

THE IPSWICH ANCESTORS OF GEOFFREY CHAUCER

by KEITH BRIGGS

INTRODUCTION

IN 1905 VINCENT REDSTONE published a genealogy of the fourteenth-century poet, author, and civil servant Geoffrey Chaucer (c.1340–1400).¹ This pedigree, shown in Fig. 219, was very largely based on his study of the town court rolls in the Ipswich archives. It was assumed correct by Kern in his early work on the poet's family and has been accepted by all later authors.² This acceptance is implicit in the definitive 1966 edition of Chaucer's life-records by Crow and Olson, and no later biographer has expressed more than slight doubts concerning Redstone's conclusions.³ Crucially, no author since Redstone has performed any independent research in the archives in order to verify his reading and interpretation of the documents. The very influential biography by Coulton presented a parentage for Chaucer based solely on the work of Redstone, and this work has had seven subsequent editions and numerous reprintings without any changes to the family history section.⁴ Matheson, in his re-assessment of Chaucer's ancestry, did query the correctness of some branches of the family tree, but not the main stem starting with Robert the Taverner.⁵ The more recent biography by Pearsall takes his data on Chaucer's parentage from Matheson and is thus indirectly dependent on Redstone.⁶ Bestul, though concerned with only the site of Chaucer's London house and not his parentage, had sufficient perception to note several deficiencies in Redstone's methodology.⁷ But those deficiencies were not acknowledged by the author of the most recent biography, Turner, who again reproduces Redstone's history of the Ipswich ancestors.⁸ An uncritical acceptance of what has now become the orthodox view of the Chaucer genealogy is still apparent in the work of Robinson on Italian influences on the poet.⁹

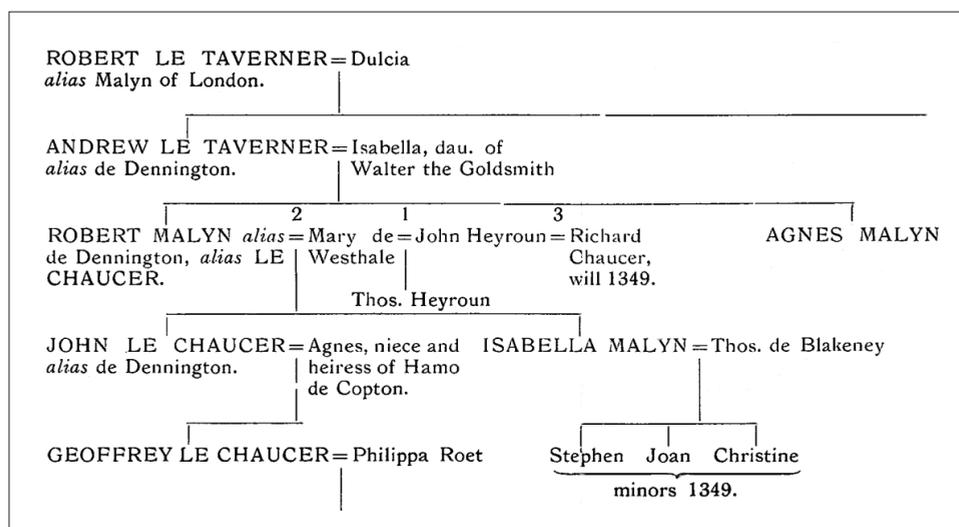


FIG. 219 – The Chaucer family tree of Redstone (1905). Only the part directly ancestral to Geoffrey le Chaucer (the poet) is shown.

I intend to show that much of the Redstone family tree is no more than conjecture, and that the earlier parts are certainly faulty. A reading of Redstone's 1905 article will show that he provides no evidence at all for many of the family links, but even worse is the fact that it is not possible for the reader, without access to the original documents, to know that some of his alleged evidence misrepresents his sources. The faulty methodology of Redstone is well illustrated by the following two typical examples. On page 188, he states that:

in 1288 Isabella, the widow of Andrew the Taverner, mortgaged to William Malyn the tavern formerly held by Duce Malyn, and afterwards by Andrew de Dennington and Walter Aurifaber, father of Isabella ⁽²⁶⁾.

Here his footnote 26 refers to an explicit item in an Ipswich great court roll.¹⁰ But that item does not use the name Malyn at all, it does not refer to a tavern, but rather a messuage with a house (*unum mes' cum dom'*), and it does not mention Duce Malyn as the former holder. The man Redstone names as William Malyn is in fact William of Dennington Taverner (*Will's de Dýneýeueton Tabernar'*) in the roll, and Andrew is not said to be of Dennington. Another problem is illustrated by Redstone's footnote 27, allegedly referring to the will of the year 28 Edward I of a William Malyn, son of Robert the Taverner. The source of the will is not specified, but the only likely candidate is the will of a William son of Robert the cleric (*Will'i filii Rob'o clerico*) in an Ipswich great court roll.¹¹ Although this will does mention Isabel daughter of Walter the Goldsmith (*Isabella filia Walt'i Aurifabri*) and is likely to record relevant family connections, it nowhere uses the names Malyn or Taverner, and Robert the Taverner is nowhere else recorded as a cleric. The interpretation of the evidence here is therefore not as clear-cut as Redstone would have us believe. He writes, in these instances and elsewhere, implying that he is quoting his primary sources, but he has often failed to identify them sufficiently, and has reinterpreted them to fit his preconceived theories. Redstone moreover makes the unsafe assumption that all Ipswich people bearing the surname Taverner are related. In the late thirteenth century, most occupational surnames were genuinely descriptive of occupation, and were not necessarily inherited. Ipswich in this period surely had more than one tavern, and thus potentially many unrelated Taverners.

For this work, therefore, I have re-examined all the primary sources in The National Archives and the Suffolk Archives (dating from 1275 to the early 1300s), with the intention of providing a genealogy which only includes links for which there is unambiguous contemporary documentary evidence. After some introductory remarks, the procedure will be to collect all available references to the potential direct ancestors of Geoffrey, to put them in chronological order to determine approximate *floruits*, and to note references to sons, daughters, and widowhood. Only when this material is collected and systematically displayed will it be possible to construct a new and corrected genealogy.

It is important to understand the nature, and especially limitations, of the primary sources on which all conclusions must be based. In the present work, these comprise taxation records, two rentals, and town court rolls; a conspectus of these documents is below. The tax records come from the Exchequer in London; the other documents are local to Ipswich. By far the most important for our purpose are the Ipswich town court rolls, which contain two series of great and petty pleas respectively. These rolls, one of the most extensive sets of any medieval English borough, are all unpublished.¹² Most of the entries in these rolls concern property transfers and disputes, and debts. The separate court sessions are always dated by regnal year and a proximate saint's day.¹³ Of course, none of these were created for the purpose of which we are now using them. But they are of some use for genealogical work because the court clerk often identified a woman as the wife of a named husband, and children by a named father, though he

was never concerned to record more distant family connections. The limited range of given names in use makes conflation of distinct people a risk, and there is always the danger that the same person might appear under different surnames, without these being explicitly stated to be aliases, especially when these are of a nickname or byname character.

Constructing genealogies in the thirteenth century is, therefore, always difficult. Even in the case of the better-documented aristocracy, there is the common danger of forged pedigrees. For the merchant class of Ipswich with which we are here dealing, we have no birth or marriage records, and death dates, when recorded at all, are knowable only indirectly via wills and probate records in the town court rolls, or by the incidental mention of a wife as a widow. We therefore cannot give precise ages to any of the potential Chaucer ancestors, making the sequencing of the generations difficult.

The main male branch of the second to fifth generation in Redstone's tree is not in dispute, since these relationships are confirmed by an entry in an Ipswich recognizance roll of 18 July 1343, which mentions *Joh[ann]es le Chaucer de London filius Rob[er]ti filij Andree de Dyny-tone*.¹⁴ John Chaucer, vintner of London and son of Robert le Chaucer, is generally accepted as the father of Geoffrey.¹⁵ The dubious stages studied here concern the connection of the alleged patriarch Robert the Taverner to the other Taverners, and more importantly the female members of the first two generations. On the latter point, these chief questions tackled here are whether or not Dulcia (Duce) Malyn is identical to Malyn of London, and whether Isabel Malyn is identical to Isabel the wife of Andrew the Taverner. Other relationships, such as Redstone's purported siblings of Andrew and Robert, are also uncertain but are not studied here.

Robert the Taverner

We start at the top of Redstone's tree. Robert the Taverner is known only from two entries in the earlier of the Holy Trinity rentals (Fig. 220), and from an Ipswich great court roll of 1280.¹⁶ He must have been dead by the time of the later rental (1283–4). Neither document gives any indication of his ancestry or relations, and therefore it is unsafe to include him in the Chaucer genealogy. Redstone apparently put him at the head simply because he is the earliest recorded

	Earlier rental <i>a.</i> 1275	Later rental 1283–4	Annual rent
a	<i>Rob[er]tus Tab[er]narius</i>	<i>Duce Malyn [...] pro tab[er]na sua</i>	<i>x sol. + x sol.</i>
b	<i>Will's Chop</i>	<i>Philippus Harnays [...] pro domo quond' Will'i Schoop</i>	<i>vi d. + vi d.</i>
c	<i>Malina de Lūdres</i>	<i>Duce Malyn [...] pro selda quond' Siluestr'</i>	<i>iii d. + iii d.</i>
d	<i>Robert le Tau[er]n[er] pro domo Morel</i>	<i>Roisia Ballard [...] pro domo quond' Ricardi Morel</i>	<i>viii d. + viii d.</i>

FIG. 220 – The records of four Ipswich tenements (a, b, c, d) in the two rentals of Holy Trinity priory of Ipswich. The annual rents, which did not change in the period between the two rentals, were made up of two semestral payments.

Ipswich man with the surname Taverner; this is unjustified. There is, moreover, no evidence at all that the wife of Robert the Taverner was Dulcia (see below).

Malina de Lundres (i.e. of London)

I have shown in a previous publication that the claim that Malyn of London was an alias of Robert the Taverner is certainly wrong.¹⁷ The proof depended on the fact that Malyn of London was a woman, her name being written *Malina de Lūdres* in the only record of her name, the earlier of two rentals of Holy Trinity Priory in Ipswich (see Fig. 220). The form of her name was miscited by Redstone, who anglicized it as Malyn of London and took it to represent a man. In fact, the correct reading *Malina* is here the latinized form of a feminine given name, and men in this period were very rarely referred to by a surname alone.¹⁸ These facts throw into doubt one of Redstone's principal assumptions: that the surname Malin (or Malyn) was used by some of the descendants of Robert the Taverner because this was one of his aliases. It is certain that the name Malin, when used as a surname, does not descend from this Robert. Very likely it comes from *Malina de Lundres*, even though her precise family connection to the later Malins is unknown. She is only known to have been alive before about 1275. This early date makes it theoretically possible that she is the matriarch of the later Malin clan; this term seems appropriate as at least ten people with the surname Malyn occur in the Ipswich court rolls in the period up to and including the reign of Edward III.

Duce (Dulcia, Duze, Duc') Malyn

Let us next consider the woman named Dulcia in Redstone's first generation. She appears as *Dulcia Malyn* and *Duze Malyn* in the tax record of 1283.¹⁹ She is assessed as having goods worth £10, including wine, a carriage and horses, and silver bowls. This puts her well above average wealth for the town, and makes it certain that one of her interests was a wine import business. Another direct record of *Dulcia Malyn* is as *Duce Malyn* (the first name now being in a French rather than a latinized form),²⁰ in the later of two rentals of the priory of Holy Trinity.²¹ Here we see that she ran a tavern (*taberna*), certainly the same one as rented by Robert the Taverner (*Tabernarius*) approximately ten years earlier. It was this fact which led Redstone to conclude that Duce was the wife of Robert Taverner; he assumed, as we have seen above, that this Robert was identical with *Malina de Lūdres*; that he had died before 1283, with Duce inheriting the property, and furthermore that Duce had the surname Malyn because that was Robert's surname. But with the correct interpretation of Malina as a woman, this whole line of argument collapses. There is no evidence that Duce Malyn was related to Robert Taverner (whether by blood or by marriage), and she was probably just an unrelated new tenant of his former tavern.

Two important further references were missed by Redstone: two items in an Ipswich petty court roll of 1288 mention *Duc' Malyn*, and a tavern named as *taberna Duc' Malyn*.²² But none of the documents refers to any family connections for this woman. Although it cannot be proven, she may have been the daughter of *Malina de Lūdres*. Her surname would then be a metronym, a type commonly used in this period. Alternatively, but less likely, it may be that *Malina de Lūdres* is simply the same person as Duce Malyn, where in the later record *Duce* is a mere nickname meaning 'sweet', rather than being a given name.

Andrew the Taverner

With the conclusion that Duce Malyn is not proven to be the wife of Robert Taverner, we may move to the next generation in Redstone's family tree. The earliest documentary reference to

Andrew the Taverner (*Andr' le Tauerner*) is in fact his will, recorded in an Ipswich great court roll of 1281.²³ He leaves a message, rent, and goods to his wife Isabel and children Robert and Agnes. After this, his name continued to serve to identify his wife, who frequently appears in the Ipswich court rolls, at least up to 1305, as *Isabel que fuit uxor Andre' le Tau'ner* or similar.²⁴ That Andrew the Taverner and Andrew of Dennington are the same man is established by an entry in a great court roll of 1285, in which Isabel is said to be the former wife of *Andr' de Digneueton*.²⁵ The case concerned a large debt of £11 to Vitali de Losele, a Gascon merchant (said to be *de portu S'te Mar'*, which is the present Port-Sainte-Marie on the Garonne), and confirms Isabel's significant involvement in the wine trade. The identity is also confirmed by two much later recognizance roll entries, the first of 1327 referring to a tavern formerly of Andrew de Dynnyngton,²⁶ and the second being the 1343 item already mentioned. Andrew was evidently still remembered sixty years after his death.

Redstone assumes that Andrew the Taverner is the son of Robert, but presents no proof. Further, he assumes that the woman appearing in rolls as Isabel wife of Andrew the Taverner is identical to another called Isabel Malin. We examine next the evidence for the Isabellas of Redstone's second generation, but do not consider the Isabella Malyn in his fourth generation, the alleged sister of John le Chaucer.

Isabel Malin and Isabel wife of Andrew Taverner

As these two names *a priori* may or may not represent the same woman, very careful attention to the records is necessary. An Isabel Malyn first occurs in an Ipswich great court roll of 1281, where she acknowledges a debt from Nicholas, parson of Witnessham.²⁷ We next find her in 1284 in connection with a debt to Arnald le Sensur.²⁸

In 1288 and in 1301–2 three court cases provide very valuable evidence that these two names represent the same woman. On 27 April 1288 a case opened in the petty court wherein Isabel the former wife of Andrew the Taverner (*Isab' que fuit ux' Andr' le Tauern'*) appeared in a plea of debt against William de Bray. Just two days later, the case continued, but with Isabel now called *Isab' Malyn*.²⁹ At almost the same time, a longer-lasting case opened in the great court with a dispute between *Isabella que fuit ux' Andr' le Tau'ner* and *William de Dyneyeueton*.³⁰ The case continued in the petty court, with Isabel now named twice as Malyn, but at the close of the case in July 1288 she is back to the Taverner surname again. Most importantly, a long-running dispute with John le Man over land in 1301–2 is recorded in nine court sessions, with Walter de Westhale acting as attorney for Isabel.³¹ Crucially, she is named as the former wife of Andrew the Taverner in every record, but two references to this case in February 1302 have the additional surname *Malyn* or *Malin* underlined and inserted (Fig. 221).

The best interpretation of this evidence is that Malin was Isabel's maiden name, and this surname was occasionally revived after the death of her husband Andrew in 1281. It follows that Isabel's mother, or possibly a more distant female ancestor, had Malin as a given name. This ancestor is quite likely to have been Malina of London, and Duce Malin may have been Isabel's sister, but there is no absolute proof for these suppositions. The alternative interpretation, that there were two Isabels who were confused by the court clerks in the three records of the previous paragraph, is much less plausible.

Isabel, named only as the former wife of Andrew the Taverner, occurs in three subsequent cases: in July 1288 against the merchant John *de Osynoun*;³² in 1290 against *Galfr[idus] le Rus* (otherwise *le Rede*); in 1303 against Walter de Huntingfield; and in 1304 against William Malin.³³

Isabel was still alive in 1305, but has not been noted later under either surname.³⁴ Her numerous appearances in the courts prove that she was economically active in the tavern busi-

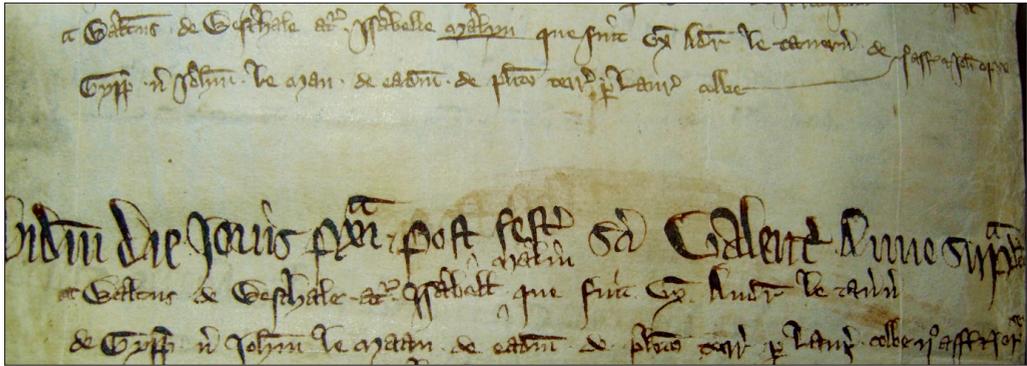


FIG. 221 – *Isabelle Malyn que fuit ux' A[n]dr' le Tauern'* and *Isabell' \Malin/ que fuit ux' Andr' le Tau'n'* in the Ipswich great court roll C/2/1/1/17, the case against John le Man in courts of Thursdays 1 and 15 February 1302. The first surname is underlined, and the second is inserted (reproduced by the kind permission of Ipswich Borough Council).

ness from at least 1281 to 1305. A further question is whether this Isabel can be identified in unrelated documents. Here an *Isabella*, daughter of Matilda, who held one acre in Pannington in Wherstead (4.7km south–south-west of Ipswich) in *c.*1289 is of potential interest; perhaps she had invested her tavern profits in farmland.³⁵ Given that the name Malin is a short form of a name latinized as Matilda (see note 20), it is theoretically possible that this is our Isabel Malin, with the implication that Matilda is Malina de Londres.

William the Taverner of Dennington, and other Taverners

In 1288 there is an item in an Ipswich petty court roll, in which Isabel Malyn is attached to produce as mainperneur William le Taverner.³⁶ Redstone assumed that this was one of two separate brothers-in-law of Isabel both called William, these being brothers of her husband Andrew the Taverner. But this is quite uncertain; a mainperneur could be any trustworthy person willing to stand as surety, not necessarily a family member.³⁷ The court rolls between 1279 and 1288 have frequent references to a William the Taverner, sometimes as William the Taverner of Dennington.³⁸ He also appears in the 1283 tax list.³⁹ The precise relationship of this William (or these Williams) to others with the same surname is unknown. A family connection to Andrew the Taverner of Dennington is very likely, but even if this relationship is brotherhood, there is no certainty that any of these Williams used the surname Malyn, despite their being so listed in Redstone's genealogy. The William Malyn mentioned below may be one of these Taverners, but this cannot be demonstrated. Another Taverner was *Ran[ulf] le Tauern'*, mentioned twice as having a son William, this son potentially being one of the William the Taverners.⁴⁰

Ipswich around 1300 was a thriving port served by many trades and the taverns, with the connected wine import business, must have been important in the local economy.⁴¹ The tavern recorded under the name *Holletaverne* in 1309 and 1315 was very likely associated with the Chaucer ancestors studied here.⁴² In the earlier document it is described as the house of William Malyn (*domo predicti Will' [Malyn]*), and in the later document, William Malyn claims that he used to pay rent for the said tavern. The tavern was in the parish of St Laurence and was perhaps the same building as one of tenements a or d in the rentals (see Fig. 220). It was quite likely on or near the present Tavern Street, though the present street name appears not to be ancient.⁴³

The name incorporates the Middle English noun *bolle* meaning ‘cave, den’, or the related adjective in the sense ‘hollow, cavernous’.⁴⁴ This William Malyn may have been one of the two Williams stated by Redstone (without evidence) to be brothers of Andrew the Taverner, if that family connection is correct. But given all this uncertainty, these Williams must be omitted from the Chaucer family tree. It is certain that none of them are ancestral to Geoffrey Chaucer.

CONCLUSIONS

We finally arrive at the genealogy of Fig. 222 in which the dashed lines represent connections which are likely, but not provable, from the available evidence. Implicit in this figure is a claim that all other people mentioned in this study have no provable connections to these established branches.

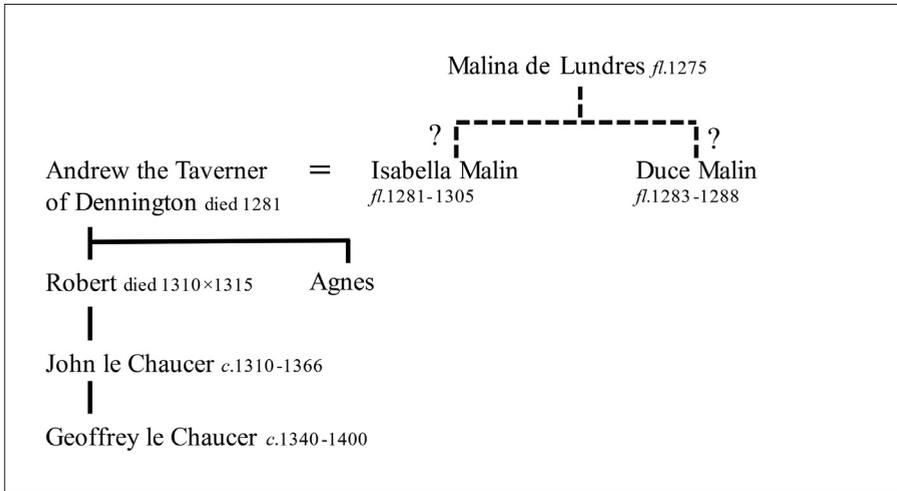


FIG. 222 –The Chaucer family tree determined by the present work.

It seems certain that all the people mentioned in this study were in the tavern trade and if, as seems very likely, the descent on the distaff side is from Malina de Lundres, then she may have initially established an Ipswich connection in order to import wine for the London market. There would then be a remarkable five-generation association with the wine business, culminating in Geoffrey Chaucer’s appointment as controller of customs for the port of London, a very lucrative position which gave him the leisure to write.⁴⁵ The occupational surname Chaucer appears to have first used by Robert, the father of John le Chaucer; he is mentioned as Robert le Chaucer of London in an item dated 1327 in the Ipswich recognizance rolls.⁴⁶

Finally, we should consider how it happened that Redstone came to different conclusions to the present work, though using the same documents. Redstone (1853–1941) was an English master at Woodbridge School. He spent much of his leisure time in the study of Ipswich historical documents.⁴⁷ His methodology seems to have been to browse his sources in order to build up a general picture of the relationships in which he is interested, but when it came to writing up the results for publication, he did not think it necessary to provide evidence for every step of his arguments. If his note-taking were deficient, he may not have been able to locate vaguely remembered references. It is possible to some extent to deduce his working methods from his own manuscript English summaries of the court rolls.⁴⁸ Though at first appearing to

correspond directly to the sources, closer examination shows that these notes often miscite names and merge entries from separate courts, which are not individually identified. There are also errors in the computation of saints' days, and occasionally of regnal years. Another factor is that in Redstone's time, the discipline of onomastics (the study of names) had hardly begun, and so it is understandable that Redstone made errors in the interpretation of names, especially of surnames. By modern standards, these procedures are inadequate. Redstone's daughter Lilian worked on Chaucer documents, mostly those kept in London, for American employers to a higher standard, contributing significantly to Crow and Olson.⁴⁹

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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APPENDIX

Conspectus of Source Documents

The two rentals of the Priory of Holy Trinity in Ipswich are Cambridge University Library (CUL), MS Add. 10185 (the earlier rental, rediscovered in 2017), and Suffolk Archives (SA) HD1/9/1/4/1 (the later rental). The dates of the two rentals have been determined to be before 1275, and 1283–4 respectively.⁵⁰ Both were transcribed by Hunt, who had access to both documents before the loss of the first rental.⁵¹

The tax records are The National Archives (TNA), E179/242/42, an assessment of individuals for the thirtieth granted to Edward I in 1283 for Ipswich. A related document TNA E179/242/40, probably a detached part of the previous assessment, does not mention any potential Chaucer ancestor. The transcriptions in Powell are not fully reliable, and all readings here have been taken from images of the original documents.⁵² Further details are available on the TNA E179 database.⁵³

The Ipswich court rolls are all in the SA. They are the great plea (or portmanmote) rolls C/2/1/1/x, starting from 39 Henry III (1255); and the petty plea rolls C/2/3/1/x, starting from 13 Edward I (1285). They are described and catalogued in Allen.⁵⁴ The great court sat fortnightly on Thursdays. The petty court sat more frequently, on various days of the week. The recognizance rolls are C/2/4/1/x, starting from 23 Edward I (1294). They are also described and catalogued in Allen.⁵⁵ The earlier rolls are edited as English summaries in Martin.⁵⁶

NOTES

- 1 Redstone 1905. Redstone also published a brief summary of his conclusions in *The Athenæum* no. 4087 (1906), 233. The faulty genealogy can be found copied onto many family history websites.
- 2 Kern 1906.
- 3 Crow and Olson 1966. This volume renders obsolete the earlier life-records in Selby 1900.
- 4 Coulton 1908, 12.
- 5 Matheson 1991.
- 6 Pearsall 1992, 11–14.
- 7 Bestul 2008.
- 8 Turner 2019, 34.
- 9 Robinson 2021, 45–6

- 10 C/2/1/1/10, court of Thursday after the feast of St George, 16 Edward I (29 April 1288).
- 11 C/2/1/1/16, court of Thursday after the feast of St Hilary, 28 Edward I (14 January 1300).
- 12 Martin 1954.
- 13 The regnal year is often indicated as *anno supradicto*, making confusion a risk if the membranes are not head to foot in chronological order, or when (as is the case with the later documents), they are sewn at the heads in 'Exchequer' style.
- 14 C/2/4/1/31, printed in Redstone 1905, 199.
- 15 Whitford 1935; Crow and Olson 1966, 2–3.
- 16 C/2/1/1/5, *Rob'm le Tau'ner* in dispute with *Will's Falledeu*, court of Thursday at the conversion of St Paul, 8 Edward I (25 January 1280).
- 17 Briggs 2019b.
- 18 Throughout this article, name-forms are printed in italics only when they represent exactly what is written in the source document; these are nearly all latinized or French forms, very often abbreviated. Names in normal upright font represent modernized or normalized forms. Thus Isabel stands for *Isabella*, *Isabel'*, *Isab'* etc. in the documents, and the man I call Robert the Taverner typically appears as *Rob'tus le Tau'ner* or *Rob't le Tauern'*. The less common name Duce, latinized as *Dulcia*, appears once as *Duze*, with <z> here representing the sound [ts] or [s] according to the Anglo-Norman convention (and not [z] as in English spelling). Some rare examples of surnames used alone are given by Seltén 1965.
- 19 E 179/242/42 in an inserted narrow parchment strip (*Dulcia Malyn*), and E 179/242/42 membrane 3 (*Duze Malyn*).
- 20 The name Malin is not derived from Mary as stated by Matheson 1991, 178. It is rather a pet form of Anglo-Norman and Middle English *Mall* or *Mald* (which also produced *Maud*), which are reduced forms of Old French *Mabald*, from Germanic *Mahltidis*. This was demonstrated by McClure 1998, 102–4. The name was latinized in documents as *Matilda*, but this was not a medieval vernacular form. There is no significance in the spelling difference between *Malyn* (the most common form in the documents), and *Malin*.
- 21 MS Add. 10185 and HD1/9/1/4/1.
- 22 C/2/3/1/5, courts of Tuesday after the feast of St George, 16 Edward I (27 April 1288), and of Friday after the feast of St Botolph (18 June 1288). The first entry has *Duc' Malyn* in dispute with William de Bray. The second entry concerns an argument between *Joh's Anneys* and *Will'm fil' Ran' le Tauern'* over silver wine vessels (*argentas pro vino*). These were perhaps the same cups called *cyffis argenteis* and mentioned as property of *Duze Malyn* in the tax list E 179/242/42. A dispute between Hugh, prior of Holy Trinity, and William Malin over a silver cup (*u'm ciphum argent'*) also occurs in C/2/1/1/20, court of Thursday after the feast of St Vincent, 2 Edward II (23 January 1309). This is the same case in which the *Holletau[er]ne* is mentioned; see note 42.
- 23 C/2/1/1/6, court of Thursday before the conversion of St Paul, 9 Edward I (23 January 1281).
- 24 C/2/1/1/19, court of Thursday after the feast of St Luke, 33 Edward I (21 October 1305).
- 25 C/2/1/1/9, court of the day after the feast of St Valentine, 13 Edward I (15 February 1285).
- 26 Martin 1973, 132.
- 27 C/2/1/1/6, court of Thursday after the feast of St Augustine, 10 Edward I (28 May 1281).
- 28 C/2/1/1/8, court of Thursday after the feast of St Peter ad vincula, 11 Edward I (5 August 1283). The surname of *Arnald le Sensur* is of obscure meaning and may be miswritten.
- 29 C/2/3/1/5, courts of Tuesday after the feast of St George, and Thursday before the feast of SS Philip and Jacob, 16 Edward I (23 April and 1 May 1288).
- 30 *Dyneyeueton*, *Digneueton* etc. are authentic early spellings for the place-name Dennington (and for no other place), which is 27km north–north-east of Ipswich (Briggs and Kilpatrick 2016, 42). The speculations about alternative interpretations by Redstone 1905, 193–4 are not needed.
- 31 The opening of the case is recorded in C/2/1/1/17, court of Thursday before the feast of SS Simon and Jude, 29 Edward I (26 October 1301), and it continues in the fortnightly courts until 29 March 1302.
- 32 The man was evidently a Gascon merchant, but the correct form of the surname is uncertain. In later court rolls the name appears as *de Osynoun*, *Dosinoun*, *Dosynoun*, and *Dusyoun*. The underlying place-name may be of Basque origin, and a guess for the place might be the present Oriñón, between Santoña and Castro Urdiale in northern Spain.
- 33 The three cases are respectively (1) C/2/3/1/6, courts of Wednesday at the translation of St Thomas, and the following day, 16 Edward I (7 and 8 July 1288); (2) C/2/1/1/11, courts of Thursday after the feast of St Barnaby, Thursday the feast of SS Peter & Paul, Thursday the feast of St Laurence, 18 Edward I (15 and 29 June, and 10 August 1290); (3) C/2/1/1/18, courts of Thursday before the feast of St Laurence, and Thursday after the nativity of Mary, Thursday after the feast of St Margaret, all 33 Edward I (6 August, 10 September, 18 November 1304). *Galfridus* (*Galf'*, *Galfr'* in the rolls) was used as a latinization of Geof-

- frey (as also by the poet himself), and the surname here means ‘red-haired’ (French *Rus*, English *Rede*).
- 34 C/2/1/1/19, court of Thursday after the feast of St Luke, 33 Edward I (21 October 1305).
- 35 Allen 2018, 279.
- 36 C/2/3/1/5, court of Thursday before the feast of St Barnaby, 16 Edward I (10 June 1288).
- 37 I thank Henry Summerson for advice on this point.
- 38 For example, *Will'm le Tau'ner* in C/2/1/1/5, court of Thursday after the feast of St Lucy, 8 Edward I (14 December 1279), and *Will'm le Tau'ner de Digneueton* in C/2/1/1/7, court of Thursday after the feast of St Gregory, 12 Edward I (16 March 1284).
- 39 E 179/242/42.
- 40 C/2/3/1/5, courts of Tuesday after the feast of St Barnaby and Friday after the feast of St Botulph, 16 Edward I (15 and 18 June 1288).
- 41 See for example Amor 2011, 22, though this work deals with a slightly later period.
- 42 *le Holletau'ne* in C/2/1/1/20, court of Thursday after the feast of St Vincent, 2 Edward II (23 January 1309); and Martin 1973, 61.
- 43 Clegg 1984, 11.
- 44 Oxford English Dictionary <https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/87732> and <https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/87733> (accessed 28 December 2022). The name cannot mean ‘Holly Tavern’ as stated by Redstone 1905, 189.
- 45 Crow and Olson 1966, 148. The occupational surname Chaucer is now known to mean a maker of hose or leggings, not shoes as was once thought, see Hanks *et al.* 2016, 479.
- 46 Martin 1973, 132; further discussion in Matheson 1991, 179–81.
- 47 Anonymous obituary in *Proc. Suffolk Inst. Archaeol.*, 24, 61 (1946).
- 48 SA, John Blatchly Local Studies Library, 942.64 IPS.
- 49 Crow and Olson 1966.
- 50 Briggs 2019a.
- 51 Hunt 1847.
- 52 Powell 1905, 137–57.
- 53 <https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/e179/>.
- 54 Allen 2000, 43–51 and 58–62.
- 55 Allen 2000, 73–81.
- 56 Martin 1973.

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