The political and military support of the English kings was profitable to the dukes of Brabant, who were in competition with the counts of Flanders and the counts Hainault in the Low Countries. Furthermore, the dukes received gifts, such as a precious banner given by Queen Adeliza, and fiefs, among which the important honour of Eye, in return for the help they gave to the Anglo-Norman rulers. If these grants constituted a source of revenue for the dukes, they were also a source of prestige. Indeed, the good relations with the English kings were still commemorated in the dukes' entourage in the fifteenth century. The Anglo-Norman rulers also benefited from their relations with the Brabantine elites. The dukes' political support helped them to countervail the authority of their rivals on the Continent, such as William Clito in the 1120s and Philip Augustus at the turn of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Moreover, it is likely that the institutional ties which existed between the Emperors and the dukes of Brabant (who theoretically had a superior authority in Lower Lotharingia until 1190) were invaluable in the kings' eyes, as the dukes were in a position where they could accomplish diplomatic missions in favour of the Anglo-Norman rulers at the Imperial court.

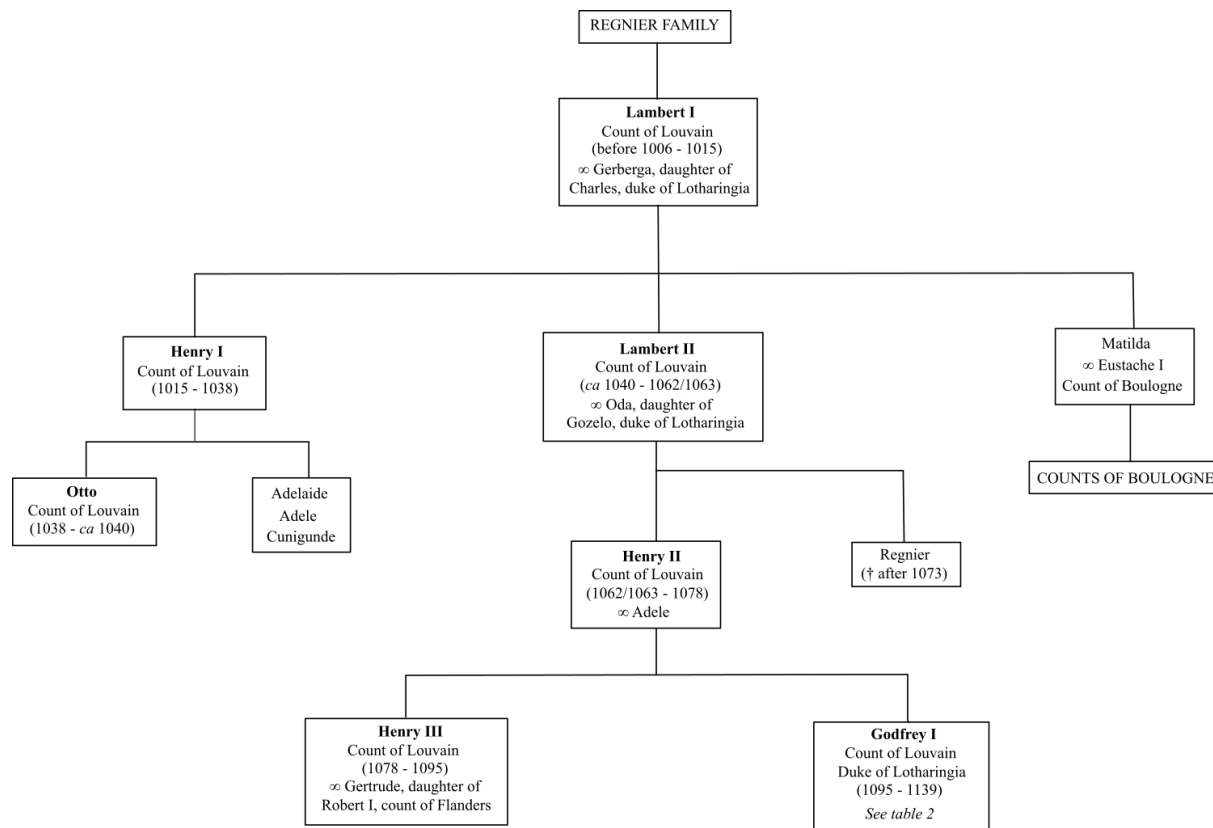
The good relations between the kings and the dukes fostered exchanges between the Brabantine and the Anglo-Norman lay elites in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Joscelin

⁷⁴ *RLP*, 178b and 188b (1216, Godescalc of Mechelen in Rochester and in Winchester); *RLC*, I, 583 (1224, the same in Montgomery).

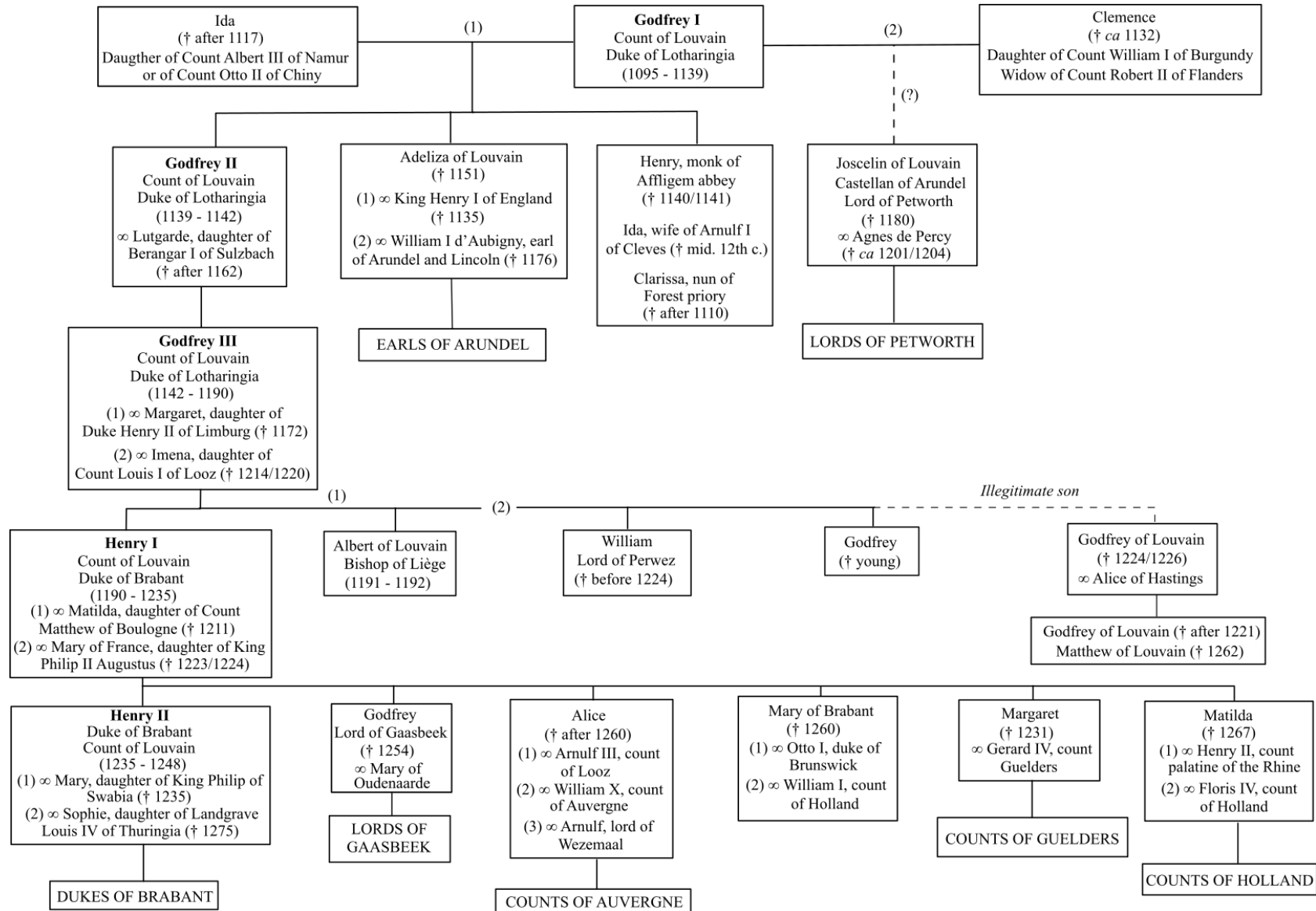
and Godfrey of Louvain, natural sons of Count Godfrey I and Count Godfrey III, were among the Brabantines who played a prominent role overseas. They were not the only ones. In the context of the political turmoil of King John's reign, many mercenaries and aristocrats originating from Brabant placed themselves in the service of King John. Some of them made their fortune in England and settled there, such as the heirs of Godescalc of Mechelen at the Welsh frontier. Further prosopographical investigations would provide us with a better understanding of their role in England, especially in military duties or at the service of Brabantine merchants who largely benefited from their support in the early thirteenth century.

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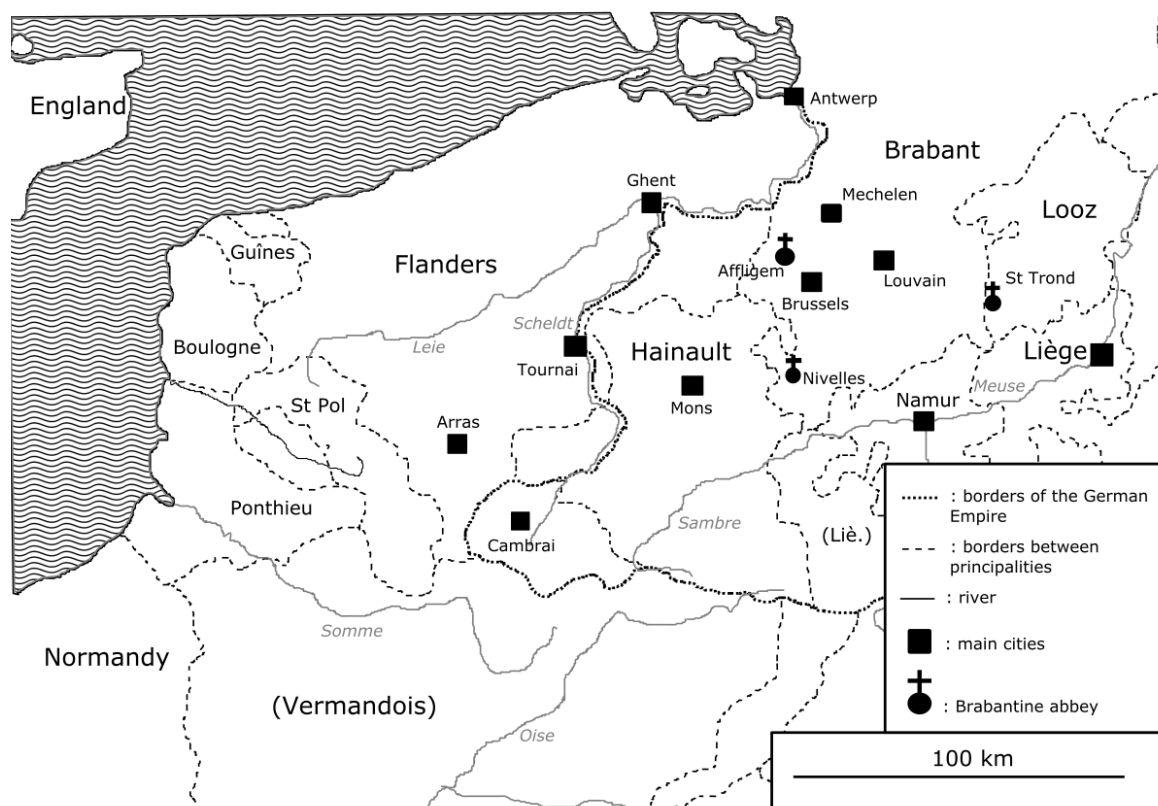
Genealogical table 1 – The counts of Louvain before 1139



Genealogical table 2 – The counts of Louvain / dukes of Brabant in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries



Map 1 – The duchy of Brabant in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries



Map 2 – Brabantine possessions in England in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries

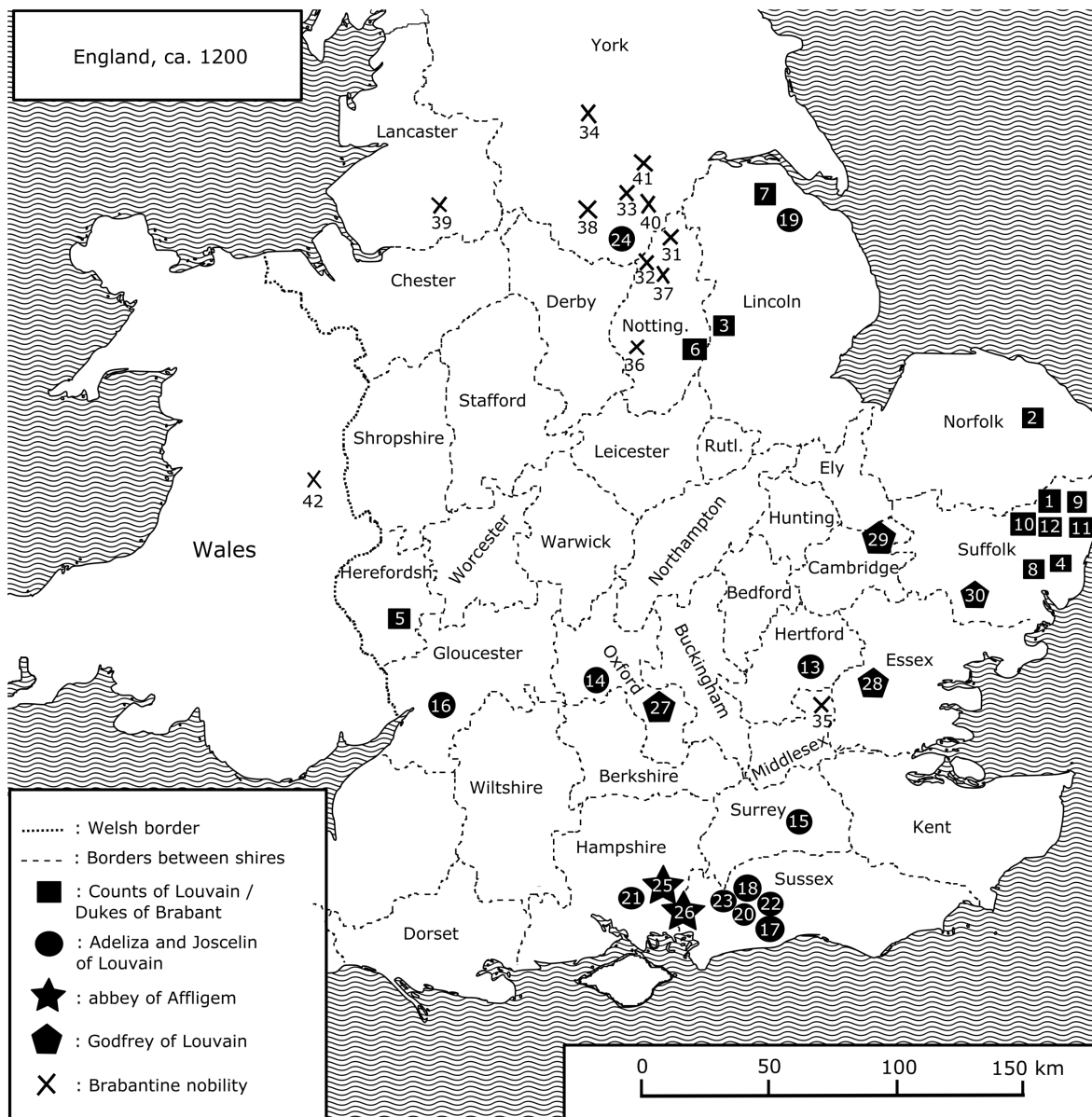


Table 1 – Brabantine possessions in England in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries

Id.	First mention	Owner	Land	Mention	Source
1.	1198	Count of Louvain	Eye	[...] <i>de firma de Eye</i> [...] <i>anno antequam daretur ducisse Luvanie</i> [...]	<i>PR 1198, Richard I, 94</i>
2.	1199	Count of Louvain	Costessey	<i>Et baillivis ducis Lovanie LXXVII s.</i> [...] <i>apud manerium de Costeseia</i> [...]	<i>PR 1199, John, 263</i>
3.	1199	Count of Louvain	Welbourn	[...] <i>pro escambio terre sue de Welleburn quam R. reddidit duci Lovanie</i>	<i>PR 1199, John, 132</i>
4.	1203–1204	Count of Louvain	Badingham	<i>Et bene warrantizo priori et conventui de Eya ecclesiam de Badingeham sicut de elemosina mea et antecessorum meorum.</i>	<i>Eye priory, vol. 1, no. 30</i>
5.	1204	Count of Louvain	Dormington	[...] <i>sexaginta acras terre cum pertinentiis in parco de Durmieton tenendum sibi et heredibus suis de Henrico, duce Lotharingie</i> [...]	<i>Rotuli chartarum, 137b</i>
6.	1205	Count of Louvain	Sedgebrook	[...] <i>III. carrucas terre de Sekebroc et de Croxton empte sint per ducem Lovein</i> [...]	<i>RLC, vol. 1, 21.</i>
7.	1205	Count of Louvain	Croxton	[...] <i>III. carrucas terre de Sekebroc et de Croxton empte sint per ducem Lovein</i> [...]	<i>RLC, vol. 1, 21.</i>
8.	1208	Count of Louvain	Dennington	[...] <i>totum manorium de Dineveton quod Henricus dux Lotharingie ei dedit</i> [...]	<i>Rotuli chartarum, 176b and 177b</i>
9.	1208	Count of Louvain	Laxfield	–	<i>PR 1208, John, 13</i>
10.	1224–1225	Count of Louvain	Thorndon	[...] <i>concessi autem praedicto Mathaeo</i> [...] <i>tota demenia Eye et Torendon</i> [...]	<i>Ecclesiastical documents, 63–64</i>
11.	1314	Count of Louvain	Brundish	–	<i>Calendar of close rolls, 1313–1318, 108</i>
12.	1314	Count of Louvain	Tannington	–	<i>Calendar of close rolls, 1313–1318, 108</i>
13.	1136	Adeliza of Louvain	Aston	[...] <i>concessi et perpetualiter dedi Deo et ecclesie sancta Marie de Radingia</i> [...] <i>Eastonam mmanerium meum</i> [...]	<i>Reading abbey cartularies, nos. 370–371</i>
14.	ca. 1136	Adeliza of Louvain	Stanton Harcourt	<i>Notum vobis facio concecisse et dedisse Deo et ecclesie sancta Marie de Radingia</i> [...] <i>centum solidatas terre in manerio meo Stanton in Oxonefordschira</i> [...]	<i>Reading abbey cartularies, nos. 534–536</i>

15.	1140	Adeliza of Louvain	Betchworth	[...] <i>ex dono Adelicie regine uxoris regis Henrici culturas de Berchewerda et boscum Norholt et pasturas pertinentes</i>	<i>Regesta</i> , III, no. 921, 335
16.	1147–1150	Adeliza of Louvain	Berkeley Hernesse	<i>Sciatis me concessisse et dedisse ecclesie de Radingia et monachis ibidem Deo servientibus [...] ecclesias de Berkelay Hernes [...]</i>	<i>Reading abbey cartularies</i> , nos. 268–272
17.	ca. 1153–1154	Adeliza of Louvain	Arundel	[...] <i>sicut Willelmus comes Arondell et regina Adelicia ipsi illum dederunt</i> <i>Honor de Arundel. [...] de veteri firma eiusdem honoris de pluribus annis preteritis, qui similiter remanserunt super homines eiusdem Jocelini</i>	<i>Percy Fee</i> , no. 288, 358 <i>PR 1186–1187, Henry II</i> , 109
18.	ca. 1153–1154	Joscelin of Louvain	Petworth	<i>Sciatis me concecisse et confirmasse Jocelino fratri regine Adelicie honorem de Petteworth [...]</i>	<i>Percy Fee</i> , no. 288, 358
19.	ca. 1174	Joscelin of Louvain	Ludford	[...] <i>totum manerium de Ludforda cum omnibus pertinentiis suis</i>	<i>Percy Fee</i> , no. 68, 66–67
20.	ca. 1175–1180	Joscelin of Louvain	Heyshott	<i>Sciatis me dedisse et concecisse [...] Hesselam et Hameledonam et molendina Wintonie pertinentia ad Hameledonam</i>	<i>Percy Fee</i> , no. 284, 352–353
21.	ca. 1175–1180	Joscelin of Louvain	Hambledon	<i>Sciatis me dedisse et concecisse [...] Hesselam et Hameledonam et molendina Wintonie pertinentia ad Hameledonam</i>	<i>Percy Fee</i> , no. 284, 352–353
22.	Before 1180	Joscelin of Louvain	Sutton	[...] <i>terram de Fernust, que pertinuit ad Hesshite, et molendinum de Suttune [...]</i>	<i>Percy Fee</i> , no. 291, 360
23.	1188	Joscelin of Louvain	Eringeham (Petworth)	<i>Et in Eringeham quam Wuam willelmus de Alta Ripa perquisivit versus Joscelinum nepotem Joscelini fratris regine [...]</i>	<i>PR 1187–1188, Henry II</i> , 3
24.	1190	Joscelin of Louvain	Wales	<i>De scutagio Walie. [...] Feodum quod fuit Jocelini de Luvain debet LV s. pro militibus</i>	<i>PR 1190, Richard I</i> , 73
25.	1143	Abbey of Affligem	Idsworth and Westmerendona	<i>XX l. terre in Angliam de honore de Arundello scilicet Ideswordam et Westmerendonam [...]</i>	<i>Cartulaire d’Afflighem</i> , no. 67, 104–106
26.	1143	Abbey of Affligem	Aldsworth	[...] <i>et terram de Aldesworda que fuit Wilhelmi forestarii [...]</i>	<i>Cartulaire d’Afflighem</i> , no. 67, 104–106
27.	1201	Godfrey of Louvain	Radnage	<i>Et Godefrido de Luvein X l. in Radenach</i>	<i>PR 1201, John</i> , 162

28.	1202	Godfrey of Louvain	Great Easton	<i>Godefridus de Luvein VII. l. et XI. s. et XI d. de Eistanes et de Wica de anno IX^o</i>	<i>PR 1202, John, 263</i>
29.	1202	Godfrey of Louvain	Wicken	<i>Godefridus de Luvein VII. l. et XI. s. et XI d. de Eistanes et de Wica de anno IX^o</i>	<i>PR 1202, John, 263</i>
30.	1202	Godfrey of Louvain	Sudbury (?)	<i>Et L s. de firma de Sobire</i>	<i>PR 1202, John, 263</i>
31.	1197	Lords of Diest	Styrrup	<i>[...] de firma de Stirap et Vlescotes que fuerunt Arnaldi de Diest [...]</i>	<i>PR 1197, Richard I, 154</i>
32.	1197	Lords of Diest	Oldcotes	<i>[...] de firma de Stirap et Vlescotes que fuerunt Arnaldi de Diest [...]</i>	<i>PR 1197, Richard I, 154</i>
33.	1197	Lords of Diest	Denaby Main	<i>Et de LXV s. et X d. de firma de Daningebi que fuit eiusdem de anno integro</i>	<i>PR 1197, Richard I, 154</i>
34.	1197	Lords of Diest	Thornton	<i>Et Ernulfo de Diest pro instauramento manerii de Torenton [...]</i>	<i>PR 1197, Richard I, 198</i>
35.	1199	Lords of Diest	Cheshunt	<i>[...] de redditu assiso de Cestrehunt de termino sancti Michaelis anni preteriti postquam Aernulfus de Diest habuit terram illam</i>	<i>PR 1200, John, 88</i>
36.	1197	<i>Ministeriales</i> of Huldenberg	Strelley	<i>[...] de firma de Stradleg que fuit Arnaldi de Heldeberewe de dimidio anno</i>	<i>PR 1197, Richard I, 154</i>
37.	1197	<i>Ministeriales</i> of Huldenberg	Nettleworth	<i>Et de XVI s. de firma de Netlewurda [...]</i>	<i>PR 1197, Richard I, 154</i>
38.	1197	<i>Ministeriales</i> of Huldenberg	Tinsley	<i>Et VIII l. de firma de Tineslaw [...]</i>	<i>PR 1197, Richard I, 154</i>
39.	1197	<i>Ministeriales</i> of Huldenberg	Ordsall	<i>Et de XLVIII s. et III d. de firma de Ordeshal</i>	<i>PR 1197, Richard I, 154</i>
40.	1197	<i>Ministeriales</i> of Huldenberg	Mexborough	<i>Et de C s. et III d. de firma de Mekeburc [et] de Acwich de anno integro</i>	<i>PR 1197, Richard I, 154</i>
41.	1197	<i>Ministeriales</i> of Huldenberg	Adwick upon Dearne	<i>Et de C s. et III d. de firma de Mekeburc [et] de Acwich de anno integro</i>	<i>PR 1197, Richard I, 154</i>
42.	1224	Godescalc of Machelen	Montgomery	<i>Dominus rex commisit Huberto Huse et Godescallo de Maghelin castrum de Mungumery et honorem de Muntgumery</i>	<i>RLC, 583</i>