

THE NORMAN ARISTOCRACY IN THE LONG ELEVENTH CENTURY: THREE CASE
STUDIES

by

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SHORT ABSTRACT

This is a study of three aristocratic families significant in Normandy and England in the eleventh century – namely the house of Tosny, the counts of Eu, and the house of Montgomery. It seeks to uncover their careers, estates and relationships before and after 1066. It also attempts to understand the balance of power between the Norman dukes and the aristocracy, and considers how aristocratic families were affected by the union of Normandy and England. The introduction outlines the aims of the thesis and the reasons why it is necessary. It explores some important historiography relating to the Norman aristocracy and its place in the cross-Channel polity. It discusses the main sources which will be used, and it outlines the shape and structure of the thesis. Chapter 1 is a case study of the house of Tosny until the death of Ralph III de Tosny in 1102 or 1103. It shows how the fortunes of individual families were affected not just by their relationships with the dukes, but also by their relationships, friendly or hostile, with other aristocratic families. Chapter 2 is a study of the counts of Eu, who offer a different perspective on the relationship between aristocracy and rulers because they were close relatives of the dukes, entrusted with concentrated, castle-based lordships on the frontiers of both polities. Chapter 3 focusses on the house of Montgomery, and on Roger II de Montgomery in particular, until his death in 1094. It shows how dukes could raise their own favourites to the very highest level of the aristocracy, and reveals some of the ways the challenges of a cross-Channel career were navigated. The conclusion brings together the key observations from each case study and seeks to explain some of the differences and similarities between each family's experiences of the long eleventh century.

LONGER ABSTRACT

This is a study of three aristocratic families significant in Normandy and England in the eleventh century – namely the house of Tosny, the counts of Eu, and the house of Montgomery. It seeks to uncover their careers, estates and relationships before and after 1066. It also attempts to understand the balance of power between the Norman dukes and the aristocracy, and considers how aristocratic families were affected by the union of Normandy and England.

The introduction sets out some of these questions in more detail. It begins by stating the aims of the thesis, and some reasons why it is necessary. It then introduces the three families under study, and reveals why they have been chosen. The main part of the introduction is concerned with the historiography of the aristocracy. It outlines some key points of Robert Bartlett's thesis which describes how Europe was created by the spread of people and ideas from the areas once ruled by the Carolingians. The introduction also describes and engages with the historiographical model of 'feudal revolution', which draws attention to aristocratic ambitions and the threat they posed to public authority and the integrity of kingdoms and principalities. The introduction goes on to consider how Bartlett's *Making of Europe* and the model of 'feudal revolution' invite exploration of the contest between ducal and aristocratic power in Normandy, and the methods which enabled the colonization of England after 1066. It suggests some of the ways aristocrats in Normandy sought to monopolize power in their heartlands, and some of the reasons why dukes were able to convince their subjects to cooperate with ducal power. The introduction then asks how the conquest of England affected the relationships between aristocrats and rulers. It shows how aristocratic methods of territorialization were adapted in England, and it emphasizes the need for prosopographical case studies to test John Le Patourel's theories about the aristocracy's role in the union of

Normandy and England. It then describes the most significant historiography relating to the three families under study. The introduction also identifies and explores the merits of the key sources used throughout this thesis – namely charters, chronicles (particularly Orderic Vitalis) and Domesday Book – and it finishes by outlining the shape and structure of the thesis.

Chapter 1 is a case study of the house of Tosny. The origins of the Tosnys can be traced exceptionally early, to William Longsword's appointment of an early family member, Hugh, as archbishop of Rouen in 942. Hugh would use his close relationship with Duke Richard I to enrich his own brother, Ralph, with his archbishopric's property at Tosny and Conches, both of which would become centres of power for Ralph's ancestors. Despite the Tosnys' strong relationship with the dukes in the tenth century and in parts of Richard II's reign, it will be shown that families who flourished under Duke Robert I and Duke William II provided stern competition, both locally and at the ducal court. Roger de Tosny's rivalries with some of those families encouraged him to become one of the first Norman nobles to entrench themselves by means of a monastic foundation, at Conches, around 1035. The tension between Roger de Tosny and his more recently favoured rivals was made explicit in the first half of the 1040s, when Roger was killed during his attack on the lands of Humphrey de Vieilles. In *c.* 1061, Roger's heir, Ralph III, was exiled through his association with enemies of Roger II de Montgommery, a particular favourite of Duke William II. These flash points indicate that the Tosnys, despite – or perhaps because of – their early success, were threatened by more recently flourishing rivals throughout Duke William II's pre-Conquest reign. By 1066, Ralph III and his relatives no longer enjoyed the closeness to the dukes which had facilitated the Tosnys' enrichment in the tenth century. Nonetheless, despite their fractious relationship with Duke William II, the house of Tosny remained significant, and William gave English estates worth over £200 to Ralph, his brother Robert of Stafford, and their relative, Robert de Tosny. This invites comparison between the post-Conquest activities and priorities of those three tenants-

in-chief. The commitment of Robert of Stafford and Robert de Tosny to English careers far exceeded Ralph's because their Norman interests were meagre. An honorial community emerged around Robert de Tosny's castle and priory at Belvoir, composed largely of men imported by Robert from the area around Tosny itself. By contrast, Ralph devoted relatively little energy to England, spending the vast majority of his time in Normandy and even Spain after 1066. His relative aloofness from English affairs was shared by other nobles who chose to patronize the same abbeys as Ralph in Normandy. Ralph's uneasy relationship with William the Conqueror remained evident during Curthose's rebellion of 1078, and also in Ralph's response to William's death in 1087, when he immediately expelled ducal garrisons from his own castles. Ralph remained militarily active in Normandy until the last few years of his life, not just in the service of Curthose and William Rufus, but also in private warfare against neighbours who were closer than he was to the rulers of Normandy.

Chapter 2 is a study of the counts of Eu. The counts of Eu offer a different perspective on the relationship between aristocracy and rulers because they were close relatives of the dukes. The first count of Eu was William I, an illegitimate son of Duke Richard I. He was initially a count holding lands around the castle of Exmes in the Hiémois, having been granted a concentrated lordship there in or soon after 996. However, having forfeited his first comital endowment through his rebellion against Duke Richard II, William endured a spell of imprisonment before receiving the castle of Eu and its surrounding lands after 1017. Count William I's rebellion, and that of his son, Count William II, prompt reflection on the inherently unstable nature of the early comital institution in Normandy. The descent of Eu until the 1040s reveals how dukes retained a decisive influence over early Norman counties. However, as the eleventh century progressed, Eu was also part of the process by which counts established the right to pass their counties intact to their descendants. It is seen that the property Count William I of Eu's son, Count Robert of Eu, received in the rape of Hastings closely resembled the county

of Eu in shape and concentration. Their similarity and locations on either side of a short stretch of the English Channel suggest that King William granted Robert the rape of Hastings with the security and unity of the cross-Channel polity in mind. Robert dominated the rape of Hastings using strategies similar to those employed at Eu – most importantly, through a combination of castle, religious foundation and lordship. It is notable, though, that several of the most significant families in the county of Eu were not Robert's subtenants in England in 1086. Indeed, some of Robert's most important vassals in Sussex originated far from Eu, or around the county of Eu's periphery. This hints at Robert's reluctance to deprive his Norman county of too many of the important vassals upon whom his authority around Eu partly depended. Robert's enduring concern for his Norman county caused him to spend greater time in Normandy as King William's reign progressed. By the last years of Robert's life, he clearly preferred to focus on Norman concerns. Robert was able to devote more time to Normandy in his later years by entrusting the administration of the rape of Hastings to his son, William III. William III had been a significant tenant-in-chief in his own right during Robert's lifetime, and he did not inherit the county of Eu until 1089 or 1090. William III's career is remarkable for his changes of loyalty in the period of divided rule after 1087. On the one hand, William's changes of allegiance demonstrate the difficulties Robert Curthose and William Rufus faced in trying to base their power upon a stable group of loyal subjects. On the other, the dangers of such inconstant behaviour were revealed by the gruesome punishment William III received for his part in the plot to place Count Stephen of Aumale on the English throne in 1095. Overall, the counts of Eu in the eleventh century show how the creation of concentrated castle-based lordships on the Norman and English frontiers was a double-edged sword which carried significant risks and benefits for the rulers of both polities. That Count Robert and his descendants retained Eu in spite of their occasional resistance to the rulers of Normandy is

testament to the success of strategies of entrenchment pursued by the counts of Eu in the eleventh century.

Chapter 3 focusses on the house of Montgomery, and on Roger II de Montgomery in particular. It begins by considering the political importance of the early lords of Bellême, because Roger II de Montgomery acquired a large part of his continental lands through his marriage to Mabel de Bellême. The chapter then moves on to Roger II's own family, and considers what is known of the origins and career of his father, Roger I. Roger I prospered in Duke Robert's reign, when he acquired vicecomital office and property at Troarn and Almenêches which had belonged to the ducal abbey of Fécamp as recently as 1025. However, in *c.* 1040, Roger I rebelled against Duke William II and spent time in exile. Despite this setback, Roger II would become one of William's most trusted companions by the middle of the eleventh century. In fact, his presence at the ducal court was also sufficient to establish a close relationship with Duke William's other favourite, William fitz Osbern, even though William fitz Osbern's father had been murdered by a brother of Roger II in 1040. Around 1050, Roger II married Mabel de Bellême and acquired a stake in her father's property around Sées and Alençon. Roger's continental estate grew still further when he became lord of Bellême following the death of Mabel's uncle, Bishop Ivo of Sées, around 1071. Roger's command of the estates of the house of Bellême redefined the limits of Duke William's power. By 1066, Roger II was one of the most important members of Duke William's inner circle, and he had consolidated his grip on his considerable continental estate by founding three monasteries at Troarn, Sées and Almenêches. His closeness to Duke William is reflected in the huge estate he received in England, where he was the wealthiest member of the lay aristocracy in 1086. His rape of Arundel in Sussex was easily accessible from his property near the mouths of the rivers Orne and Dives, so it can be perceived that Roger, like Count Robert of Eu, received a specific block of property in Sussex in order to support the unity of William's cross-Channel polity.

However, Roger's centre of gravity in England was not in Sussex, but in his earldom of Shropshire. Although he spent much of King William's reign on the continent, Shropshire gradually attracted more of his attention, and it was here that he concentrated most of his energies towards the end of his life. His ambitions in Shropshire were symbolized by the Benedictine abbey he established at Shrewsbury. Roger was able to devote increasing time to Shropshire because his eldest son, Robert II de Bellême, was allowed increasing influence as his agent in Normandy. Analysis of Roger's lordships in both polities reveals other types of local representatives who must have aided the administration of his enormous cross-Channel estate. It also lends weight to Le Patourel's vision of a unified cross-Channel polity, for several of Roger's subtenants can be identified as cross-Channel landholders who accompanied him in Normandy and England. The house of Montgomery thus offers insights into the ways dukes could raise their own favourites to the very highest level of the aristocracy, and Roger II's career reveals how the challenges of maintaining a cross-Channel career might be navigated.

The conclusion brings together the key observations from each case study and seeks to explain some of the differences and similarities between each family's experiences of the long eleventh century. It considers the interaction between ducal power and aristocratic ambition, and explores some of the ways dukes might encourage or resist aristocratic strategies for entrenchment or expansion. It also explores how families were affected by the balance of power within the aristocracy itself. The importance of the ruler's favour for the success of individual families receives particular emphasis, for the case studies demonstrate several ways in which rulers could shape the aristocracy from above. The conclusion then describes how the cohesion of the Norman aristocracy was promoted by the shape and origins of some aristocratic estates in Normandy, and by relationships of noble families with each other and the dukes. Attention is drawn to the variety of ways the cross-Channel polity was experienced, and to the forces promoting or undermining its fundamental unity. Above all, it is seen that the fortunes of the

Conquest generation after 1066 are best understood in light of the ambitions, strategies and relationships seen in Normandy before the invasion of England.

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Abbreviations

A. D.	Archives départementales
Allen, ‘Norman Episcopate’	R. Allen, ‘The Norman Episcopate, 989–1110’, unpublished PhD thesis, 2 vols. (University of Glasgow, 2009).
AN	<i>Annales de Normandie.</i>
ANS	<i>Anglo-Norman Studies.</i>
ASC	Anglo-Saxon Chronicle in <i>EHD 1042-1189</i> , ed. Douglas and Greenaway, no. 1.
ARTEM	<i>Chartes originales antérieures à 1121 conservées en France</i> , eds. C. Giraud, J.-B. Renault and B.-M. Tock (online edition, 2012, accessible at http://www.cn-telma.fr/originaux/listechartes/).
Bates, <i>Normandy</i>	D. Bates, <i>Normandy Before 1066</i> (London and New York, NY, 1982).
Bates, <i>William the Conqueror</i> (2004)	D. Bates, <i>William the Conqueror</i> (Stroud, second edition, 2004).
Bates, <i>William the Conqueror</i> (2016)	D. Bates, <i>William the Conqueror</i> (London and New Haven, CT, 2016).
Bauduin, <i>La première Normandie</i>	P. Bauduin, <i>La première Normandie (X^e-XI^e siècles). Sur les frontières de la haute Normandie: identité et construction d’une principauté</i> (Caen, 2004).
(BI)HR	<i>(Bulletin of the Institute of) Historical Research.</i>
B. L.	London, British Library
B. N.	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale
BSAN	<i>Bulletin de la Société des antiquaires de Normandie.</i>

- Caen*, ed. Musset *Les actes de Guillaume le Conquérant et de la reine Mathilde pour les abbayes caennaises*, ed. L. Musset (Caen, 1967).
- Cal. Chart. Rolls* *Calendar of the Charter Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office*, 6 vols. (London, 1903-1927).
- Calendar*, ed. Round *Calendar of Documents Preserved in France Illustrative of the History of Great Britain and Ireland*, ed. J. H. Round (London, 1899).
- Cartulaire de Conches*, ed. de Haas *Le grand cartulaire de Conches et sa copie: transcription et analyse*, ed. C. De Haas (Firmin-Didot, 2005).
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- Cownie, *Religious Patronage* E. Cownie, *Religious Patronage in Anglo-Norman England 1066-1135* (Woodbridge, 1998).
- Ctl. Préaux*, ed. Rouet *Le cartulaire de l'abbaye bénédictine de Saint-Pierre de Préaux*, ed. D. Rouet (Paris, 2005).
- Ctl. Saint-Vincent*, eds. Charles and Menjot d'Elbenne *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Vincent du Mans (ordre de Saint Benoît). Premier cartulaire: 572-1188*, eds. R. Charles and S. G. J. M. Menjot d'Elbenne (Mamers and Le Mans, 1886-1913).
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- Davies, *Age of Conquest* R. R. Davies, *The Age of Conquest: Wales 1063-1415* (Oxford, second edition, 2000).

<i>EHD 1042-1189</i> , eds. Douglas and Greenaway	<i>English Historical Documents, 1042-1189</i> , eds. D. C. Douglas and G. W. Greenaway (London, second edition, 1981).
<i>EHR</i>	<i>English Historical Review</i> .
<i>Exon Domesday</i> , ed. Ellis	<i>Exon Domesday, Libri censualis vocati Domesday Book additamenta</i> , ed. H. Ellis (London, 1816).
Eyton, <i>Shropshire</i>	R. W. Eyton, <i>Antiquities of Shropshire</i> , 12 vols. (London, 1854-1860).
Eyton, ‘Staffordshire Chartulary’	R. W. Eyton, ‘The Staffordshire Chartulary’, <i>Collections for a History of Staffordshire</i> , 2 (1881), 178-276.
Gazeau, <i>Normannia monastica</i>	V. Gazeau, <i>Normannia monastica: les princes normands et les abbés bénédictins (X^e-XII^e siècle)</i> . <i>Prosopographie des abbés bénédictins (X^e-XII^e siècle)</i> , 2 vols. (Caen, 2007).
<i>GC</i>	<i>Gallia Christiana, in provincias ecclesiasticas distributa...</i> , eds. D. Sammarthanus <i>et al.</i> , 16 vols. (Paris, 1715–1865).
<i>Gesta Regum</i> , eds. Mynors, Thomson and Winterbottom	<i>William of Malmesbury, Gesta Regum Anglorum: The History of the English Kings</i> , eds. R. A. B. Mynors, R. M. Thomson and M. Winterbottom, 2 vols. (Oxford and New York, NY, 1998-1999).
<i>GG</i>	<i>The “Gesta Guillelmi” of William of Poitiers</i> , eds. R. H. C. Davis and M. Chibnall (Oxford, 1998).
<i>GND</i>	<i>The “Gesta Normannorum Ducum” of William of Jumièges, Orderic Vitalis, and Robert of Torigni</i> , ed. E. M. C. van Houts, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1992-1995).
Green, <i>Aristocracy of Norman England</i>	J. A. Green, <i>The Aristocracy of Norman England</i> (Cambridge, 1997).
HBA charter	Huntington Battle Archive.
Holt, <i>Colonial England</i>	J. C. Holt, <i>Colonial England, 1066-1215</i> (London, 1997).

<i>HSJ</i>	<i>Haskins Society Journal.</i>
<i>JMH</i>	<i>Journal of Medieval History.</i>
<i>John of Worcester</i> , eds. Darlington and McGurk, trans. Bray and McGurk	<i>The Chronicle of John of Worcester</i> , eds. R. R. Darlington, P. McGurk and J. Bray, vols. 2 and 3 (Oxford, 1995-1998).
<i>Jumièges</i> , ed. Vernier	<i>Les chartes de l'abbaye de Jumièges (v. 825 à 1204) conservées aux archives de la Seine-Inférieure</i> , ed. J.-J. Vernier, 2 vols. (Rouen and Paris, 1916).
Keats-Rohan, <i>Domesday People</i>	K. S. B. Keats-Rohan, <i>Domesday People: A Prosopography of Persons Occurring in English Documents, 1066-1166, 1: Domesday Book</i> (Woodbridge, 1999).
<i>Livre Blanc</i>	Bibliothèque de l'Evêché de Sées, MS non coté.
Louise, <i>Bellême</i>	G. Louise, <i>La seigneurie de Bellême X^e-XII^e siècles</i> , 2 vols. (Flers, 1990-1991).
Loyd, <i>Origins</i>	L. C. Loyd, <i>The Origins of Some Anglo-Norman Families</i> , eds. C. T. Clay and D. C. Douglas (Leeds, 1951).
<i>Mémoires et Notes de M. Le Prévost</i> , eds. Delisle and Passy	<i>Mémoires et notes de M. Auguste Le Prévost pour servir à l'histoire du département de l'Eure</i> , eds. L. Delisle and L. Passy, 3 vols. (Évreux, 1862-1869).
<i>Monasticon</i>	W. Dugdale, <i>Monasticon Anglicanum</i> , eds. J. Caley, H. Ellis and B. Bandinel, 6 vols. in 8 (London, 1817–1830).
<i>ODNB</i>	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> (accessible online at www.oxforddnb.com).
<i>OV</i>	<i>The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis</i> , ed. M. Chibnall, 6 vols. (Oxford, 1969-1980).

- OV, ed. Le Prévost *Orderici Vitalis Angligenae, coenobii uticencis monachi, historiae ecclesiasticae libri tredecim*, ed. A. Le Prévost, 5 vols. (Paris, 1838-1855).
- Palmer, 'Notes on the Identifications' J. Palmer, 'Notes on the Identifications in the Translation and Indexes', in J. Palmer, F. Thorn, C. Thorn and N. Hodgson, *Electronic Edition of Domesday Book: Translation, Databases and Scholarly Commentary, 1086* (second edition, 2002, currently published online by the UK Data Service at <https://discover.ukdataservice.ac.uk/catalogue?sn=5694>).
- Pontieu*, ed. Brunel *Recueil des actes des comtes de Pontieu (1026-1279)*, ed. C. Brunel (Paris, 1930).
- RADN *Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie de 911 à 1066*, ed. M. Fauroux (Caen, 1961).
- Recueil*, ed. Prou *Recueil des actes de Philippe I^{er}, roi de France (1059-1108)*, ed. M. Prou (Paris, 1908).
- Recueil Henri II*, eds. Delisle and Berger *Recueil des actes de Henri II, roi d'Angleterre et duc de Normandie*, eds. L. Delisle and E. Berger, 4 vols. (Paris, 1909-1927).
- Red Book* *The Red Book of the Exchequer*, ed. H. Hall, 3 vols. (London, 1896).
- Regesta*, ed. Bates *Regesta regum Anglo-Normannorum, the Acta of William I, 1066-1087*, ed. D. Bates (Oxford, 1998).
- Regesta*, ed. Davis *Regesta regum Anglo-Normannorum 1066-1154, volume 1: Regesta Willelmi Conquestoris et Willelmi Rufi 1066-1100*, ed. H. W. C. Davis (Oxford, 1913).
- Regesta*, eds. Johnson and Cronne *Regesta regum Anglo-Normannorum 1066-1154, volume 2: Regesta Henrici Primi 1100-1135*, eds. C. Johnson and H. A. Cronne (Oxford, 1956).

<i>RHGF</i>	<i>Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France</i> , eds. L. Delisle <i>et al.</i> , 24 vols. (Paris, 1869-1904).
Robert of Torigni, <i>Chronique</i>	Robert de Torigni, <i>Chronique</i> (suivie de divers opuscules historiques de cet auteur), ed. L. Delisle, 2 vols. (Rouen, 1872-1873).
<i>Roman de Rou</i> , ed. Holden	<i>Le Roman de Rou de Wace</i> , ed. A. J. Holden, 3 vols. (Paris, 1970-1974).
<i>Roman de Rou</i> , trans. Burgess	<i>The History of the Norman People: Wace's Roman de Rou</i> , trans. G. S. Burgess (Woodbridge, 2004).
Sauvage, 'Saint-Pierre-sur-Dive'	R. N. Sauvage, 'Les diplômes de Henri I ^{er} roi d'Angleterre et duc de Normandie pour l'abbaye de Saint-Pierre-sur-Dive', <i>Société de l'Histoire de Normandie, Mélanges</i> , 12 th série (Rouen and Paris, 1933), 113-39.
SCRIPTA	<i>Site caennais de recherche informatique et de publication des textes anciens</i> . Online database of medieval Norman charters led by Pierre Bauduin at the Centre Michel de Boüard, University of Caen, accessible at http://www.unicaen.fr/scripta/public/index.php .
Searle, <i>Predatory Kinship</i>	E. Searle, <i>Predatory Kinship and the Creation of Norman Power, 840-1066</i> (London and Berkeley, CA, 1988).
Tabuteau, <i>Transfers of Property</i>	E. Z. Tabuteau, <i>Transfers of Property in Eleventh-Century Norman Law</i> (London and Chapel Hill, NC, 1988).
TRHS	<i>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society</i> .
VCH	<i>Victoria County History</i> .

Figure 2: Genealogy of the Belvoir branch of the house of Tosny.

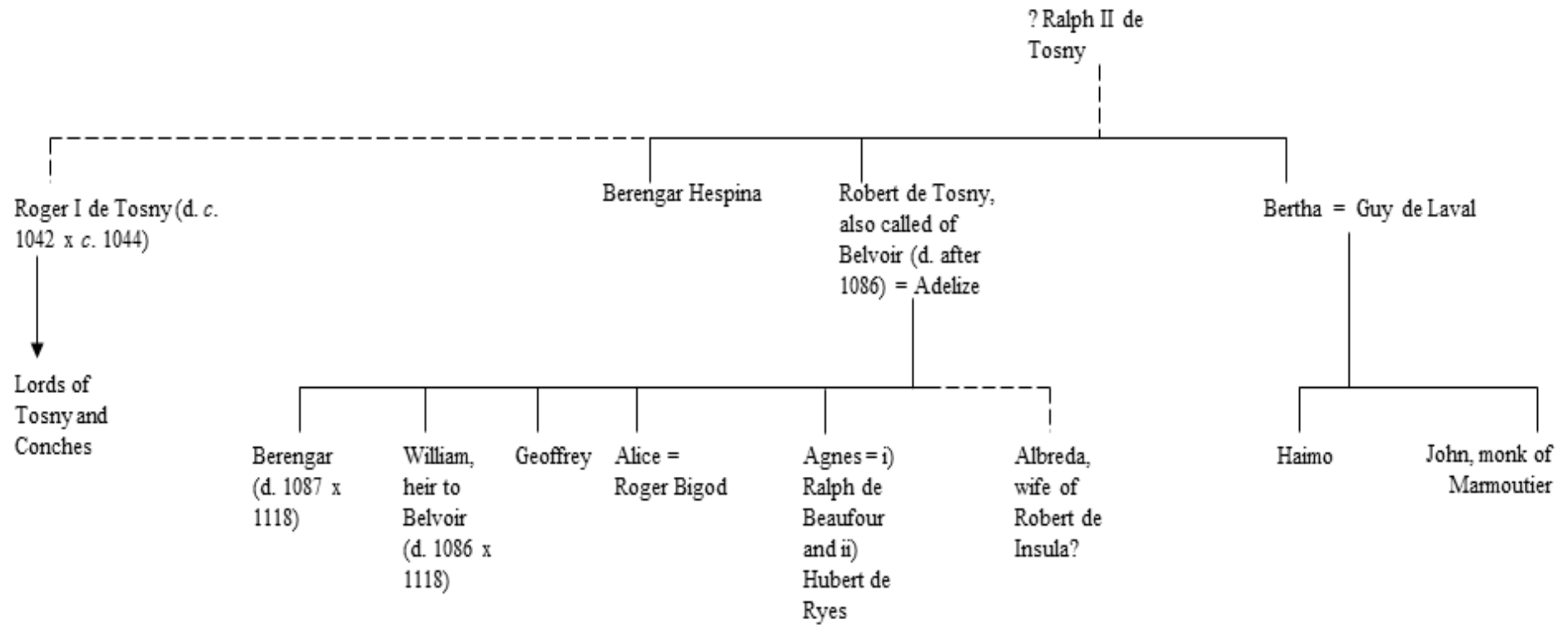


Figure 3: Genealogy of the counts of Eu

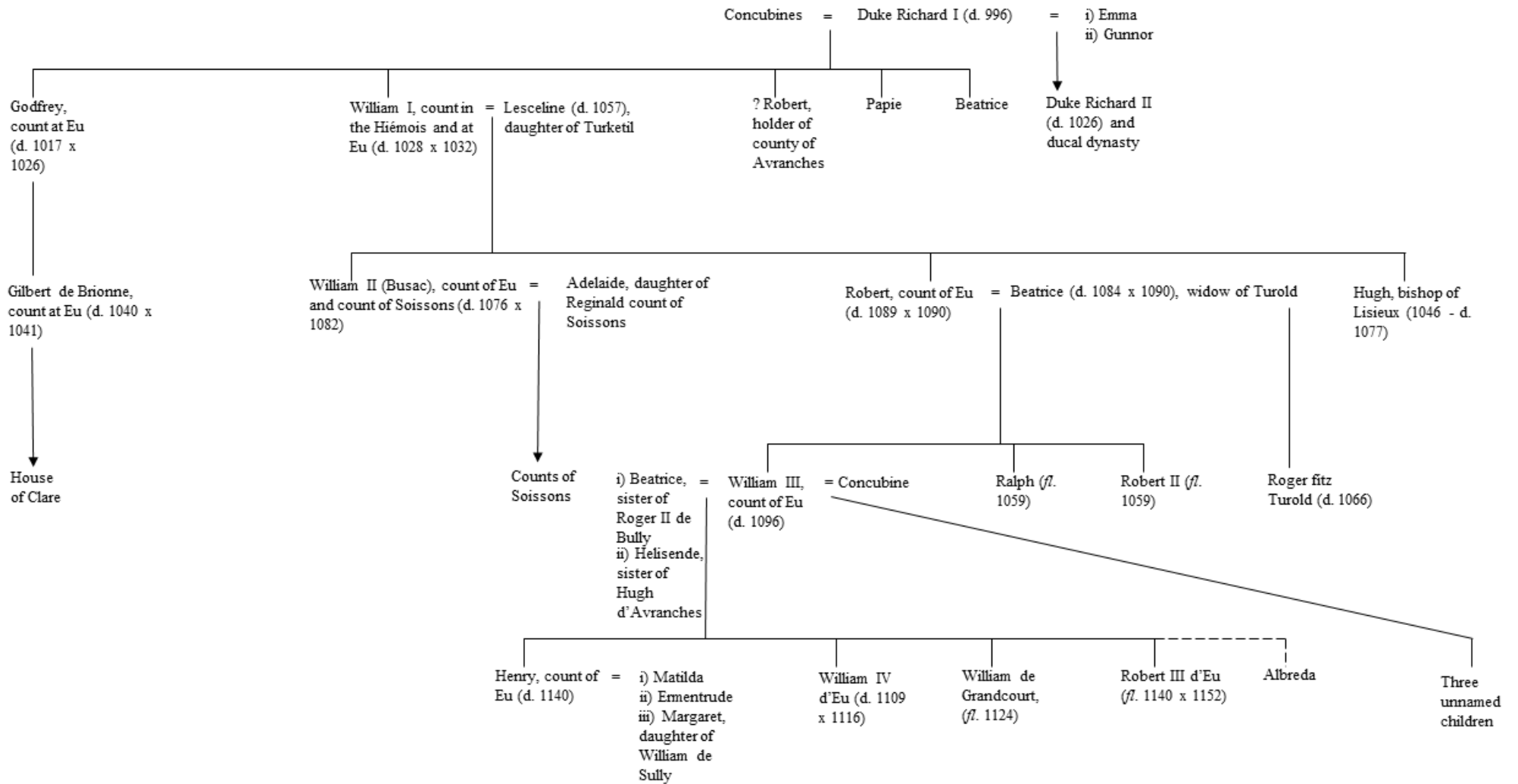
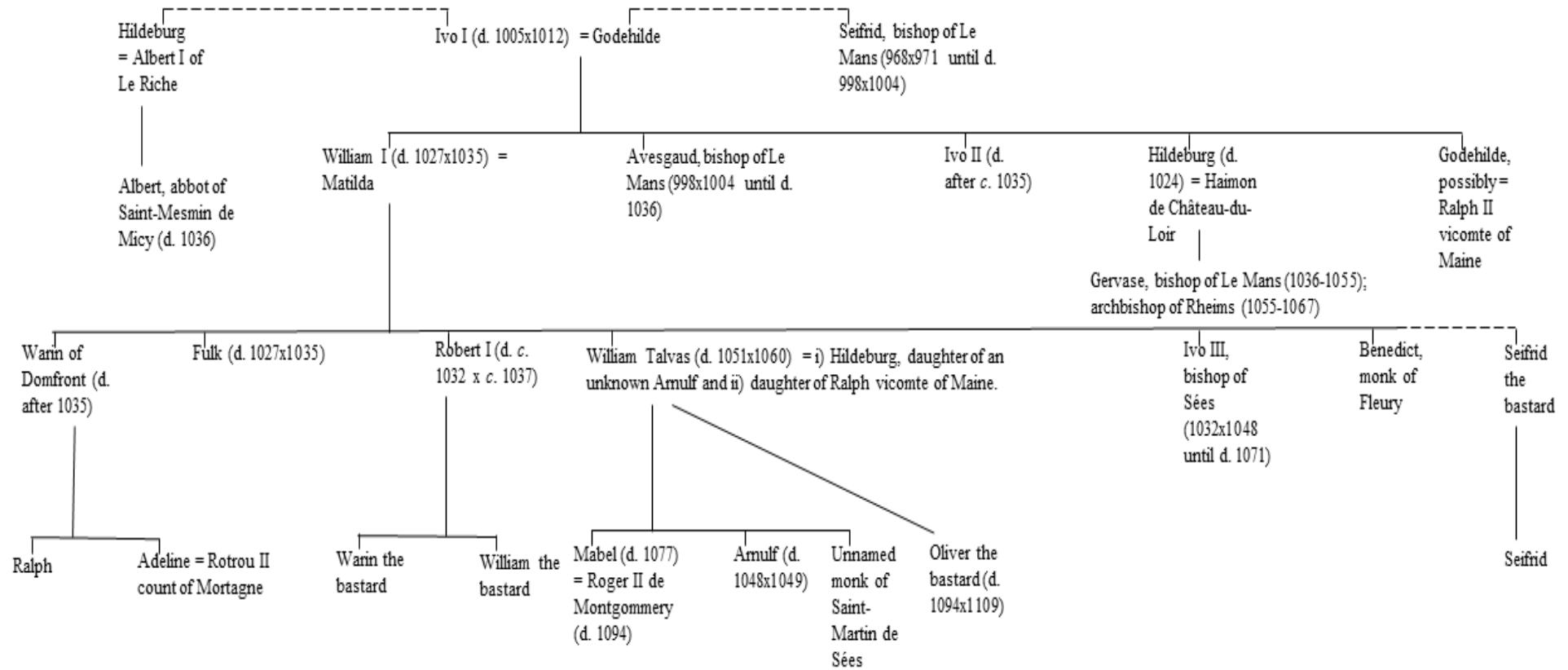


Figure 4: Genealogy of the early house of Bellême, adapted from Louise, *Bellême*, ii. 157



The position occupied by Seifrid, bishop of Sées from c. 1017 to c. 1025, is unknown.

Figure 5: Genealogy of the house of Montgomery, adapted from Thompson, 'Montgomerys', 259.

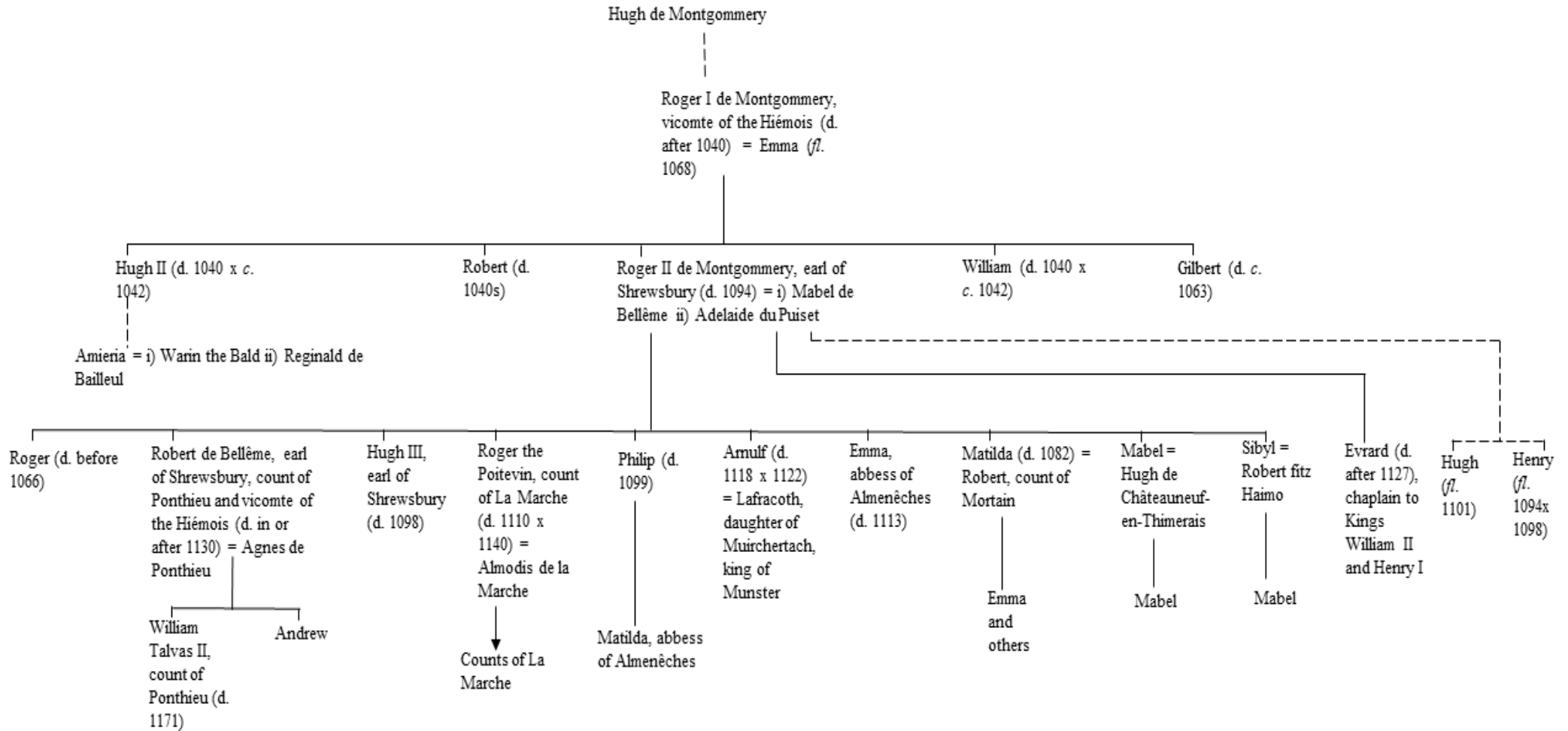
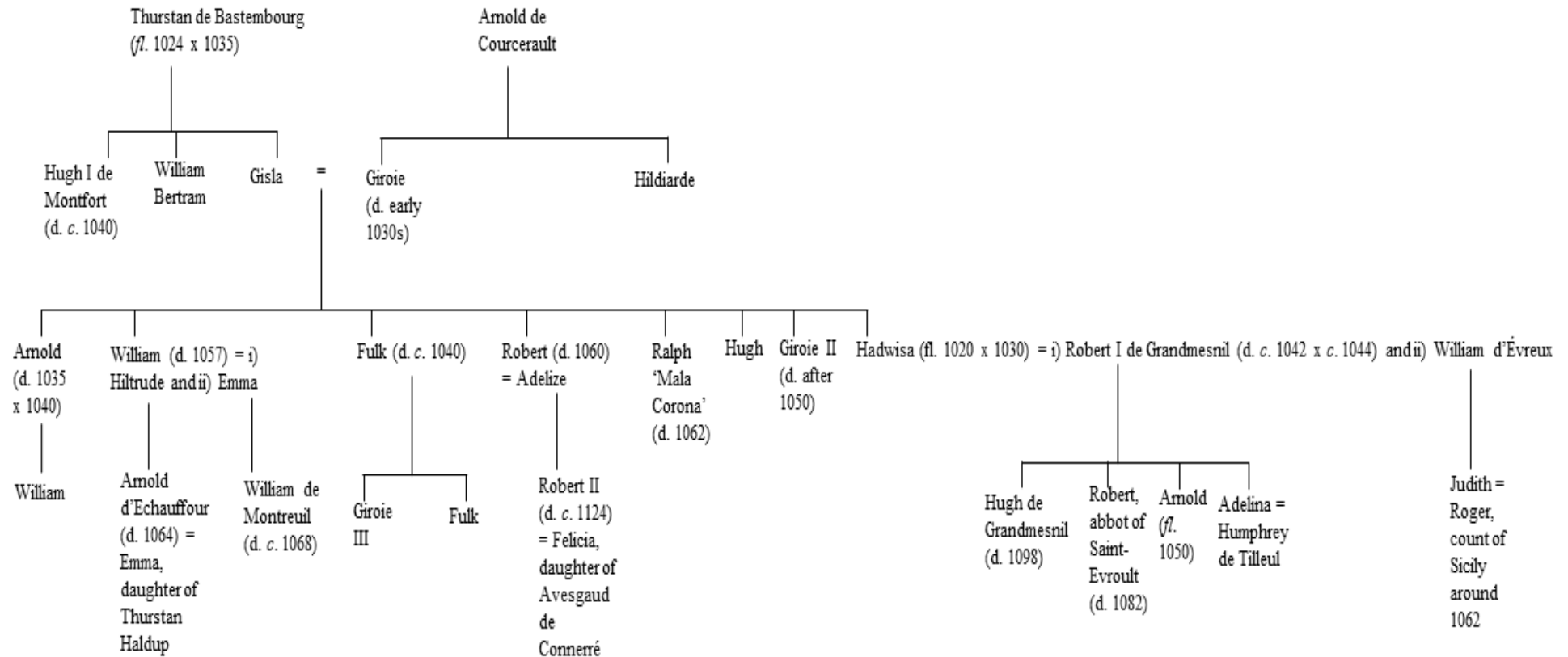


Figure 6: Simplified genealogy of the house of Giroie, adapted from Maillefer, 'Géré', 184-85.



Introduction

Aims and rationale

This thesis contains case studies of three aristocratic families who were significant in both Normandy and England in the eleventh century. Each family is treated from its earliest recorded history to the point when a leading lord died – that is, until the death of Ralph III de Tosny (also known as Ralph de Conches) in 1102 or 1103, of William III, count of Eu in 1096, and of Roger II de Montgommery in 1094. The case studies outline how the successes and difficulties of each family were affected by their relationships with the dukes, with other nobles and with lesser men, before and after 1066. These relationships include political alliances and enmities during significant episodes in the history of both polities, links expressed through religious patronage, and ties of lordship over vassals. This approach seeks to give three quite specific case studies as much relevance as possible, by locating them in a broad context, which illuminates what it was like to be part of the Norman aristocracy in the eleventh century, and helps to show how the decisions of important Normans were influenced by the social and political circumstances of each family.

Understanding the fortunes of each family in terms of their relationships requires consideration of the ruler's authority in Normandy and England, insofar as it encouraged, channelled and resisted aristocratic ambitions. Aristocratic ambition and a ruler's authority are understood as two forces which often worked in opposite directions. Aristocratic self-aggrandizement was a bottom-up force which was pursued privately at ground level, often without a ruler's intervention. Conversely, a ruler's authority worked top-down, as he tried to turn the aristocrats into reliable agents of his own authority. The families studied here demonstrate the strategies nobles could use to shift this balance in their own favour. The tension

or cooperation visible whenever top-down and bottom-up forces collided will recur as a leitmotif throughout the thesis. Indeed, the interplay of these forces will inform some of its most important insights, for these collisions shaped both the composition of the Norman aristocracy, and the attributes which enabled aristocratic families to succeed both at home and abroad. The thesis thus explores how Norman society actually worked, and how in particular it held together under ducal rule without experiencing the kind of political disintegration that is observable elsewhere in France in the tenth and eleventh centuries.

Given that so many aristocratic families acquired property in England, it is remarkable that most of the literature has tended to focus on one side of the Channel, or on one side of 1066. To comprehend the conquest generation, families must be considered in the cross-Channel circumstances they lived in. Instead of taking the union of Normandy and England for granted, my approach is to question how it was possible. It considers what characteristics of Norman society enabled the Conquest of England and the patterns of colonization preserved in Domesday Book, and how aristocratic strategies and priorities affected their union. It will ask how the continental networks and estates of each family help to explain the decisions they took, and the shape and internal arrangement of the estates they acquired in England. It examines the strategies used to manage cross-Channel estates, and seeks to understand whether nobles pursued equally divided cross-Channel careers or concentrated their attention in one polity or the other. It also explores how nobles used their vassals to meet the challenges of cross-Channel careers and cross-Channel estates, and shows how aristocratic families and their followers contributed to the union of Normandy and England in the later eleventh century.

This approach draws inspiration from historiography which is partly concerned with the applicability of the label ‘empire’ to the cross-Channel polity.¹ However, the case studies presented here leave aside the question of whether Normandy and England in the eleventh

¹ See below, p. 45.

century demonstrate modern notions of ‘empire’, which is, after all, a word with so many potential definitions that consensus is unlikely.² The thesis will instead focus on how Normandy and England looked through the eyes of eleventh-century aristocrats, and how the joining together of both polities affected the pressures and decisions cross-Channel families faced in their everyday life.

The case studies

The subjects of these case studies are the houses of Tosny and Montgomery, and the counts of Eu. The Tosnys are significant because they can be traced from a remarkably early date, in the first half of the tenth century, and because they were at the forefront of aristocratic territorialization – that is, the monopolization of local power in order to avoid being dislodged by rivals. The Tosnys provide a useful perspective on the relationship between dukes and the aristocracy because, after their initial success in the tenth and early eleventh centuries, their fortunes fluctuated according to their relationships with the dukes and with other aristocratic families. They never became members of Duke William’s inner circle of supporters, and their status as relative ‘outsiders’ was demonstrated when they came into conflict with families closer to William soon after *c.* 1042 and in *c.* 1061.³ The acquisition of important English estates by three branches of the family invites comparison between their post-Conquest careers.

An examination of the counts of Eu is long overdue. William, illegitimate brother of Duke Richard II, was first endowed with a concentrated block of lands around the castle of Exmes in or soon after 996, but he lost these lands after rebelling. Richard II nonetheless entrusted William with another block of lands around the frontier castle of Eu after 1017.

² For discussion of this difficulty, see F. J. West, ‘The Colonial History of the Norman Conquest?’, *History*, 84 (1999), 219-236. The matter is fully explored in D. Bates, *The Normans and Empire: The Ford Lectures Delivered in the University of Oxford during Hilary Term 2010* (Oxford, 2013).

³ For the sake of convenience, this thesis often refers to William the Conqueror as ‘Duke William’ instead of using his full title of ‘Duke William II’. William Longsword is always referred to as William Longsword.

William's son, Robert count of Eu, would receive a similarly concentrated block of lands in Sussex from William the Conqueror after 1066. Robert's son, William III, received an English estate in his own right during Robert's lifetime, and he would go on to inherit Robert's cross-Channel estate. However, William's career after 1087 demonstrates the turbulence which could erupt when cross-Channel landholders were required to follow more than one ruler. This study will also illuminate the risks and benefits of the comital institution for both dukes and counts, and it will explore the unique tensions between dukes and their close relatives.

The ancestors of Mabel de Bellême, wife of Roger II de Montgomery, can be observed from the turn of the eleventh century. The location of their heartlands around the limits of ducal influence made them more independent of the dukes, and more closely tied to the kings of France, than many contemporaries based inside the duchy in the first decades of the eleventh century. By contrast, Roger's ancestors in the house of Montgomery emerge into view relatively late. The first family member who can be discussed with confidence is Roger I, who prospered in Duke Robert's reign. Roger I and his sons troubled the young Duke William, but Roger's heir, Roger II, later became one of William's most trusted supporters. Roger II rose to the very highest rank of the aristocracy thanks to William's support in both Normandy and England. In the process, he helped to redefine the southern Norman frontier by acquiring the lordship of Bellême through his marriage to Mabel de Bellême. Roger was part of Duke William's inner clique, and was rewarded for his loyalty when William granted him a vast English estate, including the earldom of Shropshire, where Roger increasingly focussed his activities in his later years. Roger also held the rape of Arundel in Sussex, which was easily accessible from his properties on the rivers Orne and Dives. The rise of the Montgommerys demonstrates how ducal patronage could reshape the Norman aristocracy.

Historiography

Some models of landed society

Robert Bartlett's *The Making of Europe* charts and explains the spread of Frankish political and religious ideas, and technologies of power, between 950 and 1350.⁴ Bartlett identifies the old Carolingian empire (including Germany) as the core from which expansion proceeded. The periphery which absorbed this expansion consisted of Eastern Europe, the Holy Land, Spain, Scandinavia, the Celtic countries surrounding England, and southern Italy including Sicily. Bartlett describes England on the receiving end of conquest and colonization, but also as a base from which the conquest and colonization of the rest of the British Isles proceeded.⁵

This was not only a story of peripheries being dominated or ruled by elites from the core region; rather, expansion also succeeded because the spread of technologies, customs and ideas reduced the differences between core and peripheries. According to Bartlett, core and peripheries were drawn together into an integrated whole, held together by transnational networks of secular and religious elites, and united also by a shared culture and religious identity. Bartlett's description of expansion and its results is relevant here, for William the Conqueror's invasion of England is a classic instance of expansion, colonization, and the formation of transnational networks.

Bartlett shows that the energy that fuelled expansion was generated bottom-up, as a result of changes happening beyond the control of rulers. His discussion of expansion also compels his readers to confront a major historiographical debate concerning a 'feudal revolution' which some historians of medieval France have placed around the year 1000. The idea is most closely

⁴ R. Bartlett, *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonization and Cultural Change 950-1350* (London, 1994).

⁵ For a discussion of England's place in Bartlett's *Making of Europe*, see J. Hudson, 'England and *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonization and Cultural Change*', in "*The Making of Europe*": *Essays in Honour of Robert Bartlett*, eds. J. Hudson and S. Crumplin (Leiden and Boston, MA, 2016), 33-52, at 33-36.

associated with Georges Duby and Robert Fossier.⁶ A prerequisite for the theory of ‘feudal revolution’ is the collapse and retreat of royal or imperial authority. Even the princes who emerged in areas vacated by a higher power might find their own positions vulnerable to further disintegration. The overall picture is of higher powers collapsing and lesser men filling power vacuums wherever they arose.

According to this model, opportunistic men assumed the right to collect payments once reserved for kings, and they exacted new, notoriously unpopular kinds of payments from peasants as well. Lords used violence to extort these payments, and to plunder from neighbours, peasants and churches. In order to do so, lords recruited heavily armed knights. Thomas Bisson contends that the need for lords to recruit knights intensified the competition for land with which those knights were often rewarded. Lords and knights were emboldened by their control of castles, which multiplied throughout the tenth and early eleventh century, as a cause and a symptom of the diffusion of power downwards through society.⁷ Because the new breed of predatory lords forced lesser men into new ties of dependence upon them, allodial landholdings appear to have become less common, while dependant tenures, including the fief, seem to have multiplied.

These developments had clear potential to feed the kind of expansion Bartlett described. Bartlett recognized that expansion could be driven by aristocratic restlessness and greed, which was encouraged by the weakness of public authority. It is easy to imagine how expansion was an attractive way of acquiring more land with which to reward knights. John Le Patourel – a

⁶ For overviews of the historiography of ‘feudal revolution’, see J.-P. Poly and E. Bournazel, *La mutation féodale, X^e-XII^e siècles* (Paris, 1980), trans. C. Higgitt as *The Feudal Transformation 900-1200* (New York, NY, 1991); D. Crouch, *The Birth of Nobility: Constructing Aristocracy in England and France 900-1300* (Harlow, 2005), 109-11, 191-98.

⁷ T. N. Bisson, ‘The “Feudal Revolution”’, *Past and Present*, 142 (1994), 6-42, especially at 15-23, 28-37; Bisson, *The Crisis of the Twelfth Century: Power Lordship, and the Origins of European Government* (Oxford and Princeton, NJ, 2009), 41-50.

major source of inspiration for Bartlett – contended that Duke William’s need to reward his followers with land was a major reason for the invasion of England.⁸

Bartlett also considers another source of land hunger in the core region: the increasing number of landless younger sons.⁹ Influenced by Karl Schmid’s identification of changes in family structure in the Rhineland, Duby perceived a gradual shift from inheritance by several heirs towards an increasing domination of the patrimony by one heir, usually the eldest son, in north-western France. For Duby, the ‘feudal revolution’ only encouraged this development, for the power of those families who filled the post-Carolingian power vacuum was better preserved when their blocks of territory passed intact to succeeding generations. The model of ‘family mutation’ thus became integrated with that of the ‘feudal revolution’, for the ranks of landless knights seeking adventure or patronage were swelled by landless younger sons.¹⁰ The need to provide for younger sons has been considered an important reason why England was invaded in 1066.¹¹

The narrowing of inheritance helped aristocratic families to remain strong across generations. However, while it is generally admitted that inheritance in eleventh-century Normandy was gradually changing in favour of the eldest son,¹² historians have continued to observe a diverse range of ad hoc arrangements.¹³ David Crouch’s historiographical survey of

⁸ Le Patourel, *Norman Empire*, 285-92; Bartlett, *Making of Europe*, 44-47.

⁹ Bartlett, *Making of Europe*, 48-51.

¹⁰ For the development and impact of the theory of ‘family mutation’, see Crouch, *Birth of Nobility*, 101-23.

¹¹ R. Frame, *The Political Development of the British Isles 1100-1400*, (Oxford, 1990), 22.

¹² J. C. Holt, ‘Politics and Property in Early Medieval England’, *Past and Present*, 57 (1972), 3-52, reprinted in his *Colonial England*, 113-60, especially at 118-25; Holt, ‘Feudal Society and the Family in Early Medieval England, II: Notions of Patrimony’, *TRHS*, 5th series, 33 (1983), 193-220, reprinted in his *Colonial England*, 197-222, at 213-15.

¹³ Holt, ‘Notions of Patrimony’, in his *Colonial England*, 213-15; Bates, *Normandy*, 118-20; M. Chibnall, *Anglo-Norman England 1066-1166* (Oxford, 1986), 165-66, 174; Tabuteau, *Transfers of Property*, 178; G. Garnett, ‘“Ducal” Succession in Early Normandy’, in *Law and Government in Medieval England and Normandy. Essays in Honour of Sir James Holt*, eds. G. Garnett and J. Hudson (Cambridge, 1994), 80-110, at 81-86; P. Bauduin, ‘Observations sur les structures familiales de l’aristocratie normande au XI^e siècle’, in *Liens personnels, réseaux, solidarités en France et dans les îles Britanniques (XI^e-XX^e siècle)*, eds. D. Bates, V. Gazeau, E. Anceau, F. Lachaud and F.-J. Ruggiu (Paris, 2006), 15-27, at 20-23.

the so-called ‘progressive nuclearization’ of families underlines that primogeniture did not become the rule in the eleventh or indeed the twelfth century.¹⁴

Dominique Barthélemy is perhaps the most influential critic of ‘feudal revolution’. He argues that many of the changes which historians have placed around the year 1000 are in fact illusions caused by the changing nature of our sources. In his view, the illusion that violence intensified around 1000 is derived from the greater tendency of eleventh-century sources to preserve complaints about it. Furthermore, drawing on anthropologically-informed work on conflict and disputes, for instance by Frederic Cheyette and Stephen D. White, Barthélemy argues that violence was often an element in disputing processes which had widely understood rules.¹⁵

The model of ‘feudal revolution’ remains much debated, for its characteristics can be detected at different times at different speeds in different polities, and comparisons are thwarted by regional variation in the types and survival rates of evidence.¹⁶ The assumption that ‘feudal revolution’ must have been imported to England from Francia after 1066 has been questioned by David Bates, who sees English society as ‘feudal’ by the mid-eighth century. Bates also questions the suitability of the term ‘revolution’ for a process which he observes happening gradually in Normandy in the tenth and eleventh centuries.¹⁷ However, ‘feudal revolution’ remains a useful ideal type, which focuses attention on the contest between aristocratic ambition and royal or princely authority. This introduction will now sketch some of the ways eleventh-century Normandy sheds light on this competition for power.

¹⁴ Crouch, *Birth of Nobility*, 101-19.

¹⁵ D. Barthélemy, *La mutation de l’an mil a-t-elle eu lieu? Servage et chevalerie dans la France des X^e et XI^e siècles* (Paris, 1997).

¹⁶ J. Dunbabin, *France in the Making, 843-1180* (Oxford, second edition, 2000), p. xix-xx. For the ‘feudal revolution’ playing out differently in different polities, see C. Wickham, ‘The “Feudal Revolution”’, *Past and Present*, 155 (1997), 196-208, at 199, 201, 207-08; D. Bates, ‘West Francia: the Northern Principalities’, *New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 3, ed. T. Reuter (Cambridge, 1999), 398-419.

¹⁷ D. Bates, ‘England and the “Feudal Revolution”’, in *Il Feudalesimo nell’Alto Medioevo, Settimane di studio del Centro Italiano di studi sull’Alto Medioevo*, 47 (2000), 611-49.

Normandy's relationship with the model of 'feudal revolution' could be better appraised if historians could establish when and how the ancestors of Duke William's aristocracy first rose to prominence. Proponents of the relative 'newness' of William's aristocracy point out that genealogies produced in the late-eleventh and twelfth centuries rarely trace a family back into the tenth century. Eleanor Searle asserts that the aristocracy in the early eleventh century had emerged only recently, out of familial relationships with Gunnor, wife of Duke Richard I. Historians have also drawn attention to a tenurial revolution which is said to have occurred when families seized land from churches when ducal authority was weak after 1027.¹⁸

However, it is more prudent to admit that the emergence of the Norman aristocracy cannot be confidently ascribed to a particular period. The crux of the issue is that much of William's aristocracy could have descended from aristocratic tenth-century ancestors rendered invisible to us by the paucity of tenth-century evidence. To make matters more difficult, those aristocrats who can be observed in the tenth century can rarely be identified as ancestors of those in Duke William's reign, because nobles before the second quarter of the eleventh century rarely used toponymics, and did not habitually pass their estates intact from father to son in ways which makes it easy to trace the history of aristocratic estates. The apparent 'newness' of aristocratic families could be an illusion.¹⁹

The problem is mitigated somewhat by two of the families studied in this thesis, for the initial enrichments of the house of Tosny and the counts of Eu can be dated with some confidence. The Tosnys appear to have joined the ranks of the Norman aristocracy remarkably early, in 942, and the counts of Eu acquired their first significant estates around the end of the

¹⁸ D. C. Douglas, 'The Rise of Normandy', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 33 (1947), 101-30, reprinted in his *Time and the Hour: Some Collected Papers of David C. Douglas* (London, 1977), 95-119, at 107-9; D. C. Douglas, *William the Conqueror: The Norman Impact Upon England* (London, 1964), 89-99; L. Musset, 'L'aristocratie normande au XI^e siècle', in *La noblesse au moyen age, XI^e-XV^e siècles: essais à la mémoire de Robert Boutrouche*, ed. P. Contamine (Paris, 1976), 71-96, at 72-83; E. Z. Tabuteau's review of Bates's *Normandy Before 1066*, in *Speculum*, 59:3 (1984), 610-15, at 612-14; Searle, *Predatory Kinship*, 98-107.

¹⁹ Bates, *Normandy*, 34-35, 49, 111-14, 132, 134-35.

tenth century.²⁰ Unfortunately, the origins of many more families remain opaque. When a family acquired wealth in the eleventh century, it is important not to assume that they could not have been wealthy already – to take another example from this thesis, it is certain that the house of Montgommery made great strides after 1025, but it is not certain when Montgommery itself was acquired, or precisely when in the tenth or eleventh centuries the family came to prominence.²¹

Even though much remains unknown about the age of Duke William's aristocracy, the possibilities sketched here offer a way into appreciating how the tension between ducal power and aristocratic ambition could be managed. The house of Tosny and the counts of Eu owed their initial enrichment to ducal support. This contrasts with the picture of weak public authority disintegrating into the hands of opportunistic castellans posited by 'feudal revolution' proponents. In fact, strong princes were central to Fossier's modification of the model of 'feudal revolution' in 1968. Fossier and others demonstrated that the descent of authority down the social scale, away from the kings, could be halted at the level of regional princes. This was certainly the conclusion reached for Normandy by Lucien Musset.²² This suggests that the Norman aristocracy must have cooperated with the dukes to some extent.

One way to examine aristocratic support for the dukes is to consider the frequency of their attendance at the ducal court. The duke's court included members of his household who accompanied him on his itinerary, and also people – many of them aristocrats – who came to join the duke at certain places.²³ The ducal court might also be observed on a larger scale at great assemblies which the wider aristocracy were called to attend, although these large

²⁰ See below, p. 62, 172.

²¹ For the career of Roger I de Montgommery, see below, section beginning p. 279.

²² For Fossier's impact, see Crouch, *Birth of Nobility*, 193-94. For Normandy, see Musset, 'L'aristocratie normande', 71-96; Bates, *Normandy*, 121-22; Bates, 'England and the "Feudal Revolution"', 625-26.

²³ J. Le Patourel, *The Norman Empire* (Oxford, 1976), 137-40; Bates, *William the Conqueror* (2004), 26-28.

assemblies were relatively rare in ducal Normandy before 1066.²⁴ The importance of the Norman ruler's court should not be underestimated, for rulers in northern Francia sometimes struggled to attract their greatest subjects to court.²⁵ A ruler's ability to attract nobles was a crucial defence against 'feudal revolution'; indeed, it has been explicitly stated that the pulling power of Anglo-Saxon royal assemblies helped England escape a 'feudal revolution' before 1066.²⁶ From the later 1040s, a select clique of barons formed around Duke William, and became central to his domination of both Normandy and England.²⁷

It is easy to imagine what Norman aristocrats hoped to gain from their dukes. The most attractive prize was land. The most direct way dukes distributed land was by a grant from the ducal demesne, or through the redistribution of forfeited land.²⁸ The extent of a duke's influence over his subjects' acquisition of land is an important question, because an aristocracy dependent upon the dukes must have formed a more cohesive principality, and one more united by the ruler's authority, than an aristocracy left to its own devices. It is necessary to test Musset's contention that the dukes played a decisive role in the creation of the aristocracy by controlling their acquisition of land, and that he arranged for those estates to be dispersed to prevent families gaining too much power in any particular area.²⁹

Ducal grants were at one end of a spectrum of methods for acquiring land. Aristocratic private enterprise, whether violent or peaceful, was at the other end, and in between lay a range of acquisitions where aristocratic initiative combined with the ruler's will. On occasions, Duke

²⁴ Bates, *William the Conqueror* (2004), 27; J. R. Maddicott, *The Origins of the English Parliament, 924-1327* (Oxford, 2010), 64-65.

²⁵ For the struggles of the Capetian kings, see E. M. Hallam, 'The King and the Princes in Eleventh-Century France', *(BI)HR*, 53 (1980), 143-56, at 152.

²⁶ Maddicott, *Origins of the English Parliament*, 55.

²⁷ Bates, *Normandy*, 159-60.

²⁸ For Duke William granting forfeited lands to his favourites, see Douglas, *William the Conqueror*, 92, 99; C. P. Lewis, 'Warene, William (I) de, first earl of Surrey (d. 1088)', *ODNB* (2004); M. Hagger, 'How the West was Won: the Norman Dukes and the Cotentin, c. 987-1087', *JMH*, 38:1 (2012), 20-55, at 40-44. Also see below, p. 304.

²⁹ Musset, 'L'aristocratie normande', 74-88.

William diverted aristocratic inheritances to his preferred candidates.³⁰ The dukes helped to secure advantageous marriages for some important followers.³¹ Dukes might also appoint their vassals to lucrative official positions. Counts were recruited from the duke's close family, and were given custody of a compact block of lands, centred around a castle, near a frontier which they were expected to defend. Dukes appointed vicomtes to manage the ducal demesne and maintain public order.³² Vicomtes could be used to uphold ducal power where it was weakest.³³ Dukes also appointed bishops and abbots, often from aristocratic families.³⁴ As well as ducal patronage, there were less tangible benefits to be sought at the duke's court. A ruler's court was a place for nobles to seek his assistance in disputes, to intercede on behalf of one's allies, or to turn the ruler against one's enemies.³⁵

Besides ducal patronage, another important source of land was the family. Inheritance was one source. Bishops often enriched their own families with church lands.³⁶ A noble might also acquire lands in the dowry provided by his wife's family.³⁷

Another method prominent in the historiography is violence. Bisson's contribution to the model of 'feudal revolution' envisages lords violently seizing land from each other in the absence of public order. Eleanor Searle's controversial book on pre-Conquest Normandy

³⁰ Bauduin, 'Structures familiales', 23. Also see below, p. 294, 391.

³¹ J. C. Holt, 'Feudal Society and the Family, IV: The Heiress and the Alien', *TRHS*, 5th series, 35 (1985), 1-28, reprinted in his *Colonial England*, 245-70, at 250-51; Tabuteau, *Transfers of Property*, 62-63. Also see below, p. 293.

³² For counts, see D. Douglas, 'The Earliest Norman Counts', *EHR*, 61 (1946), 129-56; D. Crouch, *The Image of Aristocracy in Britain 1000-1300* (London, 1992), 50-56; Garnett, "'Ducal' Succession', 97-103; Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, 192-94. For vicomtes, see M. Hagger, 'The Norman Vicomte, c. 1035-1135: What Did He Do?', *ANS*, 29 (2007), 65-83; M. Hagger, *William: King and Conqueror* (London, 2012), 122. For brief accounts of both, see Douglas, *William the Conqueror*, 138-42; Musset, 'L'aristocratie normande', 76-77; Bates, *Normandy*, 156-58.

³³ Hagger, 'How the West was Won', 32-34.

³⁴ For the bishops of Normandy, see Allen, 'Norman Episcopate'; Hagger, *William: King and Conqueror*, 204. For dukes electing abbots, see Gazeau, *Normannia monastica*, i. 36-38, 95-110.

³⁵ T. Reuter, 'Assembly Politics in Western Europe from the Eighth Century to the Twelfth', in *The Medieval World*, eds. P. Linehan and J. L. Nelson (London, 2001), 432-50, reprinted in T. Reuter, *Medieval Politics and Modern Mentalities*, ed. J. L. Nelson (Cambridge, 2006), 193-216, at 204, 206; Maddicott, *Origins of the English Parliament*, 24. See below, p. 78, 79, 92, 174, 276.

³⁶ D. C. Douglas, 'The Norman Episcopate before the Norman Conquest', *Cambridge Historical Journal*, 13:2 (1957), 101-15, at 103-04. Also see below, p. 62.

³⁷ See below, p. 63, 80, 134, 174, 347.

emphasizes the tendency for families related by blood or marriage to club together in an effort to neutralize the threat posed by rivals they identified as ‘outsiders’.³⁸ Intermingled estates could encourage neighbouring lords with overlapping spheres of influence to plunder each other’s lands in pursuit of coherent, defensible territorial blocks, as David Crouch has observed in Norman and Angevin England.³⁹ Crouch and Thomas Roche emphasize that violence against other aristocrats or the ruler was often motivated – or at least justified – by a sense that one’s honour or rights had been compromised.⁴⁰

As Barthélemy recognized, violence between aristocrats was not as unrestrained as Bisson suggested. Bartlett shows how violence between enemies came to be governed by rituals, expectations and sanctions which recognized the validity of violence in certain circumstances, but also limited its impact on the rest of society.⁴¹ Paul Hyams furthers the idea that widely-held expectations developed concerning the proper conduct of feuds. According to Hyams, aspects of feud and reconciliation had to be ritualized and stage-managed, and the appropriate emotions had to be displayed, in order to show onlookers the legitimacy of the violence and the finality of the resolution. Though Hyams’s book ostensibly focuses on England, he also uses examples from Normandy, many of which are considered in this thesis.⁴²

Aristocrats also deployed a range of strategies in order to keep and defend their land. As proponents of the ‘feudal revolution’ recognized, a lord’s continued possession of his land depended upon his ability to attract men willing and able to fight for him. Those armed retainers fortunate enough to be rewarded with Norman land benefited from the increasing heritability

³⁸ Searle, *Predatory Kinship*, 159-89.

³⁹ D. Crouch, *The English Aristocracy, 1070-1272: a Social Transformation* (London and New Haven, CT, 2011), 137-45.

⁴⁰ Crouch, *English Aristocracy*, 99-113; T. Roche, ‘The Way Vengeance Comes: Rancorous Deeds and Words in the World of Orderic Vitalis’, in *Vengeance in the Middle Ages: Emotion, Religion and Feud*, eds. S. A. Throop and P. R. Hyams (Aldershot, 2010), 116-36.

⁴¹ R. Bartlett, “*Mortal Enmities*”: *the Legal Aspect of Hostility in the Middle Ages* (Aberystwyth, 1998), reprinted in *Feud, Violence and Practice: Essays in Medieval Studies in Honor of Stephen D. White*, eds. B. S. Tuten and T. L. Billado (Farnham, 2010), 197-212.

⁴² P. Hyams, *Rancor and Reconciliation in Medieval England* (Ithaca, NY, 2003), especially 3-70, 111-54, 281, 302-03.

of *beneficia* – land which was originally held precariously from one’s lord.⁴³ Perhaps in return for this concession, lords in Normandy gradually extended their control over land which their followers previously held freely.⁴⁴ The outcome of these arrangements was that lords were more secure in their estates, but they also needed to expand – violently if necessary – in order to keep rewarding their men.

Aristocratic violence could also be manifest in rebellion. Matthew Strickland notes the difficulties post-Conquest Norman rulers faced in keeping the loyalty of their subjects, especially during periods when Normandy and England were under divided rule, or when a ruler’s impatient heir was attracting followers. However, rebellion was rarely unrestrained, for rebels were reluctant to meet the ruler’s forces in battle when the ruler was present.⁴⁵ Aristocrats understood rebellion as a stage in a process of negotiation aimed at a peaceful settlement.⁴⁶

Strickland shows that the most common punishments by the Norman dukes and kings were fines, forfeiture, exile and imprisonment. The execution or mutilation of defeated opponents was relatively rare. Strickland argues that the treatment of defeated opponents in northern France was more lenient than in Anglo-Saxon England, and that the Normans introduced this culture of relative clemency to England.⁴⁷ However, it is important to remember that dukes could still subdue families whose loyalty was questionable, regardless of whether those nobles got as far as open rebellion. Aristocrats were exiled for offences including crimes

⁴³ Holt, ‘Notions of Patrimony’, in his *Colonial England*, 212; Bates, *Normandy*, 126; G. Garnett, *Conquered England: Kingship, Succession, and Tenure 1066-1166* (Oxford, 2007), 46-47.

⁴⁴ Bates, *Normandy*, 49-52, 122-28, 133-34, 172; Bates, *William the Conqueror* (2004), 50; Holt, ‘Notions of Patrimony’, in his *Colonial England*, 210-12; Chibnall, *Anglo-Norman England*, 165-66; Tabuteau, *Transfers of Property*, 108-10; Green, *Aristocracy of Norman England*, 171, 335-36; Garnett, *Conquered England*, 46-47.

⁴⁵ M. J. Strickland, ‘Against the Lord’s Anointed: Aspects of Warfare and Baronial Rebellion in England and Normandy, 1075-1265’, in *Law and Government in Medieval England and Normandy: Essays in Honour of Sir James Holt*, eds. G. Garnett and J. Hudson (Cambridge, 1994), 56-79; Strickland, *War and Chivalry: the Conduct and Perception of War in England and Normandy, 1066-1217* (Cambridge, 1996), 230-40.

⁴⁶ Crouch, *English Aristocracy*, 99-132.

⁴⁷ Strickland, *War and Chivalry*, 132-58, 183-203, 240-57; Strickland, ‘Killing or Clemency? Ransom, Chivalry and Changing Attitudes to Defeated Opponents in Britain and Northern France, 7-12th Centuries’, in *Krieg im Mittelalter*, ed. H.-H. Kortüm (Berlin, 2001), 93-122, especially 106-16.

(especially murder), political plotting and opposition, and breaches of public order.⁴⁸ Even when a punishment appears lenient, some families never regained the significance they once enjoyed.⁴⁹

Rebellions were all the more dangerous because of the aristocracy's control of castles. Many of the earliest castles in the strongest principalities, including Normandy under Duke Richard I and Duke Richard II, were princely creations, which undermines the theory that castles always signified a dramatic disruption of public power.⁵⁰ However, aristocratic castles proliferated in Normandy in the second quarter of the eleventh century, particularly during Duke William's minority.⁵¹ The association of private castles with ducal weakness can be perceived in remarks by William of Jumièges,⁵² and in the location of the earliest private castles in regions where ducal authority was weakest.⁵³ Whatever their origins, it is certain that Norman castles played an important part in shaping relations between dukes and barons before 1066.⁵⁴ The integrity of Normandy itself depended upon the control of castles by men loyal to the ruler.⁵⁵ William the Conqueror eventually established the right to forbid new aristocratic castles in Normandy, and to install his own garrisons in existing ones. Opportunistic aristocrats sought to overturn this extension of ducal power after William's death.⁵⁶

⁴⁸ L. Musset, 'Autour des modalités juridiques de l'expansion normande au XI^e siècle: Le droit d'exil', in *Autour du pouvoir ducal normand X^e - XII^e siècle*, eds. L. Musset, J.-M. Bouvris, J.-M. Maillefer (Caen, 1985), 45-59, at 48-49.

⁴⁹ Bates, *Normans and Empire*, 73-74; Bates, *William the Conqueror* (2016), 96-97, 162, 174. For the Giroies, see J.-M. Maillefer, 'Une famille aristocratique aux confins de la Normandie: les Géré au XI^e siècle', in *Autour du pouvoir ducal normand X^e - XII^e siècle*, eds. L. Musset, J.-M. Bouvris, J.-M. Maillefer (Caen, 1985), 175-206, at 187, 206; Searle, *Predatory Kinship*, 169, 182; P. Bauduin, 'Une famille châtelaine sur les confins normanno-manceaux: les Géré (X^e-XIII^e s.)', *Archéologie médiévale*, 22 (1992), 309-56, at 320-21.

⁵⁰ Bates, 'West Francia', 417-18.

⁵¹ J. Yver, 'Les châteaux forts en Normandie jusqu'au milieu du XII^e siècle', *BSAN*, 53 (1957), 28-115, 604-9, at 39-42, 52-58. Also see Douglas, *William the Conqueror*, 141; Bates, *Normandy*, 114, 133; Bates, *William the Conqueror* (2004), 50.

⁵² *GND* (William of Jumièges), ii. 92.

⁵³ Douglas, *William the Conqueror*, 141.

⁵⁴ For the role of castles in aristocratic resistance to the dukes, see M. J. Strickland, 'Military Technology and Political Resistance: Castles, Fleets and the Changing Face of Comital Rebellion in England and Normandy, c. 1026-1087', in *The Making of Europe: Essays in Honour of Robert Bartlett*, eds. J. Hudson and S. Crumplin (Leiden, 2016), 145-83, at 151-64.

⁵⁵ Bisson, "'Feudal Revolution'", 16-17, 29.

⁵⁶ Yver, 'Les châteaux forts', 60-64. See also Strickland, 'Military Technology and Political Resistance', 160-61.

The determination of aristocratic families to entrench themselves in localities is also expressed in their use of the toponymic. Sir James Holt considers the toponymic an expression of the aristocracy's determination to dominate the area around their chief castle and ensure its heritability.⁵⁷ While David Bates agreed with Holt that aristocratic toponymics proliferated from the 1040s, Eleanor Searle – relying on original charters instead of cartulary copies – preferred to date the emergence of the toponymic from the 1060s.⁵⁸ On balance, the evidence found in cartulary copies should not be ignored.

There were many other ways aristocrats sought to monopolize power in their heartlands. Musset showed how private castles and newly established towns combined with aristocratic churches to ensure the founder's control of the locality.⁵⁹ From the tenth century until the 1030s, monasteries were founded or refounded in Normandy only by dukes (or, in the case of Bernay, by Judith, wife of Duke Richard II). Nobles at this stage preferred the less expensive option of founding colleges of secular clerks near their most important residences.⁶⁰ From the 1030s, nobles began to emulate the dukes by founding their own monasteries. Aristocratic monasteries functioned not only as impressive status symbols, but also as potential military sites, places of burial, foci for the loyalty of local men, and places where followers could meet and hold court with the founder. Such monasteries also strengthened the founding family's local influence in the context of rivalries with neighbouring families.⁶¹

⁵⁷ J. C. Holt, 'What's in a Name? Family Nomenclature and the Norman Conquest' (Stenton Lecture, University of Reading, 1981), reprinted in his *Colonial England*, 179-96, especially at 183-90.

⁵⁸ Bates, *Normandy*, 113-14; Searle, *Predatory Kinship*, 164-65, 305 n. 13.

⁵⁹ L. Musset, 'Recherches sur les communautés de clercs séculiers en Normandie au XI^e siècle', *BSAN*, 55 (1959-60), 5-38, at 10; Musset, 'Peuplement en bourgage et bourgs ruraux en Normandie du X^e au XIII^e siècle', *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, 9 (1966), 177-208, at 186-93.

⁶⁰ Musset, 'Clercs séculiers', 5-38. Also see M. Chibnall, *The World of Orderic Vitalis* (Oxford, 1984), 45-48.

⁶¹ Bates, *Normandy*, 115-16; Chibnall, *World of Orderic*, 47-55; Bates, *William the Conqueror* (2004), 75-76; V. Gazeau, 'Les abbayes bénédictines de la Normandie ducale: lieux de pouvoir ou relais du pouvoir?', in *Les lieux de pouvoir au Moyen Age en Normandie et sur ses marges* (Tables rondes du CRAHM, 2), ed. A.-M. Flambard-Héricher (Caen, 2006), 91-100, at 92-94; Gazeau, *Normannia monastica*, i. 11-16. For examples of aristocratic abbeys, see below, p. 69, 178, 193, 296.

Religious patronage could also be used to foster alliances intended to make one's power more secure. Patronizing another noble's religious foundation strengthened one's relationship with the founding family. The same applied when a noble chose to patronize a ducal foundation.⁶² Religious patronage has thus been considered as a social glue which promoted the cohesion of society.⁶³ Another way to use alliances locally was to arrange a marriage with an influential local family.⁶⁴ Alliances could secure military assistance in rebellions or private warfare, so it was important for nobles to collect friends before violence erupted.⁶⁵ In all these ways, alliances made families harder to dislodge.

This introduction has shown that the dukes of Normandy, like rulers elsewhere in Frankish Europe, were at risk from centrifugal forces in the eleventh century. Despite these pressures, the dukes held the principality together.⁶⁶ William won a crucial victory against rebels at Val-ès-Dunes, and subsequently governed with a small, closely-knit group of allies. William's security was bolstered by the deaths of King Henry of France and Count Geoffrey of Anjou in 1060. William was encouraged to conquer Maine by the death of Count Herbert II of Maine in 1062, and he succeeded in intimidating the Bretons in 1064.⁶⁷ With the Norman frontier secure and his authority in the duchy buttressed by the leading aristocrats, William could turn his attention to recruiting support for the invasion of England. A major theme of this thesis is the question as to how the colonization of England affected, and was affected by, the relationships aristocratic families shared with each other, the rulers, and lesser men.

William of course enjoyed enormous powers of patronage in England. He distributed English land either by antecessorial grants, which transferred all or some of an Anglo-Saxon's

⁶² C. Potts, *Monastic Revival and Regional Identity in Early Normandy* (Woodbridge, 1997), 116.

⁶³ B. H. Rosenwein, *To be the Neighbor of Saint Peter. The Social Meaning of Cluny's Property, 909-1049* (London and Ithaca, NY, 1989), especially 47-48.

⁶⁴ Searle, *Predatory Kinship*, 165-67.

⁶⁵ Hyams, *Rancor and Reconciliation*, 10, 21-31.

⁶⁶ Bates, *Normandy*, 121-22.

⁶⁷ For these events in the 1060s, see Bates, *William the Conqueror* (2016), 164, 177-88, 200-04.

manors to a new holder, or by territorial grants, which consisted of coherent blocks of property. William also granted lucrative offices, like those of earl, *vicecomes*, bishop or abbot.⁶⁸ As in Normandy, nobles attended William's court, but in England he adopted the Anglo-Saxon tradition of great assemblies and used them to impress his royal status and legitimacy upon French and English subjects alike.⁶⁹ However, royal grants were not the only way aristocrats acquired English land. Land could also be channelled through political alliances and family ties. The 'kleptocracy' Robin Fleming has perceived taking English lands through violence and extra-legal seizures is a familiar concept to historians acquainted with the model of 'feudal revolution', even if the acquisition of English land by Frenchmen may not have been as disorderly as Fleming suggested.⁷⁰

Once land had been acquired, aristocrats in England, as in Normandy, were faced with the problem of how to keep it. The first generation of colonizers must have been eager to entrench themselves because their tenure in England was inherently more precarious than in Normandy: whereas Normans before 1066 expected inherited land to continue to descend within the family, the first generation in post-Conquest England lacked the same security because their English estates were not inheritances, but acquisitions. Moreover, William's distribution of English estates to his barons proceeded from his novel assumption that the king of England was the source of all English tenure. The first generation of barons in post-Conquest England would therefore have understood that their English estates – at least until they were inherited – were held solely by royal favour.⁷¹ The need to make their tenure as secure as

⁶⁸ For earls, see C. P. Lewis, 'The Early Earls of Norman England', *ANS*, 13 (1990), 207-23. For ecclesiastical offices, see Le Patourel, *Norman Empire*, 35-36, 49-51.

⁶⁹ Maddicott, *Origins of the English Parliament*, 57-61.

⁷⁰ R. Fleming, *Kings and Lords in Conquest England* (Cambridge, 1991), 183-214. For some responses to Fleming, see Green, *Aristocracy of Norman England*, 48-53; Bates, 'England and the "Feudal Revolution"', 632-35.

⁷¹ For post-Conquest English estates as acquisitions rather than inheritances, see Holt, 'Notions of Patrimony', in his *Colonial England*, 197-222. For William as the source of all English tenure, see Garnett, *Conquered England*, 1-135.

possible must have promoted their recourse to strategies of entrenchment brought with them from Normandy.

England's new elites imported strategies which had already proved effective in their homelands. Le Patourel's observation that aristocrats combined castles, religious foundations and towns in order to entrench themselves in Norman and English localities helped to inform Bartlett's contention that the expansion of Europe was achieved 'by a kind of cellular multiplication' which spread Frankish methods of control from the core to the peripheries.⁷²

Le Patourel also stressed the centrality of the castle to the colonization of England.⁷³ The speed with which aristocratic castles proliferated in England makes it unlikely that William exercised the same control over them as he acquired in Normandy. Rather than demonstrating William's weakness, castles were so instrumental for colonization that William is likely to have approved of their proliferation in England.⁷⁴

The colonizers also entrenched themselves by founding churches in England. Those founded in William's reign tended to be dependent upon Norman abbeys, and thus constituted an important instrument for the maintenance of aristocratic cross-Channel estates.⁷⁵ The conquerors' establishment of Cluniac foundations in England demonstrates Bartlett's assertion that the integration of Europe was promoted by the spread of religious orders from the core region.⁷⁶

⁷² Le Patourel, *Norman Empire*, 316-18; Bartlett, *Making of Europe*, especially 306-07.

⁷³ Le Patourel, *Norman Empire*, 303-18. Also see Green, *Aristocracy of Norman England*, 172-93.

⁷⁴ R. Eales, 'Royal Power and Castles in Norman England', in *The Ideals and Practice of Medieval Knighthood III: Papers from the Fourth Strawberry Hill Conference 1988*, eds. C. Harper-Bill and R. Harvey (Woodbridge, 1990), 49-78, reprinted in *Anglo-Norman Castles*, ed. R. Liddiard (Woodbridge, 2003), 41-67, at 54-63; Green, *Aristocracy of Norman England*, 176-78. See also Le Patourel, *Norman Empire*, 306-07.

⁷⁵ For the proliferation of religious foundations, their links to other abbeys, and their role in colonization, see D. Matthew, *The Norman Monasteries and their English Possessions* (London, 1962), 26-65; D. Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England: a History of its Development from the Times of Saint Dunstan to the IVth Lateran Council, 940-1216* (Cambridge, 1963), 128-36; Le Patourel, *Norman Empire*, 37-38, 317-18; J. Martindale, 'Monasteries and Castles: the Priors of St-Florent de Saumur in England after 1066', in *England in the Eleventh Century*, ed. C. Hicks (Stamford, 1992), 135-56; D. E. Greenway, 'Conquest and Colonization: the Foundation of an Alien Priory, 1077', in *The Cloister and the World: Essays in Medieval History in Honour of Barbara Harvey*, eds. J. Blair and B. Golding (Oxford, 1996), 46-56, especially 53-54; Cownie, *Religious Patronage*, 185-200.

⁷⁶ Bartlett, *Making of Europe*, 255-68; B. Golding, 'The Coming of the Cluniacs', *ANS*, 3 (1981), 65-77, 208-12.

As in Normandy, lords in England needed to attract and reward followers and mercenaries in order to keep control of their estates and perhaps expand them. In England as in France, they did this through subinfeudation. In return for their alienation of land, lords enjoyed many benefits. Subtenants had a vested interest in their lord's control of his estate, and they could even be recruited for rebellions. Subinfeudation must have been considered a way of rationalizing the administration of one's estates, for it has been observed that scattered, peripheral manors, which were troublesome to administer from the estate's centre, were often subinfeudated early. Subinfeudations helped a lord meet the quota of knights he owed to the king. A lord could impress contemporaries not just by the number of his vassals, but also by their quality, for he might subinfeudate land to another influential tenant-in-chief in the hope of benefiting from his political clout.⁷⁷

Studying the aristocracy also yields insights into how Normandy and England were held together. In seeking to understand the union of Normandy and England from an aristocratic perspective, this thesis will take inspiration from John Le Patourel's *The Norman Empire*, published in 1976. Le Patourel showed that the union of both polities under a single ruler was an ongoing project, driven by ceaseless transfers of people and ideas across the Channel, in both directions. Le Patourel thus stimulated debate over the extent to which Normandy and England were understood by contemporaries as a single political entity.⁷⁸

⁷⁷ For reasons why lords subinfeudated, see S. Harvey, 'The Knight and the Knight's Fee in England', *Past and Present*, 49 (1970), 3-43, at 6-9; B. English, *The Lords of Holderness 1086-1260: A Study in Feudal Society* (Oxford and New York, NY, 1979), 139; K. J. Stringer, *Earl David of Huntingdon 1152-1219: A Study in Anglo-Scottish History* (Edinburgh, 1985), 80-81, 108; H. M. Thomas, 'Subinfeudation and Alienation of Land, Economic Development, and the Wealth of Nobles on the Honor of Richmond, 1066 to c. 1300', *Albion*, 26:3 (1994), 397-417, at 399 and references at n. 7; Green, *Aristocracy of Norman England*, 160-71.

⁷⁸ For overviews of historiography which engages with a joint history of Normandy and England, see D. Bates, 'Introduction. La Normandie et l'Angleterre de 900 à 1204', in *La Normandie et l'Angleterre au moyen âge*. (Actes de Colloque de Cerisy-la-Salle, 4-7 octobre 2001), eds. P. Bouet and V. Gazeau (Caen, 2003), 9-20; P. Bauduin, 'Les modèles anglo-normands en questions', in *Nascita di un regno. Poteri signorili, istituzioni feudali e strutture sociali nel mezzogiorno normanno (1130-1194)*, eds. R. Licinio and F. Violante (Bari, 2008), 51-97. Also see Bates, *Normans and Empire*.

The notion of a united Norman empire was reasserted in lectures delivered in 2010 by David Bates, and expanded upon three years later in his book, *The Normans and Empire*. However, as Bates acknowledged, theories about the unity or division of Normandy and England need to be tested through cross-Channel case studies of aristocratic families.⁷⁹ Some cross-Channel case studies are already available to consult. These include: Kathleen Thompson's thesis on the house of Montgomery's cross-Channel estates;⁸⁰ Mark Hagger's exploration of the changing significance of Hugh de Grandmesnil's relationships with kinsmen and allies;⁸¹ Vanessa Traill's cross-Channel study of the political and social networks of the Clare, Giffard and Tosny families;⁸² Maxime Guilmin's article on how the house of Paynel cultivated and exploited its relationships with other aristocrats in Normandy and England;⁸³ Stéphane Morin's study of the comital family of Brittany before and after their acquisition of the honour of Richmond;⁸⁴ Stephen Baxter and Chris Lewis's analysis of the career and estates of Osbern fitz Osbern, bishop of Exeter, in a cross-Channel context before and after 1066;⁸⁵ and Katharine Keats-Rohan's study of the cross-Channel careers of Ralph the Staller and his son Ralph de Gaël.⁸⁶ However, more research is necessary to help us understand how the creation and management of cross-Channel estates was affected by a lord's relationships and experiences in his homeland.

⁷⁹ Bates, *Normans and Empire*.

⁸⁰ See below, p. 52.

⁸¹ M. Hagger, 'Kinship and Identity in Eleventh-Century Normandy: the Case of Hugh de Grandmesnil, c. 1040-1098', *JMH*, 32:3 (2006), 212-30.

⁸² See below, p. 50.

⁸³ M. Guilmin, 'Un exemple de réseau relationnel de l'aristocratie anglo-normande, les Paynel et leur entourage (milieu du XI^e siècle – début du XII^e siècle)', in *Tinchebray 1106-2006* (Actes du colloque de Tinchebray, 28-30 septembre 2006), eds. V. Gazeau and J. Green (Flers, 2009), 221-34.

⁸⁴ S. Morin, *Trégor, Goëlo, Penthièvre. Le pouvoir des comtes de Bretagne du XI^e au XIII^e siècle* (Rennes, 2010).

⁸⁵ S. Baxter and C. P. Lewis, 'Comment identifier les propriétaires fonciers du Domesday Book en Angleterre et en Normandie? Le cas d'Osbern fitzOsbern', in *Penser les mondes normands médiévaux*, eds. D. Bates and P. Bauduin (Caen, 2016), 207-44.

⁸⁶ K. S. B. Keats-Rohan, 'Raoul Anglicus et Raoul de Gaël: un réexamen des données anglaises et bretonnes', *Mémoires de la Société d'histoire et d'archéologie de Bretagne*, 94 (2016), 61-91.

Le Patourel's emphasis on transnational aristocratic networks provided inspiration for Bartlett's vision of an integrated Europe. Le Patourel asserted that, by the start of the twelfth century, Normandy and England were held together in part by 'one homogenous, aristocratic community' who maintained cross-Channel itineraries and were determined that their cross-Channel lands should be inherited by a single person whenever possible.⁸⁷ This view of the aristocracy has proved contentious. For instance, Le Patourel's emphasis on cross-Channel inheritance underestimates instances where the Norman patrimony passed to the eldest son and the English estate passed to the next eldest.⁸⁸ Furthermore, Le Patourel's thesis has been criticized because many aristocratic families had land and political ambitions on only one side of the Channel.⁸⁹ Moreover, even the lord of a cross-Channel estate faced choices over how best to divide his energies.

Discussion of the priorities of cross-Channel lords runs the risk of oversimplifying the question of how united or divided the cross-Channel polity seemed to contemporaries. It is thus useful to consider this question in a more nuanced way, by identifying the core area and the periphery of a cross-Channel landholder's interests. Besides finding out where a cross-Channel landholder spent his time, it is necessary to consider other models of core and periphery as well.⁹⁰

⁸⁷ Le Patourel, *Norman Empire*, 191-95, 320, 339-51.

⁸⁸ E. Z. Tabuteau, 'The Role of Law in the Succession to Normandy and England, 1087', *HSJ*, 3 (1992), 141-69, at 156-68; B. Golding, *Conquest and Colonisation: The Normans in Britain, 1066-1100* (Basingstoke, revised edition, 2001), 190; Bates, *William the Conqueror* (2004), 120.

⁸⁹ J. A. Green, 'Lords of the Norman Vexin', in *War and Government in the Middle Ages: Essays in Honour of J. O. Prestwich*, eds. J. C. Holt and J. Gillingham (Woodbridge, 1984), 46-63; Green, 'King Henry I and the Aristocracy of Normandy', in *La France anglaise au moyen age, Actes du 111^e congrès national des sociétés savantes* (Paris, 1988), 161-73, at 171-72; Green, 'Unity and Disunity in the Anglo-Norman State', *HR*, 62 (1989), 115-34, at 129-32; Green, *Aristocracy of Norman England*, 271-72, 431; Green, *Henry I: King of England and Duke of Normandy* (Cambridge, 2006), 235; D. Bates, 'Normandy and England after 1066', *EHR*, 104 (1989), 851-880, at 854-55, 860; Bates, 'La Normandie et l'Angleterre', 11; D. Crouch, 'Normans and Anglo-Normans: a Divided Aristocracy?', in *Normandy and England in the Middle Ages*, eds. D. Bates and A. Curry (London, 1994), 51-67, at 59-61, 67; Golding, *Conquest and Colonisation*, 189; Bauduin, 'Les modèles anglo-normands', 58, 81-82.

⁹⁰ Bates, *Normans and Empire*, 128-59, especially at 128-29.

William of Malmesbury and Orderic Vitalis both asserted that Normandy depended upon English resources.⁹¹ An example of this is the alienation of property in England to Norman churches. According to this interpretation, Normandy was the core, exploiting an English periphery. On the other hand, although less common for the first generation after 1066, patronage of English churches also occurred, and this constitutes evidence of commitment to England. It is also possible to perceive a tenant-in-chief's core region by asking which polity provided his preferred toponymic, or marriages for himself or his children. An 'emotional core' might alternatively be perceived in a nobleman's place of burial.⁹² Finally, it is worth considering that the cross-Channel itineraries of some important men indicate a mobile core which consisted of their household and court.⁹³ Sometimes these definitions provide us with more than one type of core region for a single person, but where enough evidence points to a single polity, it becomes safer to conclude that this was where his main interests lay.

The cohesion of a tenant-in-chief's cross-Channel estate would have been reinforced by subtenants possessing land or following itineraries in both polities.⁹⁴ It is therefore necessary to test Le Patourel's contention that cross-Channel estates were common at 'almost all levels' of society.⁹⁵ This has been doubted, for it has been observed that cross-Channel estates are difficult to see below the level of England's more significant tenants-in-chief.⁹⁶ Instead of creating cross-Channel honorial barons, a lord might subinfeudate English manors to men unconnected to him in Normandy, or he might enrich certain types of his followers from Normandy over others. Where the most decisive factors influencing a tenant-in-chief's choice

⁹¹ OV, iv. 226; *Gesta Regum*, eds. Mynors, Thomson and Winterbottom, i. 384-86.

⁹² B. Golding, 'Anglo-Norman Knightly Burials', in *The Ideals and Practice of Medieval Knighthood. Papers from the First and Second Strawberry Hill Conferences*, eds. C. Harper-Bill and R. Harvey (Woodbridge, 1986), 35-48.

⁹³ Bates, *Normans and Empire*, 129.

⁹⁴ For subtenants, see p. 107, 132, 147, 155-158, 227, 259, 362.

⁹⁵ Le Patourel, *Norman Empire*, 194-95.

⁹⁶ Green, 'Unity and Disunity', 129-30; Frame, *British Isles*, 54; Crouch, 'Divided Aristocracy', at 52, 61-63, 67; Bartlett, *Making of Europe*, 57-58.

of subtenants can be discovered, it is possible to infer differences and similarities between his lordships in Normandy and England, and to consider where his priorities lay after 1066.

Historiography relating to the families studied in this thesis

The *Complete Peerage* contains short biographies of Ralph III de Tosny and Robert of Stafford, as well as their ancestors and descendants.⁹⁷ Chris Lewis wrote a brief but penetrating article on Ralph III.⁹⁸ However, the only extended examination of the house of Tosny to be published is an article by Lucien Musset.⁹⁹ In this valuable article, Musset described the careers, lands and religious patronage of the heads of this family from the tenth century until the end of the twelfth. However, there remains scope to deepen understanding of this family. Musset devotes little attention to English matters, or the careers of Robert of Stafford and Robert de Tosny, lord of Belvoir. A Master's thesis by Joseph Huffman observed Ralph III's preference for a continental career over an English one.¹⁰⁰ However, Huffman did not consider the creation and management of Ralph's English estate, and the careers of Ralph's subtenants. A study by Peter Stewart, published online, helpfully identifies much of the prosopographical evidence relating to the Tosnys.¹⁰¹ There are also articles with a more specific focus. These include: Lucas Villegas-Aristizabal's examination of Roger I de Tosny's military exploits in Spain;¹⁰² Donald Graham's examination of the beginnings of the Stafford family's priory at Wootton Wawen;¹⁰³ and Pierre Bauduin's refinement of Musset's analysis of the house of Tosny's estate in

⁹⁷ *Complete Peerage*, xii. part 1, 168-69, 753-62.

⁹⁸ C. P. Lewis, 'Tosny, Ralph de (d. 1102?)', *ODNB* (2004).

⁹⁹ L. Musset, 'Aux origines d'une classe dirigeante: les Tosny, grands barons normands du X^e au XIII^e siècles', *Francia*, 5 (1978), 45-80.

¹⁰⁰ J. P. Huffman, 'Ralph III and the House of Tosny', unpublished MA thesis (Western Michigan University, MI, 1984). For Ralph's prioritization of a continental career, see p. 43-63.

¹⁰¹ P. Stewart, 'Origin and Early Generations of the Tosny Family' (2012, accessible online at http://www-personal.umich.edu/~bobwolfe/gentxt/Origin_and_early_generations_of_the_Tosny_family.pdf).

¹⁰² L. Villegas-Aristizabal, 'Roger of Tosny's Adventures in the County of Barcelona', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 52 (2008), 5-16.

¹⁰³ D. Graham, 'Foundation of an Alien Priory at Wootton Wawen in the Twelfth Century', *Birmingham and Warwickshire Archaeological Society*, 106 (2002), 117-41.

Normandy.¹⁰⁴ Astrid Lemoine Descourtieux's book on the region around the river Avre focusses on the castles, towns and aristocratic families which straddled that part of the Norman frontier. The duke's efforts to secure this frontier are considered alongside the activities of aristocratic families. Although Lemoine Descourtieux is not primarily concerned with the house of Tosny's heartlands between Tosny and Conches, she includes illuminative analyses of the honours of the lords of Tillières and Breteuil, important aristocratic neighbours to Conches.¹⁰⁵

A doctoral thesis completed by Vanessa Traill in 2013 examines the political and social networks of the Tosnys, from the earlier tenth century until the beginning of the thirteenth.¹⁰⁶ Perhaps because of the long time span under consideration, this does not devote concerted attention to the social networks examined here. Traill also builds upon some of Musset's genealogical inaccuracies. The thesis does not attempt to map continental estates in detail and omits a great number of vassals in both polities. There remains much to be gained, therefore, from a more detailed reconstruction of the Tosnys' social and political networks, and from deeper exploration of the opportunities and difficulties presented to aristocratic families by their relationships.

The existing historiography for the counts of Eu is helpful but limited. Edmund Chester Waters published very short biographies of the eleventh century counts, but these contain numerous prosopographical errors.¹⁰⁷ The biographies in the *Complete Peerage* are brief.¹⁰⁸ The most penetrating work on the counts of Eu was produced after the Second World War.

¹⁰⁴ P. Bauduin, 'Autour de la *dos* d'Adelize de Tosny: mariage et contrôle du territoire en Normandie (XI^e-XII^e siècles)', in *Les pouvoirs locaux dans la France du centre et de l'ouest, VIII^e-XI^e siècles*, eds. D. Barthélemy and O. Bruand (Rennes, 2004), 157-73.

¹⁰⁵ A. Lemoine Descourtieux, *La frontière normande de l'Avre: de la fondation de la Normandie à sa réunion au domaine royal (911-1204)* (Mont-Saint-Aignan, 2011).

¹⁰⁶ V. J. Traill, 'The Social and Political Networks of the Anglo-Norman Aristocracy: The Clare, Giffard and Tosny Kin-Groups, c. 940 to c. 1200', unpublished PhD thesis (University of Glasgow, 2013).

¹⁰⁷ E. Chester Waters, 'The Counts of Eu, Sometime Lords of the Honour of Tickhill', *Yorkshire Archaeological and Topographical Journal*, 9 (1886), 257-302.

¹⁰⁸ *Complete Peerage*, v. 151-79.

David Douglas's article on the earliest Norman counts sheds light on the careers of the counts of Eu until the 1050s.¹⁰⁹ Suzanne Deck considers the counts' influence around Eu itself, outlines their Norman property, and provides some analysis of their Norman vassals.¹¹⁰ The early history of the county of Eu was revisited briefly but insightfully by Pierre Bauduin.¹¹¹ The career of Hugh, bishop of Lisieux (1046-1077), has been studied by Richard Allen, and will not be re-examined here.¹¹² None of these works focus on the counts in their cross-Channel context.

The historiography for the house of Bellême is extensive: several influential studies were published in the first half of the twentieth century,¹¹³ and major studies were undertaken by Kathleen Thompson and Gérard Louise in the later twentieth century.¹¹⁴ In addition, Ivo III's career as bishop of Sées has been examined by Joseph Decaëns and Richard Allen.¹¹⁵ Some of the groundwork for studying the Montgommerys in England was provided by John Mason, who identified Earl Roger's officers in Shropshire and explored patterns of subinfeudation within his honour in Sussex and Shropshire. Mason also published a prosopographical study of Roger and his sons.¹¹⁶ Chris Lewis builds upon Mason's work for the tenurial situation in

¹⁰⁹ Douglas, 'Earliest Norman Counts', 135-40, 154-56.

¹¹⁰ S. Deck, 'Le comté d'Eu sous les ducs', *AN*, 4:2 (1954), 99-116.

¹¹¹ Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, 295-98.

¹¹² Allen, 'Norman Episcopate', i. 256-75, ii. 778-79.

¹¹³ J. Depoin, 'Les premiers anneaux de la maison de Bellême', *Bulletin historique et philologique du comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques* (Paris, 1909), 147-67; H. du Motey, *Origines de la Normandie et du duché d'Alençon* (Paris, 1920); H. du Motey, *Robert II de Bellême, lieutenant du duc Robert Courte-Heuse, seigneur d'Alençon, comte de Ponthieu et de Shrewsbury et son temps (1056-1127)* (Alençon, 1923); H. Prentout, 'Les origines de la maison de Bellême', in his *Études sur quelques points d'histoire de Normandie* (Caen, 1926), 25-47; G. White, 'The First House of Bellême', *TRHS*, 4th series, 22 (1940), 67-99; J. Boussard, 'La seigneurie de Bellême aux X^e et XI^e siècles', *Mélanges d'histoire du moyen âge dédiés à la mémoire de Louis Halphen* (Paris, 1951), 43-54.

¹¹⁴ K. Thompson, 'The Cross-Channel Estates of the Montgomery-Bellême Family c. 1050 – 1112', unpublished MA thesis (University College Cardiff, 1983); Thompson, 'Family and Influence to the South of Normandy in the Eleventh Century: the Lordship of Bellême', *JMH*, 11:3 (1985), 215-26; Louise, *Bellême*.

¹¹⁵ J. Decaëns, 'L'évêque Yves de Sées', in *Les évêques normands du XI^e siècle*, eds. P. Bouet and F. Neveux (Caen, 1995), 117-37; Allen, 'Norman Episcopate', i. 405-25, ii. 462-63, 786-87.

¹¹⁶ J. F. A. Mason, 'Aspects of Subinfeudation on Some Secular Domesday Fiefs', unpublished DPhil thesis, 2 vols. (University of Oxford, 1952), 118-25, 161-89; Mason, 'The Officers and Clerks of the Norman Earls of Shropshire', *Transactions of the Shropshire Archaeological Society*, 56 (1957-1960), 244-57; Mason, 'Roger de Montgomery and his Sons (1067-1102)', *TRHS*, 5th series, 13 (1963), 1-28.

Shropshire in 1086.¹¹⁷ Lucien Musset drew attention to the endowment of Almenêches and explored the administration of the lordship of Bellême under Earl Roger and Robert II de Bellême.¹¹⁸ Kathleen Thompson's thesis on the house of Montgomery's property on the continent and in England elucidates the careers of the Montgomery-Bellêmes in the eleventh century.¹¹⁹ Thompson's thesis was followed by articles about the early house of Bellême and the family of Roger II de Montgomery.¹²⁰ It remains possible to build upon Thompson's work by considering Roger II's relationships in more detail. Examining Roger's links with other nobles will enable a greater understanding of how Norman society was dominated by an interlinked aristocratic clique whose prosperity depended upon mutually beneficial bonds with the rulers. It is also worth taking a closer look at Roger's relationships with his vassals in both polities, and how the careers of his entourage were affected by Roger's receipt of vast English lands. It also remains necessary to produce a more comprehensive map of Roger's continental estate, in order to better appreciate the foundations of his power and, by extension, that of his lord, Duke William. The distinctive contribution of this chapter is to integrate what is known from the literature, and build upon it, in a single study which seeks to explain the significance of Roger II de Montgomery's family, career and lordships before and after 1066, on both sides of the Channel.

¹¹⁷ C. P. Lewis, 'English and Norman Government and Lordship in the Welsh Borders, 1039-1087', unpublished DPhil thesis (University of Oxford, 1985); Lewis, 'Introduction to the Shropshire Domesday', in *The Shropshire Domesday*, eds. A. Williams and R. W. H. Erskine (London, 1990), 1-27, at 18-27.

¹¹⁸ L. Musset, 'Les premiers temps de l'abbaye d'Almenêches des origines au XII^e siècle', in *L'abbaye d'Almenêches-Argentan et Sainte Opportune: sa vie et son culte* (Paris, 1970), 11-36; Musset, 'Administration et justice dans une grande baronnie normande au XI^e siècle: les terres des Bellême sous Roger II et Robert', in *Autour du pouvoir ducal normand X^e - XII^e siècle*, eds. Musset, Bouvris and Maillefer, 129-48.

¹¹⁹ Thompson, 'Cross-Channel Estates'.

¹²⁰ Thompson, 'Cross-Channel Estates'; Thompson, 'Family and Influence'; Thompson, 'The Norman Aristocracy before 1066: the Example of the Montgomerys', *(BI)HR*, 60 (1987), 251-63; Thompson, 'Robert of Bellême Reconsidered', *ANS*, 13 (1991) 263-286; Thompson, 'Orderic Vitalis and Robert of Bellême', *JMH*, 20:2 (1994), 133-41; Thompson, 'Note de recherche: Arnoul de Montgomery', *AN*, 45:1 (1995), 49-53.

Sources

Charters are our main source for uncovering each family's Norman estates, and they tell us which religious houses aristocrats chose to associate themselves with. Members of the benefactor's family and entourage can be identified from the text or the witness list. They can be used to identify benefactors of the aristocrat's own religious foundations. They also offer clues for where a cross-Channel landholder spent his time, although it is not always possible to be certain about this: for instance, while it seems likely that charters describing grants of Norman property to Norman churches were usually witnessed in Normandy, charters were sometimes taken across the Channel to have witnesses added.

There are some limitations of charter evidence which need to be borne in mind. Most ducal charters are not dated, so their dates must be estimated by historians.¹²¹ While the witness lists of Anglo-Saxon royal diplomas constitute strong evidence of a selection of people physically present at royal assemblies (albeit incomplete records),¹²² it is not necessarily the case that all those to have signed a Norman charter were in the same place at the same time.¹²³ One reason is that the transactions recorded in a charter were often processes not events, and this means that charters could acquire witnesses by stages at various times. A single Norman charter could be presented to other men for confirmation at a later date, and later copies might obscure this process. Crosses tended to be scattered under the text of the original charter, but this arrangement was often not preserved in cartulary copies, and sometimes these copies omit

¹²¹ V. Gazeau, 'Recherches autour de la datation des actes normands aux X^e-XII^e siècles', in *Dating Undated Medieval Charters*, ed. M. Gervers (Woodbridge, 2000), 61-79.

¹²² S. Keynes, *The Diplomas of King Æthelred "the Unready" (978-1016): a Study in their Use as Historical Evidence* (Cambridge, 1980), 130-34; Keynes, 'Church Councils, Royal Assemblies, and Anglo-Saxon Royal Diplomas', in *Kingship, Legislation and Power in Anglo-Saxon England*, eds. G. R. Owen-Crocker and B. W. Schneider (Woodbridge, 2013), 17-182; C. Insley, 'Assemblies and Charters in Late Anglo-Saxon England', in *Political Assemblies in the Earlier Middle Ages*, eds. P. S. Barnwell and M. Mostert (Turnhout, 2003), 47-59, at 51-52.

¹²³ D. Bates, 'The Prosopographical Study of Anglo-Norman Royal Charters', in *Family Trees and the Roots of Politics: the Prosopography of Britain and France from the Tenth to the Twelfth Century*, ed. K. S. B. Keats-Rohan (Woodbridge, 1997), 89-102.

the *signa* altogether. It is therefore desirable to see the original charter whenever possible, in case the layout or script of the *signa* reveal how the document was put together, sometimes in stages. However, even though it can be difficult to prove that the witnesses of an individual charter were together at the same time, the collective weight of aristocrats witnessing ducally-approved transactions which did not directly concern them suggests that leading aristocrats were frequently with the duke.

The redaction process went even further if a charter was incorporated into a pancarte or a confirmation charter. Many pancartes and confirmation charters preserve individual charters only in very abridged form. Very often, the witnesses of each original charter are omitted. When a pancarte or confirmation charter was copied, the witnesses of the copied version could be merged with the exemplar's witness list, resulting in chronological inconsistencies. The copyist might also add later grants which are chronologically inconsistent with the rest of the charter, including the witnesses.¹²⁴ All of these possibilities must be taken into account when we use charters as prosopographical evidence.

The accessibility of Norman charter evidence has recently improved as a result of two electronic resources: ARTEM and SCRIPTA. ARTEM, a project based at the University of Nancy, catalogues all original charters preserved in France which are datable before 1121, and makes them available in text and photographs online.¹²⁵ SCRIPTA, an online resource led by Pierre Bauduin at the University of Caen Normandie, allows users to access and search printed editions of Norman charters datable between the tenth and thirteenth centuries.¹²⁶

¹²⁴ *Regesta*, ed. Bates, introduction, p. 11-30, 105-09; Bates, 'Les chartes de confirmation et les pancartes normandes du règne de Guillaume le Conquérant', in *Pancartes monastiques des XI^e et XII^e siècles*, eds. M. Parisse, P. Pégeot and B.-M. Tock (Turnhout, 1998), 95-110.

¹²⁵ <http://www.cn-telma.fr/originaux/index/>

¹²⁶ <http://www.unicaen.fr/scripta/pages/index.html>

Nonetheless, a huge number of Norman charters can only be found in manuscripts. The cartularies consulted for this thesis include those of Saint-Evrault,¹²⁷ Foucarmont,¹²⁸ Troarn,¹²⁹ Saint-Martin-au-Bosc,¹³⁰ Saint-Martin de Sées,¹³¹ Estrée,¹³² Saint-Taurin d'Évreux,¹³³ and the cathedral of Évreux.¹³⁴ The cartulary of the counts of Eu has also been consulted.¹³⁵ Among the most fruitful of these for the purposes of this thesis is the early twelfth-century cartulary of Saint-Martin de Sées, for although grants and confirmations by Roger II de Montgommery and his sons were edited in Kathleen Thompson's unpublished MA thesis, the vast majority of the cartulary does not exist in print.¹³⁶ Unpublished sections of the cartularies of Troarn provide supplementary information on the abbey's eleventh-century benefactors, but little which significantly adds to the printed corpus – most notably the pancartes of Norman kings, which preserve the vast majority of eleventh-century grants in abridged form. Information in the cartularies of Saint-Evrault about the lands and relationships of the families studied in this thesis has largely been published in editions of Orderic Vitalis's *Ecclesiastical History* and other editions of charters, although a limited amount of later unpublished material has been found to confirm some suspicions derived from the printed corpus. The cartulary of the abbey of Foucarmont, founded by Count Henry of Eu in 1129 or 1130, contains valuable information relating to some vassals of the counts of Eu in Normandy, and to the counts' relationship with the counts of Aumale after the failed plot against William Rufus in 1095. A cartulary of the priory of Saint-Martin-au-Bosc, founded by Count Henry around 1106, contains the full version of Count Henry's endowment charter, which was calendared incompletely by

¹²⁷ B. N. ms. Lat. 11055, 11056, 11057.

¹²⁸ Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, Y 13.

¹²⁹ B. N. ms. Lat. 10086; A. D. Calvados, H 7745, H 7747, H 7748.

¹³⁰ A. D. Seine-Maritime, D 20, D 21.

¹³¹ Bibliothèque de l'Evêché de Sées, non coté, 2 (henceforth referred to as *Livre Blanc*).

¹³² A. D. Eure, H 319.

¹³³ A. D. Eure, H 793, H 794.

¹³⁴ A. D. Eure, G 6, G 122, G 123, G 124, G 125.

¹³⁵ B. N. ms. Lat. 13904.

¹³⁶ For Thompson's editions, see Thompson, 'Cross-Channel Estates', 229-79.

Round.¹³⁷ The cartulary of the counts of Eu consists mainly of charters by the counts for Tréport, Notre-Dame d'Eu, Foucarmont, Saint-Martin-au-Bosc and Séry.¹³⁸ It contains little unpublished material of importance for the eleventh-century counts, though there is an unpublished document corroborating Count Henry I's foundation of the abbey of Eu,¹³⁹ as well as a mention of Henry's grant of property in an unidentified forest to Séry.¹⁴⁰ The abbey of Estrée was founded in 1144, so it does not bear directly on the families studied here in the eleventh century, although it does include versions of a published charter detailing a grant from the Tosny family between 1144 and 1160.¹⁴¹

The most important chronicle sources for the aristocracy in eleventh-century Normandy are William of Jumièges, Orderic Vitalis and Robert of Torigni. Information can also be gleaned from Dudo of Saint-Quentin, William of Poitiers and Wace. Chronicles which illuminate English matters include the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and the works of William of Malmesbury, John of Worcester, Symeon of Durham, the Warenne chronicler and the chronicler of Battle Abbey.

Orderic's work is exceptionally informative for present purposes, for he is our only source for many events involving the families under study. It is of course important to remain alert to the difficulties of interpreting his work. Orderic wrote in the twelfth century, significantly after many of the events he was describing. He has a tendency to flatter King

¹³⁷ A. D. Seine-Maritime, D 20, fols. 15r and 17r (*Calendar*, ed. Round, no. 399).

¹³⁸ The contents are: charters by counts John, Henry II and Alfonso for the townspeople of Eu (fols. 1r-2v); an enumeration of rights belonging to individuals or groups (fols. 3r-18v); charters for Le Tréport, all published in *Cartulaire du Tréport*, ed. de Kermaingant (fols. 19r-32r); charters for Notre-Dame d'Eu by counts Henry I, John, Henry II, Ralph I, Ralph II and Alfonso, and countesses Alice and Joanna, King Henry II of England, King Philip II of France, and King Louis IX of France, as well as Richard son of Fretel, Peter de Blangy and Maria de Cuverville (fols. 33r-70v); a charter of Count John for Foucarmont (fols. 71r-74v); charters of counts Henry I, John and Henry II, as well as King Henry I of England, for Saint-Martin-au-Bosc (fols. 75r-80r); charters of counts John, Henry II, Ralph I and Alfonso, and Countess Alice, for Séry (fols. 81r-82v).

¹³⁹ B. N. ms. Lat. 13904, fol. 36r-38v.

¹⁴⁰ B. N. ms. Lat. 13904, fol. 81r-v.

¹⁴¹ *Mémoires et Notes de M. Le Prévost*, eds. Delisle and Passy, i. 486-87 (A. D. Eure, H 319, fol. 11r, 66r; SCRIPTA 5594).

Henry I of England, and he invests historical figures with the same disapproval of certain behaviours that Orderic himself felt as a twelfth-century monk.¹⁴² His treatment of the aristocracy concentrates on families with links to Saint-Evroult, and it is uncertain how representative they were of other Norman aristocrats. Orderic's reporting of past events could be hampered by an unwillingness to offend families connected to his abbey. James Bickford-Smith has also drawn attention to Orderic's recourse to stock explanations, and stock personality types, which he recycled in different contexts. This habit enables us to identify concerns and priorities shared by Orderic and his contemporaries, but it undermines the credibility of his stories as factual accounts of what occurred in the past. It follows that Orderic cannot be taken literally on all matters.¹⁴³

Domesday Book is the principal source for the English estates of the continental newcomers to England after 1066, even if it is too often silent on their castles. The fact that Domesday uses explicit headings for tenants-in-chief means that their demesne estates can be securely and confidently identified. However, it is necessary to follow certain principles in order to identify subtenants recorded only by their forename. It is logical that two subtenants are likelier to be the same person if they have a rare name, and that common names make it more difficult to distinguish between people. Geographical proximity increases the likelihood that subtenants bearing the same name represent the same person. It is also helpful to trace the later descent of manors, for manors held by subtenants of the same name were probably held by a single person in 1086 if they descended together after that date. Having a common antecessor can also support the identification of subtenants in 1086 as a single person. Other Domesday-related texts such as Exon Domesday and the Dorset Geld Accounts have been used in this thesis

¹⁴² Thompson, 'Orderic Vitalis and Robert of Bellême', 133-41; Strickland, *War and Chivalry*, 12-16.

¹⁴³ J. Bickford Smith, 'Orderic Vitalis and Norman Society, c. 1035 – 1087', unpublished DPhil thesis (University of Oxford, 2006), 23-24, 44-45, 71-96, 102.

where they offer more precise identifications. Subtenants can also be identified more securely through reference to charter evidence.¹⁴⁴

It is helpful to consider the value of a subtenant's estate as one way of assessing the subtenant's relationship with a particular tenant-in-chief. However, the meaning of values in Domesday Book is open to interpretation. David Roffe contends that values were 'a sum that went out of the estate to an overlord in recognition of a soke relationship'. A. R. Bridbury asserts that values were the sum of cash renders paid by peasants. Sally Harvey rejects both theories, and shows that the stated value of a manor was the revenue it was expected to generate for whoever held it. If it was a demesne manor, then the value pertained to the tenant-in-chief. There is explicit evidence that the value of many subinfeudated manors pertained to the subtenant.¹⁴⁵ However, it is important to remember that other arrangements existed which are mostly invisible to us. For instance, four charters have been found which suggest that subtenants could return some of their manor's value to their lord.¹⁴⁶ This could have varied from case to case, but since those arrangements can be perceived only rarely, as a rule of thumb it is useful to treat the values of each subtenant's estate as a measure of how much wealth the tenant-in-chief alienated to that subtenant.

The production of tables and maps of English estates in this thesis was aided by datasets produced by the editors of the *Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon England* website. These datasets were provided to me in spreadsheet form by Professor Stephen Baxter. The spreadsheet included the landholders, hidage and values of every manor in 1066 and 1086. This enabled the estates of each tenant-in-chief to be easily viewed, and it meant that the values of very large

¹⁴⁴ For similar methods for identifying landholders in 1066, see Baxter and Lewis, 'Osbern fitzOsbern', 209-11 and n. 8.

¹⁴⁵ For discussion of Roffe's and Bridbury's definitions of Domesday values, and for Harvey's solution to the question, see S. Harvey, *Domesday: Book of Judgement* (Oxford, 2014), 161-209.

¹⁴⁶ The four charters are: *Two Chartularies of the Priory of St Peter at Bath*, ed. W. Hunt (Frome and London, 1893), i. 37; V. H. Galbraith, 'An Episcopal Land Grant of 1085', *EHR*, 44 (1929), 353-72, at 371-72; C. Flight, *The Survey of Kent: Documents Relating to the Survey of the County Conducted in 1086* (Oxford, 2010), p. 219, nos. 5 and 6. I was alerted to these charters by Professor Stephen Baxter.

estates could easily be calculated in Microsoft Excel. The editors also added the latitude and longitude of each manor. It was therefore possible to import spreadsheets into GIS mapping software in order to produce maps of each tenant-in-chief's estate. It was of course necessary to double-check this data against Domesday Book, and to correct any errors, before using it to produce calculations and maps of the English estates of the families studied in this thesis.

The shape and structure of this thesis

The first chapter will commence by examining the evidence for the origins of the house of Tosny, and discussing the career of Roger I de Tosny, founder of the abbey of Conches. It then describes the pre-Conquest career of Roger's heir, Ralph III de Tosny, before moving on to analyse the estate Ralph acquired in England after 1066. The main events of Ralph's post-Conquest career are then recounted, and his vassals in Normandy and England are compared in order to gauge how Ralph used them to maintain his power in both polities. Ralph's religious patronage is then examined for further clues as to his geographical priorities throughout his career. The chapter then moves on to Ralph's brother, Robert of Stafford, whose lands, religious patronage and vassals are examined in turn. Another relative, Robert de Tosny, receives the same treatment, and a brief section recounts what is known of his son Berengar, another tenant-in-chief. The chapter then draws together some conclusions from the preceding discussion of the house of Tosny.

The second chapter, on the counts of Eu, begins with the career of Count William I, who held concentrated blocks of land around castles first in the Hiémois, and then in the Talou. It then discusses the monastic foundations of William's widow, Lesceline, and elucidates the complicated descent of the county of Eu after William's death. The chapter describes the pre-Conquest career of Robert, count of Eu, including his foundation of an abbey at Le Tréport.

Robert's estates in Normandy and England are compared, and the rest of his post-Conquest career is described. Robert's vassals in Normandy and England are then compared, to find out the extent to which they underpinned the unity of his cross-Channel estate. Next comes analysis of the career, English estate and subtenants of Robert's son, Count William III. Some conclusions are advanced about the place of the counts of Eu in Normandy and England, and the strategies they followed to negotiate the challenges of the cross-Channel polity.

The third chapter begins with a short discussion of the political importance of the early lords of Bellême, for they were the source of a significant part of Roger II de Montgomery's continental estate. The origins of the Montgomery family are then considered through analysis of the activities, lands and religious foundations of Roger I de Montgomery. The chapter presents evidence for Roger II's rise to prominence, including his recovery of the vicecomital office once held by his father, and his frequent occurrences in Duke William's charters from the 1040s onwards. Roger's marriage to Mabel is discussed in terms of its benefits to ducal power and the likelihood that William was consulted when the marriage was arranged. The story of the rise of the house of Montgomery before 1066 continues with descriptions of Roger II's religious foundations and his acquisition of the lands of the house of Giroie. Roger's post-Conquest career is examined in order to discover where his geographical priorities lay at different times before his death in 1094. The creation, shape and management of his vast English estate receives consideration. Roger's links to churches on either side of the Channel are then considered through his religious patronage. Roger's vassals in both polities are compared, before a brief account of the careers of his most significant sons. The chapter then offers some conclusions derived from this case study.

The conclusion to the thesis draws together and compares the key observations of the three case studies, and considers the wider implications of the thesis for understanding some of the main issues raised in this introduction.

Chapter 1. The house of Tosny

The opportunities and hazards experienced by the Norman aristocracy from the tenth century to the twelfth are strikingly illustrated by the house of Tosny, thanks to the evidence preserved in the charters of their religious foundations, the testimony of Orderic Vitalis's *Ecclesiastical History*, and, of course, Domesday Book. The family's origins can be traced unusually early, and they were at the forefront of the territorialization of aristocratic power which profoundly affected the relationships between the aristocracy and the dukes in the eleventh century. The family prospered in the tenth and early eleventh centuries thanks to their close relationship with the dukes, but from the second half of Duke Richard II's reign until the death of Ralph III de Tosny in 1102 or 1103, their fortunes fluctuated as their ambitions clashed with those of the dukes and the emerging clique of ducal favourites. By 1086, three of the family held English estates worth over £200, and one more held a less significant English estate. The fact that four family members were tenants-in-chief invites a comparison of their careers, and an examination of how their experiences of the cross-Channel polity were affected by Norman politics and developments within the family since the tenth century.

Family Origins

The house of Tosny were not part of a ‘new’ aristocracy. Instead, their importance is visible remarkably early, during the career of an early family member, Hugh, archbishop of Rouen (942-989). Hugh is the first of Normandy’s archbishops whose career is known in some detail, thanks mainly to the *Acta archiepiscoporum Rotomagensium* (written by an anonymous clerk of Rouen cathedral around 1070 and revised by Theoderic, a monk of Saint-Ouen de Rouen around twenty years later). Details of Hugh’s career are also provided by Orderic Vitalis and charter evidence.

Hugh was a monk of the abbey of Saint-Denis until his appointment by William Longsword. During Duke Richard I’s reign, ducal prerogatives developed considerably, and Normandy became an increasingly independent principality, strengthened by the partial restorations of a Carolingian framework of government and the church.¹ Hugh’s close relationship with Richard is evident in the duke’s grants to Saint-Denis in 968.² They also cooperated to refound Mont-Saint-Michel as an abbey, and to promote the cult of Saint-Taurin at Évreux. Richard also gave Hugh the rare right to mint coins.³ Hugh obviously played an important role in supporting Richard’s authority.

However, the most significant illustration of their relationship is Hugh’s ability to alienate his archbishopric’s property to his own relatives. The *Acta archiepiscoporum Rotomagensium* describes Hugh’s alienation of Tosny from the archiepiscopal lands to his brother Ralph, son of Hugh *de Cavalcamp*.⁴ Besides Tosny and its surroundings, it has been

¹ For Duke Richard I’s achievement, see Douglas, ‘Rise of Normandy’, in *Time and the Hour*, 100-01, 104-05, 107; Bates, *Normandy*, 13-38; Searle, *Predatory Kinship*, 79-90, 98-100; Dunbabin, *France in the Making*, 80-82; D. Crouch, *The Normans: The History of a Dynasty* (London and New York, NY, 2002), 14-23.

² *RADN*, no. 3 (SCRIPTA 1430).

³ For Hugh’s career, see F. Lifshitz, ‘La Normandie carolingienne. Essai sur la continuité, avec utilisation de sources négligées’, *AN*, 48:5 (1998), 505-24, at 513-20; Allen, ‘Norman Episcopate’, i. 19-27.

⁴ R. Allen, ‘The *Acta archiepiscoporum Rotomagensium*: Study and Edition’, *Tabularia <<Documents>>*, 9 (2009), 1-66, at 38, 51-52. Tosny, Eure, cant. Gaillon-Campagne.

shown that the Tosny family's property in and around Acquigny, Conches and Romilly-sur-Andelle probably came to them from Hugh.⁵ Charter evidence shows that Hugh also alienated his cathedral's property at Douvrend as his sister's dowry.⁶ Hugh is unlikely to have alienated Rouen's property without Richard's acquiescence, so Ralph's acquisition of Tosny reflects Richard I's willingness to use ecclesiastical property to reward his followers.⁷ Unfortunately, *Cavalcamp* is unidentifiable. The location of Archbishop Hugh's early career, at Saint-Denis, suggests that his family were Frankish, although the possibility that Hugh went to Saint-Denis from a Norman family cannot be completely ruled out.⁸

Archbishop Hugh's brother Ralph may have signed Hugh's charter for Saint-Germain-des-Prés between 979 and 989, for Odo, who signed next, is also the name of Hugh and Ralph's brother-in-law.⁹ The archbishop's brother was probably the Ralph, son of Hugh, who witnessed Duke Richard I's treaty with King Æthelred II of England in Rouen on 1 March 991.¹⁰

We will see that a Ralph de Tosny pursued a military career at least until the 1020s.¹¹ It is unlikely that he is the brother of an archbishop appointed in 942,¹² and it is likelier that he was an heir of Archbishop Hugh's brother. Ralph II is probably the Ralph de Tosny whose *signum* appears on Duke Richard II's charter for Notre-Dame de Chartres, issued at Rouen in 1014.¹³ Two versions of this charter survive on single sheets. Each version includes a different ducal confirmation datable after 1026: Fauroux's version A *bis* is confirmed by Duke Robert I, and her version A is confirmed by Duke William. Version A *bis* consists of Duke Richard's

⁵ Musset, 'Tosny', 70-73.

⁶ *RADN*, no. 10 (SCRIPTA 1436).

⁷ Bates, *Normandy*, 35.

⁸ This possibility was acknowledged by Huffman, 'Ralph III', 5.

⁹ *Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Saint-Germain-des-Prés des origines au début du XIII^e siècle*, ed. R. Poupardin, 2 vols. (Paris, 1909), i. no. 44. For Odo, see *RADN*, no. 10 (SCRIPTA 1436).

¹⁰ *RADN*, p. 22 n. 15, translated in *English Historical Documents: c. 500-1042*, ed. D. Whitelock (London and New York, NY, second edition, 1979), no. 230.

¹¹ See below, p. 64-65.

¹² *Complete Peerage*, xii. part 1, 754; A. Wareham, 'Two Models of Marriage: Kinship and the Social Order in England and Normandy', in *Negotiating Secular and Ecclesiastical Power: Western Europe in the Central Middle Ages*, eds. A.-J. A. Bijsterveld, H. B. Teunis and A. Wareham (Turnhout, 1999), 107-32, at 119.

¹³ *RADN*, no. 15 (SCRIPTA 1442).

charter with a confirmation added between *c.* 1028 and 1030 by Duke Robert (1027-1035), Robert, archbishop of Rouen (*c.* 989-1037), Hugh, bishop of Avranches (*c.* 1028-1055 x 1060), and Fulk I, bishop of Amiens (992 x 995-1030). It is all in a single hand, so it is probably a copy of a lost exemplar. In version A, the *signa* of 1014 have no crosses, but three *signa* with autograph crosses were added in a different hand between 1035 and 1037: these belong to Hugh, bishop of Bayeux (*c.* 1011-1049), Archbishop Robert, and Duke William (1035-1066).¹⁴ It seems most plausible that Fauroux's version A is an original of 1014, and that Duke Robert's confirmation no longer existed as an original by 1037, for this would explain why version A was presented to William for confirmation instead of *A bis*. It would follow that Ralph II's toponymic was recorded in an original charter as early as 1014. Whether compared to other toponymics found in originals (rare before the 1060s) or copies (unusual before the 1040s), the house of Tosny was among the first whose power over particular places was recognized by a toponymic.¹⁵ In fact, Ralph II's toponymic has been considered the earliest example of a hereditary territorial surname in Normandy.¹⁶

In 1013 or 1014, in the context of a dispute between Duke Richard II and Odo II, count of Blois-Chartres, Richard entrusted his castle at Tillières-sur-Avre to Nigel vicomte of the Cotentin, Ralph II de Tosny and Ralph's son Roger. Odo was defeated at Tillières by Richard's three representatives.¹⁷ As a result of a settlement with Odo, Duke Richard II recovered property on the Avre which Duke Richard I seems to have lost. The episode demonstrates Ralph II's closeness to Richard II and the importance of castles in the crystallization of frontiers. It is also significant that Tillières was a ducal castle, so it offers a corrective to the idea that castles undermined a ruler's authority.¹⁸ The Tosnys were unable to make their

¹⁴ *RADN*, no. 15, version A (B. L., Add. Ch. 75473; *SCRIPTA* 1442): *Rodulfi de Todeniaco*.

¹⁵ Bates, *Normandy*, 113-14; Searle, *Predatory Kinship*, 164-65, 305 n. 13.

¹⁶ Bates, *Normandy*, 113-14; Lewis, 'Tosny, Ralph de', *ODNB*.

¹⁷ *GND* (William of Jumièges), ii. 22; *Roman de Rou*, ed. Holden, i. 215-16 lines 1443-1626; *Roman de Rou*, trans. Burgess, 107-09.

¹⁸ On this point, see Bates, 'West Francia', 417-18.

position at Tillières hereditary, for Duke Robert I would later grant the castle to Gilbert Crispin, after which it remained a focus of the struggles between the dukes of Normandy and the kings of France.¹⁹

Exiles from Normandy had fought as mercenaries in southern Italy from the late tenth century. There is evidence to suggest that Ralph II de Tosny was among the mercenaries who began the gradual Norman takeover of southern Italy, though he would not have anticipated that outcome.²⁰ Ralph's activities are described by four chroniclers: Adémar of Chabannes, writing before 1034; Ralph Glaber, writing between c. 1030 and 1046; Leo of Ostia, writing in the second half of the eleventh century; and Clarius of Sens, writing in the early twelfth century with some confusions of chronology.²¹ Only Leo gives Ralph a toponymic: *Todinensis*. Ralph Glaber and Leo of Ostia agree that Ralph had departed Normandy in flight from Duke Richard II's anger, but the cause of his fall from grace is unknown. He fought against the Byzantines in Apulia and Benevento during the papacy of Benedict VIII (1012-1024). It is therefore most plausible that Ralph was a mercenary in the Apulian rebellion against the Byzantines in 1017. Ralph Glaber reveals that Ralph was welcomed back by Richard in 1023, having fought the Byzantines alongside King Henry II of Germany in 1022. Ralph II de Tosny provides an early example of the attraction of southern Italy for exiles from Normandy, and his return suggests that Richard was unable or unwilling to permanently outcast an ally who had guarded the Norman frontier as recently as 1014. Ralph probably died by 1026, for *The Miracles of Sainte-*

¹⁹ Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, 186, 190-91, 229-30, 237-38; Lemoine Descourtieux, *La frontière normande de l'Avre*, 80-82, 233-34.

²⁰ For the chronology of Norman involvement in southern Italy, see G. A. Loud, 'Southern Italy in the Eleventh Century', in *New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 4, part 2, eds. D. Luscombe and J. Riley-Smith (Cambridge, 2004), 94-119, at 97-111.

²¹ *Ademari Cabannensis chronicon*, eds. P. Bourgain, R. Landes and G. Pon (Turnhout 1999), 173-74, translated in E. M. C. van Houts, *The Normans in Europe* (Manchester 2000), 231-32; *Rodulfus Glaber, Opera*, eds. J. France, N. Bulst and P. Reynolds (Oxford, 1989), 96-103, translated in van Houts, *Normans in Europe*, 232-35; for Latin and English quotes of Leo of Ostia, see E. Joranson, 'The Inception of the Career of the Normans in Italy – Legend and History', *Speculum*, 23:3 (1948), 353-96, at 372, 393-94 n. 151; *Chronique de Saint-Pierre-le-Vif de Sens, dite de Clarius*, eds. R.-H. Bautier, M. Gilles and A.-M. Bautier (Paris, 1979), 113-14.

Foy at Conques, written c. 1050 by a monk named Bernard, emphasizes the importance of his son, Roger, during Richard II's reign.²²

Roger I de Tosny (died. c. 1042 x c. 1044)

Roger de Tosny, who fought at Tillières with his father Ralph II, was also known as Roger de Conches. This toponymic was used alongside Roger's autograph cross in an original charter of William, count of Arques, for Jumièges, between c. 1042 and 1044.²³ The family would use both toponymics interchangeably.

Table 1: Appearances of Roger de Tosny in the diplomatic record.

Charter	Date	Benefactor	Beneficiary	Testes	Signum	Mention	Style
RADN 69 (SCRIPTA 1515)	1033	Duke Robert	Saint-Wandrille		X		Rogerii Todelensis
<i>Cartulaire de Conches</i> , ed. de Haas, no. 406 (SCRIPTA 1846)	1035	Roger de Tosny	Conches			X	Rogerus filius Radulphi Thoteniencis
RADN 100 (SCRIPTA 1544; ARTEM 2694)	c. 1042 x 1044	William, count of Arques	Jumièges		X		Rogerii de Sconchis

Writing around 1109, Orderic identifies Roger as a descendant of Malahulc, uncle of the ancestor of the dukes, Rollo.²⁴ Malahulc is otherwise unknown, and the name is not a known Scandinavian one.²⁵ The earlier tradition which traces the family back to Archbishop Hugh and Hugh *de Cavalcamp* is more acceptable, because other evidence confirms that the archbishop

²² *Liber miraculorum sancte Fidis*, ed. A. Bouillet (Paris, 1897), 128-30, translated in van Houts, *Normans in Europe*, 216-17.

²³ RADN, no. 100 (SCRIPTA 1544; ARTEM 2694). Conches-en-Ouche, Eure, chef-lieu de cant. For the date, see D. Bates, 'The Conqueror's Adolescence', *ANS*, 25 (2003), 1-18, at 4 n. 22; Bates, *William the Conqueror* (2016), 53.

²⁴ *GND* (Orderic Vitalis), ii. 94.

²⁵ Musset, 'Tosny', 49.

alienated his cathedral's property.²⁶ The tradition linking the family to Malahulc cannot be found before the twelfth century, so it was probably an invention of the late-eleventh or early-twelfth century, when certain families created mythical ancestors to link themselves to the ducal family.²⁷

Like his father Ralph in Italy, Roger was responsible for the first expressions of Norman military power in a distant country. Orderic calls him 'Roger of Tosny, called the Spaniard' and 'Roger of Spain'.²⁸ He is almost certainly the Roger whom Adémar of Chabannes describes fighting in the county of Barcelona on behalf of Ermesende, countess of Barcelona, against the emir of Denia, between 1018 and 1023, because Clarius of Sens identifies the Roger in Spain as the son of a Ralph who fought in Apulia. Both authors agree that Roger married Ermesende's daughter, whom Clarius identifies as Stephanie.²⁹ Roger was the first known Norman mercenary to fight in Spain, and his expedition was the last by a Norman until 1064.³⁰

Roger is said to have left his first wife in Spain when he returned to Normandy.³¹ Clarius states that Roger made his peace with Duke Richard upon his return, so it is likely that Roger's departure from Normandy was linked to Ralph II's exile around the same time.³² Their exile is a reflection of strong ducal power. Before 1026, Roger married a second wife, Godehilde. We have seen that Archbishop Hugh's career began near Paris,³³ and Roger's son Ralph III acquired a doctor, Goisbert, from Chartres.³⁴ It is therefore noteworthy that Godehilde's name was popular around Paris and Chartres.³⁵ She may have originated from one of those places.

²⁶ Musset, 'Tosny', 49, 70-72.

²⁷ Bauduin, 'Autour de la *dos*', 164; Bauduin, 'Structures familiales', 18-19.

²⁸ OV, ii. 68: *Rogeri Toenitis qui Hispanicus uocabatur*; iv. 206: *Rogeri de Hispania*. See below, p. 73.

²⁹ *Ademari Cabannensis chronicon*, eds. Bourgain, Landes and Pon, 174, translated in van Houts, *Normans in Europe*, 269-70; *Chronique de Saint-Pierre-le-Vif de Sens*, eds. Bautier, Gilles and Bautier, 112-14.

³⁰ Villegas-Aristizabal, 'Roger of Tosny's Adventures', 5-6, 16.

³¹ *Chronique de Saint-Pierre-le-Vif de Sens*, eds. Bautier, Gilles and Bautier, 112.

³² Huffman, 'Ralph III', 20.

³³ See above, p. 62.

³⁴ OV, iii. 150.

³⁵ On the popularity of the name Godehilde, see. K. S. B. Keats-Rohan, 'Politique et parentèle: les comtes, vicomtes et évêques du Maine c. 940-1050', *Francia*, 23:1 (1996), 13-30, at 18.

The Miracles of Sainte-Foy at Conques tells us that when Godehilde fell ill in Duke Richard II's reign, she was healed because Roger obtained Saint Foy's help by swearing on a relic.³⁶ This episode demonstrates Roger's links to Spain, for Conques was popular among mercenaries who fought against Muslims in Spain.³⁷ The influence of Conques is an illustration of Bartlett's point, that the spread of saints' cults over long distances contributed to the integration of Europe.³⁸

Duke Richard II is said to have ordered the 'leading men of the realm' to visit Godehilde during her illness.³⁹ Together with Roger's duties at Tillières, this story shows that Roger had a good relationship with Richard II before and after his time in Spain. Orderic identifies Roger as the standard bearer of the Normans, although he does not say precisely when he performed this duty.⁴⁰

³⁶ *Liber miraculorum*, ed. Bouillet, 128-30, translated in van Houts, *Normans in Europe*, 216-17.

³⁷ Huffman, 'Ralph III', 24.

³⁸ Bartlett, *Making of Europe*, 270-80.

³⁹ *Liber miraculorum*, ed. Bouillet, 128-30, translated in van Houts, *Normans in Europe*, 216-17.

⁴⁰ *GND* (Orderic Vitalis), ii. 94; *OV*, iii. 124 and n. 4.

The foundation of the abbey of Conches

Orderic notes that Roger founded an abbey at Conches.⁴¹ The abbey's cartulary survives in a partially-destroyed seventeenth-century copy, recently edited by Claire de Haas.⁴² Roger's foundation charter is conserved in a pancarte datable between 1130 and 1135. Its witness list indicates that the abbey was founded in the last five years of Duke Robert I's reign, although one of the witnesses – Robert, abbot of Jumièges (1037- 1044) – must be a later addition.⁴³ The eighteenth-century editors of *Gallia Christiana* dated the foundation to 1035.⁴⁴

Conches was founded in the second, less turbulent, half of Duke Robert's reign, for Robert's soul, and its first abbot and monks came from the ducal abbey of Fécamp. The abbey of Conches was not, therefore, an overt act of defiance.⁴⁵ It would, however, have made the house of Tosny harder to dislodge from the Évrecin, for the monks of Conches would remain under the influence of the founding family, and the family would be forever associated with Conches once they began to be buried there. Lemoine Descourtieux has shown that the revival of Norman religious life near the Avre was achieved by aristocratic families seeking to make their local influence permanent, and that the foundation of Conches was at the forefront of this revival.⁴⁶ Roger's abbey combined with the castle and town of Conches to secure his monopoly of local power.⁴⁷ The abbey might also have served to legitimize the Tosnys' title to their property, which might have been subject to claims from Archbishop Robert of Rouen (to judge from Robert's recovery of Douvrend by 1007, and the resentment still felt at Rouen towards Hugh's alienations in the second half of the eleventh century).⁴⁸ The abbey's importance to its

⁴¹ OV, ii. 10.

⁴² *Cartulaire de Conches*, ed. de Haas.

⁴³ *Cartulaire de Conches*, ed. de Haas, no. 406 (*GC*, xi. instr. col. 128-33; *SCRIPTA* 1846) with de Haas's notes.

⁴⁴ *GC*, xi. col. 637.

⁴⁵ Potts, *Monastic Revival*, 106-09, 117.

⁴⁶ Lemoine Descourtieux, *La frontière normande de l'Avre*, 377.

⁴⁷ For the castle and the town of Conches, see OV, vi. 244; Musset, 'Peuplement en bourgage', 187; Musset, 'Tosny', 67.

⁴⁸ *RADN*, no. 10 (*SCRIPTA* 1436); Allen, 'Acta archiepiscoporum Rotomagensium', 38, 51-52.

founding family's control of the locality is reflected in the attacks upon the abbey by Ralph III de Tosny's enemies in 1091.⁴⁹

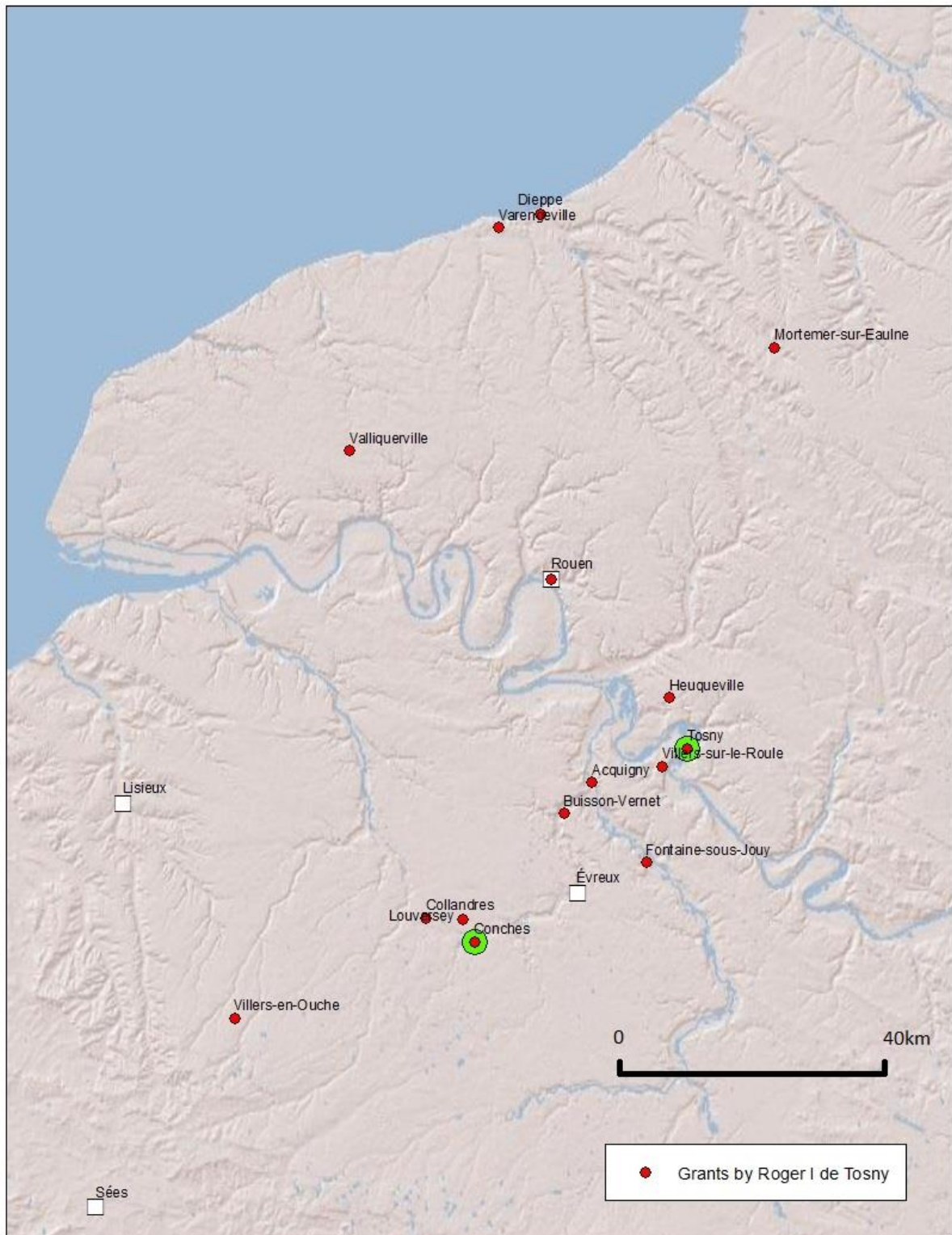
Roger founded his abbey around the time of foundations by Goscelin, vicomte of Rouen (La Trinité-du-Mont de Rouen, 1033), Humphrey de Vieilles (Saint-Pierre de Préaux, 1034) and Herluin, a knight of Gilbert de Brionne (Le Bec, 1034).⁵⁰ Goscelin, Humphrey and Gilbert were close associates of Duke Robert I and were allowed to enlarge their estates in his reign. La Trinité-du-Mont and Préaux were well supported by Duke Robert. Goscelin and Humphrey acquired property near Tosny and Conches in Robert's reign, and Herluin held property near Tosny in the Vexin.⁵¹ These developments indicate that Roger's foundation was intended to maintain his importance against relatively newfound rivals, who were increasingly influential both in Roger's neighbourhood and at Duke Robert's court.

⁴⁹ OV, iv. 215.

⁵⁰ Gazeau, *Normannia monastica*, i. 11-13, 23, 100. For Gilbert's role in the foundation of Bec, see J.-H. Foulon, 'Le chevalier Herluin et la fondation de l'abbaye du Bec: un dossier complexe entre tentation érémitique et normalisation cénobitique', *Revue Historique*, 663 (2012), 563-607, at 597-600.

⁵¹ Douglas, 'Earliest Norman Counts', 134, 139; Bates, *Normandy*, 100-01; S. N. Vaughn, *Anselm of Bec and Robert of Meulan: the Innocence of the Dove and the Wisdom of the Serpent* (London and Berkeley, CA, 1987), 80; Potts, *Monastic Revival*, 108; Crouch, *The Normans*, 43, 53, 57; Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, 279, 291, 330, 348 n. 142.

Figure 7: Property granted to Conches by Roger de Tosny.⁵²



⁵² *Cartulaire de Conches*, ed. de Haas, no. 406 (SCRIPTA 1846).

The foundation charter reveals that Roger's property was quite dispersed by 1035 (see Figure 7). There was a concentration around Tosny and in the Eure Valley, and another concentration around Conches in the Évrecin. Besides Tosny on the Seine and Conches on the Rouloir, Roger granted property on the rivers Eure, Charentonne, Eaulne and Béthune. This access to rivers must have been economically and strategically valuable to Roger.

When Duke Robert embarked on a pilgrimage in 1035, Roger made another journey to Spain, where he won victories over 'the heathens'.⁵³ It is probably no coincidence that Berenguer Ramón, count of Barcelona, died in the same year, to be succeeded by Ramón Berenguer I, who was confronted by a rebellious local aristocracy.⁵⁴ Because Roger had already fought for Ramón Berenguer's grandmother Ermesende, his return to Spain in 1035 could have been in support of the new count, against internal enemies or the count's Muslim neighbours.

'Soon afterwards', Roger returned to Normandy and attacked the lands of Humphrey de Vieilles. Orderic describes Roger's actions as a rebellion against the young Duke William, but it was more a case of settling a score with a neighbour.⁵⁵ Roger and his sons Helbert and Elinand died in battle against Humphrey's son, Roger de Beaumont. Roger de Tosny's ally, Robert I de Grandmesnil, died from his injuries.⁵⁶ Roger de Tosny's death is usually dated to c. 1040.⁵⁷ However, Roger can be observed alive in a ducal charter datable between the beginning of Duke William's adolescence in c. 1042 and the appointment of Abbot Robert of Jumièges to the bishopric of London in 1044, so it has been suggested that Roger's conflict

⁵³ *GND* (Orderic Vitalis), ii. 94.

⁵⁴ S. Barton, 'Spain in the Eleventh Century', *New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 4, part 2, 154-90, at 163.

⁵⁵ Bates, *William the Conqueror* (2016), 73.

⁵⁶ *GND* (Orderic Vitalis), ii. 94-96; *OV*, ii. 40.

⁵⁷ Le Prévost in *OV*, ed. Le Prévost, v. 229; Douglas, *William the Conqueror*, 85; Musset, 'Tosny', 55 n. 48; Chibnall in *OV*, ii. 40 n. 2; van Houts in *GND*, ii. 97 n. 5.

with the Beaumonts and his subsequent death occurred later than *c.* 1040 – perhaps in the first year or two of William’s adolescence.⁵⁸

It has been suggested that Roger de Tosny, father of Ralph, was a different person to the ‘Roger of Tosny, called the Spaniard’ whom Orderic mentions as a relative of a certain Ansgot, prior of a hospital at Melk in Austria.⁵⁹ However, the existence of a second Roger de Tosny is doubtful. The Roger de Tosny killed in battle against the Beaumonts was certainly Ralph’s father, for his widow married Richard count of Évreux, and charters for Conches show that Richard’s wife Godehilde was indeed Ralph’s mother.⁶⁰ As Stewart points out, the fact that the Roger de Tosny killed in the 1040s was also known as ‘Roger of Spain’ strongly suggests that he was identical with ‘Roger of Tosny, called the Spaniard’.⁶¹

It is easy to see how Roger de Tosny might have felt threatened by Humphrey. There are several indications that Duke Robert allowed Humphrey to increase his power. Humphrey became Robert’s seneschal, and was allowed to acquire significant church property. He was among the first aristocratic founders of a Norman abbey (at Préaux in 1034), and Robert patronized the foundation. Humphrey’s acquisition of Beaumont-le-Roger (18 kilometres from Conches) during Duke Robert’s reign was particularly threatening for Roger de Tosny. It is also likely that Robert, archbishop of Rouen, alienated cathedral property between Conches and Tosny to Humphrey.⁶² Humphrey and his sons must, therefore, have seemed like threatening new neighbours to Roger de Tosny, with greater influence at the ducal court than Roger, and enjoying free licence to expand their interests.

⁵⁸ *RADN*, no. 100 (SCRIPTA 1544; ARTEM 2694); Bates, ‘The Conqueror’s Adolescence’, 4 n. 22, 9; Bates, *William the Conqueror* (2016), 53, 73.

⁵⁹ Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People*, 380-81. For Roger de Tosny ‘the Spaniard’, see *OV*, ii. 68.

⁶⁰ For Count Richard’s marriage, see *GND* (Orderic Vitalis), ii. 98. For Ralph’s mother in charters, see below, p. 75.

⁶¹ *OV*, iv. 206; Stewart, ‘Origin’, 15.

⁶² Bates, *Normandy*, 100, 269; Crouch, *The Normans*, 43, 53, 57; Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, 330. On the implications for the house of Tosny, see Bates, *William the Conqueror* (2016), 35.

Following Roger de Tosny's death, Duke William's closest supporters appear to have arranged marriages to neutralize the Tosnys before Roger's heir, Ralph III, was old enough to take control of the lordship.⁶³ As has been seen, Roger's widow, Godehilde, married Richard, count of Évreux, the first cousin (once removed) of Duke William.⁶⁴ Richard's brother, William, married Robert I de Grandmesnil's widow.⁶⁵ Count Richard's property was intermingled with the house of Tosny's,⁶⁶ so Richard was well placed to administer the Tosny patrimony during Ralph's minority.

Roger's daughter, Adelize, married one of Duke William's closest followers, William fitz Osbern, probably by the time William fitz Osbern founded the abbey of Lyre in 1046.⁶⁷ William fitz Osbern was related to the ducal family through both of his parents. He and Richard, count of Évreux, shared a great-grandmother in Sprota, concubine of William Longsword.⁶⁸ It is therefore tempting to see Duke William's closest supporters, blood-relations of each other and the duke, discouraging further violence by bringing the defeated party into the political network upon which ducal power depended. This was an invitation to contribute to and profit from strong ducal authority.⁶⁹ If so, this is an impressive illustration of the aristocracy's willingness to limit violence through reconciliation. Duke William probably approved of these marriages, for they strengthened his own favourites.

It has been proposed that Adelize brought her own family's property to William fitz Osbern in a dowry.⁷⁰ However, Bauduin has convincingly demonstrated that this was not the case. William fitz Osbern cannot be shown to have benefited materially from his marriage.⁷¹ It

⁶³ Searle, *Predatory Kinship*, 186-88. For Ralph's minority, see below, p. 75.

⁶⁴ *GND* (Orderic Vitalis), ii. 98.

⁶⁵ Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, 329, 332.

⁶⁶ Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, 195. Also see below, Figure 11.

⁶⁷ *GND* (Orderic Vitalis), ii. 146; *GND* (Robert of Torigni), ii. 132, 226. For Adelize's role in the foundation of Lyre, see *RADN*, no. 120 (SCRIPTA 1564; ARTEM 2846).

⁶⁸ Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, 198, 329.

⁶⁹ Searle, *Predatory Kinship*, 186-88; Bates, *William the Conqueror* (2016), 73-74. For the transfer of women in the resolution of feuds, see Hyams, *Rancor and Reconciliation*, 12-13.

⁷⁰ Musset, 'Tosny', 73-74.

⁷¹ Bauduin, 'Autour de la *dos*', 157-73.

is, however, likely that Count Richard profited from his own custody of the Tosny lands during Ralph's minority.

Ralph III de Tosny (died 1102–3)

Ralph's career before 1066

Some of Ralph III's grants to Conches were made with his mother Godehilde, which suggests that he was still a minor for some time after Roger's death.⁷² Ralph's minority, spent under the protection of Count Richard of Évreux, appears to have been a quiet period for the house of Tosny. Consequently, during the rest of the 1040s tensions with the house of Beaumont remained dormant. Ralph probably attained his majority before he signed Duke William's confirmation charter for Saint-Evrout (1050).⁷³ In the 1050s, he committed himself to restoring his family's honour. The killing of Roger de Tosny was finally avenged when Ralph's vassal, Roger de Clères, killed Robert de Beaumont, son of Humphrey de Vieilles, after 1054.⁷⁴ The long interval between the killings of Roger de Tosny and Robert de Beaumont exemplifies Hyams's observation that many feuding families described by Orderic were willing to bide their time until the right opportunity for vengeance arose.⁷⁵ The death of Robert de Beaumont seems to have satisfied contemporaries that Roger de Tosny's death had been avenged and the feud was settled, for neither Ralph nor Roger de Clères are known to have incurred reprisals from the house of Beaumont or Duke William.⁷⁶

The killing of Robert de Beaumont probably took place around the same time that Duke William was making important changes to the composition of the Norman aristocracy. For

⁷² *Cartulaire de Conches*, ed. de Haas, nos. 268-69; *Cartulaire de Conches*, ed. de Haas, no. 406 (SCRIPTA 1846); Musset, 'Tosny', 56.

⁷³ OV, ii. 38; RADN, no. 122 CDE.

⁷⁴ OV, iv. 302. For the date, see Bates, 'The Conqueror's Adolescence', 10 n. 67.

⁷⁵ Hyams, *Rancor and Reconciliation*, 127.

⁷⁶ Bates, 'The Conqueror's Adolescence', 10; Bates, *William the Conqueror* (2016), 74.

instance, Richard fitz Gilbert and Baldwin fitz Gilbert were recalled to Normandy from Flanders between 1050 and 1053.⁷⁷ The forfeiture of the estate of William count of Arques in 1053 enabled the promotion of the houses of Warenne, Beaumont, Montfort and Giffard.⁷⁸ The forfeiture of Roger de Mortemer in 1054 profited William de Warenne.⁷⁹ Duke William diverted the honour of Moulins-la-Marche to William, son of Walter de Falaise, in 1054.⁸⁰ Nigel, vicomte of the Cotentin, was exiled in the mid-1050s and did not return until the early 1060s.⁸¹ Following the exile of William Werlenc in the second half of the 1050s, Duke William's half-brother, Robert, was made count of Mortain,⁸² and Richard, son of Thurstan Goz, was made vicomte of Avranches.⁸³ Gilbert Crispin was allowed the frontier lordship of Tillières from 1058.⁸⁴ Even the replacement of William count of Arques's brother Mauger as archbishop of Rouen in 1054 or 1055 'signalled a tectonic shift in the complexion of the ecclesiastical hierarchy of the duchy.'⁸⁵ It can therefore be seen that although Duke William was not involved in the killing of Robert de Beaumont, it took place during a period of political upheaval within the aristocracy, and it reinforces the view that the mid-1050s were an important phase in the creation of the Norman aristocracy of 1066.

Orderic reports a speech Ralph de Tosny allegedly made to King Henry of France on William's behalf after the duke's victory at Mortemer in 1054.⁸⁶ Ralph probably gave this speech in his capacity as William's standard-bearer, a duty which he is said to have held after his father.⁸⁷ Ralph's service in 1054 demonstrates his willingness to put his family's grievances

⁷⁷ R. Mortimer, 'Clare, Richard de (1030x35-1087x90)', *ODNB* (2004).

⁷⁸ Douglas, *William the Conqueror*, 92.

⁷⁹ Lewis, 'Warenne, William (I) de', *ODNB*.

⁸⁰ See below, p. 294.

⁸¹ Bates, *William the Conqueror* (2016), 95-96, 142.

⁸² Bates, *William the Conqueror* (2016), 156. See also B. Golding, 'Robert of Mortain', *ANS*, 13 (1991), 119-44, at 120.

⁸³ Musset, 'L'aristocratie normande', 79.

⁸⁴ Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, 238; Lemoine Descourtieux, *La frontière normande de l'Avre*, 80-82.

⁸⁵ Allen, 'Norman Episcopate', i. 325.

⁸⁶ *GND* (Orderic Vitalis), ii. 144; *OV*, iv. 88.

⁸⁷ *OV*, ii. 140; *Roman de Rou*, ed. Holden, ii. 166-67 lines 7579-7598; *Roman de Rou*, trans. Burgess, 176.

aside and support Duke William.⁸⁸ However, Ralph does not seem to have been in the duke's inner circle, for he does not appear frequently in ducal charters before 1066 (see Table 2).

Table 2: Possible pre-Conquest appearances of Ralph III de Tosny in the diplomatic evidence

Charter	Date	Benefactor	Beneficiary	T	S	M	Style
<i>Cartulaire de Conches</i> , ed. De Haas, no. 245	c. 1042 x 1103	Ralph III de Tosny	Conches			X	Radulphus de Toenio
<i>Cartulaire de Conches</i> , ed. De Haas, no. 269	c. 1042 x 1103	Ralph III de Tosny	Conches			X	Radulphus de Thoenio
<i>Cartulaire de Conches</i> , ed. de Haas, no. 406 (SCRIPTA 1846)	c. 1042 x 1103	Ralph III de Tosny	Conches			X	Radulphus de Totteneio
RADN 191 (SCRIPTA 1634; ARTEM 2705)	1050 x 1066	Roger de Clères, with consent of Ralph III de Tosny	Saint-Ouen de Rouen		X	X	Radulfi de Toieno / Radulfus de Toieno
<i>Regesta</i> , ed. Bates, no. 30 (SCRIPTA 6457; ARTEM 2841)	1061 x 1080	Various men at Bolbec	Bernay	X			Radulfo de Chunchis
RADN 226 (SCRIPTA 1668)	1065 x 1066	Adele, countess of Flanders	Montivilliers	X			Rodulpho de Conchis Rogeri filio

Ralph's absence from the ducal court in the 1040s can be explained by his young age and the absence of his stepfather, Richard, count of Évreux, from the ducal court. Whereas Count Richard can be found in the ducal entourage more often from the 1050s, Ralph never achieved the closeness to the dukes which his ancestors had enjoyed.

Ralph's *signum* appears on a copy of one of two lost originals of the foundation charter of Saint-Evroult (dated 1050), alongside over sixty other people, of whom most do not occur with Duke William on the other lost original.⁸⁹ It is therefore uncertain whether he was in the

⁸⁸ Bates, *William the Conqueror* (2016), 137. For the significance of standard-bearing, see M. Bennett, 'Poetry as History? The *Roman de Rou* of Wace as a Source for the Norman Conquest', *ANS*, 5 (1983), 21-39, at 33.

⁸⁹ RADN, no. 122 CDE.

duke's presence on this occasion. The only certainly pre-Conquest occasion when Ralph can be confidently placed at the ducal court was when he witnessed an agreement between Adele, countess of Flanders, and Elizabeth, abbess of Montivilliers in 1065 or 1066.⁹⁰ Ralph seems to have shared the aloofness from the ducal court which has been observed for several other lords in the Norman Vexin.⁹¹ His distant relationship with Duke William might have stemmed from the death of his father, Roger de Tosny, in battle against more prominent ducal supporters.

Ralph's uneasy relationship with Duke William is revealed most obviously in *c.* 1061, when, according to Orderic, he was exiled and deprived of his land, along with Arnold d'Échauffour (heir of Robert Giroie) and Arnold's cousin, Hugh de Grandmesnil. Ralph responded to being exiled by abetting Arnold's attack on the town of Saint-Evroult. The reasons Duke William exiled Ralph, Arnold and Hugh are obscure, but Orderic remarks that William was influenced by Roger II de Montgomery and Roger's wife Mabel de Bellême 'without any proof of guilt'.⁹² Perhaps Orderic's defence of Arnold and Ralph can be explained by the close relations Saint-Evroult still maintained with both families when Orderic wrote.⁹³ It is likely that Hugh was tainted by his association with Arnold, whose family were enemies of the Montgomery-Bellêmes.⁹⁴

The alliance between Ralph and Hugh was a continuation from that which cost both of their fathers their lives in Duke William's adolescence. It was also demonstrated when Hugh recruited the abbot and monks of Conches for his aborted foundation at Norrey-en-Auge, and when the abbot of Conches was the only abbot to witness the foundation charter of Saint-Evroult in 1050.⁹⁵ A monk of Conches was prior of Saint-Evroult in *c.* 1061.⁹⁶ Ralph was a

⁹⁰ *RADN*, no. 226 (*SCRIPTA* 1668).

⁹¹ For the aloofness of families in the Norman Vexin from the ducal court, see Green, 'Norman Vexin', 46-63.

⁹² *GND* (Orderic Vitalis), ii. 152; *OV*, ii. 90-92; iii. 124. For the date of Ralph's exile, see *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 30 (*SCRIPTA* 6457; *ARTEM* 2841); Huffman, 'Ralph III', 33.

⁹³ Bickford Smith, 'Orderic Vitalis', 42.

⁹⁴ Hagger, 'Grandmesnil', 218. For Roger and Mabel's rivalry with the Giroies before 1066, see below, p. 277, 296, 300, 304.

⁹⁵ Gazeau, *Normannia monastica*, i. 67-68.

⁹⁶ *OV*, ii. 90.

neighbour of Arnold, for Ralph's property at Villers-en-Ouche neared the eastern edge of Arnold's lordship.⁹⁷ Ralph would also have recognized that Arnold could be a valuable ally against the Beaumonts, whose property bordered the northern edge of Arnold's.⁹⁸ The Giroies were immigrants into Normandy, like the Tosnys appear to have been.⁹⁹ Ralph and Hugh did not regularly attend Duke William's court, and the house of Giroie's fortunes had already peaked by c. 1050.¹⁰⁰ It is therefore possible that Ralph, Arnold and Hugh were united by a shared sense of 'outsiderness', at least politically. The Tosnys were drawn into the house of Giroie's longstanding feud by their own insecurities in the region, and by their own relationship with the Grandmesnils.

Ralph and Hugh owed their return from exile in c. 1063 to the intercession of Simon de Montfort-l'Amaury and Waleran de Breteuil-en-Beauvaisis. Orderic acknowledges that William also required the support of Ralph and Hugh for the invasion of Maine.¹⁰¹ That Ralph's return was hastened by changes in the duke's foreign policy and the intercession of others demonstrates exile as a matter of personal relations, determined not by any formalized legal process.¹⁰² The intercession of Simon and Waleran also shows how the aristocratic community could seek to bring conflict to an end.¹⁰³

Waleran's intercession resulted from Hugh de Grandmesnil's marriage in the Beauvaisis.¹⁰⁴ Simon was the husband of Ralph's half-sister, Agnes, daughter of Count Richard of Évreux and Godehilde. Ralph is said to have received Simon's daughter, Isabel (also known

⁹⁷ For Villers-en-Ouche (Orne, cant. La Ferté-Frênel): *Cartulaire de Conches*, ed. de Haas, no. 406 (SCRIPTA 1846).

⁹⁸ For the geopolitical context of the house of Giroie's property, see Maillefer, 'Géré', 203.

⁹⁹ Bauduin, 'Les Géré', 311-14.

¹⁰⁰ Bauduin, 'Les Géré', 318-20; Hagger, 'Grandmesnil', 224.

¹⁰¹ OV, ii. 104-06.

¹⁰² Musset, 'Le droit d'exil', 48-54; E. Johnson, 'The Process of Norman Exile into Southern Italy', in *Exile in the Middle Ages: Selected Proceedings from the International Medieval Congress, University of Leeds, 8-11 July 2002*, eds. L. Napran and E. van Houts (Turnhout, 2004), 29-38, at 32-36.

¹⁰³ Hyams, *Rancor and Reconciliation*, 303.

¹⁰⁴ Hagger, 'Grandmesnil', 220-21.

as Elizabeth), in return for delivering Agnes to Simon.¹⁰⁵ Given Simon's role in Ralph's return from exile, it is reasonable to assume that Simon's marriage predated Ralph's return. If this is accepted, then the marriage Ralph received in return was probably arranged before his exile, during it, or shortly after it.

Simon witnessed four of King Philip's charters and was a benefactor of Marmoutier, Coulombs and Saint-Magloire de Paris.¹⁰⁶ As has been observed for Hugh de Grandmesnil's marriage to Adelize de Beaumont-sur-Oise in the Beauvaisis, and for cross-frontier marriages involving families of the Norman Vexin,¹⁰⁷ it is likely that Duke William saw Ralph's marriage as an opportunity to enhance his own influence outside the duchy.

Although Ralph does not appear in King Philip's charters, his links with an attendee of Philip's court would have given him some political influence outside Normandy. Ralph also benefited materially from his marriage: it is apparent that Simon's property at Nogent-le-Roi passed to Ralph in Isabel's dowry, because charters identify Ralph's descendants as the lords of Nogent-le-Roi in the 1120s and 1130s.¹⁰⁸ Nogent-le-Roi was situated on the river Eure, upriver from a cluster of property Ralph held on the Eure. It would therefore have been strategically attractive for Ralph, for it could be used to protect his interests along this river (see Figure 8). Nogent-le-Roi had come to Simon in the dowry brought by his own wife. It therefore provides an example of property being reserved for women in successive generations. This practice can be seen before 1050 but became more common in the second half of the eleventh century.¹⁰⁹ Simon's alienation of property received in a dowry resulted from

¹⁰⁵ OV, iii. 128.

¹⁰⁶ *Catalogue des actes d'Henri I^{er}, roi de France (1031-1060)*, ed. F. Sœhnée (Paris, 1907), no. 90; A. Rhein, *La seigneurie de Montfort-en-Iveline depuis son origine jusqu'à son union au duché de Bretagne, X^e-XIV^e siècles* (Versailles, 1910), app. nos. 2-3; *Recueil*, ed. Prou, nos. 30, 60, 62, 63, 92.

¹⁰⁷ Hagger, 'Grandmesnil', 221; Green, 'Norman Vexin', 51.

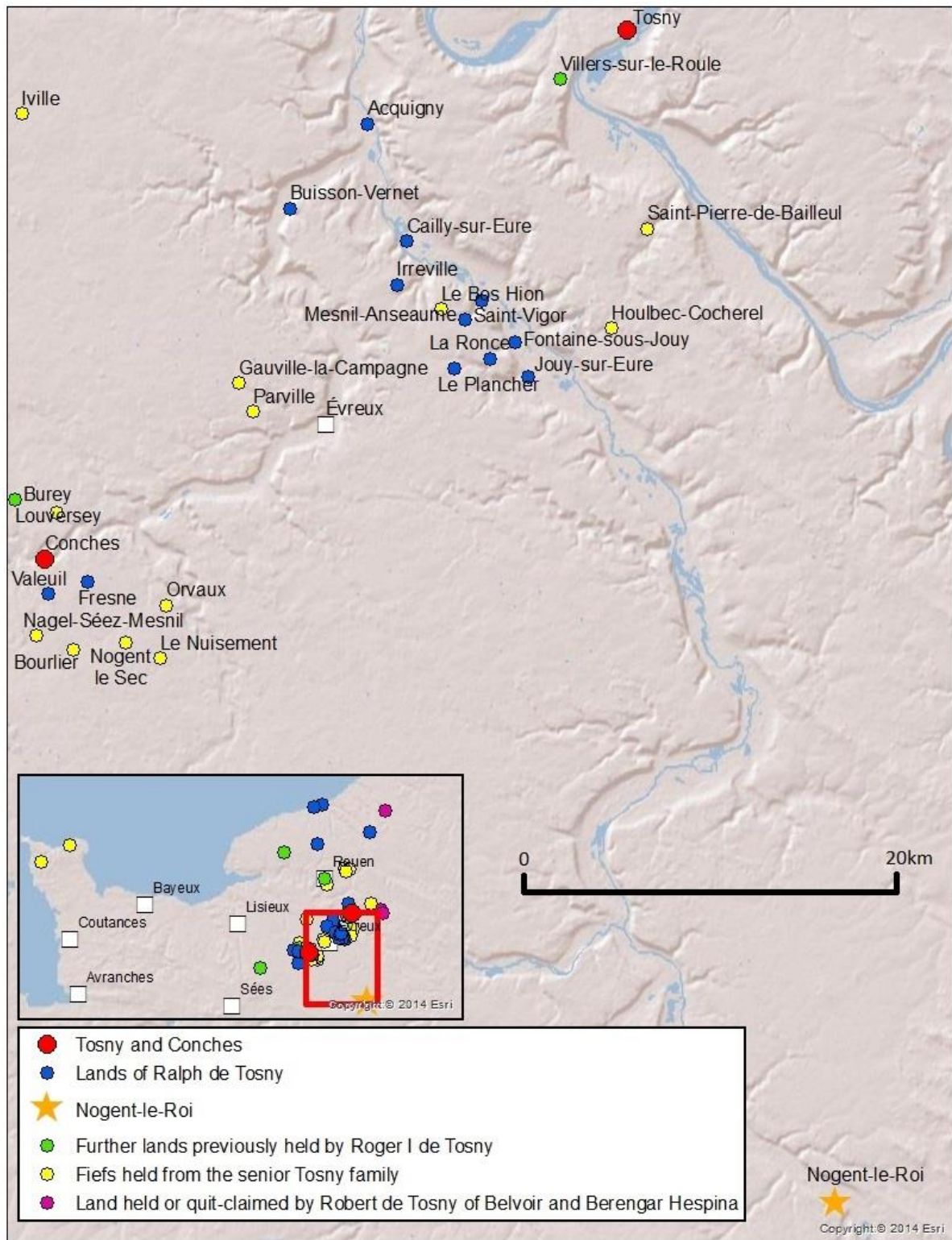
¹⁰⁸ D. Power, *The Norman Frontier in the Twelfth and Early Thirteenth Centuries* (Cambridge, 2004), 295-96. Nogent-le-Roi, Eure-et-Loir, chef-lieu de cant.

¹⁰⁹ For Simon's acquisition of Nogent-le-Roi, see Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, 190 n. 68. On the reservation of property for successive generations of females, see P. Bauduin, 'Du bon usage de la *dos* dans la Normandie ducal, (X^e-début XII^e siècle)', in *Dots et douaires dans le haut moyen âge*, eds. F. Bougard, L. Feller and R. Le Jan (Rome, 2002), 429-65, at 443-45.

increasing restrictions on the alienability of one's patrimony. As it became harder to alienate one's inherited land, it was becoming customary to give away one's acquisitions instead.¹¹⁰

¹¹⁰ For dowries in this context, see Bauduin, 'Structures familiales', 19-20. For the differences in alienability of the inheritance and acquisitions more generally, see below, p. 338 n. 78.

Figure 8: Nogent-le-Roi in relation to the Tosnys' other property.¹¹¹



¹¹¹ For the Tosnys' estate in Normandy, see note to Figure 10.

Ralph must have resumed a working relationship with Duke William after his recall from exile, for Orderic includes him among the ‘brilliant galaxy’ of laymen William consulted before the invasion of England,¹¹² and Ralph fought at Hastings.¹¹³ However, Wace states that instead of carrying Duke William’s standard at Hastings, Ralph preferred to relinquish this important duty.¹¹⁴ This is of course late evidence, but it is consonant with Ralph’s relative aloofness from the ducal court, and his exile at the behest of Roger de Montgomery, which suggests that he was not a particularly close ally of William.

Ralph’s estate in England

By 1086, Ralph held a considerable English estate as a tenant-in-chief, worth about £233 (see Table 3).

Table 3: Ralph de Tosny’s estate in England.

Shire	Held as tenant-in-chief		Held in demesne		Let to subtenants		Held as a subtenant		Net income £
	Estates	£	Estates	£	Estates	£	Estates	£	
Berkshire	1.00	6.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	6.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Essex	2.00	4.25	0.00	0.00	2.00	4.25	0.00	0.00	0.00
Gloucestershire	6.00	30.00	1.00	5.00	5.00	25.00	0.00	0.00	5.00
Hampshire	1.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Herefordshire	10.00	53.80	4.05	25.33	5.95	28.47	9.00	16.50	33.58 ¹¹⁵
Hertfordshire	2.00	23.00	1.00	11.00	1.00	12.00	0.00	0.00	11.00
Norfolk	23.00	60.05	23.00	60.05	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	60.05
Worcestershire	14.00	56.25	7.00	19.25	7.00	37.00	0.00	0.00	19.25
Total	59.00	233.35	37.05	120.63	21.95	112.72	10.00	16.50	128.88

¹¹² OV, ii. 140.

¹¹³ GG, 134; OV, ii. 173; *Roman de Rou*, ed. Holden, ii. 166-67 lines 7579-7598; *Roman de Rou*, trans. Burgess, 176.

¹¹⁴ *Roman de Rou*, ed. Holden, ii. 166-67 lines 7579-7598; *Roman de Rou*, trans. Burgess, 176.

¹¹⁵ This figure has been reached because Ralph gave the manors he held as King William’s subtenant in Herefordshire, worth £8 5s, to his own tenants: GDB 180r, 181r (Herefordshire 1:21-22, 1:62).

Ralph's English estate had two main concentrations: his western lands were principally in Herefordshire and Worcestershire, and his eastern lands were mainly in Norfolk. Ralph also held property scattered between these two concentrations (see Figure 9). Besides the manors Ralph held as King William's subtenant (worth £8 5s),¹¹⁶ Ralph was a subtenant at one manor worth £1 from Durand, sheriff of Gloucestershire,¹¹⁷ and two manors together worth £7 5s from Roger de Lassy.¹¹⁸ Ralph's relationship with Roger de Lassy probably arose from Ralph's desire to acquire important connections in England, for Roger's father, Walter (d. 1085), was the most important man in the southern Welsh marches (besides William fitz Osbern until 1071 and then Roger, earl of Hereford until 1075).¹¹⁹

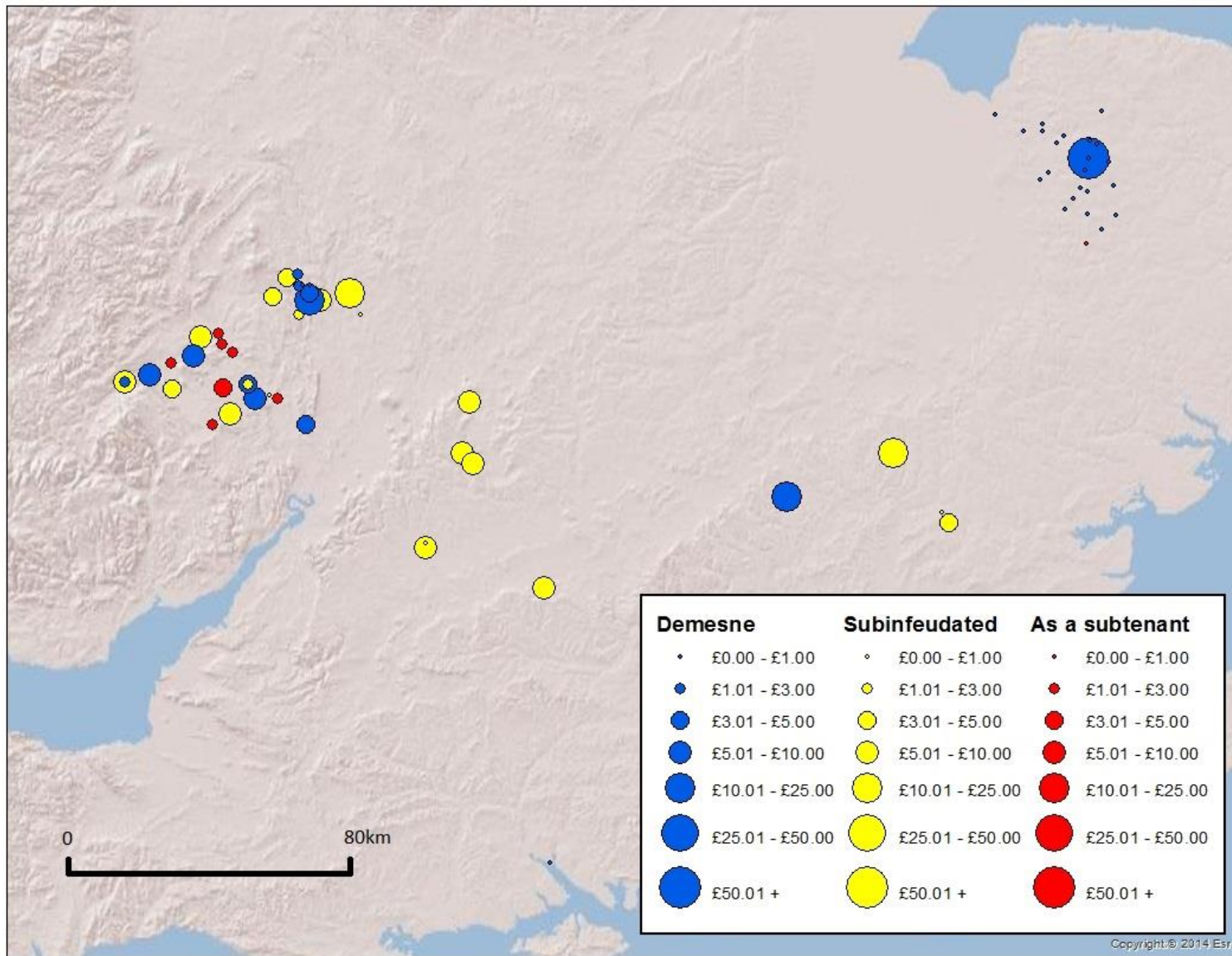
¹¹⁶ GDB 180r, 181r (Herefordshire 1:21-22, 1:62); LDB 136v (Norfolk 1:211).

¹¹⁷ GDB 186v (Herefordshire 22:1). Identified as Ralph de Tosny, because he was a tenant-in-chief here and granted property here to Conches: GDB 183v (Herefordshire 8:9); *Cartulaire de Conches*, ed. de Haas, nos. 160, 163.

¹¹⁸ GDB 184r-v (Herefordshire 10:25,26,31). The subtenant at Lyde is identified by Ralph's grant of property here to Conches: *Cartulaire de Conches*, ed. de Haas, no. 163. The subtenant at Munsley is identifiable by later descent: B. Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place Names* (Oxford, 1989), 167.

¹¹⁹ C. P. Lewis, 'Lacy, Walter de (d. 1085)', *ODNB* (2004).

Figure 9: Ralph de Tosny's estate in England



Ralph's property in the west included the strategically important castle which his brother-in-law, William fitz Osbern, built at Clifford, on the Welsh frontier.¹ Though Ralph is not known to have fought in Wales, he benefited, or hoped to benefit, from Norman advances into Wales which are thought to have proceeded from Clifford.² This can be perceived in Ralph's grant of the title of Colwyn, in the Welsh cantred of Elfael, to Conches.³ However, it remains possible that Ralph was granting property at Colwyn in anticipation of acquiring effective control over it. The Tosny family cannot be proven to have held the castle of Colwyn in the twelfth century, but they certainly held the stone castle of Colwyn from 1233 to 1309.⁴

Ralph's most valuable asset was Harold Godwinson's manor of Necton in Norfolk, which included many dependent pieces of land in other vills. Necton and its dependencies rendered £60 'by weight' in 1086, which suggests that it was held at farm from Ralph.⁵ This arrangement is corroborated in a charter of Ralph's son, Ralph IV, datable between 1102/03 and 1126, which states that a certain Estangrin had held the soke of Necton at farm from Ralph III.⁶ Though there is no evidence for the date of Ralph's receipt of Necton, it seems likely that he would have been rewarded for his participation at Hastings in the first years of King William's reign.

The chronology of Ralph's acquisition of land in the west – and in particular the problem as to how much of it was acquired after Roger, earl of Hereford's forfeiture in 1075 – is unclear. William fitz Osbern built Clifford Castle,⁷ and his endowment of Lyre suggests that

¹ GDB 183r (Herefordshire 8:1).

² For Clifford as a starting point for Norman expansion into Wales, see A. G. Williams, 'Norman Lordship in South-East Wales during the Reign of William I', *Welsh History Review / Cylchgrawn Hanes Cymru*, 16:4 (1993), 445-466, at 465; Davies, *Age of Conquest*, 29, 89.

³ *Cartulaire de Conches*, ed. de Haas, no. 406 (SCRIPTA 1846).

⁴ R. W. Banks, 'On Prehistoric Remains in the Edwy Valley, Radnorshire', *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 4th series, 6 (1875), 246-55, at 255; Davies, *Age of Conquest*, 469.

⁵ LDB 235r-v (Norfolk 22:1 and 22:8); R. Lennard, *Rural England, 1086-1135: A Study of Social and Agrarian Conditions* (London, 1959), 126, 153.

⁶ *The Beauchamp Cartulary Charters, 1100-1268*, ed. E. Mason (London, 1980), no. 356.

⁷ GDB 183r (Herefordshire 8:1).

he had held Ralph's manors at Dewsall and Dinedor too.⁸ William fitz Osbern held Charlton in Berkshire as well, for Domesday Book identifies Ralph de Tosny's manor here as part of the fief of Roger, earl of Hereford.⁹ It is therefore possible that Ralph was William fitz Osbern's subtenant before William's death in 1071.

Alternatively, Ralph possibly received some manors after Roger, earl of Hereford's forfeiture in 1075. This can be perceived at Alton in Worcestershire, which Ralph de Bernay, sheriff of Herefordshire, had seized from a certain Godric with William fitz Osbern's help, only for the manor to be granted to Ralph de Tosny by King William.¹⁰ Ralph de Tosny probably acquired Astley in Worcestershire at the same time, for Ralph de Bernay had seized it from a certain Oce with William fitz Osbern's assistance.¹¹ Ralph de Bernay no longer held his English estate in 1086, when the only manor attributed to him was 'now in the king's hand.'¹² It seems likely that Ralph de Bernay's downfall and King William's grant of Alton and Astley to Ralph de Tosny resulted from Roger, earl of Hereford's rebellion.¹³ However, it is difficult to discern the extent of Ralph de Tosny's lands in the west before 1075, either as a tenant-in-chief or a subtenant of William fitz Osbern and Roger, earl of Hereford.

Ralph kept about 52% of the property he held as a tenant-in-chief in demesne (see Table 3). The pattern of Ralph's demesne suggests that he was determined to make his English estate more manageable, even if it meant giving away his most valuable manors (see Figure 9). Ralph delegated responsibility for Necton by farming it out. In every other shire, Ralph subinfeudated his most valuable manor. In the west, Ralph delegated responsibility for Clifford castle, where his demesne worth £3 was farmed out to Gilbert fitz Turoid, sheriff of Herefordshire. Other

⁸ C. A. Guéry, *Histoire de l'abbaye de Lyre* (Évreux, 1917), 567-69 (ARTEM 2842).

⁹ GDB 62v (Berkshire 47:1). Charlton was *de feudo Rogerii comitis*.

¹⁰ GDB 176r (Worcestershire 15:4); *Hemingi chartularium ecclesiae Wigorniensis*, ed. T. Hearne, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1723), i. 255.

¹¹ GDB 176r (Worcestershire 15:9); *Hemingi*, ed. Hearne, i. 255-56.

¹² GDB 173r (Worcestershire 2:36).

¹³ For the dispossession of Ralph de Bernay, see C. P. Lewis, 'The Norman Settlement of Herefordshire under William I', *ANS*, 7 (1985), 195-213, at 207-08.

property at Clifford, worth £8 5s, was subinfeudated.¹⁴ It has therefore been observed that Ralph did not accept responsibility for this part of the frontier with Wales.¹⁵ Ralph's next two most valuable manors in Herefordshire, Dinedor and Monkland, were subinfeudated too.¹⁶ He kept Bromsberrow, his only manor in western Gloucestershire, because it was close to his demesne in Herefordshire.¹⁷ He subinfeudated his more valuable manors in eastern Gloucestershire. In Worcestershire, Ralph kept Abberley, his second-most valuable manor, and a cluster of less valuable manors near it, but he subinfeudated the rest of his property, including Elmley Lovett, his most valuable manor outside Norfolk, worth £16.¹⁸ All of the manors between Bromsberrow and Abberley in the west of England, and Norfolk in the east, were subinfeudated, except for Flamstead, the less valuable of his two manors in Hertfordshire, which was probably kept as a resting place in case Ralph travelled between his two groups of property in England.¹⁹

Ralph's career from 1066 until his death

Ralph's farming-out of the soke of Necton, his subinfeudation of his most valuable manors, and his delegation of responsibility at the strategically important castle of Clifford all suggest that Ralph was not committed to spending a large proportion of his post-Conquest career in England. This hypothesis is supported by what is known of his activities.

Ralph's continental career after 1066 was not confined to Normandy. According to Orderic, Ralph promised Abbot Mainer that he would patronize Saint-Evrout, and then left for Spain, leaving behind his doctor, Goisbert, to become a monk at Saint-Evrout.²⁰ Ralph's

¹⁴ GDB 183r (Herefordshire 8:1).

¹⁵ L. Nelson, *The Normans in South Wales 1070-1171* (Austin, TX, 1966), 71-72.

¹⁶ GDB 183r (Herefordshire 8:2,7).

¹⁷ GDB 168r (Gloucestershire 45:3).

¹⁸ GDB 176r (Worcestershire 15:8,13).

¹⁹ GDB 138r (Hertfordshire 22:1).

²⁰ OV, iii. 124-26; OV, ed. Le Prévost, v. 180-81 (SCRIPTA 134).

journey to Spain occurred after the beginning of Mainer's abbacy in July 1066, and almost certainly after the battle of Hastings. It must also have occurred before Goisbert became prior of Maule in 1076. The military nature of both of Roger de Tosny's journeys to Spain make it plausible that Ralph went to Spain during the Spanish wars of succession (1065-1072).²¹

Orderic states that 'a few years' after his return from Spain, Ralph 'took the monk Goisbert to England with him' in the process of granting property at Alton and Caldecote to Saint-Evrout.²² Ralph probably acquired Alton after 1075.²³ Ralph's grants must have occurred by 1081, when they were included in King William's confirmation charter issued at Winchester and signed by Ralph.²⁴ His journey to England with Goisbert, and his likely attendance at the council of Winchester, might have occurred during the same visit to England or in two separate visits. Ralph cannot be securely located in England at any other time.

The rest of Ralph's career between 1066 and 1087 was principally based in Normandy. He was probably in Normandy when he made or agreed to grants of Norman property to the abbeys of Saint-Evrout, Jumièges, Lyre, La Trinité de Caen, La Croix-Saint-Leufroy and La Trinité-du-Mont de Rouen, and the cathedral of Bayeux.²⁵ He signed royal charters for both abbeys of Caen in the early 1080s, presumably in Normandy.²⁶ Ralph is among the witnesses of a royal charter issued at the council of Lillebonne in 1080, but the witness list could have been compiled in stages after 1061.²⁷ Overall, Ralph was not among the most frequent witnesses or signers of King William's charters after 1066.

Ralph's distance from King William's circle of favourites is best demonstrated in 1078, when he is said to have 'followed' Curthose in rebellion.²⁸ Ralph's decision fits into a pattern

²¹ Chibnall in OV, iii. 125 n. 3.

²² OV, iii. 126. Ralph's English grants are also included in OV, ed. Le Prévost, v. 180-81 (SCRIPTA 134).

²³ See p. 87.

²⁴ OV, iii. 232-40 (SCRIPTA 6568; *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 255).

²⁵ For references and dates, see Table 6.

²⁶ *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 50 (SCRIPTA 6463; ARTEM 2336); *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 59 (SCRIPTA 6472).

²⁷ *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 30 (SCRIPTA 6457; ARTEM 2841), with Bates's notes.

²⁸ OV, ii. 358: *...qui regis filium secutus fuerat cum Radulfo de Conchis aliisque plurimis.*

of resistance stretching back to his defiance in *c.* 1061, and to Roger de Tosny's war against a ducal favourite soon after *c.* 1042. Many of Curthose's supporters were frontier barons who resented King William's growing influence on the frontier.²⁹ Ralph's potential place of refuge at Nogent-le-Roi, and King Philip's acquisition of the French Vexin in 1077, must have made it easier for him to take the same side as Philip in 1078.³⁰

Ralph de Tosny expelled the ducal garrisons from his castles immediately after King William's death in 1087, and so did his nephew William de Breteuil and his half-brother William, count of Évreux. Robert de Bellême did the same.³¹ The behaviour of Ralph and others in 1087 was a reaction against King William's influence over castles, which had grown since the 1050s.³² It also supports the likelihood that the involvement of Ralph, William de Breteuil and Robert de Bellême in Curthose's rebellion of 1078 was a similar reaction against the invasiveness of ducal authority.³³ Ralph fought for Curthose in Maine in summer 1088,³⁴ but it is not known whether he was sympathetic to Curthose's cause in England.

Orderic's statement that Ralph de Tosny, William de Breteuil and William, count of Évreux were each seeking violently to subdue their neighbours in 1087 was probably influenced by events of 1090, when violence broke out between Ralph de Tosny on one side and William de Breteuil and William, count of Évreux, on the other.³⁵ The violence was an opportunistic struggle for local influence when Curthose was diverted by other problems. Furthermore, Orderic's claim that the violence originated in disrespectful remarks by the wives of Ralph and Count William supports Crouch's and Roche's assertions that the defence of one's

²⁹ W. M. Aird, *Robert Curthose, Duke of Normandy, c. 1050-1134* (Woodbridge, 2008), 86.

³⁰ For Philip in the French Vexin, see Green, 'Norman Vexin', 48. For Philip's support of Curthose's rebellion, see C. W. David, *Robert Curthose, Duke of Normandy* (Cambridge, 1920), 23-24; Chibnall in OV, ii. 360 n. 3.

³¹ OV, iv. 114.

³² Yver, 'Les châteaux forts', 60-64.

³³ Bickford Smith, 'Orderic Vitalis', 289-90.

³⁴ OV, iv. 154.

³⁵ OV, iv. 212-16.

honour could lead to violence or at least be presented as a justification for it.³⁶ Ralph sought help from Curthose, but when the duke failed to respond, Ralph sent envoys to William Rufus. Rufus's assistance did not prevent Count William, William de Breteuil and Richard de Montfort from attacking Conches in November 1091.³⁷ The hostility of Ralph's nephew, Richard de Montfort (son of Simon de Montfort and Ralph's half-sister, Agnes), shows that Simon's death in 1087 had weakened the marriage alliance. This supports the contention that alliances built on marriage rarely lasted for more than one generation.³⁸ Richard was influenced more by his uncle, Count William (full brother of Agnes). Ralph finally sealed victory when he captured William de Breteuil. Ralph only released William de Breteuil in return for a ransom of three thousand livres and the recognition of Ralph's son, Roger, as the heir to both William de Breteuil and Count William.³⁹ The settlement shows how profitable ransom could be as an alternative to killing one's defeated enemies.⁴⁰ The profitability of ransom was an important obstacle to unrestrained violence in northern France in the eleventh century.⁴¹

Orderic includes Ralph's Norman lands among those transferred to Rufus in February 1091.⁴² Rufus's authority over the Tosny estate helps explain why Ralph fought for the king against Curthose in 1094.⁴³ However, Ralph's cooperation with Rufus did not necessarily mean cutting ties with Curthose, for Ralph was with the duke to sign a charter for La Trinité-du-Mont de Rouen in 1091,⁴⁴ and a charter of William, archbishop of Rouen, in 1092.⁴⁵ Ralph and

³⁶ OV, iv. 212. See above, p. 38. Also see Roche, 'The Way Vengeance Comes', 123-27; Bickford Smith, 'Orderic Vitalis', 150-52.

³⁷ OV, iv. 214.

³⁸ For the transience of marriage alliances, see Power, *Norman Frontier*, 225-26; Hagger, 'Grandmesnil', 229.

³⁹ OV, iv. 216.

⁴⁰ Strickland, *War and Chivalry*, 184.

⁴¹ Strickland, 'Killing or Clemency?', 106-16.

⁴² OV, iv. 236.

⁴³ OV, v. 26.

⁴⁴ *Cartulaire de Sainte-Trinité du Mont*, ed. Deville, no. 83, p. 463-64 (SCRIPTA 67).

⁴⁵ Text of charter printed in *GC*, xi instr. 17; witness list in C. H. Haskins, *Norman Institutions* (Cambridge, MA, 1918), 68 n. 8 (SCRIPTA 266).

Curthose were at Lisieux to witness a charter for Jumièges between 1 June 1091 and 26 November 1095.⁴⁶

Curthose's departure on crusade in September 1096 solved the problem of divided loyalty for Ralph, for he could now serve one lord in peace. The end of the dispute between Curthose and Rufus facilitated a more stable relationship between Ralph and his half-brother, William, count of Évreux. Whereas the proximity of the Norman estates of Ralph and Count William made them enemies during Curthose's struggles at the start of the 1090s, it enabled Rufus to unite them behind a common cause when his own authority in Normandy was sufficient to attempt an invasion of the French Vexin.⁴⁷

After Rufus's death on 2 August 1100, Ralph and Count William jointly attacked Robert de Beaumont, count of Meulan, supposedly because Robert had turned Rufus against them.⁴⁸ Ralph and William were now allies acting in concert to protect themselves from perceived enemies. In the 1090s, Robert was more influential at Rufus's court than Ralph was, just as Robert's grandfather, Humphrey de Vieilles, had been closer to Duke Robert I and Duke William II than Roger de Tosny had been.⁴⁹ Rufus's undisputed power in Normandy after 1096 encouraged rival factions to unite for his frontier wars, which meant that Ralph and Robert de Beaumont both contributed to Rufus's invasions of the French Vexin. However, in 1100, the Tosnys took advantage of an unsettled political situation to hit back at their more favoured neighbour. Orderic says that other aristocrats nursing grievances against enemies took the opportunity for vengeance as well.⁵⁰ The disorder after Rufus's death is testament to the

⁴⁶ *Jumièges*, ed. Vernier, i. 119-21 (SCRIPTA 162; ARTEM 2729).

⁴⁷ OV, v. 214-16.

⁴⁸ OV, v. 300.

⁴⁹ For Humphrey's relationship with the dukes, see above, p. 70 and p. 73. For Robert's relationship with Rufus, see D. Crouch, 'Beaumont, Robert de, count of Meulan and first earl of Leicester (d. 1118)', *ODNB* (2004).

⁵⁰ OV, v. 300.

survival of notions of vengeance, but also to the role a ruler could play in discouraging such violence during his reign.⁵¹

Ralph finally died on a 24 March, probably in 1102 or 1103. His burial at Conches reflects his concentration on a continental career since 1066.⁵²

Orderic states that Ralph had three children with Isabel: Roger, Ralph IV and Godehilde II.⁵³ Roger died before Ralph III, without getting the opportunity to succeed to the estates of William de Breteuil (d. 1103) and William, count of Évreux (d. 1118).⁵⁴ Orderic states that Godehilde II married Robert de Beaumont and then Baldwin, son of Count Eustace II of Boulogne.⁵⁵ Godehilde's marriages must have occurred before Baldwin took Godehilde on crusade in 1096.⁵⁶ Godehilde's marriage to Robert de Beaumont has been doubted because it is not corroborated by other evidence, and Orderic does not mention the annulment which would have been necessary before Godehilde married Baldwin.⁵⁷ If Godehilde did marry Robert, it could be interpreted as an unsuccessful attempt to ameliorate latent tension with the house of Beaumont. Baldwin can be found at Conches in the early 1090s.⁵⁸ Baldwin's relationship with the house of Tosny could have stemmed from the friendship between the counts of Boulogne and Ralph's brother-in-law, William fitz Osbern.⁵⁹ The Tosnys' relationship with the counts of

⁵¹ Hyams, *Rancor and Reconciliation*, 122.

⁵² OV, iii. 128, vi. 36. For the year, see *Complete Peerage*, xii. part 1, 760; Chibnall in OV, iii. 129 n. 2; OV, vi. 36.

⁵³ OV, iii. 128.

⁵⁴ OV, iv. 216-18.

⁵⁵ OV, iii. 128, iv. 218.

⁵⁶ *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, by William, Archbishop of Tyre, eds. E. A. Babcock and A. C. Krey, 2 vols. (New York, NY, 1943), i. 177-78; *Historia Ierosolimitana: History of the Journey to Jerusalem*, ed. S. B. Edgington (Oxford 2007), 183.

⁵⁷ Chibnall in OV, iii. 128 n. 1.

⁵⁸ OV, iv. 218.

⁵⁹ H. Tanner, *Families, Friends and Allies: Boulogne and Politics in Northern France and England, c. 879-1160* (Leiden, 2004), 133.

Boulogne was further strengthened soon after Ralph III's death, when Ralph's cross-Channel heir, Ralph IV, married Alice (also known as Judith), cousin of Count Eustace III.⁶⁰

Ralph III's estates in Normandy and France

Having outlined the main events of Ralph's career, this chapter will now look closer at the foundations of his power on the continent. It will do so by considering the shape of his continental estate and the composition of his entourage, and by assessing the extent to which Ralph's continental followers were represented on his English estate.

Ralph's estate in Normandy basically supports the contention that a typical estate in Normandy was scattered, but with a relatively concentrated core (see Figure 10).⁶¹ Dispersed estates such as Ralph's illustrate the success of the dukes in averting political fragmentation within their principality. Ralph's estate had more than one core: one was certainly around Conches, and another was in the Eure valley. It is likely that Ralph had more property around Tosny than his religious patronage reveals, for at least two of his subtenants in England – Roger de Mussegros and Roger de Bacqueville – originated from places within 11 kilometres to the north of Tosny.⁶² Ralph's property south of the Seine formed a diagonal band facing the Vexin, the Méresais and the Drouais. This band of property would have aided the defence of south-eastern Normandy, and helps to explain why Ralph's ancestors were valuable allies for the dukes before the relationship suffered in Duke William's adolescence.

Portions of Ralph's estate were also scattered in the Pays de Caux, the Talou, the Roumois, and at Nogent-le-Roi in the Drouais. The Tosnys participated in the expansion of

⁶⁰ OV, vi. 54; *GND* (Robert of Torigni), ii. 272.

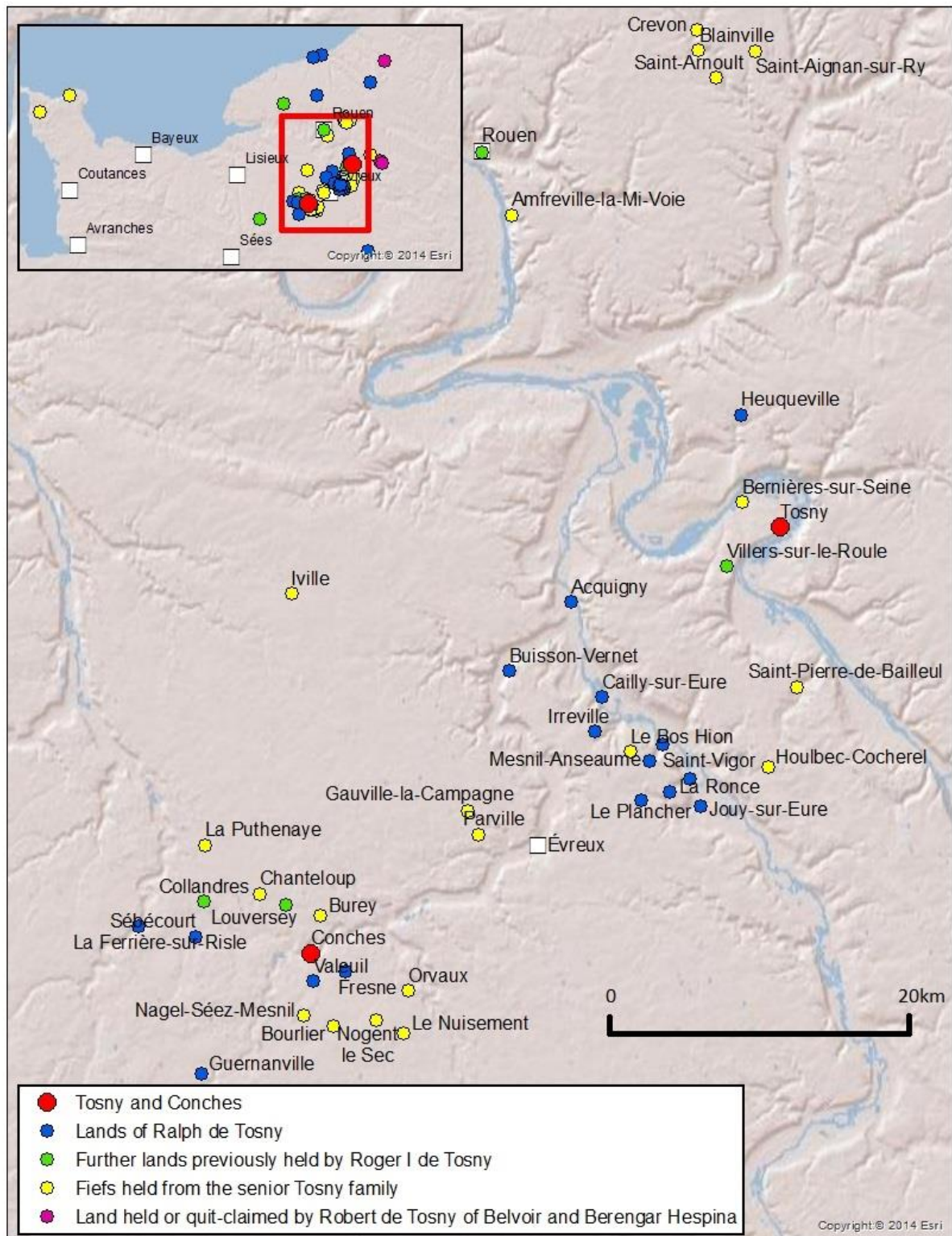
⁶¹ Bates, *Normandy*, 120.

⁶² See Table 5.

Upper Norman families into the Cotentin, for they received Saint-Christophe-du-Foc by ducal grant sometime after 1017.⁶³

⁶³ *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 59 (SCRIPTA 6472); *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 61 (SCRIPTA 6474); Bates, *Normandy*, 103-05; Hagger, 'How the West was Won', 40-44, 47-55, especially at 51. Saint-Christophe-du-Foc, Manche, cant. Les Pieux.

Figure 10: The house of Tosny's continental estate.⁶⁴



⁶⁴ *Cartulaire de Conches*, ed. de Haas, nos. 245, 268-69; *Cartulaire de Conches*, ed. de Haas, no. 406 (SCRIPTA 1846); also see Table 6; *RADN*, no. 137 (SCRIPTA 1581); *RADN*, no. 157 (SCRIPTA 1601); *RADN*, no. 211 (SCRIPTA 1655). Nogent-le-Roi is the southernmost blue dot in the inset map.

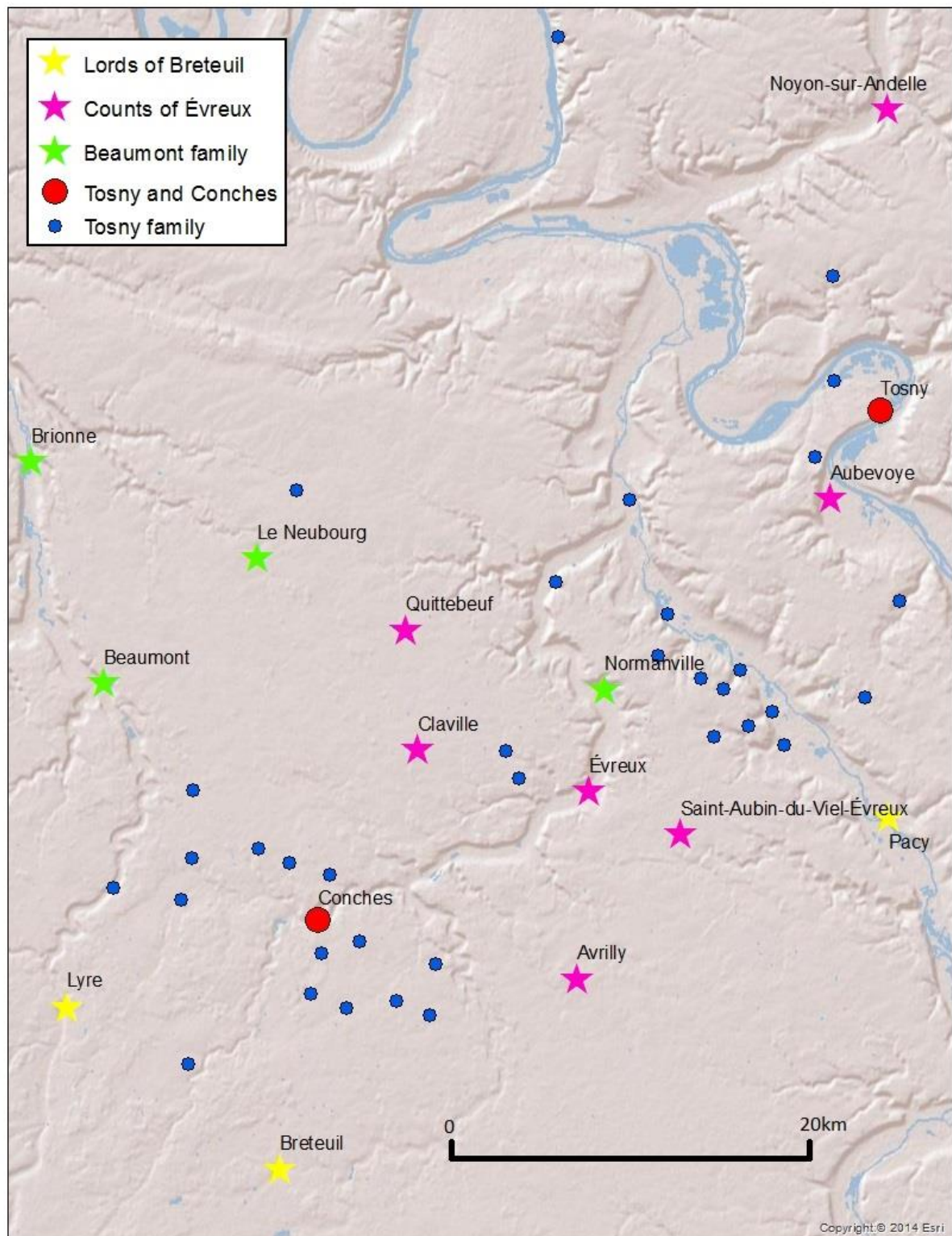
Ralph's dispersed estate also supports the view that estates in Normandy were not usually territorially coherent.⁶⁵ The main obstacle to territorial cohesion in the space between Tosny and Conches was the estate of the counts of Évreux. North of the Seine, the estate of the counts of Évreux was dispersed similarly to Ralph's. This similarity is partly because Archbishop Hugh's successor, Archbishop Robert, the first count of Évreux, took church property in at least two places north of the Seine. Overall, the estates of both families had similarly dispersed parts because they were assembled in more than one way: both included ducal grants, property usurped from the church, and outlying properties received in dowries.⁶⁶ Outbreaks of tension between the house of Tosny and the lords of Beaumont, Breteuil and Évreux were encouraged by the proximity of their estates in Normandy (see Figure 11).⁶⁷

⁶⁵ Musset, 'L'aristocratie normande', 78-80, 84-85, 87.

⁶⁶ On the estates of the counts of Évreux, see Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, 194, 340-48, and map at 195.

⁶⁷ For other useful maps, see Bauduin, 'Autour de la *dos*', 172; Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, 195, 202-03; Bates, *Normandy*, 269. The proximity of the four families was noted by Musset, 'L'aristocratie normande', 78.

Figure 11: The Tosnys' estate in Normandy and selected properties of the lords of Beaumont, Breteuil and Évreux.⁶⁸



⁶⁸ For the Tosnys' estate in Normandy, see note to Figure 10. For the lords of Évreux, Breteuil and Beaumont, see respectively Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, 195, 330, 341-48; Bauduin, 'Autour de la *dos*', 172; Bates, *Normandy*, 269.

Ralph's entourage in Normandy

Many of Ralph's vassals in Normandy can be identified in the cartulary of Conches, as benefactors or witnesses to his grants. Another place to look is the witness lists of his grants to other beneficiaries. Only Ralph's grants to Saint-Evroult and Jumièges have witness lists which reveal which of his followers were with him at the time. The witness lists of his other grants have either been omitted in pancartes, or they tell us more about the royal court than Ralph's entourage. Table 4 collects what is known of Ralph's entourage in Normandy. It is possible that some witnesses of his grants to Saint-Evroult and Jumièges are not his men, but witnessed because they had links to the abbey and happened to be present there. Consequently, witnesses whose connection to Ralph cannot be corroborated some other way have been omitted. The witness list of Ralph's Norman and English grants to Saint-Evroult includes some holders of English land who might have witnessed his grants in England. Nonetheless, they have been included if there is reason to link them to Ralph in Normandy too. Benefactors of Conches after Ralph's death have been omitted. Those of unknown date between *c.* 1042 and 1135 have been included.

Table 4: Ralph's entourage in Normandy

Name	Origin	Granted Norman property to Conches. ⁶⁹	Witnessed Ralph's charters for Conches	Witnessed other people's charters for Conches. ⁷⁰	Witnessed Ralph's charters for other beneficiaries	Ralph confirmed grant to beneficiary other than Conches	Other evidence for relationship in Normandy
Romilly, Robert, William, Gerelme, Richard de	Romilly-la-Puthenaye, Eure, cant. Beaumont-le-Roger. ⁷¹	X	X ⁷²	X ⁷³	X ⁷⁴		
Clères, Roger, Gilbert de	Clères, Seine-Maritime. ⁷⁵	X			X ⁷⁶	X ⁷⁷	Roger de Clères avenged Roger de Tosny's death. ⁷⁸
Gerald Gastinel		X ⁷⁹			X ⁸⁰		A twelfth-century Roger de Tosny granted property from the fief of the Gastinels to Saint-Evroult. ⁸¹
Fresne, Gerelme, William du	Le Fresne, Eure, cant. Conches-en-Ouche	X		X			

⁶⁹ Unless otherwise stated: *Cartulaire de Conches*, ed. de Haas, no. 406 (SCRIPTA 1846).

⁷⁰ Unless otherwise stated: *Cartulaire de Conches*, ed. de Haas, no. 406 (SCRIPTA 1846).

⁷¹ Musset, 'Tosny', 75.

⁷² *Cartulaire de Conches*, ed. de Haas, nos. 245, 268.

⁷³ *Mémoires et Notes de M. Le Prévost*, eds. Delisle and Passy, i. 160 (SCRIPTA 5540); *Cartulaire de Conches*, ed. de Haas, no. 406 (SCRIPTA 1846).

⁷⁴ OV, iii. 124-26; OV, ed. Le Prévost, v. 180-81 (SCRIPTA 134); *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 164 (SCRIPTA 6509; ARTEM 4558).

⁷⁵ Musset, 'Tosny', 75.

⁷⁶ OV, iii. 124-26; OV, ed. Le Prévost, v. 180-81 (SCRIPTA 134).

⁷⁷ *RADN*, no. 191 (SCRIPTA 1634; ARTEM 2705).

⁷⁸ OV, iv. 302.

⁷⁹ *Cartulaire de Conches*, ed. de Haas, no. 406 (SCRIPTA 1846); *Cartulaire de Conches*, ed. de Haas, no. 394.

⁸⁰ OV, iii. 124-26; OV, ed. Le Prévost, v. 180-81 (SCRIPTA 134); *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 164 (SCRIPTA 6509; ARTEM 4558).

⁸¹ B. N. ms. Lat. 11056, fol. 93v-94r.

Name	Origin	Granted Norman property to Conches.⁶⁹	Witnessed Ralph's charters for Conches	Witnessed other people's charters for Conches.⁷⁰	Witnessed Ralph's charters for other beneficiaries	Ralph confirmed grant to beneficiary other than Conches	Other evidence for relationship in Normandy
Walter de Saint-Élier	Saint-Élier, Eure, cant. Conches-en-Ouche		X ⁸²	X			
Iville, Robert de	Iville, Eure, cant. Le Neubourg	X					
Vernay, Gerelme de	Buisson-Vernet, Eure, cant. Louviers-Sud.	X					
Boshion, Gerelme de	Le Bos Hion, Eure, cant. Évreux-Nord, comm. Reuilly	X					
La Ronce, Helto de	La Ronce, Eure, cant. Évreux-Est, comm. Fontaine-sous-Jouy	X					
Berville, Ralph de	Berville-la-Campagne, Eure, cant. Beaumont-le-Roger	X					
Glisolles, Ralph de	Glisolles, Eure, cant. Conches-en-Ouche	X					
Orvaux, Robert de	Orvaux, Eure, cant. Conches-en-Ouche	X					
Valeuil, William de	Valeuil, Eure, cant. Conches-en-Ouche	X					

⁸² *Cartulaire de Conches*, ed. de Haas, nos. 245, 268.

Name	Origin	Granted Norman property to Conches. ⁶⁹	Witnessed Ralph's charters for Conches	Witnessed other people's charters for Conches. ⁷⁰	Witnessed Ralph's charters for other beneficiaries	Ralph confirmed grant to beneficiary other than Conches	Other evidence for relationship in Normandy
Bourlier, Guimond, Stephen du	Le Bourlier, Eure, cant. Conches-en-Ouche, comm. Nagel-Séze-Mesnil	X					
Nuisement, Ralph du	Le Nuisement, Eure, cant. Évreux-Est, comm. Huest	X					
La Lande, Ralph de	La Lande, Eure, cant. Conches-en-Ouche, comm. Collandres-Quincarnon	X					
Montreuil, Osulus de	Montreuil-l'Argillé, Eure, cant. Broglie	X					
Richard Mansel		X ⁸³					
Gilbert fitz Tuold	Fontaine-sous-Jouy, Eure, cant. Évreux-Est. ⁸⁴				X ⁸⁵		Ralph had property at Fontaine-sous-Jouy. ⁸⁶

⁸³ *Mémoires et Notes de M. Le Prévost*, eds. Delisle and Passy, i. 160 (SCRIPTA 5540); *Cartulaire de Conches*, ed. de Haas, no. 406 (SCRIPTA 1846).

⁸⁴ Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People*, 278-79.

⁸⁵ OV, iii. 124-26; OV, ed. Le Prévost, v. 180-81 (SCRIPTA 134).

⁸⁶ *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 164 (SCRIPTA 6509; ARTEM 4558); *Cartulaire de Conches*, ed. de Haas, nos. 245, 268; *Cartulaire de Conches*, ed. de Haas, no. 406 (SCRIPTA 1846).

Name	Origin	Granted Norman property to Conches. ⁶⁹	Witnessed Ralph's charters for Conches	Witnessed other people's charters for Conches. ⁷⁰	Witnessed Ralph's charters for other beneficiaries	Ralph confirmed grant to beneficiary other than Conches	Other evidence for relationship in Normandy
Mussegras, Roger de	Mussegras, Eure, cant. Fleury-sur-Andelle, comm. Écouis. ⁸⁷				X ⁸⁸		Mussegras is 11 kilometres north-east of Tosny.
Walter, priest of Acquigny	Acquigny, Eure, cant. Louviers-Sud.				X ⁸⁹		Ralph had property and probably a castle at Acquigny. ⁹⁰
Ralph the seneschal			X ⁹¹				
Goisbert the doctor	Chartres, Eure-et-Loir. ⁹²						Ralph let him become monk at Saint-Evroult, and took him to England. ⁹³
Robert de Vaux	Vaux-sur-Eure, Eure, cant. Pacy-sur-Eure. ⁹⁴					X ⁹⁵	

⁸⁷ Loyd, *Origins*, 71.

⁸⁸ OV, iii. 124-26; OV, ed. Le Prévost, v. 180-81 (SCRIPTA 134).

⁸⁹ *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 164 (SCRIPTA 6509; ARTEM 4558).

⁹⁰ *Cartulaire de Conches*, ed. de Haas, no. 406 (SCRIPTA 1846); OV, iii. 124-26; OV, ed. Le Prévost, v. 180-81 (SCRIPTA 134); OV, v. 268, vi. 244; A. A. Porée, *Histoire de l'abbaye du Bec*, 2 vols. (Évreux, 1901), i. 348 n. 2.

⁹¹ *Cartulaire de Conches*, ed. de Haas, nos. 245, 268, 269.

⁹² OV, iii. 150.

⁹³ OV, iii. 124-26.

⁹⁴ M. Charpillon and A. Caresme, *Dictionnaire historique de toutes les communes du département de l'Eure: histoire, géographie, statistique*, 2 vols. (Les Andelys, 1868-1879), ii. 953.

⁹⁵ OV, iii. 126.

Name	Origin	Granted Norman property to Conches. ⁶⁹	Witnessed Ralph's charters for Conches	Witnessed other people's charters for Conches. ⁷⁰	Witnessed Ralph's charters for other beneficiaries	Ralph confirmed grant to beneficiary other than Conches	Other evidence for relationship in Normandy
Pacy, William de	Pacy-sur-Eure, Seine-Maritime.				X ⁹⁶		Held property in Quessigny, like Gilbert de Clères. ⁹⁷ Origins close to Vaux-sur-Eure.
Hugh the butler						X ⁹⁸	
Agneaux, Herbert de	Agneaux, Manche, cant. Saint-Lô-Ouest.					X ⁹⁹	
Pavilly, William de	Pavilly, Seine-Maritime				X ¹⁰⁰		12 kilometres from Clères

When the known origins of Ralph's followers are mapped, a great many of them are concentrated around Conches itself (see Figure 12). This is, of course, because charters for Conches constitute most of the evidence for Ralph's entourage in Normandy. There were also several followers along the river Eure. The area around Tosny is underrepresented. There must have been more followers from the neighbourhood of Tosny than we know about, but it is striking that more of them did not patronize the abbey of Conches. Conches and Tosny were separated by the territory of the counts of Évreux and the three abbeys of Saint-Taurin and Saint-Sauveur d'Évreux and La Croix-Saint-Leufroy. These may have constituted a buffer zone

⁹⁶ OV, iii. 124-26; OV, ed. Le Prévost, v. 180-81 (SCRIPTA 134).

⁹⁷ *Mémoires et Notes de M. Le Prévost*, eds. Delisle and Passy, iii. 3; *Cartulaire de Louviers*, ed. T. Bonnin, 6 vols. (Évreux 1870-1873), i. 61-66 (SCRIPTA 2009). Quessigny, Eure, cant. Saint-André-de-l'Eure.

⁹⁸ *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 59 (SCRIPTA 6472); *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 61 (SCRIPTA 6474).

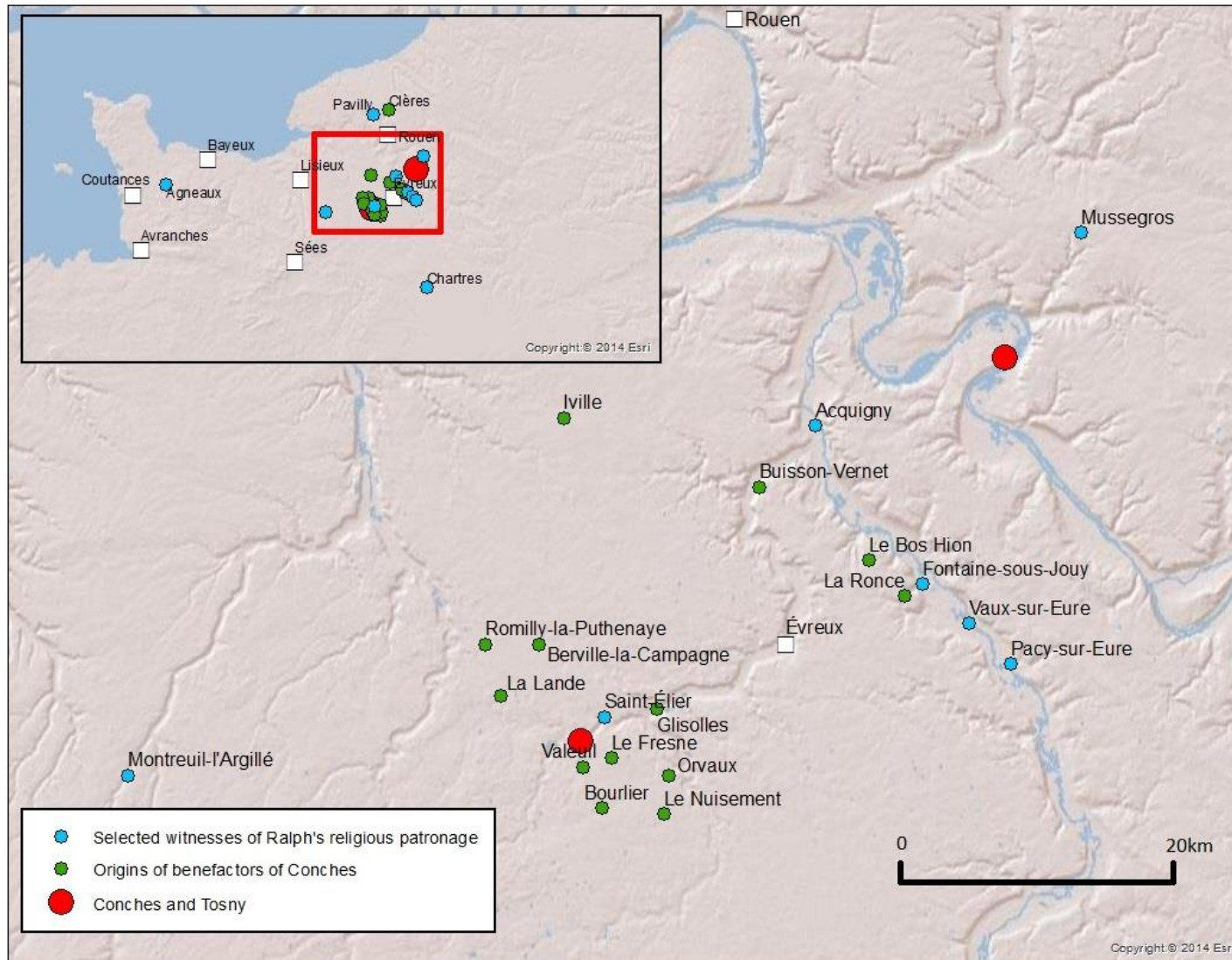
⁹⁹ *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 26.

¹⁰⁰ *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 164 (SCRIPTA 6509; ARTEM 4558).

which lessened the attraction of Conches for men near Tosny. For example, William de Pacy, witness of Ralph's grant to Saint-Evroult, patronized Saint-Taurin d'Évreux but not Conches.¹⁰¹

¹⁰¹ *Cartulaire de Louviers*, ed. Bonnin, i. 61-66 (SCRIPTA 2009).

Figure 12: Origins of Ralph's entourage in Normandy (see Table 4 and Table 5)



Ralph's subtenants in England

It is possible to estimate whether Ralph brought many of his most prominent Norman vassals to England. Ralph's identifiable subtenants are summarized in Table 5. The only French subtenants who cannot be identified are Ralph and Rayner, who each held one manor in Worcestershire (worth £2 and £4 respectively).¹ Only one manor, worth 4s, was held by an Englishman, Beorhtweald the priest,² and one more was held by a Welshman.³

Table 5: Ralph's subtenants in England

Subtenant	Origin	Value £	Benefactor of Conches	With Ralph in Normandy
Roger de Mussegros	Mussegros, Eure, cant. Fleury-sur-Andelle, comm. Écouis. ⁴	20.25. ⁵		Possibly. ⁶
Drew fitz Pons	Perhaps the Roumois, the Pays de Caux, or the Talou. ⁷	18.54. ⁸		
Walter de Portes	Portes, Eure, cant. Conches-en-Ouche. ⁹	18.50. ¹⁰		
Roger de Bacqueville	Bacqueville, Eure, cant. Fleury-sur-Andelle. ¹¹	18.00. ¹²		

¹ GDB 176r (Worcestershire 15:10 and 15:6).

² GDB 183v (Herefordshire 8:9).

³ GDB 183r (Herefordshire 8:4).

⁴ Loyd, *Origins*, 71; Musset, 'Tosny', 77.

⁵ GDB 138r (Hertfordshire 22:2) [identified by Roger de Mussegros's activity 4.3 kilometres away at GDB 137r (Hertfordshire 16:2), and same antecessor as LDB 91r (Essex 51:2)], 183r (Herefordshire 8:6) [identified by later evidence: *Herefordshire Domesday, circa 1160-1170*, eds. V. H. Galbraith and J. Tait (London, 1950), 35, 94]; LDB 91r (Essex 51:1-2) [identified by later evidence: *VCH Essex*, viii. 198 and n. 20].

⁶ OV, iii. 124-26; OV, ed. Le Prévost, v. 180-81 (SCRIPTA 134).

⁷ See below, p. 111.

⁸ GDB 62v (Berkshire 47:1), 168r (Gloucestershire 45:6), 180r (Herefordshire 1:21), 183r (Herefordshire 8:1). [Identifiable because Drew fitz Pons's manors were close to Ralph's in Herefordshire and Worcestershire, and Drew fitz Pons is the only other Drew in Gloucestershire. The only Drew in Berkshire is identifiable as Drew fitz Pons because Walter fitz Pons was a tenant-in-chief here.]

⁹ Loyd, *Origins*, 80; Musset, 'Tosny', 76.

¹⁰ GDB 176r (Worcestershire 15:11,13-14) [Shelsley and Elmley Lovett are identifiable by later descent: *VCH Worcestershire*, i. 329, iv. 332. Also significant that Conches had property at Shelsley by 1187: *Cartulaire de Conches*, ed. de Haas, no. 394. Droitwich is identifiable by proximity to Hadzor, 2 kilometres away, which can be shown to belong to Walter de Portes by its later descent: *VCH Worcestershire*, iii. 128].

¹¹ Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People*, 400.

¹² GDB 168r (Gloucestershire 45:1-2,4-5) [identified at Combe by later evidence: *VCH Gloucestershire*, vi. 174. These four manors constitute the majority of Ralph's Gloucestershire property, so were probably held by one Roger: Palmer, 'Notes on the Identifications', 370].

Subtenant	Origin	Value £	Benefactor of Conches	With Ralph in Normandy
Herbert de Fourches	Fourches, Calvados, cant. Morteaux-Coulibœuf. ¹³	7.72. ¹⁴		
Conches, abbey		7.00. ¹⁵		N/A
Saint-Taurin d'Évreux, abbey		5.00. ¹⁶		N/A
Ilbert <i>vicecomes</i> (of Hertfordshire)	?	4.38. ¹⁷	X ¹⁸	Probably. ¹⁹
William, brother of Ilbert <i>vicecomes</i> (of Hertfordshire)	?	4.38. ²⁰		
Gilbert fitz Tuold	Fontaine-sous-Jouy, Eure, cant. Évreux-Est. ²¹	4.30. ²²		Possibly. ²³
Urse d'Abbetot	Saint-Jean d'Abbetot, Seine-Maritime, cant. Saint-Romain-de-Colbosc, comm. La Cerlangue. ²⁴	3.50. ²⁵		
Roger de Lassy	Lassy, Calvados, cant. Condé-sur-Noireau. ²⁶	1.43. ²⁷		

Ilbert, Ralph's subtenant at Dinedor with Ilbert's brother William, is the only one of Ralph's subtenants who can be identified in charters for Conches. As **Ilbert *vicecomes***, he

¹³ See below, p. 380.

¹⁴ GDB 176r (Worcestershire 15:12), 180r (Herefordshire 1:22), 183r (Herefordshire 8:1). [Identifiable as Herbert de Fourches because Eaton (Herefordshire 1:22) is 7.6 kilometres from Herbert de Fourches's manor held from Roger de Lassy at Bodenham: GDB 184r (Herefordshire 10:9); Eyton, *Shropshire*, v. 44-45. Ralph's three subtenants are assumed to be one man because of the relative rarity of the name.]

¹⁵ GDB 183r (Herefordshire 8:2).

¹⁶ GDB 176r (Worcestershire 15:9).

¹⁷ GDB 181r (Herefordshire 1:62), 183r (Herefordshire 8:7). Identified as Ilbert *vicecomes* by his grant to Conches.

¹⁸ *Cartulaire de Conches*, ed. de Haas, no. 406 (SCRIPTA 1846).

¹⁹ *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 164 (SCRIPTA 6509; ARTEM 4558); *Cartulaire de Conches*, ed. de Haas, nos. 245, 268, 269.

²⁰ GDB 181r (Herefordshire 1:62), 183r (Herefordshire 8:7).

²¹ Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People*, 278-79.

²² GDB 183r (Herefordshire 8:1).

²³ OV, iii. 124-26; OV, ed. Le Prévost, v. 180-81 (SCRIPTA 134).

²⁴ Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People*, 439.

²⁵ GDB 176r (Worcestershire 15:9).

²⁶ Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People*, 404.

²⁷ GDB 183r (Herefordshire 8:1). Identification based on Roger de Lassy's four carucates in the castlery of Clifford: GDB 184r (Herefordshire 10:3).

granted property at Dinedor to Conches. He was probably Ilbert of Hertford, because both Ilbert *vicecomes* and Ilbert of Hertford can be seen attaching land and sokemen to Hertfordshire manors in Domesday Book.²⁸ Ilbert also witnessed grants of property in Normandy and England to Conches by Ralph de Tosny, a grant of property in Normandy by Roger de Clères, and another grant of property in Normandy by Richard Mansel in 1080.²⁹ Because he was an important vassal of Ralph, he is probably the ‘Hilbert, son of Hugh’ who witnessed Ralph’s grant of Norman property to Jumièges between 1071 and 1079.³⁰ This suggests that Ilbert was connected to Ralph in Normandy as well as England, although his origins cannot be located. Ilbert lost his sheriffdom in Hertfordshire to Peter de Valognes before 1086.³¹

The subtenant who held the most English wealth from Ralph was **Roger de Mussegros**. Despite his two manors held as a tenant-in-chief, worth £1 2s,³² he was Ralph’s own man. This is corroborated by the location of Mussegros, 11 kilometres from Tosny, and by Roger’s witnessing of Ralph’s grant to Saint-Evrout. Roger could have witnessed Ralph’s grant in Normandy or England, so he may or may not have had a cross-Channel career after 1066.

Roger de Mussegros was a neighbour of **Roger de Bacqueville** before 1066, for their origins were just 6.3 kilometres from each other. They were no longer neighbours in England. Bacqueville was 11 kilometres from Tosny and 4 kilometres from Ralph’s property at Heuqueville, so the relationship between Ralph de Tosny and Roger de Bacqueville must have begun before 1066.³³

²⁸ GDB 133r (Hertfordshire 1:12), 140r-140v (Hertfordshire 34:13), 142r (Hertfordshire 38:2).

²⁹ For the grants by Roger de Clères and Richard Mansel, see *Cartulaire de Conches*, ed. de Haas, no. 406 (SCRIPTA 1846); *Cartulaire de Conches*, ed. de Haas, no. 338; *Mémoires et Notes de M. Le Prévost*, eds. Delisle and Passy, i. 160 (SCRIPTA 5540).

³⁰ *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 164 (SCRIPTA 6509; ARTEM 4558); Musset, ‘Tosny’, 75.

³¹ GDB 133r (Hertfordshire 1:12); J. A. Green, *English Sheriffs to 1154* (London, 1990), 47. For Ilbert’s career as sheriff, also see *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 329; J. H. Round, *Feudal England* (London, 1895), 461; *VCH Hertfordshire*, i. 268, 273, 285, 297.

³² GDB 185r (Herefordshire 11:1-2).

³³ For Heuqueville (Eure, cant. Les Andelys): *Cartulaire de Conches*, ed. de Haas, no. 269; *Cartulaire de Conches*, ed. de Haas, no. 406 (SCRIPTA 1846).

Ralph's subtenant, **Walter de Portes**, originated just 7.3 kilometres north of Conches. The later descent of Hadzor in Worcestershire suggests that he was Gilbert fitz Turolde's subtenant and son-in-law here.³⁴ **Gilbert fitz Turolde**, sheriff of Herefordshire and tenant-in-chief, held Clifford at farm from Ralph de Tosny, and he witnessed Ralph's grants to Saint-Evroult, either in Normandy or in England. Gilbert was not principally Ralph's man, for he was a tenant-in-chief with an estate worth about £78.³⁵ His brother Ilbert fitz Turolde was a fellow tenant-in-chief at two manors in Herefordshire.³⁶ Hemming states that Gilbert fitz Turolde had been William fitz Osbern's *minister*, and Gilbert received Ailey in Herefordshire and Hadzor in Worcestershire from William before 1071.³⁷ Gilbert also patronized Evesham for the sake of William fitz Osbern's soul after William's death.³⁸

Gilbert was probably a cross-Channel landholder, for he is presumably the Gilbert fitz Turolde who granted property at Échanfray to Saint-Evroult sometime before 1113.³⁹ Gilbert and his brother Ilbert probably originated from Fontaine-sous-Jouy, for *Hilbertus, filius Turaldi de Fontanis* witnessed Ralph de Warenne's grant to Saint-Pierre de Préaux in 1050, and a mid-twelfth century charter names *Ilbert de Funtaines* as the great-grandfather of a subtenant of the Tosnys in East Anglia.⁴⁰ Roger I and Ralph III de Tosny also had property at Fontaines-sous-Jouy, and Échanfray was just 4.7 kilometres from the Tosnys' property at Villers-en-Ouche, so Ralph would have been acquainted with Gilbert's family before William fitz Osbern brought Gilbert to England. One of Gilbert's manors in Somerset was held at farm by Walter

³⁴ GDB 177r (Worcestershire 20:6); *VCH Worcestershire*, iii. 128.

³⁵ GDB 98r (Somerset 42:1-3), 168v (Gloucestershire 52:1-7), 176v-177r (Worcestershire 20:1-6), 186v-87r (Herefordshire 25:1-9), 197r (Cambridgeshire 24:1), 243v (Warwickshire 33:1); LDB 93r (Essex 58:1).

³⁶ GDB 187r (Herefordshire 26:1-2).

³⁷ GDB 187r (Herefordshire 25:9); *Hemingi*, ed. Hearne, i. 263.

³⁸ GDB 176r (Worcestershire 11:2).

³⁹ OV, ed. Le Prévost, v. 196-99 (SCRIPTA 2985). Échanfray is now at Notre-Dame-du-Hamel, Eure, cant. Broglie.

⁴⁰ *Ctl. Préaux*, ed. Rouet, p. 149-50 (SCRIPTA 6073); Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People*, 213-14, 278. Keats-Rohan does not provide a reference for the English charter.

Mansel,⁴¹ whose presumed relative, Richard Mansel, granted property at Saint-Pierre-de-Bailleul, 9.4 kilometres from Fontaine-sous-Jouy, to Conches in 1080.⁴²

Ralph's second-most important subtenant (by value) was **Drew fitz Pons**. Drew was a tenant-in-chief with manors worth £32, and he also held manors worth about £16 as a subtenant of other lords.⁴³ Because Pons is a rare name, Drew might have been related to William fitz Pons, who witnessed a grant to Saint-Wandrille by Ralph fitz Anseré in 1071– the same Ralph fitz Anseré whose grant to Jumièges was signed by Ralph de Tosny between 1091 and 1095.⁴⁴ This suggests that Drew could have originated in the Roumois, where Saint-Wandrille and Jumièges were located, or in the Pays de Caux or the Talou, where the property of Ralph fitz Anseré was. It is thus possible that Ralph de Tosny brought Drew to England, but there is insufficient evidence to prove this. In any case, by 1086 Drew was more the king's man than Ralph de Tosny's. His brother and heir, Richard fitz Pons, was the ancestor of the twelfth-century lords of Clifford.⁴⁵

The fact that Necton and its dependencies were recorded in Ralph's demesne obscures some of Ralph's vassals who must have been resident in Norfolk. Some of these vassals or their descendants can be found among the witnesses of Ralph IV's charters concerning his Norfolk lands between 1102/03 and 1126.⁴⁶ Witnesses who originated from Ralph IV's estate in Normandy include **Roger and William de Portes**, **Ralph d'Acquigny** and **Peter du Cresne**.⁴⁷ **William de Lyre** originated from the location of one of William fitz Osbern's

⁴¹ GDB 98r (Somerset 42:2); *Exon Domesday*, ed. Ellis, 70; Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People*, 214.

⁴² See Table 4.

⁴³ Palmer, 'Notes on the Identifications', 120.

⁴⁴ For the charter for Saint-Wandrille, see F. Lot, *Études critiques sur l'abbaye de Saint-Wandrille* (Paris 1913), p. 98-100, no. 43 (SCRIPTA 3202). For Jumièges, see *Jumièges*, ed. Vernier, i. 119-21 (SCRIPTA 162; ARTEM 2729).

⁴⁵ I. J. Sanders, *English Baronies: a Study of their Origin and Descent* (Oxford, 1960), 35.

⁴⁶ *Beauchamp Cartulary*, ed. Mason, nos. 355-56; N. Vincent, 'The Foundation of Westacre Priory (1102 x 1126)', *Norfolk Archaeology*, 41:4 (1994), 490-94, at 492.

⁴⁷ Acquigny, Eure, cant. Louviers-Sud; Le Cresne, Eure, cant. Évreux-Est, comm. Jouy-sur-Eure.

Norman abbeys, which demonstrates that the marriage of Ralph III's sister could have increased the entourage of the house of Tosny.⁴⁸

Six families can thus be shown to have been brought from Ralph's estate in Normandy to England, of which one was brought by William fitz Osbern, and two can only be identified in Ralph IV's charters in Norfolk: these six originated from Mussegros, Bacqueville, Fontainesous-Jouy, Portes, Acquigny and Le Cresne. Five of these six places (all except Portes) lay closer to Tosny than to Conches. It is possible that Ralph was reluctant to export too many followers from near Conches because Conches was much closer than Tosny was to the heartlands of powerful and occasionally hostile neighbours (see Figure 11). The foundation of the abbey of Conches indicates that Roger de Tosny's local influence had been in greater need of reinforcement around Conches than around Tosny. The same logic may have influenced the lower number of followers from near Conches who followed Ralph to England.

Ralph's first-, third- and fourth-best rewarded subtenants were certainly his own men. However, it is striking that many of Ralph's subtenants were not primarily his own men in England. These included the second-best rewarded of Ralph's subtenants, Drew fitz Pons, as well as Herbert de Fourches, the sheriffs Ilbert, Gilbert fitz Turolde and Urse d'Abbetot, and Roger de Lassy. Some of these men could have been linked to Ralph in Normandy. This is probable for Gilbert fitz Turolde and Ilbert of Hertford, and is just possible for Drew. Ralph's relationship with Herbert de Fourches, Urse d'Abbetot and Roger de Lassy must have originated in England.⁴⁹ Ralph could have imported more of his Norman followers, but instead chose to create relationships with Normans important in England in their own right, and even with a small number of natives. Ralph gave three sheriffs a stake in his estate in England, probably in the hope that they would make his estate more secure.

⁴⁸ La Vieille-Lyre, Eure, cant. Rugles.

⁴⁹ For Herbert, see below, p. 380.

The family of Clères was among the most prominent of Ralph's vassals in Normandy (see Table 4), but they acquired English lands independently of him after 1086. Members of the family of Clères would hold English land from the Belvoir branch of the Tosnys, but this cannot be shown until sometime between 1129 and 1133.⁵⁰ It has been observed that the Gastinel family acquired property in England from the Stafford branch of the house of Tosny, perhaps by 1086 and certainly by 1166 (see below, p. 133).

Ralph's man in Normandy, Robert de Vaux, also acquired English land independently of Ralph.⁵¹ In 1086, Robert and Aitard de Vaux were important subtenants of Roger Bigod, based principally in Norfolk and Suffolk.⁵² Ascelin de Vaux witnessed an English charter of Roger Bigod's father-in-law, Robert de Tosny, lord of Belvoir.⁵³ It is therefore likely that the presence of the family of Vaux in England resulted from their links with the Belvoir branch of the house of Tosny, and not on Ralph. Robert de Vaux's burial at Thetford after *c.* 1130 suggests that his English lands, which were worth around £49, encouraged him to spend much of his post-Conquest career in England.⁵⁴

The branches of the Tosny family could have arranged to share their vassals, or they could have been competing for the loyalty of lesser families. Whatever the case, it seems that they had not diverged into fundamentally separate lineages before 1066. Instead, local men continued to consider the three tenants-in-chief as part of the same family.

⁵⁰ For the family of Clères's succession to Berengar de Tosny's manors, see Loyd, *Origins*, 29; *Regesta*, eds. Johnson and Cronne, nos. 1722, 1730; C. Clay, *Early Yorkshire Families* (Wakefield, 1973), 21; Clay, *Notes on the Family of Clere* (priv. print., 1975), 5-10; *Red Book*, 397.

⁵¹ For Robert in Normandy, see Table 4.

⁵² Palmer, 'Notes on the Identifications', 22, 362.

⁵³ *Monasticon*, iii. 288-89; *Cal. Chart. Rolls*, iv. 293-97.

⁵⁴ For Robert's burial, see Cownie, *Religious Patronage*, 214.

Ralph's patronage of religious houses

It has been seen that Ralph's movements and his treatment of his English estate point towards Normandy and the continent as the principal focus of his post-Conquest career.⁵⁵ The same impression can be derived from Ralph's religious patronage. After considering Ralph's geographical priorities, analysis will move on to the networks Ralph fostered through his patronage of Norman churches. Table 6 summarizes Ralph's patronage for beneficiaries besides Conches, and the networks he consequently shared with other Norman nobles.

⁵⁵ See above, section beginning on p. 88.

Table 6: Ralph's religious patronage to beneficiaries besides Conches

Benefactor	Saint-Ouen de Rouen	Saint-Evroult	La Trinité-du-Mont de Rouen	Lyre	Caen	Jumièges	La Croix-Saint-Leufroy	Bayeux	Saint-Taurin d'Évreux	Bec
Ralph de Tosny	Blainville, Crevon, Saint-Arnoult and Saint-Aignan-sur-Ry (as lord, c. 1050 x 1066). ¹	Conches, Tosny, Acquigny and Guernanville (1066 x 1072 and 1099); Caldecote (Norfolk) and Alton (Worcestershire, 1075 x 1081). ² Bernières-sur-Seine (as lord, 1050 x 1103). ³	Amfreville-la-Mi-Voie (as lord, 1066 x 1087). ⁴	Guernanville (1068 x 1083); ⁵ La Ferrière-sur-Risle (1068 x 1103). ⁶	Saint-Christophe-du-Foc (to La Trinité, as lord, 1068 x 1083). ⁷	Jouy-sur-Eure; Fontaine-sous-Jouy (1071 x 1079). ⁸	Cailly-sur-Eure (1071 x 1083). ⁹	Carneville (as lord, 1074). ¹⁰	Astley (Worcestershire, 1075 x 1086). ¹¹	La Ferrière-sur-Risle; Acquigny; Conches; Wretham (Norfolk). In c. 1085. ¹²

¹ *RADN*, no. 191 (SCRIPTA 1634; ARTEM 2705). Blainville-Crevon, Seine-Maritime, cant. Buchy; Saint-Arnoult, Seine-Maritime, cant. Buchy; Saint-Aignan-sur-Ry, Seine-Maritime, cant. Buchy.

² *OV*, iii. 124-26; *OV*, ed. Le Prévost, v. 180-81 (SCRIPTA 134); *OV*, iii. 232-40 (*Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 255; SCRIPTA 6568); *OV*, v. 268. Guernanville, Eure, cant. Breteuil.

³ *OV*, iii. 126.

⁴ *Cartulaire de Sainte-Trinité du Mont*, ed. Deville, no. 83, p. 463-64 (SCRIPTA 67). Amfreville-la-Mi-Voie, Seine-Maritime, cant. Boos.

⁵ *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 192 (ARTEM 2846).

⁶ Guéry, *Histoire de Lyre*, 563-67 (SCRIPTA 2997). La Ferrière-sur-Risle, Eure, cant. Conches-en-Ouche.

⁷ *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 59 (SCRIPTA 6472); *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 61 (SCRIPTA 6474).

⁸ *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 164 (SCRIPTA 6509; ARTEM 4558). Jouy-sur-Eure, Eure, cant. Évreux-Est.

⁹ *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 165 (SCRIPTA 6510; ARTEM 2844). Cailly-sur-Eure, Eure, cant. Gaillon-Campagne.

¹⁰ *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 26. Carneville, Manche, cant. Saint-Pierre-Église.

¹¹ *Cartulaire de Louviers*, ed. Bonnin, i. 61-66 (SCRIPTA 2009); GDB 176r (Worcestershire 15:9).

¹² Porée, *Bec*, i. 348 n. 2.

Benefactor	Saint-Ouen de Rouen	Saint-Evroult	La Trinité-du-Mont de Rouen	Lyre	Caen	Jumièges	La Croix-Saint-Leufroy	Bayeux	Saint-Taurin d'Évreux	Bec
William fitz Osbern	X (agreed to father's grant). ¹³	X ¹⁴	X ¹⁵	Founder. ¹⁶	X (La Trinité) ¹⁷					X ¹⁸
William de Breteuil		X ¹⁹		X ²⁰	X (La Trinité) ²¹				X ²²	X ²³
Richard, count of Évreux			X ²⁴		X (La Trinité) ²⁵	X ²⁶			X ²⁷	
Gilbert II Crispin		X ²⁸			X (La Trinité) ²⁹	X ³⁰				X ³¹

¹³ *RADN*, no. 193 (SCRIPTA 1636; ARTEM 2703).

¹⁴ *RADN*, no. 122 (SCRIPTA 1566).

¹⁵ *RADN*, no. 118 (SCRIPTA 1562); *Cartulaire de Sainte-Trinité du Mont*, ed. Deville, p. 450-51 (SCRIPTA 42); *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 232 (SCRIPTA 6548).

¹⁶ *RADN*, no. 120 (SCRIPTA 1564; ARTEM 2846).

¹⁷ *RADN*, no. 231; *Caen*, ed. Musset, no. 2 (SCRIPTA 1673).

¹⁸ *RADN*, nos. 108, 180, 181, 189 (SCRIPTA 1552, 1623, 1624, 1632); *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 166 (SCRIPTA 6511).

¹⁹ *OV*, iii. 122, 128.

²⁰ Guéry, *Histoire de Lyre*, 12, 76.

²¹ *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 59 (SCRIPTA 6472).

²² *Cartulaire de Louviers*, ed. Bonnin, i. 61-66 (SCRIPTA 2009).

²³ *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 166 (SCRIPTA 6511).

²⁴ *RADN*, no. 201 (SCRIPTA 1644).

²⁵ *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 59 (SCRIPTA 6472).

²⁶ *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 164 (SCRIPTA 6509; ARTEM 4558).

²⁷ *Cartulaire de Louviers*, ed. Bonnin, i. 61-66 (SCRIPTA 2009); Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, 370-71 (SCRIPTA 299).

²⁸ *OV*, iii. 122.

²⁹ *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 59 (SCRIPTA 6472); *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 61 (SCRIPTA 6474).

³⁰ *Jumièges*, ed. Vernier, i. 127-28 (SCRIPTA 166; ARTEM 2735); *Jumièges*, ed. Vernier, i. 140-42 (SCRIPTA 175; ARTEM 2744).

³¹ *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 166 (SCRIPTA 6511).

Benefactor	Saint-Ouen de Rouen	Saint-Evroult	La Trinité-du-Mont de Rouen	Lyre	Caen	Jumièges	La Croix-Saint-Leufroy	Bayeux	Saint-Taurin d'Évreux	Bec
Hugh de Grandmesnil		Founder. ³²			X (Saint-Étienne) ³³					X ³⁴
Richard, son of Herluin. Lord of Saint-André-de-l'Eure (d. after 1103)					X (La Trinité) ³⁵	X ³⁶			X ³⁷	
Roger de Beaumont						X ³⁸			X ³⁹	X ⁴⁰
Hugh d'Avranches		X ⁴¹			X (Saint-Étienne) ⁴²					X ⁴³

³² OV, ii. 14-16.

³³ *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 50 (SCRIPTA 6463; ARTEM 2336).

³⁴ *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 166 (SCRIPTA 6511).

³⁵ *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 49 (SCRIPTA 6462; ARTEM 2337); *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 59 (SCRIPTA 6472); *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 61 (SCRIPTA 6474).

³⁶ *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 164 (SCRIPTA 6509; ARTEM 4558).

³⁷ *Cartulaire de Louviers*, ed. Bonnin, i. 61-66 (SCRIPTA 2009); *Mémoires et Notes de M. Le Prévost*, eds. Delisle and Passy, iii. 3 (SCRIPTA 5755).

³⁸ *RADN*, no. 213 (SCRIPTA 1657).

³⁹ *Cartulaire de Louviers*, ed. Bonnin, i. 61-66 (SCRIPTA 2009).

⁴⁰ *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 166 (SCRIPTA 6511).

⁴¹ OV, iii. 232-40 (*Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 255; SCRIPTA 6568).

⁴² *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 48 (SCRIPTA 6461; ARTEM 2342).

⁴³ *Monasticon*, vi. part 2, p. 1068.

Benefactor	Saint-Ouen de Rouen	Saint-Evrout	La Trinité-du-Mont de Rouen	Lyre	Caen	Jumièges	La Croix-Saint-Leufroy	Bayeux	Saint-Taurin d'Évreux	Bec
Roger II de Montgommery		X ⁴⁴	X ⁴⁵		X (Saint-Étienne) ⁴⁶	X ⁴⁷				

⁴⁴ OV, iii. 232-40 (*Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 255; SCRIPTA 6568); OV, iii. 138-42.

⁴⁵ RADN, no. 233 (SCRIPTA 1675).

⁴⁶ *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 46 (SCRIPTA 6459; ARTEM 1988); RADN, no. 223 (*Caen*, ed. Musset, no. 1; SCRIPTA 1665; ARTEM 1976); *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 49 (SCRIPTA 6462; ARTEM 2337).

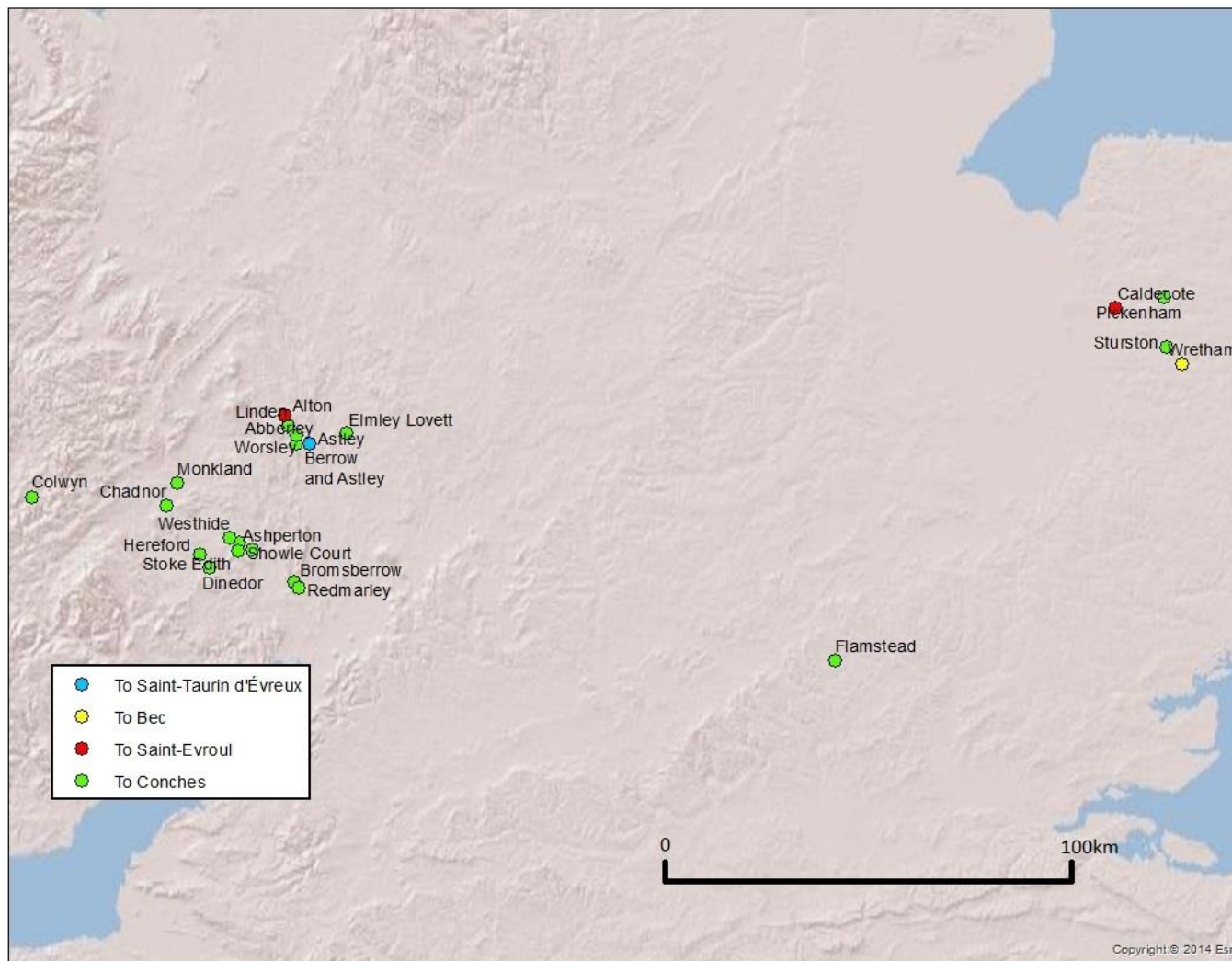
⁴⁷ RADN, no. 113 (SCRIPTA 1557; ARTEM 2698).

Musset acutely observed that Ralph granted English land to Norman churches more willingly than he did Norman land.¹ Ralph's English grants to Conches, in particular, were considerable (see Figure 13, with footnote). He also granted modest property in England to Saint-Taurin d'Évreux, Saint-Evrault and Bec. It is significant that Ralph patronized no English churches, and did not establish any new foundations on his English estates, with the uncertain exceptions of alien priories of Conches and Saint-Taurin d'Évreux at Monkland and Astley.² Ralph was willing to use so much property in England to increase his standing in Normandy because he was not committed to a substantial English career.

¹ Musset, 'Tosny', 59-61.

² GDB 176r (Worcestershire 15:9), 183r (Herefordshire 8:2); D. Knowles and R. N. Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales* (London, 1971), 83-84, 86, 90; *VCH Worcestershire*, ii. 180.

Figure 13: Ralph's grants of English and Welsh property to Norman churches.¹



¹ *Cartulaire de Conches*, ed. de Haas, nos. 160, 161, 245, 268, 269; *Cartulaire de Conches*, ed. de Haas, no. 406 (SCRIPTA 1846); *English Episcopal Acta VII, Hereford 1079-1234*, ed. J. Barrow (Oxford, 1993), no. 142; GDB 183r (Herefordshire 8:2). For beneficiaries besides Conches, see Table 6.

Ralph also granted some property in Normandy to Norman churches after 1066. His grants to Lyre must have been intended to reinforce his relationship with his brother-in-law, William fitz Osbern, or his nephew, William de Breteuil. Similarly, his grant to Saint-Taurin d'Évreux was probably supposed to strengthen his links with his half-brother, William, count of Évreux. Ralph's grant to La Croix-Saint-Leufroy was actually a restoration of property which the abbey had lost since the late ninth century,¹ so he might have been under some pressure to make this grant. Saint-Taurin and La Croix-Saint-Leufroy both lay between Tosny and Conches, so Ralph's grants to both abbeys ensured that his local influence was registered by abbeys besides his own. Ralph's grant of property in England to Saint-Evroult was probably inspired by his erstwhile doctor Goisbert, monk of Saint-Evroult, who came to England with him when this grant was made. Goisbert is said to have procured grants to Saint-Evroult from many Frenchmen.² It is also likely that Ralph sought to reinforce his relationship with his ally, Hugh de Grandmesnil, by patronizing Hugh's foundation.

It is possible to show that the other men whose religious patronage most closely resembled Ralph's (see Table 6) shared other important similarities with him (see Table 7).

Table 7: Ralph's links and similarities with men whose religious patronage resembled his

Benefactor	Significant on Norman frontier?	Political alliance with Ralph?	Primarily Norman concerns after 1066?	Related to Ralph by marriage?
Richard, count of Évreux (d. 1067)	count of Évreux		X	X
William, count of Évreux (d. 1118)	count of Évreux	Maine 1088; ³ Vexin 1097 x 1099; ⁴ Fought against Robert de Beaumont in 1100. ⁵	X ⁶	X

¹ Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, 138 n. 189.

² OV, iii. 150, 172, 206-08.

³ OV, iv. 154.

⁴ OV, v. 214-16.

⁵ OV, v. 300.

⁶ Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, 333.

Benefactor	Significant on Norman frontier?	Political alliance with Ralph?	Primarily Norman concerns after 1066?	Related to Ralph by marriage?
William fitz Osbern (d. 1071)	Heart of estate in Normandy was around Breteuil. ⁷			X
William de Breteuil (d. 1103)	Based at Breteuil	Curthose's rebellion in 1078; ⁸ Maine 1088. ⁹	X (as William fitz Osbern's heir in Normandy). ¹⁰	X
Richard fitz Herluin	Lord of Saint-André-de-l'Eure. ¹¹		X (no known English estate)	
Hugh de Grandmesnil (d. 1098)	Custodian of town of Neufmarché. ¹²	c. 1061, and their fathers soon after c. 1042. Probably 1088. ¹³	X ¹⁴	
Hugh d'Avranches (d. 1101)	Son and heir of vicomte of Avranches. ¹⁵			
Roger de Beaumont (d. c. 1093)			X ¹⁶	
Roger II de Montgommery (d. 1094)	Vicomte of the Hiémois and holder of lordship of Bellême.	England in 1088. ¹⁷		
Gilbert II Crispin (d. 1107)	Vicomte of the Vexin and lord of Tillières. ¹⁸		X (no known English estate)	Distantly. ¹⁹

⁷ C. P. Lewis, 'William fitz Osbern, earl (d. 1071)', *ODNB* (2004).

⁸ OV, iii. 100.

⁹ OV, iv. 154.

¹⁰ Lewis, 'William fitz Osbern', *ODNB*.

¹¹ Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, 242-44.

¹² Hagger, 'Grandmesnil', 220.

¹³ OV, iv. 124.

¹⁴ Hagger, 'Grandmesnil', 221, 224-26, 228.

¹⁵ C. P. Lewis, 'Avranches, Hugh d', first earl of Chester (d. 1101)', *ODNB* (2004).

¹⁶ The English estate recorded under Roger's name was modest in 1086. Robert de Beaumont's estate might originally have been Roger's, now held by Robert in a sort of 'caretaker role': D. Crouch, *The Beaumont Twins: The Roots and Branches of Power in the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, 1986), 10 n. 33; Crouch, 'Beaumont, Robert de', *ODNB*. Roger only attested one English diploma: Bates, 'Prosopographical Study of Anglo-Norman Royal Charters', 96. Also see Bates, *Normans and Empire*, 39-40.

¹⁷ See below, p. 328.

¹⁸ Bates, *Normandy*, 117; Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, 186, 190-91, 237-38, 276-77; Hagger, 'Norman Vicomte', 75-76; Lemoine Descourtieux, *La frontière normande de l'Avre*, 80-82, 88-93, 233-34.

¹⁹ Gilbert was the brother of the William Crispin who married Eve de Montfort, the probable aunt of Ralph de Tosny's wife: Power, *Norman Frontier*, 382, 495.

The men whose religious patronage most resembled Ralph's were closely related to him by the marriages of his mother and sister after the death of Roger I de Tosny. These men were Richard, count of Évreux, William, count of Évreux, William fitz Osbern and William de Breteuil, respectively Ralph's stepfather, half-brother, brother-in-law and nephew. The strong similarity of their religious patronage must have reinforced the shared identity which resulted from these marriages. Their relationship is also expressed in Ralph's patronage of Lyre, and in Richard, count of Évreux's consent for grants to Conches by Richard's wife, Ralph's mother, Godehilde.²⁰

Richard fitz Herluin demonstrates that cross-frontier marriage networks could provide opportunities for men not directly involved in them. Richard was a tenant of Simon de Montfort and William, count of Évreux. He patronized Saint-Sauveur d'Évreux, and he was part of William de Breteuil's entourage. Richard fitz Herluin would have come into closer contact with Ralph de Tosny after Ralph acquired Nogent-le-Roi, which was less than 1 kilometre from the abbey of Coulombs. Richard patronized Coulombs in 1066, during the abbacy of his own brother.²¹ Richard later witnessed Ralph's grant to Jumièges and, like Ralph, was a lord of Gilbert de Clères.²² The land Richard held from Simon de Montfort at Saint-Illiers-la-Ville had come to Simon in the dowry of Simon's first wife, just like Ralph's property at Nogent-le-Roi.²³ This suggests that Simon used this dowry to nurture relationships with at least two allies around the Norman frontier. Ralph's religious patronage also bore some similarity to that of Gilbert II Crispin, to whom Ralph was more distantly related by marriage. Gilbert's lands were based around the castle of Tillières, which had once been under the protection of Ralph's

²⁰ For Godehilde's grants, see *Cartulaire de Conches*, ed. de Haas, no. 406 (SCRIPTA 1846).

²¹ For Richard's career, see Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, 242-44. Bauduin distinguishes this Richard fitz Herluin from other men of the same name.

²² For Richard and Gilbert de Clères, see *Mémoires et Notes de M. Le Prévost*, eds. Delisle and Passy, iii. 3 (SCRIPTA 5755).

²³ Saint-Illiers-la-Ville, Yvelines, cant. Bonnières-sur-Seine.

ancestors, Roger I and Ralph II. Gilbert's property overlapped with Ralph's and William de Breteuil's at Guernanville, where Ralph, Gilbert and William all patronized Saint-Evrault.

The marriages arranged after the deaths of Roger de Tosny and Robert de Grandmesnil in the 1040s brought Hugh de Grandmesnil into the same marriage network, for Hugh's mother would marry William, brother of Count Richard of Évreux. Ralph's support of Saint-Evrault can be seen at the time of its foundation.²⁴ The Tosnys' links with Saint-Evrault had consequences far beyond Normandy and England, for in 1057 or 1058, Thierry, abbot of Saint-Evrault, was greeted at Melk in Austria by the prior of a hospital there, the Norman Ansgot, an otherwise unknown relative of Roger I de Tosny.²⁵ This meeting is a reminder of the role of transnational aristocratic networks and of shared religious experience in shaping the integration of Europe.²⁶

Almost all of the men who patronized at least three of the same beneficiaries as Ralph held significant property on or near the Norman frontier. Their military responsibilities on the Norman frontier might help to explain why some of these men followed primarily Norman careers after 1066 (see Table 7). Social network analysts have proposed that people who share direct ties to many of the same people and institutions are likely to feel part of the same social circle, to feel the same pressures, and to respond similarly to certain events.²⁷ This is borne out by Ralph's religious patronage, for many of the men linked to the same religious institutions as Ralph tended to have considerable obligations on the Norman frontier, and many of them, like Ralph, devoted relatively little time to England after 1066. Those whose religious patronage was the most similar tended to be linked to him by marriage, or, as in Richard fitz

²⁴ See above, p. 78.

²⁵ OV, ii. 68: *Tunc Ansgotus Normannus huic xenodochio electione indigenarum praeerat. Is nimirum Rogerii Toenitis qui Hispanicus uocabatur cognatus erat.*

²⁶ For aristocratic networks and shared identification with Christendom, see Bartlett, *Making of Europe*, 24-59, 243-80.

²⁷ R. D. Alba and C. Kadushin, 'The Intersection of Social Circles: A New Measure of Social Proximity in Networks', *Social Methods and Research*, 5:1 (1976), 77-102, at 85-86.

Herluin's case, by the marriages of their lords. These links and similarities must have contributed to a shared identity which could sometimes breed political cooperation. However, on other occasions, links and similarities could fuel rivalries. This can be observed when Ralph's half-brother, William, count of Évreux, and Ralph's two nephews, William de Breteuil and Richard de Montfort, turned against him in the early 1090s. That Ralph participated in some of the same religious networks as the Beaumonts, enemies of the Tosnys in *c.* 1042, *c.* 1054 and 1100, suggests that similarities in religious patronage might be fuelled by competition. This kind of competition is best demonstrated around Bec between 1087 and 1089, when Robert de Beaumont's attempts to dominate Bec met fierce resistance from other benefactors.²⁸

Robert of Stafford, brother of Ralph III, died *c.* 1088

Since a considerable English estate was held in 1086 by Ralph's younger brother, Robert of Stafford, it is instructive to survey Robert's career and compare it to Ralph's, in order to ascertain the impact of the Norman Conquest upon the wider house of Tosny.

The pancarte for Conches from the 1130s identifies Robert of Stafford, tenant-in-chief and benefactor of Conches, as the son of Roger de Tosny.²⁹ Robert must have received his property in England by 1072, when he granted some of it to Evesham Abbey.³⁰ There is no evidence of Robert's pre-Conquest career, but he was probably known before 1066 as Robert de Tosny, for that is what he is called in a charter of his grandson, Robert II of Stafford.³¹

²⁸ J. Potter, 'The Benefactors of Bec and the Politics of Priors', *ANS*, 21 (1999), 175-92, at 183-85, 187.

²⁹ *Cartulaire de Conches*, ed. de Haas, no. 406 (SCRIPTA 1846).

³⁰ See below, p. 130.

³¹ *Cartulaire de Conches*, ed. de Haas, no. 158.

Robert I of Stafford appears to have been sheriff of Staffordshire: he was probably the *R. vicecomiti* addressed with other men of Staffordshire in a royal writ issued between 1072 and 1085.³² Because Norman toponymics were hereditary by 1066, it is credible that Robert's English toponymic underlined his expectation that his property would pass intact to his descendants.³³ It has been suggested that the tenant-in-chief, Nigel of Stafford, was a relative of Robert of Stafford,³⁴ but the evidence is insufficient to demonstrate this.

Robert I's grandson, Robert II, is identified in a charter datable between *c.* 1125 and 1130 as the *nepos* of Ralph II de Limésy.³⁵ It has been suggested that Robert II of Stafford was Ralph II de Limésy's nephew, which would mean that Matilda, wife of Robert I's son Nicholas of Stafford, was a daughter of Ralph I de Limésy.³⁶ Ralph I de Limésy's manors in three shires were close to Robert I's.³⁷ Another link between both families was certainly established in 1085, when Ralph I's nephew, Robert de Limésy, succeeded Bishop Peter of Chester as Robert I of Stafford's lord at two manors.³⁸ The proximity of Ralph I's manors to Robert I of Stafford's, and the relationship between Robert I of Stafford and Robert de Limésy, make the suggestion of a marriage between the children of Ralph I de Limésy and Robert I of Stafford plausible and persuasive. It is likeliest that Nicholas's marriage was a product of English conditions. It reflected Robert I of Stafford's prioritization of an English career.

³² *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 265; Green, *English Sheriffs*, 75.

³³ Holt, 'What's in a Name?', in his *Colonial England*, especially at 193-94.

³⁴ F. Madan, *The Gresleys of Drakelowe* (Oxford, 1899), 18-21; Huffman, 'Ralph III', 27, 42.

³⁵ *Monasticon*, iii. 300.

³⁶ K. S. B. Keats-Rohan, *Domesday Descendants: A Prosopography of Persons Occurring in English Documents 1066-1166* (Woodbridge, 2002), 717. For the name of Nicholas's wife, see Eyton, 'Staffordshire Chartulary', 214-16.

³⁷ For Ralph's manors close to Robert's, see GDB 243r (Warwickshire 26:1), 289v (Nottinghamshire 14:1-8), 225v (Northamptonshire 32:1).

³⁸ GDB 247r (Staffordshire 2:3,22).

Robert of Stafford's estates in England

Robert's English estate was worth almost exactly the same as that of his brother, Ralph. Of Robert's whole estate as a tenant-in-chief, 78% of the value consisted of separate concentrations in Staffordshire and Warwickshire (see Table 8 and Figure 14). He was also the bishop of Chester's subtenant at two manors in Staffordshire.³⁹

Table 8: Robert of Stafford's estate in England

Shire	Held as tenant-in-chief		Held in demesne		Let to subtenants		Held as a subtenant		Net income
	Estates	£	Estates	£	Estates	£	Estates	£	
Berkshire	1.00	3.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	3.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Lincolnshire	21.00	19.30	6.00	3.80	15.00	15.50	0.00	0.00	3.80
Northamptonshire	1.00	1.50	0.00	0.00	1.00	1.50	0.00	0.00	0.00
Oxfordshire	10.00	22.25	1.00	5.00	9.00	17.25	0.00	0.00	5.00
Staffordshire	68.00	81.40	9.00	16.25	59.00	65.15	2.00	1.00	17.25
Warwickshire	28.00	101.25	9.00	67.00	19.00	34.25	0.00	0.00	67.00
Worcestershire	1.00	4.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	4.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Total	130.00	232.70	25.00	92.05	105.00	140.65	2.00	1.00	93.05

Robert's wealth in Staffordshire was second only to the king's. Robert's manors included all those held in Staffordshire by Eadwine, earl of Mercia, and six of those belonging to Eadwine's grandmother, Godgifu. It has been suggested that Roger II de Montgomery succeeded to many of Eadwine's manors before Eadwine's death,⁴⁰ so it is possible but unprovable that Robert of Stafford did too. Robert was the successor to seven of the eight manors held in 1066 by a certain Wagen, who has been identified as a prominent member of the household of Earl Eadwine's grandfather, Earl Leofric of Mercia (d. 1057).⁴¹ These seven

³⁹ GDB 247r (Staffordshire 2:3), identified by later evidence: *VCH Staffordshire*, v. 12-13; GDB 247r (Staffordshire 2:22), identified by later tenure by a younger branch of one of the most prominent families among Robert II of Stafford's vassals: G. Wrottesley, 'The Liber Niger Scaccarii, Staffordscira, or Feodary of A.D. 1166, with Notes Added', *Collections for a History of Staffordshire*, 1 (1880), 145-240, at 155-56, 185-86.

⁴⁰ See below, p. 335.

⁴¹ S. D. Baxter, 'The Earls of Mercia and their Commended Men in the Mid Eleventh Century', *ANS*, 23 (2001), 23-46, at 28-29; S. D. Baxter, *The Earls of Mercia: Lordship and Power in Late Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 2007), 240-42, 244, 254.

manors of Wagen accounted for a little more than half of Robert's wealth in Warwickshire. One of them, Tysoe, was worth £30 by itself.⁴²

Though Robert succeeded to Earl Eadwine's manors in Staffordshire, King William was unwilling to allow him to assume Eadwine's prerogatives as an earl: for example, Robert enjoyed the equivalent of the earl's third penny from the borough of Stafford, but King William's retention of Eadwine's third penny ensured that Robert's share did not confer any of Eadwine's prerogatives as an earl.⁴³ Though Robert succeeded to an earl's property, he was not allowed the same degree of local dominance enjoyed by Earl Roger in neighbouring Shropshire.⁴⁴

Robert tended to keep his more valuable manors in demesne (see Figure 14). This is less pronounced in Staffordshire because the range of values was small, but he still kept his most valuable manor here (Bradley, worth £7).⁴⁵ Robert's demesne in Staffordshire was mostly concentrated around Bradley and Stafford, with most of his more distant manors subinfeudated. His demesne in Warwickshire consisted of two clusters around Tysoe in the south and Wootton Wawen and Offord in the west.⁴⁶ He kept Great Rollright because it was his most valuable manor in Oxfordshire, and it was close to his demesne in Warwickshire.⁴⁷ Overall, Robert tended to keep a manor in demesne if it was especially valuable, or if it was part of a cluster around valuable manors.

⁴² GDB 242v (Warwickshire, 22:1,2,4,6,7,9,23).

⁴³ GDB 246r (Staffordshire B12), 248v (Staffordshire 11:7); R. W. Eyton, *Domesday Studies: An Analysis and Digest of the Staffordshire Survey* (London, 1881), 19 n. 1; *VCH Staffordshire*, iv. 24.

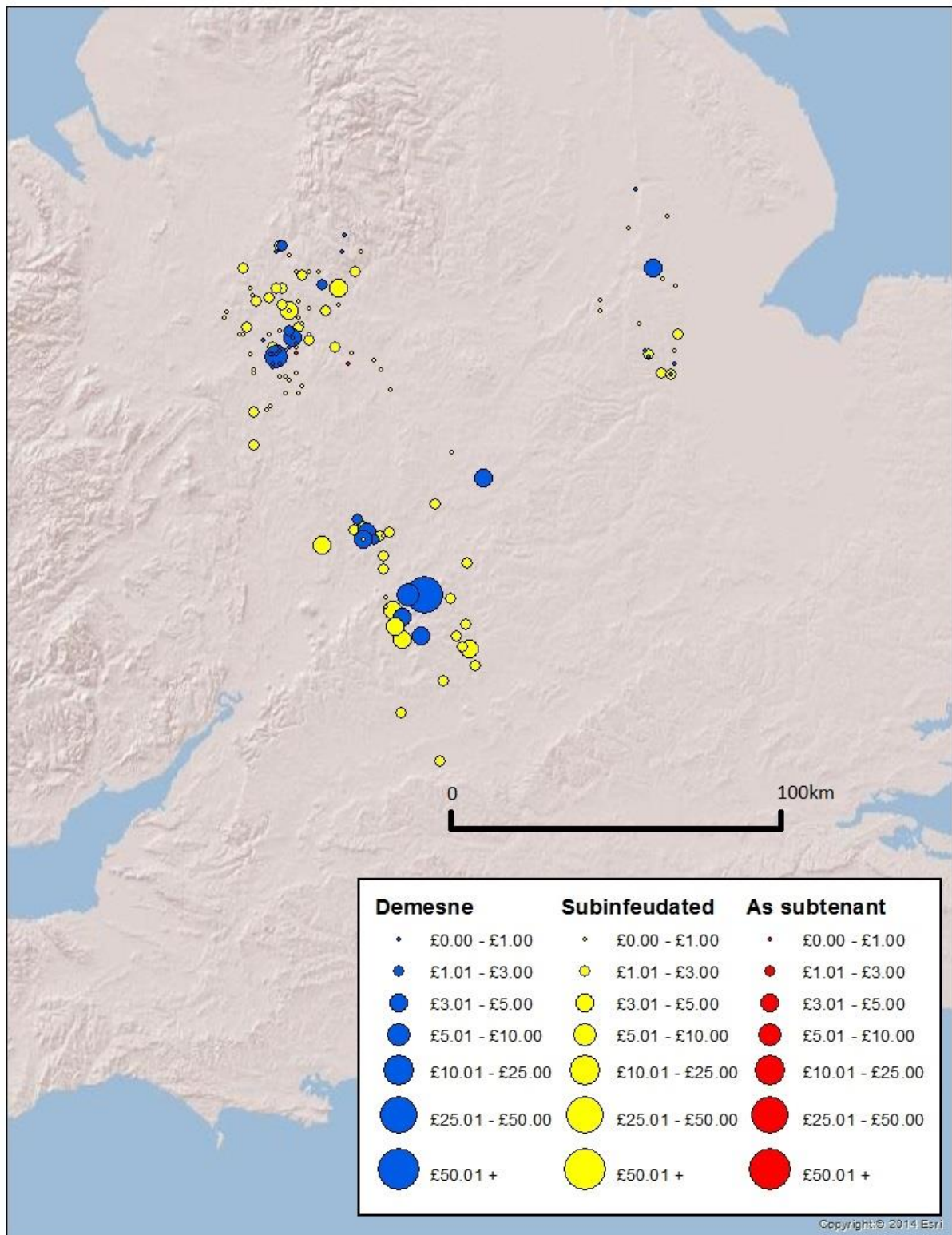
⁴⁴ *VCH Staffordshire*, iv. 30-31.

⁴⁵ GDB 248v (Staffordshire 11:6).

⁴⁶ GDB 242v (Warwickshire 22:4,7,9).

⁴⁷ GDB 158r (Oxfordshire 27:2).

Figure 14: Robert of Stafford's estate in England



In total, Robert subinfeudated 60% of his wealth as a tenant-in-chief. Given that royal officials tended to keep much demesne in their area of office,⁴⁸ it is remarkable that 80% of his

⁴⁸ Fleming, *Kings and Lords in Conquest England*, 228-29.

wealth in Staffordshire was subinfeudated. Robert might have considered his Staffordshire manors expendable because they tended to be less valuable than his Warwickshire manors. Much of Robert's subinfeudation was motivated by a high quota of knight service, for in 1166 the estate owed sixty knights, of which fifty-one had been provided for through subinfeudation before 1135.⁴⁹

King William built a castle at Stafford in 1070, probably at Broadeye.⁵⁰ It was destroyed before 1086.⁵¹ Early Norman sheriffs were often entrusted with royal castles in England,⁵² so Robert of Stafford could have fulfilled this responsibility before 1086. However, charters of Robert's son and grandson, Nicholas and Robert II, suggest that a separate baronial castle existed at Stafford by *c.* 1135, and probably soon after Robert I's death.⁵³ This makes it likely that the baronial castle was built by Robert I of Stafford. The importance of castles for the consolidation of the Norman Conquest meant that King William would have supported Robert's construction of a castle at least tacitly.⁵⁴

Robert of Stafford's patronage of religious houses

In 1072, Robert granted property at Wrottesley to Evesham, according to a lost charter preserved in an English copy of 1558 x 1603.⁵⁵ In 1088, he granted property at Loynton, according to a now-destroyed fourteenth-century copy of a Latin charter.⁵⁶ Two other sheriffs patronized Evesham between 1066 and Robert of Stafford's death: Gilbert fitz Tuold and Urse

⁴⁹ Mason, 'Aspects of Subinfeudation', p. ii, 87, 91-92; *Red Book*, 264.

⁵⁰ OV, ii, 236.

⁵¹ GDB 248v (Staffordshire 10:9).

⁵² W. A. Morris, 'The Office of Sheriff in the Early Norman Period', *EHR*, 33 (1918), 145-75, at 162.

⁵³ J. Darlington and M. Jecock, 'General Introduction', in *Stafford Castle: Survey, Excavation and Research 1978-1998. Volume I – The Surveys*, ed. J. Darlington (Stafford, 2001), 1-20, at 9; D. Youngs and P. Morgan, 'Stafford Castle 1066 to 1563', in *Stafford Castle*, ed. Darlington, 32-39, at 36-37.

⁵⁴ For the extent of the king's control over castle-building in Norman England, see Eales, 'Royal Power and Castles in Norman England', in *Anglo-Norman Castles*, ed. Liddiard, 54-63.

⁵⁵ Eyton, 'Staffordshire Chartulary', 178.

⁵⁶ Eyton, 'Staffordshire Chartulary', 182.

d'Abbetot.⁵⁷ Before or after Robert's death, men of two more sheriffs, Peter de Valognes and Hugh de Grandmesnil, are said to have benefited from miracles attributed to the abbey's eighth-century founder.⁵⁸ Evesham's links to sheriffs and their men supports the view that Old English houses, lacking the patronage available from the vassals of a Norman founder, gained most of their post-Conquest patronage instead from local men and royal officials.⁵⁹

Evesham was favoured by the Anglo-Saxon earls of Mercia.⁶⁰ This suggests that Robert patronized Evesham in order to present himself as Earl Eadwine's legitimate successor, respectful of local traditions.⁶¹ Robert might also have hoped to establish a working relationship with Æthelwig, abbot of Evesham, for Æthelwig was entrusted with a role in the government of Staffordshire by King William.⁶²

Robert still shared an interest in his family's Norman fortunes, for he granted property in England at Wootton, Glendossill and Edstone to Conches.⁶³ His grants to Conches were much less extensive than Ralph's, perhaps because the English focus of Robert's career made his own fortunes less affected by the abbey's success. Though Robert I of Stafford granted a church at Wootton to Conches and allowed the monks of Conches to elect a chaplain there, this probably did not amount to the foundation of an alien priory. The first evidence of the priory's existence dates from sometime between 1125 and 1150.⁶⁴ It has been shown that Nicholas of Stafford is much likelier to be the priory's founder.⁶⁵

⁵⁷ GDB 176r (Worcestershire 11:2); *Thomas of Marlborough: History of the Abbey of Evesham*, eds. J. Sayers and L. Watkiss (Oxford, 2003), 136, 172.

⁵⁸ *History of the Abbey of Evesham*, eds. Sayers and Watkiss, 106-10.

⁵⁹ Cownie, *Religious Patronage*, 182.

⁶⁰ Baxter, *Earls of Mercia*, 163-68; A. Williams, *The English and the Norman Conquest* (Woodbridge, 1995), 53.

⁶¹ Youngs and Morgan, 'Stafford Castle', 36.

⁶² R. R. Darlington, 'Æthelwig, Abbot of Evesham', *EHR*, 48 (1933), 1-22, at 12.

⁶³ *Cartulaire de Conches*, ed. de Haas, no. 406 (SCRIPTA 1846).

⁶⁴ W. Cooper, *Wootton Wawen: its History and Records* (Leeds, 1936), 42.

⁶⁵ Graham, 'Wootton Wawen', 118-22.

Robert of Stafford's entourage

Robert of Stafford had at least fifty-three different subtenants, and the vast majority of them cannot be traced back to a particular place on the continent. It is therefore difficult to prove whether Robert of Stafford took many men to England from the Tosnys' estate in Normandy. Nevertheless, there are indications that many of Robert's most significant subtenants did not originate from his family's Norman lands. Of the nine subtenants holding more than £5 of English land, at least four – **Brian**, **Cadio**, **Urfer** and **Arnold** – were probably Breton (see Table 9). There were also Breton subtenants with less than £5, namely Ywain, Hervey, Bagot, Clodoan, Helio, Tanio, Iudichael, and perhaps Gulfered. **Wulfheah**, another subtenant with at least £5, was English.

Table 9: Robert of Stafford's most prominent subtenants

Subtenant	Value as Robert's subtenant (£)	Origins	Witness of Robert's grants to Evesham
Brian	9.25. ⁶⁶	Breton. ⁶⁷	X ⁶⁸
Geoffrey	9.00. ⁶⁹	Gastinel family, with property at Parville and Gauville-la-Campagne. ⁷⁰	
Gilbert	7.60. ⁷¹	?	X ⁷²
Arnold	7.00. ⁷³	Breton. ⁷⁴	

⁶⁶ GDB 368v (Lincolnshire 59:14-15), 248v and 249v (Staffordshire 11:15-16,66), 242v (Warwickshire 22:16).

⁶⁷ *VCH Warwickshire*, i. 279.

⁶⁸ Eyton, 'Staffordshire Chartulary', 183.

⁶⁹ GDB 368v (Lincolnshire 59:1,4,5,7), 249r (Staffordshire 11:29).

⁷⁰ Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People*, 232.

⁷¹ GDB 248v (Staffordshire 11:11-13,53), 158r (Oxfordshire 27:9-10).

⁷² Eyton, 'Staffordshire Chartulary', 178.

⁷³ GDB 248v (Staffordshire 11:8), 176v (Worcestershire 17:1).

⁷⁴ The name of his son, Enisan, was Breton: T. Forssner, *Continental-Germanic Personal Names in England in Old and Middle English Times* (Uppsala, 1916), 75. For Enisan, son of Arnold, see Eyton, 'Staffordshire Chartulary', 195.

Subtenant	Value as Robert's subtenant (£)	Origins	Witness of Robert's grants to Evesham
Warin	6.50. ⁷⁵	Malicorne-sur-Sarthe, Sarthe, chef-lieu de cant. ⁷⁶	X (as Warin Malicorne). ⁷⁷
Cadio	6.00. ⁷⁸	Breton. ⁷⁹	
Hugh fitz Constant	Most likely £5.90; less likely is £8.15 or £10.15. ⁸⁰	Maine or Anjou. ⁸¹	X (as Hugh). ⁸²
Urfer	5.30. ⁸³	Breton. ⁸⁴	
Wulfheah	5.20. ⁸⁵	English.	

Only one of Robert's subtenants can be linked to the Tosny family's estate in Normandy. He is **Geoffrey**, holder of land worth £9, whose successor by 1166, William, had the byname *de Wastineis*,⁸⁶ which may identify him as a relative of Ralph de Tosny's vassal in Normandy, Gerald *Wastinellus* (ie. Gerald Gastinel).⁸⁷

Robert's subtenant, **Warin Malicorne**, could have originated from one of two places. One possible origin is Malicorne (now Saint-Lubin-les-Joncherêts) on the Avre, 10 kilometres east of Tillières. There were to be several Warins in the family based here, although the

⁷⁵ GDB 249v (Staffordshire 11:55-56) descended together: Wrottesley, 'Liber Niger Scaccarii, Staffordscira', 176. Likely that Little Compton, worth £5, was held by same Warin, because the later holders of Warin's two manors in Staffordshire also acquired property in Fenny Compton: GDB 242v (Warwickshire 22:17); *VCH Warwickshire*, v. 47.

⁷⁶ See below, p. 134.

⁷⁷ Eyton, 'Staffordshire Chartulary', 183; Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People*, 460.

⁷⁸ GDB 158r (Oxfordshire 27:7), 248v (Staffordshire 11:9-10).

⁷⁹ J. H. Round in G. Wrottesley, 'A History of the Bagot Family', *Collections for a History of Staffordshire*, new series, 11 (1908), 1-224, at 221. Cadio's son also had a Breton name, Brian: Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People*, 172.

⁸⁰ One Hugh probably held at GDB 249r (Staffordshire 11:44-45), 242v (Warwickshire 22:19,21), because both manors in Warwickshire and one in Staffordshire descended to one man, a descendant of Hugh son of Constant: see Wrottesley, 'Liber Niger Scaccarii, Staffordscira', 166; Palmer, 'Notes on the Identifications', 244. Two manors in Staffordshire held by a Hugh descended differently, so perhaps belonged to somebody else: GDB 249r (Staffordshire 11:31-32). The Hugh in Lincolnshire and Northamptonshire cannot be identified: GDB 368v (Lincolnshire 59:2), 225r (Northamptonshire 27:1).

⁸¹ See below, p. 134.

⁸² Eyton, 'Staffordshire Chartulary', 178.

⁸³ GDB 248v and 249v (Staffordshire 11:14,51-52), 242v (Warwickshire 22:24).

⁸⁴ *VCH Warwickshire*, i. 279.

⁸⁵ GDB 249r (Staffordshire 11:35,37).

⁸⁶ Wrottesley, 'Liber Niger Scaccarii, Staffordscira', 175; Eyton, 'Staffordshire Chartulary', 251.

⁸⁷ Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People*, 232. For Gerald Gastinel's grants to Conches, see Table 4.

forename Warin and the toponymic of Malicorne cannot be seen in the family before the 1160s.⁸⁸ This reduces the chances that Robert of Stafford's subtenant originated here.

A better identification is Malicorne-sur-Sarthe, an important castle in Maine. There were at least three successive lords of Malicorne-sur-Sarthe called *Waldinus* in the eleventh century. The name Warin can certainly be found in the family by 1102. In order to link the lords of Malicorne-sur-Sarthe to the house of Tosny, it is necessary to trace the family's fortunes back to the first half of the eleventh century. Count Fulk Nerra of Anjou (d. 1040) took the churches of Arthezé and Bousse from the abbey of Saint-Aubin d'Angers and gave them to Haimo de Château-du-Loir.⁸⁹ Haimo then gave Arthezé to *Waldinus* I de Malicorne, and gave Bousse in dowry to his daughter Rotrude's new husband, Guy I de Laval. Eventually, Count Geoffrey Martel (1040-1060) and Bishop Gervase of Le Mans (1036-1055) arranged the return of Arthezé and Bousse to Saint-Aubin, though this transaction was later disputed by *Waldinus* II de Malicorne, Guy II de Laval and Adam, nephew of Bishop Gervase.⁹⁰

Importantly for our purposes, Guy I de Laval was none other than the brother-in-law of Robert de Tosny, later lord of Belvoir (whose sister Bertha must have died before Guy remarried).⁹¹ Guy's connection to the Tosnys increases the chances that the house of Malicorne-sur-Sarthe provided a subtenant named Warin Malicorne for Robert of Stafford. Furthermore, the charter describing Adam's complaint is witnessed by a Hugh fitz Constant.⁹²

Hugh fitz Constant is the name of another of Robert of Stafford's major subtenants.⁹³ The involvement of a certain *Waldinus* de Malicorne and a certain Hugh fitz Constant in a dispute

⁸⁸ For the Malicorne family on the Avre, see Lemoine Descourtieux, *La frontière normande de l'Avre*, 70-72. Saint-Lubin-les-Joncherêts, Eure-et-Loir, cant. Brezolles.

⁸⁹ Arthezé, Sarthe, cant. Malicorne-sur-Sarthe; Bousse, Sarthe, cant. Malicorne-sur-Sarthe.

⁹⁰ For the lords of Malicorne-sur-Sarthe and their claims to Arthezé, see B. Lemesle, *La société aristocratique dans la Haute-Maine (XI^e-XII^e siècles)* (Rennes, 1999), 127-28, 259-62.

⁹¹ B. de Broussillon, *La Maison de Laval, 1020-1605: étude historique accompagnée du cartulaire de Laval et de Vitré*, 5 vols. (Paris, 1895-1903), i. 1-19; D. Pichot, *Le Bas-Maine du X^e au XIII^e siècle: étude d'un société* (Laval, 1995), 182, 221. Also see above, Figure 2 and below, p. 137.

⁹² *Cartulaire de l'Abbaye de Saint-Aubin d'Angers*, ed. B. de Broussillon, 3 vols. (Angers, 1903), i. no. 328. For the complaints of *Waldinus* II and Guy II, see no. 327, and for *Waldinus* III, see no. 325.

⁹³ Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People*, 268; Palmer, 'Notes on the Identifications', 244-45.

alongside Robert de Tosny's brother-in-law makes it likely that Robert of Stafford's subtenants, Warin Malicorne and Hugh fitz Constant, originated from Maine, or possibly (in Hugh's case) Anjou. It is plausible that Robert's subtenant, Hugh fitz Constant, is identical with the witness of the Saint-Aubin charter, but this cannot be shown for certain. He could alternatively have belonged to the witness's family. Robert's subtenant was also the subtenant of the house of Tosny's ally, Hugh de Grandmesnil,⁹⁴ and he granted property at Churchover in Warwickshire to Saint-Evroult sometime before 1081.⁹⁵

Among Robert's other subtenants, Wulfheah's Englishness was far from exceptional. Robert's English subtenants include, but are not limited to, Ælfric, Æthelric, Alwine, Burgræd, Colegrim, Eadric, Glædwine, Godric, Godwine, Grim, Wulfgeat, Alsige, Lyfing, Ordwig, and Thorkell. Thorkell was almost certainly **Thorkell of Warwick**, for Thorkell of Warwick witnessed Robert's charter for Evesham in 1072, alongside his father Æthelwine, his uncle Ælfric, and his brothers Guthmund and Ketilbjorn.⁹⁶ Thorkell's son, Siward, witnessed a charter of Nicholas of Stafford between 1122 and 1125.⁹⁷

Æthelwine was sheriff of Warwickshire in 1066 and possibly later. Thorkell was sheriff of Staffordshire sometime between 1066 and 1068, and of Warwickshire sometime between 1066 and 1086. He was sheriff of neither in 1086.⁹⁸ Ælfric is probably the royal thegn of that name who retained three of his manors as Robert's subtenant.⁹⁹ Thorkell was one of perhaps only four Englishmen surviving as a significant baron in 1086, and his family forged relationships with several Normans.¹⁰⁰ Thorkell and his family show Robert of Stafford's

⁹⁴ Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People*, 268.

⁹⁵ OV, iii. 232-40 (SCRIPTA 6568; *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 255).

⁹⁶ GDB 249r (Staffordshire 11:48); Eyton, 'Staffordshire Chartulary', 178-79; Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People*, 429.

⁹⁷ Eyton, 'Staffordshire Chartulary', 195; *VCH Staffordshire*, iv. 34.

⁹⁸ Green, *English Sheriffs*, 75, 83.

⁹⁹ GDB 242v (Warwickshire 22:11,20,27).

¹⁰⁰ For Thorkell and his family, including Ælfric's manors held from Robert, see A. Williams, 'A Vice-Comital Family in Pre-Conquest Warwickshire', *ANS*, 11 (1989), 279-95, at 283-85; Williams, *English and the Norman Conquest*, 8, 11, 98, 103-04, 208-09.

willingness to cooperate with important natives in order to consolidate his own authority over local men. Robert's desire to recruit the support of locally influential pre-Conquest landholders is also revealed by the witnessing of his grant to Evesham by Kineward, pre-Conquest sheriff of Worcestershire, and Osbern fitz Richard, an important tenant-in-chief whose father was settled in England before the Conquest.¹⁰¹

Robert's reliance upon many non-Normans in England is corroborated by his two charters for Evesham.¹⁰² Excluding Robert's son, Nicholas, there are twenty-nine witnesses of Robert's first charter, and three witnesses of the second. Of these thirty-two names, eighteen are English, one belongs to a Frenchman whose roots in England predated 1066, and three are Breton names. Warin Malicorne and Hugh fitz Constant probably originated outside Normandy. The remaining eight names could have belonged to Normans. In any case, Normans are in the minority of Robert's witnesses.

The inclusion of Warin Malicorne and Hugh fitz Constant among Robert of Stafford's main subtenants suggests that the house of Tosny acquired contacts in Maine, perhaps through the marriage of Bertha de Tosny and Guy I de Laval. Warin and Hugh demonstrate that Robert had to look further afield than his family's Norman heartlands in order to recruit followers. The overall impression is that most of Robert's subtenants became linked to him after 1066, because his status as a younger son – probably lacking significant property in Normandy – diminished his ability to attract a substantial entourage in Normandy.

¹⁰¹ Eyton, 'Staffordshire Chartulary', 178.

¹⁰² Eyton, 'Staffordshire Chartulary', 178, 182-83.

Robert de Tosny (aka Robert of Belvoir, died after 1086)

Robert de Tosny, lord of Belvoir in 1086, was certainly not Robert of Stafford, for they are listed as separate tenants-in-chief in three shires.¹⁰³ Robert de Tosny can first be seen in 1063, when he abandoned his claim to property at Guerny after a disagreement with the abbey of Marmoutier, where his nephew John, son of Guy I de Laval, was a monk.¹⁰⁴ Robert's concession was necessary because John had granted property at Guerny and Vesly to Marmoutier in the act of becoming a monk there in 1055.¹⁰⁵ The charter of 1055 reveals that Guerny and Vesly came to Guy I de Laval with Guy's wife, Bertha. This shows that Robert was claiming Guerny after 1055 because he was Bertha's brother, not Guy's.

The house of Laval had other important links with Normandy besides Guy I's marriage to Bertha de Tosny. For instance, Guy's son, John de Laval, was the monk sent to the ducal court to seek a confirmation charter for Marmoutier on the eve of the invasion of England.¹⁰⁶ In fact, the paths of the abbey of Marmoutier, the house of Laval and Duke William crossed sometime between 1063 and 1066. The abbeys of Marmoutier and La Couture were in dispute over Guy I de Laval's property, and they failed to agree a resolution in Guy's own court even after he asserted that Marmoutier had the better claim. Finally, the dispute was heard at Domfront by Duke William, who ended the dispute in Marmoutier's favour, according to a charter witnessed by Guy's sons John and Haimo.¹⁰⁷ It has been observed that the *signa* of this charter reveal Duke William's desire to establish networks between Normandy and the aristocracy of Maine.¹⁰⁸ It is possible that William's recent involvement with the house of Laval made John an obvious candidate to act as Marmoutier's emissary to the ducal court in 1066.

¹⁰³ GDB 154r (Oxfordshire), 219r (Northamptonshire), 337r (Lincolnshire).

¹⁰⁴ RADN, no. 157 (SCRIPTA 1601). Guerny, Eure, cant. Gisors.

¹⁰⁵ RADN, no. 137 (SCRIPTA 1581). Vesly, Eure, cant. Gisors.

¹⁰⁶ RADN, no. 228 (SCRIPTA 1670).

¹⁰⁷ RADN, no. 159 (SCRIPTA 1603; ARTEM 2802). For some discussion of this dispute, see R. E. Barton, *Lordship in the County of Maine, c. 890-1160* (Woodbridge, 2004), 117, 215-18.

¹⁰⁸ Bates, *William the Conqueror* (2016), 189-90.

William would have seen the value of establishing a relationship with the lords of Laval, for their virtually independent position in the south of Maine gave them the potential to act as a powerful buffer against the counts of Anjou. Indeed, their likely protector, Bishop Gervase of Le Mans (1036-1055), was consistently opposed to the Angevins, and took refuge from Count Geoffrey Martel at William's court in 1051.¹⁰⁹ The geopolitical situation of the lords of Laval therefore suggests that William would have welcomed Guy's marriage alliance with the Tosnys. The lords of Laval continued to look towards Normandy for their marriages after Guy I. Although Guy I's successor Haimo married a wife of unknown origin, Haimo's successor Guy II would marry a daughter of Robert count of Mortain, and Guy III would marry a daughter of King Henry I of England.¹¹⁰

The charter recording Robert de Tosny's quit-claim also reveals that Robert had a brother named Berengar Hespina, and a son named Berengar.¹¹¹ Berengar Hespina granted property at Guimerville to Saint-Ouen de Rouen between 1055 and 1066,¹¹² and the fact that his permission was required if Robert or Robert's sons chose to become a monk at Marmoutier suggests that he was older than Robert.¹¹³ Robert's son, Berengar de Tosny, became Robert's most prominent subtenant in England by 1086. His agreement to Robert's quit-claim, in a charter which mentions no more of Robert's children, also suggests that Berengar was Robert's heir in Normandy.¹¹⁴

It is possible that Robert de Tosny shared an ancestor with Ralph III de Tosny, and that upon the death of that ancestor, the Tosny patrimony was divided (perhaps unequally) between two branches, with the senior branch retaining some authority over the other. Evidence for this

¹⁰⁹ For the lords of Laval, including their relationship to Bishop Gervase, see D. Pichot, 'La seigneurie de Laval aux XI^e et XII^e siècles', *La Mayenne. Archéologie, Histoire*, 17 (1994), 5-22; Pichot, *Le Bas-Maine*, 135-36, 142, 153. For Gervase in 1051, see Bates, *William the Conqueror* (2016), 98-99.

¹¹⁰ Pichot, *Le Bas-Maine*, 182, 221.

¹¹¹ *RADN*, no. 157 (SCRIPTA 1601). Robert's son, Berengar, confirmed Robert's quit-claim: *Affuit cum illo Berengerius filius ejus qui factum patris auctorizavit*.

¹¹² *RADN*, no. 211 (SCRIPTA 1655). Guimerville, Seine-Maritime, cant. Blangy.

¹¹³ *RADN*, no. 157 (SCRIPTA 1601).

¹¹⁴ *RADN*, no. 157 (SCRIPTA 1601).

can be found in 1172, when one of the tenants of the senior branch of the house of Tosny in Normandy was Hugh Bigod, Robert de Tosny's grandson and a successor in England to Robert's son, Berengar.¹¹⁵ Such a division by an ancestor of Ralph III is plausible because a similar division occurred in two families allied to the Tosnys in the first half of the eleventh century. The house of Giroie (between 1030 and 1040) divided its estate in Normandy between more than one heir, and arranged for the principal heir to retain some authority over lesser ones. Soon after *c.* 1042 the estate of Roger de Tosny's ally, Robert I de Grandmesnil, was divided between two sons, Hugh and Robert II, who both retained some control over their young brother, Arnold. By *c.* 1050, Arnold had also acquired some of Robert I's property.¹¹⁶ It cannot be shown for certain that the principal heirs of the Giroie, Grandmesnil or Tosny families were the tenurial lords of lesser heirs in the first half of the eleventh century, but this is certainly a possibility.

The two branches of the house of Tosny can be found together before 1066, in Roger de Clères's charter for Saint-Ouen, which was signed by his lord, Ralph de Tosny, and Berengar Hespina, and witnessed by a Robert de Tosny (who could be the later lord of Belvoir, or Robert of Stafford).¹¹⁷ We can therefore be confident that both branches of the Tosnys were closely enough related to give them a shared interest in some of the same transactions in Normandy. However, the familial relationship between Ralph de Tosny and Robert of Stafford on the one hand, and Robert de Tosny, lord of Belvoir, on the other, is uncertain.¹¹⁸ Berengar Hespina and Bertha have mistakenly been identified as siblings of Ralph III, with unfortunate consequences

¹¹⁵ Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People*, 380. For Hugh's unspecified Norman property, see *Red Book*, 642. For Hugh's English land, see *The Coucher Book of the Cistercian Abbey of Kirkstall*, eds. W. T. Lancaster and W. Paley Basildon (Leeds, 1904), 188-89; A. F. Wareham, 'Bigod, Hugh I, first earl of Norfolk d. 1176/7?', *ODNB*.

¹¹⁶ For the Giroie and Grandmesnil families, see Bates, *Normandy*, 127; Chibnall, *Anglo-Norman England*, 165-66; Searle, *Predatory Kinship*, 181; Garnett, "'Ducal' Succession', 82-84; Hagger, 'Grandmesnil', 216; Bauduin, 'Structures familiales', 23.

¹¹⁷ *RADN*, no. 191 (SCRIPTA 1634; ARTEM 2705).

¹¹⁸ Loyd, *Origins*, 104; Musset, 'Tosny', 55-57.

in the historiography of the Tosnys.¹¹⁹ The charters discussed in the preceding section make it certain that Berengar Hespina and Bertha were siblings of Robert de Tosny, lord of Belvoir.

There are reasons to suspect that Robert de Tosny was older than Ralph III de Tosny: firstly, the fact that John was either 29 or 31 years old in 1055 suggests that Robert's sister, Bertha, married Guy perhaps twenty-five years or more before Ralph married Isabel, and perhaps around twenty years before Ralph's sister, Adelize, married William fitz Osbern.¹²⁰ Secondly, the fact that Berengar de Tosny agreed to Robert's quit-claim of Guerny as early as 1063 suggests that Berengar's career began before those of Ralph's children. These apparent differences in age suggest that Robert could have been a younger brother of Roger I de Tosny.¹²¹ This cannot be shown for certain, but it is the most attractive of the various possibilities.

Robert cannot be located in Normandy after 1066, so it is likely that most of his time was spent in England. The presence of his grandson, Hugh Bigod, on the Tosnys' estate in Normandy in 1172 suggests that Robert had some Norman property. Robert's son, William, might have looked after Robert's estate in Normandy while Robert was in England, for a charter issued by King William at Oissel in 1082 was witnessed by *Guillelmus de Tony, Normannus Primatus*.¹²²

Robert de Tosny's estates in England

Robert's estates in England spread over twelve shires, but more than half (in value and number of manors) lay in the adjoining shires of Leicestershire and Lincolnshire (see Table 10 and

¹¹⁹ Musset, 'Tosny', 55-57; Wareham, 'Models of Marriage', 116-17, 119; Traill, 'Social and Political Networks', xv, 55, 74. Musset's error was noticed by Huffman, 'Ralph III', 15-16.

¹²⁰ For John's age in 1055, see *RADN*, no. 137 (SCRIPTA 1581): *cum Johannes unum de .XXX. agens annum aetatis*.

¹²¹ That Robert was Ralph's uncle was suggested without sufficient explanation by A. S. Ellis, 'Biographical Notes on the Yorkshire Tenants Named in Domesday Book', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 4 (1877), 114-57, at 135-36; *Complete Peerage*, xii. part 1, 755; Huffman, 'Ralph III', 15-17, 67.

¹²² *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 264 (SCRIPTA 6577).

Figure 15). Given that Robert was certainly not the most important member of the house of Tosny in Normandy, it is striking that he became the wealthiest of them in England. This is perhaps a reflection of King William's sometimes troubled relationship with Ralph III.¹²³ Whatever Robert's place in the Tosny genealogy, his exclusion from the bulk of the family's estate in Normandy makes him similar to younger sons whose desire for land was satisfied with acquisitions in England.

Table 10: Robert de Tosny's estate in England

Shire	Held as tenant-in-chief		Held in demesne		Let to subtenants		Held as a subtenant		Net income
	Estates	£	Estates	£	Estates	£	Estates	£	£
Bedfordshire	3.00	10.00	0.00	0.00	3.00	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Buckinghamshire	3.00	13.00	0.00	0.00	3.00	13.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Cambridgeshire	1.00	7.50	0.00	0.00	1.00	7.50	0.00	0.00	0.00
Essex	1.00	2.00	1.00	2.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	2.00
Gloucestershire	3.00	33.00	3.00	33.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	33.00
Hertfordshire	2.00	9.00	0.00	0.00	2.00	9.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Leicestershire	16.00	68.75	7.00	32.50	9.00	36.25	1.00	0.55	33.05
Lincolnshire	32.00	84.00	12.00	17.50	20.00	66.50	0.00	0.00	17.50
Northamptonshire	11.00	15.05	4.00	7.50	7.00	7.55	2.00 ¹²⁴	0.27	7.77
Oxfordshire	1.00	1.50	0.00	0.00	1.00	1.50	0.00	0.00	0.00
Suffolk	4.00	19.25	4.00	19.25	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	19.25
Yorkshire	2.00	3.35	0.00	0.00	2.00	3.35	0.00	0.00	0.00
Total	79.00	266.40	31.00	111.75	48.00	154.65	3.00	0.82	112.57

Although most of Robert's manors were in or around Leicestershire and Lincolnshire, his estate was dispersed across the breadth of England, from Gloucestershire in the west to Suffolk in the east. The dispersed estates of Robert's antecessors contributed to this pattern: for example, Robert acquired manors in Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Hertfordshire, Leicestershire and Northamptonshire from Oswulf son of Frani. Robert succeeded to manors in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire held in 1066 by Thorgot Lag. Robert's three valuable manors in Gloucestershire were held in 1066 by Ulf son of Manni Swart, also his antecessor in Buckinghamshire, Cambridgeshire and Suffolk.

¹²³ Bates, *William the Conqueror* (2016), 174.

¹²⁴ GDB 230v (Leicestershire 1:4), 219r (Northamptonshire B12, B33).

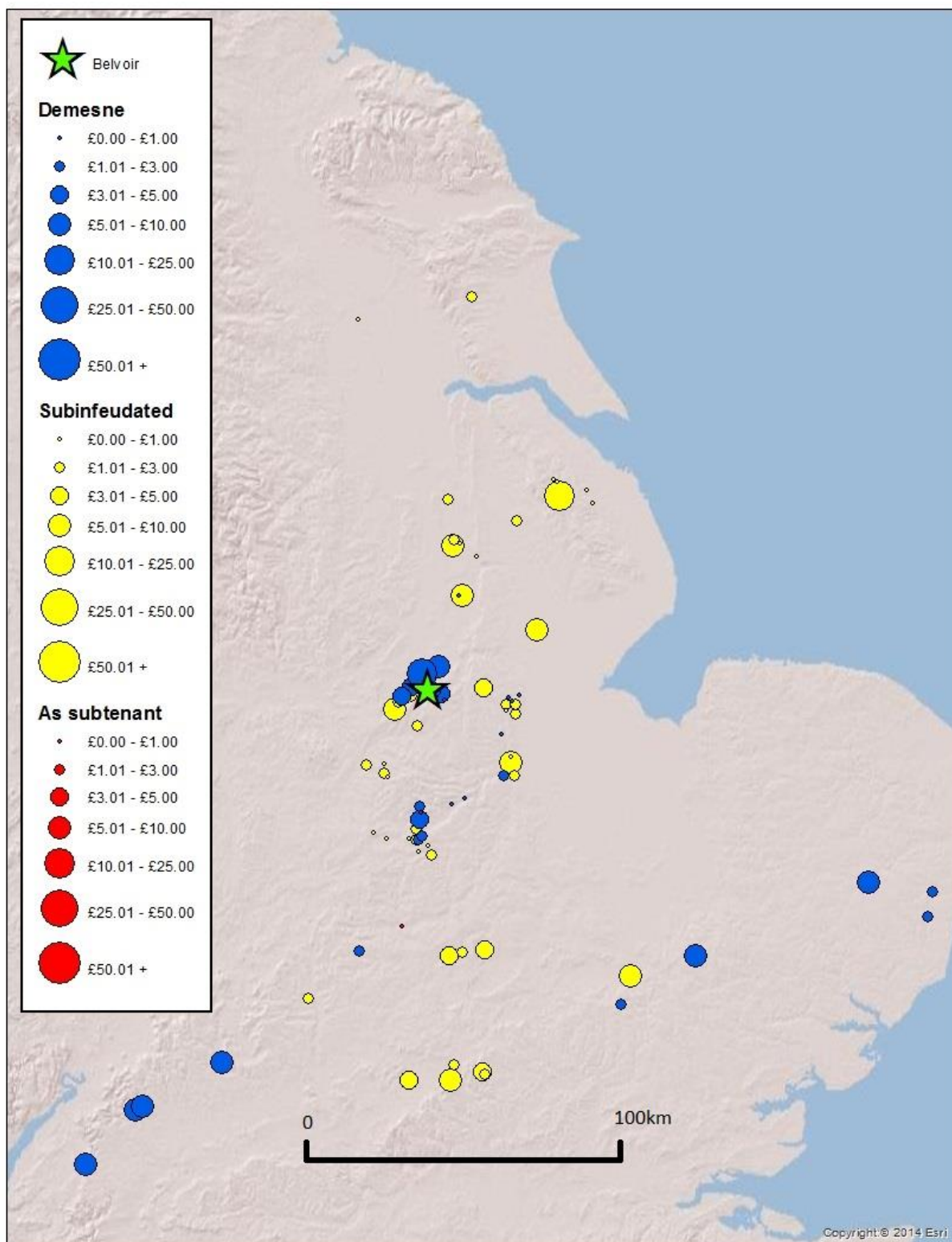
Robert subinfeudated 58% of his property held as a tenant-in-chief. His greatest concentration of demesne consisted of relatively valuable manors around Belvoir (see Figure 15). All but one of Robert's manors north of this cluster were subinfeudated to his son, Berengar. Overall, Robert seems to have based himself around Belvoir, and he dispensed with most of his manors further away, except in Gloucestershire and Suffolk, where his manors were valuable enough to be worth retaining.

The distribution of small parcels of land to ten men around Bottesford suggests the existence of the castle of Belvoir.¹²⁵ The castle certainly existed by 1089, which is the latest possible date for Robert's foundation of a priory near his castle (see below, p. 144). It was a motte-and-bailey castle, which took advantage of a pre-existing solitary hill overlooking the Trent Valley. This hill provided an obvious site from which Robert could dominate his new surroundings.¹²⁶

¹²⁵ GDB 234r (Leicestershire 15:15); J. H. Round, 'The Origin of Belvoir Castle', *EHR*, 22 (1907), 508-10, at 508-09. A similar arrangement is visible at Ralph de Tosny's Clifford Castle: *VCH Herefordshire*, i. 273.

¹²⁶ L. M. Cantor, 'The Medieval Castles of Leicestershire', *Leicestershire Archaeological and Historical Society Transactions*, 53 (1979), 30-41, at 30, 33, 35.

Figure 15: Robert de Tosny's estate in England



Parts of Robert de Tosny's English estate overlapped significantly with Robert of Stafford's, particularly in south and west Lincolnshire, where both men were important tenants-in-chief. Their estates in Lincolnshire were so close that both men successfully claimed

property in Casthorpe in Barrowby,¹²⁷ and Robert of Stafford succeeded to manors held in 1066 by men of Robert de Tosny's important antecessor, Thorgot Lag.¹²⁸ Robert de Tosny and Robert of Stafford also held manors close to each other's and to Berengar de Tosny's in Oxfordshire – so close that Berengar and Robert of Stafford both had manors in Horley.¹²⁹

It is, however, difficult to demonstrate that the Stafford and Belvoir branches actively cooperated in England: they cannot be identified as each other's subtenants, and the vast majority of Robert of Stafford's Lincolnshire manors were subinfeudated. Robert of Stafford was apparently unable or unwilling to persuade his subtenants in Lincolnshire to patronize Belvoir. The potential for cooperation was probably minimized by Robert of Stafford's prioritization of his activities in Staffordshire and Warwickshire.

Robert de Tosny and the foundation of Belvoir priory

The property of Robert's priory at Belvoir is recorded in its foundation charter,¹³⁰ King Henry I's confirmation charter of 1106 x 1123,¹³¹ and in a cartulary calendared by John Horace Round.¹³² The foundation charter records that 'Robert of Belvoir' decided to build a church near his castle. However, being too distracted by secular concerns to complete the construction himself, Robert is said to have handed the project to Paul, abbot of St Albans, on the advice of Paul's uncle, Archbishop Lanfranc.¹³³ Robert's foundation must have occurred between the beginning of Paul's abbacy in 1077 and Archbishop Lanfranc's death in 1089. Paul's intervention meant that Belvoir became a dependent priory of St Albans. The foundation

¹²⁷ GDB 368v (Lincolnshire 59:2), 377r (Lincolnshire CK20).

¹²⁸ GDB 368v (Lincolnshire 59:5).

¹²⁹ GDB 159r (Oxfordshire 34:2), 158r (Oxfordshire 27:1).

¹³⁰ *Monasticon*, iii. 288-89.

¹³¹ *Cal. Chart. Rolls*, iv. 293-97.

¹³² J. H. Round, 'The Belvoir Cartulary', in *The Manuscripts of His Grace, the Duke of Rutland, K. G. Preserved at Belvoir Castle*, vol. 4 (London, 1905), 105-71.

¹³³ *Monasticon*, iii. 288-89.

charter states that Robert and his wife wished to be buried at Belvoir or St Albans if they died in England. In the event, Robert was indeed buried at Belvoir.¹³⁴ Although Robert's stipulation concerning his burial seems to anticipate the possibility of dying outside England, his burial at Belvoir sometime after 1086 suggests that he died in England, where he seems to have focussed his activities.

Belvoir has been considered the first post-Conquest foundation of an English priory dependent on an English abbey.¹³⁵ Robert may have been encouraged by links between St Albans and its pre-Conquest benefactor, Oswulf son of Frani, Robert's antecessor at Bottesford and in five shires. Although the property Oswulf had granted to St Albans was at Studham, Bedfordshire, Robert's succession to Studham, Bottesford, and many more of Oswulf's manors meant that Robert's English estate was already associated with St Albans when he acquired it.¹³⁶

The foundation charter and King Henry I's confirmation charter reveal Robert's initial endowment of the priory.¹³⁷ He appears to have endowed Belvoir with property from almost all of his demesne manors (see Figure 16). He might have hoped that giving St Albans a stake in his estate would protect his tenure from acquisitive rivals.

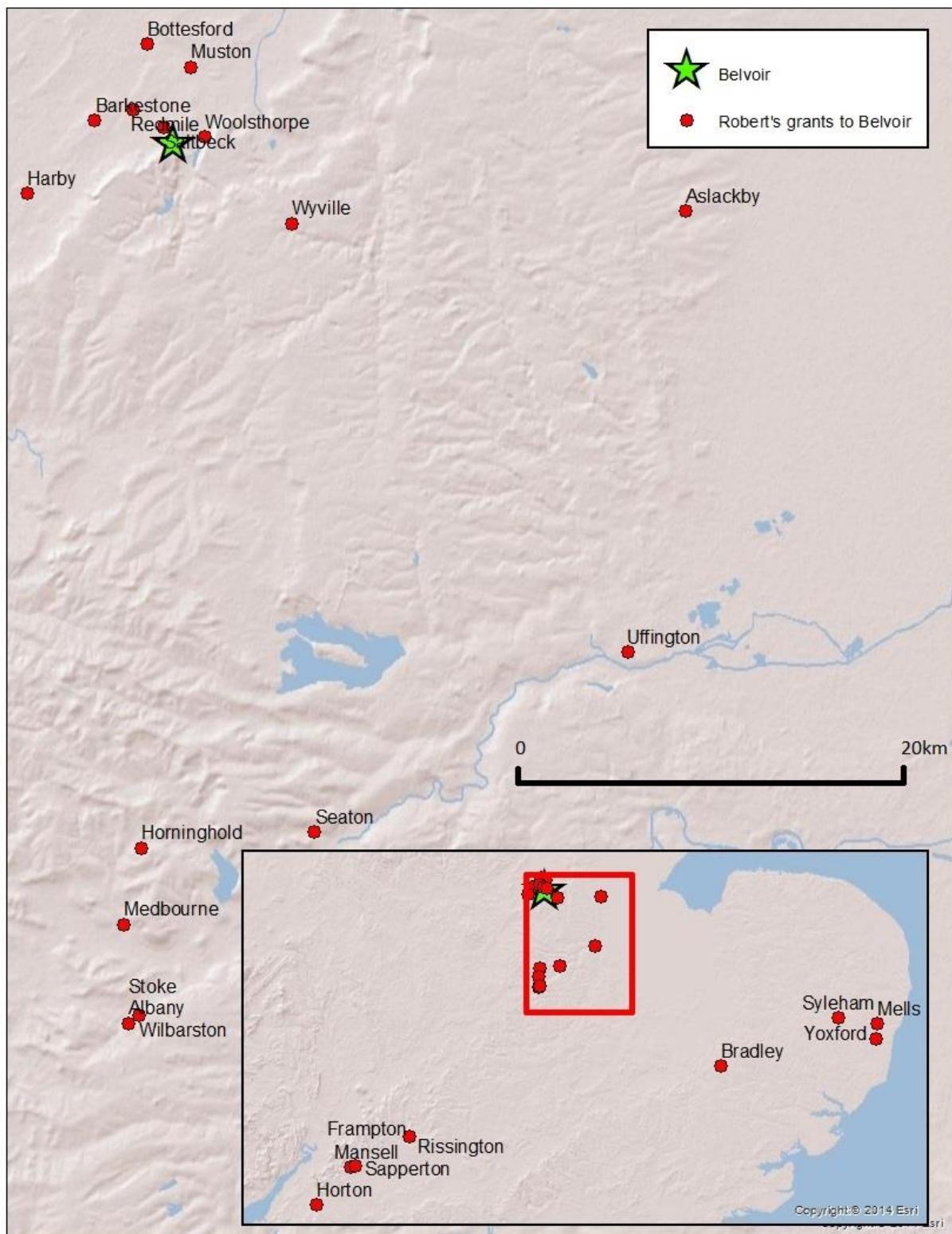
¹³⁴ *Monasticon*, iii. 289.

¹³⁵ M. Heale, *The Dependent Priors of Medieval English Monasteries* (Woodbridge, 2004), 21, 42.

¹³⁶ *Charters of St Albans*, ed. J. Crick (Oxford, 2007), 220-26; Traill, 'Social and Political Networks', 127.

¹³⁷ *Monasticon*, iii. 288-89; *Cal. Chart. Rolls*, iv. 293-97.

Figure 16: Robert de Tosny's grants to Belvoir.¹³⁸



¹³⁸ *Monasticon*, iii. 288-89; *Cal. Chart. Rolls*, iv. 293-97.

Robert's willingness to accept his priory's subjection to an English rather than a Norman abbey indicates his acceptance of a specifically English source of prestige. It is possible that his foundation inspired contemporaries to follow suit, for priories of St Albans were founded by four other Normans by 1093.¹³⁹ Robert would have recognized that the combination of church and castle would have reinforced his influence locally.¹⁴⁰ One of the ways Robert's priory strengthened his position was to reinforce reciprocal bonds with his vassals, who will be explored in the next section.

Robert de Tosny's lordship in England

The support for Belvoir shows that Frenchmen from disparate places on the continent were beginning to form a community around Belvoir, united by local concerns. King Henry's confirmation charter does not state that Robert instructed his men to make grants. The grants vary in the type and extent of property given, so they were probably not arranged *en bloc* by Robert. Overall, then, there is no particular reason to doubt that all or most of the benefactors of Belvoir were exercising free will.¹⁴¹

Table 11 includes Robert's nine most prominent subtenants, for most of his lesser subtenants are obscure. It nonetheless includes lesser subtenants who had some association with the priory of Belvoir. Other benefactors of Belvoir or members of Robert's entourage have been included if something is known of their origins. Some of these benefactors were not necessarily Robert's contemporaries, and could instead have acquired their property between Robert's death and 1123, the latest possible date of King Henry's confirmation charter. They

¹³⁹ Cownie, *Religious Patronage*, 83-84.

¹⁴⁰ On castles and monasteries, see Le Patourel, *Norman Empire*, 317; E. Cownie, 'Religious Patronage and Lordship: the Debate on the Nature of the Honor', in *Family Trees and the Roots of Politics: the Prosopography of Britain and France from the Tenth to the Twelfth Century*, ed. K. S. B. Keats-Rohan (Woodbridge, 1997), 133-46, at 134; Cownie, *Religious Patronage*, 172.

¹⁴¹ On the degree of choice for benefactors of honorial foundations, see Cownie, 'Religious Patronage and Lordship', 137-39; Cownie, *Religious Patronage*, 145.

have nonetheless been included if there is reason to suspect they were brought to England by Robert or his heirs.

Table 11: Robert de Tosny of Belvoir's vassals in England

Name	Continental place of origin	Value as Robert's subtenant	Benefactor of Belvoir ¹⁴²	Witnessed foundation charter ¹⁴³	Link to Tosnys in Normandy
Berengar de Tosny	Tosny	50.85. ¹⁴⁴		X	Robert's son
Ivo de Thierceville / Ivo of Clawson	Thierceville, Eure, cant. Gisors, comm. Bazincourt. ¹⁴⁵	21.00. ¹⁴⁶	Long Clawson. Sons, Robert and Hugh, granted at Ropsley and Long Clawson. ¹⁴⁷	X	Origin 12.5 kilometres north-east of Vesly. Son's name was Berengar. ¹⁴⁸
Gilbert		18.83. ¹⁴⁹			
William de Bosc-le-Hard	Bosc-le-Hard, Seine-Maritime, cant. Bellencombres. ¹⁵⁰	9.50. ¹⁵¹	Tallington. Son, William, granted at Stathern.	X	Origin 5.6 kilometres from Clères
Baldric, steward		8.67. ¹⁵²	Bottesford		

¹⁴² Unless otherwise stated: *Cal. Chart. Rolls*, iv. 293-97.

¹⁴³ *Monasticon*, iii. 288-89; *Cal. Chart. Rolls*, iv. 293-97.

¹⁴⁴ GDB 159r (Oxfordshire 34:3), 314r (Yorkshire 7E1-2), 352v-353r (Lincolnshire 18:1-10,13-14,29). Identified by full name in Oxfordshire. Identified as Robert's son in Yorkshire. Identification in Lincolnshire based on Berengar de Tosny being a tenant-in-chief here: Palmer, 'Notes on the Identifications', 84.

¹⁴⁵ Loyd, *Origins*, 103.

¹⁴⁶ GDB 233v (Leicestershire 15:12), 353r-v (Lincolnshire 18:15-16,24,32). Identified as Ivo de Thierceville by his grants to Belvoir, and grants by his sons, at Long Clawson and Ropsley. It has been assumed that the three other manors in Lincolnshire belonged to the same Ivo.

¹⁴⁷ For Hugh's grant of Long Clawson, see Round, 'Belvoir Cartulary', 129-30.

¹⁴⁸ *Cal. Chart. Rolls*, iv. 293-97.

¹⁴⁹ GDB 149r (Buckinghamshire 18:1-2), 196v (Cambridgeshire 20:1), 234r (Leicestershire 15:13).

¹⁵⁰ Loyd, *Origins*, 18-19.

¹⁵¹ GDB 149r (Buckinghamshire 18:3) [identified by full name], 233v-234r (Leicestershire 15:10-11,16) [identified at South Croxton and Stathern by presence of Roger on the manor: probably his brother of that name. Identified at Barkby by later descent: Palmer, 'Notes on the Identifications', 469], 353r (Lincolnshire 18:12) [identified by presence of Roger on manor].

¹⁵² GDB 138r (Hertfordshire 21:2), 215r (Bedfordshire 26:1), 234r (Leicestershire 15:15). Identified as one man by descent of Bottesford and Studham to William of Studham: Mason, 'Aspects of Subinfeudation', 553-54; Round, 'Belvoir Cartulary', 123. The other manor, Barwythe, lay in Studham.

Name	Continental place of origin	Value as Robert's subtenant	Benefactor of Belvoir ¹⁴²	Witnessed foundation charter ¹⁴³	Link to Tosnys in Normandy
Roger de Bosc-le-Hard	Bosc-le-Hard, Seine-Maritime, cant. Bellencombe. ¹⁵³	7.80. ¹⁵⁴	Tallington	X	Origin 5.6 kilometres from Clères
Ralph		7.00. ¹⁵⁵			
Hildwine		5.00. ¹⁵⁶			
Gunfrid de Chocques	Chocques, Pas-de-Calais, cant. Béthune-Nord. ¹⁵⁷	4.75. ¹⁵⁸			
Clarebald		2.67. ¹⁵⁹	X ¹⁶⁰		
Odard de Hotot	The Talou, the Pays de Caux, or the Roumois. ¹⁶¹	1.33. ¹⁶²	Redmile	X	
Hugh the Fleming	Flanders		Bottesford		
Thurstan of Hose			Long Clawson		
Ascelin de Vaux	Vaux-sur-Eure, Eure, cant. Pacy-sur-Eure			X	Relative of Ralph de Tosny's man, Robert de Vaux

¹⁵³ Loyd, *Origins*, 18-19.

¹⁵⁴ GDB 149r (Buckinghamshire 18:3) [identified by presence of his brother William], 225r (Northamptonshire 26:7) [tentative identification because this is the only Roger unidentifiable from Domesday Book or later descent, and the manor lay between those of Roger de Bosc-le-Hard], 233v-234r (Leicestershire 15:11,14,16) [identified at South Croxton and Stathern by presence of William; identified at Hose by later descent: Palmer, 'Notes on the Identifications', 370], 353r (Lincolnshire 18:12) [identified by presence of William].

¹⁵⁵ GDB 138r (Hertfordshire 21:1).

¹⁵⁶ GDB 225r (Northamptonshire 26:8-9).

¹⁵⁷ Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People*, 239.

¹⁵⁸ GDB 225r (Northamptonshire 26:10), 353r (Lincolnshire 18:17,20). Identification based on Gunfrid de Chocques being a tenant-in-chief in Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire and Northamptonshire (like Robert), and on Gunfrid de Chocques and Robert's subtenant sharing an antecessor: Palmer, 'Notes on the Identifications', 206.

¹⁵⁹ GDB 234r (Leicestershire 15:15).

¹⁶⁰ Clarebald's death is recorded in the necrology of Belvoir: Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People*, 173. This suggests that he patronized Belvoir.

¹⁶¹ For some possibilities, see T. Foulds, 'The Origins of the Hotot Family', *Northamptonshire Past and Present*, 7:2 (1984), 79-81, at 81.

¹⁶² GDB 234r (Leicestershire 15:15). Identification based on Odard de Hotot's grant of property at Redmile, 3.2 kilometres from Odard's manor at Bottesford. Bottesford remained in the Hotot family: Round, 'Belvoir Cartulary', 123.

Name	Continental place of origin	Value as Robert's subtenant	Benefactor of Belvoir ¹⁴²	Witnessed foundation charter ¹⁴³	Link to Tosnys in Normandy
William de Noyers	Noyers, Eure, cant. Gisors. ¹⁶³		Hose		Origin 2 kilometres east of Vesly and 2.5 kilometres north of Guerny. Relatives had property at Vesly. ¹⁶⁴
Ralph de Noyers (sometime by 1123)	Noyers, Eure, cant. Gisors. ¹⁶⁵		Waltham		See William de Noyers.
Ralph de Mandeville (sometime by 1123)	? Mandeville Eure, cant. Amfreville-la-Campagne. ¹⁶⁶		Branston		Possible origin was was 29.7 kilometres from Conches and 26.4 kilometres from Tosny.
Walter, son of William de Vatteville	Vatteville, Eure, cant. Les Andelys.		Slawston. ¹⁶⁷	X	Origin 8.5 kilometres from Tosny. A Roger, butler of Vatteville, appears in Roger de Clères's Norman charter with both branches of Tosny family. ¹⁶⁸

¹⁶³ Loyd, *Origins*, 74.

¹⁶⁴ Charpillon and Caresme, *Dictionnaire historique*, ii. 616.

¹⁶⁵ Loyd, *Origins*, 74.

¹⁶⁶ Other Mandevilles are possible. This one has been tentatively chosen because it was roughly equidistant from Conches and Tosny.

¹⁶⁷ The Walter who granted property at Slawston is identifiable as the foundation charter's witness, Walter, son of William de Vatteville, because Slawston was close to and henceforth attached to Medbourne, where Ralph, son of William de Vatteville, was a benefactor: *VCH Leicestershire*, v. 298.

¹⁶⁸ *RADN*, no. 191 (SCRIPTA 1634; ARTEM 2705).

Name	Continental place of origin	Value as Robert's subtenant	Benefactor of Belvoir ¹⁴²	Witnessed foundation charter ¹⁴³	Link to Tosnys in Normandy
Ralph, son of William de Vatteville (sometime by 1123)	Vatteville, Eure, cant. Les Andelys.		Medbourne (after Robert's death)		See Walter, son of William de Vatteville
Robert de l'Aigle	L'Aigle, Orne, chef-lieu de cant.			X	His brother, Richer, was a lord of the Gastinel family. ¹⁶⁹
Richard de Louvetot	Louvetot in Grigneuseville, Seine-Maritime, cant. Bellencombe.			X	Origin 4.9 kilometres from Bosc-le-Hard and 9.8 kilometres from Clères

Robert's heir in Normandy, **Berengar**, was his most prominent subtenant by a considerable distance. Robert's estate in Normandy was almost certainly less significant than his English one, for its existence can only be inferred from the presence of Robert's grandson, Hugh Bigod, on the Tosnys' Norman fief in 1172. Robert's enfeoffment of Berengar in England could, therefore, have been intended pre-emptively to compensate Berengar for missing out on the honour of Belvoir, which would instead pass to Berengar's younger brother, William, after Robert's death.¹⁷⁰

Robert's second-, fourth- and sixth-most prominent subtenants are all likely to have been linked to the Tosnys in Normandy. These were **Ivo de Thierceville** and the brothers **William and Roger de Bosc-le-Hard**. All three men were benefactors of Belvoir. The charter describes Ivo with the toponymic of Clawson, which suggests that Ivo was committed to a substantial career in England.¹⁷¹ The same willingness to engage with his English surroundings can be

¹⁶⁹ OV, iii. 232-40 (*Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 255; SCRIPTA 6568).

¹⁷⁰ For William as Robert's heir, see *Monasticon*, iii. 289; *Cal. Chart. Rolls*, iv. 293-94.

¹⁷¹ Round, 'Belvoir Cartulary', 129-30.

perceived in Ivo's grant of property at Glaston (Northamptonshire) to St Albans.¹⁷² William de Bosc-le-Hard's grandson, Ralph, was sheriff of Leicestershire between 1114 and 1116, which suggests that William's family too were firmly entrenched in England by this date.¹⁷³

Some men named in King Henry's confirmation charter cannot be identified as Robert's subtenants, but are still likely to have been associated with the Tosnys in Normandy – these include **Ascelin de Vaux, William and Ralph de Noyers, Walter and Ralph, sons of William de Vatteville, Robert de l'Aigle, Richard de Louvetot**, and perhaps **Ralph de Mandeville** (though there is an element of doubt as to his origins). The inclusion of a Roger de Hotot among the witness list of an English charter of Ralph IV de Tosny, datable between 1102/03 and 1126, increases the likelihood that **Odard de Hotot** was brought to England from the Tosnys' estate in Normandy.¹⁷⁴ All of Robert's associates in England who can be linked to the Tosnys in Normandy had origins closer to Tosny than to Conches (except for one, Robert de l'Aigle). This suggests that Robert's branch of the family remained aloof from the region around Conches, which was dominated by the senior line of the Tosnys.

Some benefactors of Belvoir were not primarily Robert's own men in England, even if it is likely that he brought them to England. William de Noyers forged lucrative new links in his new country, for he received manors worth about £19 from the bishop of Thetford, and £12 from King William.¹⁷⁵ Walter and Ralph de Vatteville, benefactors of Belvoir, were the sons of William de Vatteville, a tenant-in-chief very near Robert de Tosny in Suffolk. Walter and Ralph must have recognized Robert as a source of patronage before their father's land could be inherited.

¹⁷² *Monasticon*, ii. 221.

¹⁷³ G. Fowler, 'Early Records of Turvey and its Neighbourhood, Part 1', *Bedfordshire Historical Record Society*, 11 (1927), 47-107, at 72-73; *Regesta*, eds. Johnson and Cronne, nos. 1152, 1153.

¹⁷⁴ *Beauchamp Cartulary*, ed. Mason, no. 355.

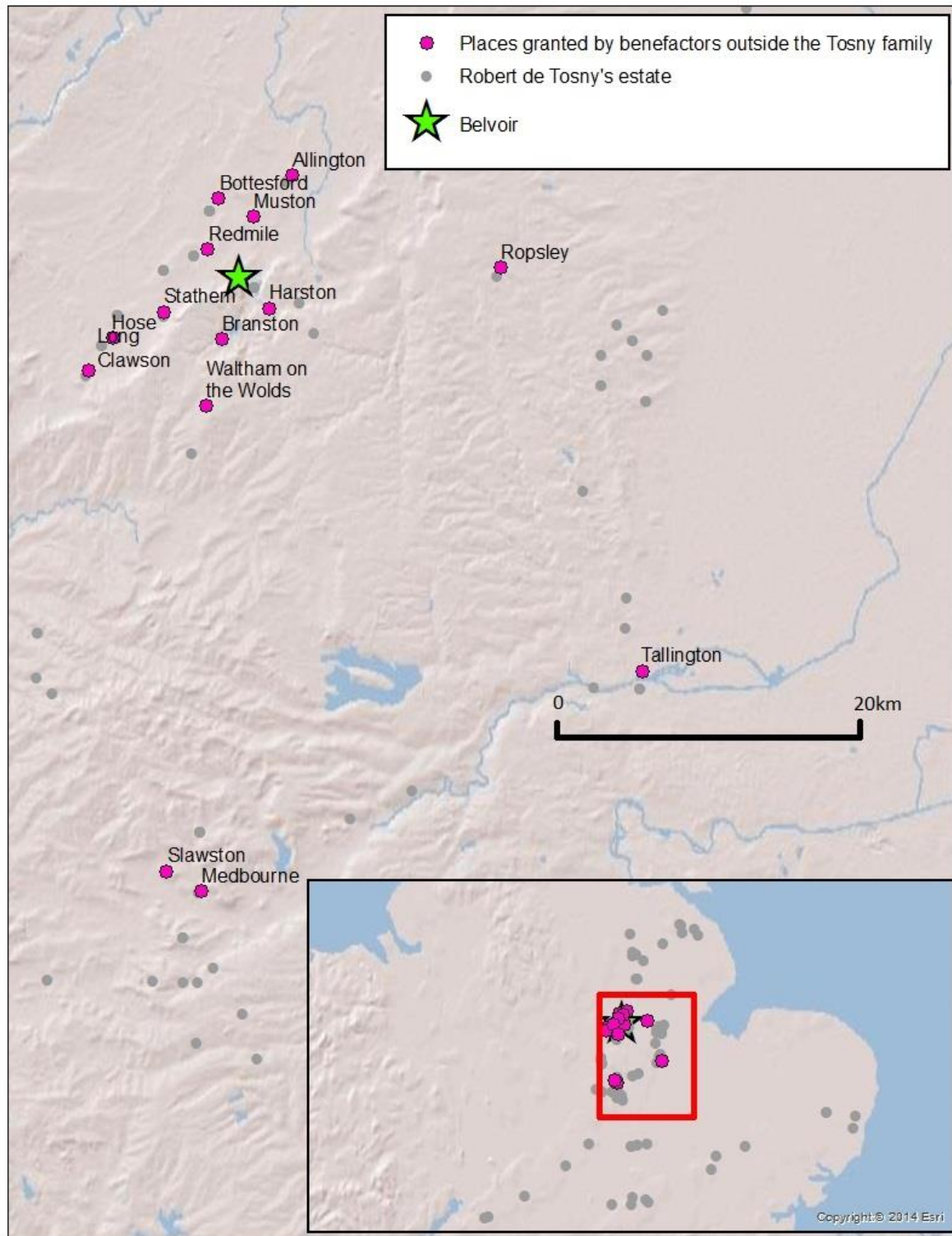
¹⁷⁵ Palmer, 'Notes on the Identifications', 473.

Not all of Belvoir's benefactors were subtenants of Robert de Tosny. Thurstan of Hose was the subtenant of Robert the Usher at Hose and Long Clawson. This shows that it was not always necessary for a benefactor to be Robert de Tosny's own man. The proximity of Belvoir was sometimes enough to attract grants from Robert's neighbours. Similarly, Ralph de Mandeville was the subtenant of the bishop of Lincoln at Branston, but the proximity of Belvoir encouraged him to patronize the priory. Some of Robert's associates in England almost certainly came into his orbit after 1066. The most obvious examples, due to their origins in Flanders, are Gunfrid de Chocques and Hugh the Fleming.

The vast majority of grants were extremely close to Robert's own property (see Figure 17). As for most honorial foundations, the church's main supporters were modest men, identifiable as vassals of the founding family.¹⁷⁶ Their support for Belvoir shows the emergence of a local community with a shared identity, and a shared dependance on the success of the lord of Belvoir.

¹⁷⁶ Cownie, 'Religious Patronage and Lordship', 136.

Figure 17: Grants to Belvoir by men outside the house of Tosny.¹⁷⁷



¹⁷⁷ *Monasticon*, iii. 288-89; *Cal. Chart. Rolls*, iv. 293-97.

Berengar de Tosny, died after 1087

Domesday Book's entry for Berengar de Tosny's manor at Bodicote explicitly identifies him as Robert's son.¹⁷⁸ The manors Berengar held from his father, Robert, made Lincolnshire Berengar's most lucrative shire. He also held one manor from Robert in Oxfordshire and two in Yorkshire.¹⁷⁹ Berengar's manors held from his father were determined antecessorially, for all but one of them were held in 1066 by Thorgot Lag.

Table 12: Berengar de Tosny's estate in England

Shire	Held as tenant-in-chief		Held in demesne		Let to subtenants		Held as a subtenant		Net income £
	Estates	£	Estates	£	Estates	£	Estates	£	
Lincolnshire	1.00	6.00	1.00	6.00	0.00	0.00	13.00 ¹⁸⁰	46.00	52.00
Nottinghamshire	3.00	1.50	1.00	0.00	2.00	1.50	0.00	0.00	0.00
Oxfordshire	2.00	27.00	0.00	0.00	2.00	27.00	2.00	1.53	1.53
Yorkshire	37.00 ¹⁸¹	17.97	32.00	15.97	5.00	2.00	2.00	3.35	19.32
Total	43.00	52.47	34.00	21.97	9.00	30.50	17.00	50.88	72.85

Berengar's subinfeudation of 58% of his estate held as tenant-in-chief was more than offset by the manors he held from his father. Berengar's valuable manors in Oxfordshire were apparently too distant from his main interests in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire to be worth retaining. He gave Broughton (worth £20) to three men: Robert, Reginald and Gilbert.¹⁸² The latter two are probably Reginald of Egton and Gilbert of Branston, Berengar's witnesses of the foundation charter of Belvoir.¹⁸³ Entrusting Broughton to two associates based near his

¹⁷⁸ GDB 159r (Oxfordshire 34:3).

¹⁷⁹ GDB 159r (Oxfordshire 34:3), 314r (Yorkshire 7E1-2).

¹⁸⁰ This figure includes four unvalued entries in Domesday Book which do not mention Robert de Tosny's subtenant, but where the land was inland or sokeland of manors held from Robert by Berengar: GDB 352v-353r (Lincolnshire 18:2,5,10,14).

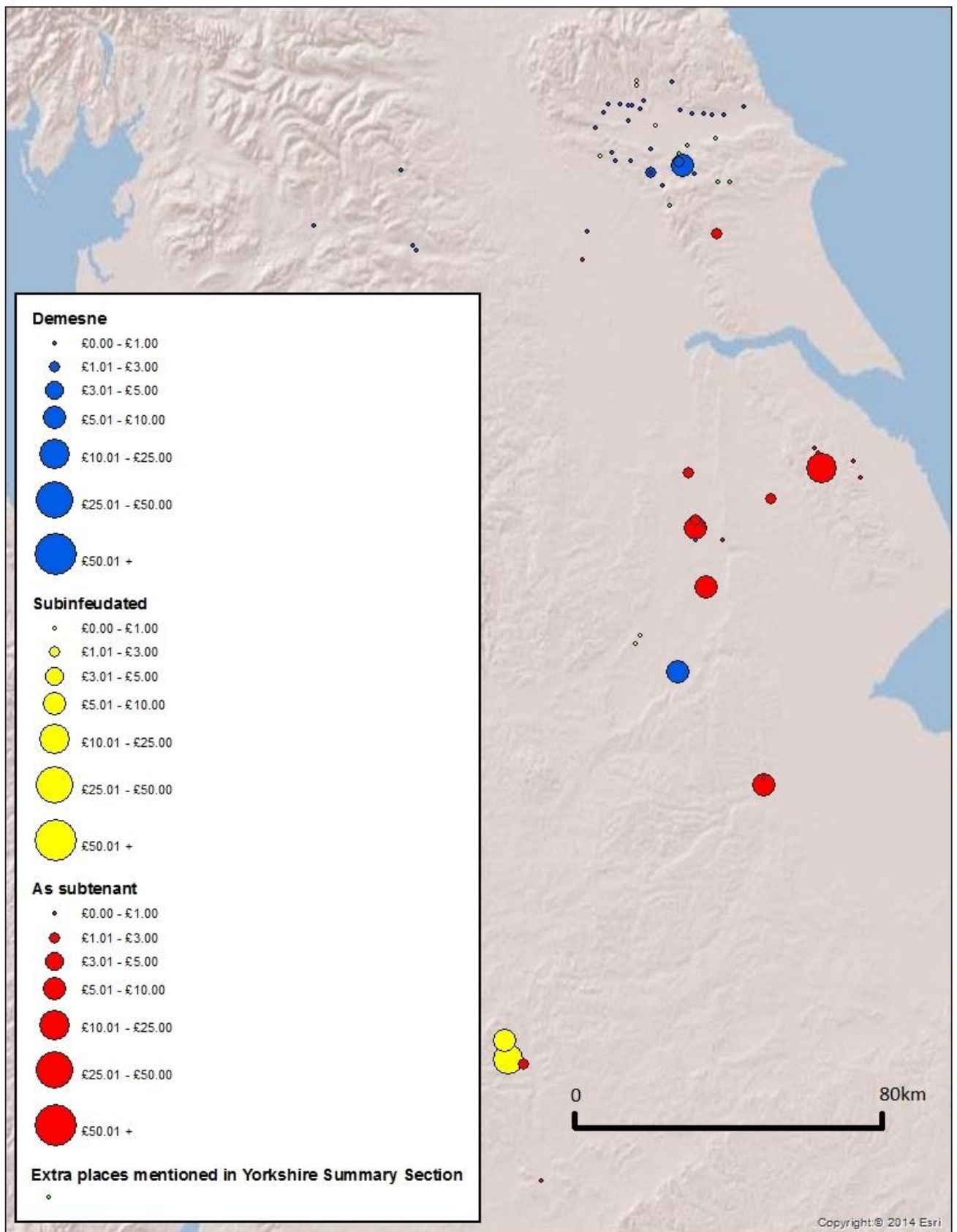
¹⁸¹ This number excludes six unvalued manors mentioned in Yorkshire's Summary Section (which formed part of the survey's original returns), but omitted from the main text's account of Berengar's estate: GDB 382r (Yorkshire SE Sc:10-11, SE Ac:3, SE Th:2, SE Th:8-9).

¹⁸² GDB 159r (Oxfordshire 34:1).

¹⁸³ *Monasticon*, iii. 288-89; *Cal. Chart. Rolls*, iv. 293-97.

demesne further north would have brought a measure of coherence to Berengar's scattered English estate.

Figure 18: Berengar de Tosny's estate in England



Besides his three men at Broughton, Berengar had only three other subtenants: Ralph (two manors in Nottinghamshire and Oxfordshire, worth £7 10s), Godwine (one manor in Nottinghamshire worth £1) and the abbot of York (five manors in Yorkshire, worth £2).¹⁸⁴ Ralph could have been another of Berengar's witnesses to Belvoir's foundation charter, Ralph du Thuit, whose origins lay just 6 kilometres from Tosny.¹⁸⁵ Berengar's fourth and final witness was Odard de Louvetot, who was presumably related to Richard de Louvetot, one of Robert de Tosny's witnesses to the same charter. Berengar could have recruited Ralph du Thuit and Odard de Louvetot from the Tosnys' estate in Normandy during Robert's lifetime, although it is alternatively possible that they became Berengar's men in England.

The five manors Berengar subinfeudated to St Mary's of York were only some of the places where he patronized the abbey. The others were Binbrook, Fimber, Uncleby, Dalton, Kirmond le Mire, Scackleton and *Lyndsey in Bek*.¹⁸⁶ His grants were probably influenced by local fashion, as well as a lack of alternative churches to patronize in Yorkshire.¹⁸⁷ Berengar granted property at Thorpe Bassett and Settrington to St Albans at an unknown date, having perhaps been influenced by his father's links with St Albans.¹⁸⁸ His last datable activity is his witnessing of Ivo Taillebois's grant to Spalding between 1087 and 1092.¹⁸⁹ Berengar's involvement with St Mary's, Spalding and St Albans shows his integration with his English surroundings. Even though Berengar was Robert's Norman heir, he cannot be found in Normandy after 1066, so it is likely that he prioritized his English career.

¹⁸⁴ GDB 159r (Oxfordshire 34:2), 291v (Nottinghamshire 21:1,2), 314r (Yorkshire 8N1-5).

¹⁸⁵ Loyd, *Origins*, 107. Le Thuit, Eure, cant. Les Andelys.

¹⁸⁶ *Monasticon*, iii. 548-50.

¹⁸⁷ Heale, *Dependent Priories*, 60; Cownie, *Religious Patronage*, 173-74, 182-83.

¹⁸⁸ *Monasticon*, ii. 220.

¹⁸⁹ *Monasticon*, iii. 216-17.

The house of Tosny: conclusions

The house of Tosny is remarkable for the early date at which its rise to prominence can be observed – sometime during the episcopate of Hugh, archbishop of Rouen between 942 and 989. Hugh's close relationship with Duke Richard I allowed Hugh to arrange the enrichment of his own brother, Ralph I, using church lands at Tosny and probably Conches. This demonstrates that the Tosnys were not part of a mooted 'new' aristocracy in the eleventh century. The descendants of Ralph I mostly enjoyed a strong relationship with Duke Richard II, as evidenced by the military commission of Ralph II and Roger at Tillières, and Richard's concern for the health of Roger's wife, Godehilde. However, Ralph II's exile to Italy, probably around 1017, was an early sign of tension with the duke.

Whether the apparent 'newness' of other aristocratic families in the eleventh century was real or illusory, it is undeniable that many of them made more substantial territorial gains in the eleventh century than the Tosnys did. Those whose wealth was created or significantly augmented in the first half of the eleventh century include the newly created counts, some immigrant families, acquirers of church property during Duke Robert's reign, and the beneficiaries of forfeitures. This does not mean that the rest of Duke William's aristocracy must have been insignificant in the tenth century. However, it is certain that some families became important after 1000, and that many others, whether 'old' or 'new', made strides in the eleventh century which the Tosnys could not emulate. As a result, while the antiquity of the house of Tosny is plausible but uncertain, it is safer to say that they witnessed the ranks of the aristocracy swell in the eleventh century, and that the increasing power of neighbours and other contemporaries threatened the eminence of the Tosnys, both locally and at the ducal court.

It is possible to demonstrate that the Tosnys were threatened by the advances of neighbours and rivals before the death of Roger de Tosny soon after *c.* 1042. Duke Robert allowed substantial church lands to pass to Humphrey de Vieilles, whose family became

enemies of the Tosnys in the first half of the 1040s, the mid-1050s and 1100. Particularly threatening was Humphrey's acquisition of Beaumont, 18 kilometres from Conches, which surely explains why Roger de Tosny attacked Humphrey's lands in *c.* 1040. The Tosnys' power in the Évrecin was also threatened when Robert, archbishop of Rouen, was made count of Évreux sometime between 989 and 1037.¹⁹⁰ It is likely that Count Richard of Évreux supported Duke William in the first years of his adolescence, which is why Richard was given Roger's widow, Godehilde, after Roger's death in battle against the Beaumonts. The Montgommerys certainly gathered momentum between 1025 and 1035, when Roger I de Montgomery obtained vicecomital office in the Hiémois and acquired substantial church lands.¹⁹¹ By the time Roger II de Montgomery opposed Ralph de Tosny in *c.* 1061, he was much closer to Duke William than Ralph was. Ralph's enemies in the early 1090s, William de Breteuil and Count William of Évreux, were closer to Curthose than Ralph was.¹⁹² Ralph attacked Robert de Beaumont in 1100 precisely because Robert was closer to Rufus. In short, the Tosnys were vulnerable in *c.* 1042, *c.* 1061, 1090 and 1100 because potential rivals flourished in the first half of the eleventh century and remained better connected to the rulers of Normandy thereafter. This is a measure of the value of the ruler's friendship.

Violence involving the house of Tosny was not bound to result in chaos. On occasions, the aristocratic community worked together to ensure that outbreaks of violence were resolved in ways which would last. The marriages of Ralph's mother and sister to Count Richard of Évreux and William fitz Osbern in the 1040s sought to integrate the Tosnys into the network of families closer to Duke William, thereby encouraging Ralph to nurture a mutually beneficial relationship with the duke.¹⁹³ For much of his career, Ralph accepted opportunities to

¹⁹⁰ For Robert as count of Évreux, see Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, 325-30.

¹⁹¹ See p. 281, 282 *et seq.*

¹⁹² For the relationship between both Williams and Curthose, see S. L. Mooers, "'Backers and Stabbers': Problems of Loyalty in Robert Curthose's Entourage", *Journal of British Studies*, 21:1 (1981), 1-17, at 3-6, 17; Barlow, *William Rufus*, 69, 274; Crouch, *The Normans*, 215.

¹⁹³ Searle, *Predatory Kinship*, 186-88; Bates, *William the Conqueror* (2016), 73-74.

contribute to ducal power. This can be detected in the military assistance he provided in 1054, 1066, 1088 and in the Vexin in 1098. On the other hand, Ralph's relationship with William the Conqueror remained fragile, as demonstrated by his relative aloofness from the ducal court, his exile in *c.* 1061, and his support for Curthose in 1078.

Despite their intermittent clashes with the duke and his allies, the Tosnys were sufficiently well-entrenched to endure. Ralph II and Ralph III, and probably Roger I, were exiled, but came back, as exiles usually did. Their return was partly because the Tosnys had the potential to be important allies for the duke. Indeed, Orderic shows us that Ralph III was recalled precisely because he could support Duke William's invasion of Maine. It is easy to see how a loyal house of Tosny could benefit the dukes, for the core area of the Tosnys' estate in Normandy formed a diagonal band near the south-eastern frontier of the duchy – a formidable barrier against enemies across the frontier.

This band of property also made the Tosnys attractive allies for Simon de Montfort, for it lay between Montfort-l'Amaury (in the Pincerais) and the heart of Normandy, including Rouen. Duke William probably encouraged Ralph's marriage alliance with Simon, just as William is likely to have supported cross-frontier marriages of his subjects in the Norman Vexin and elsewhere on the Norman frontier. The arrangement would have extended William's influence beyond Normandy and made the Norman frontier more secure, as long as Ralph stayed loyal. However, cross-frontier marriages carried risks for all parties.¹⁹⁴ For King William, the risks were demonstrated in 1078, when Ralph and King Philip I both supported Curthose's rebellion. For King Henry I of England, Ralph's marriage was potentially dangerous in 1119, when Orderic has Amaury de Montfort reassuring King Louis VI that Ralph IV would support an attack on Breteuil.¹⁹⁵ For Ralph III, there was a risk that the alliance could

¹⁹⁴ For risks to the ruler, see Bates, 'Normandy and England after 1066', 859; Bates, *Normans and Empire*, 143.

¹⁹⁵ For Ralph IV in 1119, see OV, vi. 244; Power, *Norman Frontier*, 377.

falter, as it certainly did a few years after Simon's death, when Richard de Montfort joined the attack on Conches. At the outset, however, the marriage alliance was a source of strength for Ralph, for it brought him property at Nogent-le-Roi, and it was Simon who persuaded Duke William to recall Ralph from exile around 1063.

Another reason for the durability of the Tosnys was their participation in the territorialization of aristocratic power which gathered pace across Normandy in the second quarter of the eleventh century. Ralph II's exceptionally early toponymic shows that the Tosnys were among the first – and perhaps the first – among the Norman aristocracy to identify themselves by their domination of a particular place. The Tosnys must also have benefited from the spread of dependent tenure which brought lesser families more firmly under aristocratic control in the second quarter of the eleventh century.¹⁹⁶ The considerable *beneficia* which Roger de Clères held from Ralph certainly suggests that Ralph's lordship over some important men had a tenurial character before 1066.¹⁹⁷

Another way the Tosnys entrenched themselves in a particular locality was by founding the abbey of Conches around 1035. The abbey reinforced the Tosnys' links with local families by attracting grants from them. It also provided a burial place which permanently associated the Tosnys with the local area. The abbey's importance to the local power of the Tosnys explains why Ralph's enemies attacked it in the early 1090s. The house of Tosny's dominance over particular localities must also have depended on their castles at Tosny, Acquigny, Portes and Conches.¹⁹⁸ The combination of church, castle and town at Conches must have been an effective means of establishing the Tosnys' dominance there. Aristocratic castles in Normandy were such a threat to the duke that William the Conqueror sought to garrison them. However,

¹⁹⁶ For this process, see above, p. 39, n. 44.

¹⁹⁷ *RADN*, no. 191 (SCRIPTA 1634; ARTEM 2705); Bates, *Normandy*, 123.

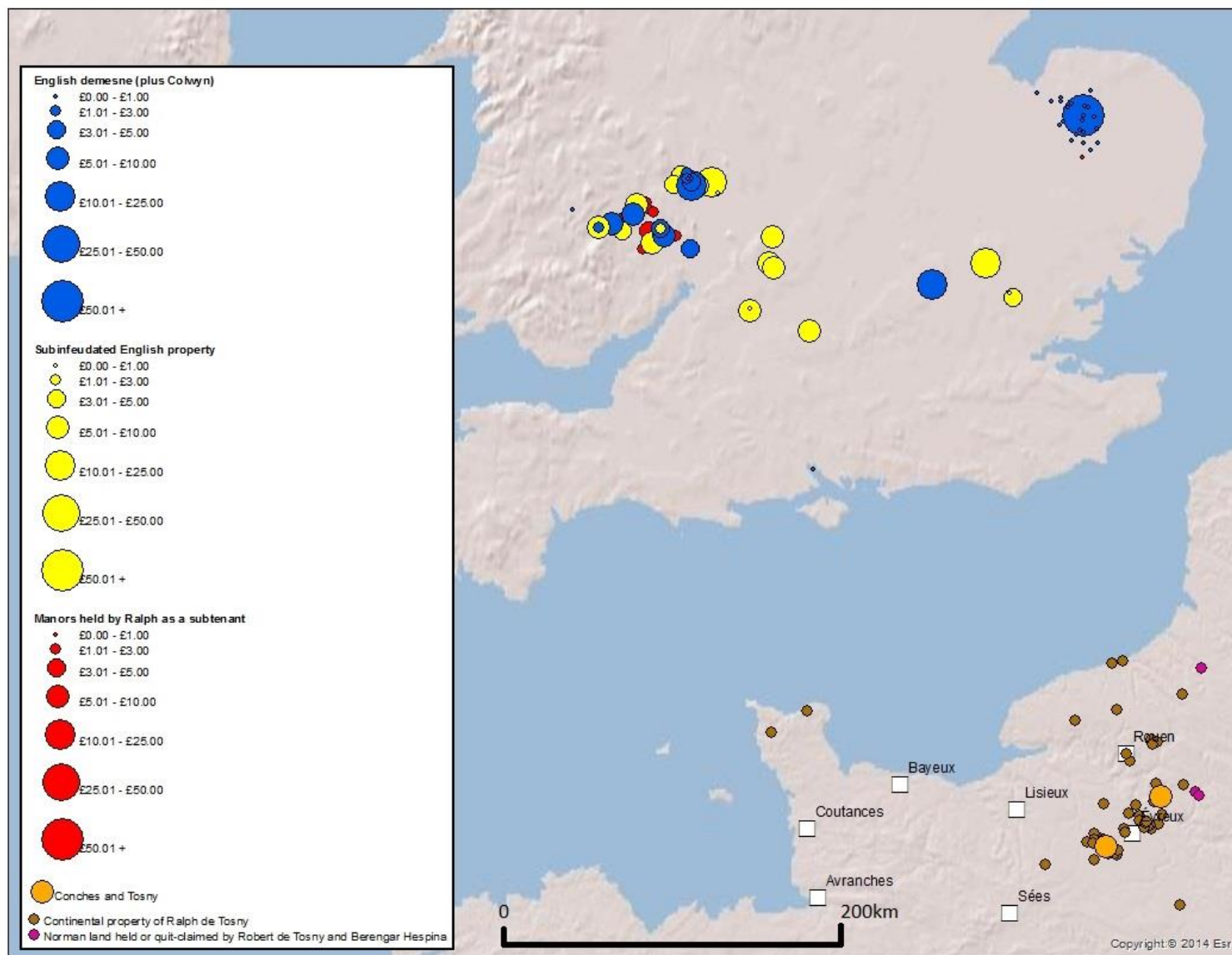
¹⁹⁸ For the Tosnys' castles in 1119, see *OV*, vi. 244.

ducal control faltered immediately after King William's death, when Ralph de Tosny and others defied Curthose by expelling those ducal garrisons.

The priorities of Ralph III de Tosny, Robert of Stafford and Robert de Tosny were strikingly different after 1066. Ralph had significant estates in both polities (see Figure 19), but he probably spent the vast majority of his post-Conquest career on the continent – not just in Normandy, but also in Spain. Ralph can be confidently located in England only once or twice, whereas evidence for his post-Conquest activities in Normandy is much easier to find in charters and chronicles. William of Tyre and Albert of Aachen suggest that Ralph's daughter, Godehilde II, grew up in England,¹⁹⁹ so it is reasonable to wonder if Ralph visited her there. On balance, though, the weight of the evidence suggests that Ralph's priorities were more continental than English.

¹⁹⁹ *History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, eds. Babcock and Krey, i. 177-78; *Historia Ierosolimitana*, ed. Edgington, 183.

Figure 19: Ralph de Tosny's cross-Channel estate.¹



¹ For the Tosny's continental estate, see note to Figure 10.

Ralph's farming-out of the important castle of Clifford on the Welsh frontier demonstrates his reluctance to be distracted from continental affairs. Like other cross-Channel lords on the Welsh frontier, he was content to delegate Welsh matters.¹ The marriages of Ralph's daughter, Godehilde II, reflect Ralph's continental priorities, for her possible first husband, Robert de Beaumont, was Ralph's neighbour in Normandy, and Baldwin de Boulogne, whom she definitely married, is known to have spent time at Conches, and was an associate of Ralph's nephew, William de Breteuil. Ralph's concentration on Normandy explains his burial at Conches in 1102 or 1103.

Ralph's religious patronage reveals that he considered his property in England more expendable than his Norman property. It is also significant that all the beneficiaries of his religious patronage were Norman. Ralph's transfer of so much property in England to churches in Normandy shows that English wealth was less important to him than the success of the abbey of Conches and the status he derived from his links to other Norman abbeys. It is significant that most of the men who patronized the same religious houses as Ralph were, like him, lords on the Norman frontier, who either lacked English interests or devoted little time to them. Ralph was linked to many of these men by marriage – either his own, or those of his mother and sister in the 1040s. Similarities in religious patronage reinforced the shared identity which resulted from these marriage links, and further established Ralph's place within a milieu which was relatively aloof from English affairs. Ralph's affinity with frontier castellans in Normandy was also demonstrated in 1078, when he joined many of them in Curthose's rebellion.

By contrast, Robert of Stafford's known activities after 1066 are entirely English. Robert cannot be shown to have had an estate in Normandy, presumably because he was a younger son. Though Robert's patronage of Conches expressed family solidarity, Robert twice

¹ For the attitude of cross-Channel barons on the Welsh frontier, see Davies, *Age of Conquest*, 84-86.

patronized Evesham, and even chose to be buried there.² He recognized the political benefits of English religious networks, for his patronage of Evesham was probably intended to legitimize his succession to Earl Eadwine's manors. Robert also sought to entrench himself by building a castle at Stafford. His English toponymic was adopted by his descendants because his transition to England was more or less permanent. The marriage of Robert's son, Nicholas, to a daughter of Robert's neighbour in England, Ralph de Limésy, shows that Robert and Nicholas saw their future in England. The likelihood that Robert was sheriff of Staffordshire suggests that King William agreed.

Like Robert of Stafford, Robert de Tosny seems to have concentrated on an English career, for he cannot be found in Normandy after 1066. Though Robert's estate in Normandy was probably modest, the endurance of his Norman toponymic among his descendants shows that it remained important to their identity. The name 'Robert of Belvoir', given to him in the priory of Belvoir's foundation charter, never replaced the Norman toponymic. Robert's request that he be buried at Belvoir or St Albans if he died in England suggests that he envisaged the possibility of dying elsewhere – probably in Normandy. Nonetheless, given Robert's instructions, his burial at Belvoir suggests that he died in England, where the majority of his post-Conquest career was probably played out. The burials of Robert de Tosny and Robert of Stafford in England should not be understood as a rejection of Norman identity. Nevertheless, some degree of identification with their English lands must have been necessary to prevent both men insisting on burial in Normandy.

Like the marriage of Nicholas of Stafford, the marriages of Robert de Tosny's daughters, Agnes and Alice, were also to people likely to have come into contact with the Tosnys in England. Roger Bigod and Hubert de Ryes originated from the Bessin, and Ralph de Beaufour from the Lieuvin. None of their places of origin were near the house of Tosny's estate in

² For Robert's burial at Evesham, see Eyton, 'Staffordshire Chartulary', 182.

Normandy.³ Roger Bigod, Ralph de Beaufour and (after 1086) Hubert de Ryes were all significant landholders in East Anglia, where Robert de Tosny had property worth almost £27. We cannot be sure when Agnes and Alice married, but their marriages at least show that Robert's descendants (and probably Robert himself) accepted that their English wealth could attract influential husbands more effectively than their Norman wealth.

Normans in the first half of the eleventh century founded churches to consolidate their hold over newly acquired territories.⁴ Similarly, Robert de Tosny strengthened his dominance over his new surroundings by establishing a castle and a priory at Belvoir. This is an example of the castle-church combination which has been observed at Conches and elsewhere in Normandy. Le Patourel considered this combination central to the successful colonization of England after 1066.⁵ Robert's subjection of his priory to St Albans indicates some respect for English religious culture.⁶ The priory gave his lordship a spiritual and political centre of gravity, around which the reciprocal bonds he shared with his vassals could be reinforced. The majority of Belvoir's benefactors were Robert's own men. They show that Robert was sufficiently influential around the Tosnys' estate in Normandy to attract many followers, and that he rewarded them in England.

The vassals of Ralph de Tosny and Robert of Stafford are not illuminated in anything comparable to King Henry's confirmation charter for Belvoir. Nevertheless, even though at least one of Robert of Stafford's subtenants was probably associated with the Tosnys in Normandy, and he may have acquired some contacts in Maine, the fact that so many Bretons

³ For the identity of Agnes's husbands, see *Monasticon*, iii. 290; *Regesta*, eds. Johnson and Cronne, appendix no. 189, p. 356-57; Stewart, 'Origin', 66 n. 3. For Alice's husband, see Round, 'Belvoir Cartulary', 158. See also K. S. B. Keats-Rohan, 'Belvoir: the Heirs of Robert and Berengar de Tosny', *Prosopon Newsletter*, 9 (1998), 1-4, at 1-2. For their origins, see Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People*, 330, 396; Keats-Rohan, *Domesday Descendants*, 661.

⁴ M. Chibnall, 'Ecclesiastical Patronage and the Growth of Feudal Estates at the Time of the Norman Conquest', *AN*, 8:2 (1958), 103-18, at 116.

⁵ Le Patourel, *Norman Empire*, 317-18.

⁶ On the popularity of English saints among Normans, see Cownie, *Religious Patronage*; Bates, *Normans and Empire*, 142-43.

and Englishmen occur among Robert of Stafford's subtenants and witnesses suggests that his vassals in Normandy were less numerous than those of Ralph and Robert de Tosny. Ralph's subtenants include some brought from his estate in Normandy, and others whose relationship with Ralph began sometime after 1066. Some of his new relationships were with important tenants-in-chief, or sheriffs. This shows that Ralph recognized the need to protect his English acquisitions by attracting locally influential allies. The number of Ralph's subtenants who can be traced to his estate in Normandy constitutes a very small proportion of his entourage in Normandy. It is therefore clear that most of the families attached to Ralph in Normandy did not benefit from his acquisition of an English estate by 1086. It is plausible that Ralph was reluctant to weaken his position in Normandy by exporting too many vassals. This seems especially likely for his most important Norman vassals, the families of Clères and Romilly, neither of whom can be shown to have received English land from Ralph. One of Ralph's subtenants who was previously linked to him in Normandy was brought to England by Ralph's brother-in-law, William fitz Osbern. This was Gilbert fitz Turoid, a cross-Channel landholder who originated from Ralph's property at Fontaine-sous-Jouy. The presence of a William de Lyre among Ralph IV de Tosny's entourage in Norfolk probably stemmed from Adelize de Tosny's marriage to William fitz Osbern as well.

There is not much evidence of family solidarity between the three branches of the Tosnys in England. The representatives of each branch cannot be identified as subtenants of another. The only similarity in their religious patronage was the patronage of Conches by Ralph and Robert of Stafford. The three branches did not share in other religious networks, and there is a clear difference between the patronage of English beneficiaries by Robert of Stafford, Robert de Tosny and Berengar, and Ralph's preference for Norman beneficiaries.

The estates of the three branches in England shared some areas of overlap – most notably between Robert of Stafford and Robert de Tosny in Lincolnshire, but also to a lesser extent

between Ralph and Robert de Tosny in Gloucestershire, Ralph and Robert of Stafford in Warwickshire and Berkshire, and Robert of Stafford and Robert de Tosny in Oxfordshire. However, with the exception of Lincolnshire, the main concentrations of each estate were quite separate. This gave the house of Tosny a strong presence in contiguous shires stretching from Herefordshire, Gloucestershire and Staffordshire in the west to Yorkshire, Lincolnshire and Norfolk in the east. This distribution could have served a dual purpose for King William: on the one hand, the separation of the main concentrations of each estate ensured that the family could not join forces to dominate a locality together. On the other, to give a single family a fairly consistent presence across such a vast section of England must have encouraged these four tenants-in-chief to adopt a country-wide perspective which could ultimately contribute to cohesion within Norman England. The estate of Ralph's pre-Conquest ally, Hugh de Grandmesnil, was clearly separated from Ralph's in England. Given the danger posed to Duke William by the houses of Tosny and Grandmesnil in the first half of the 1040s and *c.* 1061, it is very plausible that William kept Ralph and Hugh separate in England in order to prevent a dangerous alliance in a discrete area.

The challenges of maintaining a cross-Channel estate were negotiated differently upon the deaths of Ralph and Robert de Tosny. Ralph had only one surviving son, Ralph IV, to whom Ralph's estates in both polities passed. This cross-Channel inheritance was born of necessity, but Ralph IV followed the same strategy when he died leaving two sons in 1126. In fact, both estates remained together until Roger IV de Tosny abandoned the estate in Normandy to King Philip II of France in 1204.⁷ Ralph III's descendants therefore demonstrate Le Patourel's contention that cross-Channel landholders sought to keep their estates together. Robert de Tosny gave his estate in Normandy to Berengar, and his estate in England to a younger son, William. On the face of it, this strategy undermines Le Patourel's contention. However, the

⁷ Musset, 'Tosny', 62-66.

fact that Robert compensated Berengar by arranging for him to hold an English estate by 1086 means that Berengar became a cross-Channel lord when Robert died. The provision made for Berengar in England demonstrates the pressure which could be exerted upon cross-Channel landholders by the expectations of their heirs.

The fact that Robert de Tosny and Robert of Stafford were English landholders at all demonstrates the opportunity for acquired land which England represented for men who had been marginalized in Normandy by the domination of the patrimony by one main heir.⁸ As a result, their experiences of the cross-Channel polity were very different to Ralph's. Ralph's experience, meanwhile, was different to other significant cross-Channel landholders who chose to divide their attentions more equally. This was no homogenous cross-Channel aristocracy.

⁸ For England as a source of acquired lands for younger sons, also see below, p. 338, 338 n. 78, and p. 404 and Table 37.

Chapter 2. The counts of Eu

Eu played an important role in the early history of Normandy. Writing until 966, Flodoard of Reims claimed that Rollo was defeated in 925 by the counts of Flanders and Vermandois at the castle of Eu.¹ By 927, the castle was back in Rollo's hands, but nothing is known of it for the rest of the tenth century and it is not certain that the rulers of Normandy retained Eu without interruption.² Eu was certainly part of the duke's territory from the early years of Duke Richard II's reign. Indeed, according to Douglas, 'no other Norman comté influenced more directly the general course of Anglo-Norman history.'³ Despite the significance of the county of Eu, its counts and their relationships have never been subjected to detailed analysis. This chapter seeks to address that need.

William I d'Eu, died 1028 x 1032

William I's career shows the importance of close ducal kin for the security of Normandy, and the types of patronage dukes could use to acquire their cooperation. It also sheds light on the functions and rights of early Norman counts, and the difficulty of balancing their obligations to the duke with their own ambitions.

William I d'Eu was the illegitimate son of Duke Richard I and a concubine.⁴ He is probably the William whose *signum* is recorded on Duke Richard I's charter for Fécamp,

¹ *Les annales de Flodoard*, ed. P. Lauer (Paris, 1905), 31-32: *Idem vero castrum, secus mare situm, vocabatur Auga.*

² Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, 140, 154-55, 161, 295.

³ Douglas, 'Earliest Norman Counts', 135.

⁴ *Dudo of St Quentin: History of the Normans*, trans. E. Christiansen (Woodbridge and New York, NY, 1998), 163; *De moribus et actis primorum normanniae ducum*, ed. J. Lair (Caen, 1865), 289; *GND* (William of Jumièges), ii. 8; *GND* (Robert of Torigni), i. 130; Robert of Torigni, *Chronique*, i. 25-26; *Roman de Rou*, ed. Holden, i. 196-97 lines 959-963; *Roman de Rou*, trans. Burgess, 102; *GC*, xi. instr. col. 153 E.

datable 15 June 990, for it appears between the *signa* of his brother Godfrey and half-brother Mauger.⁵

Table 13: Occurrences of William I d’Eu in the diplomatic evidence

Charter	Date	Benefactor	Beneficiary	T	S	M	Style
RADN 4 (SCRIPTA 1431)	15 June 990	Duke Richard I	Fécamp		X		Willelmi
<i>Thesaurus novus anecdotorum regum</i> , eds. Martène and Durand, 5 vols. (Paris, 1717), i. col. 121	c. 1011 x 1017	Aodselinus, canon of Rouen	Saint-Ouen de Rouen		X		Willelmi
RADN 14bis (SCRIPTA 1441; ARTEM 2666)	1012	Abbey of Bourgueil	Jumièges	X			Vuillelmi et Malgerus fratres Richardi comitis
RADN 15 (SCRIPTA 1442)	1014	Duke Richard II	Notre-Dame de Chartres		X		Guillelmi
RADN 18 (SCRIPTA 1445; ARTEM 2388)	1015	Duke Richard II	Saint-Quentin		X		Vuiglelmi comitis
RADN 66 (SCRIPTA 1512)	1028 x 1033	Robert, archbishop of Rouen, and Duke Robert I	Rouen, cathedral		X		Vuillelmi

William of Jumièges tells us that William I received the *comitatus* of the Hiémois from his half-brother Duke Richard II, so that William could provide Richard with military support.⁶ William was one of a group of Richard II’s close relatives who were made counts, so that their inheritance claims could be satisfied without breaking up the duchy.⁷ William would have been required to maintain the frontier against powerful neighbours.⁸

It is likely that Richard II’s grant resulted from the succession strategy outlined by Dudo of Saint-Quentin, who describes Richard I’s wish that his own non-inheriting sons should be

⁵ RADN, no. 4 (SCRIPTA 1431).

⁶ GND (William of Jumièges), ii. 8: *Is enim, fraterno contubernio Oximensem ab ipso accipiens in munere comitatum, ut inde ei milicie exhiberet statuta.*

⁷ Garnett, ‘“Ducal” Succession’, 97-103.

⁸ On the military responsibilities of counts on the frontier, see Douglas, ‘Earliest Norman Counts’, 153; Musset, ‘L’aristocratie normande’, 76; Louise, *Bellême*, i. 143; Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, 193 and references at 192 n. 81.

given land by his successor, Richard II.⁹ The twelfth-century foundation narrative of the abbey of Saint-Pierre-sur-Dives states that William received his property in his youth.¹⁰ William's young age, and the position the grant occupies in William of Jumièges's account of Duke Richard II's reign, confirm that William was endowed sooner rather than later after 996.

William first appears in the diplomatic evidence as a count in an original ducal charter issued in 1015.¹¹ Despite the terminology used by William of Jumièges, William should not be considered count of the Hiémois.¹² In fact, comital titles did not carry territorial appellations before the 1040s,¹³ and when they did the appellation was derived from the chief castle, not from a whole *pagus*.¹⁴ It was common for counts to hold much less than a Carolingian *pagus*.¹⁵ The Saint-Pierre-sur-Dives narrative does not mention a county or a count, simply telling us that William I was granted the castle of Exmes and its surrounding territory.¹⁶ While it has been suggested that dukes preferred their barons to have dispersed estates so that they could be pacified more easily,¹⁷ the creation of counts with property around a castle shows that some concentrated estates were expected to buttress ducal authority.¹⁸

However, sometime before Richard II's death in 1026, William rebelled.¹⁹ In rebelling, William was not unusual among ducal kin, for close ducal relatives were often unsatisfied with their share of the ducal inheritance, either because of its extent or because of the obligations it entailed towards the duke. Their desire to command a share of the ducal patrimony was not unreasonable, when compared to the contemporary practice of dividing aristocratic

⁹ Garnett, *Conquered England*, 144-45.

¹⁰ *GC*, xi. instr. col. 153 E: *Hic igitur Guillermus...qui adhuc minor, in Oximense castro quod ab eo cum finitimis locis custodiendum acceperat.*

¹¹ *RADN*, no. 18 (*SCRIPTA* 1445; *ARTEM* 2388).

¹² Douglas, 'Earliest Norman Counts', 136-37.

¹³ Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, 193.

¹⁴ Lewis, 'Early Earls', 222.

¹⁵ Garnett, "'Ducal' Succession', 99.

¹⁶ *GC*, xi instr., col. 153 E. Exmes, Orne, chef-lieu de cant.

¹⁷ Musset, 'L'aristocratie normande', 78, 80-81, 84-85, 87-88.

¹⁸ Bates, 'West Francia', 417-18; Crouch, *English Aristocracy*, 133-34.

¹⁹ *GND* (William of Jumièges), ii. 8-10; *Roman de Rou*, ed. Holden, i. 197-98 lines 967-1006; *Roman de Rou*, trans. Burgess, 102-03; *GC*, xi. instr. col. 153 E-154 A.

inheritances between heirs.²⁰ Wace indicates that William I ‘allied himself with men from the borderlands’ in this rebellion, demonstrating the danger that cross-frontier neighbours of Norman rebels could pose to the dukes.²¹ William’s rebellion ended when he was imprisoned at Rouen. William of Jumièges states that his imprisonment lasted five years. William is said to have escaped from prison, and spent time in hiding before Duke Richard II forgave him on the advice of Ralph, count of Ivry.²²

William of Jumièges records that shortly after William’s return to favour, Duke Richard II gave him the *comitatus* of Eu and arranged his marriage to Lesceline, daughter of a certain Turketil.²³ Evidence for ducal control over the marriages of landholders’ heirs or heiresses is slim, so William’s marriage provides an important insight into this form of ducal patronage.²⁴ Wace identifies Turketil as a rich and powerful landholder.²⁵ It has been assumed that Lesceline’s father was Turketil, brother of Turolde de Pont-Audemer and ancestor of the lords of Harcourt.²⁶ This seems most plausible, because Lesceline’s son Robert had property 16 kilometres north-east of Harcourt, at Le Bourgtheroulde, which passed to the lords of Harcourt by the thirteenth century.²⁷ Grants at Le Bourgtheroulde to Lesceline’s abbey of Saint-Pierre-sur-Dives by King Henry I of England and Walter Tirel might suggest that Lesceline had unrecorded interests here.²⁸ It therefore seems likely that Le Bourgtheroulde was part of the dowry brought to William by Lesceline.

²⁰ Garnett, ‘“Ducal” Succession’, 81-86, 97-103; Garnett, *Conquered England*, 142-46.

²¹ *Roman de Rou*, ed. Holden i. 197 lines 972-74; *Roman de Rou*, trans. Burgess, 102; Power, *Norman Frontier*, 344.

²² *GND* (William of Jumièges), ii. 8-10.

²³ *GND* (William of Jumièges), ii. 10: the territory granted was *Ocensem comitatum*.

²⁴ For the scant evidence (including Lesceline’s marriage to William I d’Eu), see Holt, ‘The Heiress and the Alien’, in his *Colonial England*, 250-51; Tabuteau, *Transfers of Property*, 62-63.

²⁵ *Roman de Rou*, ed. Holden, i. 199 lines 1039-40; *Roman de Rou*, trans. Burgess, 103.

²⁶ *Complete Peerage*, v. 151-52; Allen, ‘Norman Episcopate’, i. 260.

²⁷ For Le Bourgtheroulde in Count Robert’s possession, see *Cartulaire du Tréport*, ed. de Kermaingant, no. 1 (SCRIPTA 125). For Le Bourgtheroulde in the thirteenth century, see Charpillon and Caresme, *Dictionnaire historique*, i. 518. Bourgtheroulde-Infreville, Eure, chef-lieu de cant. For Turketil, brother of Turolde de Pont-Audemer and ancestor of the Harcourts, see *GND* (Robert of Torigni), ii. 268.

²⁸ Sauvage, ‘Saint-Pierre-sur-Dive’, no. 2.

There is no evidence that William's descendants ever held Exmes and its surrounding lands. His sons, William II and Robert, and his grandson, William III, can be found with property at only one place in the Hiémois, and this was not particularly close to Exmes, but 31 kilometres to the west.²⁹ All of the property Saint-Pierre-sur-Dives held around Exmes by the 1120s was granted by King William I and King Henry I of England, or by other benefactors unconnected to the counts of Eu (see Figure 20).³⁰ It is likely that William's property around Exmes reverted to the dukes during his five-year imprisonment, and that it was granted to Robert the Magnificent by Duke Richard II in 1026.³¹ Thurstan Goz was probably responsible for its administration as vicomte of the Hiémois from some point between 1017 and 1025 until 1026.³² Vicomtes rather than counts were the chief ducal officials in the Hiémois after Robert the Magnificent's rebellion there was defeated in 1027.³³ William I d'Eu's loss of Exmes shows that instead of holding independent lordships, early Norman counts could be removed by the ruler. In their subordination to the ruler, Norman counts under Duke Richard II resemble those of the earlier Carolingian kings.³⁴

Lesceline's endowment of Saint-Pierre-sur-Dives reveals that her dower from William was in the Hiémois (see Figure 20).³⁵ This requires a revision of the chronology provided by William of Jumièges, who placed the marriage around the time William received Eu.

²⁹ *Cartulaire du Tréport*, ed. de Kermaingant, no. 1 (SCRIPTA 125); Sauvage, 'Saint-Pierre-sur-Dive', no. 2. Bazoches-au-Houlme, Orne, cant. Putanges-Pont-Écrepin.

³⁰ Sauvage, 'Saint-Pierre-sur-Dive', nos. 1-2.

³¹ *GND* (William of Jumièges), ii. 40: Duke Richard II set Robert over *comitatu Oximensi*.

³² Louise, *Bellême*, i. 143-47.

³³ Louise, *Bellême*, i. 143-48.

³⁴ For the removable counts of Carolingian kings, see Dunbabin, *France in the Making*, 6-12.

³⁵ *GC*, xi. instr. col. 153 E: *Hunc igitur locum Lescelina...fundavit, possessionibusque ac praediis quae ei ex jure dotali competebant ditavit*; col. 154 D: *Nam post viri sui Guillermi videlicet comitis mortem uxor ejus quam praediximus Lescelina...in hoc ipso praedio quod dotali jure cum appenditiis suis ad eam pertinebat domum illam, de qua supra egimus, ecclesiam constituit*. For the Latin words denoting dowries and dowers, see Bauduin, 'Du bon usage de la *dos*', 431-32 n. 9.

Robert of Torigni states that Richard II's grant of Eu to William occurred only after the death of its holder, William's brother, Godfrey, whose death is placed after 1017 by charter evidence.³⁶ That Richard II gave Eu to William instead of to Godfrey's son, Gilbert, demonstrates that Richard could manipulate the descent of comital property.

William received Eu after his reconciliation with Richard II and Count Ralph. The date of this reconciliation is uncertain, but there are two main possibilities. The reconciliation could have occurred before 1017, which is the latest possible date of Count Ralph's last known activity.³⁷ In this case, the five-year duration of William's imprisonment would also mean that he was reconciled to the duke before appearing in ducal charters dated 1012, 1014 and 1015.³⁸ This would mean that William's comital title, evident in an original ducal charter of 1015, was applied to him as a mark of ducal favour after William's likely loss of property around Exmes.

Alternatively, William's rebellion might have occurred after 1015, which would indicate a reconciliation after 1020. This would better accommodate William of Jumièges's assertion that William received Eu 'not long' after his reconciliation with the duke, and it would mean that William's comital title in 1015 alludes to his comital endowment around Exmes. A rebellion and reconciliation after 1015 is just about preferable, because it corresponds better with the chronology implied by William of Jumièges, and with what is known of the comital title, which cannot otherwise be found in a strictly personal sense in pre-Conquest Normandy.³⁹ This solution extends Count Ralph's career beyond 1020.

William's career at Eu is obscure, except for one indication of religious patronage. The necrology of the abbey of Notre-Dame d'Eu, established in 1119 by William's great-grandson,

³⁶ *GND* (Robert of Torigni), i. 130, ii. 270; *RADN*, no. 24 (*SCRIPTA* 1451; *ARTEM* 4549); Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, 297.

³⁷ For Ralph's last appearances, see Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, 210.

³⁸ *RADN*, no. 14bis (*SCRIPTA* 1441; *ARTEM* 2666); *RADN*, no. 15 (*SCRIPTA* 1442; B. L., Add. Ch. 75473); *RADN*, no. 18 (*SCRIPTA* 1445; *ARTEM* 2388).

³⁹ On the lack of strictly personal comital titles, see Douglas, 'Earliest Norman Counts', 151; Garnett, "'Ducal' Succession', 99. The earliest exceptions are Robert Curthose and William Rufus in 1082.

Count Henry, indicates that the abbey had previously been a college of secular canons founded by William I d'Eu.⁴⁰ That Henry converted the college of secular canons living *sub mea manu* into an abbey shows that the college was, like most others in Normandy, under the tight control of its founding family.⁴¹ William would have been able to choose its canons and endow them with prebends, so it gave him an additional type of patronage he could use to attract followers. With the neighbouring castle of Eu, it would have increased William's local authority.⁴²

The year of William's death is uncertain. It is likely that he signed a charter of Duke Robert I for the cathedral of Rouen, datable between 1028 and 1033, because his *signum* is followed by that of 'Robert, son of the count'.⁴³ Gilbert de Brionne, son of William's brother Godfrey, held the comital endowment of Eu before his own death in 1040 or 1041.⁴⁴ Gilbert must have been influential near Eu during his expedition in the Vimeu, which neighboured Eu (datable 1031 or 1032).⁴⁵ This suggests that William was dead in 1032. Gilbert almost certainly held Eu before William's sons did, for he appears to be older than them, and their use of a comital title seems to have followed Gilbert's with little or (more likely) no overlap.⁴⁶

A charter for La Trinité-du-Mont de Rouen records a grant made by Lesceline for the safety of her young sons Hugh, William and Robert, when she and her sons were ejected from

⁴⁰ *RHGF*, xxiii. 449: 2 Jan. *Obiit Guillelmus primus comes Augi, fundator hujus ecclesiae.*

⁴¹ For Henry's conversion of the college into an abbey, see S. Deck, *Une commune normande au moyen-âge. La ville d'Eu. Son histoire, ses institutions, 1151-1475* (Paris, 1924), p. 241-44 (SCRIPTA 2340; ARTEM 2750); B. N. ms. Lat. 13904, fol. 36r-38v.

⁴² L. Musset, 'Clercs séculiers', 10, 16; Chibnall, *World of Orderic*, 46-47.

⁴³ *RADN*, no. 66 (SCRIPTA 1512); Douglas, 'Earliest Norman Counts', 137-38.

⁴⁴ *GND* (William of Jumièges), ii. 92; *GND* (Robert of Torigni), i. 130; Robert of Torigni, *Chronique*, i. 25-26.

⁴⁵ Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, 296.

⁴⁶ For Gilbert's early career, see *RADN*, no. 48 (SCRIPTA 1494) [c. 1022-1026]; *GND* (William of Jumièges), ii. 92; *OV*, iii. 88 [1035]. For Gilbert's comital title, see *RADN*, no. 64 (SCRIPTA 1510) [1032]; *RADN*, no. 65 (SCRIPTA 1511) [1027-1033]; *RADN*, no. 66 (SCRIPTA 1512) [1028-1033]; *RADN*, no. 67 (SCRIPTA 1513) [1028-1033]; *RADN*, no. 70 (SCRIPTA 1516) [1028-1034]; *RADN*, no. 80 (SCRIPTA 1523) [1029-1035]; *RADN*, no. 85 (SCRIPTA 1528; ARTEM 2692) [1033-1035]. The only occurrence after 1035 is used posthumously in a Bec charter of 1046 or 1047: *RADN*, no. 98 (SCRIPTA 1542). For the first uses of the comital title by William's sons, see *RADN*, no. 104 (SCRIPTA 1548) [1035-1047]; *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 166 (SCRIPTA 6511) [pancarte for Le Bec issued in 1077]; and perhaps *RADN*, no. 105 (SCRIPTA 1549) [1035-1048].

the castle of Eu during the abbacy of Isembert (12 September 1033-1 November 1054).⁴⁷ This episode probably relates to Gilbert's acquisition of Eu.⁴⁸ It also suggests that Gilbert's acquisition was completed after 12 September 1033 – probably very soon after, given that Gilbert was important near Eu before this date. That Lesceline and her sons were forcibly ejected from Eu suggests that Gilbert was not merely the custodian of Eu on behalf of William's young heirs. Instead, it seems that Duke Robert denied William's sons' expectations of inheritance by intervening in the descent of Eu.

The monastic foundations of Lesceline, widow of William I d'Eu

Lesceline's dower lands enabled her to become only the second woman to found a Norman abbey, after Duke Richard II's wife, Judith, who founded Bernay with her own dower lands.⁴⁹ Just as Judith's dower was located on the periphery of Richard II's principality, where his authority was more precarious, Lesceline's was situated near the northern edge of the Hiémois, not around William's principal castle at Exmes. This suggests that like his half-brother, Richard II, and perhaps also William Longsword, William preferred to alienate property to his wife where doing so would least undermine his own importance.⁵⁰

Our earliest records of Saint-Pierre-sur-Dives's Norman property are confirmation charters issued by King Henry I of England: one in 1108, and another between 1121 and 1128.⁵¹ Twelfth-century sources generally agree that Lesceline founded Saint-Pierre-sur-Dives.⁵² Though Orderic once states that Lesceline persuaded William to found the abbey, he later

⁴⁷ *Cartulaire de Sainte-Trinité du Mont*, ed. Deville, no. 69 (SCRIPTA 54). Lesceline's grant *quando cum filiis suis de castro Ou est ejecta* was motivated *pro...liberorum incolumitate*.

⁴⁸ Douglas, 'Earliest Norman Counts', 139-40, 156. Douglas dates Gilbert's acquisition before 1040.

⁴⁹ Gazeau, *Normannia monastica*, i. 12-13.

⁵⁰ For the peripheral location of the dowers of duchesses, see Bauduin, 'Du bon usage de la *dos*', 440-41.

⁵¹ Sauvage, 'Saint-Pierre-sur-Dive', nos. 1-2.

⁵² Sauvage, 'Saint-Pierre-sur-Dive', no. 2; OV, ii. 354; *Roman de Rou*, ed. Holden, i. 200 lines 1045-46; *Roman de Rou*, trans. Burgess, 103; GC, xi. instr., col. 154 D; GND (Robert of Torigni), ii. 132; Robert of Torigni, *Chronique*, ii. 200.

identifies just Lesceline as the founder.⁵³ King Henry I's second confirmation charter and the abbey's foundation narrative show that Lesceline founded Saint-Pierre-sur-Dives after William's death.⁵⁴

Lesceline founded Saint-Pierre-sur-Dives as a feminine establishment at an unknown date after William's death, but the nuns were unable to live there peacefully, so in c. 1046 Lesceline moved them to her new foundation at Lisieux and replaced them at Saint-Pierre-sur-Dives with monks.⁵⁵ Precisely how Lesceline's nuns were threatened is not known, but rebellions by two successive vicomtes of the Hiémois, Roger I de Montgommery in c. 1040 and Thurstan Goz in c. 1043, demonstrate the volatility of this *pagus*.⁵⁶ Helping Lesceline re-establish the monastery of Saint-Pierre-sur-Dives must have been one of Hugh's first significant acts after he became bishop of Lisieux in 1046.⁵⁷

Most of the property Lesceline granted to Saint-Pierre-sur-Dives was within 16 kilometres of the abbey (see Figure 20). Saint-Pierre-sur-Dives itself and the cluster around it were part of Lesceline's dower.⁵⁸ Because the centre of this cluster was in the Hiémois, it is likely that it was part of Duke Richard II's grant to William. This is also suggested by King Henry's first confirmation charter, which states that Lesceline's property originated in the ducal domain.⁵⁹ It therefore appears that Lesceline's dower lands were exempted from Richard II's recovery of William's first comital endowment. Neuvy-au-Houlme, in the Hiémois, had been

⁵³ OV, ii. 10-12, 354.

⁵⁴ Sauvage, 'Saint-Pierre-sur-Dive', no. 2; GC, xi. instr., col. 154 D.

⁵⁵ GC, xi. instr., col. 154 D. For the dates of the feminine and masculine abbeys at Saint-Pierre-sur-Dives, see Gazeau, *Normannia monastica*, i. 13, ii. 299-300; Allen, 'Norman Episcopate', i. 261-63.

⁵⁶ For Roger I, see below, p. 282. For Thurstan, see *GND* (Orderic Vitalis), ii. 100-02.

⁵⁷ For the year of Hugh's appointment, see R. Allen, 'Avant Lanfranc: Un réexamen de la carrière de Mauger, archevêque de Rouen (1037-1054/55)', in *Autour de Lanfranc (1010-2010). Réforme et réformateurs dans l'Europe du Nord-Ouest (XI^e-XII^e siècles)* (Actes du colloque de Cerisy-la-Salle, 29 septembre-2 octobre 2010), eds. V. Gazeau, J. Barrow and F. Delivré (Caen, 2015), 131-51, at 143-44; Foulon, 'Le chevalier Herluin', 574 and n. 41. For his help with Saint-Pierre-sur-Dives, see *GND* (Robert of Torigni), ii. 132; Robert of Torigni, *Chronique*, ii. 200.

⁵⁸ GC, xi. instr. cols. 153 E, 154 D.

⁵⁹ Sauvage, 'Saint-Pierre-sur-Dive', no. 1: *Omnes iste terre et possessiones de proprio dominio meo et antecessorum meorum fuerunt.*

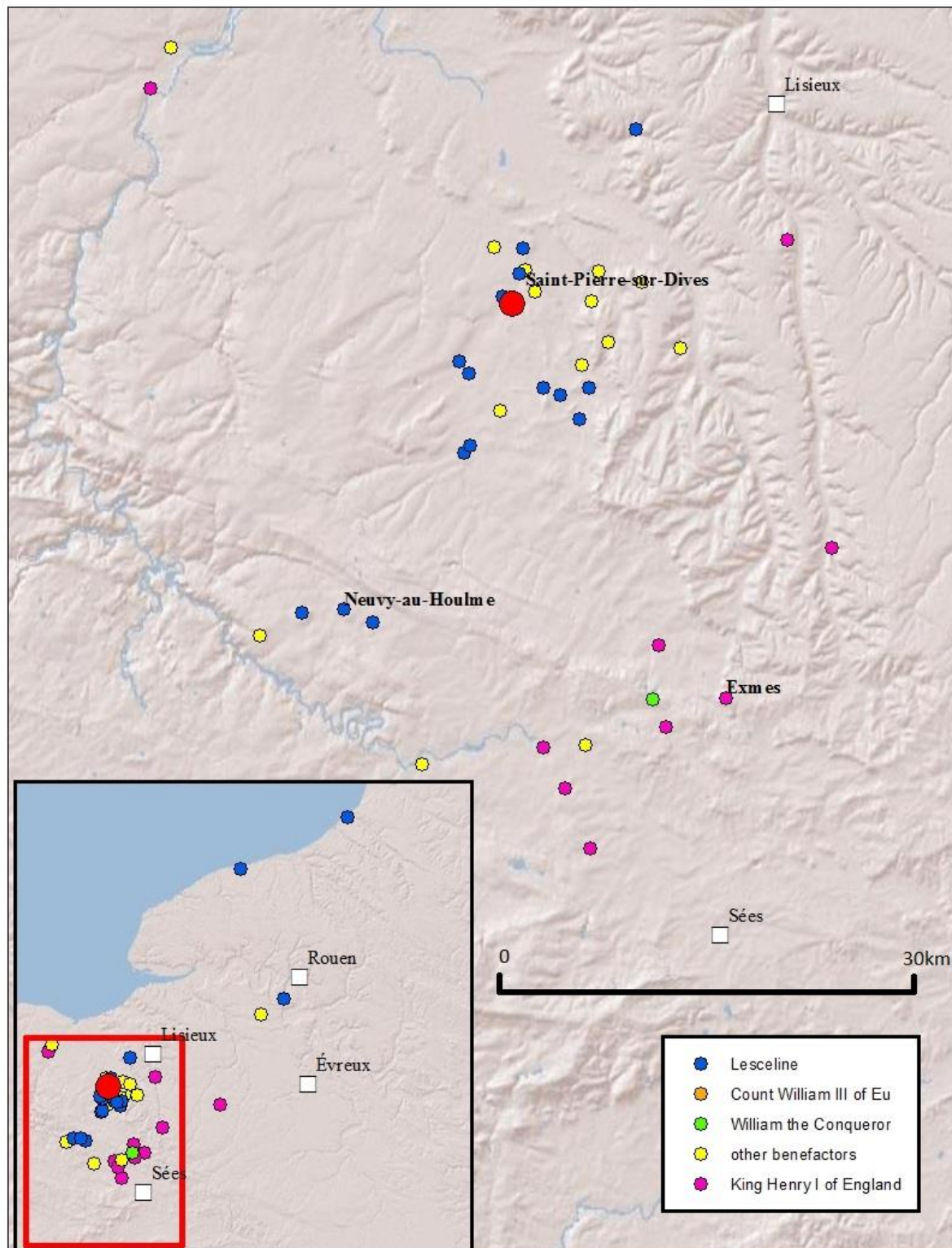
the administrative centre of an ancient Merovingian *centaine*, so Lesceline's property there might have passed from the dukes to William.⁶⁰

The abbey gave Lesceline's followers and tenants an opportunity to reinforce their links with her. The best examples are Richard de Courcy, Nigel de Vieux-Pont-en-Auge and his family, and Aitard de Nonant-le-Pin (who also patronized Lesceline's foundation at Lisieux).⁶¹

⁶⁰ Louise, *Bellême*, i. 121, 144; Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, 297. Neuvy-au-Houlme, Orne, cant. Putanges-Pont-Écrepin.

⁶¹ Sauvage, 'Saint-Pierre-sur-Dive', no. 2; Gazeau, *Normannia monastica*, i. 180, ii. 308; *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 179 (SCRIPTA 6521). Courcy, Calvados, cant. Morteaux-Coulibœuf; Vieux-Pont-en-Auge, Calvados, cant. Saint-Pierre-sur-Dives; Nonant-le-Pin, Orne, cant. Le Merlerault.

Figure 20: Property of Saint-Pierre-sur-Dives according to King Henry I of England's confirmation charters.⁶²



⁶² Sauvage, 'Saint-Pierre-sur-Dive', nos. 1-2.

Lesceline took measures to prevent her sons from reclaiming the masculine abbey's property. The steps she took are described in the abbey's foundation narrative:

Verens ne si in manu filiorum suorum monasterium quod construxerat relinqueretur, earum rerum quas obtulerat aliquando, sicut est mortalium cupiditas, minorationem pateretur, sapienti usa consilio ipsum ab eis pecunia data redemit, eandemque pactionem, ne quid videlicet ipsi vel eorum heredes in rebus huius cœnobii suum jure hereditario calumniari in perpetuum possent, in præsentia Guillelmi Normannorum principis, postea regis Anglorum, ipsis quoque præsentibus firmavit, atque ibidem hunc locum ejusdem principis, ac successorum suorum dominationi per virgam pastoraalem quam in manu ejus posuit, subjugavit.

[Fearing lest, if she left the monastery which she had constructed in the hand of her sons, it might suffer a diminution of those things which she had ever given it (such is the cupidity of mortals!), profiting by wise counsel, she bought it back from them with money; and, lest they or their heirs should ever be able to claim anything in the possessions of this convent as theirs by hereditary right, she confirmed this same agreement in the presence of William duke of the Normans, afterwards king of the English, they also being present; and at the same time she subjugated that place to the domination of the same Duke and his successors through a pastoral staff which she placed in his hand.]⁶³

That Lesceline's sons needed compensation for relinquishing their claims to the abbey's property shows the degree to which abbeys could otherwise be dominated or exploited by their founders' descendants.⁶⁴ King Henry's second confirmation charter reveals that Lesceline paid her sons two hundred ounces of gold to relinquish their claims, and confirms that she

⁶³ *GC*, xi. instr. col. 154 E – 155 A, translated by Tabuteau in *Transfers of Property*, 175.

⁶⁴ J. Yver, 'Autour de l'absence d'avouerie en Normandie', *BSAN*, 57 (1963-1964), 189-283, at 203.

transferred the abbey and its lands to Duke William by means of a pastoral staff.⁶⁵ Giving William the pastoral staff probably signified his right to invest abbots.⁶⁶ William was expected to protect the abbey's property from acquisitive lay neighbours.⁶⁷ William's appointment of Hugh, and his support for Saint-Pierre-sur-Dives, show that the house of Eu was extending its own power with the duke's support in 1046. William's responsibility to support Saint-Pierre-sur-Dives helps to explain his grant of property at Le Bourg-Saint-Léonard between 1046 and 1078, and two manors in Berkshire before 1086.⁶⁸

Lesceline's sons' concession of their rights over Saint-Pierre-sur-Dives explains why the counts of Eu would show little interest in the abbey after Lesceline's death and burial there in 1057, with the single exception of a grant by Count William III.⁶⁹ The overall picture suggests that the counts of Eu after William I were insufficiently connected to Saint-Pierre-sur-Dives to inspire grants to it by their followers and associates.

Lesceline also founded a monastery at Lisieux. The early history of Saint-Désir de Lisieux is obscure.⁷⁰ The foundation charter for Saint-Désir, datable between 1046 and 1057, survives in a photograph of the lost original.⁷¹ The charter states that Duke William granted the site of the monastery at the request of Lesceline and her son Bishop Hugh, so that the monastery could be built there. The only land certainly granted by Lesceline was at Assemont (just 0.7 kilometres from the abbey).⁷² Some property granted by other men was close to Saint-Pierre-sur-Dives, which suggests that these benefactors had some relationship with Lesceline. This is

⁶⁵ Sauvage, 'Saint-Pierre-sur-Dive', no. 2: ...*et, ad corroborandam libertatem ejusdem abbatiae, per virgam pastorem ipsius aecclisiae in dominium patris mei posuit atque ab omni filiorum suorum subjectione et servitio et exactione liberrimas et ab eisdem per ducentas auri uncias redemptas, ad munimentum et tuitionem ipsius abbatiae, videntibus illis et concedentibus, patri meo donavit.*

⁶⁶ Gazeau, *Normannia monastica*, i. 68.

⁶⁷ Tabuteau, *Transfers of Property*, 202; Potts, *Monastic Revival*, 114-15.

⁶⁸ Sauvage, 'Saint-Pierre-sur-Dive', nos. 1-2; GDB 59v (Berkshire 13:1-2). Le Bourg-Saint-Léonard, Orne, cant. Exmes.

⁶⁹ Sauvage, 'Saint-Pierre-sur-Dive', no. 2. For Lesceline's death and burial, see *GC*, xi. instr. col. 155 B.

⁷⁰ Allen, 'Norman Episcopate', i. 261.

⁷¹ *RADN*, no. 140 (*SCRIPTA* 1584).

⁷² Assemont, Calvados, cant. Lisieux, comm. Saint-Désir de Lisieux.

demonstrated best by Fulk de Thiéville, whose grant of property at Carel to Saint-Désir in 1076 must have resulted from his family's association with Lesceline, who had held property at Thiéville.⁷³ However, most of the grants Saint-Désir received according to the foundation charter were not close to the property of Lesceline or the counts of Eu. Many of these grants were probably inspired by Duke William's support, or by Bishop Hugh.

William II, count of Eu and count of Soissons

When Gilbert was murdered in 1040 or 1041, his young sons were removed to Flanders for their own safety.⁷⁴ This created an opportunity for William I's sons to reclaim their inheritance.

The descent of the county of Eu after Gilbert's death is the cause of some disagreement among historians. William II d'Eu, son of Count William I, acquired the county of Soissons in 1057, having been exiled from Normandy after rebelling at Eu.⁷⁵ It is commonly stated that he was count of Eu sometime before that date.⁷⁶ There are three or four eleventh-century charters which identify William II as a count before 1057 (twice with the territorial appellation of Eu, and once or twice without); three of these originate in Normandy, and one is from Corbie.⁷⁷ The earliest surviving versions of these charters date from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but their collective weight makes William's control of the county of Eu a serious possibility. Moreover, Robert of Torigni identified William II as count of Eu in the chapter heading and brief introduction he added to Orderic's account of William's rebellion at Eu.⁷⁸

⁷³ *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 179a (SCRIPTA 6595); Sauvage, 'Saint-Pierre-sur-Dive', nos. 1-2. Carel, Calvados, cant. and comm. Saint-Pierre-sur-Dives; Thiéville, Calvados, cant. Saint-Pierre-sur-Dives.

⁷⁴ OV, iv. 209; Mortimer, 'Clare, Richard de', *ODNB*.

⁷⁵ See below, p. 188.

⁷⁶ Deck, 'Comté d'Eu', 101; Searle, *Predatory Kinship*, 135, 254; Van Houts in *GND*, ii. 10-11 n. 4; Garnett, "'Ducal Succession'", 100 n. 111; Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, 297; Foulon, 'Le chevalier Herluin', 575-76 n. 43.

⁷⁷ *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 166 (SCRIPTA 6511); *RADN*, no. 98 (SCRIPTA 1542); *Actes et documents anciens intéressants la Belgique*, ed. Duvivier, 132-34. Either William II d'Eu or William d'Arques signed *RADN*, no. 105 (SCRIPTA 1549).

⁷⁸ *GND* (Robert of Torigni), ii. 88, 128: *De rebellione Willelmi Busatii comitis Aucensis*.

Against this, there is evidence suggesting that Robert held the county of Eu, and not William II.⁷⁹ William of Jumièges states that Robert was William I's heir to Eu.⁸⁰ Wace adds that Robert, who held Eu 'after his father', was William I's eldest son.⁸¹ Although both statements overlook Gilbert's time as count of Eu, they seem to suggest that Robert was the first son of William I to hold the county. Robert of Torigni explicitly makes William II the middle son of William I and Lesceline.⁸² A ducal charter datable between 1035 and 1047 describes William II's expectation to inherit property around Neufchâtel-en-Bray from a certain Helto, but it gives the comital title to Robert and not William II.⁸³

Robert was certainly count of Eu by November 1054 at the very latest.⁸⁴ Nonetheless, the evidence that William was count of Eu is too plentiful to ignore. His time in office must be placed after Gilbert and before Robert. Elisabeth van Houts suggests that William of Jumièges glossed over William II's time as count of Eu so as not to embarrass Robert, a benefactor of Jumièges.⁸⁵

During his time as count of Eu, William granted unidentifiable property to Le Bec and Montivilliers.⁸⁶ He also consented to his vassal Hugh II de la Ferté's grant of property at twenty-one places to Saint-Ouen between 1046 and 6 March 1047.⁸⁷ William's influence in the ducal entourage probably played a role in the appointment of his brother, Hugh d'Eu, to the bishopric of Lisieux in 1046.⁸⁸ Jean-Hervé Foulon shows that Gilbert, count of Eu, and Herbert,

⁷⁹ Douglas, 'Earliest Norman Counts', 138, 154-56.

⁸⁰ *GND* (William of Jumièges), ii. 10.

⁸¹ *Roman de Rou*, ed. Holden, i. 200 lines 1047-49; *Roman de Rou*, trans. Burgess, 103.

⁸² *GND* (Robert of Torigni), ii. 128: *Hic ex Lescelina comitissa habuit tres filios Robertum, Willelmum, Hugonem postea episcopum Luxouiensem. Post aliquot annos horum medius Willelmus cognomento Busacius...*

⁸³ *RADN*, no. 104 (SCRIPTA 1548). See below, p. 189.

⁸⁴ *RADN*, no. 123 (SCRIPTA 1567). This charter dates between summer 1053 and the end of Isembert's abbacy at La Trinité-du-Mont de Rouen on 1 November 1054. For summer 1053, see Foulon, 'Le chevalier Herluin', 576 n. 43.

⁸⁵ Van Houts in *GND*, ii. 10-11 n. 4.

⁸⁶ *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 166 (SCRIPTA 6511); *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 212 (SCRIPTA 6538).

⁸⁷ *RADN*, no. 107 (SCRIPTA 1551; ARTEM 2699). For the date, see Bates, *William the Conqueror* (2016), 80 n. 135.

⁸⁸ Bates, 'The Conqueror's Adolescence', 11.

bishop of Lisieux, were both important protectors of Le Bec from its foundation. It follows that William II d'Eu and Bishop Hugh witnessed the charter describing the second dedication of Le Bec because they were the successors to Gilbert's county and Herbert's bishopric. According to Foulon, their presence in this charter reflects Duke William's desire to associate Le Bec with himself and his preferred descendants of Duke Richard I, at the expense of Gilbert's successor at Brionne, Guy of Burgundy, who is notably absent.⁸⁹

Table 14: William II d'Eu's appearances in the diplomatic evidence before becoming count of Soissons

Charter	Date	Benefactor	Beneficiary	T	S	M	Style
RADN 83 (SCRIPTA 1526)	1030 x 1035	Goscelin, vicomte of Rouen	La Trinité- du-Mont de Rouen		X		Willelmi heredis Heltonis
<i>Cartulaire de Sainte-Trinité du Mont</i> , ed. Deville, no. 69 (SCRIPTA 54)	1033 x 1054 (probably soon after 12 September 1033)	Lesceline, wife of William I d'Eu	La Trinité- du-Mont de Rouen		X		Willelmi... filiorum ejus
RADN 93 (SCRIPTA 1537)	1035 x 1040	John, abbot of Fécamp	Hugh, son of vicomte Hugh	X			Willelmus filius Willelmi
RADN 104 (SCRIPTA 1548)	1035 x 1047	Helto	La Trinité- du-Mont de Rouen		X	X	Willelmi heredis Heltonis / Quod factum laudavit... Willelmus filius Willelmi comitis, qui et heres Heltonis, et Rotbertis comes frater ejus
RADN 111 (SCRIPTA 1555)	1035 x 1048	Duke William	Mont-Saint- Michel	X			Willelmus filius Villelmi
<i>Regesta</i> , ed. Bates, no. 212 (SCRIPTA 6538)	1035 x 1066 (pancarte of 1068 x 1076)	William II d'Eu and a vassal, Herfrey	Montivilliers			X	Willelmo de Ou
<i>Regesta</i> , ed. Bates, no. 166 (SCRIPTA 6511)	1037 x 1044 (pancarte of 1077)	William II d'Eu	Le Bec			X	Guillelmus comes de Augio
RADN 110 (SCRIPTA 1554)	1037 x 1046	Adelelmus, knight of Duke Robert I	Mont-Saint- Michel		X		Guillelmi filii Guillelmi comitis

⁸⁹ RADN, no. 98 (SCRIPTA 1542); Foulon, 'Le chevalier Herluin', 597-601.

Charter	Date	Benefactor	Beneficiary	T	S	M	Style
RADN 96 (SCRIPTA 1540)	c. 1040	Gulbert, son of vicomte Erchembald	La Trinité-du-Mont de Rouen		X		Willelmi de Ou
RADN 98 (SCRIPTA 1542)	1046 x 1047. ⁹⁰	Duke William's confirmation charter	Le Bec	X (version C)	X (version B)		Willelmus comes frater ipsius episcopi (version C) / Willelmi comitis fratris ipsius episcopi (version B)
RADN 107 (SCRIPTA 1551; ARTEM 2699)	1046 x 1047	Hugh II de la Ferté, with William II d'Eu's consent	Saint-Ouen de Rouen			X	Willelmus de Aou
Allen, 'Avant Lanfranc', 149-51 (ARTEM 2758)	1046 x 1047	Mauger, archbishop of Rouen	Saint-Ouen de Rouen		X		Willelmi Dou
<i>Actes et documents anciens intéressant la Belgique</i> , ed. C. Duvivier (Brussels, 1898), 132-34	1055	Baldwin, count of Flanders	Corbie		X		Comitis Willelmi de Avv

Though they were not the immediate heirs of their fathers, the accessions of Gilbert, William Busac and then Robert to Eu were part of the process by which comital endowments became subject to the claims of heirs. A comital endowment in the Avranchin was allowed to pass from William I d'Eu's brother, Robert, to that Robert's son, Richard, but was forfeited when Richard rebelled before 1026.⁹¹ Hugh, bishop of Bayeux, inherited the comital endowment of his father, Count Ralph, but lost it after rebelling against Duke Robert I.⁹² Gilbert's sons never recovered Brionne.⁹³ These examples show that comital endowments could be inherited in Duke Richard II's reign, but also that Richard and Duke Robert I could choose to interrupt inheritance if a count was rebellious or his heirs were too young. However, Archbishop Robert of Rouen did not lose his comital endowment around Évreux for his

⁹⁰ For the dating of this charter, see Foulon, 'Le chevalier Herluin', 574-76.

⁹¹ C. Potts, 'The Earliest Norman Counts Revisited: the Lords of Mortain', *HSJ*, 4 (1992), 23-35, at 29-31.

⁹² Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, 210-11.

⁹³ Mortimer, 'Clare, Richard de', *ODNB*.

rebellion in c. 1028, and it passed to his son Richard in 1037.⁹⁴ This was an important indicator of the increasing heritability of counties, and this trend was reinforced after Gilbert's death.⁹⁵

Perhaps as a reaction to the duke's continued influence over comital endowments, the emergence of territorial appellations for counts emphasized the link between the chief castle and its holder, and expressed the determination of counts to keep hold of their property.⁹⁶ Territorial appellations for William Busac's comital title form part of this trend (see Table 14).

There is only one piece of evidence for William II's activities at Eu itself after Gilbert's death. In his interpolations to the *Gesta Normannorum Ducum*, Orderic Vitalis describes Duke William's defeat of a rebellion at Eu by a ducal kinsman, a certain William 'called Busac'. Orderic says that after his loss and exile, William Busac received a noble wife and the county of Soissons from King Henry I of France.⁹⁷ Orderic does not identify William Busac as William II d'Eu, but William of Jumièges does name William II as the count of Soissons in a different context.⁹⁸ The identification is corroborated in the additions Robert of Torigni made to Orderic's story.⁹⁹ William II became count of Soissons in 1057, the year when his wife Adelaide's father and brother, successively counts of Soissons, died (before 4 May).¹⁰⁰

The story of William's exile from Normandy and acquisition of Soissons conflicts with a twelfth-century genealogy of the kings of the Franks, which does not identify the parents of William, count of Soissons, but gives the count entirely different brothers to William II d'Eu.¹⁰¹ The names provided for two sons of Count William of Soissons are corroborated by Guibert of

⁹⁴ Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, 327, 330.

⁹⁵ Douglas, 'Earliest Norman Counts', 152.

⁹⁶ Bates, *Normandy*, 156; Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, 193.

⁹⁷ *GND* (Orderic Vitalis), ii. 128.

⁹⁸ *GND* (William of Jumièges), ii. 10.

⁹⁹ *GND* (Robert of Torigni), ii. 88, 128.

¹⁰⁰ For the identity of William's wife, see *Recueil*, ed. Prou, no. 26. The year of death of Reginald, count of Soissons, and his son, Guy, is recorded in a charter of King Henry I of France, issued on 4 May 1057: *RHGF*, xi. 593-94. Adelaide is alleged to have acquired the county by poisoning an unnamed brother, presumably Guy: *Self and Society in Medieval France: the Memoirs of Abbot Guibert of Nogent*, trans. J. F. Benton (Toronto, 1984), 209; *Guibert de Nogent: Autobiographie*, ed. E.-R. Labande (Paris, 1981), 422.

¹⁰¹ *RHGF*, xiv. 5-6; Douglas, 'Earliest Norman Counts', 155.

Nogent.¹⁰² It is difficult to account for this genealogy, but more weight should be given to William of Jumièges, because he was William II d'Eu's contemporary.

The date of William II's rebellion and exile is uncertain. He must have been exiled after he appeared in two original charters datable between 1046 and 6 March 1047, and before he was at Corbie in 1055.¹⁰³ Foulon suggests that William II's rebellion coincided with that of William count of Arques in 1053, on the basis that Duke William's good relationship with King Henry in 1047 makes it unlikely that Henry would have provided refuge to the duke's enemies in the aftermath of Val-ès-Dunes.¹⁰⁴ However, the foundation narrative of Saint-Pierre-sur-Dives suggests that Henry did just that.¹⁰⁵ Besides, William could have spent considerable time in exile before being taken in by Henry. None of William II's appearances at the ducal court can be securely dated after 1047, and it seems unlikely that such an absence from the ducal court occurred before his rebellion instead of after it. In fact, 1048 is the latest plausible date of any of William's appearances in Norman charters, with the exception of his two truncated appearances in the pancarte of Montivilliers, which could date from almost any year in Duke William's pre-Conquest reign. It is therefore possible that William's rebellion and exile occurred between 1046 and 1048, or shortly afterwards. This period overlaps with the rebellion of another ducal kinsman, Guy of Burgundy, count of Brionne.

It is possible to show that some relationship existed between William II and Guy. In charters for La Trinité-du-Mont de Rouen, William II was acknowledged as the heir of a certain Helto during Helto's lifetime. The charters which identify William as Helto's heir are concerned with Helto's property in and around Neufchâtel-en-Bray in the Talou, and at Vernon

¹⁰² *Guibert of Nogent*, trans. Benton, 210; *Guibert de Nogent*, ed. Labande, 422-24.

¹⁰³ See Table 14.

¹⁰⁴ Foulon, 'Le chevalier Herluin', 575-76 n. 43.

¹⁰⁵ *GC*, xi. instr. col. 155 B. Bates suspects that William Busac was among those given refuge: Bates, *William the Conqueror* (2016), 85.

and Longueville in the Méresais, on the southern edge of the Norman Vexin.¹⁰⁶ The Helto who granted property at Wanchy-Capval to Saint-Ouen by 1026 is probably the same man, for men with the toponymic of Capval appear in charters of Le Tréport.¹⁰⁷ The property William expected to inherit became associated with Guy of Burgundy when Duke William granted Guy the castle of Vernon between 1040 and 1047.¹⁰⁸ That William II and Guy were both ducal kinsmen associated with Vernon strengthens the possibility that their rebellions occurred around the same time. Some kind of political understanding between William II and Guy might have arisen in the years before 1047.

William II must be the unnamed count of Soissons whose participation against Duke William at Varaville in August 1057 is recorded in a thirteenth-century chronicle of unknown provenance.¹⁰⁹ William II is not known to have returned to Normandy after the battle of Varaville. He attended King Philip's coronation in 1059.¹¹⁰ The rest of his career can be glimpsed in Philip's charters, and in disapproving remarks by Guibert of Nogent.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁶ *RADN*, no. 104 (SCRIPTA 1548); *RADN*, no. 83 (SCRIPTA 1526). Neufchâtel-en-Bray, Seine-Maritime, chef-lieu de cant.; Vernon, Eure, chef-lieu de cant.; Longueville, Eure, cant. Vernon, comm. Saint-Pierre-d'Autils.

¹⁰⁷ *RADN*, no. 53 (SCRIPTA 1499; ARTEM 2682); *Cartulaire du Tréport*, ed. de Kermaingant, nos. 3, 5 (SCRIPTA 126, 128). Wanchy-Capval, Seine-Maritime, cant. Londinières.

¹⁰⁸ For Guy's receipt of Vernon, see Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, 234.

¹⁰⁹ *RHGF*, xi. 343.

¹¹⁰ *RHGF*, xi. 33.

¹¹¹ *Recueil*, ed. Prou, nos. 5, 22, 23, 27, 28, 30, 62, 78, 82; *Guibert of Nogent*, trans. Benton, 209-10; *Guibert de Nogent*, ed. Labande, 422-24. For William's career at Soissons, see also E. de Barthélemy, 'Les comtes de Soissons', *Mémoires de la société des sciences, arts, belles-lettres, agriculture et industrie de Saint-Quentin*, 3rd série, 14 (1876), 120-261, at 133-34.

Robert, count of Eu, c. 1047–1089 x 1090

Robert's career until 1066

Robert must have received Eu from Duke William soon after Count William II's rebellion around 1047. Robert married a certain Beatrice, who was already the mother of Roger fitz Turolde, before 1 November 1054.¹¹² Roger's grants to Le Tréport, Bec and La Trinité-du-Mont de Rouen suggest that Turolde was a significant landholder in the Talou and the Roumois.¹¹³ This suggests that Robert married Turolde's widow, Beatrice, in order to consolidate his own local influence. It is sometimes stated that Count Robert also married Matilda, daughter of Roger I, count of Sicily.¹¹⁴ This can probably be ruled out, not least because Roger's son-in-law was active in southern Italy beyond 1095, and was a blood-relative of the bishop of Troina, an Italian from Lombardy.¹¹⁵

Robert enjoyed a fairly close relationship with Duke William. This is not obvious from ducal charters alone, for Robert witnessed or signed only one of Duke William's charters before 1047, and only four between 1047 and 1066 (besides those which record his own grants).¹¹⁶

¹¹² *RADN*, no. 123 (SCRIPTA 1567); *Cartulaire du Tréport*, ed. de Kermaingant, nos. 1, 3 (SCRIPTA 125, 126).

¹¹³ *Cartulaire du Tréport*, ed. de Kermaingant, nos. 1, 3 (SCRIPTA 125, 126): Villy-sur-Yères, Seine-Maritime, cant. Eu; Guilmécourt, Seine-Maritime, cant. Envermeu. *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 231 (SCRIPTA 6547): Sotteville-lès-Rouen, Seine-Maritime, chef-lieu de cant. *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 166 (SCRIPTA 6511): unidentified property.

¹¹⁴ W. K. P. von Isenburg, D. Schwennicke, F. von Loringhoven, *Europäische stammtafeln: stammtafeln zur geschichte der europäischen staaten*, 3 vols. (Marburg, 1956-1978), iii. table 693; Allen, 'Norman Episcopate', ii. figure 48.

¹¹⁵ For Count Robert's death in 1089 or 1090, see below, p. 213. For charter evidence of Roger's son-in-law, see L. T. White, *Latin Monasticism in Norman Sicily* (Cambridge, MA, 1938), 245-46 nos. 1 and 3, and White's note to no. 1; *Documenti latini e greci del conte Ruggero I di Calabria e Sicilia*, ed. J. Becker (Rome, 2013), 131-35. For an alternative identification (also open to doubt), see L.-R. Ménager, 'Inventaire des familles normandes et franques émigrées en Italie méridionale et en Sicile (XI-XII siècles)', in *Robert II Guiscardo e il suo tempo (relazioni e comunicazioni nelle prime giornate normanno – sveve, Bari, maggio 1973)*, (Rome, 1975), 259-390, at 312-13.

¹¹⁶ *RADN*, no. 105 (SCRIPTA 1549); *RADN*, no. 191 (SCRIPTA 1634; ARTEM 2705); *RADN*, no. 200 (SCRIPTA 1643); *RADN*, no. 208 (SCRIPTA 1652); *RADN*, no. 219 (SCRIPTA 1661).

He was therefore not part of the small group of barons who came to dominate William's entourage from the late 1040s, primarily at the expense of counts and bishops.¹¹⁷

Table 15: Count Robert's appearances in the diplomatic sources before 1066

Charter	Date	Benefactor	Beneficiary	T	S	M	Style
RADN 72 (SCRIPTA 1518)	1027 x 1035	Goscelin, son of Heddou	Fécamp	X			Rotbertus filius Willelmi comitis
RADN 66 (SCRIPTA 1512)	1028 x 1033	Robert, archbishop of Rouen, and Duke Robert I	Rouen, cathedral		X		Roberti comitis filii
<i>Cartulaire de Sainte-Trinité du Mont</i> , ed. Deville, no. 69 (SCRIPTA 54)	1033 x 1054 (probably soon after 12 September 1033)	Lesceline, wife of William I d'Eu	La Trinité-du-Mont de Rouen		X		Rotberti, filiorum ejus
RADN 104 (SCRIPTA 1548)	1035 x 1047	Helto and Goscelin, vicomte of Rouen	La Trinité-du-Mont de Rouen			X	Rotbertus comes frater ejus
RADN 105 (SCRIPTA 1549)	1035 x 1047	Duke William	Saint-Ouen de Rouen		X		Roberti de Ou
<i>Regesta</i> , ed. Bates, no. 212 (SCRIPTA 6538)	1040 x c. 1065 (pancarte of 1068 x 1076)	Benceline, wife of Roger	Montivilliers	X			Roberto predicti castris comite
Allen, 'Avant Lanfranc', 149-51 (ARTEM 2758)	1046 x 1047	Mauger, archbishop of Rouen	Saint-Ouen de Rouen		X		Rotberti Dou
RADN 191 (SCRIPTA 1634; ARTEM 2705)	c. 1050 x 1066	Roger de Clères	Saint-Ouen de Rouen		X		Rotberti comitis de Ou
RADN 123 (SCRIPTA 1567)	1053 x 1054	Robert, count of Eu	La Trinité-du-Mont de Rouen		X	X	Rotberti comitis de Ou / Rotbertus comes de Ou
RADN 200 (SCRIPTA 1643)	1054 x 1066	Roger de Bully	La Trinité-du-Mont de Rouen		X		Rotberti comitis de Auco
RADN 208 (SCRIPTA 1652)	1055 x 1066	Richard, count of Évreux	Saint-Sauveur d'Évreux		X		Roberti comitis d'Eu
RADN 219 (SCRIPTA 1661)	1060 x 1066	Duke William	Bayeux		X		Robertus comes de Ou

¹¹⁷ Bates, *Normandy*, 159-60.

Charter	Date	Benefactor	Beneficiary	T	S	M	Style
RADN 220 (SCRIPTA 1662)	1060 x 1066	Various (including Robert, count of Eu)	Jumièges			X	Rotbertus comes de Au

Robert's cooperation with Duke William is visible in other evidence. Duke William's marriage to Matilda at Eu, in late 1052 or 1053, indicates a solid working relationship with Robert.¹¹⁸ Robert played a leading role at Mortemer in 1054.¹¹⁹ His respect for the dukes can be detected in his patronage of La Trinité-du-Mont de Rouen (an aristocratic abbey popular with the dukes) and the ducal abbey of Jumièges.¹²⁰ Before 1066, Duke William granted land at Les Faux to Robert's foundation at Le Tréport, and consented to grants by other men.¹²¹ This was an unmistakable sign of goodwill towards Robert, for it was unusual for Duke William or his father to grant land to aristocratic abbeys founded between the 1030s and 1066.¹²²

Robert's foundation of Le Tréport in 1059

A charter of Robert's grandson, Count Henry of Eu, states that Robert granted five houses at Le Tréport to Saint-Lucien de Beauvais, which lay in the Beauvaisis.¹²³ Robert presumably made this grant before founding his own abbey at Le Tréport.

Robert's foundation of an abbey at Le Tréport was noted by Robert of Torigni.¹²⁴ Two pancartes which record the abbey's endowment survive in copies from the thirteenth and eighteenth centuries. The pancarte from the thirteenth century states that Robert founded the

¹¹⁸ *GND* (William of Jumièges), ii. 128-30. For the date, see Bates, *William the Conqueror* (2016), 91-126.

¹¹⁹ *GG*, 48; *OV*, iv. 86; *Gesta Regum*, eds. Mynors, Thomson and Winterbottom, i. 434; *Roman de Rou*, ed. Holden, ii. 66 line 4817; *Roman de Rou*, trans. Burgess, 145.

¹²⁰ *RADN*, no. 123 (SCRIPTA 1567); *RADN*, no. 220 (SCRIPTA 1662).

¹²¹ *Cartulaire du Tréport*, ed. de Kermaingant, no. 3 (*RADN*, nos. 215-17; SCRIPTA 126). Les Faux was near Le Bourgheroulde.

¹²² Bates, *Normandy*, 206.

¹²³ M. Peigné-Delacourt, 'Charte de donation et confirmation de dons faits à l'abbaye de Saint-Lucien de Beauvais en l'an 1109 par Henri, comte d'Eu', *Mémoires de la Société Académique et Archéologique du département de l'Oise*, 3 (1858), 550-57, at 551-53.

¹²⁴ *GND* (Robert of Torigni), ii. 132; Robert of Torigni, *Chronique*, ii. 201.

abbey in 1036.¹²⁵ That from the eighteenth century says 1059.¹²⁶ 1059 is the generally accepted date, because both pancartes reveal that the foundation occurred during the episcopate of Maurilius, archbishop of Rouen (1055-1067), and the thirteenth-century cartulary provides erroneous dates in several other instances.¹²⁷ Gilbert de Brionne, not Robert, held the county of Eu in 1036. Orderic asserts that failure to found an abbey would have embarrassed any major family.¹²⁸ By 1059, it would have been clear that aristocratic abbeys were a sign of their founders' status and a way for them to create or reinforce relationships with local followers.¹²⁹

The necrology of Le Tréport records that the abbey's construction was supervised by Albéric, abbot of La Croix-Saint-Leufroy (c. 1020-1030 x after 1059).¹³⁰ Le Tréport's first abbot, Rainer, was simultaneously abbot of La Trinité-du-Mont de Rouen for some or all of the period from 1059 until his death in 1078.¹³¹ La Croix-Saint-Leufroy was probably a ducal restoration,¹³² and La Trinité-du-Mont was closely associated with the dukes.¹³³ Le Tréport's links with these abbeys show that Robert's foundation helped to spread ducal influence in the Talou. However, the religious network which evolved around Le Tréport could have made Robert and his descendants harder for a ruler to displace.

The property Robert granted demonstrates the strategic importance of the county of Eu. A concentrated block of property can be observed, extending 33 kilometres south-east along the frontier with the Vimeu (see Figure 21). The property along this frontier was quite evenly spaced, ensuring that the count of Eu was able to dominate this potentially sensitive region.

¹²⁵ *Cartulaire du Tréport*, ed. de Kermaingant, no. 1 (SCRIPTA 125).

¹²⁶ *Cartulaire du Tréport*, ed. de Kermaingant, no. 3 (SCRIPTA 126).

¹²⁷ Deck, 'Comté d'Eu', 102-03 n. 26; Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, 298 n. 78; Gazeau, *Normannia monastica*, i. 13.

¹²⁸ OV, ii. 10.

¹²⁹ Bates, *Normandy*, 115-16, 222; Chibnall, *World of Orderic*, 47-57.

¹³⁰ *RHGF*, xxiii. 452; Gazeau, *Normannia monastica*, ii. 85.

¹³¹ Gazeau, *Normannia monastica*, i. 232, ii. 363-64.

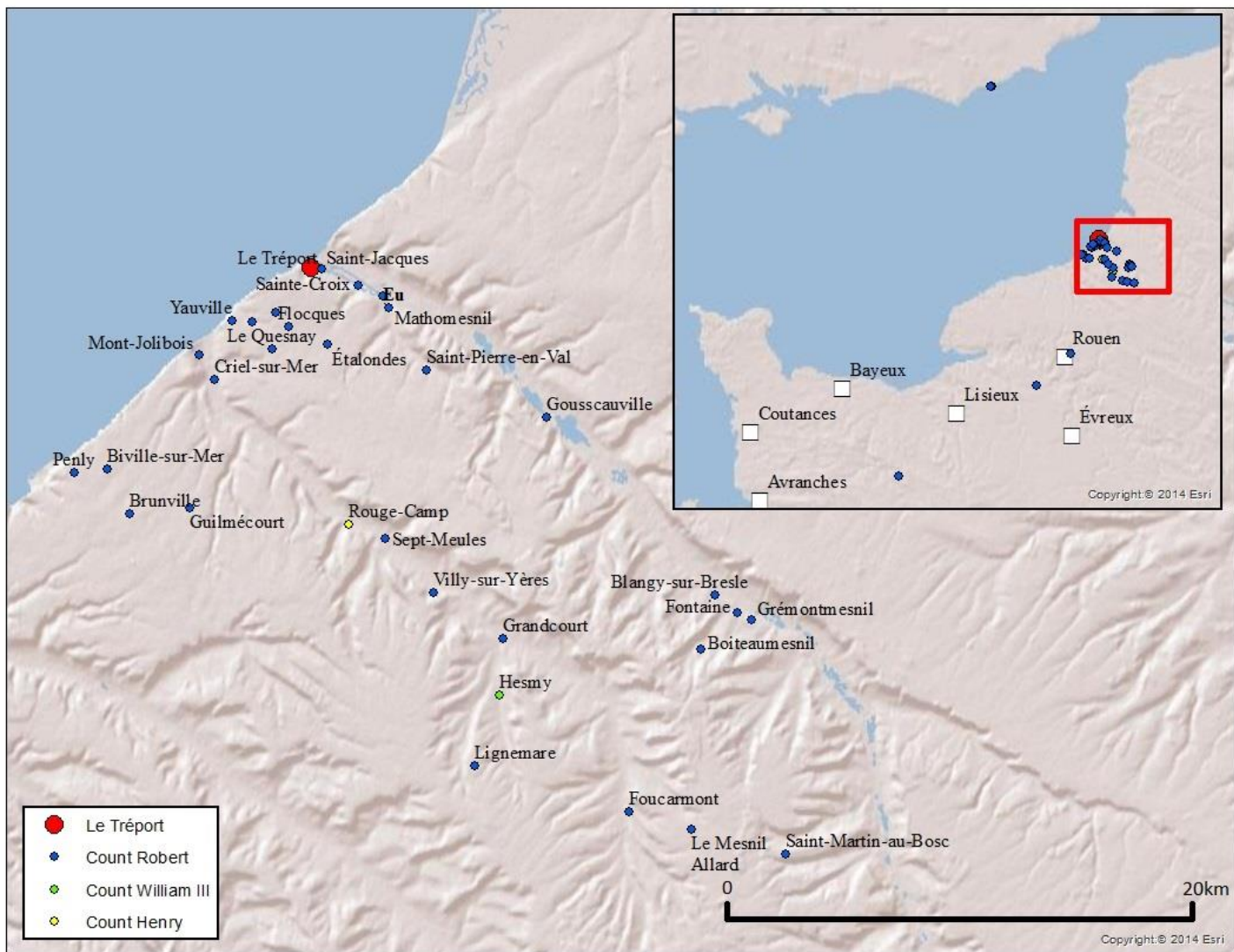
¹³² Gazeau, *Normannia monastica*, i. 11.

¹³³ Potts, *Monastic Revival*, 108; Bates, *William the Conqueror* (2016), 97-98.

The military responsibility attached to the county of Eu can be perceived in Gilbert de Brionne's expedition in the Vimeu in 1031 or 1032.¹³⁴

¹³⁴ See above, p. 177; Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, 298.

Figure 21: Grants to Le Tréport by Robert, William III and Henry, counts of Eu.¹



¹ *Cartulaire du Tréport*, ed. de Kermaingant, nos. 1, 3, 60 (SCRIPTA 125, 126, 617).

The configuration of these lands gains significance in comparison to the more scattered estate of the house of Tosny.¹ That the house of Tosny's estate was more dispersed than Count Robert's must be partly because the Tosnys were not ducal kin and never received a comital endowment. Instead, the origins of their wealth lay in the generosity of a tenth-century family member who was archbishop of Rouen.

Robert cannot be shown to have held property in the Vimeu. This might be because the frontier Eu straddled was a natural one, bounded by the river Bresle and the forest of Eu.² This apparently made it less porous than Normandy's fluctuating frontier zones to the south, and less conducive to cross-frontier landholdings and cross-frontier aristocratic marriages.

Chroniclers include Robert among Normandy's outstanding laymen of 1066.³ He contributed sixty ships to the invasion of England.⁴ This was the same number supplied by the duke's steward, William fitz Osbern, and the three vicomtes, Roger II de Montgommery, Roger de Beaumont and Hugh (or more likely Richard) d'Avranches. This shows that although Robert was less prominent at the ducal court than Duke William's favourite barons, he was no less supportive. Robert's good relationship with the duke is also demonstrated by William's choice to marry at Eu, and William's patronage of Le Tréport. Robert is not known to have fought at Hastings, but it is nonetheless plausible that he did.

¹ See Figure 10.

² For a map, see Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, 46.

³ *GG*, 100; *OV*, ii. 140; *Roman de Rou*, ed. Holden, ii. 107 line 5981; *Roman de Rou*, trans. Burgess, 157.

⁴ E. M. C. van Houts, 'The Ship List of William the Conqueror', *ANS*, 10 (1988), 159-83, at 176.

Robert's estates in England

Orderic Vitalis includes Robert amongst those who 'received great revenues and fiefs' in England from King William.⁵ That Robert was Domesday Book's anonymous count of Eu is confirmed by a thirteenth-century copy of an eleventh-century survey of the lands of St Augustine's, Canterbury, which used Domesday's original returns. This survey identifies Robert as the count of Eu holding from Bishop Odo at Leeds.⁶

Table 16: English land of Robert, count of Eu

Shire	Held as tenant-in-chief		Held in demesne		Let to subtenants		Held as a subtenant		Net income £
	Estates	£	Estates	£	Estates	£	Estates	£	
Essex	1.00	30.00	1.00	30.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	30.00
Huntingdonshire	1.00	10.00	0.70	7.00	0.30	3.00	0.00	0.00	7.00
Kent	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	3.00	22.00	22.00
Sussex	131.00	279.34	26.24	63.10	104.76	216.24	0.00	0.00	63.10
Total	133.00	319.34	27.94	100.10	105.06	219.24	3.00	22.00	122.10

Robert held the rape of Hastings in Sussex (see Table 16 and Figure 22).⁷ The value of his more distant manors at Buckworth in Huntingdonshire and Thurrock in Essex made them worth keeping in demesne despite their distance from the rape of Hastings.⁸ In Kent, Robert was the subtenant of Archbishop Lanfranc twice and Bishop Odo once.⁹

⁵ OV, ii. 266.

⁶ I. A Terrier of Fleet, Lincolnshire: from a Manuscript in the British Museum, ed. Miss N. Neilson. II. An Eleventh Century Inquisition of St Augustine's, Canterbury, by the Late Adolphus Ballard (London, 1920), 2; GDB 7v (Kent 5:67).

⁷ GDB 18r-20r (Sussex 9:1-131); referred to as his *rapo* or *divisionem* in GDB 17v (Sussex 8:3); GDB 10v (Kent 5:175).

⁸ GDB 205v (Huntingdonshire 10:1); LDB 63r (Essex 31:1).

⁹ GDB 4r (Kent 2:25, 2:32), 7v (Kent 5:67).

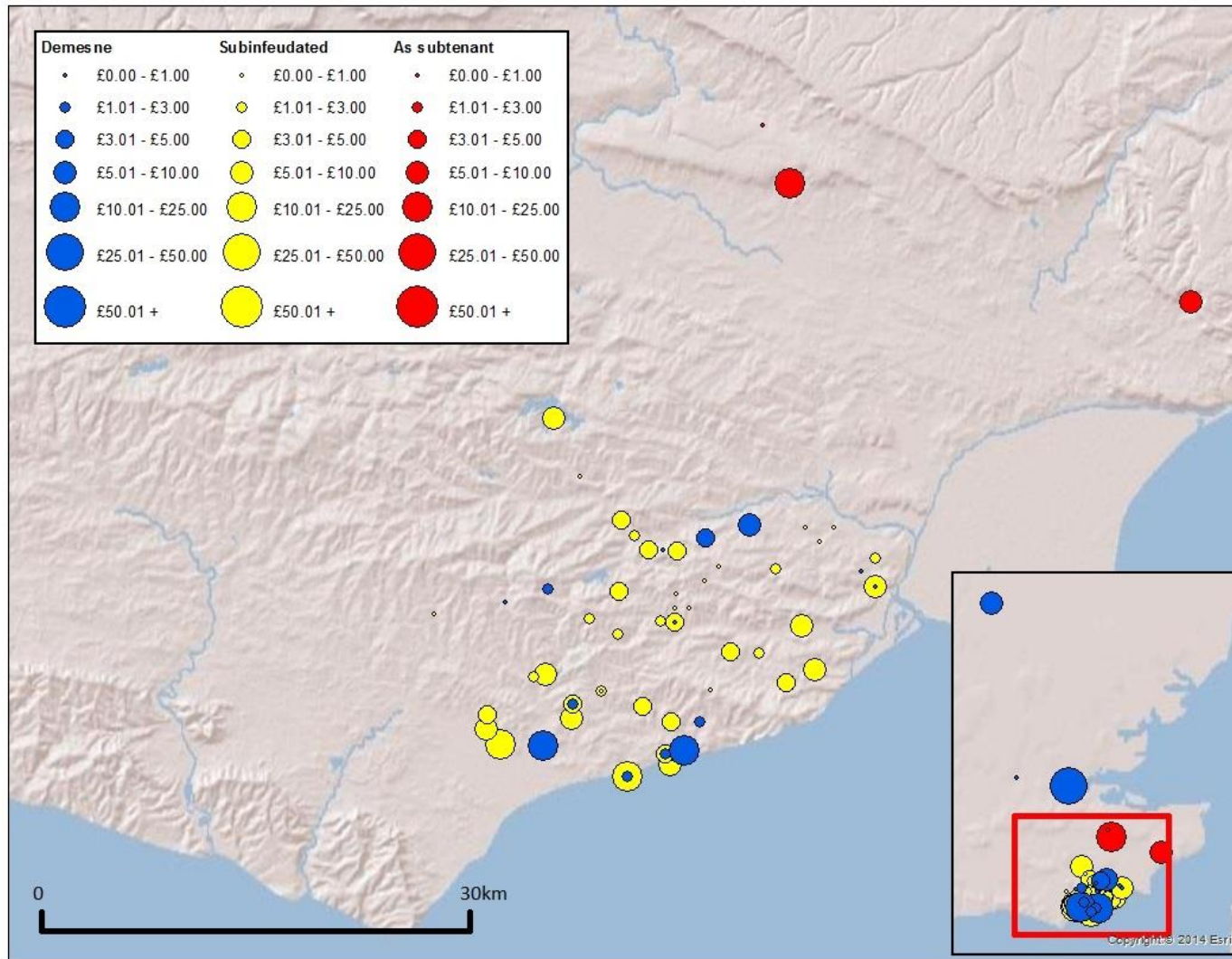


Figure 22: English land of Robert, count of Eu, according to Domesday Book.¹

¹ This map underestimates Robert's property in the Sussex hundreds of Hawksborough, Shoyswell, Henhurst, Baldslow and Netherfield, where he possessed unidentified outliers of parent manors in the rape of Pevensey. Unnamed outliers of parent manors in the rape of Hastings have been mapped at the location of their parent manor. See below, p. 200.

The map of Robert's known property in England (Figure 22) underestimates his initial endowment in the rape of Hastings, because of the way Sussex was colonized long before 1066. The Weald in northern Sussex was probably first colonized by peasants from manors in south Sussex. The outlying settlements these peasants created in the north belonged to the parent manor further south. Domesday Book does not provide names for these outlying manors, and their assets were recorded under the name of the parent manor.¹

Outliers are most evident in the rapes of Pevensey and Hastings. In three northern hundreds of Hastings rape, namely Hawksborough, Shoyswell and Henhurst, Domesday Book records Robert's property in twenty-five named vills which actually lay in the rape of Pevensey. Two more instances can be found in the hundreds of Baldslow and Netherfield.² These entries do not state that Robert held the named vill. Instead, he held a certain hidage 'in' or 'of' that place. Occasionally, Robert's manor 'belonged' to the one named. Before 1066, these twenty-seven manors had been outliers of parent manors located in what was to become the rape of Pevensey. These outliers of the rape of Pevensey's manors were worth a little over £42 in 1086, but they cannot be mapped because their location within the hundreds which record them is unknowable.

Robert was not the first to hold the castle of Hastings, for Orderic states that Humphrey du Tilleul 'had held Hastings from the day of its foundation' before relinquishing his property in

¹ For the relationships between parent manors and outliers, including Robert's outliers in Hastings rape, see E. Searle, 'Hides, Virgates and Tenant Settlement at Battle Abbey', *Economic History Review*, new series 16:2 (1963), 290-300, at 293-94; F. R. Thorn, 'Hundreds and Wapentakes', in *The Sussex Domesday*, eds. A. Williams and R. W. H. Erskine (London, 1990), 26-42, at 28-29.

² GDB 18v-20r (Sussex 9:35-59, 9:61-81, 9:88-92, 9:94-102, 9:114-15).

England to return to Normandy.³ Orderic places Humphrey's return to Normandy after the northern rebellion of summer 1068, and before 'the third year' of King William's reign. It is therefore likely that Humphrey returned to Normandy in the second half of 1068. In autumn or winter 1069, Robert, count of Eu, and Robert, count of Mortain, routed the Danish invaders who were trapped at Lindsey.⁴ This displays the military skill required of counts, and the trust King William had in both men. Given the departure of Humphrey around a year previously, it seems likely that Robert had already received the rape of Hastings before his action at Lindsey. It is certain that Robert d'Eu received property in Sussex before the deposition of Bishop Æthelric of Selsey in May 1070, because Æthelric held Bexhill in 1066 and afterwards, 'until King William gave the castelry of Hastings to the count.'⁵

We do not know for certain whether the rapes of Arundel, Lewes, Pevensey and Hastings were entirely new creations, or adaptations of some pre-Conquest divisions of Sussex.⁶ Whenever the rapes were created, it is certain that the rapes of 1086 were newly created lordships, because pre-Conquest landholders in Sussex held scattered estates instead of discrete territorial blocks.⁷

Robert's estates in Normandy and England resemble each other in size and density (see Figure 23). King William's grants of concentrated castle-based lordships in Sussex to his trusted barons was remarkably similar to the Norman dukes' creation of frontier counts around the beginning of the eleventh century. It is likely that these territorial lordships were created in Normandy and England for a similar reason, namely the protection of the frontier. The strategic importance of Sussex is evident in the earliness of its Norman castles, and the abundance of

³ OV, ii. 219-21: Orderic describes the brief English career of Humphrey du Tilleul *qui Hastings a prima die constructionis ad custodiendum suscepit*. Le Tilleul, Calvados, cant. Saint-Pierre-sur-Dives, comm. Saint-Georges-en-Auge.

⁴ OV, ii. 230.

⁵ GDB 18r (Sussex 9:11): ...*et post tenuit donec rex .W. dedit comiti castellariam de Hastings*; J. F. A. Mason, 'The Rapes of Sussex and the Norman Conquest', *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, 102 (1964), 68-93, at 75.

⁶ For the origins of the rapes, see *VCH Sussex*, i. 352-54, 360-61; Mason, 'Rapes of Sussex', 68-93 and references at 68 n. 1; Thorn, 'Hundreds and Wapentakes', 29-33 and references at 29 n. 8.

⁷ *VCH Sussex*, i. 354.

milites recorded there in Domesday Book – there were more in Sussex than in any other shire.⁸ The coastal castles in Sussex guarded the shire through which William himself had invaded England.⁹ Loyal rape-holders could also offer William easy access between London and the south coast in the event of a rebellion elsewhere in Sussex.¹⁰ Judith Green has suggested that the compact territorial lordships William created in Sussex were intended to guard the English Channel between Sussex and Normandy, and to defend against invasions.¹¹ The proximity of Count Robert's Norman lands a little over 100 kilometres across the Channel would have strengthened the power Robert could exert in those waters and must have made him a strong candidate for defensive responsibilities in Sussex.¹²

⁸ Harvey, 'The Knight and the Knight's Fee', 25; E. Searle, *Lordship and Community: Battle Abbey and its Banlieu, 1066-1538* (Toronto, 1974), 49.

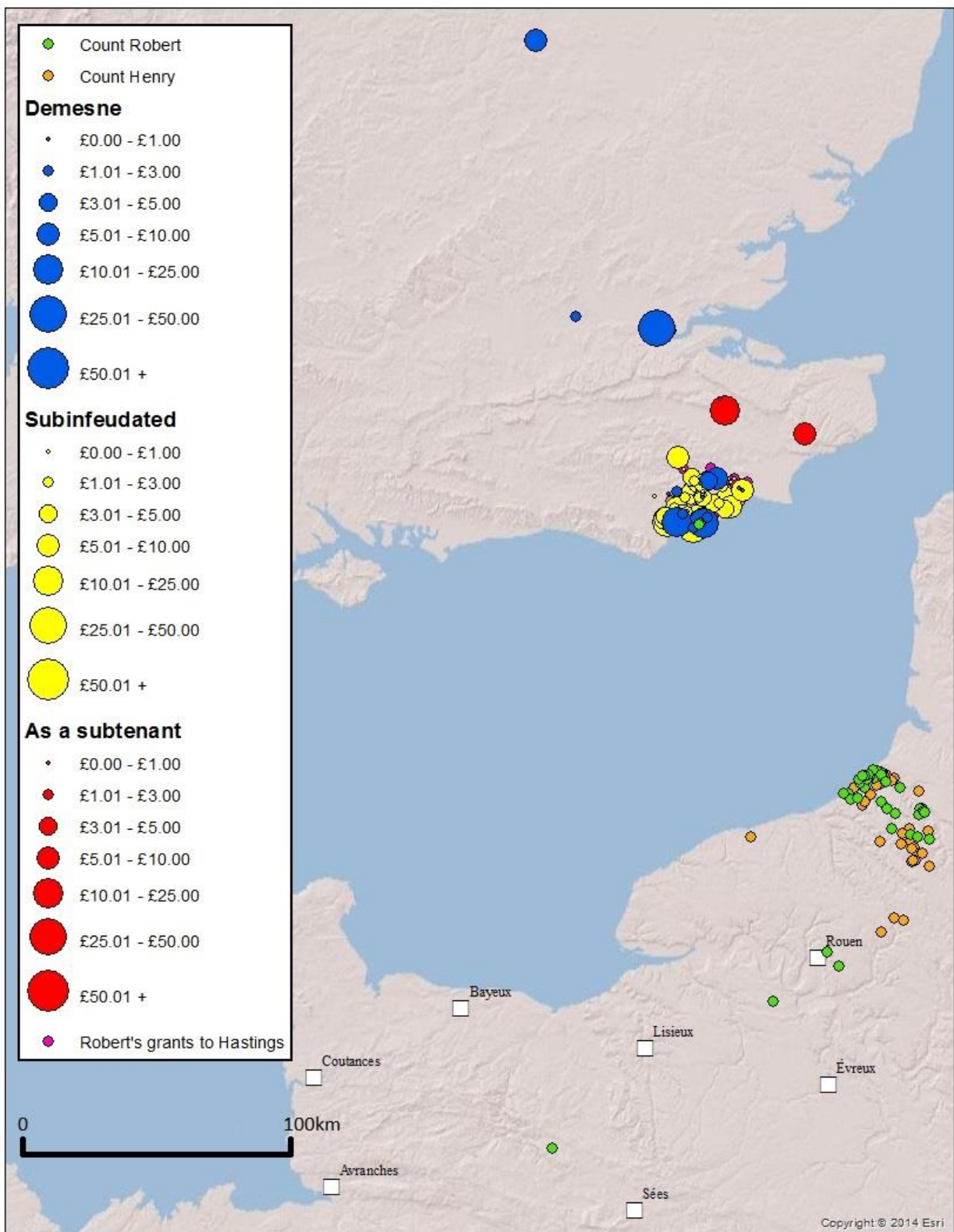
⁹ *VCH Sussex*, i. 353; *Domesday Book: Sussex*, ed. J. Morris (Chichester, 1976), notes.

¹⁰ *VCH Sussex*, i. 353.

¹¹ Green, *Aristocracy of Norman England*, 58. Also see Bates, *William the Conqueror* (2016), 286.

¹² *VCH Sussex*, ix. 1.

Figure 23: Count Robert's cross-Channel property.¹³



The strategic importance of Robert's rape seems to have influenced the degree of subinfeudation within it. About 77% of Robert's land in Sussex (by value) was given to

subtenants (see Table 16). This high figure can be explained by the high quota of knights Robert probably owed King William: the count of Eu in 1166 owed sixty knights, of which fifty-six were enfeoffed in the rape of Hastings by 1135.¹⁴

It is likely that Robert was influenced by the value of his manors when he arranged their subinfeudation. He kept his most valuable manor, Thurrock in Essex, in demesne.¹⁵ Robert probably solved the problem of administering this distant manor by farming it out, for his seven houses in London were included in Thurrock's *firma*.¹⁶ His two most valuable manors in Sussex, Filsham and Hooe, consisted of a parent manor and outliers, and in both cases Robert kept the majority of the total value to himself while subinfeudating outliers to many different men.¹⁷ Several of Robert's Sussex manors which have high values according to Domesday Book were less valuable than they appear, because the stated value was spread between the parent manor and outliers. In several of these cases, neither the parent manor nor the outliers were valuable enough individually to be kept in demesne. Whilst it is true that three of Robert's most valuable manors in 1086 do not show traces of outliers but were subinfeudated anyway, these three manors were not among Robert's most valuable manors when he received them.¹⁸ It has been observed that Robert severed the connections between parent manors and their nearby outliers by distributing them to many different subtenants. As a result, his subtenants

¹³ For charters, see: *RADN*, no. 123 (*SCRIPTA* 1567); *RADN*, no. 220 (*SCRIPTA* 1662); *Cartulaire du Tréport*, ed. de Kermaingant, nos. 1, 3, 4, 60 (*SCRIPTA* 125, 126, 127, 617); *Cartulaire du Tréport*, ed. de Kermaingant, p. 42 n. 1; Sauvage, 'Saint-Pierre-sur-Dive', no. 2; Kew, The National Archives, E 210/1073; *The Chartulary of the High Church of Chichester*, ed. W. D. Peckham (Lewes, 1946), no. 945; *Regesta*, eds. Johnson and Cronne, no. 1136*; *Select Documents of the English Lands of the Abbey of Bec*, ed. M. Chibnall (London, 1951), no. 43; A. D. Seine-Maritime, D 20, fols. 15r and 17r (*Calendar*, ed. Round, no. 399); *Regesta*, eds. Johnson and Cronne, no. 877, p. 320; Peigné-Delacourt, 'Charte par Henri, comte d'Eu', 551-53; Deck, *Ville d'Eu*, 241-44 (*SCRIPTA* 2340; *ARTEM* 2750); B. N. ms. Lat. 13904, fol. 36r-38v; *Recueil Henri II*, eds. Delisle and Berger, i. 306-10 (*SCRIPTA* 6860); *Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Saint-Victor-en-Caux*, ed. C. de Beaurepaire, in *Melanges (Société de l'histoire de Normandie)*, 5th série (Rouen and Paris, 1898), 382. Also see note to Figure 22. A place called *braisii* (Bray), granted to Foucarmont by Count Robert's grandson, Count Henry (Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, Y 13, fol. 54r), has not been mapped because there are too many possible identifications for this place.

¹⁴ *Red Book*, 202.

¹⁵ LDB 63r (Essex 31:1).

¹⁶ LDB 63r (Essex 31:1); Lennard, *Rural England*, 206.

¹⁷ GDB 18r-v (Sussex 9:1,14).

¹⁸ GDB 18r, 19v (Sussex 9:5,7,104).

were intermingled. This prevented any subtenant becoming too dominant in one locality, and encouraged a sense of community which would aid the defence of the rape.¹⁹

The strategic importance of the rape of Hastings also affected Robert's religious patronage. In Normandy, religious foundations consolidated their founder's control of a locality. Robert himself had already adopted this approach at Le Tréport, and he would now do so in England. A charter issued in the name of Robert's grandson, Count Henry, identifies Robert as the founder and builder of the college of St Mary of the castle of Hastings.²⁰

Robert's foundation should be placed before 1086, because four of its prebendaries are identified as clerks, priests or canons in Domesday Book.²¹ The college is first explicitly recorded in 1094, when Archbishop Anselm consecrated the new bishop of Lincoln in this church while William Rufus waited to depart Hastings for Normandy.²² Robert contributed to eight of the college's ten prebends. Unfortunately, many of the places where he granted property are unidentifiable, so the college's possessions cannot be mapped comprehensively. We can nonetheless see that Robert granted property throughout the rape of Hastings, as well as in Kent and Essex (see Figure 24). Henry's charter shows that Robert's subtenants reinforced their relationship with Robert by patronizing the college. These include the *vicecomes* Reinbert, Walter fitz Lambert, Guy and Ingelrann d'Eu, Ralph de Bailleul and Robert de Criel.

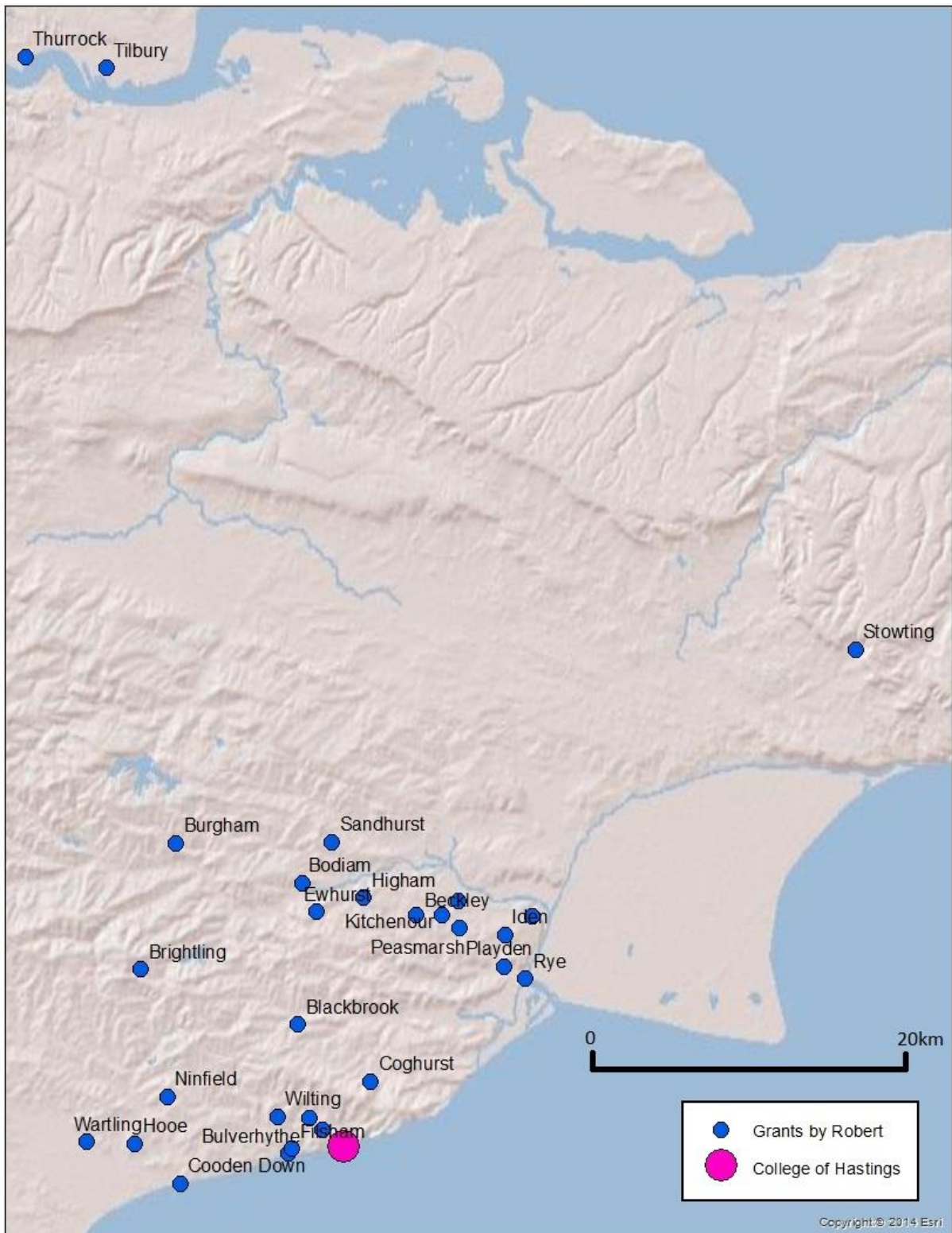
¹⁹ Searle, *Lordship and Community*, 53-54; Searle, 'The Abbey of the Conquerors: Defensive Enfeoffment and Economic Development in Anglo-Norman England', *ANS*, 2 (1980), 154-164 and 197-98, at 158.

²⁰ For the thirteenth-century Latin copy, see Kew, The National Archives, E 210/1073. For an English copy, see *Chartulary of Chichester*, ed. Peckham, no. 945.

²¹ GDB 18r, 19r, 20r (Sussex 9:11,72,109,126).

²² *Eadmeri historia novorum in Anglia et opuscula duo de vita sancti Anselmi et quibusdam miraculis ejus*, ed. M. Rule (London, 1884), 47; *Eadmer's History of Recent Events in England*, trans. G. Bosanquet (London, 1964), 48; *VCH Sussex*, ii. 112.

Figure 24: Identifiable property granted to the college of Hastings by Count Robert.²³



²³ Kew, The National Archives, E 210/1073; *Chartulary of Chichester*, ed. Peckham, no. 945.

Count Robert seems to have endowed the college of Hastings instead of making substantial grants of property in England to continental beneficiaries. By 1086, Robert had granted a portion worth £4 of the manor of Bullington to Le Tréport.²⁴ This grant probably included nearby Pebsham, where Le Tréport had property according to a charter issued after 1176.²⁵ This was his only alienation of property in England to a continental church. Robert's religious patronage in Sussex was instead supposed to consolidate his dominance in this territory.

Besides controlling a castle and a church at Hastings, Robert also acquired a pre-existing town there.²⁶ The rape-holders of Sussex demonstrate Le Patourel's contention that the combination of castle, church and town which can be observed in Normandy became instrumental to the colonization and pacification of England.²⁷ It also seems that the rape-holders held Sussex lordships more akin to the castle-based lordships seen in northern France than the dispersed Anglo-Saxon estates Frenchmen most often received elsewhere in England (see Figure 22).²⁸

Robert's cross-Channel career from 1066 until his death

The diplomatic evidence enables us to gain some impression of Robert's activities and priorities after 1066 (see Table 17).

²⁴ GDB 18r (Sussex 9:13).

²⁵ *Cartulaire du Tréport*, ed. de Kermaingant, no. 60 (SCRIPTA 617); *VCH Sussex*, i. 397 n. 3.

²⁶ *VCH Sussex*, i. 397 n. 2.

²⁷ E. Cownie, 'Conquest, Lordship and Religious Patronage in the Sussex Rapes, 1066-1135', *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, 136 (1998), 111-22, at 113-14; Le Patourel, *Norman Empire*, 316-18.

²⁸ For the contrast between concentrated French power and dispersed Anglo-Saxon power, see Crouch, *Birth of Nobility*, 284-85, 297-302; Crouch, *English Aristocracy*, 133-36. For another comparison after 1066, see Green, 'Unity and Disunity', 132-33.

Table 17: Robert's appearances in the diplomatic evidence after 1066

Charter	Date	Benefactor	Beneficiary	T	S	M	Style
<i>Regesta</i> , ed. Bates, no. 181	1068	King William I	St Martin-le-Grand, London		X		Robertus comes
<i>Regesta</i> , ed. Bates, no. 254 (SCRIPTA 6567; ARTEM 3061)	1069	King William I	Saint-Denis		X		Rotbertus comes Augensis castri
<i>Regesta</i> , ed. Bates, no. 18	1070 x 1086 (probably around 1076)	King William I's writ	Battle			X	R(ober)to comiti de Ou
<i>Regesta</i> , ed. Bates, no. 26	1074	Odo, bishop of Bayeux	Bayeux		X		Robertus comes de Auca
<i>Regesta</i> , ed. Bates, no. 83	1077	King William I's writ	St Augustine's, Canterbury			X	R(ober)to comiti de Ou
<i>Regesta</i> , ed. Bates, no. 42	1077 (or 1066 x 1087)	King William I's writ	Bury St Edmunds			X	R(otber)to comiti de Eu
<i>Regesta</i> , ed. Bates, no. 129	1077 (or 1070 x 1086)	King William I's writ	England, kingdom			X	R(otber)to comiti de Ou
A. D. Calvados, 2 Fi 231; <i>RADN</i> 140 B, p. 318 note	1077	King William I's confirmation charter	Saint-Désir de Lisieux			X	
<i>Regesta</i> , ed. Bates, no. 46 (SCRIPTA 6459; ARTEM 1988)	1077	Roger II de Montgommery	Saint-Étienne de Caen		X		Aucensis comitis
<i>Regesta</i> , ed. Bates, no. 235 (SCRIPTA 6551)	1080	Gilbert, bishop of Évreux	La Trinité-du-Mont de Rouen	X			Rotb(er)tus comes de Ou
<i>Regesta</i> , ed. Bates, no. 53 (SCRIPTA 6466)	1080 x 1083	Lanfranc, and other abbots of Saint-Étienne de Caen	Saint-Étienne de Caen	X			Rob(er)tus Aucensis comes
<i>Regesta</i> , ed. Bates, no. 54 (SCRIPTA 6467; ARTEM 2343)	1081 x 1087	King William I	Saint-Étienne de Caen		X		Roberti Au+censis comitis
<i>Regesta</i> , ed. Bates, no. 248 (SCRIPTA 6564; ARTEM 2716)	1084	Arnulf <i>Villensis</i>	Saint-Ouen de Rouen		X		Roberti comitis Occensis

Robert was at the royal court at Westminster on 11 May 1068,²⁹ and can be found at Winchester on 13 April 1069.³⁰ On 30 November 1074 he was at Rouen.³¹ Royal writs suggest that Robert was given administrative duties in England by King William during William's four-year stay in Normandy from 1076 to 1080. These cross-Channel documents demonstrate how William could control events in England from Normandy.³² Robert's duties were not limited to the rape of Hastings. Robert was addressed in three royal writs in or around July 1077, ordering the restoration of property seized by sheriffs from Bury St Edmunds, St Augustine's, Canterbury, and the English church as a whole.³³

These writs suggest that Robert was in England around 1077 and was expected to be present there in the future. Lanfranc was the first individual addressed in two of these three writs, which implies that he held a position of leadership in the royal initiative against sheriffs. It is therefore striking that the three laymen addressed – Robert count of Eu, Richard de Clare (in two writs), and Hugh de Montfort (in all three) – were all Lanfranc's subtenants in Kent.³⁴ It is likely that the property these laymen held from Lanfranc was intended to facilitate and encourage their cooperation in the administrative tasks Lanfranc coordinated in England. The case of Brunmann the reeve gives an indication of how Robert performed these duties. Brunmann admitted in front of Lanfranc and Bishop Odo that he had unjustly taken dues from foreign merchants on St Augustine's land. Robert was on the panel of barons who tried the case, alongside Bishop Odo, Hugh de Montfort and Richard de Clare.³⁵

However, Robert himself was not always respectful of the church, for a writ of King William I accuses Robert and his men of offences against Battle Abbey.³⁶ The writ was

²⁹ *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 181.

³⁰ *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 254 (SCRIPTA 6567; ARTEM 3061).

³¹ *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 26.

³² Bates, *William the Conqueror* (2016), 404.

³³ *Regesta*, ed. Bates, nos. 42, 83, 129, with Bates's notes to nos. 42 and 129.

³⁴ For Robert, see GDB 4r (Kent 2:25, 2:32). For Hugh, see GDB 4v (Kent 2:41). For Richard, see GDB 3r, 4r (Kent 2:4, 2:9-10, 2:29).

³⁵ GDB 2r (Kent C8); *Inquisition of St Augustine's*, ed. Ballard, 7-8.

³⁶ *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 18.

probably issued after 1076, when King William endowed Battle with all the land within 1.5 miles of the abbey, at Count Robert's expense.³⁷ Lanfranc was the first addressee, and three others, including Robert, were Lanfranc's subtenants (the other addressee, H. *dapifer*, is unidentifiable).³⁸ This supports the contention that Lanfranc's subtenants formed an important group of administrators.

After 1077, Robert was not addressed in writs concerning English land and did not witness or sign charters issued in England. It is possible, but unprovable, that Robert was disillusioned after he lost property to Battle Abbey around 1076. The death of his brother, Bishop Hugh, in 1077, might also have been a turning point.³⁹ Robert patronized Saint-Désir de Lisieux and attended Hugh's funeral at Saint-Désir on 25 July, but the property Robert granted is illegible in a photograph of the lost late-eleventh century pancarte which mentions his grant.⁴⁰ Robert's autograph cross reveals his attendance at the dedication of Saint-Étienne de Caen on 13 September 1077.⁴¹ He can next be located on 12 April 1080, in Normandy (probably at Rouen).⁴² Robert visited Caen again between 1080 and 1083,⁴³ and was probably in Normandy when he signed a royal charter for Saint-Étienne de Caen, datable between 1081 and 1087.⁴⁴ Robert can also be found at a great assembly in Rouen in 1084.⁴⁵ The charter evidence seems to indicate a gradual shift in Robert's outlook. In general terms, it appears that he spent the beginning of King William's reign in England and the last years of it in Normandy. There remains a possibility that Robert visited England after 1077, without his presence there being recorded in surviving charters or chronicles. However, the plausibility of Robert

³⁷ Searle, *Lordship and Community*, 23-24.

³⁸ For Haimo the sheriff of Kent and Robert fitz Godbert, see GDB 3v-4r (Kent 2:16, 2:31); *Domesday Monachorum of Christ Church, Canterbury*, ed. D. C. Douglas (London, 1944), 105.

³⁹ For Hugh's death, see Allen, 'Norman Episcopate', i. 272-73 and n. 104.

⁴⁰ A. D. Calvados, 2 Fi 231; *RADN*, no. 140 B, p. 318 note; *OV*, iii. 19; Allen, 'Norman Episcopate', i. 273.

⁴¹ *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 46 (SCRIPTA 6459; ARTEM 1988).

⁴² *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 235 (SCRIPTA 6551) and Bates's introduction, p. 81.

⁴³ *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 53 (SCRIPTA 6466).

⁴⁴ *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 54 (SCRIPTA 6467; ARTEM 2343).

⁴⁵ *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 248 (SCRIPTA 6564; ARTEM 2716).

prioritizing continental matters in the second half of King William's English reign is enhanced by the likelihood that William himself spent the vast majority of the same period on the continent.⁴⁶ It is easy to imagine that loyal barons like Robert would have wanted to stay near their ruler.

In fact, Robert's withdrawal from English affairs is corroborated by evidence that his son, William III, was responsible for the rape of Hastings towards the end of the Conqueror's reign. The key piece of evidence is an abbreviated text of an authentic royal writ issued between 1080 and 1086. This records a grant of property at Bodiam to Battle Abbey by Osbern fitz Hugh d'Eu, with the permission of William III, count of Eu.⁴⁷ Later sources confirm that the transaction occurred by 1087, and that William III was involved.⁴⁸ It is therefore likely that William III began administering his father's English lands by the time of Osbern's grant.⁴⁹

After King William's death, Robert faced the difficult prospect of serving different rulers in Normandy and England. That neither Robert nor William III witnessed Rufus's charters does not reveal much by itself, for almost all of Rufus's charters are writs, on which the attestations of his greatest magnates were not usually sought.⁵⁰ It is more telling that Robert and William III do not occur in Curthose's charters.

⁴⁶ *Regesta*, ed. Bates, introduction p. 80-82.

⁴⁷ *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 21, versions I and II.

⁴⁸ *The Chronicle of Battle Abbey*, ed. E. Searle (Oxford, 1980), 87, 255; *Regesta*, eds. Johnson and Cronne, errata and addenda, no. 459a, p. 412, and no. 782.

⁴⁹ Bates's notes to *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 21.

⁵⁰ D. Bates's review of Hollister's *Monarchy, Magnates and Institutions in the Anglo-Norman World*, in *Albion*, 19:4 (1987), 591-93, at 592-93; N. Strevett, 'The Anglo-Norman Civil War of 1101 Reconsidered', *ANS*, 26 (2004), 159-75, at 166-68.

According to a near-contemporary account of the trial of William, bishop of Durham, Bishop William claimed to have suppressed a rebellion against Rufus at Hastings in 1088.⁵¹ It is therefore likely that Robert or William III encouraged the men of Hastings to join the rebellion against Rufus in 1088.⁵² Robert probably wished to hold his cross-Channel estate from a single lord, and it is possible that Curthose's status as the eldest son and designated heir to Normandy since 1063 at the latest made him the obvious choice of ruler.

However, the failure of the rebellion of 1088 seems to have damaged the relationship between Curthose and Count Robert. According to Orderic, in 1089, after Stephen d'Aumale and Gerard de Gournay allowed Rufus to garrison their Norman castles, Robert, count of Eu, Walter II Giffard and Ralph de Mortemer 'joined the English and received large sums of money from the king's resources to provide arms and men for the defence of their homes'. Curthose subsequently made Elias of Saint-Saëns guardian of the Talou and gave him castles at Arques and Bures.⁵³ This appointment must have seemed threatening to Robert.

Several of Rufus's supporters in 1089 had previously supported Curthose. One of them, Ralph de Mortemer, had even participated in the rebellion of 1088.⁵⁴ That Count Robert switched his allegiance from Curthose to William Rufus between 1088 and 1089 is, therefore, not unusual and not a difficult proposition to accept. In 1089 (before 9 September), Curthose attacked Eu. This is revealed by a charter of Curthose, dated 'in the second year of the princely rule of Robert, son of King William and count of Normandy, while the same Robert was at the siege of Eu, and on the day when the said fortification surrendered to him.'⁵⁵ Curthose's attacks

⁵¹ *Symeonis monachi opera omnia*, ed. T. Arnold, 2 vols. (London, 1882-85), i. 189, translated in *EHD 1042-1189*, eds. Douglas and Greenaway, no. 84, p. 664.

⁵² F. Barlow, *William Rufus* (London, 1983), 75-76. Other historians of the 1088 rebellion either do not mention Hastings, or do not mention the involvement of a count of Eu.

⁵³ *OV*, iv. 182, v. 26.

⁵⁴ On the involvement of Ralph de Mortemer, Stephen d'Aumale and Hugh and Gerard de Gournay with Curthose, see Mooers, "Backers and Stabbers", 5 n. 29-30, 6 n. 35, 8 n. 50, 9, 12, 17; C. P. Lewis, 'Mortimer, Ralph (I) de (fl. c.1080-1104)', *ODNB* (2004).

⁵⁵ *Regesta*, ed. Davis, no. 310, partly translated in Aird, *Robert Curthose*, 127 n. 176 (SCRIPTA 189).

on La Ferté and Eu in 1089 were probably a reaction to the defections of Gerard de Gournay and Robert d'Eu.⁵⁶

Robert's support for Rufus in 1089 was probably influenced by his connections with other supporters of Rufus before 1089. Normans who fought at Mortemer included Hugh de Gournay, Walter I Giffard and Roger de Mortemer.⁵⁷ Ralph, son of Walter I Giffard, signed Lesceline's grant to La Trinité-du-Mont de Rouen.⁵⁸ Ralph's wife, Benceline, held a mill at Eu which Robert witnessed her granting to Montivilliers by 1065.⁵⁹ Probably after 1084, Walter II Giffard patronized Le Tréport with property at Hesmy, where Count William III also had property.⁶⁰ Stephen d'Aumale consented to a vassal's grant to Le Tréport sometime before 1090.⁶¹ Hugh de Gournay patronized Saint-Pierre-sur-Dives by 1080.⁶² Some of these links could have facilitated community of action in 1089.

Most chroniclers do not name the count of Eu when Curthose handed the county of Eu to Rufus in February 1091.⁶³ However, Robert of Torigni implies that William III had already submitted Eu to Rufus by this date.⁶⁴ This suggests that Count Robert died before February 1091. The necrology of Le Tréport dates Robert's death to 8 September,⁶⁵ so he could have died in 1089 or 1090. William III was Robert's heir in both polities.

⁵⁶ For Curthose's attack on La Ferté, see *De controversia Guillelmi Rotomagensis archiepiscopi*, in *RHGF*, xiv. 68; David, *Robert Curthose*, 54-56.

⁵⁷ *OV*, iv. 86; *GG*, 48.

⁵⁸ *Cartulaire de Sainte-Trinité du Mont*, ed. Deville, no. 69 (*SCRIPTA* 54).

⁵⁹ *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 212 (*SCRIPTA* 6538).

⁶⁰ *Cartulaire du Tréport*, ed. de Kermaingant, nos. 1, 3 (*SCRIPTA* 125, 126).

⁶¹ *Cartulaire du Tréport*, ed. de Kermaingant, no. 3 (*SCRIPTA* 126).

⁶² Sauvage, 'Saint-Pierre-sur-Dives', no. 2.

⁶³ *OV*, iv. 236; *John of Worcester*, eds. Darlington and McGurk, trans. Bray and McGurk, iii. 58; *ASC*, 175.

⁶⁴ *GND* (Robert of Torigni), ii. 206.

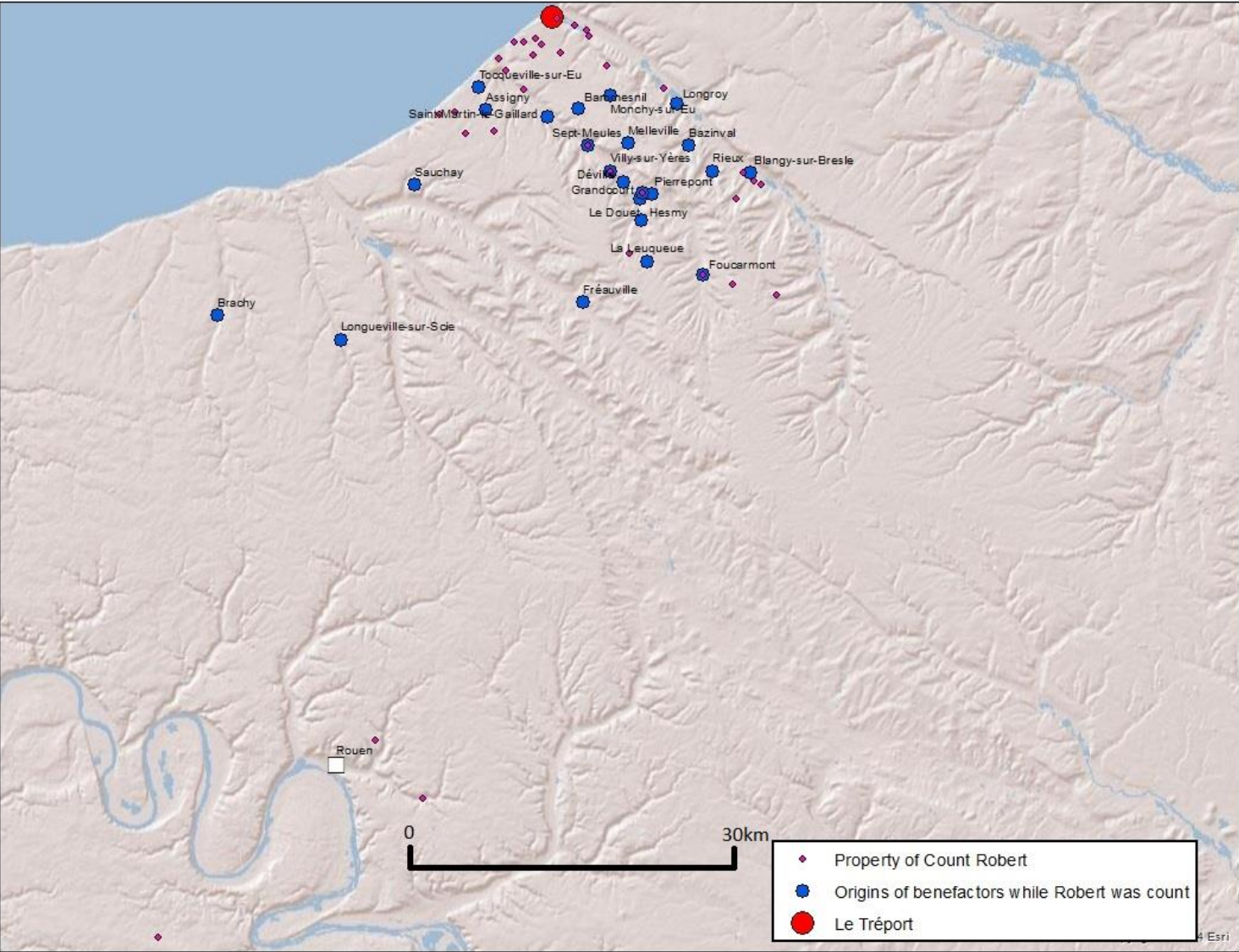
⁶⁵ *RHGF*, xxiii. 452.

Robert's entourage in Normandy.⁶⁶

It is useful to identify Robert's most prominent supporters in Normandy and England, to ascertain how his English wealth affected his followers as a community. Charters for Le Tréport provide our main evidence for identifying Robert's entourage in Normandy. When the origins of the benefactors of Le Tréport are mapped, we see that the origins of most of the abbey's supporters coincided with Count Robert's estate in Normandy (see Figure 25).

⁶⁶ Many of the references for this section can be found in Table 18.

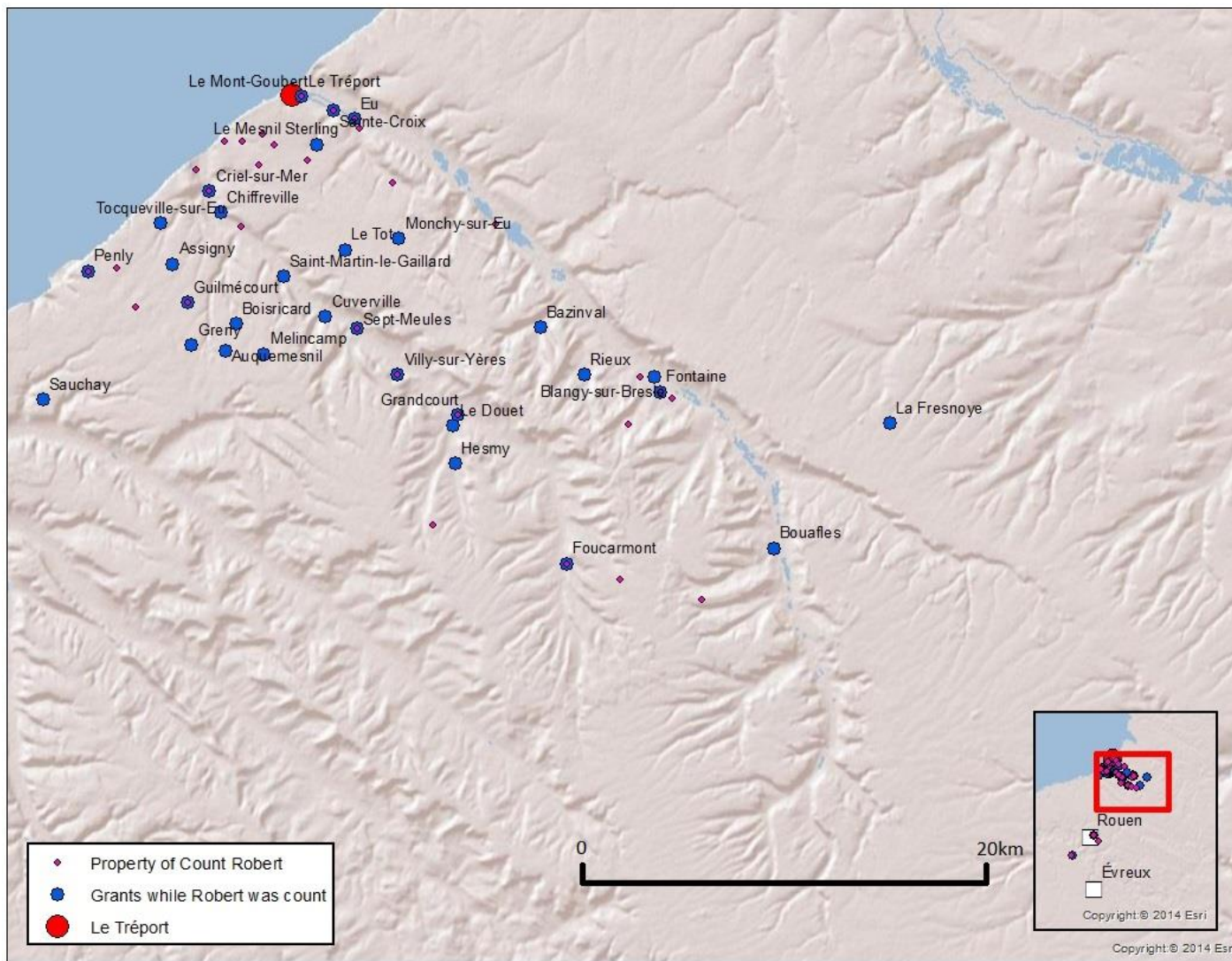
Figure 25: Origins of benefactors of Le Tréport by 1090.¹



¹ *Cartulaire du Tréport*, ed. de Kermaingant, nos. 1, 3 (SCRIPTA 125, 126).

The vast majority of the property granted by the benefactors of Le Tréport was similarly confined to the area of Robert's own lands (see Figure 26). It therefore seems that Robert's foundation attracted much support from his own estate, but very little from beyond it. Although Robert's neighbours, Walter II Giffard and Stephen d'Aumale, were benefactors, Le Tréport did not enjoy widespread popularity among the Norman aristocracy.

Figure 26: Property granted to Le Tréport from outside the family of the counts.¹



¹ *Cartulaire du Tréport*, ed. de Kermaingant, nos. 1, 3 (SCRIPTA 125, 126).

The benefactor who granted property at the most places was William *Caucheis* (see Table 18). The location of his property shows that William was important near Le Tréport and Eu. It is possible that his byname refers to La Chaussée, a suburb of Eu,¹ but this cannot be shown conclusively, because *Caucheis* does not look like a toponymic and it is not particularly close to the known spellings of La Chaussée before the later thirteenth century.²

¹ D. Le Beuf, *La ville d'Eu* (Paris, 1844), 35-36.

² C. de Beaurepaire and J. Laporte, *Dictionnaire topographique du département de Seine-Maritime*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1982), i. 224; L. E. Deladreue, *Histoire de l'abbaye royale de Saint-Lucien, ordre de Saint-Benoît* (Beauvais, 1874), 58-59; *Cartulaire du Tréport*, ed. de Kermaingant, no. 59 (SCRIPTA 616); Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, Y 13, fol. 138v.

Table 18: Norman followers of the counts of Eu

Family or person	Origins	Named continental property granted to Le Tréport (including as lord), 1059-1107. ¹	Witnessing or signing continental charters of Count Robert (all beneficiaries)	Witnessing or signing continental charters of Count William III (all beneficiaries)	Witnessing or signing continental charters of Count Henry (all beneficiaries)
William <i>Caucheis</i>	?	6 ²	0	0	0
Saint-Martin (Reginald, his son Geoffrey, and Geoffrey's son Walter; Henry)	Saint-Martin-le-Gaillard, Seine-Maritime, cant. Eu. ³	4 ⁴	2 ⁵	1 ⁶	6 ⁷

¹ *Cartulaire du Tréport*, ed. de Kermaingant, no. 1 (SCRIPTA 125); *Cartulaire du Tréport*, ed. de Kermaingant, no. 3 (SCRIPTA 126); *Cartulaire du Tréport*, ed. de Kermaingant, no. 4 (SCRIPTA 127); *Cartulaire du Tréport*, ed. de Kermaingant, no. 5 (SCRIPTA 128); *Cartulaire du Tréport*, ed. de Kermaingant, no. 6 (SCRIPTA 129).

² *Cartulaire du Tréport*, ed. de Kermaingant, nos. 1 and 3 (SCRIPTA 125, 126). Eu; Le Tréport; Le Mont-Goubert, Seine-Maritime, cant. Eu, comm. Le Tréport; Sainte-Croix (between Eu and Le Tréport); Criel-sur-Mer, Seine-Maritime, cant. Eu; Sept-Meules, Seine-Maritime, cant. Eu.

³ Loyd, *Origins*, 90.

⁴ *Cartulaire du Tréport*, ed. de Kermaingant, nos. 1, 3, 6 (SCRIPTA 125, 126 and 129). Saint-Martin-le-Gaillard; Le Tôl, Seine-Maritime, cant. Eu, comm. Baromesnil; Mélinchamp, Seine-Maritime, cant. Eu, comm. Saint-Martin-le-Gaillard; Blangy-sur-Bresle, Seine-Maritime, chef-lieu de cant.

⁵ *Cartulaire du Tréport*, ed. de Kermaingant, no. 3 (SCRIPTA 126); *RADN*, no. 123 (SCRIPTA 1567).

⁶ *Cartulaire du Tréport*, ed. de Kermaingant, no. 3 (SCRIPTA 126).

⁷ *Cartulaire du Tréport*, ed. de Kermaingant, no. 4 (SCRIPTA 127 x2) and no. 6 (SCRIPTA 129 x2); Peigné-Delacourt, 'Charte par Henri, comte d'Eu', 551-53 (x2).

Family or person	Origins	Named continental property granted to Le Tréport (including as lord), 1059-1107. ¹	Witnessing or signing continental charters of Count Robert (all beneficiaries)	Witnessing or signing continental charters of Count William III (all beneficiaries)	Witnessing or signing continental charters of Count Henry (all beneficiaries)
Fréauville and Sauchay (Richard de Fréauville and his half-brothers Roger de Sauchay and Robert de Sauchay; Richard's sons, Anselm and Robert)	Fréauville, Seine-Maritime, cant. Londinières; ⁸ Sauchay, Seine-Maritime, cant. Envermeu.	5 ⁹	1 ¹⁰	1 ¹¹	4 ¹²
Rieux/Monchaux (Anscherius and his son Hugh, follower of Anselm de Fréauville)	Rieux and Monchaux-Soreng, Seine-Maritime, cant. Blangy-sur-Bresle. ¹³	2 ¹⁴	0	0	4 ¹⁵

⁸ Loyd, *Origins*, 44.

⁹ *Cartulaire du Tréport*, ed. de Kermaingant, nos. 1, 3 (SCRIPTA 125, 126). Fréauville; Greny, Seine-Maritime, cant. Envermeu; Sauchay, Seine-Maritime, cant. Envermeu; Sainte-Croix (between Eu and Le Tréport); Saint-Pierre-des-Jonquières, Seine-Maritime, cant. Londinières.

¹⁰ *Cartulaire du Tréport*, ed. de Kermaingant, no. 3 (SCRIPTA 126).

¹¹ *Cartulaire du Tréport*, ed. de Kermaingant, no. 3 (SCRIPTA 126).

¹² *Cartulaire du Tréport*, ed. de Kermaingant, no. 4 (SCRIPTA 127) and no. 6 (SCRIPTA 129 x2); Deck, *Ville d'Eu*, 241-44 (SCRIPTA 2340; ARTEM 2750).

¹³ For Monchaux-Soreng, see Loyd, *Origins*, 66-67.

¹⁴ *Cartulaire du Tréport*, ed. de Kermaingant, nos. 1, 3 (SCRIPTA 125, 126). Rieux; Blangy-sur-Bresle, Seine-Maritime, chef-lieu de cant.

¹⁵ *Cartulaire du Tréport*, ed. de Kermaingant, no. 5 (SCRIPTA 128); Peigné-Delacourt, 'Charte par Henri, comte d'Eu', 551-53 (x3).

Family or person	Origins	Named continental property granted to Le Tréport (including as lord), 1059-1107. ¹	Witnessing or signing continental charters of Count Robert (all beneficiaries)	Witnessing or signing continental charters of Count William III (all beneficiaries)	Witnessing or signing continental charters of Count Henry (all beneficiaries)
Déville (Walter 'the bearded' and his son Walter)	Déville, Seine-Maritime, cant. Londinières ¹⁶	1 ¹⁷	1 ¹⁸	1 ¹⁹	1 ²⁰
Longroy (Richard and his son Bartholomew)	Longroy, Seine-Maritime, cant. Eu	1 ²¹	1 ²²	1 ²³	1 ²⁴
Grandcourt (Alfred; Ralph 'the blind'; Peter; Abraham)	Grandcourt, Seine-Maritime, cant. Londinières.	2 ²⁵	0	1 ²⁶	4 ²⁷

¹⁶ Loyd, *Origins*, 37.

¹⁷ *Cartulaire du Tréport*, ed. de Kermaingant, nos. 1, 3, 6 (SCRIPTA 125, 126, 129). Monchy-sur-Eu, Seine-Maritime, cant. Eu.

¹⁸ *Cartulaire du Tréport*, ed. de Kermaingant, no. 1 (SCRIPTA 125).

¹⁹ *Cartulaire du Tréport*, ed. de Kermaingant, no. 3 (SCRIPTA 126).

²⁰ Peigné-Delacourt, 'Charte par Henri, comte d'Eu', 551-53.

²¹ *Cartulaire du Tréport*, ed. de Kermaingant, no. 1 (SCRIPTA 125). Boisricard, Seine-Maritime, cant. Envermeu, comm. Auquemesnil.

²² *Cartulaire du Tréport*, ed. de Kermaingant, no. 3 (SCRIPTA 126).

²³ *Cartulaire du Tréport*, ed. de Kermaingant, no. 3 (SCRIPTA 126).

²⁴ *Cartulaire du Tréport*, ed. de Kermaingant, no. 4 (SCRIPTA 127).

²⁵ *Cartulaire du Tréport*, ed. de Kermaingant, nos. 1, 3, 5 (SCRIPTA 125, 126, 128). Grandcourt; *Hulseensi*.

²⁶ *Cartulaire du Tréport*, ed. de Kermaingant, no. 3 (SCRIPTA 126).

²⁷ *Cartulaire du Tréport*, ed. de Kermaingant, no. 6 (SCRIPTA 129); Peigné-Delacourt, 'Charte par Henri, comte d'Eu', 551-53 (x3).

Family or person	Origins	Named continental property granted to Le Tréport (including as lord), 1059-1107. ¹	Witnessing or signing continental charters of Count Robert (all beneficiaries)	Witnessing or signing continental charters of Count William III (all beneficiaries)	Witnessing or signing continental charters of Count Henry (all beneficiaries)
Cuerville (Geoffrey and his son, Oylard)	Cuerville-sur-Yères, Seine-Maritime, cant. Eu	3 ²⁸	1 ²⁹	1 ³⁰	4 ³¹
Eu (Osbern and his sons, Ansfred and Geoffrey)	Eu	0	2 ³²	0	0
Eu (Hugh the vicomte, and his son Robert)	Eu	1 ³³	1 ³⁴	0	2 ³⁵

²⁸ *Cartulaire du Tréport*, ed. de Kermaingant, no. 3 (SCRIPTA 126). Cuerville; Chiffreville, Seine-Maritime, cant. Eu, comm. Criel-sur-Mer; Tocqueville-sur-Eu, Seine-Maritime, cant. Dieppe-2.

²⁹ *Cartulaire du Tréport*, ed. de Kermaingant, no. 3 (SCRIPTA 126).

³⁰ *Cartulaire du Tréport*, ed. de Kermaingant, no. 3 (SCRIPTA 126).

³¹ *Cartulaire du Tréport*, ed. de Kermaingant, nos. 4, 6 (SCRIPTA 127 and 129); Peigné-Delacourt, 'Charte par Henri, comte d'Eu', 551-53 (x2).

³² *RADN*, no. 123 (SCRIPTA 1567 x2).

³³ *Cartulaire du Tréport*, ed. de Kermaingant, no. 1 (SCRIPTA 125). Le Tréport.

³⁴ *Cartulaire du Tréport*, ed. de Kermaingant, no. 1 (SCRIPTA 125).

³⁵ *Cartulaire du Tréport*, ed. de Kermaingant, no. 4 (SCRIPTA 127 x2).

The family of Fréauville granted the next highest number of places. Richard de Fréauville granted property at Greny. Roger or Robert de Sauchay, identified as Richard de Fréauville's brother, granted the church of Sauchay. Roger and Robert de Sauchay were the sons of Adelia, who had previously granted the church of Sauchay to La Trinité-du-Mont de Rouen after the death of her husband, Ralph, holder of Sauchay.¹ This shows that Richard de Fréauville's father, Robert, married Adelia, widow of Ralph de Sauchay. The point is significant, because only five people unrelated to the counts of Eu are known to have possessed churches in the county of Eu. One was Roger or Robert de Sauchay, another was Anselm, son of Richard de Fréauville, and another was Anselm's vassal, Hugh de Rieux.² This suggests that the families of Fréauville and Sauchay were among the most important families in the county of Eu, and their marriage alliance would have made them even stronger. It is therefore no surprise that the counts of Eu would patronize the family in Normandy and England: Anselm de Fréauville became an important cross-Channel baron under Count Henry (see p. 243 and Table 19), and his brother Osbern, monk of Le Tréport, held the abbacy from 1101 until 1118.³

Anselm de Fréauville was sufficiently important to be the lord of another benefactor of Le Tréport, Hugh de Rieux, who was himself the son of an earlier benefactor, Anscherius de Rieux. Other supporters of Le Tréport who were also lords of other benefactors included Walter de Déville and members of the Cuverville family. The Cuverville family were linked to Count Robert not just through Le Tréport, for Benceline (wife of Ralph Giffard, and grantor of a mill at Eu to Montivilliers with Count Robert's consent) was the daughter of Reginald de Gratte-Panche (in Cuverville).⁴ Grandcourt was the origin of four benefactors and one of their lords. One of these benefactors, Peter, was a *praepositus*, so he could have been an administrator for

¹ *Cartulaire de Sainte-Trinité du Mont*, ed. Deville, no. 36 (SCRIPTA 30).

² Three holders of Norman churches were counted by Deck, 'Comté d'Eu', 107. Two names have been added to Deck's list (Hugh de Rieux and Walter II Giffard).

³ Gazeau, *Normannia monastica*, i. 178-79.

⁴ *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 212 (SCRIPTA 6538).

a count of Eu. William, grandson of Count Robert, had the toponymic of Grandcourt,⁵ which suggests that Grandcourt was closely associated with the counts of Eu.

A seigneurial vicomte, Hugh, granted property at Le Tréport to the abbey and witnessed grants by Count Robert and several other men. More is known of the family of an earlier vicomte, Osbern d'Eu.⁶ Osbern received part of Douvrend from Richard, count of Évreux, around 1037.⁷ His son, Ansfred, bequeathed property at eight places in the Roumois to La Trinité-du-Mont de Rouen between 1040 and c. 1045.⁸ Ansfred was a vassal of the wife and sons of the recently deceased Osbern fitz Arfast,⁹ and Ansfred appears in several charters recording grants to the two abbeys of Rouen by Osbern fitz Arfast's family, Count Richard's, and others.¹⁰ Ansfred's family was apparently not associated with Le Tréport. However, the counts of Eu retained some influence over them. Ansfred and his brother Geoffrey were the first among Count Robert's party to sign Robert's charter for La Trinité-du-Mont de Rouen.¹¹ It will also be seen that a member of this family named Osbern fitz Geoffrey d'Eu would become Robert's subtenant in Sussex (see p. 240 and Table 19). The family as a whole demonstrate that even counts might not completely dominate all the families who originated in their heartland.

The family of Saint-Martin-le-Gaillard granted property in the third-highest number of places to Le Tréport. Geoffrey de Saint-Martin's father, Reginald, signed Count Robert's grant to La Trinité-du-Mont de Rouen, datable between summer 1053 and 1 November 1054, and Geoffrey would witness grants by Count William III and Count Henry. The estates of Geoffrey de Saint-Martin and Henry de Saint-Martin appear to have been separated from each other by

⁵ OV, vi. 350-52.

⁶ RADN, no. 119 (SCRIPTA 1563).

⁷ RADN, no. 10 (SCRIPTA 1436); Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, 345 n. 124. Douvrend, Seine-Maritime, cant. Envermeu.

⁸ RADN, no. 119 (SCRIPTA 1563). For the date, see Bates, *William the Conqueror* (2016), 64 n. 71.

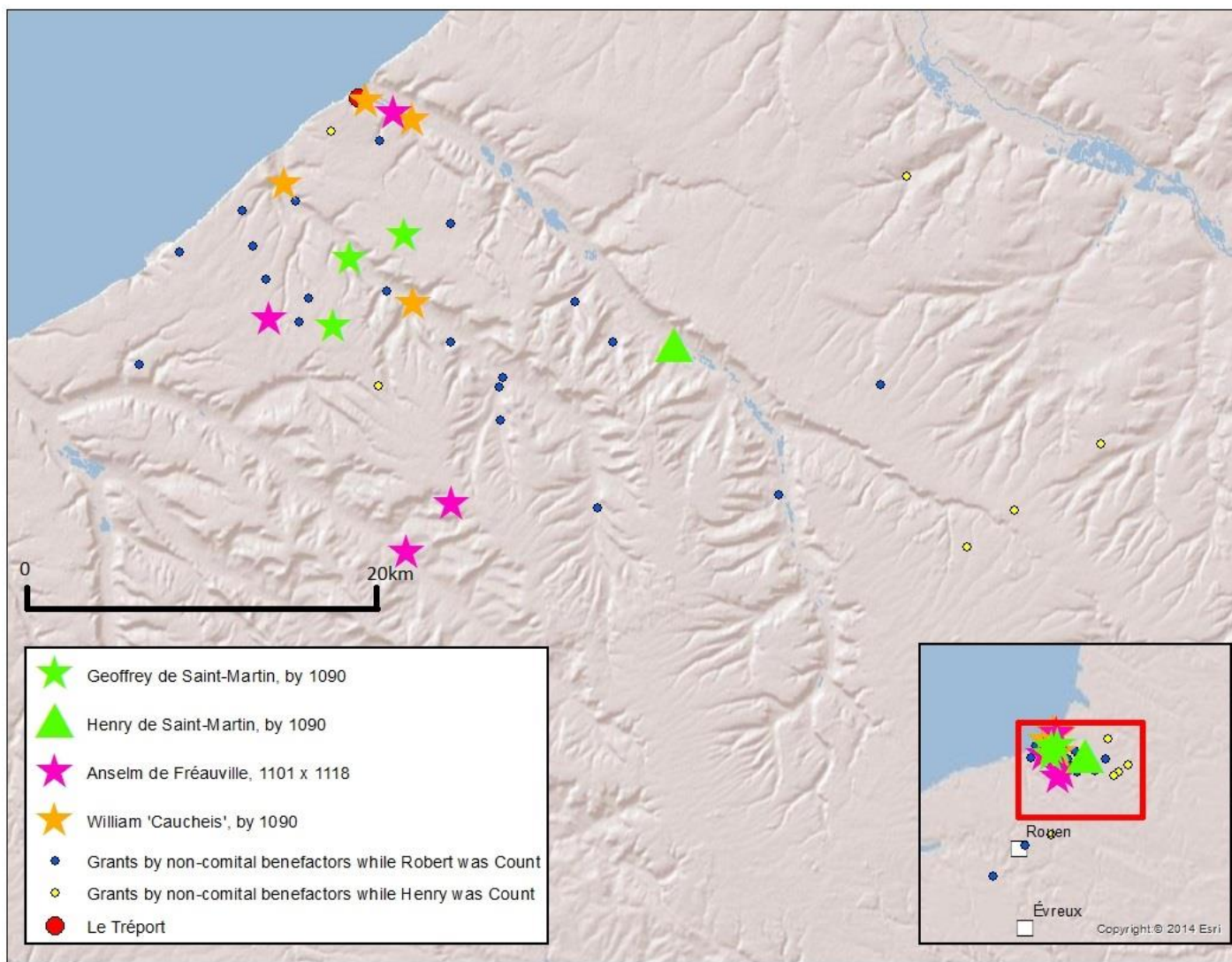
⁹ RADN, no. 119 (SCRIPTA 1563).

¹⁰ RADN, no. 118 (SCRIPTA 1562); RADN, no. 201 (SCRIPTA 1644); RADN, no. 221 (SCRIPTA 1663); RADN, no. 193 (SCRIPTA 1636; ARTEM 2703).

¹¹ RADN, no. 123 (SCRIPTA 1567).

the properties of other people. The estates of William *Caucheis* and Anselm de Fréauville were also interspersed with the estates of other benefactors of Le Tréport (see Figure 27). It can be supposed that the counts of Eu prevented their vassals from monopolizing property in a discrete area. This strategy was also adopted in the rape of Hastings (see p. 204).

Figure 27: Estates of Geoffrey and Henry de Saint-Martin, Anselm de Fréauville and William *Caucheis* with those of other non-comital benefactors of Le Tréport.¹



¹ *Cartulaire du Tréport*, ed. de Kermaingant, nos. 1, 3, 6 (SCRIPTA 125, 126, 129).

The lordships of the counts of Eu in Sussex.¹

Having examined Robert's vassals in Normandy, analysis will now turn to those in England. The careers of the identifiable subtenants of the counts of Eu are summarized in Table 19. This information offers insights on the strategies Robert used to consolidate his authority in England.

¹ Many references for this section can be found in Table 19.

Table 19: Careers of the subtenants of the counts of Eu in Sussex

Name	Origin	Hides held from Robert in 1086	Minimum £ ¹	Office	Benefactor of Hastings ²	Holder of prebend of Hastings ³	Benefactor of Battle	Cross-Channel entourage of count of Eu	Cross-Channel landholder	Relative of benefactor of counts' Norman foundations by 1140
Reinbert of Hastings. ⁴	Flanders. ⁵	16.5h, 21v. ⁶	30.55	<i>Viccomes</i> (of Hastings). ⁷	X					

¹ This figure excludes outliers mentioned without a value at the parent manor, and unvalued portions of a manor.

² Unless otherwise stated: Kew, The National Archives, E 210/1073; *Chartulary of Chichester*, ed. Peckham, no. 945.

³ Kew, The National Archives, E 210/1073; *Chartulary of Chichester*, ed. Peckham, no. 945.

⁴ For Reinbert's toponymic, see *Regesta*, eds. Johnson and Cronne, nos. 619, 752.

⁵ See below, p. 238.

⁶ GDB 18r-20r (Sussex 9:1, 4, 11, 15-16, 19, 21-22, 64-69, 82, 85-97, 104, 115). Identified by rarity of name.

⁷ Kew, The National Archives, E 210/1073; *Chartulary of Chichester*, ed. Peckham, no. 945.

Name	Origin	Hides held from Robert in 1086	Minimum £ ¹	Office	Benefactor of Hastings ²	Holder of prebend of Hastings ³	Benefactor of Battle	Cross-Channel entourage of count of Eu	Cross-Channel landholder	Relative of benefactor of counts' Norman foundations by 1140
Walter fitz Lambert	Etocquigny, Seine-Maritime, cant. Eu, comm. Saint-Martin-le-Gaillard. ⁸	15h, 11.5v. ⁹	23.10		X					X (Ingelrann de Scotney, at unidentified property granted to Notre-Dame d'Eu in 1119; ¹⁰ Ingelrann's wife at Bérémont, from her dower, after 1129 ¹¹).

⁸ Loyd, *Origins*, 96.

⁹ GDB 18r-20r (Sussex 9:14 [identifiable because same hundred as 9:18], 9:18, 60, 74-81 [identified by full name], 109 [coincidence with a Geoffrey here suggests it's Walter fitz Lambert, who shared Guestling with Geoffrey de Flocques and contributed to Hugh de Flocques's prebend according to Kew, The National Archives, E 210/1073; *Chartulary of Chichester*, ed. Peckham, no. 945], 9:122 and 125 [identified by full name]).

¹⁰ Deck, *Ville d'Eu*, 241-44 (SCRIPTA 2340; ARTEM 2750); B. N. ms. Lat. 13904, fol. 36r-38v.

¹¹ *Recueil Henri II*, eds. Delisle and Berger, i. 306-10 (SCRIPTA 6860).

Name	Origin	Hides held from Robert in 1086	Minimum £ ¹	Office	Benefactor of Hastings ²	Holder of prebend of Hastings ³	Benefactor of Battle	Cross-Channel entourage of count of Eu	Cross-Channel landholder	Relative of benefactor of counts' Norman foundations by 1140
Osbern fitz Hugh d'Eu / of Bodiam. ¹²	Eu. ¹³	11h 12v is likely; ¹⁴ maximum is 11h 19v	16.23		X ¹⁵		X (at Bodiam, 1080 x 1086). ¹⁶		X (at Sangroy by 1090). ¹⁷	X (Hugh, vicomte, at Le Tréport by 1090). ¹⁸
Wibert de Bazinval / of Dadland Shaw.	Bazinval, Seine-Maritime, cant. Blangy-sur-Bresle. ¹⁹	10.5h, 9.5v. ²⁰	23.25				X (at Breadsell). ²¹		X (at Bazinval by 1090). ²²	X (Guy de Bazinval, at Varcourt in c. 1106). ²³

¹² For the Norman toponymic, see *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 21, version II. For the English toponymic, see *Chronicle of Battle Abbey*, ed. Searle, 122.

¹³ *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 21, version II.

¹⁴ GDB 18r-v, 20r (Sussex 9:11-12 [because Roger the clerk at Bexhill is probably Roger Daniel, who is probably at Ewhurst and Wellhead with Osbern of Bodiam], 9:25 [because Battle's property in the same place means this Osbern is probably the benefactor of Battle: Palmer, 'Notes on the Identifications', 311], 9:116 [because it was 1.7 kilometres from Beckley, which contributed to the prebend of Roger Daniel, who can probably be found with Osbern of Bodiam at Bexhill, Ewhurst and Wellhead], 9:120 [identifiable from Osbern's grant to Battle], 9:130-31 [because Wellhead was 2.4 kilometres from Ewhurst]).

¹⁵ M. Gardiner, 'Shipping and Trade between England and the Continent during the Eleventh Century', *ANS*, 22 (2000), 71-93, at 91 n. 104.

¹⁶ *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 21, versions I and II; *Chronicle of Battle Abbey*, ed. Searle, 86; HBA charter, vol. 42/1141.

¹⁷ *Chronicle of Battle Abbey*, ed. Searle, 122.

¹⁸ *Cartulaire du Tréport*, ed. de Kermaingant, no. 1 (SCRIPTA 125).

¹⁹ See below, p. 239.

²⁰ GDB 18r-19r, 20r (Sussex 9:1, 3, 5, 17, 34, 48-51, 123). Identified by rarity of name.

²¹ B. L., Add. MS 6348, f. 108r-108v.

²² *Cartulaire du Tréport*, ed. de Kermaingant, no. 1 (SCRIPTA 125).

²³ *Regesta*, eds. Johnson and Cronne, no. 877, p. 321. Varcourt, Seine-Maritime, cant. Eu, comm. Incheville.

Name	Origin	Hides held from Robert in 1086	Minimum £ ¹	Office	Benefactor of Hastings ²	Holder of prebend of Hastings ³	Benefactor of Battle	Cross-Channel entourage of count of Eu	Cross-Channel landholder	Relative of benefactor of counts' Norman foundations by 1140
William de Saint-Leger	Saint-Leger-aux-Bois, Seine-Maritime, cant. Blangy-sur-Bresle. ²⁴	9h, 1.5v is likely; ²⁵ maximum is 9.5h, 5.5v.	1.75				X (Broomhill beyond Winchelsea, 1107 x 1116). ²⁶			
Osbern fitz Geoffrey	Eu. ²⁷	8h, 2.5v is likely; ²⁸ maximum is 8h, 9.5v.	8.18							

²⁴ Loyd, *Origins*, 90.

²⁵ GDB 18r-v (Sussex 9:6, 16, 32 [all three identifiable by later descent: *The Chartulary of the Priory of St. Pancras of Lewes*, ed. L. F. Salzman, 2 vols., Lewes 1932-1934, i. 149, 150; *Red Book*, 622-23; *VCH Sussex*, ix. 233], 9:14-15 [identifiable because same parish as Cortesley: *VCH Sussex*, ix. 82], 9:33 [explicitly identified as same William as Dallington]).

²⁶ *Regesta*, eds. Johnson and Cronne, no. 1136*; *Chronicle of Battle Abbey*, ed. Searle, 120.

²⁷ See below, p. 240.

²⁸ GDB 19r (Sussex 9:52-58, 9:70-71). Identified using patronymic at Laughton and Willingdon.

Name	Origin	Hides held from Robert in 1086	Minimum £ ¹	Office	Benefactor of Hastings ²	Holder of prebend of Hastings ³	Benefactor of Battle	Cross-Channel entourage of count of Eu	Cross-Channel landholder	Relative of benefactor of counts' Norman foundations by 1140
Robert de Saint-Leger	Saint-Leger-aux-Bois, Seine-Maritime, cant. Blangy-sur-Bresle. ²⁹	7h, 0.5v is likely, ³⁰ maximum is 7.5h, 15v.	6.00							
Geoffrey de Flocques	Flocques, Seine-Maritime, cant. Eu. ³¹	5h, 1v. ³²	6.50			X (after his brother, Hugh).				X (Ingelrann de Flocques at Le Tréport 1101 x 1107). ³³

²⁹ Loyd, *Origins*, 90.

³⁰ GDB 18r, 19v (Sussex 9:11 [identified by full name], 9:107 [based on identification of place as Fairlight, and later descent of Fairlight in family of Saint-Leger: *VCH Sussex*, i. 405 n. 5; *Report on the Manuscripts of Lord de l'Isle and Dudley Preserved at Penhurst Place*, ed. C. L. Kingsford, 6 vols. (London, 1925-1966), i. 35; *Red Book*, 622-23]).

³¹ Loyd, *Origins*, 43.

³² GDB 19v-20r (Sussex 9:105 [identified by full name], 9:109 [based on identification of Walter here with Walter fitz Lambert, who held at Guestling with Geoffrey de Flocques according to Kew, The National Archives, E 210/1073; *Chartulary of Chichester*, ed. Peckham, no. 945], 9:110 [consecutive to Playden, and geographically near it]).

³³ *Cartulaire du Tréport*, ed. de Kermaingant, no. 6 (SCRIPTA 129).

Name	Origin	Hides held from Robert in 1086	Minimum £ ¹	Office	Benefactor of Hastings ²	Holder of prebend of Hastings ³	Benefactor of Battle	Cross-Channel entourage of count of Eu	Cross-Channel landholder	Relative of benefactor of counts' Norman foundations by 1140
Ingelrann d'Eu / of Hastings	Eu	3h, 9v. ³⁴	2.00	<i>Vicecomes</i> (of Hastings) in 1107 x 1124. ³⁵	X			X (1101 and 1107). ³⁶		
William de Sept-Meules	Sept-Meules, Seine-Maritime, cant. Eu. ³⁷	3.4h, 1v is likely, ³⁸ maximum is 3.9h, 5v.	1.05							X (Mabel de Sept-Meules at <i>Durandelli</i>). ³⁹
Robert de Criel	Criel-sur-Mer, Seine-Maritime, cant. Eu. ⁴⁰	3h is certain; ⁴¹ maximum is 3.5h, 14.5v.	9.00		X					X (Geoffrey Rufus de Criel at unidentified property in 1119). ⁴²

³⁴ GDB 18r-v (Sussex 9:1 [identifiable from rarity of name, and likelihood that Alfred at Hooe is Alfred de Grandcourt, who, like Ingelrann d'Eu, was a subtenant of Eustace of Huntingdon], 9:9 [identifiable by rarity of name, and location 4.5 kilometres from Hooe], 9:14 [identifiable because it lay 2.3 kilometres from Wilting], 9:19-20 [identifiable as Ingelrann d'Eu, who granted this property at Wilting to Hastings]).

³⁵ HBA charter, vol. 42/1132, 42/1526, 42/1530.

³⁶ *Cartulaire du Tréport*, ed. de Kermaingant, nos. 4, 6 (SCRIPTA 127, 129).

³⁷ Loyd, *Origins*, 97.

³⁸ GDB 18r, 19v-20r (Sussex 9:11 [identified by full name], 9:106 [by full name], 9:113 [identifiable because same place as 9:106]).

³⁹ *Cartulaire du Tréport*, ed. de Kermaingant, no. 3 (SCRIPTA 126).

⁴⁰ Loyd, *Origins*, 36.

⁴¹ GDB 18r (Sussex 9:7, 11 [identified by full name]).

⁴² Deck, *Ville d'Eu*, 241-44 (SCRIPTA 2340; ARTEM 2750); B. N. ms. Lat. 13904, fol. 36r-38v.

Name	Origin	Hides held from Robert in 1086	Minimum £ ¹	Office	Benefactor of Hastings ²	Holder of prebend of Hastings ³	Benefactor of Battle	Cross-Channel entourage of count of Eu	Cross-Channel landholder	Relative of benefactor of counts' Norman foundations by 1140
Geoffrey de Blanques	Blanques, Seine-Maritime, cant. Envermeu, comm. Avesnes-en-Val.	3h. ⁴³	0.50			X				
Roger Daniel	Unknown, but probably near Eu. ⁴⁴	1.5h, 5v. ⁴⁵	0.00			X			? X (at an unidentified garden in 1119). ⁴⁶	

⁴³ GDB 18r-v, 20r (Sussex 9:11 [because subtenant named Geoffrey is called a clerk, and 4.6 kilometres from Filsham], 9:14 [because 2.3 kilometres from Silverhill, which contributed to Geoffrey de Blanques's prebend], 9:126 [because 1.6 kilometres from Sedlescombe, which contributed to Geoffrey de Blanques's prebend]).

⁴⁴ See below, p. 240.

⁴⁵ GDB 18r-18v, 20r (Sussex 9:14 [identified by full name at Filsham], 9:11 [identifiable by proximity to Filsham, and description of Roger as a clerk], 9:120 and 130 [identifiable because both are less than 12 kilometres from the three identifiable properties which contributed to Roger Daniel's prebend]).

⁴⁶ Deck, *Ville d'Eu*, 241-44 (SCRIPTA 2340; ARTEM 2750); B. N. ms. Lat. 13904, fol. 36r-38v.

Name	Origin	Hides held from Robert in 1086	Minimum £ ¹	Office	Benefactor of Hastings ²	Holder of prebend of Hastings ³	Benefactor of Battle	Cross-Channel entourage of count of Eu	Cross-Channel landholder	Relative of benefactor of counts' Norman foundations by 1140
Gerald de Normanville	Normanville, Seine-Maritime, cant. Argueil, comm. Le Mesnil-Lieubray. ⁴⁷	2v. ⁴⁸	0.00	Count Henry's <i>dapifer</i> in England. ⁴⁹			X (at Glossams, 1102 x 1116). ⁵⁰	X (with Count Henry on the continent in 1107 and 1109). ⁵¹		
Alfred de Grandcourt	Grandcourt, Seine-Maritime, cant. Londinières. ⁵²	2v. ⁵³	0.00						X (at Grandcourt by 1090). ⁵⁴	X ⁵⁵

⁴⁷ Loyd, *Origins*, 63, 73.

⁴⁸ GDB 18r (Sussex 9:1).

⁴⁹ HBA charter, vol. 42/1526; *Cartulaire du Tréport*, ed. de Kermaingant, nos. 5, 6 (SCRIPTA 128, 129); Peigné-Delacourt, 'Charte par Henri, comte d'Eu', 551-53; Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, Y 13, fol. 47v.

⁵⁰ *Regesta*, eds. Johnson and Cronne, no. 1136*; *Chronicle of Battle Abbey*, ed. Searle, 118-20.

⁵¹ *Cartulaire du Tréport*, ed. de Kermaingant, nos. 5, 6 (SCRIPTA 128, 129); Peigné-Delacourt, 'Charte par Henri, comte d'Eu', 551-53.

⁵² Loyd, *Origins*, 47.

⁵³ GDB 18r (Sussex 9:1 [based on coincidence with an Ingelrann, presumably Ingelrann d'Eu who, like Alfred de Grandcourt, was Eustace of Huntingdon's subtenant]).

⁵⁴ *Cartulaire du Tréport*, ed. de Kermaingant, no. 3 (SCRIPTA 126).

⁵⁵ *Cartulaire du Tréport*, ed. de Kermaingant, nos. 1, 3, 5 (SCRIPTA 125, 126, 128).

Name	Origin	Hides held from Robert in 1086	Minimum £ ¹	Office	Benefactor of Hastings ²	Holder of prebend of Hastings ³	Benefactor of Battle	Cross-Channel entourage of count of Eu	Cross-Channel landholder	Relative of benefactor of counts' Norman foundations by 1140
Anselm de Fréauville (by 1107)	Fréauville, Seine-Maritime, cant. Londinières. ⁵⁶	-	-				X (Breadsell, Dadland Shaw and Glasseye 1107 x 1116; Bodiam 1107 x 1120). ⁵⁷	X (at Rouen in 1131). ⁵⁸	X (Fréauville, Greny, Sainte-Croix, Saint-Pierre-des-Jonquières by 1107). ⁵⁹	X ⁶⁰

⁵⁶ Loyd, *Origins*, 44.

⁵⁷ HBA charter, vol. 42/1530; *Regesta*, eds. Johnson and Cronne, nos. 1136* and 1225; *Chronicle of Battle Abbey*, ed. Searle, 120.

⁵⁸ *Regesta*, eds. Johnson and Cronne, nos. 1689, 1690.

⁵⁹ *Cartulaire du Tréport*, ed. de Kermaingant, no. 6 (SCRIPTA 129).

⁶⁰ See above, Table 18 and p. 223.

Name	Origin	Hides held from Robert in 1086	Minimum £ ¹	Office	Benefactor of Hastings ²	Holder of prebend of Hastings ³	Benefactor of Battle	Cross-Channel entourage of count of Eu	Cross-Channel landholder	Relative of benefactor of counts' Norman foundations by 1140
Wihelard de Bailleul (1107 x 1114)	Bailleul-Neuville, Seine-Maritime, cant. Londinières. ⁶¹	-	-	Count Henry's <i>dapifer</i> in England by 1116. ⁶²			X (at Barnhorne and Buckholt 1107 x 1114; also St Martin's Marsh). ⁶³	X (with Count Henry on continent in 1109). ⁶⁴		X (Roger <i>Bailliol</i> de Foucarmont at Foucarmont and Le Tréport, 1089 x 1096; Geoffrey de Bailleul at Le Tréport in 1119). ⁶⁵
Ralph de Monchaux (1130)	Rieux and Monchaux-Soreng, Seine-Maritime, cant. Blangy-sur-Bresle. ⁶⁶	-	-					X (with Count Henry on continent in 1109). ⁶⁷		X (Anscherius de Rieux senex at Rieux by 1090; Hugh de Rieux at Blangy-sur-Bresle at unknown date). ⁶⁸

⁶¹ Loyd, *Origins*, 11.

⁶² *Chartulary of Lewes*, ed. Salzman, i. 152.

⁶³ *Regesta*, eds. Johnson and Cronne, no. 1061; *Chronicle of Battle Abbey*, ed. Searle, 118; HBA charter, vol. 42/1132.

⁶⁴ Peigné-Delacourt, 'Charte par Henri, comte d'Eu', 551-53.

⁶⁵ *Cartulaire du Tréport*, ed. de Kermaingant, no. 3 (SCRIPTA 126); Deck, *Ville d'Eu*, 241-44 (SCRIPTA 2340; ARTEM 2750); B. N. ms. Lat. 13904, fol. 36r-38v.

⁶⁶ For Monchaux, see Loyd, *Origins*, 66-67.

⁶⁷ Peigné-Delacourt, 'Charte par Henri, comte d'Eu', 551-53.

⁶⁸ *Cartulaire du Tréport*, ed. de Kermaingant, nos. 1, 3 (SCRIPTA 125, 126).

Some of Robert's subtenants in England cannot be shown to have had any connection to him in Normandy. The subtenant who held the most hides from Robert was the *vicecomes*, **Reinbert** of Hastings. He is identifiable as one man because nobody called Reinbert held English land outside Sussex in 1086. His patronage of the college of Hastings suggests that he was *vicecomes* of the rape of Hastings, rather than sheriff of Sussex. He was Robert's man, not the king's.¹ Reinbert's patronage of Lewes demonstrates that even the near-total authority of the holder of a rape could not prevent that lord's subtenants from forging links with other important lords.² A charter of Reinbert's heir, Drew, shows that Reinbert was buried at Battle.³ This suggests that Reinbert prioritized an English career.

Reinbert's name is derived from Old German.⁴ A certain Reinbert the Fleming held property after 1066 in Shipton Moyne (Gloucestershire), which passed to Matthew de Mortain by 1086.⁵ It is therefore striking that Count Robert's son, William, had property at Shipton Moyne in 1086.⁶ This is probably not a coincidence. Given the rarity of his name, it is likely that Reinbert the Fleming was also Count Robert's subtenant. Because Reinbert originated far from Eu, his relationship with the counts of Eu probably began in or after 1066.

Gerald, subtenant of Count Robert at Hooe, has been identified as Count Henry of Eu's steward in England and Normandy, **Gerald de Normanville**.⁷ This is probably correct, because Battle Abbey had property at Hooe,⁸ and Gerald de Normanville patronized Battle in the twelfth century. Gerald de Normanville also witnessed Count Henry's grants of property including

¹ *VCH Sussex*, i. 352; Green, *English Sheriffs*, 80-81.

² Cownie, 'Conquest, Lordship and Religious Patronage', 114-15. For Reinbert's grant, see *Calendar*, ed. Round, no. 1391; J. H. Round, 'Some Early Grants to Lewes Priory', *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, 40 (1896), 58-78, at 70.

³ *Third Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts* (London, 1872, repr. Nendeln, 1979), 223.

⁴ Forssner, *Continental-Germanic Personal Names*, 209-10.

⁵ GDB 170r (Gloucestershire, 73:3).

⁶ GDB 167r (Gloucestershire, 31:9).

⁷ *VCH Sussex*, i. 381, ix. 244.

⁸ GDB 17v (Sussex 8:9).

Hooe to Saint-Martin-au-Bosc, according to a charter of 1106.⁹ Gerald's place of origin was just 5.8 kilometres from Count Henry's property at Bois-Gautier, and 6.4 kilometres from Henry's property at Mont aux Fourches.¹⁰ It is therefore likely that Count Robert had interests near Normanville, which would explain his relationship with Gerald.

Between two and four of Robert's subtenants can be identified as cross-Channel landholders. They are Osbern fitz Hugh d'Eu, Wibert de Bazinval and, perhaps, Roger Daniel and Alfred de Grandcourt. **Osbern fitz Hugh d'Eu** has already been mentioned as the grantor of property at Bodiam to Battle Abbey (see p. 210). Osbern was probably a cross-Channel landholder, because his wife, Emma, granted more land at Bodiam and a mill at Sangroy to Battle.¹¹ Osbern's father was probably Hugh, the seigneurial vicomte of Eu.¹²

Wibert is a relatively rare name which is recorded at only nine manors outside the rape of Hastings in 1086, so Robert's subtenant named Wibert is probably one man. Wibert's son was named William, and a charter of Reginald d'Incheville for Battle Abbey identifies Reginald as William's heir.¹³ Reginald's relationship to William makes it likely that Wibert was Wibert de Bazinval, a benefactor of Le Tréport, because Bazinval was just 7.8 kilometres from Incheville. It is also telling that a female descendant of Robert's subtenant married into the family of Monchaux-Soreng, which is just 3.3 kilometres from Bazinval.¹⁴ Wibert is probably identical with Wibert of Dadland Shaw in Sussex, who patronized Battle Abbey with the consent of a son named William. William's original charter for Battle Abbey, datable between 1107 and 1124, reveals that his mother was named Godive, so it is likely that Wibert

⁹ *English Lands of Bec*, ed. Chibnall, no. 43; A. D. Seine-Maritime, D 20, fols. 15r and 17r (*Calendar*, ed. Round, no. 399).

¹⁰ For Henry's property, see Deck, *Ville d'Eu*, 241-44 (SCRIPTA 2340; ARTEM 2750); B. N. ms. Lat. 13904, fol. 36r-38v. Mont-aux-Fourches, Seine-Maritime, cant. Forges-les-Eaux, comm. La Ferté-Saint-Samson; Bois-Gautier, Seine-Maritime, cant. Argueil.

¹¹ *Chronicle of Battle Abbey*, ed. Searle, 122. Sangroy, Seine-Maritime, cant. Eu, comm. Criel-sur-Mer.

¹² See above, p. 224.

¹³ B. L., Add. MS 6348, f. 137r, 140v; *VCH Sussex*, i. 398 n. 4; Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People*, 463. Incheville, Seine-Maritime, cant. Eu.

¹⁴ K. S. B. Keats-Rohan, 'Additions and Corrections to Sanders's *Baronies*', *Prosopon Newsletter*, 11 (2000), 1-4, at 1. Monchaux-Soreng, Seine-Maritime, cant. Blangy-sur-Bresle.

married an English woman.¹⁵ Wibert's marriage and English toponymic suggest that Wibert was committed to an English career. His son, William, was sheriff of Sussex in King Henry I's reign.¹⁶

Roger Daniel is identified by his full name as the holder of an outlier of Filsham in Domesday Book,¹⁷ and as the holder of a prebend of the college of Hastings in Count Henry's charter. He may have been the same Roger Daniel who granted an unidentified garden, perhaps in Normandy, to Notre-Dame d'Eu in 1119.

Several of Robert's subtenants can be identified as members of families connected to him in Normandy. These men were members of cross-Channel families but were not necessarily cross-Channel landholders themselves. One such subtenant was **Osbern fitz Geoffrey**, identifiable as Osbern fitz Geoffrey d'Eu, witness of a charter for La Trinité-du-Mont de Rouen in c. 1060.¹⁸ He was probably a nephew or grandson of the aforementioned benefactor of La Trinité-du-Mont de Rouen, Ansfred fitz Osbern d'Eu, because Ansfred's father was named Osbern d'Eu, Ansfred's brother was called Geoffrey fitz Osbern d'Eu, and Ansfred's son was also called Geoffrey (see p. 224). An Osbern d'Eu was the subtenant of the king and Walkelin, bishop of Winchester, at five manors in Surrey and Hampshire in 1086.¹⁹ He was also a canon of St Paul's cathedral sometime between 1104 and 1112.²⁰ He is likelier to be Osbern fitz Geoffrey than Osbern fitz Hugh, because Osbern fitz Hugh seems to have died during Robert's lifetime.²¹ The relationship between Osbern fitz Geoffrey and Walkelin might have originated around Rouen, where Walkelin had been a canon.²²

¹⁵ B. L., Add. Ch. 20161.

¹⁶ *Monasticon*, vi. part 3, 1470; *VCH Sussex*, i. 352; Green, *English Sheriffs*, 80.

¹⁷ GDB 18r-18v (Sussex 9:14).

¹⁸ *Cartulaire de Sainte-Trinité du Mont*, ed. Deville, no. 56 (SCRIPTA 43).

¹⁹ GDB 30v-31r (Surrey, 1:2, 1:9, 3:1), 40v-41r (Hampshire, 2:25, 3:1); Palmer, 'Notes on the Identifications', 311.

²⁰ *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1066-1300: Volume 1, St Paul's, London*, ed. D. E. Greenway (London, 1968), 69, 89.

²¹ *Chronicle of Battle Abbey*, ed. Searle, 122.

²² For Walkelin, see M. J. Franklin, 'Walkelin (d. 1098)', *ODNB* (2004).

Other subtenants whose families can be connected to Count Robert in Normandy include **William de Sept-Meules**, **Robert de Criel** and **Geoffrey de Flocques**. Members of their families patronized either Le Tréport or Notre-Dame d'Eu, and Count Robert had property at all three Norman places.²³ None of these three subtenants can be found in Norman evidence, so it is possible that they were younger sons without significant Norman property.

Ingelrann, Robert's subtenant at Wilting, was **Ingelrann d'Eu**, who granted property at Wilting to Hastings. He became a member of Count Henry's cross-Channel entourage. Ingelrann's vicecomital title probably referred to the rape of Hastings.²⁴ Ingelrann's brother, **Guy**, held Wilting after him.²⁵ Both brothers can be found in Huntingdonshire: Ingelrann's grants to Huntingdon priory identify him as Eustace of Huntingdon's subtenant at Gidding and Luddington in 1086,²⁶ and Ingelrann's brother, Guy d'Eu, was the abbot of Ramsey's subtenant at one manor in Cambridgeshire, one in Huntingdonshire and two in Norfolk.²⁷ After Herbert, abbot of Ramsey, became bishop of Norwich, Guy can be identified as his *dapifer*.²⁸ Given that Alfred de Grandcourt was another of Eustace's subtenants in Huntingdonshire,²⁹ and Ingelrann d'Eu held two virgates of Count Robert's manor of Hooe, it is likely that **Alfred de Grandcourt** was the Alfred who also held two virgates of Hooe. He is presumably the Alfred de Grandcourt who granted property at Grandcourt to Le Tréport with Count Robert's agreement.

Count Robert's subtenants, **Robert and William de Saint-Leger**, originated 3.4 kilometres from Count Robert's property at Foucarmont, so their family would have been

²³ For Count Robert's property, see *Cartulaire du Tréport*, ed. de Kermaingant, no. 1 (SCRIPTA 125).

²⁴ Green, *English Sheriffs*, 81.

²⁵ Kew, The National Archives, E 210/1073; *Chartulary of Chichester*, ed. Peckham, no. 945.

²⁶ *Monasticon*, vi. part 1, 80; GDB 206r (Huntingdonshire 19:15, 19:19).

²⁷ GDB 192v (Cambridgeshire 7:2), 204v (Huntingdonshire 6:10); LDB 215v (Norfolk 16:5), 126r (Norfolk 1:134); *Regesta*, eds. Johnson and Cronne, no. 1438 and 1438b; *VCH Cambridgeshire*, v. 121; *Cartularium monasterii de Rameseia*, eds. W. H. Hart and P. A. Lyons, 3 vols. (London, 1884-1893), ii. 261.

²⁸ *Regesta*, eds. Johnson and Cronne, nos. 966, 967. For the identification of Guy the *dapifer* as Guy d'Eu, see *Regesta*, eds. Johnson and Cronne, no. 1438 and 1438b; *Cartularium monasterii de Rameseia*, eds. Hart and Lyons, i. 132.

²⁹ GDB 206r (Huntingdonshire, 19:18); Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People*, 141.

acquainted with Count Robert before 1066. By the 1160s, Robert de Saint-Leger's property in England had passed to Thomas de Saint-Leger,³⁰ and William de Saint-Leger's had passed to Reginald de Saint-Leger.³¹ By 1161, Thomas and Reginald jointly made a grant to Foucarmont. The property is unidentifiable, but it was probably continental, because it was named after somebody who is believed to have originated from the region of Aumale (13 kilometres from Saint-Leger).³² This shows the existence of two cross-Channel honorial barons of the counts of Eu in the mid-twelfth century. It is therefore possible, but unprovable, that their ancestors Robert and William de Saint-Leger had been cross-Channel landholders too.

Walter fitz Lambert held the second-highest hidage from Count Robert, after Reinbert. He is probably the brother of Jocelyn fitz Lambert, tenant-in-chief in Lincolnshire, since Lambert is an unusual name and so is Walo, who occurs as a subtenant of Walter and Jocelyn. It is also significant that Walter and Jocelyn were both succeeded by branches of the family of Scotney (from Etocquigny).³³ This has prompted the suggestion that Walter was an ancestor of the Scotney family.³⁴ This is probably correct, because the names Walter and Lambert recur in the Scotney family,³⁵ and a cross-Channel landholder named Ingelrann de Scotney patronized the college of Hastings and Notre-Dame d'Eu in the early twelfth century.³⁶ Walter fitz

³⁰ *Manuscripts of Lord de l'Isle and Dudley*, ed. Kingsford, i. 35; *Red Book*, 202.

³¹ *Chartulary of Lewes*, ed. Salzman, i. 149.

³² For the grant of *nemoris Ulberti* by Thomas and Reginald de Saint-Leger, see *Recueil Henri II*, eds. Delisle and Berger, i. 306-10 (SCRIPTA 6860). For Ulbert, cross-Channel landholder and constable of the counts of Aumale, see B. English, *The Lords of Holderness 1086-1260: A Study in Feudal Society* (Oxford and New York, NY, 1979), 90.

³³ The rarity of the names Lambert and Walo, and the later interests of the Scotneys, convinced Palmer that Walter and Jocelyn 'were related in some way': Palmer, 'Notes on the Identifications', 445. For the Scotney family, see Loyd, *Origins*, 96.

³⁴ *VCH Sussex*, ix. 253, 278; Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People*, 455.

³⁵ One of Walter fitz Lambert's successors, Walter de Scotney, also occurs in a charter for Le Tréport in the 1180s: *Manuscripts of Lord de l'Isle and Dudley*, ed. Kingsford, i. 38; *VCH Sussex*, ii. 75, ix. 79, 253; *Cartulaire du Tréport*, ed. de Kermaingant, no. 44 (SCRIPTA 601). Scotney in Kent (3.4 kilometres from Walter fitz Lambert's Hazelhurst) was held by Lambert de Scotney in the mid- or late-twelfth century, and later by another Walter de Scotney (d. 1259): E. Hasted, *The History and Topographical Survey of the County of Kent*, 12 vols. (Canterbury, 1797-1801), v. 305, 308; J. D. Mackenzie, *The Castles of England*, 2 vols. (New York, NY, 1896), i. 86. See also Keats-Rohan, *Domesday Descendants*, 706.

³⁶ For Ingelrann de Scotney in England, see Kew, The National Archives, E 210/1073; *Chartulary of Chichester*, ed. Peckham, no. 945; *English Lands of Bec*, ed. Chibnall, no. 43; A. D. Seine-Maritime, D 20, fols. 15r and 17r (*Calendar*, ed. Round, no. 399). For his Norman property, see Table 19.

Lambert was the sole benefactor of the prebend of Hastings held successively by Hugh and Geoffrey de Flocques, and his grants included property at Guestling, where Geoffrey was Count Robert's subtenant.³⁷ Flocques was just 5.4 kilometres from Etocquigny, which suggests that Walter's relationship with the family of Flocques originated in Normandy.

Some of Count Henry's subtenants after 1096 make a valuable contribution to this analysis. One of them, **Anselm de Fréauville**, granted property in the county of Eu and the rape of Hastings to Le Tréport by 1107.³⁸ Anselm's estates in Normandy and England both passed to his son, Roger.³⁹ This supports Le Patourel's contention that a single cross-Channel inheritance was practised by honorial barons, not just by the greatest lords.⁴⁰

Hugh de Rieux, Anselm's vassal in Normandy, had a wife named Mazerina and sons named Anscherius, William and Ralph.⁴¹ These sons are probably identical with the brothers Anscherius, **William and Ralph de Monchaux**,⁴² for Monchaux was just 1.9 kilometres from Rieux, and a later Ralph de Monchaux held churches in both places by 1175.⁴³ Anscherius was always listed first, so was probably the eldest brother. Anscherius witnessed a Norman grant by Count Henry by 1107.⁴⁴ His brother William witnessed Count Henry's charter for Hastings,⁴⁵ but also appears with Anscherius and Ralph in Count Henry's continental charters.⁴⁶ We can therefore suppose that William divided his time between England and Normandy. The third brother, Ralph, could be the Ralph de Monchaux who held unidentified

³⁷ GDB 19v (Sussex 9:105).

³⁸ For Playden and Filsham, see *Cartulaire du Tréport*, ed. de Kermaingant, no. 6 (SCRIPTA 129). For Standen, see *Cartulaire du Tréport*, ed. de Kermaingant, no. 46 (SCRIPTA 603).

³⁹ For Roger in England, see *Chronicle of Battle Abbey*, ed. Searle, 120. For Roger in Normandy, see *Cartulaire du Tréport*, ed. de Kermaingant, no. 19 (SCRIPTA 576).

⁴⁰ Le Patourel, *Norman Empire*, 191-95.

⁴¹ *Cartulaire du Tréport*, ed. de Kermaingant, nos. 1, 3 (SCRIPTA 125, 126).

⁴² Peigné-Delacourt, 'Charte par Henri, comte d'Eu', 551-53.

⁴³ *Cartulaire du Tréport*, ed. de Kermaingant, no. 36 (SCRIPTA 2210).

⁴⁴ *Cartulaire du Tréport*, ed. de Kermaingant, no. 5 (SCRIPTA 128).

⁴⁵ Kew, The National Archives, E 210/1073: William *filius mazel[in]*; *Chartulary of Chichester*, ed. Peckham, no. 945.

⁴⁶ *Cartulaire du Tréport*, ed. de Kermaingant, no. 3 (SCRIPTA 126); Peigné-Delacourt, 'Charte par Henri, comte d'Eu', 551-53.

land in Sussex in 1130,⁴⁷ and who witnessed Count Henry's grant of property at Blyth to Foucarmont.⁴⁸ In conclusion, it seems that the careers of Hugh de Rieux's three sons diverged geographically under Count Henry: the eldest son's career was overwhelmingly continental, but one or perhaps two younger sons can be found in both polities.

Men from the family of Bailleul witnessed grants of property in Normandy to Le Tréport by Count Robert and Count William III.⁴⁹ In 1086, **Wihelard de Bailleul** was Richard de Clare's subtenant in Essex, Suffolk and Cambridgeshire.⁵⁰ In the twelfth century, the same Wihelard was part of Count Henry's cross-Channel entourage, acted as Count Henry's steward in England, and was a benefactor of Battle Abbey. Wihelard was probably related to Ralph de Bailleul, benefactor of the college of Hastings.⁵¹ It is almost certain that at least two successive generations of Wihelard's descendants were cross-Channel landholders. Wihelard's grandson and eventual successor in England, Geoffrey, granted property at Le Tréport to Notre-Dame-d'Eu in 1119.⁵² Geoffrey's cross-Channel heir, Gilbert, granted property at Le Bosc-Geoffrey, Le Tréport and unidentified English places to Notre-Dame d'Eu sometime after 1119.⁵³

From this analysis, it is possible to see that a significant number of Count Robert's subtenants in England were connected to him in the county of Eu (see Figure 28). Perhaps four of them were landholders in the county of Eu. It is just possible that the brothers from Saint-Leger were

⁴⁷ *Pipe Roll – 31 Henry I*, ed. J. A. Green (London, 2012), 56.

⁴⁸ Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, Y 13, fol. 47v.

⁴⁹ *Cartulaire du Tréport*, ed. de Kermaingant, nos. 1, 3 (SCRIPTA 125, 126).

⁵⁰ R. Mortimer, 'Land and Service: the Tenants of the Honour of Clare', *ANS*, 8 (1986), 177-97, at 184; Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People*, 315. The identification can be confirmed by later descent: *Stoke by Clare Cartulary*, eds. C. Harper-Bill and R. Mortimer, 3 vols. (Woodbridge, 1982-1984), ii, 349.

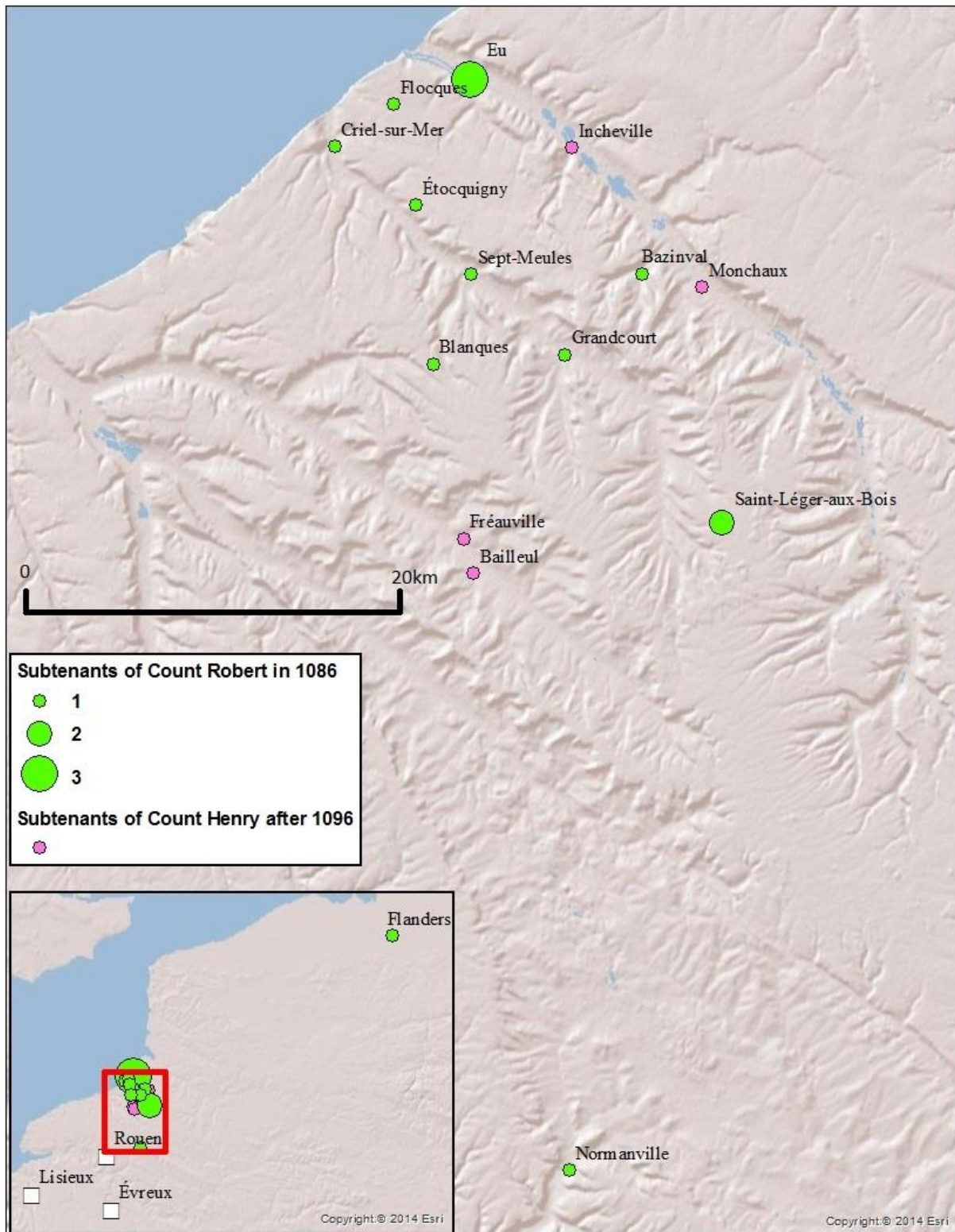
⁵¹ Kew, The National Archives, E 210/1073; *Chartulary of Chichester*, ed. Peckham, no. 945.

⁵² For Geoffrey in England, see *Stoke by Clare*, eds. Harper-Bill and Mortimer, i, 115, 120 (as *nepos* of Wihelard); *Chartulary of Lewes*, ed. Salzman, i, 146, 147; B. L., Harley 2110, fol. 108v; *Calendar*, ed. Round, no. 1391; *Chartulary of Chichester*, ed. Peckham, no. 168. For his grant to Eu, see Table 19.

⁵³ For Gilbert's grant, see *Recueil Henri II*, eds. Delisle and Berger, ii, 382-87 (SCRIPTA 7425). Le Bosc-Geoffrey, Seine-Maritime, cant. Londinières. For Gilbert as successor of Wihelard and Geoffrey in England, see *Red Book*, 203; *Chartulary of Lewes*, ed. Salzman, i, 146; *Chronicle of Battle Abbey*, ed. Searle, 212-18; *Stoke by Clare*, eds. Harper-Bill and Mortimer, ii, 351; *The Cartulary of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem in England: secunda camera, Essex*, ed. M. Gervers (Oxford and New York, NY, 1982), no. 454.

too. Later cross-Channel landholders among the counts' subtenants include Anselm de Fréauville and Geoffrey, grandson of Wihelard de Bailleul. Four more of Robert's subtenants came from families who granted Norman property to Le Tréport or Count Henry's Norman foundations by 1119. Several men became part of Count Henry's cross-Channel entourage, including at least two of Count Robert's subtenants, Gerald de Normanville and Ingelrann d'Eu. Robert's college of Hastings attracted grants from five of Robert's subtenants and one of their sons, and three of its prebends were held by Robert's identifiable subtenants. The opportunity to contribute to the prebends of one's neighbours must have facilitated a sense of community in the rape of Hastings. However, it is clear that Battle Abbey undermined Robert's domination of his subtenants, for four of them patronized Battle, and so would four more of Count Henry's subtenants.

Figure 28: The origins of the subtenants of Count Robert and Count Henry in Sussex.⁵⁴



It is noticeable that no more than three of the most prominent families among Robert’s Norman followers can be found in the rape of Hastings in 1086. Two of those originated from

⁵⁴ See Table 19.

Eu itself, and the other from Grandcourt. Two more important Norman families, those of Fréauville and Monchaux, can only be found in Sussex under Count Henry. Robert's most significant subtenant was not from the county of Eu at all, but was instead from Flanders. It is possible that Robert was reluctant to leave his Norman patrimony exposed by removing too many of his most important supporters there.

William III, count of Eu (died 1096)

Robert's career overlapped with that of his eldest son, who must be considered before the impact of the Norman Conquest upon the house of Eu can be properly understood.

In 1086, a tenant-in-chief named William d'Eu held land in nine shires, together worth about £395, with particular concentrations in Wiltshire, Dorset and Somerset. It has been stated that Count William III was not the tenant-in-chief in 1086.⁵⁵ However, none of the reasons for separating Count William III and William d'Eu are particularly convincing. Consequently, it is now generally accepted that William d'Eu, tenant-in-chief in 1086, was Count William III. Obvious similarities support this identification. Both were kinsmen of the Norman kings.⁵⁶ Neither occur in English charters before the 1080s.⁵⁷ Both had a reputation for being untrustworthy.⁵⁸ William d'Eu died or retired soon after 13 January 1096,⁵⁹ and Count William III died between 1093 and 1101.⁶⁰ There was a rebellion at Hastings in 1088,⁶¹ the same year that William d'Eu devastated the royal town of Berkeley in Gloucestershire when rebelling

⁵⁵ Chester Waters, 'Counts of Eu', 271-73; C. Dawson, *History of Hastings Castle*, 2 vols. (London, 1909), i. 26-27; *Domesday Monachorum*, ed. Douglas, 64-65.

⁵⁶ For Count William, see Figure 3. For William d'Eu, see ASC, 181.

⁵⁷ See Table 20.

⁵⁸ For Count William, see *John of Worcester*, eds. Darlington and McGurk, trans. Bray and McGurk, iii. 68; *Symeonis monachi*, ed. Arnold, ii. 223. For William d'Eu, see *The Warenne (Hyde) Chronicle*, eds. E. van Houts and R. Love (Oxford, 2013), 38.

⁵⁹ See below, p. 253.

⁶⁰ For 1093, see *John of Worcester*, eds. Darlington and McGurk, trans. Bray and McGurk, iii. 68; *Symeonis monachi*, ed. Arnold, ii. 223. For his heir's first datable charter, in 1101, see *Cartulaire du Tréport*, ed. de Kermaingant, no. 4 (SCRIPTA 127).

⁶¹ See above, p. 212.

against Rufus.⁶² If William d'Eu was not Count William III, then William d'Eu's parents, siblings and descendants would be a mystery. It seems unlikely that somebody holding £395 of English land in 1086 could have left so small a trace in the evidence. It has also been overlooked that William d'Eu, benefactor of Gloucester Abbey, is identified as a count in a cartulary completed between 1381 and 1412.⁶³ These considerations make it virtually certain that Count William III and William d'Eu were one and the same. When this identification has been reached, the following picture emerges.

The career of William III, count of Eu

By 1086, William was administering the rape of Hastings for his father, but he held an even greater estate in England in his own name. In 1086, no earlier than April, King William and William III himself were at William III's manor of Lacock in Lackham in Wiltshire, to hear a plea between Fécamp and William de Briouze.⁶⁴ This suggests that William III enjoyed a good relationship with the king.

William III patronized Le Tréport before and after Count Robert's death,⁶⁵ and granted property at Bazoches-au-Houlme to Saint-Pierre-sur-Dives.⁶⁶ Before he inherited the county of Eu, William used his own English estate to join a religious network in England: in 1085, he granted property at Stonehouse in Gloucestershire to Gloucester Abbey.⁶⁷ On the one hand, this demonstrates William's respect for an English institution and his commitment to his new surroundings. On the other, it was a way for William to participate in a network of local and

⁶² *John of Worcester*, eds. Darlington and McGurk, trans. Bray and McGurk, iii. 52.

⁶³ *Historia Gloucestriae*, ed. Hart, i. 111.

⁶⁴ *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 146; GDB 71v (Wiltshire 32:12).

⁶⁵ *Cartulaire du Tréport*, ed. de Kermaingant, nos. 1 and 3 (SCRIPTA 125, 126).

⁶⁶ Sauvage, 'Saint-Pierre-sur-Dive', no. 2.

⁶⁷ *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 156. For the property granted, see Bates's notes, and *Historia et cartularium monasterii Sancti Petri Gloucestriae*, ed. W. H. Hart, 3 vols. (London, 1863-1867), i. 111.

more distant Normans, after the abbey flourished following the appointment of a Norman abbot in 1072.⁶⁸

Two law cases involving Alice, countess of Eu, in 1230, show that Count William III's wife was Beatrice, sister of Roger II de Bully.⁶⁹ It is likely that the relationship between the families of Bully and Eu began before 1066, for Bully was very close to the property William II d'Eu expected to inherit from Helto,⁷⁰ and Count Robert was a signatory of Roger I de Bully's charter for La Trinité-du-Mont de Rouen between 1054 and 1066.⁷¹ Count Robert probably arranged the marriage of William III to strengthen his family's interests in the Talou.

William's second wife was a sister of Hugh d'Avranches.⁷² Her name, Helisende, can be found in a story told by Guibert of Nogent, who describes her acts of charity towards a Jewish boy rescued from a pogrom at Rouen in autumn 1096, after William's death.⁷³ William's marriage alliance with Hugh was probably supposed to strengthen William in the south-west of England, where the estates of William and Hugh were interspersed, especially in Dorset and Gloucestershire.

Table 20: Appearances of William III in the diplomatic evidence

Charter	Date	Benefactor	Beneficiary	T	S	M	Style
<i>Cartulaire du Tréport</i> , ed. de Kermaingant, no. 1 (SCRIPTA 125)	1059 x 1090	Various, including Count Robert and Count William III	Le Tréport	X		X	Willermus / Willermus filius meus

⁶⁸ For Gloucester Abbey's success after 1072, see *VCH Gloucestershire*, ii. 53-54; E. Cownie, 'Gloucester Abbey, 1066-1135: an Illustration of Religious Patronage in Anglo-Norman England', in *England and Normandy in the Middle Ages*, eds. D. Bates and A. Curry (London, 1994), 143-57.

⁶⁹ *Bracton's Notebook*, ed. F. W. Maitland, 3 vols. (London, 1887), ii. 331; *Curia Regis Rolls of the Reign of Henry III, volume 14, 14-17 Henry III (1230-1232)*, ed. C. T. Flower (London, 1961), 199; M. Chibnall, 'Robert of Bellême and the Castle of Tickhill', in *Droit privé et institutions régionales: études historiques offertes à Jean Yver*, eds. R. Aubreton, R. Carabie, O. Guillot and L. Musset (Paris, 1976), 151-56, at 152-54, 156.

⁷⁰ See above, p. 189. See also *RADN*, no. 104 (SCRIPTA 1548); Loyd, *Origins*, 21, 63.

⁷¹ *RADN*, no. 200 (SCRIPTA 1643).

⁷² *OV*, iv. 284.

⁷³ *Guibert of Nogent*, trans. Benton, 135-36; *Guibert de Nogent*, ed. Labande, 248-50.

Charter	Date	Benefactor	Beneficiary	T	S	M	Style
<i>Cartulaire du Tréport</i> , ed. de Kermaingant, no. 3 (SCRIPTA 126)	1059 x 1090	Various, including Count Robert and Count William III	Le Tréport	Various		X	Willelmus filius comitis Augensis Roberti
<i>Regesta</i> , ed. Bates, no. 21 (I and II)	1080 x 1086	Osbern fitz Hugh d'Eu	Battle			X	Willelmum comitem de Ou
<i>Regesta</i> , ed. Bates, no. 123	1081 x 1083	Dispute between William III d'Eu and Ely	Ely			X	Willelmus de Ou
<i>Regesta</i> , ed. Bates, no. 156	1085	William III d'Eu	Gloucester			X	Willelmus de Ouu
<i>Regesta</i> , ed. Bates, no. 146	1086	Dispute between William de Briouze and Fécamp	Fécamp	X		X	Willelmus Dou / Willelmi Dou

The most striking aspect of William's career is his changes of loyalty after 1087: in chronological order, he supported Curthose in England in 1088; he probably shared Count Robert's support for Rufus in Normandy in 1089; he handed over the county of Eu to Rufus in 1091; he perhaps courted Curthose again before Rufus's promises of money and land persuaded him to reject Curthose in 1093;⁷⁴ and he took part in the plot to place Stephen, count of Aumale, on the English throne in 1095.⁷⁵

William's changes of loyalty proved not to be exceptional among the counts of Eu. William's son, Count Henry, supported Curthose against King Henry in 1101.⁷⁶ Count Henry supported King Henry against Curthose in 1104,⁷⁷ but in 1110 he was King Henry's hostage at Dover.⁷⁸ In 1118, Count Henry supported William Clito against King Henry. Though arrested at Rouen and briefly imprisoned, he rebelled against King Henry after being released.⁷⁹ In

⁷⁴ *John of Worcester*, eds. Darlington and McGurk, trans. Bray and McGurk, iii. 68.

⁷⁵ *John of Worcester*, eds. Darlington and McGurk, trans. Bray and McGurk, iii. 76; *Symeonis monachi*, ed. Arnold, ii. 225.

⁷⁶ *John of Worcester*, eds. Darlington and McGurk, trans. Bray and McGurk, iii. 96; C. Warren Hollister, *Henry I* (London, 2001), 137; Green, *Henry I*, 63.

⁷⁷ OV, vi. 56.

⁷⁸ *Regesta*, eds. Johnson and Cronne, no. 941.

⁷⁹ OV, vi. 190, 368; *Warenne (Hyde) Chronicle*, eds. van Houts and Love, 66-68.

1119, Count Henry fought alongside King Henry against King Louis VI at Brémule.⁸⁰ He also attended the wedding of King Henry's son at Rouen in the same year.⁸¹ Count Henry's career demonstrates that there was nothing implausible about William III's changes of loyalty.

William's support for Curthose in 1088 and for Rufus in 1091 was influenced by an intention to hold his English lands and the county of Eu under one lord after Count Robert's death. In 1088, Curthose was the preferred candidate for Robert and William, perhaps because Robert had recognized him as the Conqueror's heir to Normandy since before 1066. Curthose's inaction in 1088 apparently made Rufus preferable by 1091. However, the fact that Rufus needed to purchase William's support again in 1093 suggests that William's loyalty had wavered. His ancestral patrimony in the Talou must have persuaded him not to alienate Curthose completely. William was not alone in this behaviour, for Ralph de Mortemer, who rebelled in England in 1088, transferred his allegiance to Rufus in Normandy in 1089, only to return to the ducal court sometime before 1096.⁸² None of the conspirators of 1095 had witnessed or signed any of Curthose's charters since 1088. This suggests that Curthose found it difficult to gain their allegiance after his failure that year. The conspirators of 1095 are not known to have desired Stephen, count of Aumale, as duke of Normandy, so we must assume that William was willing to hold his cross-Channel lands from two different lords if it meant greater stability than there had been between Curthose and Rufus.

The causes of the conspiracy of 1095 are not obvious, but since Robert de Montbrai is usually identified as the ringleader, it is most profitable to ask how he was able to recruit support for a plot which resulted from his own quarrel with Rufus. Chroniclers generally agree that Rufus was unpopular because of his high taxation. It is also likely that his exploitation of 'feudal' rights, his control over royal forests, and his war with Curthose made him unpopular.⁸³

⁸⁰ OV, vi. 236.

⁸¹ *Regesta*, eds. Johnson and Cronne, nos. 1204, 1205, 1207.

⁸² Lewis, 'Mortimer, Ralph de', *ODNB*.

⁸³ Barlow, *William Rufus*, 346.

It has been observed that Rufus was unpopular with much of the cross-Channel aristocracy in 1094 and 1095, for two reasons.⁸⁴ Firstly, in March 1094, Rufus was accused of breaking the terms of the treaty of Rouen at a meeting of the treaty's guarantors in Normandy.⁸⁵ Secondly, Eadmer states that many of those present at the council of Rockingham on 25 February 1095 were upset by Rufus's treatment of Archbishop Anselm.⁸⁶ William III was in a position to share both of these grievances against Rufus, for the treaty of Rouen put his county of Eu under Rufus's lordship, and, like four other conspirators, he was connected to Anselm in England.⁸⁷ Rufus's response to being accused of violating the treaty of Rouen was to retire to Eu and recruit mercenaries. Soon afterwards, Curthose recruited King Philip for an attack on Eu, but the attack was aborted before it got there.⁸⁸ Given the prevailing disapproval of Rufus's conduct since the treaty of Rouen, it is possible that his actions at Eu only exacerbated reservations which William III might already have held.

Five or six of the ten known or suspected conspirators of 1095 had also rebelled against Rufus in 1088.⁸⁹ It has therefore been proposed that Rufus's conduct after 1091 caused some rebels of 1088 to once more question his suitability for kingship.⁹⁰ It is also possible that

⁸⁴ N. Strevett, 'The Anglo-Norman Aristocracy under Divided Lordship, 1087-1106: a Social and Political Study', unpublished PhD thesis (University of Glasgow, 2005), 144.

⁸⁵ *John of Worcester*, eds. Darlington and McGurk, trans. Bray and McGurk, iii. 68-70.

⁸⁶ *Eadmeri historia novorum*, ed. Rule, 61; *Eadmer's History of Recent Events*, trans. Bosanquet, 62.

⁸⁷ For the links between the conspirators and Anselm, see Vaughn, *Anselm of Bec and Robert of Meulan*, 178-79. For an unnamed count of Eu as Anselm's subtenant, see *Domesday Monachorum*, ed. Douglas, 105; GDB 4r (Kent 2:25, 2:32).

⁸⁸ ASC, 178; *John of Worcester*, eds. Darlington and McGurk, trans. Bray and McGurk, iii. 70; Henry, *Archdeacon of Huntingdon. Historia Anglorum: the History of the English People*, ed. D. Greenway (London, 1981), 418-20.

⁸⁹ C. Warren Hollister, 'Magnates and "Curiales" in Early Norman England', *Viator*, 8 (1977), 63-81, at 68-69; Barlow, *William Rufus*, 347-48; Strevett, 'Anglo-Norman Aristocracy', 135-38. To Hollister's list of eight conspirators, Ernulf de Hesdin and William d'Audrieu have been added. For Ernulf de Hesdin, see *Warene (Hyde) Chronicle*, eds. van Houts and Love, 40. For William d'Audrieu's punishment in 1096, see ASC, 181; *John of Worcester*, eds. Darlington and McGurk, trans. Bray and McGurk, iii. 82; *Symeonis monachi*, ed. Arnold, ii. 226; *Warene (Hyde) Chronicle*, eds. van Houts and Love, 38. Hugh de Montgomery's rebellion in 1088 is plausible but unprovable.

⁹⁰ Strevett, 'Anglo-Norman Aristocracy', 115-45.

William III had a grievance of his own, if Rufus failed to deliver whatever lands and money he had promised in 1093.⁹¹

Like William III, Robert de Montbrai is said (albeit by a different source) to have attacked Berkeley during the rebellion of 1088.⁹² Their cooperation in 1088 was probably encouraged by their similar personal circumstances. Both were established in England in the latter half of William the Conqueror's English reign.⁹³ Though already significant in 1088, both men were still waiting to inherit cross-Channel estates. Both had succeeded to these inheritances by 1095. Consequently, of all the conspirators in 1095, Robert de Montbrai's interests most closely resembled William III's in size and cross-Channel distribution. Both had links with Hugh d'Avranches, for Robert married Hugh's niece.⁹⁴ It is plausible that the similarities between Robert de Montbrai and William III, and the parallel development of their careers, encouraged a friendship which threatened Rufus in 1088 and 1095. Recruiting William's support for Stephen, count of Aumale, would have been made easier by Stephen's patronage of Le Tréport before 1090, and by the similar political stances of the counts of Eu and Stephen in 1089 and 1091.

At Salisbury on 13 January 1096, William was accused of treason and was subsequently blinded and castrated on Rufus's orders.⁹⁵ Hugh d'Avranches is said to have devised William's gruesome punishment because William mistreated Hugh's sister.⁹⁶ This is perhaps another instance where violence was used in defence of a family's honour.⁹⁷ The fact that Hugh obtained vengeance at the royal court instead of through unrestrained, unregulated violence is a sign of Rufus's ability to maintain order. The Warenne chronicler adds that William's

⁹¹ Strevett, 'Anglo-Norman Aristocracy', 136.

⁹² ASC, 173.

⁹³ For William III, see Table 20 and p. 258.

⁹⁴ For Robert de Montbrai's career, see Strevett, 'Anglo-Norman Aristocracy', 122-29, 229.

⁹⁵ ASC, 181.

⁹⁶ OV, iv. 284.

⁹⁷ See above, p. 38. Also see Roche, 'The Way Vengeance Comes', 133.

punishment ‘rendered him useless in every respect’.⁹⁸ William III’s steward, William d’Audrieu, was executed – an unusually severe punishment which must reflect the seriousness of the plot against Rufus’s life.⁹⁹ William III is not discernible in any sources after January 1096, so he probably died or retired soon after being mutilated. Evidence from the seventeenth century states that Count Robert was buried at Le Tréport, and William III at Hastings,¹⁰⁰ but the burial places of both men remain uncertain in the absence of earlier evidence.

William III’s property in England

Most of William’s estate held in his own name in 1086 was in the south-west, but he also had a cluster in Bedfordshire and Hertfordshire (see Figure 29). Curiously, William’s estate has a similar distribution to those of the bishop and canons of Lisieux, which together contain several manors in Dorset, Wiltshire, Gloucestershire and Oxfordshire, as well as a group near William’s in Hertfordshire and neighbouring Buckinghamshire. William and the bishop both had manors at Yatton Keynell in Wiltshire.¹⁰¹ Unfortunately, there is little evidence to ascertain whether William’s uncle, Hugh, or Hugh’s successor, Gilbert Maminot, was the bishop who acquired these manors. Hugh’s survival until 1077, and his witnessing of a charter for the cathedral of Wells in 1068, suggest that he could well have been the recipient of property in the west of England, but this cannot be shown for certain.¹⁰²

⁹⁸ *Warene (Hyde) Chronicle*, eds. van Houts and Love, 38. For William’s punishment, see also *John of Worcester*, eds. Darlington and McGurk, trans. Bray and McGurk, iii. 82; *Symeonis monachi*, ed. Arnold, ii. 226; OV, iv. 284; *Historia Anglorum*, ed. Greenway, 420; *Gesta Regum*, eds. Mynors, Thomson and Winterbottom, i. 564; *Geffrei Gaimar: Estoire des Engleis = History of the English*, ed. I. Short (Oxford, 2009), 332.

⁹⁹ For William d’Audrieu’s punishment, see above, p. 252, note 89. For the rarity of the punishment, see Strickland, *War and Chivalry*, 241-42.

¹⁰⁰ F. B. Coquelin, *Histoire de l’abbaye de St. Michel du Tréport*, 2 vols. (Rouen, 1879-1888), i. 76-77.

¹⁰¹ GDB 66r (Wiltshire 6:1), 71v (Wiltshire 32:14).

¹⁰² Allen, ‘Norman Episcopate’, i. 268-71.

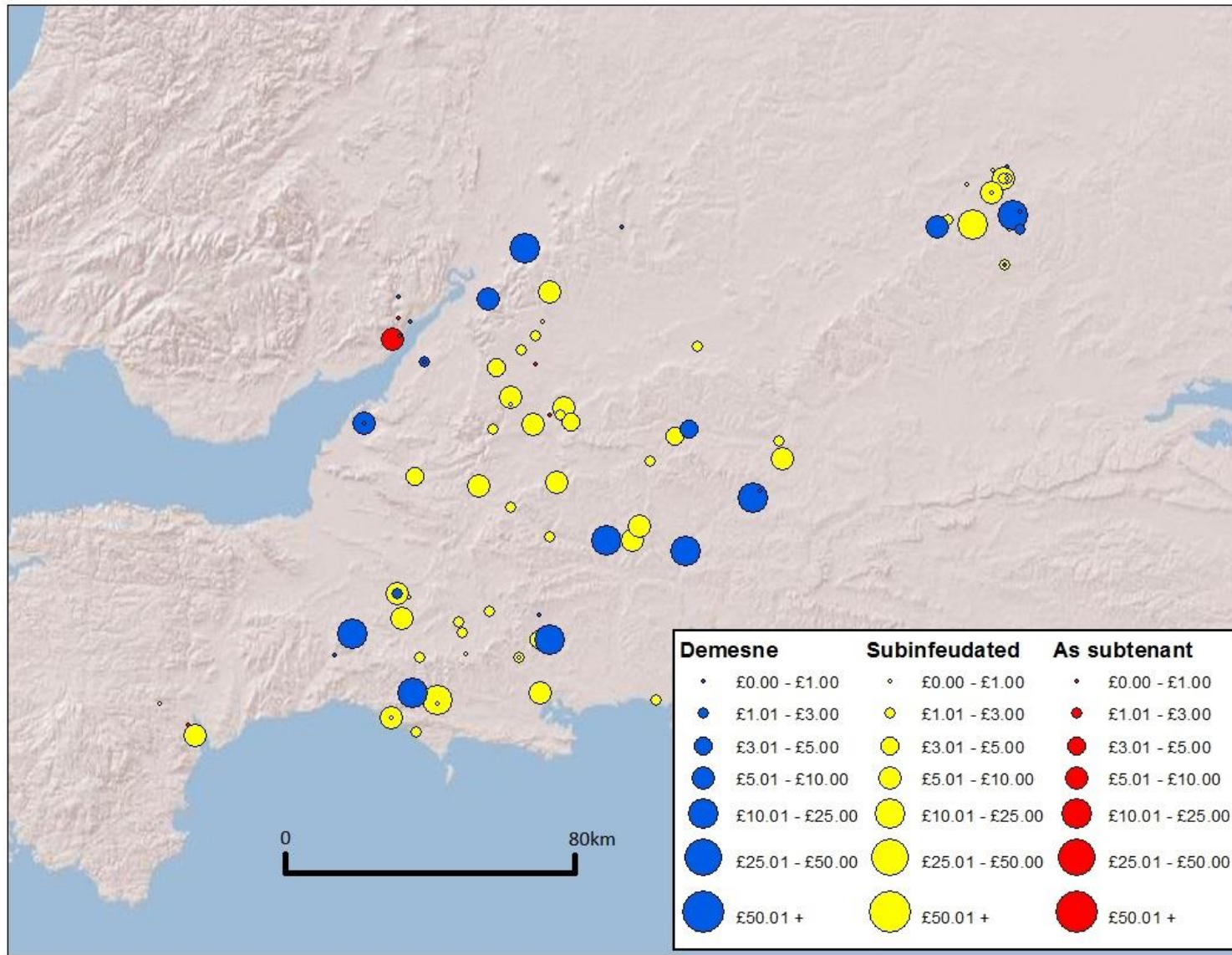
William held thirty-two carucates at the castle of Chepstow in Wales, built by William fitz Osbern.¹⁰³ He also paid rent of £55 for property in Wales which was entrusted to him by Durand, sheriff of Gloucestershire.¹⁰⁴ William was apparently reluctant to subinfeudate near the Welsh frontier. This suggests that he was willing to accept military responsibilities there, instead of delegating responsibility like Ralph de Tosny did at Clifford. William can therefore be identified as one of several young men who were allowed to acquire interests in Wales while their older relatives were more concerned with England and Normandy.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰³ GDB 162r (Gloucestershire, S1, W16).

¹⁰⁴ GDB 162r (Gloucestershire W8).

¹⁰⁵ For young Normans on the Welsh frontier, see Davies, *Age of Conquest*, 85-86.

Figure 29: William III's estate in England in 1086



William kept in demesne 43% of the property he held as a tenant-in-chief, by wealth (see Table 21). William's demesne included his seven most valuable manors. Keeping his most valuable manors in demesne while subinfeudating less valuable manors allowed William to attract many supporters without alienating too much wealth.

Table 21: William III's estate in England in 1086

Shire	Held as tenant-in-chief		Held in demesne		Let to subtenants		Held as a subtenant		Net income £
	Estates	£	Estates	£	Estates	£	Estates	£	
Bedfordshire	7	28.05	2	10.50	5	17.55	0	0.00	10.50
Berkshire	3	9.00	1	4.00	2	5.00	0	0.00	4.00
Devonshire	2	6.50	0	0.00	2	6.50	1 ¹	0.25	0.25
Dorset	15	89.51	2	34.00	13	55.51	0	0.00	34.00
Gloucestershire	12	37.75	8	25.00	4	12.75	2 ²	8.00	33.00
Hampshire	5	35.50	3	28.00	2	7.50	0	0.00	28.00
Hertfordshire	8	37.64	4	22.17	4	15.47	0	0.00	22.17
Somerset	8	53.50	3	23.00	5	30.50	0	0.00	23.00
Wiltshire	17	97.25	2	25.00	15	72.25	2 ³	0.30	25.30
Total	77	394.70	25	171.67	52	223.03	5	8.55	180.22

William's dispersed estate contrasts starkly with Count Robert's concentrated one (see Figure 29). This is because unlike Robert's rape of Hastings, William's estate was affected by pre-Conquest patterns of landholding. William succeeded to forty of the forty-six manors held in eight shires in 1066 by Ælfstan of Boscombe, pre-Conquest sheriff of Bedfordshire.⁴ William also held manors at which Ælfstan had been the lord of other men.⁵ Another significant antecessor was Tholf the Dane, at fifteen manors in the south and south-west.⁶

¹ GDB 100r, 111v (Devonshire 1:4, 22:1).

² GDB 162r (Gloucestershire S1, W16), 164r (Gloucestershire, 1:64).

³ GDB 64v (Wiltshire M8); 67r (Wiltshire 8:12).

⁴ GDB 47r (Hampshire 32:4), 61r (Berkshire 23:1), 67r (Wiltshire 8:12), 71v (Wiltshire 32:1-14), 80v (Dorset 34:1,9-11,13), 96v (Somerset 26:1-7), 138v-139r (Hertfordshire 28:1-4,6,8), 166v-167r (Gloucestershire 31:4,7,11), 212r (Bedfordshire 18:4,6).

⁵ GDB 138v (Hertfordshire 28:5,7), 212r (Bedfordshire 18:2-3,7).

⁶ GDB 37v, 47r (Hampshire NF4:1, 32:1-2), 71v (Wiltshire 32:16-17), 80v, 82r (Dorset 34:2, 34:5-6, 34:8, 34:12, 34:14-15), 96v (Somerset 26:8), 111v (Devonshire 22:1-2).

Domesday Book states that Ralph de Limésy was William's predecessor in six places, including Chepstow.⁷ It can also be shown that William held two fisheries and a villager at Tidenham (Gloucestershire) after Ralph.⁸ It has been conjectured that Ralph held all of Ælfstan's manors before William.⁹ This descent of Ælfstan's property is only explicitly recorded at Wyeate in Gloucestershire.¹⁰ At William's manor of Culkerton in Gloucestershire, it was deemed remarkable that 'Ralph de Limésy held this land but it was not Ælfstan's'.¹¹ This suggests that the Domesday scribe was noting the exception to a rule, and that contemporaries recognized Ralph as the successor to Ælfstan and the predecessor of William. The theory is harder to prove outside Gloucestershire, but eleven of William's manors in Hertfordshire and Bedfordshire have intermediate values between 1066 and 1086, which raises the possibility that Ælfstan's manors here were transferred from one man to another at a date significantly later than 1066. Ralph can also be shown to have held Ælfstan's manor at Slacham in Hampshire, which passed to King William by 1086.¹² Overall, Ralph's association with the estates of Ælfstan and William III d'Eu suggests that he held all or most of Ælfstan's manors sometime before William acquired them. The same can be said of Tholf the Dane's manors, of which one is stated to have been Ralph's before it was William's.¹³ This suggests that William received most or all of his property in England at one time.

Ralph de Limésy acquired other property before 1086, when he held land worth about £134. The reason why Ralph lost the manors of Ælfstan and Tholf is uncertain. Ralph had been enfeoffed at Chepstow by William fitz Osbern, and Ralph still received half of the £16 rendered by the town of Chepstow in the time of Roger, earl of Hereford (1071-1075).¹⁴ It is most

⁷ GDB 80v (Dorset 34:6), 162r, 166v-167r (Gloucestershire S1, W16, 31:2, 31:4, 31:9-10).

⁸ GDB 164r (Gloucestershire 1:56); 166v (Gloucestershire, 31:6).

⁹ A. S. Ellis, 'On the Landholders of Gloucestershire Named in Domesday Book', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, 4 (1880), 86-198, at 126; *VCH Somerset*, i. 413.

¹⁰ GDB 166v (Gloucestershire 31:4).

¹¹ GDB 167r (Gloucestershire 31:10).

¹² GDB 39r (Hampshire, 1:32).

¹³ GDB 80v (Dorset 34:6).

¹⁴ GDB 166v (Gloucestershire S1, W16).

plausible that Ralph participated in Roger, earl of Hereford's rebellion in 1075, and lost his first estate in England as punishment.¹⁵ Count Robert's loyalty to King William must have persuaded the king that Robert's son was a trustworthy replacement for Ralph.

William III's lordships in England in 1086

William III's most important subtenants are listed in Table 22. Other subtenants, identifiable only by their first name, have been omitted. The most valuable of the omitted estates was held by a certain Herbert (three manors together worth £10 15s), and the two next most valuable estates (both worth £10) were held by Ansfred and Edward.¹⁶

Table 22: William III's subtenants in England in 1086

Name	Origin	Value of manors held from William III (£)	Office	Relation of William III
Ralph Bloiet	Near Eu. ¹⁷	41.00. ¹⁸		
Hugh Maltravers	?	35.35; ¹⁹ maximum is 42.35.		
William Bellett	Pays de Caux or Évrecin. ²⁰	24.00 is likely; ²¹ maximum is 28.00		

¹⁵ Ellis, 'Landholders of Gloucestershire', 126.

¹⁶ For Herbert, see GDB 96v (Somerset 26:4), 166v-167r (Gloucestershire 31:8,10). For Ansfred, see GDB 71v (Wiltshire 32:17), 80v (Dorset 34:10,13). For Edward, see GDB 71v (Wiltshire 32:7).

¹⁷ Based on later grant to Le Tréport by William Bloiet at Touffreville-sur-Eu, Seine-Maritime, cant. Eu, by 1145, and a grant by the Bloiet family to Notre-Dame d'Eu at Saint-Rémy-Boscrocourt, Seine-Maritime, cant. Eu, by 1189: *Cartulaire du Tréport*, ed. de Kermaingant, no. 9 (SCRIPTA 566); *Recueil Henri II*, eds. Delisle and Berger, ii. 382-87 (SCRIPTA 7425). William Bloiet also witnessed a charter of Count John of Eu for Foucarmont, and witnessed a grant to Notre-Dame d'Eu alongside Count Henry II of Eu: Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, Y 13, fol. 50r; B. N. ms. Lat. 13904, fol. 49r-v.

¹⁸ GDB 47r (Hampshire 32:4), 71v (Wiltshire 32:9, 32:12), 96v (Somerset 26:3,5), 166v (Gloucestershire 31:7). Identifications using *Exon Domesday*, ed. Ellis, 409-10, and later descent: Palmer, 'Notes on the Identifications', 329-30.

¹⁹ GDB 71v (Wiltshire, 32:15), 80v (Dorset 34:4-5 and 34:7), 82r (Dorset 34:14-15), 96v (Somerset 26:5, 26:6). The subtenant of these manors is identified by *Exon Domesday*, ed. Ellis, 70, 410, and later descent: Palmer, 'Notes on the Identifications', 239-40.

²⁰ Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People*, 467.

²¹ GDB 80v (Dorset 34:1-3, 34:8). Identified by Dorset Geld Accounts and later descent: Palmer, 'Notes on the Identifications', 464.

Name	Origin	Value of manors held from William III (£)	Office	Relation of William III
William d'Audrieu	Audrieu, Calvados, cant. Tilly-sur-Seulles. ²²	22.15 is likely; ²³ maximum is 26.15	William's <i>dapifer</i> . ²⁴	Son of William's mother's sister. ²⁵
Bernard	? ²⁶	20.50. ²⁷		
William de la Mere	?	14.25 is certain; ²⁸ maximum is 18.25	Domesday juror in Cheveley hundred (Cambridgeshire). ²⁹	
Hugh d'Avranches	Avranches	2.00 is likely; ³⁰ maximum is 9.00	Earl of Chester.	Brother-in-law. ³¹

William III's subtenants are harder to trace back to the county of Eu than Robert's. **Ralph Bloiet** is the only subtenant who can be shown to have originated from the county of Eu. Ralph Bloiet and **William d'Audrieu** are the only two subtenants whose relationship with William III can be shown to have predated 1066. There is a possibility that Hugh Maltravers, William de la Mere and Bernard originated from the county of Eu, but a lack of evidence for this makes it likelier that their relationships with William began in England. William probably found it difficult to acquire vassals in the county of Eu while his father was still count of Eu.

²² Loyd, *Origins*, 3.

²³ GDB 71v (Wiltshire 32:2-3, 32:13), 80v (Dorset 34:6). Dorset landholder is identifiable by Dorset Geld Accounts: *VCH Dorset*, iii. 135; Palmer, 'Notes on the Identifications', 469.

²⁴ ASC, 181; *John of Worcester*, eds. Darlington and McGurk, trans. Bray and McGurk, iii. 82; *Symeonis monachi*, ed. Arnold, ii. 226; *Warne (Hyde) Chronicle*, eds. van Houts and Love, 38.

²⁵ ASC, 181; *John of Worcester*, eds. Darlington and McGurk, trans. Bray and McGurk, iii. 82; *Symeonis monachi*, ed. Arnold, ii. 226.

²⁶ It has been suggested that Bernard originated from Burneville (now Bonneville-Aptot), Eure, cant. Montfort-sur-Risle: R. N. Jackson, 'The Noble Anglo-Saxons? From Ivanhoe to Crathes Castle', *Aberdeen University Review*, 57 (1998), 207-19, at 214. The evidence for this is not convincing.

²⁷ GDB 212r (Bedfordshire 18:6), 71v (Wiltshire 32:8, 32:10). These three manors descended together: J. Nichols, 'Charters relating to the estates of the abbey of Waltham at Alrichesey, now Arlesey, co. Bedford', *Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica*, 6 (1840), 196-236, at 199. Due to the rarity of Bernard's name, he probably held GDB 51r (Hampshire NF4:1).

²⁸ GDB 71v (Wiltshire 32:4), 138v-139r (Hertfordshire 28:3, 28:8).

²⁹ *Inquisitio Comitatus Cantabrigiensis nunc primum e manuscripto unico in bibliotheca Cottoniana asservato typis mandata subjicitur Inquisitio Eliensis*, ed. N. E. S. A. Hamilton (London, 1876), 9, 97.

³⁰ GDB 167r (Gloucestershire 31:9 [identified by later evidence: *Domesday Book: Gloucestershire*, ed. J. S. Moore (Chichester, 1982), note to 31:9; *VCH Gloucestershire*, xi. 252]).

³¹ OV, iv. 284.

William III was less able to dominate his subtenants than Count Robert was. Ralph Bloiet was a subtenant of Durand, sheriff of Gloucestershire, at three manors.³² The Bloiet family held the Welsh lordship of Raglan not from William, but from other lords from the late eleventh century.³³ William d'Audrieu was the son-in-law and subtenant of Robert Blunt at one manor in Wiltshire.³⁴ Hugh Maltravers was a subtenant of Alfred d'Épaignes at one manor.³⁵ William Bellett was the king's man more than he was William III's.³⁶ The fact that William de la Mere was a Domesday juror in Cambridgeshire suggests that he was active in a shire where William III had no interests. William III could not monopolize power over his subtenants to the same extent as Count Robert because William's estate was interspersed by powerful neighbours who could attract his subtenants. Some of these important neighbours, most notably Hugh d'Avranches, Peter de Valognes and Ernulf de Hesdin, became William's subtenants at a small number of manors.³⁷ This strategy allowed William to acquire important associates without giving away too much wealth.

The estate which William III held in his own name in England in 1086 seems to have been forfeited after the failed conspiracy against Rufus in 1095. It passed to Walter de Clare by 1119.³⁸ The county of Eu and the rape of Hastings both passed to William III's son, Count

³² GDB 168v (Gloucestershire 53:3,9,12); Palmer, 'Notes on the Identifications', 329-30.

³³ Davies, *Age of Conquest*, 85, 467; Crouch, *Birth of Nobility*, 286-87.

³⁴ For William d'Audrieu and Robert Blunt, see GDB 73r (Wiltshire, 60:1); *Exon Domesday*, ed. Ellis, 8, 15; Ellis, 'Landholders of Gloucestershire', 126, 129 n.

³⁵ For Hugh as Alfred's subtenant, see *Monasticon*, v. 167; GDB 97r (Somerset, 35:18).

³⁶ For William Bellett as tenant-in-chief, see GDB 48v (Hampshire 52:1), 84v-85r (Dorset, 57:1, 57:3, 57:12-14, 57:19). As subtenant of King William and Queen Matilda, see GDB 56v (Berkshire, 1:1); *Exon Domesday*, ed. Ellis, 31. See also Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People*, 467.

³⁷ For Peter de Valognes, see GDB 138v (Hertfordshire 28:1,5); Palmer, 'Notes on the Identifications', 325-26. For Ernulf de Hesdin, see GDB 70r, 71v (Wiltshire 25:23, 32:17).

³⁸ For the honour of Netherwent, centred around Chepstow, see *Monasticon*, v. 270; Sanders, *Baronies*, 110-11; J. H. Round, *Studies in Peerage and Family History* (Westminster, 1901), 212; Round, 'Clare, Walter de (*d.* 1137/8?)', rev. C. W. Hollister, *ODNB* (2004). For later descents elsewhere, see *Wiltshire: the Topographical*

Henry. Since William III had already inherited the county of Eu and the rape of Hastings, contemporary practice meant that he was unable to deny them to his eldest son. William III could, however, provide for younger sons by arranging for them to be subtenants of the eldest.³⁹ William III followed this strategy for at least two younger sons in England. Robert III, brother of Count Henry, held property at Thurrock in Essex, which continued to be held as tenant-in-chief by the counts of Eu.⁴⁰ Robert III also had property at Briançon, which he granted to Foucarmont.⁴¹ Another brother of Count Henry, William IV d'Eu, had property at Bulverhythe, which he granted to Lewes. Count Henry confirmed the grant after William IV died (after 1109).⁴²

The counts of Eu: conclusions

The career of Count William I of Eu reveals that the dukes in the early eleventh century possessed considerable powers of patronage. In an effort to enlist his own close relatives for the consolidation of ducal authority in Normandy, Duke Richard II endowed William I with a considerable block of property in the Hiémois. Richard II also arranged a marriage for him, to Lesceline, the daughter of a significant landholder. Richard II's grants to William were paralleled by his creation of counts at Ivry, Évreux, Brionne and Mortain. This strategy was an attempt to reconcile the need to maintain the duchy's integrity with the need to satisfy the expectations of ducal kin, at a time when aristocratic landholders commonly divided their property between more than one heir. Frontier castles were to be used in support of ducal

Collections of John Aubrey, ed. J. E. Jackson (Devizes, 1862), 84; *VCH Wiltshire*, ix. 52, xv. 57, 73, 82, xvii. 152; *VCH Hertfordshire*, iii. 171, 234; *VCH Hampshire*, iv. 52; *VCH Somerset*, iii. 167; *VCH Bedfordshire*, ii. 223, 267, 384; Nichols, 'Charters relating to Waltham', 199.

³⁹ For this strategy, see Holt, 'Politics and Property', in his *Colonial England*, 146; Holt, 'Notions of Patrimony', in his *Colonial England*, 213; Green, *Aristocracy of Norman England*, 340.

⁴⁰ *Feet of Fines for Essex*, volume 1, ed. R. E. G. Kirk (Colchester, 1910), 13; *VCH Essex*, viii. 59.

⁴¹ *Recueil Henri II*, eds. Delisle and Berger, i. 306-10 (SCRIPTA 6860); B. N. ms. Lat. 13904, fol. 74r. Briançon was located in Criel-sur-Mer.

⁴² *Chartulary of Lewes*, ed. Salzman, i. 147, 152. Both of Count Henry's brothers named William signed his charter for Saint-Lucien de Beauvais, dated 1109: Peigné-Delacourt, 'Charte par Henri, comte d'Eu', 551-53.

power, not against it. However, William I demonstrates why the experiment did not always work. He, like several other counts before 1066, was apparently unsatisfied with the extent or the terms of his share of Duke Richard I's property, and rebelled. His behaviour demonstrates why three of the counties created by Duke Richard II, and one created by Duke William II, did not survive into the twelfth century.⁴³ The reversion of these counties to the dukes demonstrates that counts had not held them outright. Instead, the first comital endowments were entrusted to ducal relatives in return for continued loyalty and service. Nonetheless, William I d'Eu achieved a reconciliation with Richard II and was given a second comital endowment in the Talou.

William I consolidated his own power around his chief castles. The dower he afforded Lesceline was on the northern periphery of the Hiémois, so as to leave his power around Exmes undisturbed. The secular college William founded near his castle at Eu reinforced his local reputation and gave his neighbours and followers a chance to earn his favour through their patronage. William could also win the loyalty of local men by nominating them as canons, to be endowed with prebends. His son, Hugh, became a powerful protector for Lesceline as bishop of Lisieux, and ensured that Lesceline's foundations at Saint-Pierre-sur-Dives and Lisieux received Duke William's support. In this way, the appointment of Hugh in 1046 provided a significant boost to his family's influence outside the Talou. It is likely that Saint-Pierre-sur-Dives and Saint-Désir de Lisieux reinforced Lesceline's eminence in both localities, for the scant charter evidence shows that both were patronized by Lesceline's vassals.

The descent of the county of Eu after the deaths of Godfrey and William I d'Eu, brothers of Duke Richard II, and after the death of Gilbert de Brionne, son of Godfrey, demonstrates that the inheritance of an early county was not straightforward. The sons of William and Gilbert were young when William and Gilbert died, and it is possible that Gilbert, too, was young when

⁴³ Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, 194, 325.

Godfrey died. However, there is no evidence that William I, Gilbert, or William II held the county merely as a guardian of a young heir. In fact, it can be shown that William I, Gilbert and William II all held the county for themselves: this can be inferred from the duration of William I's career at Eu and his religious foundation there, from the violence with which Gilbert seems to have ejected William I's sons from the castle of Eu, and from the absence of any claim to Eu by Gilbert's sons while William II or Robert was count. Evidently, the duke's nod was sufficient to disinherit the young sons of a count, but he often acknowledged their expectations by granting a suitable replacement when they were older. This probably explains why Gilbert received Brionne, and certainly explains why Gilbert's sons, Richard and Baldwin, received Bienfaite and Orbec, and Meulles and Le Sap, respectively, after their return to Normandy sometime between 1050 and 1053.⁴⁴

The rulers of Normandy found it more difficult to interfere with the descent of counties as the eleventh century progressed. Between Count William II's accession to Eu and 1066, rebellions caused the counties of Ivry, Brionne and Arques to be abolished, and caused the county of Mortain to be transferred from William Werlenc to the duke's half-brother, Robert. However, when William, count of Évreux, expelled ducal garrisons from his castles in 1087, and Robert, count of Eu, resisted Curthose in 1089, Curthose was unwilling or unable to reclaim their counties. Count Henry resisted King Henry several times after 1100, but never lost the county of Eu. It seems that by 1087, the counts of Eu and Évreux held their counties by right, rather than simply through the duke's favour. The unruly behaviour of counts, and their success in making their counties hereditary by the late eleventh century, recall Bisson's point that instead of exercising power on the ruler's behalf and in his interests, middle men

⁴⁴ For Richard and Baldwin, see Mortimer, 'Clare, Richard de', *ODNB*; J. A. Green, 'Baldwin [Baldwin de Meulles] (d. 1086x90)', *ODNB* (2004).

(such as counts) often treated their endowments as their own property and used them for their own ends.⁴⁵

The Hiémois was peripheral to the counts of Eu after Gilbert's death. This can be explained by William I's forfeiture, and by the measures Lesceline took to limit her sons' influence over Saint-Pierre-sur-Dives. Count Robert's priorities lay in the Talou and the Roumois before 1066. This can be inferred from his marriage to Beatrice, widow of a landholder in both of these *pagi*. It can also be seen in the marriage Robert arranged for William III, with the daughter of Roger I de Bully, a local landholder. Robert's foundation of Le Tréport was also intended to consolidate his local influence, and his authority throughout the county of Eu can be perceived in his vassals' grants to the abbey, which largely coincided with Robert's own continental estate. The concentrated distribution of the comital endowment of Eu helped the counts secure the allegiance of these lesser landholders, for it was barely interrupted by other powerful men to compete against. Nonetheless, Count Henry's claim that Robert patronized Saint-Lucien de Beauvais suggests that Robert took an interest in continental affairs outside Normandy. That Helisende sent the boy rescued in 1096 to Saint-Germer de Fly also hints at an interest in French institutions beyond the duchy.⁴⁶

It is remarkable that so many of the families most closely attached to the counts of Eu in Normandy apparently missed out on property in the rape of Hastings by 1086: only Osbern fitz Geoffrey d'Eu, Osbern fitz Hugh d'Eu and perhaps Alfred de Grandcourt came from the families most prominent in Robert's entourage in Normandy. Perhaps four of Robert's subtenants can be identified as cross-Channel landholders. Anselm de Fréauville can be added to this list under Count Henry, and Anselm's son, Roger, probably succeeded Anselm in both

⁴⁵ Bisson, "Feudal Revolution", 34-38; Bisson, 'Medieval Lordship', *Speculum*, 70:4 (1995), 743-59, at 751-54.

⁴⁶ *Guibert of Nogent*, trans. Benton, 135-36; *Guibert de Nogent*, ed. Labande, 248-50.

polities.⁴⁷ Other cross-Channel honorial barons in the mid-twelfth century include Thomas and Reginald de Saint-Leger, and Geoffrey de Bailleul and his son and heir, Gilbert. These cross-Channel landholders support Le Patourel's contention that cross-Channel estates existed beneath the level of tenant-in-chief, and were inherited.

Many of Robert's subtenants in England belonged to families which patronized Le Tréport, and some who cannot be identified as cross-Channel landholders were probably non-inheriting younger sons. It is possible that Robert granted property in England to some of his county's less prominent families in order to increase the number of Norman families who owed their significance to him. Such a strategy was apparently followed by King William in his English patronage for families of the Cotentin.⁴⁸ It has been proposed that William fitz Osbern and Bishop Odo did this too.⁴⁹ Robert might also have been reluctant to leave his patrimony vulnerable by exporting some of his most prominent vassals from Normandy.

Robert's reluctance to give English land to many of the county of Eu's most prominent families is paralleled by his willingness to give substantial English estates to families less connected to him in Normandy. Robert's most significant subtenant in England was Reinbert, who originated from Flanders, far from Eu. The second-most important (in terms of hides held) was Walter fitz Lambert, from a family which patronized the Norman foundations of the counts of Eu only in the twelfth century. Gerald de Normanville, Count Henry's steward in both polities, originated from the periphery of the count's estate in Normandy, and cannot be identified as a cross-Channel landholder. Ingelrann d'Eu, *vicecomes* of the rape of Hastings sometime after Reinbert, cannot be found in Norman documents. It therefore appears that the counts did not want their most important subtenants in England to be distracted by significant

⁴⁷ For Roger in England, see *Chronicle of Battle Abbey*, ed. Searle, 120. In Normandy, see *Cartulaire du Tréport*, ed. de Kermaingant, nos. 19, 20, 35 (SCRIPTA 576, 577, 592).

⁴⁸ Hagger, 'How the West was Won', 46.

⁴⁹ Lewis, 'William fitz Osbern', *ODNB*; D. Bates, 'The Character and Career of Odo, Bishop of Bayeux (1049/50-1097)', *Speculum*, 50:1 (1975), 1-20, at 11.

estates in the county of Eu. However, more of the families most prominently connected to Count Robert in Normandy would acquire property in England after 1086.⁵⁰ Count Henry's creation of new cross-Channel lordships among his Norman vassals was probably supposed to ensure that some of his subtenants in Sussex would owe their English careers solely to him, rather than to his grandfather, Count Robert. These latecomers demonstrate that Domesday Book captures only one stage in a long process of colonization.

Count Robert's college at Hastings would have contributed to a sense of community in the rape of Hastings, by giving his subtenants the chance to patronize each other's prebends and associate themselves with Hastings itself. The college fits into a pattern of honorial-type foundations near the southern coast of England. It has been suggested that these churches in the south were an important tool in the subjugation of England after 1066.⁵¹ The combination of religious foundation, castle and town was commonplace in Normandy, including at Eu, so Robert must have hoped that the college, town and castle of Hastings would reproduce the kind of local dominance he enjoyed in his Norman county. This would have seemed particularly feasible to Robert because of the obvious similarities between his Norman and English estates. Plotted on a map, the rape of Hastings resembles his concentrated estate in Normandy (see Figure 23). This must have been clear to King William when the rapes were being distributed, for the recipients of the four rapes created before 1070 were all lords with important castles on the Norman frontier. Their experiences on the Norman frontier made them outstanding candidates for a similar role in England.

Despite the proximity of Robert's estates in Normandy and England, Robert's cross-Channel religious patronage was rather limited. Except for modest property in two places which he granted to Le Tréport, he preferred to alienate property in England to his foundation

⁵⁰ See above, p. 243, 243. Also see Loyd, *Origins*, 37, 90; *VCH Sussex*, ii. 71.

⁵¹ Cownie, *Religious Patronage*, 173.

at Hastings. Count Henry granted property at just one English place to a continental beneficiary – his own foundation at Saint-Martin-au-Bosc.⁵² This reflects the counts' determination to dominate the rape of Hastings, instead of using it simply to enrich their Norman foundations.

The geographical focus of Robert's life after 1066 seems to have changed over time. Robert probably stayed in England at least until autumn or winter 1069, but in 1074, he was in Rouen. He was probably in England sometime in 1077, but he also spent much of 1077 in Normandy, and his career henceforth was primarily Norman. The strategic importance of Norman counties might have dissuaded counts from concentrating on an English career. Another example is Robert, count of Mortain, who was found primarily in Normandy after 1071, despite a huge English estate which included the rape of Pevensey.⁵³ Count Robert of Eu could focus his energies on Normandy by the early 1080s because his son, William III, was trusted to administer the rape of Hastings for him. This was a useful strategy for cross-Channel landholders with adult sons. Other examples include Roger de Beaumont, who entrusted most of his property in England to his son Robert de Beaumont,⁵⁴ and Roger II de Montgomery, who allowed his son Robert de Bellême to act as his deputy in Normandy.⁵⁵ William III was already established in England, having received his own considerable estate perhaps soon after 1075. His second marriage, to Helisende, sister of Hugh d'Avranches, was intended to further his influence in south-west England, but the relationship was undermined not just by William's treatment of Hugh's sister, but perhaps also by the opposing political stances of William and Hugh in 1088 and 1095.

William III's estate in England in 1086 contrasts sharply with the rape of Hastings because its shape was determined by antecessorial grants. Another contrast was that William's

⁵² *English Lands of Bec*, ed. Chibnall, no. 43; A. D. Seine-Maritime, D 20, fols. 15r and 17r (*Calendar*, ed. Round, no. 399); *Regesta*, eds. Johnson and Cronne, no. 877, p. 320.

⁵³ B. Golding, 'Robert, count of Mortain (d. 1095)', *ODNB* (2004).

⁵⁴ Crouch, *Beaumont Twins*, 10 n. 33; Crouch, 'Beaumont, Robert de', *ODNB*.

⁵⁵ See below, p. 325.

subtenants cannot be traced back to the county of Eu as often as Robert's. This is because William did not inherit Eu until 1089 or 1090, so it was difficult for him to attract Norman followers before 1086. The same problem was encountered by Hugh d'Avranches and Ralph de Mortemer.⁵⁶ It has already been seen that Robert of Stafford, as a non-inheriting younger son, also found it difficult to acquire vassals in Normandy.⁵⁷

The inheritance of Count Robert's property in both polities by William III and then Henry supports Le Patourel's contention that cross-Channel landholders preferred to keep their estates in the hands of a single heir, even if it was necessary to provide for younger sons, such as William III's at Bulverhythe, Thurrock and Grandcourt. The descent of Eu and Hastings to a single heir would also have benefited a single ruler of the Anglo-Norman kingdom, for the same strategic reasons King William had chosen to create such a geographically close cross-Channel estate after 1066. However, the period of divided rule after 1087 put the counts of Eu, like so many other cross-Channel landholders, in a difficult position.

The support of William III and probably Count Robert for Curthose in 1088 was inspired by a desire to hold the cross-Channel estate from a single lord, and, perhaps, a perception that Curthose was the more legitimate candidate since he was designated as the Conqueror's heir to Normandy by 1063. Curthose's inaction in 1088 lost him William III's support, but despite William's support for Rufus in Normandy in 1091 and 1093, Rufus ultimately proved unacceptable too, perhaps because of his conduct in Normandy and England after the treaty of Rouen. William's role in the plot against Rufus in 1095 must also have been encouraged by his own history of cooperation with Robert de Montbrai in England, and the links between Count Stephen of Aumale and the county of Eu before 1090. The links between the counts of Eu and Stephen continued after William III's death. Stephen patronized Le Tréport between 1101 and

⁵⁶ Lewis, 'Avranches, Hugh d', *ODNB*; Lewis, 'Mortimer, Ralph (I) de', *ODNB*.

⁵⁷ See p. 132.

1118, and two of his vassals did so between 1101 and 1107.⁵⁸ Stephen and Count Henry were both benefactors of Saint-Lucien de Beauvais.⁵⁹ Both men cooperated in support of King Henry between 1104 and 1106, and against King Henry in 1118.⁶⁰ Stephen's son, William, patronized the abbey of Foucarmont in 1146 and 1148.⁶¹ It is therefore clear that William III's support for Stephen in 1095 was just part of a long story of collaboration between their families.

This chapter has demonstrated some of the challenges and opportunities presented to the dukes by their close relatives. The creation of counts was a double-edged sword for the dukes: on the one hand, counts were supposed to maintain the Norman frontier. On the other, their claims upon the ducal patrimony made dissatisfied counts a threat. Nonetheless, even though four Norman counties were abolished between 1026 and 1053, the replication of Count Robert's concentrated Norman estate in Sussex demonstrates that the ducal practice of granting compact frontier lordships to close relatives was not considered a failure. Rather, it was a calculated gamble, the success of which depended upon the personal relationship between the count and the ruler. The volatile behaviour of the counts of Eu during the reigns of William the Conqueror's sons shows how precarious those relationships could be. It is significant, though, that the counts' domination of Eu was uninterrupted from Count Robert's accession until the thirteenth century.⁶² Whereas William I and William II d'Eu learnt that comital endowments were revocable, the retention of Eu by Count Robert and his descendants demonstrates how far strategies of aristocratic entrenchment proceeded during the reign of William the Conqueror.

⁵⁸ *Cartulaire du Tréport*, ed. de Kermaingant, nos. 3, 5 (SCRIPTA 126, 128); Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, 302.

⁵⁹ *GC*, xi. instr. col. 19-20 (SCRIPTA 1768).

⁶⁰ *OV*, vi. 56, 368; *Warrenne (Hyde) Chronicle*, eds. van Houts and Love, 66-68.

⁶¹ *Recueil Henri II*, eds. Delisle and Berger, i. 306-10 (SCRIPTA 6860); Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, Y 13, fols. 28v, 29v.

⁶² *Complete Peerage*, v. 152-62.

Chapter 3. The house of Montgommery

The main focus of this chapter will be Roger II de Montgommery, and how he maintained power by exploiting social relationships before and after 1066. But to understand Roger in his continental context, account must be taken of the early house of Bellême, because Roger acquired a large part of his continental lands through his marriage to Mabel de Bellême.

The lordship of Bellême before c. 1050

A tradition preserved by Orderic, which identifies the house of Bellême as allies of Duke Richard I in the 940s, is probably best set aside as a late invention.¹ Nonetheless, the story of the house of Bellême can be narrated with some confidence from the first decade of the eleventh century.

Ivo I de Bellême's first datable action is his grant of property at Magny-le-Désert to Fleury between 1005 and 1012.² He founded a collegiate church in the castle of Bellême at an unknown date.³ The fact that Ivo held property at Le Mans underlines his significance, for Le Mans was a focal point of power in Maine before castles were built elsewhere in the county in the early eleventh century.⁴ Ivo's brother-in-law, Seifrid, bishop of Le Mans, must have seen members of the house of Bellême as valuable allies against Hugh, count of Maine.⁵ The house of Bellême's relationships to Seifrid, the vicomtes of Maine and the lords of Château-du-Loir indicate that the family were Manceaux in origin, and established first in the Sonnois.⁶

¹ *GND* (Orderic Vitalis), i. 104; *OV*, iii. 306; Louise, *Bellême*, i. 209-18.

² *Vie de Gauzlin, abbé de Fleury*, eds. R-H. Bautier and G. Labory (Paris, 1969), 46, 49; Louise, *Bellême*, ii. 122. Magny-le-Désert, Orne, cant. La Ferté-Macé.

³ *Cartulaire de Marmoutier pour le Perche*, ed. M. l'abbé Barret (Mortagne, 1894), no. 1 (*SCRIPTA* 81; *ARTEM* 5016); Gazeau, *Normannia monastica*, i. 190 n. 127.

⁴ Barton, *Maine*, 44. For Ivo's property at Le Mans (in a later charter), see *RADN*, no. 165 (*SCRIPTA* 1610).

⁵ Barton, *Maine*, 44-45.

⁶ Boussard, 'Seigneurie', 46-47; Louise, *Bellême*, i. 171-72, 249, 270-79.

William son of Ivo I accompanied King Robert II on an expedition to meet Constance d'Arles (probably in 1003).⁷ After Ivo's death but before 1012, William confirmed Ivo's grant to the abbey of Fleury, and installed his own son Benedict as a monk there.⁸ Between 1015 and 1025, William founded the abbey of Lonlay in the Passais.⁹ A monk of Fleury writing in c. 1042 states that William granted the abbey to Fleury, a transaction datable before 1030.¹⁰ Fleury provided Lonlay with monks and its first abbot.¹¹ Between 1023 and 1027, William founded a collegiate church in his new castle of Bellême.¹² William and Duke Robert are said to have fought over the services due from William's control of the fortress of Alençon. Not long after Robert returned the fortress to William, William's sons Fulk and Robert raided Normandy, and Fulk was killed. William is said to have died when he heard the news.¹³

Between 1030 and 1035 William's son and heir, Robert, fought against the Manceaux in the Sonnois and died at Ballon.¹⁴ Robert was succeeded by three relatives: his brother, William Talvas, succeeded in the regions of Sées and Alençon, and all or part of the Sonnois;¹⁵ his uncle, Ivo II, succeeded at Bellême;¹⁶ and his brother, Warin, succeeded at Domfront.¹⁷

Probably around 1048, William Talvas's son Arnulf seized all of William's lands. William was forced into exile for what Orderic calls 'a long time' spent in 'different households'.¹⁸ Arnulf was murdered soon afterwards.¹⁹ While William Talvas was in exile, he negotiated the marriage of his daughter Mabel to Roger II de Montgommery.²⁰

⁷ *Les miracles de St-Benoît*, ed. E. de Certain (Paris, 1858), 148-49.

⁸ *Vie de Gauzlin*, eds. Bautier and Labory, 48.

⁹ *Monasticon*, vi. part 2, 1095 (SCRIPTA 124).

¹⁰ *Vie de Gauzlin*, eds. Bautier and Labory, 62-64; *Primus Wilelmus Belesmensis...Longilegium nucupatam, huic Deo templo contulit corde devote*; Louise, *Bellême*, i. 281.

¹¹ Gazeau, *Normannia monastica*, ii. 177.

¹² *Ctl. Marmoutier*, ed. Barret, no. 1 (SCRIPTA 81; ARTEM 5016, a late eleventh-century forgery); Louise, *Bellême*, i. 279-81; ii. 64-65.

¹³ *GND* (William of Jumièges), ii. 48-50.

¹⁴ *GND* (Orderic Vitalis), ii. 56.

¹⁵ Louise, *Bellême*, i. 340, 346-47.

¹⁶ White, 'First House', 83; Louise, *Bellême*, i. 339, 345; ii. 138-40.

¹⁷ *OV*, iv. 160; vi. 396; Thompson, 'Family and Influence', 219.

¹⁸ *GND* (Orderic Vitalis), ii. 118.

¹⁹ *GND* (Orderic Vitalis), ii. 112; *OV*, ii. 14.

²⁰ *GND* (Orderic Vitalis), ii. 118; *OV*, ii. 46-48; *GND* (Robert of Torigni), ii. 264.

William Talvas's brother, Ivo III, became bishop of Sées between 12 November 1032 and 1048.²¹ Ivo III acquired the lordship of Bellême itself, probably between 1047 and 1049, as a result of his association with Arnulf,²² with whom he visited the ducal court at an unknown location on 30 October 1048.²³ Arnulf must first have succeeded Ivo II at Bellême.

Historians have dated Duke William II's attempt to win the castles of Alençon and Domfront from Geoffrey Martel to either 1048-1049 or 1051-1052.²⁴ It is consequently difficult to know who Geoffrey acquired these castles from, and whether he acquired them against the wishes of the Bellêmes or with their support.

The political importance of the lordship of Bellême

The career of Ivo I can be traced to an unusually early date. Consequently, the descendants of Roger II de Montgomery and Mabel could claim to come from one of the older families in the duchy and its frontiers, one which did not owe all of its standing to the duke alone. A monk writing in about 1005 gave Ivo's son, William, the toponymic of Bellême when describing William's journey with King Robert.²⁵ The adoption of toponymics represents an important phase in the territorialization of aristocratic power, and this is a very early example of their use in northern Francia – though it is important to stress that the toponymic was attributed to William in a hagiographical text, and may not have been his preferred style. Whatever the case may be, it suggests that the family were entrenched in their lordship by 1005.

Ivo I's castle and church at Bellême would have symbolized his domination of the locality (see Figure 30). The new castle built by his son, William, was sufficiently imposing

²¹ Allen, 'Norman Episcopate', i. 405-08.

²² *GND* (Orderic Vitalis), ii. 112; *OV*, ii. 46; *Ctl. Saint-Vincent*, eds. Charles and Menjot d'Elbenne, nos. 834-35; Thompson, 'Family and Influence', 218-21; Louise, *Bellême*, ii. 147, 150-51.

²³ *RADN*, no. 115 (*SCRIPTA* 1559).

²⁴ *GG*, 22-23 n. 5; Louise, *Bellême*, i. 354; Bates, *William the Conqueror* (2016), 122-23.

²⁵ *Miracles*, ed. de Certain, 148-49; *Guillelmum Belesmensem*. The date of 1005 is supplied by Louise, *Bellême*, i. 187, 272; ii. 129-30.

for a charter recording a confirmation by Bishop Ivo (datable 1047 x 1060) to situate Le Pin-la-Garenne ‘in the *pagus* of the castle of Bellême’.²⁶

William founded the Benedictine abbey of Lonlay to consolidate his family’s influence in the Passais, which was part of the diocese of Le Mans and remained beyond Norman control until about 1050.²⁷ Given Fleury’s links with the Capetians, William’s grant of the abbey of Lonlay to Fleury would have increased the Capetians’ influence on the Norman frontier before Duke William acquired the Passais.²⁸ The bishop of Le Mans had property very near Lonlay in the ninth and tenth centuries,²⁹ and both William and his brother, Bishop Avesgaud of Le Mans, fought against the count of Maine around the time that Lonlay was founded.³⁰ It is therefore possible that the abbey was intended to symbolize and protect the family’s strength in the Passais when their relationship with the count of Maine was tense. The assertion of the house of Bellême’s power in the Passais would have been augmented by its control of the nearby castle of Domfront (see Figure 30). William’s foundation of Lonlay occurred before any ducal subjects founded abbeys in Normandy,³¹ and before aristocratic castles proliferated in Normandy. This is suggestive evidence of William’s relative independence from ducal influence. Unfortunately, the cartulary of Lonlay is lost.³²

²⁶ Louise, *Bellême*, ii. 59, 62-64, 194, 230-31; K. Thompson, *Power and Border Lordship in Medieval France: the County of the Perche, 1000-1226* (Woodbridge, 2002), 26; *Ctl. Marmoutier*, ed. Barret, no. 7 (SCRIPTA 84): in *Castri Bellissimi pago*.

²⁷ Chibnall, ‘Ecclesiastical Patronage’, 104; Gazeau, *Normannia monastica*, i. 12, 103, 220.

²⁸ P. Bauduin, ‘Hugues de Fleury et l’histoire normande’, in *Normandy and its Neighbours, 900-1250: Essays for David Bates*, eds. D. Crouch and K. Thompson (Turnhout, 2011), 157-174, at 159-61. For Fleury’s links with the Capetians, also see Dunbabin, *France in the Making*, 134-35, 167.

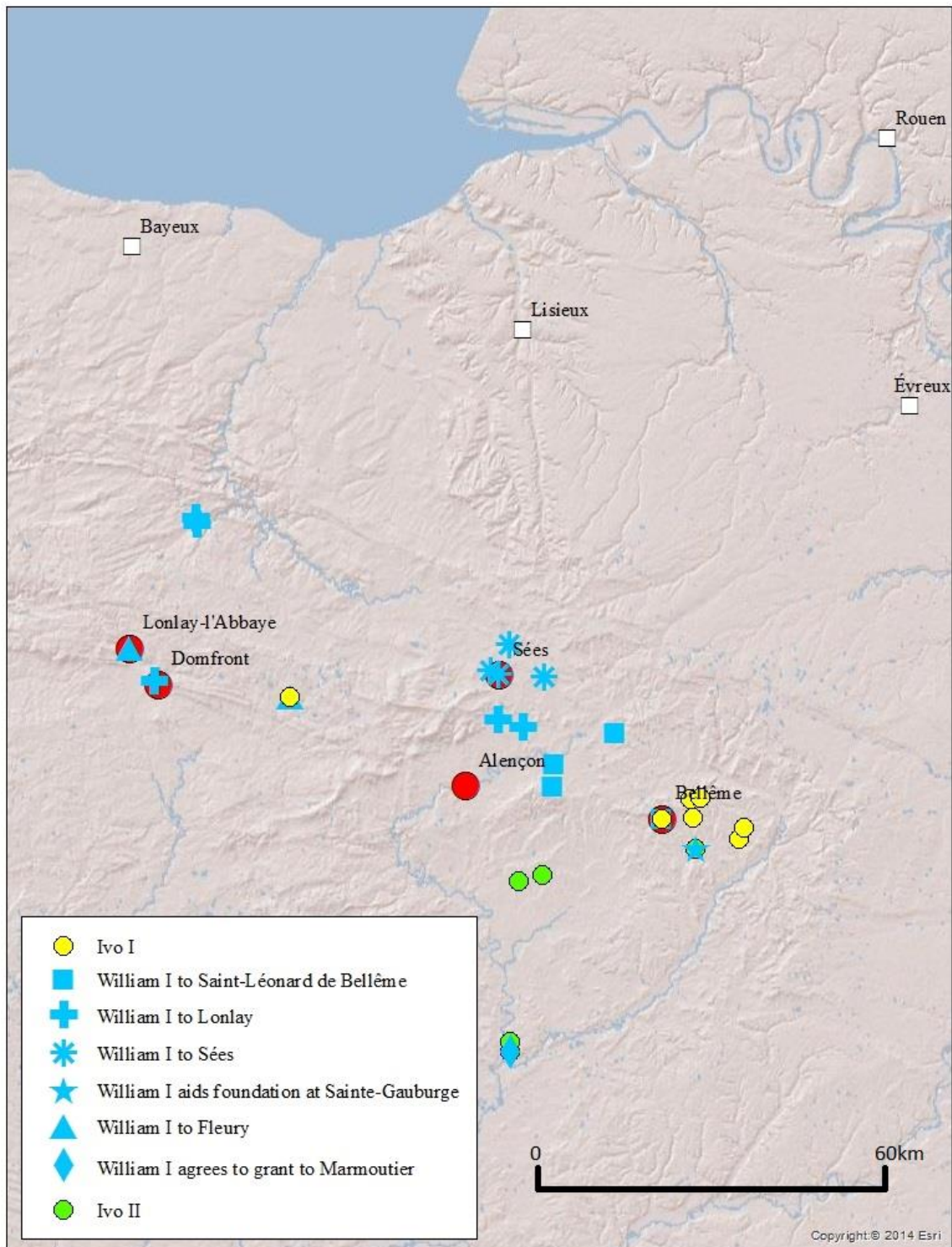
²⁹ Louise, *Bellême*, i. 304-05.

³⁰ OV, ii. 22. For the threat Avesgaud posed to the counts of Maine, see Barton, *Maine*, 46-49, 125.

³¹ Gazeau, *Normannia monastica*, i. 12.

³² Gazeau, *Normannia monastica*, i. 17, ii. 177.

Figure 30: Religious patronage by the lords of Bellême before 1047.³³



³³ *Vie de Gauzlin*, eds. Bautier and Labory, 46, 48, 62; *Ctl. Marmoutier*, ed. Barret, no. 1 (SCRIPTA 81; ARTEM 5016); *Monasticon*, vi. part 2, 1095 (SCRIPTA 124); *RADN*, nos. 33, 165 (SCRIPTA 1459, 1610); *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Père de Chartres*, ed. B. E. C. Guérard, 2 vols. (Paris 1840), i. no. 29, p. 155-56 (SCRIPTA 206); *Ctl. Saint-Vincent*, eds. Charles and Menjot d'Elbenne, no. 12.

Bishop Seifrid of Le Mans, William I de Bellême, Bishop Avesgaud and Robert I de Bellême all had tense relationships with the counts of Maine. Comital authority in Maine was weakened by the counts of Anjou during the late tenth and early eleventh centuries. By 1051, the counts of Anjou had violently seized almost complete control of the county.³⁴ It would therefore have been clear to the house of Bellême that the counts of Maine were not sufficiently powerful to acknowledge as lords. Instead, King Robert II (996-1031) seems to have enjoyed the house of Bellême's allegiance.³⁵ Later on, Ivo III was loyal to the Capetians because of his secular position as lord of Bellême, and he was also loyal to the counts of Anjou at least until Geoffrey Martel's death in 1060.³⁶

There is some evidence to link William de Bellême with Duke Richard II. William persuaded Richard to allow William's vassal, Giroie, to acquire Norman lands.³⁷ William's charter restoring the cathedral chapter of Sées (between 1023 and 1025) was signed by Richard II at what looks like a ducal court.³⁸ However, the charters of the early lords of Bellême do not name the duke as their lord, and William and two of his sons fought Duke Robert. Later on, Ivo II named King Henry as his lord.³⁹ William Talvas's marriage to a daughter of a vicomte of Maine indicates that he was looking southwards for allies, at least before his exile. Ivo III's presence at the ducal court in 1048 was a rare instance of involvement in Normandy in the first decade of his episcopate. He spent the 1050s largely absent from the ducal court.⁴⁰ Ivo III's cousin, Gervase, bishop of Le Mans, was a consistent opponent of the Angevins and even found refuge from Geoffrey Martel at the ducal court in 1051,⁴¹ but this does not seem to have turned Ivo III against the Angevins, or to have brought him closer to the dukes. Ivo III had more

³⁴ Bates, *Normandy*, 78; Dunbabin, *France in the Making*, 185-86, 188.

³⁵ Evidence presented in Louise, *Bellême*, i. 278, 296. See also *Ctl. Marmoutier*, ed. Barret, no. 1 (SCRIPTA 81; ARTEM 5016); *RADN*, no. 33 (SCRIPTA 1459).

³⁶ Louise, *Bellême*, i. 362-63; Allen, 'Norman Episcopate', i. 414-21.

³⁷ *OV*, ii. 22.

³⁸ *RADN*, no. 33 (SCRIPTA 1459).

³⁹ *Chartres*, ed. Guérard, i. no. 29, p. 155-56.

⁴⁰ Bates, *Normandy*, 208.

⁴¹ Bates, *William the Conqueror* (2016), 98-99.

involvement in Norman affairs from the late 1050s or Geoffrey's death in 1060,⁴² but even then, the diplomatic record shows that his interests remained to the south, towards Maine.⁴³ His participation in Norman affairs was mostly limited to ecclesiastical business.⁴⁴

The house of Bellême eventually faced serious competition from their former vassals, the Giroies.⁴⁵ Between 1015 and 1022, Giroie transferred his property in the north-eastern Hiémois from the jurisdiction of the bishop of Sées into that of the bishop of Lisieux, in order to lessen his dependence on the family of Bellême, to whom Seifrid, bishop of Sées from c. 1017 to c. 1025, probably belonged in an unknown way.⁴⁶ The relationship deteriorated more seriously during the time of William Talvas. William fitz Giroie sided with Geoffrey de Mayenne against William Talvas sometime between 1040 and c. 1046.⁴⁷ In c. 1046, William Talvas captured and mutilated William fitz Giroie, sparking a war with the Giroies.⁴⁸ Ivo III later made peace with the Giroies.⁴⁹ However, the careers of Roger II de Montgommery, Mabel and Robert II de Bellême would show that the rivalry continued.

The early lords of Bellême enjoyed greater independence than many Norman families, thanks to the weakness of the counts of Maine, and the location of the family's lands around the limits of ducal influence. However, the family's wars against the counts of Maine and dukes of Normandy show that the family's relative independence made them vulnerable.⁵⁰ A lack of firm authority over the lords of Bellême facilitated the internal chaos that befell the family between Robert I de Bellême's death and Mabel's marriage. When the house of Bellême was

⁴² Bates, *Normandy*, 79-81 (saying 1057); Thompson, 'Family and Influence', 223 (1059); Allen, 'Norman Episcopate', i. 417 (1060).

⁴³ Allen, 'Norman Episcopate', i. 411, 417-18.

⁴⁴ Allen, 'Norman Episcopate', i. 414-15, 417-18.

⁴⁵ For the Giroies as tenants of the Bellêmes at Hauterive (Orne, cant. Le Mêle-sur-Sarthe), see Maillefer, 'Géré', 182-83; Bauduin, 'Les Géré', 312-15.

⁴⁶ Chibnall, 'Ecclesiastical Patronage', 106, 116; Bauduin, 'Les Géré', 315. On Seifrid bishop of Sées, see Allen, 'Norman Episcopate', i. 402-4.

⁴⁷ OV, ii. 28.

⁴⁸ *GND* (Orderic Vitalis), ii. 108-12; OV, ii. 14.

⁴⁹ *GND* (Orderic Vitalis), ii. 112; Allen, 'Norman Episcopate', i. 409.

⁵⁰ Bates, 'West Francia', 417.

weakened by infighting in the middle of the century, their castles at Alençon and Domfront were targeted as a means of frontier formation by neighbouring powers.

One consequence of the family's relative independence was their intermittent control of the bishoprics of Le Mans and Sées.⁵¹ The bishopric of Sées fell within the jurisdiction of Rouen, so the dukes sought control over it. The duke's influence over Sées was recovered from the Bellêmes in c. 1025, when Bishop Seifrid was succeeded by Richard II's chosen successor, a Norman named Radbod.⁵² The return of the bishopric to the house of Bellême sometime after 1032 shows that the southwards expansion of ducal influence could be resisted.⁵³ After Ivo III's death, however, the bishopric of Sées passed to another ducal nominee.⁵⁴ The determination of rulers to wrest control of bishoprics from locally important families and other rulers is also demonstrable at Le Mans. Gervase de Château-du-Loir succeeded to his uncle Avesgaud's bishopric despite violent opposition from the acting count of Maine between 1036 and 1038.⁵⁵ The bishopric passed from Gervase to a nominee of Geoffrey Martel in 1055,⁵⁶ and then to a Norman chosen by Duke William in 1065.⁵⁷ Thus both bishoprics ultimately passed from Bellême to ducal control.

The shifting allegiances and fortunes of the house of Bellême show that the southern Norman frontier was not so much a fixed line as a moving zone within which various parties contended for power.⁵⁸ This can be demonstrated in other ways. In addition to Duke Richard II's growing influence over the bishopric of Sées in the 1020s, the Norman advance southwards into the region between Sées and Alençon can be charted in the installation of counts and

⁵¹ For contemporary parallels, see Bates, 'West Francia', 416; Dunbabin, *France in the Making*, 166.

⁵² On Radbod's family, see Gazeau, *Normannia monastica*, i. 171.

⁵³ Thompson, 'Family and Influence', 216.

⁵⁴ Allen, 'Norman Episcopate', i. 425-30.

⁵⁵ Barton, *Maine*, 49.

⁵⁶ Bates, *Normandy*, 78.

⁵⁷ Bates, *William the Conqueror* (2016), 190, 365.

⁵⁸ For frontiers as zones of diminishing control and overlapping rights, see D. Power, 'French and Norman Frontiers in the Central Middle Ages', in *Frontiers in Question: Eurasian Borderlands, 700-1700*, eds. D. Power and N. Standen (Basingstoke, 1999), 105-27, at 110-12; Power, *Norman Frontier*.

vicomtes in the Hiémois before 1025; the transfer of lands in the north-eastern Hiémois into the jurisdiction of the bishop of Lisieux; the installation of ‘new’ lineages, some of them immigrants, on the southern marches of Normandy in Duke Richard II’s reign; and Duke Robert’s violent advance into the Alençonnais.⁵⁹ Ducal authority was recognized in the Passais later on, around 1050, but William de Bellême’s acknowledgment of a *Normannie commarchia* in his foundation charter for Lonlay indicates that he already recognized the proximity of ducal authority.⁶⁰ Norman control of the Passais from the mid-eleventh century meant that Lonlay’s abbots no longer came from Fleury or Lonlay itself, but instead (after a brief abbacy by a monk of Évron) from Saint-Étienne de Caen until the late eleventh or twelfth century.⁶¹

Roger I de Montgomery (died after 1040)

The origins and career of Roger I de Montgomery

The family name of Montgomery refers to Saint-Germain-de-Montgommery and Sainte-Foy-de-Montgommery in the Lieuvin.⁶² The family gave their name to Montgomery in Wales after 1066. This thesis employs the Norman spelling of the toponymic throughout.

The first family member identifiable in the diplomatic evidence is Roger I de Montgommery. Genealogical tracts written by Ivo, bishop of Chartres (in *c.* 1113) and Robert of Torigni (by *c.* 1139) combine Roger I and Roger II into a single person, descended from Joscelina, niece of Gunnor.⁶³ Robert names an ancestor, Hugh. This is uncertain, but the fact

⁵⁹ Louise, *Bellême*, i. 130-31, 155-56, 286-95.

⁶⁰ Power, *Norman Frontier*, 13.

⁶¹ Gazeau, *Normannia monastica*, i. 220, ii. 177-79.

⁶² J. F. A. Mason, ‘Montgomery, Roger de, first earl of Shrewsbury (*d.* 1094)’, *ODNB* (2004). Saint-Germain-de-Montgommery, Calvados, cant. Livarot; Sainte-Foy-de-Montgommery, Calvados, cant. Livarot.

⁶³ *Patrologia cursus completes, series Latina*, ed. J.-P. Migne, 221 vols. (Paris, 1844-1865), vol. 162, col. 266; *GND* (Robert of Torigni), ii. 264, 266 n. 1; Thompson, ‘Montgomerys’, 254; E. M. C. van Houts, ‘Robert of Torigni as Genealogist’, in *Studies in Medieval History Presented to R. Allen Brown*, eds. C. Harper-Bill, C. J. Holdsworth and J. L. Nelson (Woodbridge, 1989), 215-33, at 226-27; Louise, *Bellême*, i. 220; ii. 153.

that Roger I and Roger II both had sons named Hugh supports Robert's contention.⁶⁴ The family's descent from a niece of Gunnor is more questionable, especially since Ivo of Chartres and Robert of Torigni disagree over the name of Joscelina's mother. In fact, the evidence that any of Duke William's aristocracy were descended from a sister or niece of Gunnor dates only from the twelfth century, and cannot be taken as fact.⁶⁵ It seems likely that the house of Montgomery was participating in the early twelfth-century fashion for the adoption of mythical ancestors.

The first certain appearance of Roger I in the diplomatic record is an original ducal charter from sometime in Duke Robert's reign. This states that Roger restored to Jumièges the market of Vimoutiers, which he had previously destroyed. In return for restoring Vimoutiers, Roger received permission to erect a market at Montgomery.⁶⁶ He also seized a wood at Cressy (near Vimoutiers) from Jumièges sometime before Robert's charter.⁶⁷

Table 23: Appearances of Roger I de Montgomery in the diplomatic record

Charter	Date	Benefactor	Beneficiary	T	S	M	Style
<i>RADN</i> <27> (SCRIPTA 1454; ARTEM *2670)	in or before 1024	Duke Richard II	Saint- Wandrille		X		Rogerii Montis Gomerii
<i>RADN</i> 74 (SCRIPTA 1520; ARTEM 2690)	1027 x 1035	Roger I de Montgomery	Jumièges			X	Rodgerus
<i>RADN</i> 69 (SCRIPTA 1515)	1033	Duke Robert I	Saint- Wandrille		X		Rogerii Eximensis vicecomitis
<i>RADN</i> 94 (SCRIPTA 1538)	1035 x 1040	Duke William II	Fécamp	X			Rogerus de Montegomerico
<i>Regesta</i> , ed. Bates, no. 164 (SCRIPTA 6509; ARTEM 4558)	Late eleventh- century	Duke William II	Jumièges			X	Rogerus de Monte Gomeri

⁶⁴ Thompson, 'Montgomerys', 254.

⁶⁵ Bates, *Normandy*, 108-09. It has been proposed that charters corroborate two other alleged marriages of Gunnor's nieces: Van Houts, 'Robert of Torigni as Genealogist', 227-29. However, only some aspects of these two genealogies are corroborated, and the marriages to nieces of Gunnor are not.

⁶⁶ *RADN*, no. 74 (SCRIPTA 1520; ARTEM 2690).

⁶⁷ *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 164 (SCRIPTA 6509; ARTEM 4558); Thompson, 'Cross-Channel Estates', 9.

The Roger who signed a ducal charter of 1033 as vicomte of the Hiémois can be identified as Roger I de Montgomery, using Robert of Torigni and a late twelfth-century genealogy of Troarn (which adds that Roger II later acquired this position).⁶⁸ It thus appears that the Montgommerys were among those families who benefited from the replacement of Duke Richard II's vicomtes by Duke Robert.⁶⁹ It was probably in his capacity of vicomte that Roger I destroyed the market of Vimoutiers.⁷⁰ Thurstan Goz was a vicomte of Duke Richard II, and William of Jumièges identified Thurstan as vicomte of the Hiémois when describing Thurstan's rebellion of c. 1043. It therefore appears that Roger I was vicomte between two different spells of Thurstan. Roger II must have acquired vicecomital office sometime after Thurstan's rebellion. That Thurstan twice lost his position to the Montgommerys demonstrates that vicecomital office was revocable.⁷¹

Roger I apparently troubled the young Duke William II, for Orderic reports that William's guardian, Alan, count of Brittany, was poisoned at a siege of Montgomery when Norman lords rebelled in William's minority, probably in 1040.⁷² James Bickford Smith has suggested that Orderic used poisoning as a literary device which was not intended to be historically accurate.⁷³ Nonetheless, a rebellion at Montgomery might explain how Roger I lost his vicecomital office.⁷⁴ The Montgomery besieged in 1040 was probably Saint-Germain-de-Montgommery, where there is evidence of a walled earthwork fortification

⁶⁸ Robert of Torigni, *Chronique*, ii. 199; D. Rouet, 'Entre gestation et historiographie: les cartulaires monastiques de la Normandie moyenne (XII^e-XV^e siècles), l'exemple des cartulaires de Notre-Dame de Mortemer, Saint-Pierre de Préaux et Saint-Martin de Troarn', unpublished Mémoire d'étude for the Diplôme de conservateur de bibliothèque (Ecole Nationale Supérieure des Sciences de l'Information et des Bibliothèques, 2000), annexe p. xxviii.

⁶⁹ Bates, *Normandy*, 117.

⁷⁰ Hagger, 'Norman Vicomte', 78-79.

⁷¹ For vicomtes of the Hiémois, see Louise, *Bellême*, i. 146-48.

⁷² OV, ii. 304; iii. 88; iv. 76; *GND* (Orderic Vitalis), ii. 164. For the date, see Thompson, 'Montgomerys', 258 n. 42.

⁷³ Bickford Smith, 'Orderic Vitalis', 79-83, 89-92. For doubts over the poisoning of Alan, and poisoning more generally, also see Bates, *William the Conqueror* (2016), 61, 208.

⁷⁴ Thompson, 'Montgomerys', 257.

surrounded by a ditch.⁷⁵ However, sometime in Duke Robert's reign, Montgomery had been merely a *vicus*.⁷⁶ This suggests that Roger I consolidated his local dominance by building a private castle at Saint-Germain-de-Montgomery between 1027 and 1040.⁷⁷ The fact that the castle of Montgomery was besieged is a reflection of the danger private castles represented for rulers.

Orderic states that when Roger I's son, William, murdered Duke William's *dapifer* Osbern fitz Arfast (probably on 14 March 1040), Roger himself was 'in exile in Paris because of his perfidy, and his five sons Hugh, Robert, Roger, William and Gilbert were in Normandy deeply engaged in the commission of horrible crimes'.⁷⁸ It is likely that Roger's 'perfidy' was connected to the siege of Montgomery. Whatever caused Roger I's opposition to Duke William, his exile was a measure of ducal strength even in Duke William's minority.⁷⁹ During Duke William's minority, Roger I's sons Hugh and William were killed, the latter in revenge for Osbern fitz Arfast's death.⁸⁰ It seems to have been recognized that the revenge killing of William de Montgomery brought the feud to an end.⁸¹ By c. 1063, Roger II was the only surviving son of Roger I.⁸² He had also become one of the most powerful lords in Normandy.

Roger I de Montgomery's property and patronage

Some of the foundations of Roger II's power were laid by Roger I between 1025 and 1040. This has been demonstrated with reference to the castle of Montgomery. It can also be seen in Roger I's acquisitions of land, and his acts of religious patronage. The estate of Troarn

⁷⁵ Louise, *Bellême*, ii. 208, 277.

⁷⁶ *RADN*, no. 74 (SCRIPTA 1520; ARTEM 2690).

⁷⁷ Bates, *Normandy*, 114.

⁷⁸ *GND* (Orderic Vitalis), ii. 94. The date is derived from an unpublished essay on William fitz Osbern by Professor Stephen Baxter.

⁷⁹ Hagger, *William: King and Conqueror*, 43.

⁸⁰ *GND* (Orderic Vitalis), ii. 94; *OV*, iii. 88.

⁸¹ Bates, *William the Conqueror* (2016), 62-63.

⁸² *OV*, ii. 122-24.

belonged to Fécamp in 1025, and so did an estate and church at Almenêches, where Roger II later founded a nunnery.⁸³ How the Montgommerys acquired these after 1025 is uncertain. The transfer probably occurred in Duke Robert's reign, when other families acquired church lands, and Robert himself admitted to giving away church property including Fécamp's.⁸⁴ That Roger I's acquisitions had the duke's approval is also suggested by the good relations between Fécamp and Roger II's later foundations at Troarn and Sées.⁸⁵

Robert of Torigni states that Thierry, guardian (*custos*) of Bernay, gave half the town of Bernay to Roger I.⁸⁶ The grant occurred between 1025 and 1027.⁸⁷ It is indeed likely that Roger's acquisition was by agreement, because Bernay is not known to have disputed it later, and Thierry's role in the recovery of the Norman church makes it improbable that he alienated Bernay's property without the monks' permission.⁸⁸

At an uncertain date after 1034, Roger I consolidated his acquisition of Troarn by founding a college of secular canons there.⁸⁹ Roger I's foundation charter has not survived, but evidence of the college's initial endowment can be recovered from Roger II's charter for the abbey of Troarn in 1059.⁹⁰ The charter of 1059 purports to have been confirmed by Hugh, bishop of Bayeux. However, Hugh cannot have confirmed a charter of 1059, because he died between October 1049 and 25 September 1050.⁹¹ It has therefore been proposed that Roger II's charter of 1059 (including the grants purportedly made by Hugh) actually preserves text drawn

⁸³ *RADN*, no. 34 (SCRIPTA 1460; ARTEM *2673).

⁸⁴ For examples, see Douglas, *William the Conqueror*, 90-91; Bates, *Normandy*, 100-01; Potts, *Monastic Revival*, 121.

⁸⁵ Potts, *Monastic Revival*, 121-23.

⁸⁶ Robert of Torigni, *Chronique*, ii. 194.

⁸⁷ Potts, *Monastic Revival*, 120-21.

⁸⁸ Potts, *Monastic Revival*, 121-22, 124.

⁸⁹ *OV*, ii. 20. On the date, see Thompson, 'Montgommerys', 258.

⁹⁰ *RADN*, no. 144 (SCRIPTA 1588).

⁹¹ Allen, 'Norman Episcopate', i. 119-21.

from a charter of Roger I's for Troarn.⁹² Later evidence confirms that most of the places mentioned by Hugh did indeed contain Montgomery family property.⁹³

Bishop Hugh appears to have been distant from the ducal court in Duke Robert's reign, and even more so in Duke William's.⁹⁴ It is conceivable that Hugh offered an alternative source of authority from the duke, for he held extensive secular and episcopal estates.⁹⁵ The fact that Bishop Hugh confirmed a charter for the college of Troarn instead of Duke William may reflect the house of Montgomery's troubled relationship with the young duke, if the college was founded after William's accession in 1035.⁹⁶

Roger II de Montgomery (died 1094)

The rise of Roger II de Montgomery

The history of the family immediately after Roger I's exile is unclear, for there is a lack of securely datable charter evidence for the earlier 1040s. It is generally assumed that occurrences of a Roger de Montgomery after Roger I's exile refer to his son, Roger II.⁹⁷ The earliest events securely attributable to Roger II are his marriage to Mabel and his foundation of an abbey at Troarn. It is possible to gain an impression of Roger II's growing importance by reconstructing his impact in the diplomatic record.

A charter which remains extant in its original single-sheet form records that, between 1043 and 1048, *Ego Rogerius quem dicunt de Monte Gummeri* (presumably Roger II) confirmed a grant of property held from him by Geoffrey fitz Joscelyn Stantuin to Jumièges, in

⁹² *Complete Peerage*, xi. 683; Thompson, 'Montgomerys', 258 n. 46; Musset, 'Almenêches', 27 n. 74.

⁹³ *Regesta*, ed. Bates, nos. 271, 280 (SCRIPTA 6583, 6587); *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 281 (SCRIPTA 6588; ARTEM *2355); *Pontieu*, ed. Brunel, no. 15 (SCRIPTA 3156).

⁹⁴ Bates, *Normandy*, 159; V. Gazeau, 'Le patrimoine d'Hugues de Bayeux (c. 1011–1049)', in *Les évêques normands du XI^e siècle*, eds. P. Bouet and F. Neveux (Caen, 1995), 139–47, at 147.

⁹⁵ For Hugh's estates, see Gazeau, 'Le patrimoine d'Hugues de Bayeux', 139–47; Allen, 'Norman Episcopate', i. 107–19.

⁹⁶ Thompson, 'Montgomerys', 258.

⁹⁷ Thompson, 'Montgomerys', 258; Louise, *Bellême*, i. 207; Bates, *William the Conqueror* (2016), 72.

return for compensation. It includes the autograph cross of *Rogerii Montemgomerii*.⁹⁸ This puts Roger among the earliest Norman aristocrats to adopt a toponymic.⁹⁹ The toponymic, like the family's vicecomital office, their castle at Montgomery and their college at Troarn, is another sign that the house of Montgomery were at the forefront of the territorialization of aristocratic power in Normandy.¹⁰⁰

Roger II's impact in the pre-Conquest diplomatic evidence is summarized in Table 24.

⁹⁸ *RADN*, no. 113 (SCRIPTA 1557; ARTEM 2698).

⁹⁹ Searle, *Predatory Kinship*, 164, 305.

¹⁰⁰ Bates, *Normandy*, 113-14; Searle, *Predatory Kinship*, 164.

Table 24: Appearances of Roger II de Montgommery in the diplomatic record by 1066.

Charter	Date	Benefactor	Beneficiary	T	S	M	Style
<i>RADN</i> 105 (SCRIPTA 1549)	1035 x 1048	Duke William II	Fécamp		X		Rogerii de Monte Gomerii (Roger I or Roger II)
<i>RADN</i> 171, 172 (SCRIPTA 1616)	1035 x 1066	Duke William II	Montivilliers	X			Rogerio de Montegomerico (Roger I or Roger II)
<i>RADN</i> 171, 172 (SCRIPTA 1616)	1035 x 1066	Duke William II	Montivilliers	X			Rogerio de Montegomerico (Roger I or Roger II)
<i>RADN</i> 194 (SCRIPTA 1637)	1040 x 1046. ¹	Duke William II	Saint-Pierre de Lisieux		X		Rogerii de Monte Gomerii
<i>RADN</i> 99 (SCRIPTA 1543)	1042	Duke William II	Cerisy		X		Rogerii de Monte Gomerii ²
<i>RADN</i> 113 (SCRIPTA 1557; ARTEM 2698)	1043 x 1048	Roger II de Montgommery	Jumièges		X	X	Roge+rrii Montemgomerii / Rogerius quem dicunt de Monte Gummeri
<i>RADN</i> 120 (SCRIPTA 1564; ARTEM 2846)	In or after 1046. ³	Adelize, wife of William fitz Osbern / Duke William II signs charter of William fitz Osbern	Lyre	X	X		Rogero de Monte Gomerico / Rogerii de Montegomerico
<i>RADN</i> 107 (SCRIPTA 1551; ARTEM 2699)	1046 x 1047	Duke William II confirms grant by Hugh de la Ferté	Saint-Ouen de Rouen		X		Rogerii de Montgomeri
<i>RADN</i> 106 (SCRIPTA 1550)	1046 x 1048	Duke William II confirms grants by several men	Saint-Wandrille	X			Rogero de Montegumbri

¹ For the date, see Bates, *William the Conqueror* (2016), 95 n. 13.

² This may have been interpolated later than 1042.

³ For the uncertainty over this charter, see Bates, *William the Conqueror* (2016), 76, 104-05.

Charter	Date	Benefactor	Beneficiary	T	S	M	Style
<i>RADN</i> 140 (SCRIPTA 1584)	1046 x 1058	Duke William II grants site of the abbey, and confirms grants	Saint-Désir de Lisieux		X		Rogerii de Monte Gumeri vicecomitis
<i>RADN</i> 145 (SCRIPTA 1589)	1046 x 1060	Duke William II confirms an agreement	Fécamp	X			Rogerio de Montegomerico
<i>Regesta</i> , ed. Bates, no. 212 (SCRIPTA 6538)	1046 x 1066	Roger II de Montgommery	Montivilliers			X	Rogerus de Gomerico monte
<i>Ctl. Saint-Vincent</i> , no. 628	Late 1040s x 1071	Grants by several men, confirmed by Roger II de Montgommery	Saint-Vincent du Mans			X	Rogerus comes
<i>RADN</i> 122 (SCRIPTA 1566)	1050	Duke William II confirms grants	Saint-Evrout		X		Rogerii de Montgomeri
<i>Ctl. Préaux</i> , ed. Rouet, p. 151 (SCRIPTA 6075)	1050 x 1071	Roger II de Montgommery and William fitz Osbern	Saint-Pierre de Préaux			X	Rogerus filius de Montegomerio
Allen, 'Norman Episcopate', ii. 723	1051 x 1062	Ivo III de Bellême, bishop of Sées	Saint-Aubin d'Angers		X		Rotgerii vicecomitis
<i>RADN</i> 160 (SCRIPTA 1604)	1052 x 1064. ⁴	Duke William II	Marmoutier		X		Rogerii de Monte Gomerici
<i>RADN</i> 161 (SCRIPTA 1605; ARTEM 1424)	1052 x 1064	Duke William II	Marmoutier		X		Rogerii de Montegomerici
<i>RADN</i> 163 (SCRIPTA 1607)	1052 x 1064	Duke William II approves a purchase and gives away some rights	Marmoutier and Héauville	X			Rogerus de Montgomeri

⁴ This charter and others below have been redated no earlier than 1052 on the basis that Duke William married in late 1052 or 1053. For the date of William's marriage, see Bates, *William the Conqueror* (2016), 91-126.

Charter	Date	Benefactor	Beneficiary	T	S	M	Style
<i>RADN</i> 198 (SCRIPTA 1641)	1052 x 1066	Duke William II	Montivilliers	X			Rogerii de Montegomerico
<i>RADN</i> 195 (SCRIPTA 1638)	1052 x 1066	Duke William II confirms grant by Alvred the Giant	Cerisy		X		Rogeri de Monte Gomerii
<i>RADN</i> 179 (SCRIPTA 1622)	1052 x 1066	Duke William II	Bec	X			Rogerus de Montegomerico
<i>RADN</i> 203 (SCRIPTA 1646)	1052 x 1066	Duke William II	Montivilliers	X			Rogerio de Monte gomerico
<i>RADN</i> 141 (SCRIPTA 1585)	c. 1053. ⁵	Duke William II	Marmoutier		X		Rotgerii de Monte Gomerici
<i>RADN</i> 123 (SCRIPTA 1567)	1053 x 1054	Robert count of Eu (confirmed by Duke William II)	La-Trinité-du-Mont de Rouen		X		Rogerii de Monte Gomeri
<i>RADN</i> 133 (SCRIPTA 1577; ARTEM 410)	1054	William Pichenoht (confirmed by Duke William II)	Mont-Saint-Michel		X		Rogerii de Montgulmerio
<i>RADN</i> 162 (SCRIPTA 1606)	c. 1054. ⁶	Duke William II confirms grant by Maino de Fougères	Marmoutier		X		Rogerii de Monte Gomerici
<i>RADN</i> 137 (SCRIPTA 1581)	1055	John de Laval (confirmed by Duke William II)	Marmoutier		X		Rotgerii de Monte Gomerico
<i>Ctl. Saint-Vincent</i> , no. 753	1055 x 1060	Roger II de Montgommery	Saint-Vincent du Mans			X	Rogerus de Monte Gulmerico
<i>Ctl. Saint-Vincent</i> , no. 754	1055 x 1060	Roger II de Montgommery confirms grant by Walter de Montmirail	Saint-Vincent du Mans			X	Rogerus de Monte Gulmerico

⁵ For the date, see Bates, *William the Conqueror* (2016), 104 n. 51.

⁶ For the date, see Bates, *William the Conqueror* (2016), 156.

Charter	Date	Benefactor	Beneficiary	T	S	M	Style
Thompson, 'Cross-Channel Estates', no. 7 B	1055 x 1060	Roger II de Montgommery	St Martin of Sées		X	X	Rogerii vicecomits / vicecomes Rogerius
<i>RADN</i> 208 (SCRIPTA 1652)	1055 x 1066	Duke William II confirms foundation charter	Saint-Sauveur d'Évreux		X		Rogerii de Montgummery
Thompson, 'Cross-Channel Estates', no. 20, p. 239; <i>Livre Blanc</i> , fol. 4v/9v	1055 x 1077	Roger II de Montgommery's pancarte	Saint-Martin de Sées			X	Rogerus vicecomes
<i>RADN</i> 199 (SCRIPTA 1642; ARTEM 3396)	Late 1050s x 1066. ⁷	Duke William II	Saint-Florent de Saumur		X		Rogerii de Monte Golmerii
<i>RADN</i> 142 (SCRIPTA 1586)	1059	Adam de Saint-Brice (confirmed by Duke William II)	Saint-Julien de Tours		X		Rogerii comitis de Mungummery
<i>RADN</i> 144 (SCRIPTA 1588)	1059	Roger II de Montgommery	Troarn, abbey		X	X	Rogerii de Monte Gomerii / Rogerius
<i>RADN</i> 218 (SCRIPTA 1660; ARTEM 2709)	1059 x 1066	<i>Serlo de Lamara</i>	Saint-Martin-du-Bosc, priory	X			Rogerus...de Monte Gomerico
<i>GC</i> , xi. Instr. Col. 151, no. 2 (SCRIPTA 280)	1060 (though possibly spurious) ⁸	Roger II de Montgommery	Saint-Nicholas de La Roche-Mabile, cell of Saint-Martin de Sées		X	X	Rogerii comitis / comes Rogerius
<i>RADN</i> 219 (SCRIPTA 1661)	1060 x 1066	Duke William II	Bayeux		X		Rogerus de Monte Gomeri

⁷ For the date, see Bates, *William the Conqueror* (2016), 172 n. 33.

⁸ Thompson, 'Cross-Channel Estates', no. 10, p. 234 and note.

Charter	Date	Benefactor	Beneficiary	T	S	M	Style
<i>RADN 220</i> (SCRIPTA 1662)	1060 x 1066	Duke William II	Jumièges		X		Rogerii de Monte+Gomerico
<i>Ctl. Saint-Vincent</i> , no. 765	1060 x 1070	Roger II de Montgommery confirms grant by Gunherius of Lurson	Saint-Vincent du Mans			X	Rogerio
Thompson, 'Cross- Channel Estates', no. 11, p. 235; <i>Livre Blanc</i> , fol. 112r/132r	1061	Roger II de Montgommery	St Martin of Sées		X	X	Rogerii vicecomitis / Rogerius vicecomes
<i>RADN 151</i> ; <i>Regesta</i> , ed. Bates, no. 200 (SCRIPTA 1595)	1062	Duke William II	Héauville, priory		X		Rogerio de Monte Gomario
<i>RADN 150</i> (SCRIPTA 1594)	1062	Duke William II	Marmoutier	X			Rotgerio de Monte Gulmerici
<i>RADN 223; Caen</i> , ed. Musset, no. 1 (SCRIPTA 1665; ARTEM 1976)	1063 x 1066	Roger II de Montgommery	Saint-Étienne de Caen		X	X	Rogerii de Montegomerico / Rogerius de Monte Gomerico
<i>RADN 226</i> (SCRIPTA 1668)	1065 x 1066	Duke William II confirms an agreement	Montivilliers	X			Rogerio comite de Montegomerico
<i>RADN 231; Caen</i> , ed. Musset, no. 2 (SCRIPTA 1673)	1066	Duke William II and Duchess Matilda	La Trinité de Caen	X	X		Rogerii de Monte Gomerico / Rogerii de Monte Gomerii
<i>RADN 232</i> (SCRIPTA 1674)	1066	Duke William II confirms an agreement	Mont-Saint-Michel		X		Rogerii de Monte Gomeri
<i>RADN 229</i> (SCRIPTA 1671)	1066	Duke William II and John, bishop of Avranches	Avranches, cathedral		X		Rogerii vicecomitis

Charter	Date	Benefactor	Beneficiary	T	S	M	Style
<i>RADN 230</i> (SCRIPTA 1672)	1066	A certain Richard, confirmed by Duke William II	Coulombs		X		Rogerii de Montisgommerici
<i>RADN 233</i> (SCRIPTA 1675)	1066	Roger II de Montgommery	La Trinité-du-Mont de Rouen		X	X	Rogerii de Monte Gomeri / Rogerius de Montgomeri
<i>RADN 228</i> (SCRIPTA 1670)	1066	Confirmation by Duke William II	Marmoutier	X			Rogerio de Monte Gulmeriaco

Roger II's rise in Normandy has much in common with developments elsewhere in northern France, in particular at the French royal court, where bishops and counts were gradually replaced by members of the aristocracy who were not necessarily closely related to the ruler.¹ Roger appears to have gained Duke William's trust in the 1040s, for he was with him regularly. Roger was the duke's vicomte in the Hiémois by the time an original charter datable between 1046 and 1058 was issued.² Orderic plausibly identifies Roger II as vicomte of the Hiémois by the time of his marriage to Mabel.³ Roger's status as an officer of ducal government partly explains his frequent presence with Duke William.

The house of Montgomery's success in asserting its claim to vicecomital office can be paralleled by two other members of the group around Duke William: William fitz Osbern, who became the duke's *dapifer* after the murder of Osbern fitz Arfast, and Hugh II de Montfort, who succeeded his father as vicomte.⁴ It is remarkable that Roger II cooperated with William fitz Osbern at the siege of Domfront,⁵ given that Roger's brother had killed William's father. Evidently, their shared service to the duke helped to heal whatever animosity may have remained.⁶

In 1049 or 1050, around the time of Roger's marriage, William fitz Osbern added the lands of Hugh, bishop of Bayeux, to those which he had already inherited from Osbern fitz Arfast.⁷ The sudden growth in the estates of Roger II and William fitz Osbern must have constituted an important step in the reassertion of ducal power, for they were foremost among Duke William's entourage between c. 1050 and 1066.⁸ They even joined together to grant

¹ L. Musset, 'Gouvernés et gouvernants dans le monde scandinave et dans le monde normand (XI^e-XII^e siècles)', in *Recueils de la société Jean Bodin*, 23 (1968), 439-68, at 461-62, reprinted in his *Nordica et Normannica: recueil d'études sur la Scandinavie ancienne et médiévale, les expéditions des Vikings et la fondation de la Normandie* (Paris, 1997), 415-37.

² *RADN*, no. 140 (SCRIPTA 1584).

³ *OV*, ii. 20, 46-48.

⁴ Bates, *William the Conqueror* (2004), 79-80.

⁵ *GG*, 26.

⁶ Bates, *Normandy*, 177.

⁷ D. Bates, 'Notes sur l'aristocratie normande', *AN*, 23:1 (1973), 7-38, at 10-12.

⁸ Bates, *William the Conqueror* (2004), 79, 100.

property at Le Mouchel to Saint-Pierre de Préaux between 1050 and 1071,⁹ and William fitz Osbern's son, William de Breteuil, was a benefactor of Troarn between 1071 and 1103.¹⁰ The difference in importance between Roger II and William fitz Osbern and the rest of Duke William's aristocracy is remarkable. Roger witnessed or signed twenty-one of the transactions in which Duke William granted away ducal property before 1066. William fitz Osbern signed or witnessed a very similar number. Few other members of the aristocracy reach double figures.¹¹ Roger and William fitz Osbern can thus be considered the foremost members of Duke William's inner circle.¹²

The marriage of Roger II and Mabel, c. 1050

The earliest possible date for the marriage of Roger and Mabel is c. 1048, when Arnulf caused William Talvas to go into exile. Roger and Mabel were married when Roger founded the abbey of Troarn, probably not long after c. 1050 (see below, p. 296). Duke William's role in Roger's marriage is a matter for conjecture. There is little evidence that eleventh-century dukes could enforce marriages for aristocratic daughters.¹³ Mabel's father was alive when she married, which suggests that any influence of Duke William was political, and not indicative of any particular ducal prerogative.¹⁴

Nonetheless, we can be certain that Duke William would have approved of the marriage. It is even possible that the undignified ends met by previous lords of Bellême would have discouraged Roger from taking on such a challenge without the support of a powerful

⁹ *Ctl. Préaux*, ed. Rouet, p. 151 (SCRIPTA 6075). Le Mouchel, Eure, cant. Lyons-la-Forêt.

¹⁰ L. Musset, 'Le cimetière dans la vie paroissiale en Basse-Normandie (XI^e-XIII^e siècles)', *Cahiers Léopold Delisle*, 12 (1963), 7-27, at 23 (SCRIPTA 268).

¹¹ For calculations of the frequency of individual barons witnessing or signing grants (rather than confirmations) by Duke William, see Fauroux in *RADN*, p. 62. One probable instance of Roger I has been deducted from Fauroux's list of twenty instances of Roger II, and two more instances of Roger II drawn from charters shortened in pancartes have been added.

¹² Bates, *Normandy*, 159-60.

¹³ See above, p. 174 n. 24.

¹⁴ Tabuteau, *Transfers of Property*, 62-63.

protector.¹⁵ Duke William's own marriage in late 1052 or 1053 underlines his awareness of marriage as a tool for consolidating his authority on the frontier. William also arranged the marriage of his own half-sister to William, lord of the southern frontier castle of La Ferté-Macé.¹⁶ Duke William's need for reliable followers near Bellême would have been obvious in 1053, when Guitmund, castellan of Moulins-la-Marche, handed Moulins over to an ally of Geoffrey Martel. In 1054, Guitmund's daughter, Albreda, married William, son of Walter de Falaise, a knight loyal to Duke William, and brought Guitmund's whole honour to her new husband, despite the fact that Guitmund had several living sons.¹⁷ Like William son of Walter's marriage, Roger II de Montgommery's marriage resulted in the transfer of a troublesome frontier lordship to a reliable supporter of Duke William. It was also probably around this time that William Talvas's niece Adeline married Rotrou II of Mortagne.¹⁸ The marriages of William son of Walter, Rotrou II and William de La Ferté-Macé indicate that at least three other marriages favourably affected Duke William's power on the frontier around the middle of the century, and it is implausible to think that he did not encourage each of them. Indeed, King Henry I of England's Coronation Charter (though later) insisted that barons should consult the king before giving their daughters away in marriage.¹⁹

Mabel demonstrates the ability of daughters to convey her family's patrimony to her husband, even when she had an illegitimate brother, Oliver.²⁰ Oliver was probably overlooked with Duke William's approval. Other likely instances of ducal interference in inheritance include the exclusion of Osbern fitz Osbern from the inheritance of Osbern fitz Arfast, in favour of William fitz Osbern; the exclusion of John from the inheritance of his brother Hugh, bishop

¹⁵ Bickford Smith, 'Orderic Vitalis', 166-67.

¹⁶ Searle, *Predatory Kinship*, 209.

¹⁷ OV, iii. 132-34; Searle, *Predatory Kinship*, 170-71; E. Z. Tabuteau, 'The Family of Moulins-la-Marche in the Eleventh Century', *Medieval Prosopography*, 13:1 (1992), 29-65; Bauduin, 'Du bon usage de la *dos*', 441.

¹⁸ Thompson, *Power and Border Lordship*, 37-38, 198.

¹⁹ Holt, 'The Heiress and the Alien', in his *Colonial England*, 249-50.

²⁰ For Oliver, see below, p. 356.

of Bayeux, also in favour of William fitz Osbern; the exclusion of the sons of Guitmund de Moulins-la-Marche in favour of William de Falaise; and the nomination of Hugh II de Montfort as an heir of John, bishop of Avranches.²¹

The diplomatic record indicates that Roger's marriage increased his influence south of Normandy, even before he acquired the lordship of Bellême. It shows that Roger exercised some influence over the lands of Bishop Ivo in Maine, perhaps because he was recognized as the bishop's heir after marrying Mabel. Roger and Bishop Ivo were together as far south as Angers, according to one charter datable between 1051 and 1062.²² However, Roger is not known to have acted at Bellême itself before Ivo's death in 1071.²³

Roger tried to use the marriage of Mabel's cousin to Rotrou to extend his own interests. No later than 1059, Roger helped Rotrou attack the recently deceased William Gouet's castle of Brou, probably in the hope that Rotrou would help him acquire William Gouet's castle at Montmirail.²⁴ Roger and Rotrou can also be found cooperating in charters for Nogent-le-Rotrou (after 1068) and Saint-Vincent du Mans (between 1071 and 1076), and Roger gave his daughter, Mabel II, to Rotrou's castellan, Hugh de Châteauneuf.²⁵ Roger's relationship with Rotrou probably made it easier for William to acquire Rotrou's support against Robert Curthose in 1078.

²¹ Bauduin, 'Structures familiales', 23. For a different type of ducal interference, see Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, 331.

²² Allen, 'Norman Episcopate', ii. 723; Bates, *William the Conqueror* (2016), 142.

²³ For Roger's influence over Ivo's lands up to 1071, see Thompson, 'Family and Influence', 223-24.

²⁴ For the attack on Brou (Eure-et-Loir), see *Livre Blanc*, fol. 28r/36r; Thompson, 'Cross-Channel Estates', 62. For Roger's motivation, see Thompson, *Power and Border Lordship*, 38-39; and for supporting evidence, see *Ctl. Saint-Vincent*, eds. Charles and Menjot d'Elbenne, nos. 753-54.

²⁵ C. Métais, *Saint-Denis de Nogent-le-Rotrou* (Vannes, 1895), p. 57, no. 18; *Ctl. Saint-Vincent*, eds. Charles and Menjot d'Elbenne, nos. 587, 589; OV, iii. 139; Thompson, 'Cross-Channel Estates', 61-63; Louise, *Bellême*, ii. 165.

The monastic foundations of Roger II de Montgomery in Normandy

Roger's establishment of three monasteries in Normandy before 1066 reveals his determination to entrench his family's influence in different parts of the duchy.

Troarn

Orderic states that Roger refounded the college of Troarn as a Benedictine abbey as a response to the success of Saint-Evroult (founded in 1050).²⁶ Roger's rivalry with the Grandmesnil and Giroie families, founders of Saint-Evroult, was probably stoked even more when the monks at Norrey refused Hugh and Robert II de Grandmesnil's order to relocate to Saint-Evroult and moved to Troarn instead.²⁷ This suggests that the refoundation of Troarn occurred not long after 1050. It was certainly underway by 29 June 1056, when Roger's later foundation at Sées was being established.²⁸ A note by the fourteenth-century redactor of Troarn's foundation charter reveals that Troarn was dedicated on 13 May 1059.²⁹

The foundation of abbeys was an important aristocratic strategy for territorializing power. However, the fact that William fitz Osbern and Roger II de Montgomery, two of Duke William's favourites, founded abbeys in the 1040s and 1050s shows that aristocratic abbeys were not acts of defiance against ducal authority. In fact, Duke William appears to have tolerated or even encouraged the establishment of abbeys by men loyal to him.³⁰ Indeed, the refoundation of Troarn appears to have been favoured by Duke William, for he attended Troarn's dedication in 1059.³¹ A pancarte of 1068 records that the abbey was under William's

²⁶ OV, ii. 20.

²⁷ OV, ii. 20.

²⁸ OV, ii. 66.

²⁹ RADN, no. 144 (SCRIPTA 1588); Gazeau, *Normannia monastica*, i. 14, 25. For the dating clause, see R. N. Sauvage, *L'abbaye de Saint-Martin de Troarn au diocèse de Bayeux des origines au seizième siècle* (Caen, 1911), 13.

³⁰ Potts, *Monastic Revival*, 104-32.

³¹ RADN, no. 144 (SCRIPTA 1588).

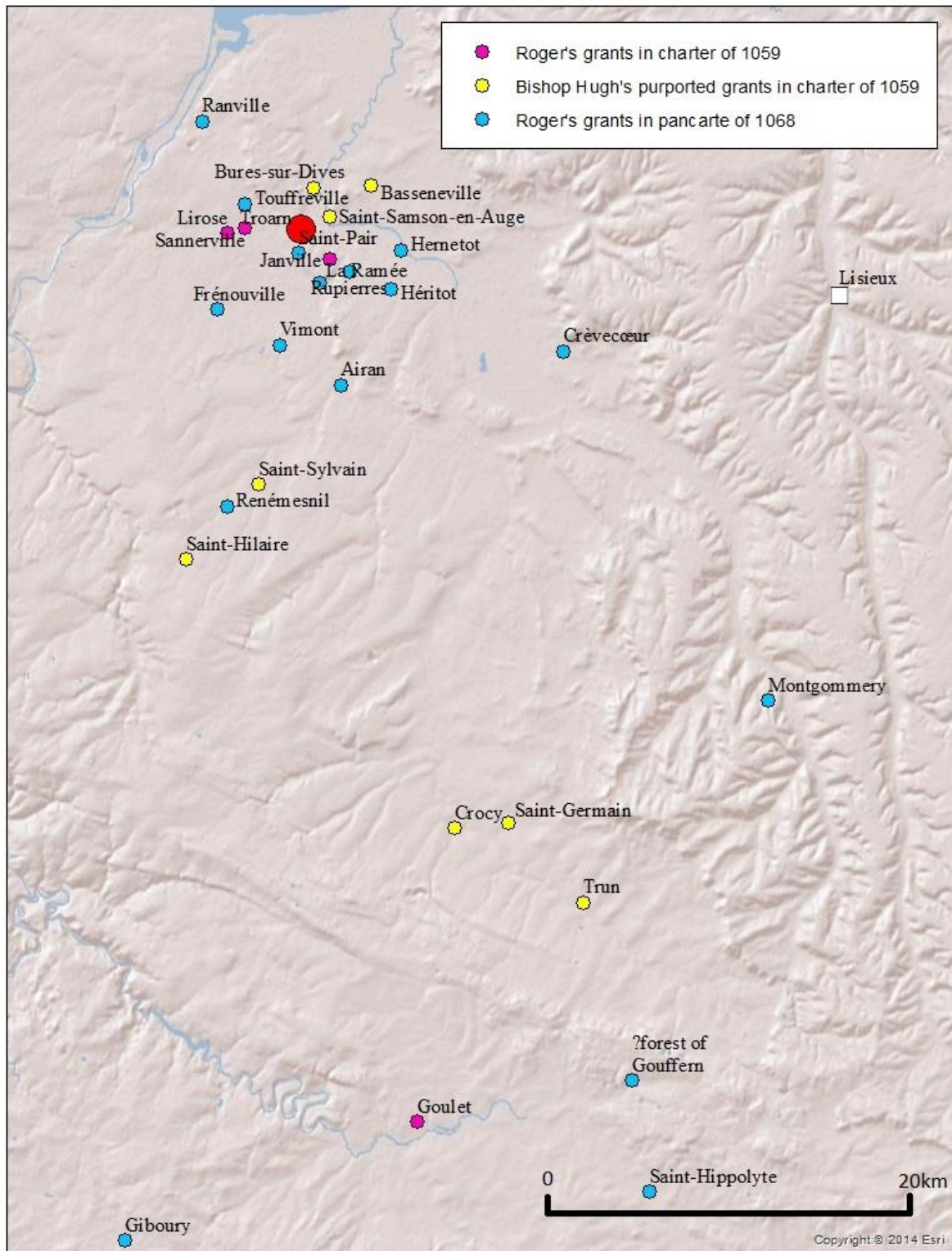
protection.³² This meant that he would protect Troarn from acquisitive lay neighbours, but also that he retained some influence over its appointments.³³ The beginnings of Troarn owed much to personnel and monastic rites from the ducal abbey of Fécamp, which is further evidence of Troarn's connection with ducal authority.³⁴

³² *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 280 (SCRIPTA 6587): *maneant sub defensione mea et heredum meorum...sicut debent esse elemosine fidelium et bonorum christianorum*. For a translation, see Tabuteau, *Transfers of Property*, 202.

³³ Tabuteau, *Transfers of Property*, 202-03; Potts, *Monastic Revival*, 114-15.

³⁴ OV, iv. 164; Potts, *Monastic Revival*, 122; Gazeau, *Normannia monastica*, i. 14, 25, ii. 372.

Figure 31: Roger II's grants to Troarn according to the charter of 1059 and the pancarte of 1068.³⁵



³⁵ *RADN*, no. 144 (SCRIPTA 1588); *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 280 (SCRIPTA 6587).

Figure 31 shows that Roger's endowment of the abbey of Troarn by 1068 was greater and more dispersed than the college's property had been, if the charter of 1059 is taken to record the college's endowment. The pancarte of 1068 also shows that Troarn's estate had spread northwards along the river Dives since 1059, largely due to patronage by King William and his men. It has therefore been observed that William helped the abbey to flourish by allowing it an enclave within the domains of Saint-Étienne de Caen. Sometime between 1068 and 1083, William ratified the settlement to a dispute concerning property at La Ramée, between Roger and the abbot of Troarn on the one hand, and the priory of the abbey of Fécamp at Argences, on the other. The settlement favoured Roger and Troarn at the expense of Fécamp, so it has been taken as further evidence of William's sponsorship of Roger's power around the river Dives.³⁶

Saint-Martin de Sées

Orderic says that Roger was persuaded to found the abbey of Saint-Martin de Sées by Mabel's uncle, Ivo III de Bellême, bishop of Sées.³⁷ Ivo, Roger and Mabel are identified as co-founders in the abbey's earliest surviving charter, which is a pancarte from between 1055 and 1060, preserved in a twelfth-century copy.³⁸

We know that Saint-Martin de Sées was founded after the abbey of Troarn, because a monk of Troarn was the first abbot of Sées.³⁹ The abbey of Sées was certainly begun before 29 June 1056, when Thierry, abbot of Saint-Evroult, whom Roger and Mabel entrusted with the

³⁶ V. Carpentier, *Guillaume le Conquérant et l'estuaire de la Dives* (Lisieux, 2011), 116-18. For the dispute, see *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 142 (SCRIPTA 6594).

³⁷ OV, ii. 46-48; iv. 164.

³⁸ Thompson, 'Cross-Channel Estates', no. 7 A and B, p. 231 (*Livre Blanc*, fol. 2r/7r and 3v/8v); Allen, 'Norman Episcopate', ii., no. 78, p. 725 (*Livre Blanc*, fol. 2r/7r).

³⁹ OV, iv. 164; Gazeau, *Normannia monastica*, ii. 353-54.

establishment of Saint-Martin de Sées, was already in the habit of spending long periods at Sées.⁴⁰ Like Troarn, Saint-Martin de Sées acquired monastic rites from Fécamp.⁴¹ The construction work was interrupted while Roger and Mabel were attacked following the death of William fitz Giroie in 1057.⁴² Orderic records Mabel's habit of deliberately exhausting Saint-Evroult's resources by visiting with huge retinues before 1057.⁴³ It is therefore apparent that the abbeys of Troarn and Sées were part of a struggle for local power against the Giroies.⁴⁴

⁴⁰ OV, ii. 66.

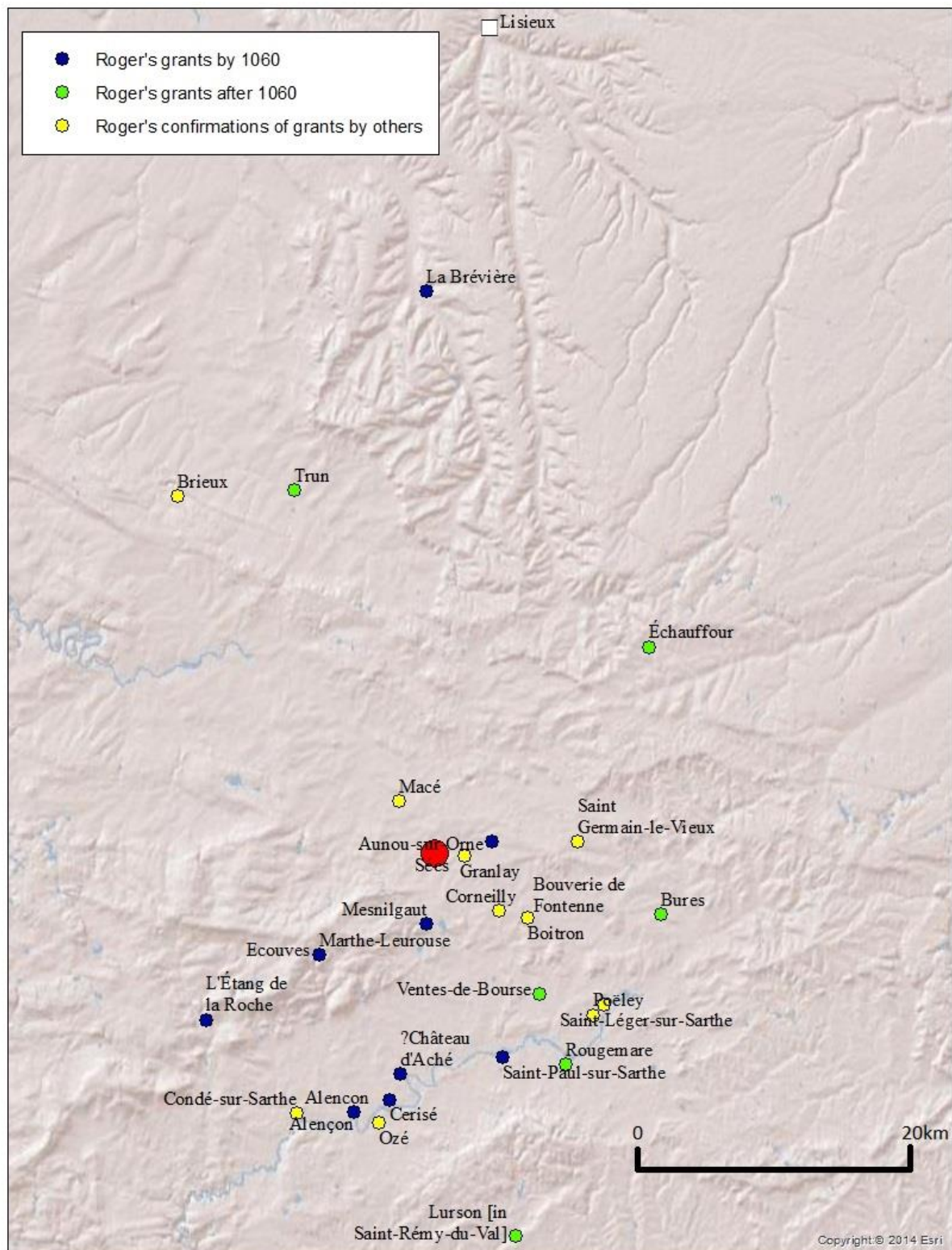
⁴¹ OV, iv. 164.

⁴² OV, ii. 66-68.

⁴³ OV, ii. 54 and n. 2.

⁴⁴ Chibnall, *World of Orderic*, 50.

Figure 32: Roger II's grants⁴⁵ and confirmations⁴⁶ for Saint-Martin de Sées.



⁴⁵ Thompson, 'Cross-Channel Estates', no. 7 A and B, p. 231 (*Livre Blanc*, fol. 2r/7r and 3v/8v; Allen, 'Norman Episcopate', ii., no. 78, p. 725); Thompson, 'Cross-Channel Estates', nos. 19, 20, 58, p. 238, 239, 263 (*Livre Blanc*, fols. 6v/11v, 4v/9v, 67v/77v); *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 271 (SCRIPTA 6583); *Livre Blanc*, fol. 21r/28r.

The bulk of the property granted by Roger was near Sées (see Figure 32), and had belonged to Mabel's family.⁴⁷ The abbey's endowment therefore reveals Roger in confident command of the gains he had made through his marriage.

Almenêches

Roger is named as the founder of a nunnery at Almenêches by Robert of Torigni and in a papal bull of 1178, which is our earliest record of the nunnery's endowment.⁴⁸ It is likely that Almenêches was founded before Roger granted property to Saint-Étienne de Caen (between 1063 and 1066), because Almenêches can be identified as one of the unnamed churches to which property excepted from his grant to Saint-Étienne was already granted.⁴⁹ Further evidence of a pre-Conquest foundation is that 'Count William', who consented to grants to Almenêches by a certain Rainfroy, can be identified securely as Duke William.⁵⁰

⁴⁶ Thompson, 'Cross-Channel Estates, nos. 20, 28, 29, 36, 46, 58, 60, 63, p. 239, 246, 247, 250, 256, 263, 265, 266 (*Livre Blanc*, fols. 4v/9v, 61v/71v, 25r/32r, 63v/73v, 66r/76r, 67v/77v, 96r/113r, 56v/65v); *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 271 (SCRIPTA 6583).

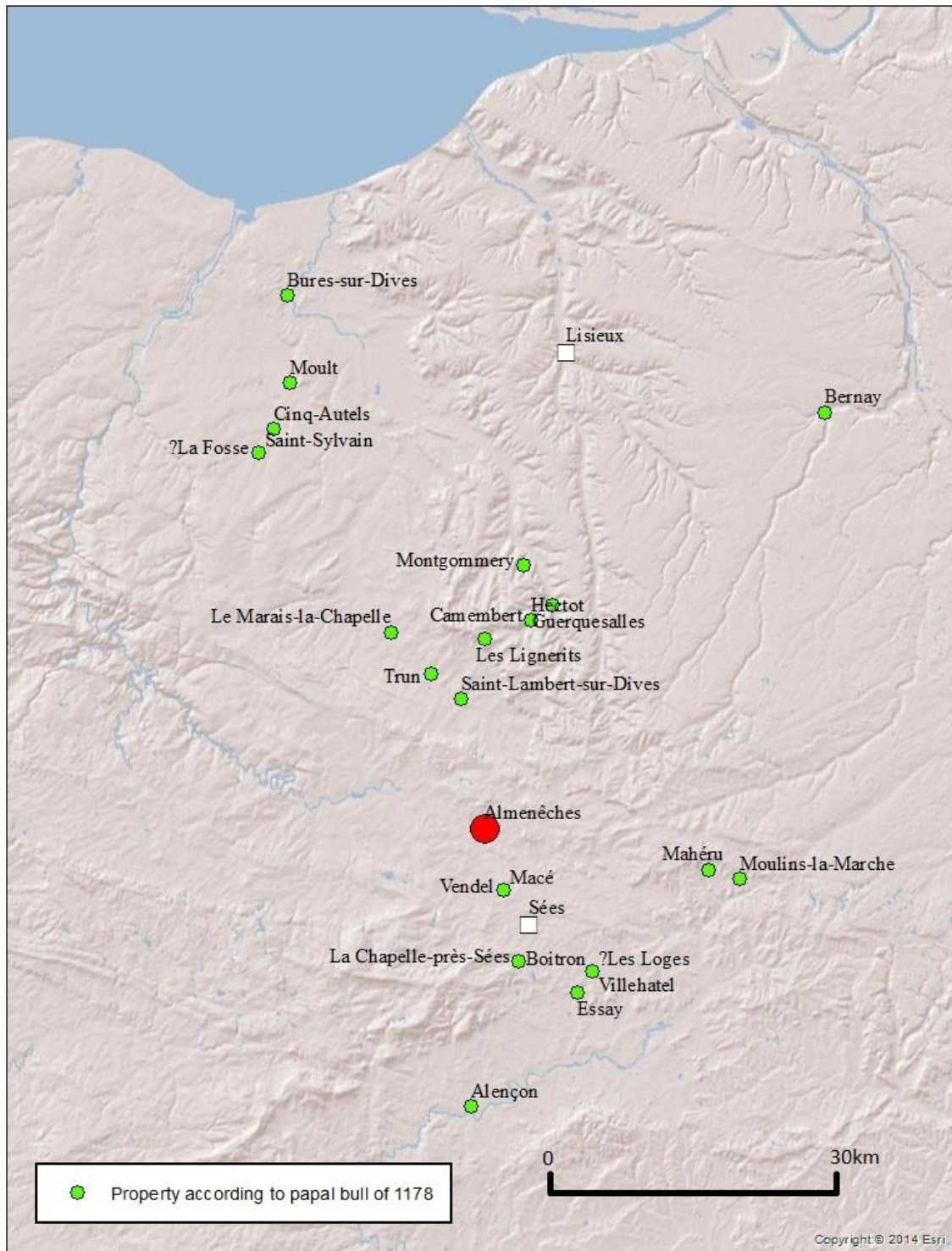
⁴⁷ Thompson, 'Montgomerys', 261.

⁴⁸ *GND* (Robert of Torigni), ii. 132; Robert of Torigni, *Chronique*, ii. 200. Charter published in Musset, 'Almenêches', 33-36.

⁴⁹ *RADN*, no. 223 (*Caen*, ed. Musset, no. 1; SCRIPTA 1665; ARTEM 1976); J.-M. Bouvris, 'La date de la restauration de l'abbaye d'Almenêches', *Bulletin de la Société historique et archéologique de l'Orne*, 98:3-4 (1980), 113-41, at 131-38.

⁵⁰ Bouvris, 'Almenêches', 138-40.

Figure 33: Property of Almenêches according to papal bull of 1178



The endowment of Almenêches has been discussed by Lucien Musset (see Figure 33).⁵¹ The papal bull of 1178 does not name the grantor of several places, and many of the grantors identified cannot be dated. However, property in each of the geographical concentrations which made up the property of Almenêches is described in the papal bull as – or can otherwise be identified as – property of the house of Montgomery-Bellême.⁵² It is therefore likely that the bulk of the property recorded in 1178 came from Roger or his followers. The nunnery remained very much a family foundation.⁵³ The combination of church, castle and town made Almenêches an important centre of the house of Montgomery's power.⁵⁴

The acquisition of the lordship of Giroie, c. 1061

Roger's religious foundations in the 1050s were one aspect of the power struggle between the houses of Montgomery-Bellême and Giroie. The Giroies would have felt threatened not just by the successes of Roger and Mabel, but also by improvements in the relationship between Duke William and Ivo III de Bellême, bishop of Sées, around 1060.⁵⁵ Roger made a decisive breakthrough against the Giroies at the start of the 1060s. Orderic alleges that in c. 1061, Roger and Mabel persuaded Duke William to exile Arnold d'Échauffour; that William granted Roger all of Arnold's patrimony; and that Roger kept it for about twenty-six years.⁵⁶ This act of ducal patronage is a striking example of the powers which attracted aristocrats to William's court. Orderic also says that Arnold returned to Normandy from exile (in 1063), but was fatally poisoned by Mabel on 1 January 1064 – an allegation which should not be accepted at face

⁵¹ Musset, 'Almenêches', 11-36.

⁵² Musset, 'Almenêches', 24-28.

⁵³ Musset, 'Almenêches', 29.

⁵⁴ For the town and the castle, see Musset, 'Almenêches', 22.

⁵⁵ Bates, *William the Conqueror* (2016), 155.

⁵⁶ OV, ii. 90; iii. 134-36; Bauduin, 'Les Géré', 320. Also see OV, iv. 154-56.

value.⁵⁷ Roger's possession of the Giroie family's estate is corroborated by evidence of his interests at Giverville, Échauffour and Radon.⁵⁸ He perhaps received the Giroie estate in his capacity as vicomte,⁵⁹ for vicomtes collected ducal revenues, including from forfeited property.⁶⁰ However, the long duration of Roger's rights over the Giroie estate, and his alienation of property at Échauffour and Radon, both suggest that he acquired a greater influence over the Giroie estate than an ordinary ducal official might have enjoyed. For Duke William, Roger's control of the Giroie estate negated the influence which the count of Anjou had exerted through the rebellious Giroies, and it strengthened William's base for the conquest of Maine in 1063.⁶¹ William's imposition of a garrison at Échauffour during Arnold's exile is a reminder of the duke's continued rights over the Giroie castles.⁶²

It seems clear that the Montgommerys enjoyed a remarkably steep rise from the second quarter of the eleventh century. William of Poitiers listed Roger among Normandy's outstanding laymen in 1066.⁶³ Roger contributed sixty ships for the invasion, which was the joint second-highest contribution among Duke William's non-brothers (behind William count of Évreux, and level with William fitz Osbern, Hugh d'Avranches, Robert count of Eu and Roger de Beaumont).⁶⁴ However, instead of participating in the invasion, Roger stayed behind to govern

⁵⁷ OV, ii. 122-24; Bauduin, 'Les Géré', 321. On poisoning in Orderic's work, see above, p. 281. On alleged poisonings by Mabel, see Bates, *William the Conqueror* (2016), 175.

⁵⁸ RADN, no. 233 (SCRIPTA 1675); Thompson, 'Cross-Channel Estates', no. 20, p. 239 (*Livre Blanc*, fol. 4v/9v) and p. 65-66; OV, iii. 138-42; Maillefer, 'Géré', 202-04. For a grant at Radon by Roger's grandson, Count William of Ponthieu, to Saint-Evrault, see B. N. ms. Lat. 11056, fol. 92v. Échauffour, Orne, cant. Le Merlerault; Radon, Orne, cant. Alençon-3; Giverville, Eure, cant. Thiberville.

⁵⁹ Thompson, 'Cross-Channel Estates', 65-66.

⁶⁰ Hagger, 'Norman Vicomte', 74-79.

⁶¹ Bauduin, 'Les Géré', 320.

⁶² OV, ii. 92.

⁶³ GG, 100.

⁶⁴ Van Houts, 'Ship list', 176.

Normandy with Duchess Matilda and Roger de Beaumont.⁶⁵ This decision by Duke William reveals the immense trust he placed in Roger II de Montgomery.

Roger II de Montgomery after 1066

In December 1067, Roger travelled from Normandy to England with King William.⁶⁶ Orderic states that King William gave Roger the castle of Arundel and the town of Chichester, and later on, the county of Shrewsbury (ie. Shropshire).⁶⁷ It will be seen that Roger spent the majority of William's reign on the continent, but the proportion of his time spent in England increased during William's last years, and English concerns began to predominate as Rufus's reign progressed.

The movements of Roger II de Montgomery, 1066–1094

The diplomatic evidence furnishes some general observations regarding Roger's activities after 1066 (see Table 25).

⁶⁵ OV, ii. 210; Bates, *William the Conqueror* (2016), 221.

⁶⁶ OV, ii. 210.

⁶⁷ OV, ii. 210: Roger received *primo Cicestram et Arundellum ac post aliquot tempus Scrobesburiensem comitatum*; ii. 262: King William granted *in primis castrum Arundellum et urbem Cicestram dedit cui postea comitatum Scrobesburiae quæ in monte super Sabrinam fluuium sita est adiecit*.

Table 25: Appearances of Roger II de Montgommery in the diplomatic record after 1066

Charter	Date and location	Benefactor	Beneficiary	T	S	M	Style
<i>Regesta</i> , ed. Bates, no. 211 (SCRIPTA 6537)	1066 x 1076	Hawise, daughter of Nicholas de Bacqueville	Montivilliers	X			comite Rogerio de Montegomerico
<i>Regesta</i> , ed. Bates, no. 212 (SCRIPTA 6538)	1066 x 1076	Hawise, daughter of Nicholas de Bacqueville	Montivilliers	X			comite Rogerio de Monte Gomerico
<i>Regesta</i> , ed. Bates, no. 45 (SCRIPTA 6458; ARTEM 2334)	1066 x 1077	King William I's confirmation charter	Saint-Étienne de Caen		X		Roger + i comitis de Monte Gomerico
<i>Regesta</i> , ed. Bates, no. 147 (SCRIPTA 6499)	1066 x 1087 (Lillebonne)	Bernard de Neufmarché	Fécamp		X		Rogerus comes de Montegomerico
<i>RADN</i> , no. 222 (SCRIPTA 1664)	1067 x 1071 (Troarn)	King William I gives custody of the church to Roger II de Montgommery	Saint-Martin d'Ecajeul		X	X	Rogeri de Monte Gommeri
<i>Regesta</i> , ed. Bates, no. 271 (SCRIPTA 6583)	1067 x 1077	Roger II de Montgommery and Mabel	Saint-Martin de Sées		X	X	Rogerii comitis / Rogerus vicecomes
B. N. ms. Lat. 12878, fol. 236v	1067 x 1077	Roger II de Montgommery and Mabel	Saint-Martin de Marmoutier, abbey			X	Rotgerius de Monte Gomerio
<i>Regesta</i> , ed. Bates, no. 345 I	1068	King William I	Worcester cathedral		X		Rocgerus dux
<i>Regesta</i> , ed. Bates, no. 286	1068	King William I	Wells cathedral		X		Rotgerus princeps

Charter	Date and location	Benefactor	Beneficiary	T	S	M	Style
<i>Regesta</i> , ed. Bates, no. 181	1068 (Westminster)	King William I confirms foundation	St Martin-le-Grand, London		X		Rog(eru)s de Montegom[eri] comes
<i>Regesta</i> , ed. Bates, no. 280 (SCRIPTA 6587)	1068 (date of pancarte)	Roger II de Montgomery	Troarn		X	X	Rogerii de Montegomerico / Rogerius comes
<i>Regesta</i> , ed. Bates, no. 237 (SCRIPTA 6553)	1068 x 1070 (date of pancarte)	Gerald <i>dapifer</i> , castellan of Neufmarché	Saint-Amand de Rouen	X			Roger(us) de Monte Gomerico
<i>Livre Blanc</i> , fol. 21r/28r	1068 x 1071	Roger II de Montgomery, his wife Mabel, and Ivo III de Bellême, bishop of Sées	Saint-Martin de Sées			X	Rogerus comes
<i>Regesta</i> , ed. Bates, no. 212 (SCRIPTA 6538)	1068 x 1076	King William I, and others in pancarte	Montivilliers	X			Rogerii vicecomitis
Thompson, 'Cross-Channel Estates', no. 21, p. 241; <i>Livre Blanc</i> , fol. 6v/11v)	1068 x 1077	Roger II de Montgomery	Saint-Martin de Sées			X	Rogerus comes
Thompson, 'Cross-Channel Estates', no. 19, p. 238; <i>Livre Blanc</i> , fol. 6v/11v	1068 x 1077	Roger II de Montgomery and Mabel	Saint-Martin de Sées		X	X	Rogerii comitis / Rogerius
<i>Troarn</i> , ed. Sauvage, p. 303 (SCRIPTA 141; ARTEM 2335)	1068 x 1077	Huard, with Roger II's agreement	Troarn	X	X	X	Roggerus comes / Rogerii comitis / Rogerii com[iti]s

Charter	Date and location	Benefactor	Beneficiary	T	S	M	Style
<i>Ctl. Saint-Vincent</i> , no. 769	1068 x 1078 (Lurson)	Dispute heard in Roger's court at Lurson	Saint-Vincent du Mans			X	Rogerii comitis
<i>Regesta</i> , ed. Bates, no. 199 (SCRIPTA 6525)	1068 x 1080	King William I confirms grant by Humphrey de Bohon	Saint-Martin de Marmoutier, abbey		X		Rogeri de Monte Gomerico
<i>Regesta</i> , ed. Bates, no. 281 I (SCRIPTA 6588; ARTEM *2355)	1068 x 1082 (Roger's grants); 1080 (probable date of charter)	Roger II de Montgomery	Troarn		X	X	Rogerii comitis / Rogerius ex Northmannis Northmannus magni autem Rogerii filius
Thompson, 'Cross-Channel Estates', no. 23, p. 242	1068 x c. 1082	William Tosart	Saint-Martin de Sées		X		Rogerii comitis
<i>Regesta</i> , ed. Bates, no. 142 (SCRIPTA 6594)	1068 x 1083 (Fécamp)	Agreement between Fécamp and Roger II de Montgomery	Fécamp		X	X	Rogerii comitis / Rogerium comitem de Monte Gomerico
Eyton, <i>Shropshire</i> , xi. 225-27	1068 x 1089	Robert aka Picot de Sai	Saint-Martin de Sées		X		Rogeri comitis
Thompson, 'Cross-Channel Estates', no. 46, p. 256; <i>Livre Blanc</i> , fol. 66r/76r	1068 x 1089	Gunherius of Lurson, confirmed by Roger II de Montgomery	Saint-Martin de Sées		X		Rogerii comitis
Thompson, 'Cross-Channel Estates', no. 48, p. 258; <i>Livre Blanc</i> , fol. 48v/57v	1068 x 1089	Various	Saint-Martin de Sées		X		Rogerii comitis

Charter	Date and location	Benefactor	Beneficiary	T	S	M	Style
Thompson, 'Cross-Channel Estates', no. 60, p. 265; <i>Livre Blanc</i> , fol. 96r/113r	1068 x 1094	William de <i>Calcis</i> , confirmed by Roger II de Montgomery	Saint-Martin de Sées			X	comes Rogerius
Métais, <i>Nogent-le-Rotrou</i> , p. 57, no. 18.	1068 x 1094	Walter Chesnel, confirmed by Roger II de Montgomery	Saint-Denis de Nogent-le-Rotrou			X	dominus comes Rogerius
Musset, 'Le cimetière', 27; <i>Livre Blanc</i> , fol. 63v/73v (SCRIPTA 2230)	1068 x 1094	William Quadrel, confirmed by Roger II de Montgomery	Saint-Martin de Sées		X		Rogerii comitis
<i>Livre Blanc</i> , fol. 34r/42r	1068 x 1094	Gerard de Chenay	Saint-Martin de Sées			X	comitis Rogerii
Thompson, 'Cross-Channel Estates', no. 58, p. 263; <i>Livre Blanc</i> , fol. 67v/77v	1068 x 1094	Gunherius of Lurson, confirmed by Roger II de Montgomery	Saint-Martin de Sées		X	X	Rogerii comitis / comes Rogerius
<i>Regesta</i> , ed. Bates, no. 281 II (SCRIPTA 6588; ARTEM 2355)	1068 x 1094 (possible date of Roger II's grants)	Various, including Roger II (in early twelfth-century pancarte)	Troarn		X	X	Rogerus comes / [Rogerius] ex Northmannis Northmannus [magni autem Rogerii filius]
Du Motey, <i>Origines de la Normandie</i> , 288 n. 3	1068 x 1094	Gilbert son of unnamed bishop	Saint-Martin de Sées			X	Rogerus comes

Charter	Date and location	Benefactor	Beneficiary	T	S	M	Style
<i>Regesta</i> , ed. Bates, no. 256 (SCRIPTA 6569)	1068 x 1069 (Valognes)	King William I confirms grant by Nigel de Brévands	Saint-Gabriel-sur-Seulles, priory		X		Rogeri de Montegomerico
<i>Regesta</i> , ed. Bates, no. 185	1070 x 1078	King William I's writ	St Paul's cathedral, London	X			Rogero comite de Seropesbiria
<i>Regesta</i> , ed. Bates, no. 141 (SCRIPTA 6593)	c. 1070 x 1078	King William I confirms grant by Edward the Confessor	Fécamp		X		Roberti [sic] de Montegomerico
<i>Regesta</i> , ed. Bates, no. 149 (SCRIPTA 6501)	1070 x 1079 (date of pancarte)	King William I's pancarte	Fontenay		X		Rogerii de Montegeri comitis
<i>Regesta</i> , ed. Bates, no. 87	1070 x 1083 (Windsor)	King William I's writ	Canterbury, abbey of St Augustine	X			Rog(er)io comitibus
<i>Regesta</i> , ed. Bates, no. 213 (SCRIPTA 6539)	1070 x 1085	Robert count of Mortain	Mont-Saint-Michel		X		Rogeri de Monte Gomeri
<i>Regesta</i> , ed. Bates, no. 88	1070 x 1087 (Rouen)	King William I's writ	Canterbury, abbey of St Augustine			X	Rogerio comitibus
<i>Ctl. Saint-Vincent</i> , no. 589	1071 x 1076	Gradulf the canon, confirmed by Roger II de Montgomery, Mabel and others	Saint-Vincent du Mans			X	Rogerus
<i>Ctl. Marmoutier</i> , ed. Barret, no. 1 (SCRIPTA 81; ARTEM 5016)	1071 x 1077	Roger II de Montgomery and Mabel	Saint-Léonard de Bellême			X	Rogerus comes

Charter	Date and location	Benefactor	Beneficiary	T	S	M	Style
<i>Regesta</i> , ed. Bates, no. 29 (SCRIPTA 6456; ARTEM 1982)	1071 x 1079 (Rouen)	Plea between Roger II de Montgomery and Saint-Léonard de Bellême	Saint-Léonard de Bellême	X		X	comes Rogerius
Haskins, <i>Norman Institutions</i> , 21-22	1071 x 1082	Agreement between William I Paynel and Mont-Saint-Michel	Mont-Saint-Michel	X			Rogerus de Montegomerii
<i>Ctl. Saint-Vincent</i> , no. 628	1071 x 1094	Roger II de Montgomery and Mabel confirm grants by others	Saint-Vincent du Mans			X	Rogerus comes
<i>Ctl. Préaux</i> , ed. Rouet, p. 161	1072 x 1077	Beatrix sister of Gotmund, confirmed by Roger II de Montgomery and Mabel	Saint-Pierre de Préaux		X	X	Rogeri Gommeris / Rogerio Montis Gommeriensis
OV, iii. 154-58	1073 and 1074 (Bellême in 1074)	William Pantulf, confirmed by Roger II de Montgomery	Noron			X	Rogero comite / Rogerium comitem
<i>Regesta</i> , ed. Bates, no. 169 (SCRIPTA 6514)	1073 x 1078	King William I's writ	Le Mans cathedral	X			Rogeri comitis
<i>Regesta</i> , ed. Bates, no. 262 (SCRIPTA 6575)	1074 (Lillebonne)	Record of agreement between Saint-Wandrille and William of Évreux	Saint-Wandrille		X		Rogeri de Montgomeri
<i>Regesta</i> , ed. Bates, no. 26	1074 (Rouen)	King William I agrees to charter of Odo of Bayeux	Bayeux cathedral		X		Rogerus de Montgomerico
<i>Regesta</i> , ed. Bates, no. 27 (SCRIPTA 6454)	1074	King William I	Bayeux cathedral		X		Rogerus comes Salosberiensis

Charter	Date and location	Benefactor	Beneficiary	T	S	M	Style
<i>Regesta</i> , ed. Bates, no. 179a (SCRIPTA 6595)	1076 (Rouen)	King William I confirms grant by Fulk de Thiéville	Lisieux cathedral	X	X		comite Rogero de Monte Gomeri / Rogerii de Montegomeri
<i>Ctl. Saint-Vincent</i> , no. 587	1076	Roger II de Montgomery and Mabel confirm grant	Saint-Vincent du Mans			X	Rogerius comes
<i>Regesta</i> , ed. Bates, no. 46 (SCRIPTA 6459; ARTEM 1988)	1077 (Caen)	Roger II de Montgomery	Saint-Étienne de Caen		X	X	Rogeri comitis de Monte Gomerico
<i>Regesta</i> , ed. Bates, no. 174	1077 x 1078	King William I confirms grant by Hugh Viator	Saint-Vincent du Mans	X			Rogerio comite
<i>Regesta</i> , ed. Bates, no. 217 (SCRIPTA 6542)	1077 x 1081	King William I's confirmation charter	Saint-Léger de Préaux		X		Rogerii de Monte Gomerico
<i>Regesta</i> , ed. Bates, no. 271 (SCRIPTA 6583)	1077 x 1082	Roger II de Montgomery	Saint-Martin de Sées		X	X	Rogerii comitis / Rogerius vicecomes
Thompson, 'Cross-Channel Estates', no. 28, p. 246; <i>Livre Blanc</i> , fol. 61v/71v	1077 x 1089	Roger II de Montgomery confirms grant by Warin <i>de Mara</i>	Saint-Martin de Sées			X	Rogerio comite
Thompson, 'Cross-Channel Estates', no. 29, p. 247; <i>Livre Blanc</i> , fol. 25r/32r	1077 x 1089	Roger II de Montgomery confirms grants by John Burnet	Saint-Martin de Sées		X	X	Rogerii comitis / comes Rogerius

Charter	Date and location	Benefactor	Beneficiary	T	S	M	Style
Thompson, 'Cross-Channel Estates', no. 30, p. 248; <i>Livre Blanc</i> , fol. 30v/38v	1077 x 1089	Matscelinus, son of Fulk <i>de Fontanis</i> , confirmed by Roger II de Montgommery	Saint-Martin de Sées		X	X	Rogerii comitis / Rogerius comes
<i>Ctl. Saint-Vincent</i> , no. 621	1079 x 1080	Dispute between Saint-Vincent du Mans and William son of Norman <i>de Monte Raherii</i>	Saint-Vincent du Mans			X	comitem Rogerium
<i>Regesta</i> , ed. Bates, no. 57 (SCRIPTA 6470; ARTEM 2348)	1079 x 1083 (date of signa of pancarte)	Various	Saint-Étienne de Caen		X		Rogeri co + mitis de Monte Gomerico
<i>Regesta</i> , ed. Bates, no. 283 (SCRIPTA 6590; ARTEM 2341)	1079 x 1083 (Troarn)	Hugh, confirmed by Roger II de Montgommery	Troarn		X	X	Rogerii comitis / Rogerio comite
<i>Regesta</i> , ed. Bates, no. 282 (SCRIPTA 6589)	1079 x 1083	Herbert son of Geoffrey	Troarn		X	X	Rogerii comitis / Rogerii
<i>Regesta</i> , ed. Bates, no. 235 (SCRIPTA 6551)	1080	A plea at King William I's court	La Trinité-du-Mont de Rouen	X			Rogerus de Monte Gumeri
<i>Regesta</i> , ed. Bates, no. 175 II (SCRIPTA 6520)	1080 (confirmation charter) (Bonneville)	King William I's confirmation charter	Lessay		X		Rogerii comitis de Montgomeri

Charter	Date and location	Benefactor	Beneficiary	T	S	M	Style
<i>Regesta</i> , ed. Bates, no. 153	1080 (Berkeley)	King William I confirms grant by Walter de Lassy	Gloucester		X		Rog(er)ius comes de Seropesberiensis
<i>Regesta</i> , ed. Bates, no. 257 (SCRIPTA 6570)	1080	King William I confirms grant by Richard de Creully and his son Thurstan	Saint-Gabriel-sur-Seulles, priory		X		Rogerii comitis
<i>Regesta</i> , ed. Bates, no. 30 (SCRIPTA 6457; ARTEM 2841)	1080	King William I confirms a grant	Bernay	X			Rogero de Montegeri
<i>Regesta</i> , ed. Bates, no. 59 II (SCRIPTA 6472)	1080 x 1082 (date of confirmation charter)	King William I's confirmation charter	La Trinité de Caen		X		Rogerii comitis de Monte Gome + rico
<i>Regesta</i> , ed. Bates, no. 53 (SCRIPTA 6466)	1080 x 1083 (date of pancarte)	King William I's pancarte	Saint-Étienne de Caen		X		Rogeri(us) comes de Montegomerico
<i>Regesta</i> , ed. Bates, no. 269	1080 x 1083	King William I	Saint-Florent de Saumur		X		Rogeri de Montegomatici
<i>Regesta</i> , ed. Bates, no. 188	1080 x 1087	King William I's writ	St Paul's Cathedral, London	X			Rogero comite Salopesb(erie)
<i>Regesta</i> , ed. Bates, no. 255 (SCRIPTA 6568)	1081	King William I's confirmation charter, including grants by Roger II de Montgommery	Saint-Evrout		X	X	Consules Rogerius de Scrobesburia / Rogerius comes Scrobesburiae
<i>Regesta</i> , ed. Bates, no. 39	1081 (Winchester)	King William I's writ	Bury St Edmunds		X		Rocgerius comes

Charter	Date and location	Benefactor	Beneficiary	T	S	M	Style
<i>Regesta</i> , ed. Bates, no. 150	1081	King William I confirms some pre-Conquest grants	Ghent, abbey of Saint-Pierre au Mont-Blandin		X		Roger(ius) comes
<i>Regesta</i> , ed. Bates, no. 50 (SCRIPTA 6463; ARTEM 2336)	1081 x 1082	King William I	Saint-Étienne de Caen		X		Ro + geri comitis
<i>Regesta</i> , ed. Bates, no. 49 (SCRIPTA 6462; ARTEM 2337)	1081 x 1082 (date of pancarte)	King William I's pancarte	Saint-Étienne de Caen		X	X	Roge + ri comitis de Monte Gomerico / Rogerius de Monte Gomerico
<i>Regesta</i> , ed. Bates, no. 54 (SCRIPTA 6467; ARTEM 2343)	1081 x 1087	King William I's confirmation charter	Saint-Étienne de Caen		X		Rogerii + comitis de Monte Gomerico
<i>Regesta</i> , ed. Bates, no. 60 (SCRIPTA 6473)	1082	King William I and Matilda	La Trinité de Caen		X		Rogeri comitis de Monte Gomerii
<i>Regesta</i> , ed. Bates, no. 204	1082	Robert count of Mortain	Saint-Martin de Marmoutier, abbey		X		Rogerii comitis
<i>Regesta</i> , ed. Bates, no. 59 I (SCRIPTA 6472)	1082	King William I's confirmation charter	La Trinité de Caen		X		Rogerii comitis de Monte Gome + rico
<i>Regesta</i> , ed. Bates, no. 215 (SCRIPTA 6541)	1082	King William I's confirmation charter	Mortain, church of Saint-Evrout		X		comitis Rogeri

Charter	Date and location	Benefactor	Beneficiary	T	S	M	Style
<i>Regesta</i> , ed. Bates, no. 205 (SCRIPTA 6531)	1082 (Oissel)	King William I confirms grants by Robert count of Mortain and Robert's wife Matilda	Saint-Martin de Marmoutier, abbey		X		Rogerii comitis
<i>Regesta</i> , ed. Bates, no. 158 (SCRIPTA 6503)	Roger's confirmations by 1082 (date of royal confirmation charter); Roger's grants in 1082	Grestain's confirmation charter including religious patronage by Roger II de Montgommery	Grestain		X	X	Rogerus comes
<i>Ctl. Shrewsbury Abbey</i> , ed. Rees, p. 31-36; Thompson, 'Cross-Channel estates', no. 33, p. 249	1083 x 1086	Roger II de Montgommery	Shrewsbury, abbey			X	comite Rogerio
<i>Ctl. Shrewsbury Abbey</i> , ed. Rees, p. 33; Thompson, 'Cross-Channel Estates', no. 34, p. 250	1083 x 1086	Roger II de Montgommery	Siward <i>Grossus</i>			X	comes Rogerius
V. H. Galbraith, 'An Episcopal Land Grant of 1085', <i>EHR</i> , 44:175 (1929), 353-72, at 372.	1085	Robert, bishop of Hereford	Roger de Lassy	X			comes Rogerus

Charter	Date and location	Benefactor	Beneficiary	T	S	M	Style
<i>Regesta</i> , ed. Bates, no. 146 (SCRIPTA 6498)	1086 (Lacock)	Record of plea heard before King William I	Fécamp	X			Rog(er)us de Montgomerico
<i>Ctl. Shrewsbury Abbey</i> , ed. Rees, p. 33; Thompson, 'Cross-Channel Estates', no. 37, p. 251	c. 1086	King Henry I's confirmation charter recording Roger II de Montgomery's earlier confirmations	Shrewsbury abbey			X	comes Rogerius
OV, iii. 138-42	1086 x 1087 (Alençon)	Roger II de Montgomery	Saint-Evrout		X	X	Comes Rogerius / Rogerius dei gratia Scrobesburiensis comes
<i>Ctl. Shrewsbury Abbey</i> , ed. Rees, p. 34; Thompson, 'Cross-Channel Estates', no. 39, p. 252	1086 x 1094	Roger II de Montgomery confirms grants by various men	Shrewsbury abbey			X	comites...Rogerius...
<i>Calendar</i> , ed. Round, no. 578; Thompson, 'Cross-Channel Estates', no. 42, p. 254	1086 x 1094	Hubert Baldran's grant confirmed by Roger II de Montgomery	Saint-Pierre-sur-Dives			X	Rogerius Salaber comes
<i>Cartularium Monasterii de Rameseia</i> , eds. Hart and Lyons, i. 233 (<i>Regesta</i> , ed. Davis, no. 295)	1087	King William II's writ	Ramsey abbey	X			Rogero Comite

Charter	Date and location	Benefactor	Beneficiary	T	S	M	Style
<i>W2 Chichester Cathedral</i> , eds. D. Carpenter and N. Karn, p. 4-5. ¹	1087 x 1094	King William II's writ	Chichester			X	Rogero comiti
<i>Regesta</i> , ed. Bates, no. 207 (SCRIPTA 6533)	1087 x 1094	Record of grants by King William I and Robert count of Mortain	Saint-Martin de Marmoutier	X			Rogerus comes
Eyton, <i>Shropshire</i> , iii. 228; <i>Regesta</i> , ed. Davis, no. 358	1087 x 1094	Roger II de Montgomery	Sainte-Marie de La Charité-sur-Loire			X	Rogerus Salopesberiensis comes
<i>Monasticon</i> , vi. part 2, p. 1109; <i>Regesta</i> , ed. Davis, no. 353	1087 x 1094	Roger II de Montgomery	Sainte-Marie de Marcigny-sur-Loire		X	X	Rogerii comitis / Rogerus comes
Thompson, 'Cross-Channel Estates', no. 59, p. 264; <i>Livre Blanc</i> , fol. 67r/77r	1087 x 1094	Richard Paynel, confirmed by Roger II de Montgomery	Saint-Martin de Sées		X		Rogerii comitis
<i>Monasticon</i> , i. 173; <i>Regesta</i> , ed. Davis, no. 302	1088	King William II	St Andrew's, Rochester	X			Rogero comite Scropesbyriensi
<i>Regesta</i> , ed. Davis, no. 325, p. 131	1088 x 1091 (probably 1088)	King William II confirms grant by William de Warenne	St Pancras of Lewes		X		Rogeri comitis

¹ Published online at <https://actswilliam2henry1.wordpress.com/> in 2014.

Charter	Date and location	Benefactor	Beneficiary	T	S	M	Style
<i>Calendar</i> , ed. Round, no. 656 (<i>Livre Blanc</i> , fol. 99v/117v and 100v/118v)	1088 x 1094	Roger II de Montgomery	Saint-Martin de Sées		X	X	Rogerii comitis seroberiensis / Rogerius comes
Du Motey, <i>Robert II de Bellême</i> , p. 45	1089 (Almenêches)	Roger II de Montgomery's confirmation charter	Saint-Martin de Sées		X	X	Rogerii comitis / comes Rogerius
Eyton, <i>Shropshire</i> , i. 109	1089 x 1092	Roger II de Montgomery	Quatford			X	Roger the earl ²
<i>Monasticon</i> , vi. Part 3, p. 1294-95; <i>Regesta</i> , ed. Davis, no. 319	1091	Bishop Osmund	Salisbury cathedral		X		Rogeri comitis
<i>Historia dunelmensis scriptores tres</i> , ed. J. Raine (London, 1839), app. p. 22, no. 13; <i>Regesta</i> , ed. Davis, no. 318	1091	William, bishop of Durham	Saint-Cuthbert of Durham		X		Rogeri + comitis Scrobesberiensis
Thompson, 'Cross-Channel Estates', no. 52, p. 260; <i>Livre Blanc</i> , fols. 32v/40v and 45v/52v	1091	Roger II de Montgomery confirms grant by Gervase de Domfront	Saint-Martin de Sées		X	X	Rogerii comitis / Comes...Rogerius

² Eyton's translation from a lost manuscript.

Charter	Date and location	Benefactor	Beneficiary	T	S	M	Style
Thompson, 'Cross-Channel Estates', no. 63, p. 266; <i>Livre Blanc</i> , fol. 56v/65v	1091	Roger II de Montgomery confirms grant by William de Poëley, and William's son and daughter-in-law	Saint-Martin de Sées		X		Rogerii comitis
<i>Monasticon</i> , vi. Part 2, p. 1002; <i>Regesta</i> , ed. Davis, no. 320	c. 1091	King William II confirms grant by Walter Giffard	Bec		X		Rogerus de Montegomerici
<i>Monasticon</i> , vi. Part 3, p. 1270-71; <i>Regesta</i> , ed. Davis no. 328	1092	King William II's confirmation charter	Lincoln cathedral		X		Rogeri comitis de Monte Gomerico
Thompson, 'Cross-Channel Estates', no. 53, p. 261 (<i>Calendar</i> , ed. Round, no. 467; A. D. Calvados, H 7745, fol. 86v).	1092	Roger Tanetin, confirmed by Roger II de Montgomery	Troarn			X	
<i>Monasticon</i> , vi. Part 3, p. 1271; <i>Regesta</i> , ed. Davis no. 337	1093	King William II's writ	Lincoln cathedral			X	Rogero comiti

Charter	Date and location	Benefactor	Beneficiary	T	S	M	Style
H. H. E. Craster, 'A Contemporary Record of the Pontificate of Ranulf Flambard', <i>Archaeologia Aeliana</i> , 4th Series, 7 (1930), 33-56, at 36.	1093 (Gloucester)	King William II's writ	St Cuthbert of Durham	X			Rogero comite
<i>Cal. Chart. Rolls</i> , iii. 233; <i>Regesta</i> , ed. Davis, no. 361	1093 x 1094 (Winchester)	King William II's writ	Christ Church, Canterbury	X			Rogero de Monte Gomerico

It is notable that the vast majority of Roger's occurrences in the diplomatic records during King William I's reign are for continental beneficiaries.¹ Earl Roger is likely to have been in Normandy when King William confirmed a pancarte of Troarn in 1068. It has been suggested that the pancarte was prepared in anticipation of Roger's career as an important cross-Channel figure.² Roger was with William at Valognes sometime between Christmas 1068 and summer 1069. Probably between late 1068 and early 1069, King William travelled to Troarn to appoint Roger as protector of the nearby college of Saint-Martin d'Ecajeul.³ It was King William and not Roger who led the defence of the castle of Shrewsbury in early 1070.⁴ The collapse of Norman authority in Maine in 1069 probably necessitated Roger's presence in Normandy, for the security of his own lands and the duchy.

Besides his dealings with Shrewsbury Abbey (summarized in King Henry I's confirmation charter), Roger signed, witnessed or was mentioned in just ten charters for English beneficiaries possibly or certainly datable to King William I's reign – a figure which includes three royal charters in 1068. Only one document certainly datable to the 1070s indicates Roger's probable presence in England: a royal writ for St Paul's Cathedral, issued between 1070 and 1078. A royal writ for St Augustine's places him at Windsor between 1070 and 1083. It may be supposed that William's inclusion of Roger in the address clause of another writ for St Augustine's (issued at Rouen between 1070 and 1087) locates Roger in England too. These instances pale in comparison to the continental documents, of which there are fifteen certainly datable to the 1070s (of which fourteen concern continental land). This is broadly similar to King William's movements: though William spent most of 1070, 1071 and 1072 in

¹ For the charters referred to in this discussion, see Table 25.

² Bates, *William the Conqueror* (2016), 302.

³ *RADN*, no. 222 (SCRIPTA 1664).

⁴ *OV*, ii. 234.

England, he spent most of 1073, 1074 and 1075, and the whole time from 31 May 1076 to at least July 1080 on the continent.⁵

Some of the events which concerned Roger on the continent can be discerned in charters and chronicles. The lordship of Bellême passed to Roger and Mabel after the death of Bishop Ivo of Sées, probably on 12 April 1071.⁶ Roger held court there in 1074.⁷ King William's increased influence around Bellême after Ivo's death is evident sometime before 1079, when William judged a dispute between the canons of Saint-Léonard de Bellême and Roger on one side, and Robert, bishop of Sées, on the other.⁸

Mabel could have played a minor role in the administration of Roger's continental lands in her husband's absence. For example, a concession gained by the monks of Marmoutier at Roger's court was confirmed by Mabel at her own court between 1059 and 1077, presumably because Roger himself was detained elsewhere, possibly in England.⁹ However, on 2 December 1077, Mabel was murdered at Bures-sur-Dives by Hugh Bunel and three of his brothers, because she had seized Hugh's castle at Igé.¹⁰ Hugh was probably acting in defence of his honour, having seen his castle taken from him.¹¹ Sometime between Mabel's death and 1087, Roger married Adelaide du Puiset.¹² Adelaide's brother Hugh, vicomte of Chartres, was a follower of King Philip's rival, Count Theobald of Blois, which may explain why Hugh fought against Philip in 1078 and 1081.¹³ By marrying an enemy of Philip, Roger demonstrated that

⁵ *Regesta*, ed. Bates, introduction p. 79-81.

⁶ For the date of Ivo's death, see Allen, 'Norman Episcopate', i. 423-25.

⁷ OV, iii. 158; Louise, *Bellême*, i. 364.

⁸ *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 29 I (SCRIPTA 6456; ARTEM 1982); Louise, *Bellême*, i. 366-67; Bates, *William the Conqueror* (2016), 357.

⁹ B. N. ms. Lat. 12878, fol. 236v; Musset, 'Administration et justice', 138.

¹⁰ OV, iii. 134-36, 160. Igé, Orne, cant. Bellême. For the date, see J. F. A. Mason, 'The Norman Earls of Shrewsbury: Three Notes', *Transactions of the Shropshire Archaeological Society*, 57 (1961-64), 152-61, at 152-55.

¹¹ Bates, *William the Conqueror* (2016), 397-98.

¹² Louise, *Bellême*, ii. 160. For the marriage, see OV, iii. 138. Le Puiset, Eure-et-Loir, cant. Janville.

¹³ Notes by Stubbs in *Chronica magistri Rogeri de Houedene*, ed. W. Stubbs, 4 vols. (London, 1868-1871), iii. p. xxxiii note; A. de Dion, 'Le Puiset aux XI^e et XII^e siècles', *Mémoires de la Société archéologique d'Eure-et-*

his own loyalty to William was not compromised by the lordship of Bellême's historic links with the king of France. In 1078, along with William de Breteuil and Roger de Beaumont, Roger was entrusted with the task of supervising the appointment of Anselm to the abbacy of Le Bec.¹⁴

Robert II de Bellême appears with the toponymic of Bellême in original charters datable 1070 x 1079 and 1083, as well as a twelfth-century copy of a charter datable 1080 x 1083.¹⁵ It therefore seems likely that he began to assume greater influence over the lordship of Bellême after Mabel's death. However, we cannot demonstrate that his authority immediately eclipsed Roger's in the Bellémois, for Robert is not known to have held a court at Bellême until 1086,¹⁶ and he did not grant property near Bellême to any church without Roger's involvement until 1092.¹⁷ In 1086 or 1087, Roger was still able to confirm a vassal's grant of property at Saint-Jouin-de-Blavou to Saint-Evrout.¹⁸ Roger and Robert often acted jointly in Norman acts after Mabel's death, while Robert is absent from English acts during Roger's life, and only appears in royal acts which clearly involved his family. It has therefore been suggested that, instead of inheriting property directly from Mabel, Robert acted as Roger's agent in Normandy.¹⁹ The exact nature of Robert's influence in Normandy during Roger's lifetime is unknown, and there is a spectrum of possibilities: Robert could merely have been Roger's agent; he could have been allowed a share in the revenues from certain areas; or he could have been allowed full control of all or part of his inheritance early. The evidence does not permit certainty, but there

Loir, 9 (1889), 1-34, at 9, 14; A. Châtelain, *Châteaux-forts et féodalité en Ile-de-France du XI^e au XIII^e siècle* (Nonette, 1983), 17-18.

¹⁴ *De libertate Beccensis monasterii (On the Liberty of the Monastery of Bec)*, in *Three Treatises from Bec on the Nature of the Monastic Life*, ed. G. Constable and trans. B. S. Smith (Toronto, 2008), 135-67, at 138; Bates, *William the Conqueror* (2016), 411-12.

¹⁵ *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 29 I (SCRIPTA 6456; ARTEM 1982); *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 53 (SCRIPTA 6466); *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 64 (SCRIPTA 6477; ARTEM 2338).

¹⁶ *Jumièges*, ed. Vernier, i. no. 34, p. 110 (SCRIPTA 158; ARTEM 2719); Bauduin, 'Du bon usage de la *dos*', 452-54 (SCRIPTA 292).

¹⁷ *Recueil*, ed. Prou, nos. 128-29 (SCRIPTA 235-36).

¹⁸ OV, iii. 138-42. Saint-Jouin-de-Blavou, Orne, cant. Pervençhères.

¹⁹ Thompson, 'Cross-Channel Estates', 182-84; Thompson, 'Robert of Bellême Reconsidered', 268.

is enough evidence of Roger's continued interest in his continental estate to suggest that Roger remained its lord until he died.²⁰ It is likely that Robert's role increased as Roger paid more attention to England in the later years of his life, but it seems unlikely that Robert succeeded fully to Roger's estate before Roger's death.

This suggestion receives support from a writ sent by Roger to Robert between 1068 and 1094, in which Roger ordered Robert to protect a grant of property at Moulton to Saint-Martin de Sées by Gilbert, son of an unnamed bishop.²¹ The writ is probably an instance of intrafamilial cross-Channel administration of Roger's Norman lands, when he was in England. It demonstrates Roger's willingness to adapt an English type of document for his own needs in Normandy. He may even have been a pioneer in this respect, for King William is not known to have issued more than one writ for a Norman beneficiary, and may have issued none at all.²² A similar instance of possible cross-Channel administration has been observed in 1079 or 1080, when Roger instructed his *dapifer*, Robert de Poëley, to settle a dispute. Robert de Poëley convened a court at Lurson to resolve the issue, while Roger was elsewhere (presumably in England).²³ William fitz Osbern, too, issued a charter for a continental church, concerning continental property, whilst in England.²⁴

However, despite the trust Roger placed in him, Robert de Bellême joined Curthose's rebellion against King William, which lasted from late 1077 or early 1078 until 1080.²⁵ Perhaps Robert, like Curthose, was impatient for his Norman inheritance. Roger probably helped to defeat the rebels, for the body of King Philip's steward, Aimery de Villeray, against whom Roger 'had fought for many years', was flung in front of Roger's tents by William's forces.²⁶

²⁰ See below, p. 330.

²¹ Du Motey, *Origines de la Normandie*, 288 n. 3; Musset, 'Administration et justice', 141. For the property granted, see *Livre Blanc*, fol. 95r/112r; Allen, 'Norman Episcopate', ii. 471. Moulton, Calvados, cant. Bourguébus.

²² M. Hagger, 'The Earliest Norman Writs Revisited', (*BIHR*, 82 (2009), 181-205, at 185.

²³ *Ctl. Saint-Vincent*, eds. Charles and Menjot d'Elbenne, no. 621, Musset, 'Administration et justice', 132-33.

²⁴ Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, appendix p. 382-83, no. 13 (SCRIPTA 307), with Bauduin's notes.

²⁵ OV, ii. 358.

²⁶ OV, ii. 360.

Roger was among the barons involved with the reconciliation of William and Curthose in 1080.²⁷

Late in 1081, Roger de Montgomery and William count of Évreux helped to negotiate the truce between King William and Fulk Rechin.²⁸ Both Roger and William count of Évreux would have welcomed the truce, for their property on the southern frontier would have been endangered by Angevin dominance in Maine.²⁹

Roger was at the royal court at Berkeley in late 1080, Winchester in 1081, and Lacock in 1086. He witnessed a royal writ for St Paul's Cathedral between 1080 and 1087. In addition, he established Shrewsbury Abbey in 1083 (see below, p. 339). These instances suggest Roger was in England more regularly between 1080 and 1087 than in the 1070s, but there remains more evidence for continental activities. King William's prioritization of continental matters for most of his post-Conquest reign may have encouraged Roger to spend much of his time on the continent, in order to stay near William, although it is impossible to rule out undocumented spells in either polity. Overall, however, the balance of the charter evidence, combined with what is known from other sources, suggests that Roger spent more time on the continent than in England between 1066 and 1087.

Roger's career after the death of William the Conqueror

Upon hearing the news of King William I's death, Robert de Bellême immediately expelled the ducal garrisons from Alençon, Bellême and 'all his other castles'. This demonstrates Robert's responsibility for Roger's continental property by 1087.³⁰

²⁷ OV, iii. 110.

²⁸ OV, ii. 310.

²⁹ Bates, *William the Conqueror* (2016), 436.

³⁰ OV, iv. 112-14, 152.

Roger was a conspirator in the rebellion against Rufus in 1088. John of Worcester and William of Malmesbury indicate that Roger was behind the failed attack on Worcestershire by men of Shropshire. However, Roger's position was ambiguous, for William of Malmesbury puts him in Rufus's company during the attack on Worcestershire, and Orderic believes he accompanied Rufus to Rochester but secretly helped the rebels there. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and William of Malmesbury state that three of Roger's sons were among the rebels at Rochester, and Orderic and John identify one of them as Robert de Bellême. William of Malmesbury adds that Rufus only acquired Roger's support after Bishop Wulfstan's victory at Worcester.³¹ Roger's behaviour in 1088 thus demonstrates how difficult it could be for rulers and cross-Channel nobles to maintain relationships with each other when the rulers of Normandy and England were in conflict.³²

Among the conspirators, Roger, Count Robert of Mortain, Bishop Odo and Bishop Geoffrey have been termed 'the "old guard" of the Norman Conquest'.³³ They must have been among the nobles required to recognize Curthose as Duke William's heir to Normandy by 1063, which perhaps influenced their choices when seeking a single cross-Channel lord in 1088. Count Robert of Mortain was a natural ally, since he had married Roger's daughter, Matilda, and the marriage alliance was consolidated further by Roger's patronage of Grestain before and after Matilda's death in 1082.³⁴ Given the rarity of the name Almodis, it is even possible that Count Robert of Mortain's second wife, Almodis, was a daughter of Roger the Poitevin and Almodis of La Marche.³⁵ If so, then Robert's second marriage would have cemented the alliance still further after Matilda's death. A pre-existing relationship between

³¹ For Roger's activities in 1088, see ASC, 173-74; *Gesta Regum*, eds. Mynors, Thomson and Winterbottom, i. 544-46; OV, iv. 124-28; *John of Worcester*, eds. Darlington and McGurk, trans. Bray and McGurk, iii. 48-54.

³² Strickland, 'Against the Lord's Anointed', 75-77.

³³ Bates, *William the Conqueror* (2004), 271.

³⁴ For the marriage, see OV, iii. 138; Louise, *Bellême*, ii. 165 and n. 428. For Roger's grants to Grestain, see below, p. 344 and 347.

³⁵ K. Thompson, 'Family History and the Study of the Anglo-Norman Aristocracy (1066-1204)', in *Le médiéviste et la monographie familiale: sources, méthodes et problématiques*, ed. M. Aurell (Turnhout, 2004), 23-35, at 28.

Roger and Odo can be perceived in Odo's patronage of Troarn (once by 1068, and again at an unknown date).³⁶

Roger was probably with the king when Rufus issued a charter for Lewes, probably shortly before or during the siege of Rochester.³⁷ He also witnessed one of Rufus's first acts after the rebellion was over.³⁸ Roger's turn against Curthose was completed in August 1088, when the duke had Robert de Bellême imprisoned at Neuilly-l'Évêque. Roger subsequently fortified his Norman castles against the duke. After Curthose captured the castle of Saint-Céneri, he gave it to Robert II Giroie. He then made peace with the Montgommerys.³⁹ Their reconciliation is evident in Curthose's confirmation of Roger's charter for Saint-Martin de Sées in 1089.⁴⁰ In the same year, Robert de Bellême acted as Duke Robert's counsellor.⁴¹

By 1091, Roger was back at Rufus's court in England.⁴² John of Worcester states that Roger died shortly after William Rufus and King Malcolm met in August 1093.⁴³ Royal writs show that he lived at least until December 1093.⁴⁴ Orderic tells us Roger became a monk at Shrewsbury Abbey and died three days afterwards, on a 27 July – probably in 1094. He was then buried at Shrewsbury. Orderic adds that Roger's estate in Normandy passed to his eldest son Robert de Bellême, while that in Shropshire passed to Hugh.⁴⁵ Hugh's religious patronage indicates that he succeeded Roger in Sussex too.⁴⁶

³⁶ *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 280 (SCRIPTA 6587); B.N. ms. Lat. 10086, fol. 52r.

³⁷ *Regesta*, ed. Davis, no. 325; R. Sharpe, '1088 – William II and the Rebels', *ANS*, 26 (2004), 139-57, at 154.

³⁸ *Monasticon*, i. 173 (*Regesta*, ed. Davis, no. 302); Sharpe, 'William II and the Rebels', 148-49.

³⁹ *OV*, iv. 148-58.

⁴⁰ Du Motey, *Robert II de Bellême*, 45.

⁴¹ K. Thompson, 'Bellême, Robert de, earl of Shrewsbury and count of Ponthieu (*bap. c.1057, d. in or after 1130*)', *ODNB* (2004).

⁴² *Regesta*, ed. Davis, nos. 318-20 (see Table 25).

⁴³ *John of Worcester*, eds. Darlington and McGurk, trans. Bray and McGurk, iii. 64-66.

⁴⁴ *Monasticon*, vi. Part 3, p. 1271 (*Regesta*, ed. Davis, no. 337); Craster, 'Ranulf Flambard', 36.

⁴⁵ *OV*, iii. 148-50; iv. 302.

⁴⁶ *H1 Chichester Cathedral*, eds. D. Carpenter and N. Karn (2014, accessed at <https://actswilliam2henry1.wordpress.com>), p. 9-10 (*Regesta*, eds. Johnson and Cronne, no. 617).

Roger had remained involved with his continental lands until his death in 1094.⁴⁷ He continued to issue charters concerning the continental property of his Norman foundations during Rufus's reign – there was one for Saint-Martin de Sées issued at Almenêches in 1089, two more for Sées in 1091, and one for Troarn in 1092. Roger also signed an agreement between Richard Paynel and Saint-Martin de Sées between 1087 and 1094. A record of a grant King William I and Count Robert of Mortain made to Marmoutier (in 1082 or 1083) was probably witnessed by Roger between 1087 and 1094, in Normandy.⁴⁸ We can therefore find Roger in Normandy perhaps five or six times in the diplomatic record after King William I's death. To these five or six occurrences should be added his activities in Normandy against Curthose in 1088. It is also possible that some of the continental charters datable to either side of 1087 were issued in Rufus's reign.

It is nonetheless noticeable that Roger appears more often in charters for English beneficiaries in William Rufus's reign than in King William I's. He signed, witnessed or was mentioned in eleven such charters or writs definitely datable to Rufus's reign (including one for his own foundation at Quatford). Rufus's charters which Roger witnessed or signed for continental beneficiaries concerned property in England, and so did the charters Roger issued for La Charité-sur-Loire and Marcigny-sur-Loire. The only certainly post-1087 charters Roger issued, signed or witnessed for continental beneficiaries concerning continental property were for his own foundations of Troarn and Saint-Martin de Sées, though this observation is subject to the dates of charters for Nogent-Rotrou (1068 x 1094) and Saint-Vincent du Mans (1071 x 1094). Robert de Bellême appears to have been delegated the task of representing his family's interests in private wars in Normandy in the early 1090s.⁴⁹ On balance, although Roger

⁴⁷ The charters referred to in the following discussion can be found in Table 25.

⁴⁸ *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 207 (SCRIPTA 6533), and notes by Bates.

⁴⁹ For Robert's wars, see Thompson, 'Bellême, Robert de', *ODNB*.

continued to protect his family's continental interests after 1087, he seems to have preferred to spend time in England.⁵⁰ He can be found at Gloucester and Winchester in his last two years.

Roger II de Montgomery's estate in England

Now that Roger's post-Conquest movements and political activities have been sketched, it is necessary to provide more detail on the circumstances in which Roger operated in England. Of particular interest are Roger's English estate and his foundations of English churches.

Roger's vast English estate reflects his position as one of Duke William's closest associates by 1066. His lands were in two main concentrations: in the rape of Arundel in Sussex, and in Shropshire. He also had clusters of additional property in neighbouring shires, as well as in Cambridgeshire and Middlesex (see Figure 34). There is good reason to believe that Roger's Sussex property originally consisted of west Sussex until the River Adur, and that William de Briouze's rape of Bramber was a later creation made partly at Roger's expense (by 1073).⁵¹

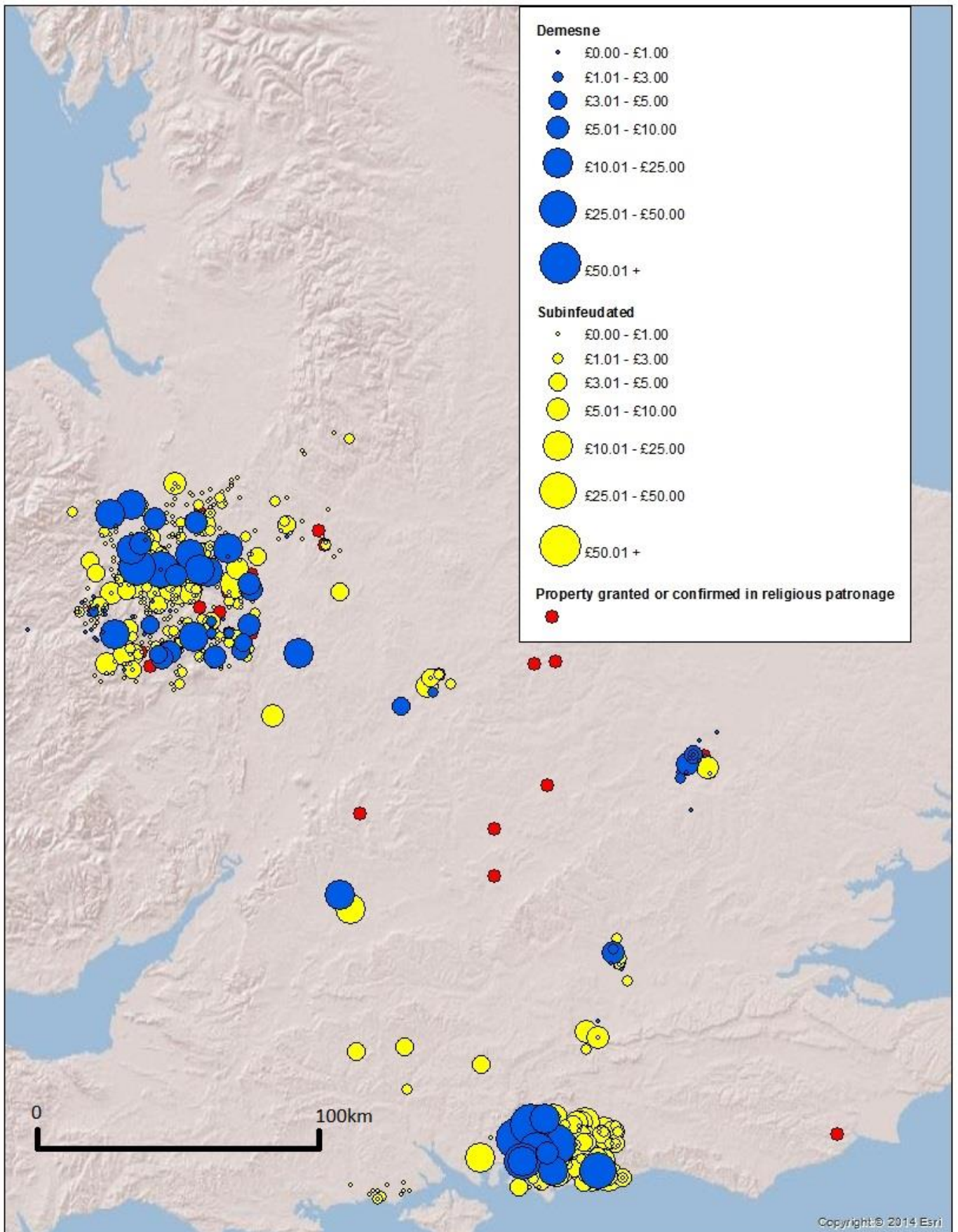
It is not possible to identify manors Roger held as a subtenant, for in 1102 Robert de Bellême forfeited his whole English estate.⁵² The later descents of subtenancies held by unidentified Rogers (worth at least £7) do not provide reasons to suspect that they had belonged to Roger II de Montgomery in 1086.

⁵⁰ A gradual shift towards England was posited by Thompson, 'Cross-Channel Estates', 184; Thompson, 'Robert of Bellême Reconsidered', 268.

⁵¹ Mason, 'Rapes of Sussex', 68-69, 77-91; Thorn, 'Hundreds and Wapentakes', 30, 32.

⁵² OV, vi. 20-30.

Figure 34: Earl Roger's estate in England



It is likeliest that King William granted the rape of Arundel to Roger between December 1067 and 1068, when he is said (in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle) to have given away every man's land.⁵³ Before late 1070, William fitz Osbern gave Roger a huge manor at Chalton in Hampshire (worth £116), most likely to complement Roger's property in Sussex.⁵⁴

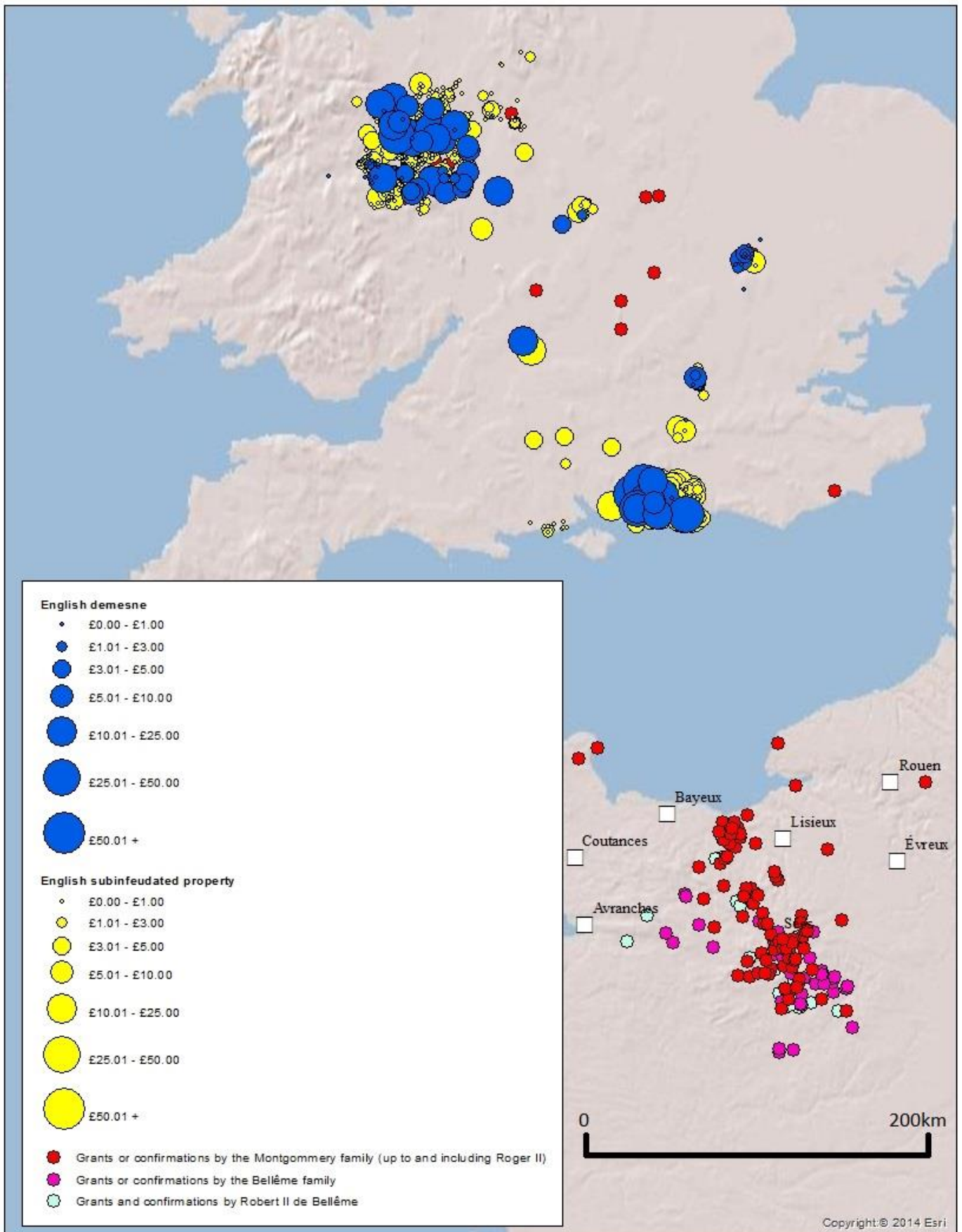
Roger's rape was located under 180 kilometres from his property on the rivers Orne and Dives. Like Robert count of Eu, his strength on the Norman coast south of Sussex probably influenced his receipt of a rape in Sussex (see Figure 35). It is also striking that Roger's property on both coasts lay along a line of best fit which can be drawn from Bellême to Shropshire. Roger's band of continental property made the mouths of the rivers Orne and Dives easily accessible from Bellême. From the rivers Orne and Dives, Roger's rape of Arundel lay on the nearest part of the English coast. The journey from Arundel to Shropshire was made easier by the opportunity to rest at his demesne manor at Poulton in Wiltshire.⁵⁵ This raises the possibility that King William consciously extended Roger's corridor of influence from Normandy to England and the Welsh frontier.

⁵³ Mason, 'Rapes of Sussex', 76.

⁵⁴ GDB 44v (Hampshire 21:6-7); Mason, 'Rapes of Sussex', 76.

⁵⁵ GDB 68v (Wiltshire 21:3).

Figure 35: Earl Roger's property in England and on the continent.⁵⁶



The duration between Roger's establishment in Sussex and in Shropshire is uncertain. It is often supposed that the grant in Shropshire occurred after the fall of Eadwine, earl of Mercia, in 1071,⁵⁷ for Roger succeeded to one hundred and forty-two of Eadwine's manors, including many in Shropshire.⁵⁸ However, it is possible that Roger received some of Eadwine's lands in Shropshire by May 1068, for two copies of royal charters issued in England – one in May 1068, and another in *c.* 1068 – identify Roger as *comes* and *dux* respectively. This may help to explain why Eadwine rebelled in 1068, and again in 1070.⁵⁹ 1071 is merely the latest date for Roger's entrée into Shropshire.

Domesday Book emphasizes Roger's near-monopoly over land and authority in Shropshire, stating that he held from the king the city of Shrewsbury, the whole *comitatus* and King Edward's former demesne there, and the pleas of the *comitatus*.⁶⁰ He was so powerful in Shropshire that he entertained pretensions of independence by allowing himself to be called *Rogerus dei gratia Scrobesburiensis comes* in his charter for Saint-Evrout.⁶¹ Roger was afforded such dominance because William needed to delegate this strategically important shire to somebody whose loyalty was beyond question. The defensive importance of the shires bordering Wales would have been immediately apparent to Roger, for in the summer before he arrived in England, Eadric 'the Wild' and his Welsh allies had attacked Hereford.⁶² Earls

⁵⁶ For continental property of the Montgommerys up to 1094, see Table 24, Table 25, references to Figure 31, Figure 32, and Figure 33, and section beginning on p. 343. For additional property held by the Bellêmes, see Thompson, 'Family and Influence', 216, 218, 222-25; *RADN*, no. 117 (SCRIPTA 1561); Allen, 'Norman Episcopate', ii. p. 720-30, nos. 76-79; also see references to Figure 30. For additional grants by Robert de Bellême, see *Livre Blanc*, fols. 8r-v/14r-v, 57r/67r, 60r/70r, 90v/106v, 95r/112r; Thompson, 'Cross-Channel Estates', nos. 36, 78 (*Livre Blanc*, fols. 63v/73v, 62r/72r); Thompson, 'Cross-Channel Estates', no. 81 (A. D. Calvados, H 7745, fol. 61r); B. N. ms. Lat. 10086, fol. 83v-84r; *Ctl. Marmoutier*, ed. Barret, no. 15 (SCRIPTA 90; ARTEM 1983); *Ctl. Marmoutier*, ed. Barret, no. 17 (SCRIPTA 91; ARTEM 1994); *Pontieu*, ed. Brunel, no. 15 (SCRIPTA 3156); *Ctl. Saint-Aubin*, ed. de Broussillon, ii. no. 631; also see below and above, p. 325 n. 17, p. 350 n. 9, p. 356 n. 5.

⁵⁷ Mason, 'Roger de Montgomery and his Sons', 3-4.

⁵⁸ For this statistic, see Baxter, *Earls of Mercia*, 290.

⁵⁹ *Regesta*, ed. Bates, nos. 181, 345(I); Lewis, 'Early Earls', 219-20; Baxter, *Earls of Mercia*, 284-86.

⁶⁰ GDB 254r (Shropshire 4:1:37).

⁶¹ OV, iii. 138-42. For the significance of this style, see D. Crouch, 'Robert of Beaumont, Count of Meulan and Leicester: his Lands, his Acts, and his Self-Image', *HSJ*, 17 (2007), 91-116, at 96-97. For a rebellious example, see Hagger, *William: King and Conqueror*, 63.

⁶² ASC, 151; *John of Worcester*, eds. Darlington and McGurk, trans. Bray and McGurk, iii. 4.

Eadwine and Morcar enlisted Welsh help for their rebellion in the Midlands in summer 1068.⁶³

Sometime in 1069, rebellion occurred in Shropshire itself.⁶⁴

Table 26: Earl Roger's estate in England

Shire	Held as tenant-in-chief		Held in demesne		Let to subtenants	
	Estates	£	Estates	£	Estates	£
Cambridgeshire	12.00	29.64	10.00	23.39	2.00	6.25
Cheshire	1.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Gloucestershire	1.00	3.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	3.00
Hampshire	25.00	167.55	1.00	116.00	24.00	51.55
Hertfordshire	1.00	0.25	1.00	0.25	0.00	0.00
Middlesex	8.00	24.75	4.00	12.25	4.00	12.50
Shropshire	397.00	709.36	49.00	299.89	348.00	409.47
Staffordshire	33.00	65.75	4.00	19.00	29.00	46.75
Surrey	4.00	21.75	1.00	0.75	3.00	21.00
Sussex	116.00	998.71	9.00	444.00	107.00	554.71
Warwickshire	11.00	33.00	2.00	7.00	9.00	26.00
Wiltshire	3.00	31.50	1.00	16.00	2.00	15.50
Worcestershire	2.00	21.00	1.00	15.00	1.00	6.00
Total	614.00	2106.26	84.00	953.53	530.00	1152.73

Just ten manors in Sussex and Hampshire constituted 59% of the value of Roger's demesne (see Table 26). In Hampshire he kept in demesne Chalton, which rendered to him £110 and one mark of gold at farm, and the majority of Boarhunt, which was also at farm.⁶⁵ He kept his six most valuable manors in Sussex.⁶⁶ Roger's demesne in Sussex benefited from a hidage commensurate with values which fell after 1066 (despite subsequent rises in value by 1086). The same beneficial hidation was not afforded to his subtenants.⁶⁷ A further 31% of Roger's demesne was spread quite evenly across Shropshire, where he kept his seven most valuable manors and twelve of his most valuable fourteen.⁶⁸ The significant reduction in

⁶³ OV, ii. 214-16.

⁶⁴ OV, ii. 228.

⁶⁵ GDB 44v (Hampshire 21:1,6).

⁶⁶ GDB 23r-24v (Sussex 11:2,3,6,30,37,59).

⁶⁷ S. J. P. Harvey, 'Taxation and the Economy', in *Domesday Studies: Papers Read at the Novocentenary Conference of the Royal Historical Society and the Institute of British Geographers, Winchester, 1986*, ed. J. C. Holt (Woodbridge, 1987), 249-64, at 259; Harvey, 'Domesday England', in *The Agrarian History of England and Wales*, vol. 2, ed. H. E. Hallam (Cambridge, 1988), 45-138, at 116.

⁶⁸ GDB 252r, 253-254r (Shropshire C:12, 4:1:1, 4:1:12, 4:1:14, 4:1:16-17, 4:1:19, 4:1:21-23, 4:1:26, 4:1:30).

Shropshire's hidage by 1086 was perhaps intended to compensate Roger for the dangers of the frontier.⁶⁹ His retention of property in the far west of Shropshire, at Montgomery and Chirbury, indicates his willingness to take responsibility for the Welsh frontier (in contrast to Ralph de Tosny, who farmed out his property at Clifford Castle).⁷⁰ The evidence for Roger's activities in Wales itself is scant, but he constructed castles at Hen Domen and perhaps Dingeraint.⁷¹ Roger is not known to have led any raids, but Welsh sources show that the Welsh frontier presented exciting opportunities for his son, Hugh.⁷²

Domesday Book shows that Earl Roger's property in England would have been complemented by his son Roger the Poitevin's considerable estate, worth almost £323 in nine shires, though surely not for long before 1086, when Roger the Poitevin was probably in his early twenties.⁷³ Roger the Poitevin's fief was in three main concentrations: in Cheshire/modern Lancashire, Lincolnshire, and Suffolk. His castle at Penwortham was strategically important for England's security, for it defended a part of the Ribble which was vulnerable to invaders from Scotland.⁷⁴ However, in 1086, for unknown reasons, Roger the Poitevin was losing his property in Cheshire/Lancashire, Derbyshire and Norfolk, and was

⁶⁹ Thompson, 'Cross-Channel Estates', 110-12.

⁷⁰ Mason, 'Aspects of Subinfeudation', 163-64; Lewis, 'English and Norman Government', 237 and map 32.

⁷¹ *Brut y Tywysogyon or The Chronicle of the Princes, Penarth MS. 20 Version*, ed. T. Jones (Cardiff, 1952), 19, 24, 34; GDB 254r (Shropshire 4:1:35); Thompson, 'Cross-Channel Estates', 113; H. C. Darby, 'The Marches of Wales in 1086', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, New Series, 11:3 (1986), 259-78, at 268. For the motte and bailey at Hen Domen, see R. Higham and P. Barker, *Hen Domen, Montgomery: a Timber Castle on the English-Welsh Border: a Final Report* (Exeter, 2000), 11-12. For Dingeraint, see J. E. Lloyd, *A History of Wales, from the Earliest Times to the Edwardian Conquest*, 2 vols. (New York, NY, 1948), ii. 400-01; Mason, 'Roger de Montgomery and his Sons', 13.

⁷² J. E. Lloyd, 'Wales and the Coming of the Normans (1039-1093)', *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion*, 8 (1901), 122-79, at 172-73; *The History of Gruffydd ap Cynan*, ed. A. Jones (Manchester, 1910), 131.

⁷³ GDB 39v (Hampshire 1:46), 262v (Cheshire C25), 269v (Cheshire R1:1-45), 273v (Derbyshire 5:1-5), 290r (Nottinghamshire 16:1-12), 332r (Yorkshire 30W:1-40), 352r-v (Lincolnshire 16:1-50); LDB 89r-v (Essex 46:1-3), 106v (Essex B3f), 243r-244v (Norfolk 26:1-6), 346r-353r (Suffolk 8:1-82).

⁷⁴ Mason, 'Montgomery, Roger de' *ODNB*.

gaining property in Yorkshire.⁷⁵ Also in 1086, Earl Roger's son Hugh held Worfield (worth £18 in Staffordshire) as a tenant-in-chief, and five houses belonging to Worfield in Stafford.⁷⁶

Younger sons of the Norman aristocracy benefited from the Conquest of England partly because eldest sons in Normandy were establishing increasingly strong claims upon land which their fathers had already inherited.⁷⁷ It was necessary to provide for younger sons some other way – often by allowing them to inherit lands which their fathers had acquired instead of inherited, or by allowing younger sons to acquire land for themselves. England was an obvious source of acquisitions in 1066, which explains why so many younger sons became wealthy there, either by inheriting their father's English acquisitions, or by acquiring estates in their own right.⁷⁸ That Hugh and Roger the Poitevin had property in England in 1086, but Robert de Bellême did not, shows that England was a rich source of acquisitions which provided for Roger II's younger sons. Worfield and Stafford were in the midst of Roger II's property, as if it was anticipated that Hugh would cooperate with his father. It seems likely that Hugh's English estate was so much smaller than his younger brother Roger the Poitevin's before 1086 because Hugh was already expected to inherit Roger II's property in England.

Roger II de Montgomery's patronage of religious houses in England

In England as in Normandy, Roger sought to consolidate his local authority by founding churches. By 1086, he converted the minster of secular clerks at Much Wenlock into a Cluniac

⁷⁵ V. H. Galbraith, *The Making of Domesday Book* (Oxford and New York, NY, 1961), 187-88; Thompson, 'Cross-Channel Estates', 150-54.

⁷⁶ GDB 246r (Staffordshire B5), 248v (Staffordshire 9:1).

⁷⁷ See above, p. 32.

⁷⁸ For constraints upon the descent and alienability of inherited land, and the contrasting alienability of acquired land, see Holt, 'Politics and Property', in his *Colonial England*, 118-25, 146-47; Holt, 'Notions of Patrimony', in his *Colonial England*, 213-16; Tabuteau, *Transfers of Property*, 101-02; Tabuteau, 'Role of Law', 154-68.

priory dependent on La Charité-sur-Loire.⁷⁹ A late copy of a lost charter details Roger's grant of the priory to La Charité.⁸⁰ Though Wenlock's cartulary is lost, its property is recorded in Domesday Book.⁸¹

Much Wenlock was a relatively minor concern for Roger, who was mostly confirming its pre-Conquest property.⁸² It is credible that Roger, like Leofric, earl of Mercia (d. 1057) before him, was trying to demonstrate his legitimacy and his commitment to fostering the religious culture he found in a new region, by displaying respect for the royal Mercian cult associated with Wenlock.⁸³ The same motives could explain the refoundation of the church of St Werburgh at Chester by Hugh d'Avranches in 1092. However, it is notable that Roger chose a continental mother house. La Charité's influence in Normandy is reflected in its priory founded at Longueville (near Dieppe) around 1080.⁸⁴ Roger was perhaps inspired by William de Warenne's priory of Lewes,⁸⁵ and perhaps by the admission of King William into the confraternity of Cluny in 1074 or 1075.⁸⁶

On 25 February 1083, Roger announced his plans for an abbey at Shrewsbury.⁸⁷ Domesday Book records the abbey's properties at Shrewsbury, Eyton, Emstrey and Boreton, but it mentions his act of founding the abbey in the present tense, implying that the foundation was not yet complete.⁸⁸ This suggests that Shrewsbury Abbey was founded after Much

⁷⁹ GDB 252v (Shropshire 3c:1); *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum by William of Malmesbury*, eds. M. Winterbottom and R. M. Thomson, 2 vols. (Oxford, 2007), i. 464; *John of Worcester*, eds. Darlington and McGurk, trans. Bray and McGurk, ii. 322. Domesday Book mistakenly refers to Much Wenlock as an abbey.

⁸⁰ Eyton, *Shropshire*, iii. 228-29.

⁸¹ GDB 252v (Shropshire 3c).

⁸² Chibnall, 'Ecclesiastical Patronage', 114.

⁸³ For Wenlock and St Werburgh, see Baxter, *Earls of Mercia*, 179-80.

⁸⁴ R. Graham, 'The History of the Alien Priory of Wenlock', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 3rd series, 4 (1939), 117-40, at 119.

⁸⁵ Cownie, 'Conquest, Lordship and Religious Patronage', 115.

⁸⁶ Bates, *William the Conqueror* (2016), 371.

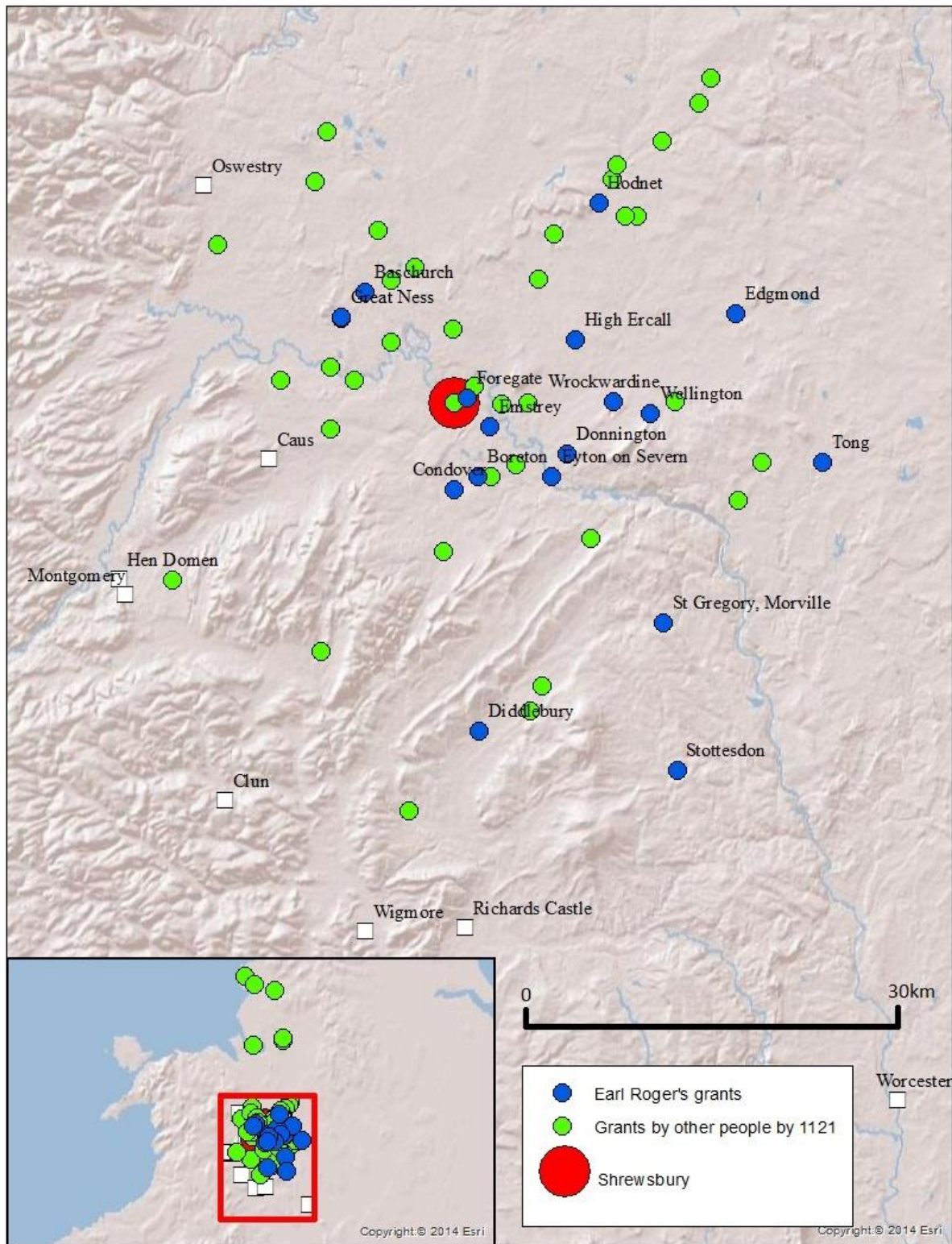
⁸⁷ OV, iii. 142-48. For the date, see *Complete Peerage*, xi. 686.

⁸⁸ GDB 252v (Shropshire 3b:1): *In Sciropesberie Ciuitate facit Rogerius comes abbatiam*.

Wenlock. More grants by Roger are described in a confirmation charter of King Henry I, datable 1121 (see Figure 36).⁸⁹

⁸⁹ *Ctl. Shrewsbury Abbey*, ed. Rees, 31-36.

Figure 36: The endowment of Shrewsbury Abbey by Earl Roger and others by 1121.⁹⁰



⁹⁰ *Ctl. Shrewsbury Abbey*, ed. Rees, 31-36. The six places in Lancashire were granted after 1094 by Roger the Poitevin and Roger the Poitevin's *vicecomes*, Godfrey.

Roger's grants were limited to Shropshire. Much of this property had been held before 1066 by Edward the Confessor. Roger's grants therefore emphasize how King William had allowed him royal rights in Shropshire.⁹¹ Besides King William's abbey at Battle, Roger's decision to found an independent Benedictine abbey in England was paralleled only by his neighbour Hugh d'Avranches, earl of Chester (in 1092).⁹²

Roger's abbey offered an opportunity for his subtenants to recognize his authority in the region, and to express solidarity within his honour. Among the earliest to do so were Warin and Reynold, successively Roger's *vicecomites* in Shropshire, Roger de Lassy, and an Englishman named Alchere. By 1094, Shrewsbury was patronized by many more of Roger's subtenants. In fact, all the grants to Shrewsbury by 1121 were in Shropshire, except for six places in Lancashire, granted after 1094 by Roger the Poitevin and Roger the Poitevin's *vicecomes*, Godfrey.⁹³ The abbey's property in Shropshire had been held in 1086 by Roger II or his subtenants. This suggests that the abbey was an honorial foundation designed to reinforce his dominance locally. In fact, Roger's links with all of the abbey's Shropshire property indicates that its benefactors, many of whom were solely his men, might not have had much choice in the matter.

Between 1085 and 1092, Roger and Adelaide founded a collegiate church at Quatford in Shropshire, endowed with property in Shropshire and Staffordshire (according to a nineteenth-century edition of a lost charter).⁹⁴ Roger's attempt to found a town and perhaps a market at Quatford was probably supposed to increase his local dominance.⁹⁵ He also built a collegiate chapel in the castle at Shrewsbury, which held two manors in 1086.⁹⁶ In Sussex, he founded a

⁹¹ Lewis, 'Introduction to the Shropshire Domesday', 21.

⁹² Green, *Aristocracy of Norman England*, 399.

⁹³ *Ctl. Shrewsbury Abbey*, ed. Rees, 31-36.

⁹⁴ Eyton, *Shropshire*, i. 109.

⁹⁵ GDB 254r (Shropshire 4:1:32); Mason, 'Roger de Montgomery and his Sons', 11.

⁹⁶ GDB 252v (Shropshire 3e:1-2); Chibnall, 'Ecclesiastical Patronage', 112.

priory of Saint-Martin de Sées at Arundel, in order to help administer Saint-Martin's Sussex property.⁹⁷

Roger II de Montgommery's patronage of continental religious houses

Roger's religious patronage was not limited to his own foundations. Before and after 1066, Roger spread his influence by establishing links with several continental monasteries. Analysis of Roger's religious patronage shows that much of it was intended to reinforce relationships with the duke or other nobles. He also wished to consolidate his influence in the lordship of Bellême. His patronage also reveals something of his attitude towards his English land.

Roger's career as a religious benefactor began at least as early as the 1040s, when he confirmed a grant to Jumièges.⁹⁸ By patronizing a ducal abbey, he must have hoped to strengthen his relationship with Duke William. Roger's grant of Geoffrey de Vitreville's part of Vitreville to Montivilliers between 1046 and 1066 was probably inspired by Geoffrey's brother's grant of his own part.⁹⁹ Roger's grants at Trun and the wood of Auge to Saint-Étienne de Caen (between 1063 and 1066 and in 1077) was a show of support for William the Conqueror.¹⁰⁰ A desire to obtain religious blessing for the Conquest of England can be inferred from Roger's quit-claim to La Trinité-du-Mont, made just as William was about to cross the sea in 1066.¹⁰¹ William's links with Marmoutier probably influenced Roger's grant of exemption from tax on Roger's continental property between 1067 and 1077.¹⁰² The charter recording the grant Earl Roger and William fitz Osbern made to Saint-Pierre de Préaux between

⁹⁷ *Calendar of Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, vol. 4 (London, 1902), 239. Also see GDB 23r (Sussex 11:2, 11:6).

⁹⁸ *RADN*, no. 113 (SCRIPTA 1557; ARTEM 2698).

⁹⁹ *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 212 (SCRIPTA 6538). Vitreville, Seine-Maritime, cant. Criquetot-l'Esneval, comm. Saint-Jouin-Bruneval.

¹⁰⁰ *RADN*, no. 223 (*Caen*, ed. Musset, no. 1; SCRIPTA 1665; ARTEM 1976); *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 46 (SCRIPTA 6459; ARTEM 1988).

¹⁰¹ *RADN*, no. 233 (SCRIPTA 1675); Strickland, *War and Chivalry*, 60.

¹⁰² B. N. ms. Lat. 12878, fol. 236v.

1050 and 1071 states that it was intended to lift their excommunication, which they earned for raiding Préaux's lands.¹⁰³ It would also have improved Roger's relationship with Roger de Beaumont, who patronized Troarn by 1068.¹⁰⁴ Earl Roger's confirmation of a vassal's grant to Préaux between 1072 and 1077 would have reinforced his links with Roger de Beaumont.¹⁰⁵ Roger's bond with his son-in-law, Count Robert of Mortain, must have been strengthened when he confirmed grants by various men to Robert's father's foundation at Grestain, sometime between 1063 and 1082.¹⁰⁶ Earl Roger's grants to Saint-Léonard de Bellême between 1071 and 1077 was probably intended to assert his authority as lord of Bellême after the death of Bishop Ivo.¹⁰⁷ Roger's confirmations of grants south-west of Bellême to Saint-Vincent du Mans shows that he maintained an active interest in the southernmost property he acquired through Mabel, at least until Robert de Bellême was allowed a greater role in the Bellêmois after Mabel's death.¹⁰⁸ Roger's Norman and English grants to Saint-Evrault in 1086 or 1087 were probably inspired by his second wife Adelaide, for Orderic noted that she encouraged Roger to befriend monks.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰³ *Ctl. Préaux*, ed. Rouet, p. 151 (SCRIPTA 6075).

¹⁰⁴ *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 280 (SCRIPTA 6587).

¹⁰⁵ *Ctl. Préaux*, ed. Rouet, 161. Granges, Calvados, cant. Dozulé.

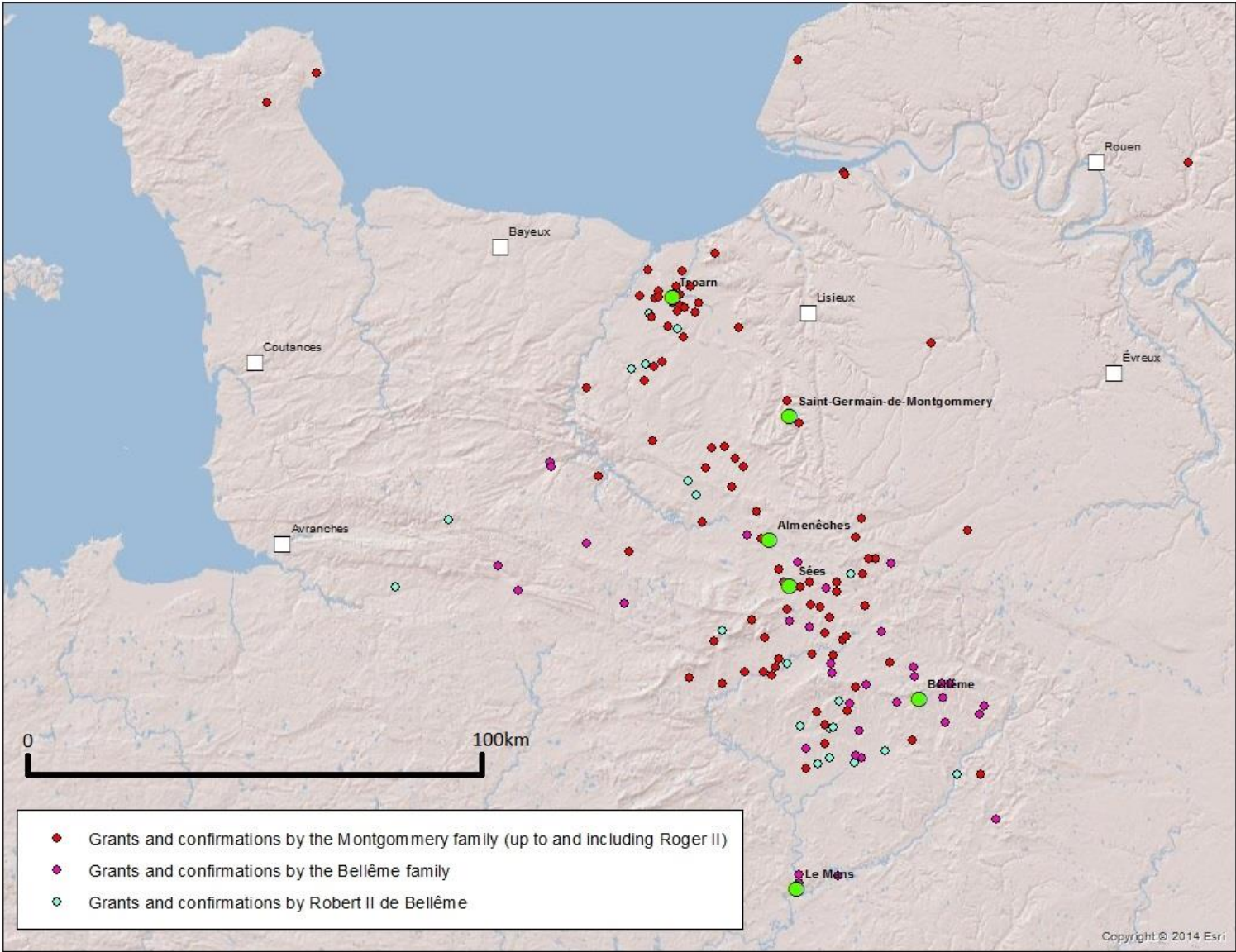
¹⁰⁶ *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 158 (SCRIPTA 6503).

¹⁰⁷ *Ctl. Marmoutier*, ed. Barret, no. 1 (SCRIPTA 81; ARTEM 5016). Ventes-de-Bourse, Orne, cant. Le Mêle-sur-Sarthe; Aunay-les-Bois, Orne, cant. Le Mêle-sur-Sarthe

¹⁰⁸ *Ctl. Saint-Vincent*, eds. Charles and Menjot d'Elbenne, nos. 587, 589, 628, 754, 765.

¹⁰⁹ OV, iii. 138-42; Thompson, 'Cross-Channel Estates', 129 and n. 146.

Figure 37: Earl Roger's continental property.¹



¹ See note to Figure 35.

The continental estate revealed by Roger's religious patronage is remarkably dispersed in all directions, though a north-south sprawl is discernible which began at the mouths of the rivers Orne and Dives and extended southwards into Maine (see Figure 37). This north-south band meant that anybody crossing Normandy eastwards or westwards would have to pass near Roger's property, which would have aided the spread of his reputation. This band of property, and his interests on the rivers Orne, Dives, Sarthe and Huisne, would have made him an imposing opponent to potential invaders of Normandy. Montgomery itself appears quite isolated (perhaps because of the elevated terrain which made it an impressive site for a castle). Roger's property in the Cotentin shows that he was an agent and beneficiary of the westwards expansion of ducal authority.¹ Roger's estate can refine Musset's contention that dukes engineered dispersed aristocratic estates to mitigate the threat posed by their holders, because the wide spread of the Montgommerys' estate (encouraged by their receipt of church lands, vicecomital office and the Giroie patrimony, and Roger II's marriage) made them more, not less, powerful, and it did not prevent Robert de Bellême's intermittent opposition to the rulers of Normandy after 1094.

While Roger granted very little property in Shropshire to Norman churches, he was more willing to alienate property in Sussex in this way.² To Saint-Martin de Sées he granted property in seven places in Sussex, and he confirmed Robert fitz Theobald's grant in one more.³ Most of this was granted before Mabel's death, with a little more by 1082 and in William Rufus's reign. Troarn received property in eight places in Sussex, and Almenêches received property

¹ *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 281 II (SCRIPTA 6588; ARTEM 2355); Hagger, 'How the West was Won', 28. Réville, Manche, cant. Quettehou; Montaigu-la-Brisette, Manche, cant. Valognes.

² Chibnall, 'Ecclesiastical Patronage', 115-16.

³ *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 271 (SCRIPTA 6583); Thompson, 'Cross-Channel Estates', no. 21, p. 241 (*Livre Blanc*, fol. 6v/11v); *Calendar*, ed. Round, no. 656 (*Livre Blanc*, fol. 99v/117v and 100v/118v).

in at least six.⁴ He also granted property at Graffham and the land of Wulfwin the goldsmith at Chichester to Saint-Evroult by 1081.⁵ This willingness to alienate property in the rape of Arundel demonstrates that Sussex was not one of Roger's priorities. To continental beneficiaries, Roger also alienated property in England in: two places in Buckinghamshire (to Grestain);⁶ four places in Cambridgeshire (to Saint-Evroult and Saint-Martin de Séés);⁷ two places in Gloucestershire (to Saint-Evroult and Grestain);⁸ one place in Middlesex (to Saint-Martin de Séés);⁹ two places in Northamptonshire (to Grestain);¹⁰ and three places in Staffordshire (to Saint-Evroult and Marcigny-sur-Loire).¹¹ Adelaide was certainly responsible for his grant to Marcigny-sur-Loire, of which several of her relatives were abbesses.¹² These grants show that Roger was willing to sacrifice his interests in these shires for a role in continental religious networks.

Roger's grant of property in England to Grestain was made upon the death of his daughter, Countess Matilda of Mortain, in 1082. The grant consisted of thirty-two hides which she had held from him.¹³ Count Robert of Mortain remained as tenant-in-chief at three of the five identifiable places Roger had given to Matilda, and in these three places the hidage Robert held is identical with the hidage Roger is said to have given to Grestain.¹⁴ Robert's continued tenure suggests that these three places were a 'direct' dowry provided by Roger to cement the marriage alliance. Roger's grant to Grestain must have been intended to maintain the alliance

⁴ *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 281 II (SCRIPTA 6588; ARTEM 2355); Musset, 'Almenêches', 33-36.

⁵ OV, iii. 232-40 (*Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 255; SCRIPTA 6568); OV, iii. 138-42.

⁶ *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 158 (SCRIPTA 6503).

⁷ OV, iii. 138-42; *Calendar*, ed. Round, no. 656 (*Livre Blanc*, fol. 99v/117v and 100v/118v).

⁸ OV, iii. 232-40 (*Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 255; SCRIPTA 6568); *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 158 (SCRIPTA 6503); OV, iii. 138-42.

⁹ *Calendar*, ed. Round, no. 656 (*Livre Blanc*, fol. 99v/117v and 100v/118v).

¹⁰ *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 158 (SCRIPTA 6503).

¹¹ *Monasticon*, vi. part 2, p. 1109 (*Regesta*, ed. Davis, no. 353); OV, iii. 138-42; 6568 (*Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 255; OV, iii. 232-40).

¹² *Monasticon*, vi. part 2, p. 1109 (*Regesta*, ed. Davis, no. 353); Thompson, 'Cross-Channel Estates', 129 and n. 146.

¹³ *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 158 (SCRIPTA 6503). For the date, see Bates's notes to *Regesta*, ed. Bates, nos. 158, 207.

¹⁴ GDB 146r-v (Buckinghamshire 12:6,29), 166v (Gloucestershire, 29:1).

beyond Matilda's death. The relationship between the two families is also evident in a charter for Marmoutier, which records Robert's grant in Matilda's memory, with Roger and his sons Robert de Bellême, Hugh and Roger the Poitevin witnessing.¹⁵

In Shropshire, besides the refounded priory of Much Wenlock (which he subjected to La Charité-sur-Loire), Roger granted only Diddlebury to a continental beneficiary (Saint-Martin de Séés).¹⁶ He preferred to use his resources in Shropshire to enrich his own foundations in that shire, particularly Shrewsbury Abbey. This indicates that Shropshire was where he preferred to concentrate his energies in England. His choice to be buried there was also a kind of patronage, for he would have expected (correctly) that this would encourage grants by his subtenants after his death.

The lordship and entourage of Roger II de Montgomery in Normandy

Analysis of Roger's Norman lordships offers insights into the types of people who maintained Roger's influence at ground level. The evidence for what follows is listed in Table 27. The early twelfth-century cartulary of Saint-Martin de Séés provides most of what is known about Roger's lordship networks in and around Normandy, for it preserves many copies of charters complete with familial information, dates, witness lists and *signa*. We also know the names of many benefactors of Troarn, and the properties they granted. However, the material for Troarn is less helpful than for Saint-Martin de Séés, for the witnesses and signers of individual grants by Earl Roger and Robert II de Bellême are omitted from the royal confirmation charters in which these grants are recorded in shortened form. It is also likely that these royal charters omit some instances where consent or confirmation was provided by Roger or Robert. The absence

¹⁵ *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 207 (SCRIPTA 6533).

¹⁶ *Calendar*, ed. Round, no. 656 (*Livre Blanc*, fol. 99v/117v and 100v/118v).

of witness lists in the early-twelfth century royal confirmation charters also makes many grants impossible to securely date to Roger's lifetime. The cartularies of Troarn do not provide supplementary information on the witnesses or consenters to eleventh-century grants. Unfortunately, the papal bull of 1178 for Almenêches provides relatively few names of benefactors and scant information with which to date grants, so networks involving Almenêches remain little known.

Table 27: Continental families and people most prominently connected to Earl Roger

Family name or person	Granted continental property to which Montgomery foundation	Grants to non-Montgomery foundations confirmed by Roger II and his sons	Witness to grants or confirmations by Roger II and sons		Charters signed recording grants or confirmations by Roger II and sons		Date range of charters (where known)
			Number of charters	Number of family members	Number of charters	Number of follower's family members	
Avoise (Orne, cant. Alençon-3, comm. Radon) / Médavy (Orne, cant. Sées)	Saint-Martin de Sées. ¹	-	3 (Saint-Martin de Sées). ²	2 or 3	4 (Saint-Martin de Sées x3; Saint-Evroult x1). ³	3	1068 x 1077 to 1108
Cerisé (Orne, cant. Alençon-3)	Saint-Martin de Sées. ⁴	-	1 (Saint-Vincent du Mans). ⁵	1	-	-	1068 x 1078 to 1097
Chenay (Sarthe, cant. La Fresnaye-sur-Chédouet)	Saint-Martin de Sées. ⁶	-	5 (Saint-Martin de Sées). ⁷	1	-	-	1068 x c. 1082 to 1097, and 1077 x 1112
<i>Collum asini</i>	Saint-Martin de Sées. ⁸	1 (Saint-Vincent du Mans). ⁹	1 (Saint-Martin de Sées). ¹⁰	1	-	-	1077 x 1089 to <=1112

¹ *Livre Blanc*, fol. 8v/14v, 60v/70v continued on 33r/41r, 33r-v/41r-v, 42v/50v continued on 34r/42r, 54r/63r, 60r/70r.

² Thompson, 'Cross-Channel Estates', nos. 19, 29, 78 (*Livre Blanc*, fols. 6v/11v, 25r/32r, 62r/72r).

³ Thompson, 'Cross-Channel Estates', nos. 46, 78 (*Livre Blanc*, fols. 62r/72r, 66r/76r); *Livre Blanc*, fol. 8r-v/14r-v; OV, iii. 138-42.

⁴ *Livre Blanc*, fols. 41v/49v, 43r/52r, 92r/108r.

⁵ *Ctl. Saint-Vincent*, eds. Charles and Menjot d'Elbenne, no. 769.

⁶ *Livre Blanc*, fols. 34r/42r, 43r/52r.

⁷ Thompson, 'Cross-Channel Estates', nos. 23, 28, 29, 59, 62 (*Livre Blanc*, fols. 25r/32r, 35r/43r, 61v/71v, 67r/77r, 99r/117r).

⁸ *Livre Blanc*, fol. 78v/91v.

⁹ *Ctl. Saint-Vincent*, eds. Charles and Menjot d'Elbenne, no. 630.

¹⁰ Thompson, 'Cross-Channel Estates', no. 29 (*Livre Blanc*, fol. 25r/32r).

Family name or person	Granted continental property to which Montgomery foundation	Grants to non-Montgomery foundations confirmed by Roger II and his sons	Witness to grants or confirmations by Roger II and sons		Charters signed recording grants or confirmations by Roger II and sons		Date range of charters (where known)
			Number of charters	Number of family members	Number of charters	Number of follower's family members	
Colombiers-sur-Seulles (Calvados, cant. Ryes)	Troarn. ¹¹	-	1 (Saint-Martin de Sées). ¹²	1	-	-	<=1068 and 1092, 1103 and 1088x1112
Corbet family	Saint-Martin de Sées. ¹³	-	3 (Saint-Martin de Sées). ¹⁴	4	2 (Saint-Martin de Sées and Troarn). ¹⁵	3	1077 x 1089 to 1094 x 1098
Cotentin (Manche)	Troarn. ¹⁶	-	2 (Saint-Martin de Sées). ¹⁷	1	-	-	1091 x 1105
Cotinel, Odo	Saint-Martin de Sées. ¹⁸	Saint-Vincent du Mans. ¹⁹	1 (Saint-Vincent du Mans). ²⁰	1	-	-	1068 x 1078 and 1092 to <=1112

¹¹ *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 280 (SCRIPTA 6587); B. N. ms. Lat. 10086, fol. 49v, 52r; A. D. Calvados, H 8856.

¹² *Livre Blanc*, fol. 50r/59r.

¹³ *Livre Blanc*, fols. 25v/32v, 26r-v/33r-v, 27r/35r.

¹⁴ Thompson, 'Cross-Channel Estates', nos. 63, 67 (*Livre Blanc*, fols. 56v/65v, 79v/93v); *Livre Blanc*, fol. 50r/59r.

¹⁵ *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 283 (SCRIPTA 6590; ARTEM 2341); Thompson, 'Cross-Channel Estates', no. 29 (*Livre Blanc*, fol. 25r/32r).

¹⁶ *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 281 II (SCRIPTA 6588).

¹⁷ Thompson, 'Cross-Channel Estates', nos. 52, 78 (*Livre Blanc*, fols. 32v/40v continued on 45r/54r, 62r/72r).

¹⁸ *Livre Blanc*, fol. 57v/67v.

¹⁹ *Ctl. Saint-Vincent*, eds. Charles and Menjot d'Elbenne, no. 630.

²⁰ *Ctl. Saint-Vincent*, eds. Charles and Menjot d'Elbenne, no. 769.

Family name or person	Granted continental property to which Montgomery foundation	Grants to non-Montgomery foundations confirmed by Roger II and his sons	Witness to grants or confirmations by Roger II and sons		Charters signed recording grants or confirmations by Roger II and sons		Date range of charters (where known)
			Number of charters	Number of family members	Number of charters	Number of follower's family members	
Escures (Orne, cant. and comm. Sées)	Saint-Martin de Sées. ²¹	-	7 (Saint-Martin de Sées x 6; Troarn x 1). ²²	2	-	-	1068 x c. 1082 to 1094
Haimo and his son Robert	Saint-Martin de Sées and Troarn. ²³	-	2 (Saint-Étienne de Caen; Saint-Martin de Sées). ²⁴	2	3 (Saint-Étienne de Caen; Saint-Martin de Sées; Marcigny-sur-Loire). ²⁵	2	1063 x 1066 to <=1107
Hugh Brito	Troarn. ²⁶	-	-	-	-	-	<=1068
Lurson, Sarthe, cant. Mamers	Saint-Martin de Sées. ²⁷	Saint-Vincent du Mans. ²⁸	1 (Saint-Vincent du Mans). ²⁹	1	-	-	1060 x 1070 to <=1094

²¹ *Livre Blanc*, fols. 17v/23v, 36v/44v.

²² Thompson, 'Cross-Channel Estates', no. 23, 28, 29, 59, 62 (*Livre Blanc*, fols. 25r/32r, 35r/43r, 61v/71v, 67r/77r, 99r/117r); *Livre Blanc*, fol. 95r/112r; *Calendar*, ed. Round, no. 467.

²³ *Livre Blanc*, fols. 33v/40v, 46v/55v; *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 281 II (SCRIPTA 6588; ARTEM 2355); *Regesta*, ed. Davis, no. 411 (SCRIPTA 1771).

²⁴ *RADN*, no. 223 (*Caen*, ed. Musset, no. 1; SCRIPTA 1665; ARTEM 1976); Thompson, 'Cross-Channel Estates', no. 29 (*Livre Blanc*, fol. 25r/32r).

²⁵ *RADN*, no. 223 (*Caen*, ed. Musset, no. 1; SCRIPTA 1665; ARTEM 1976); *Calendar*, ed. Round, no. 656 (*Livre Blanc*, fol. 99v/117v and 110v/118v); *Monasticon*, vi. 1109.

²⁶ *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 280 (SCRIPTA 6587); *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 281 II (SCRIPTA 6588; ARTEM 2355); *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 281 III (SCRIPTA 6588; ARTEM 4883).

²⁷ Thompson, 'Cross-Channel Estates', nos. 46, 58 (*Livre Blanc*, fols. 66r/76r, 67v/77v).

²⁸ *Ctl. Saint-Vincent*, eds. Charles and Menjot d'Elbenne, no. 765

²⁹ *Ctl. Saint-Vincent*, eds. Charles and Menjot d'Elbenne, no. 589

Family name or person	Granted continental property to which Montgomery foundation	Grants to non-Montgomery foundations confirmed by Roger II and his sons	Witness to grants or confirmations by Roger II and sons		Charters signed recording grants or confirmations by Roger II and sons		Date range of charters (where known)
			Number of charters	Number of family members	Number of charters	Number of follower's family members	
<i>Mara</i>	Saint-Martin de Sées and Troarn. ³⁰	-	1 (Saint-Martin de Sées). ³¹	1	-	-	1077 x 1089 to perhaps 1106 x 1114
Oliver du Merlerault and sons (Orne, chef-lieu de cant. Le Merlerault)	Saint-Martin de Sées. ³²	-	5 (Saint-Martin de Sées x3; Marmoutier x1; Saint-Vincent du Mans x1). ³³	3	7 (Saint-Martin de Sées x6; Jumièges x1). ³⁴	3	c. 1055 x 1060 to 1106
Paynel family	Saint-Martin de Sées. ³⁵	-	1 (Saint-Martin de Sées). ³⁶	1	1 (Saint-Étienne de Caen). ³⁷	1	1077 x 1094

³⁰ Thompson, 'Cross-Channel Estates', no. 28 (*Livre Blanc*, fol. 61v/71v); *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 281 II (SCRIPTA 6588; ARTEM 2355).

³¹ Thompson, 'Cross-Channel Estates', no. 28 (*Livre Blanc*, fol. 61v/71v).

³² *Livre Blanc*, fol. 8r-v/14r-v, 49v/58v, 50r-v/59r-v, 51v/60v, 58v/68v; *Pontieu*, ed. Brunel, no. 16 (SCRIPTA 3157).

³³ Thompson, 'Cross-Channel Estates', nos. 19, 63, 78 (*Livre Blanc*, fols. 6v/11v, 56v/65v, 62r/72r); *Pontieu*, ed. Brunel, no. 16 (SCRIPTA 3157); *Ctl. Saint-Vincent*, eds. Charles and Menjot d'Elbenne, no. 589.

³⁴ Thompson, 'Cross-Channel Estates', nos. 7 B, 19, 46, 48, 63 (*Livre Blanc*, fols. 3v/8v, 6v/11v, 48v/57v, 56v/65v, 66r/76r); *Livre Blanc*, fol. 8r-v/14r-v.

³⁵ Thompson, 'Cross-Channel Estates', no. 59, p. 264 (*Livre Blanc*, fol. 67r/77r).

³⁶ *Livre Blanc*, fol. 50r/59r.

³⁷ *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 46 (SCRIPTA 6459; ARTEM 1988).

Family name or person	Granted continental property to which Montgomery foundation	Grants to non-Montgomery foundations confirmed by Roger II and his sons	Witness to grants or confirmations by Roger II and sons		Charters signed recording grants or confirmations by Roger II and sons		Date range of charters (where known)
			Number of charters	Number of family members	Number of charters	Number of follower's family members	
Poëley (Orne, cant. Le Mêle-sur-Sarthe, comm. Saint-Léger-sur-Sarthe). ³⁸	Saint-Martin de Sées. ³⁹	-	4 (Saint-Léonard de Bellême x1; Saint-Vincent du Mans x2; Saint-Martin de Sées x1). ⁴⁰	2 or 3	2 (Saint-Martin de Sées). ⁴¹	2	1068 x 1078 to 1101
Quadrel family	Saint-Martin de Sées. ⁴²	-	4 (Saint-Martin de Sées x2; La Sauve Majeure x1; Marmoutier x1). ⁴³	2	-	-	1077 x 1089 to 1107
Sai (Orne, cant. Argentan-Est)	Saint-Martin de Sées. ⁴⁴	-	1 (Saint-Martin de Sées). ⁴⁵	1	4 (Saint-Martin de Sées x3; Jumièges x1). ⁴⁶	4	1068 x 1077 to <=1089

³⁸ R. Allen, 'The Earliest Known List of Excommunicates from Ducal Normandy', *JMH*, 39:4 (2013), 394-415, at 407.

³⁹ Thompson, 'Cross-Channel Estates', no. 63 (*Livre Blanc*, fol. 56v/65v); *Livre Blanc*, fol. 57r/67r.

⁴⁰ *Recueil*, ed. Prou, nos. 128-29 (SCRIPTA 235-36); *Ctl. Saint-Vincent*, eds. Charles and Menjot d'Elbenne, nos. 589, 769; Thompson, 'Cross-Channel Estates', no. 28 (*Livre Blanc*, fol. 61v/71v).

⁴¹ Thompson, 'Cross-Channel Estates', no. 63 (*Livre Blanc*, fol. 56v/65v); Du Motey, *Robert II de Bellême*, 45.

⁴² Musset, 'Le cimetièrè', 27 (*Livre Blanc*, fol. 63v/73v; SCRIPTA 2230); *Livre Blanc*, fols. 58v/68v, 63r/73r, 64r-v/74r-v.

⁴³ Thompson, 'Cross-Channel Estates', nos. 29, 52 (*Livre Blanc*, fols. 25r/32r, 32v/40v continued on 45r/54r); *Grand cartulaire de la Sauve Majeure*, ed. C. Higounet, 2 vols. (Bordeaux, 1996), no. 1356; *Ctl. Marmoutier*, ed. Barret, no. 15 (SCRIPTA 90; ARTEM 1983).

⁴⁴ Eyton, *Shropshire*, xi. 225-27; *Livre Blanc*, fols. 80r/94r, 82v/96v.

⁴⁵ Thompson, 'Cross-Channel Estates', no. 29 (*Livre Blanc*, fol. 25r/32r).

⁴⁶ Eyton, *Shropshire*, xi. 225-27; Thompson, 'Cross-Channel Estates', nos. 19 (based on identification of Avenel with Osmelin de Sai), 30 (*Livre Blanc*, fols. 6v/11v, 30v/38v); *Jumièges*, ed. Vernier, i. no. 34, p. 110 (SCRIPTA 158; ARTEM 2719).

Family name or person	Granted continental property to which Montgomery foundation	Grants to non-Montgomery foundations confirmed by Roger II and his sons	Witness to grants or confirmations by Roger II and sons		Charters signed recording grants or confirmations by Roger II and sons		Date range of charters (where known)
			Number of charters	Number of family members	Number of charters	Number of follower's family members	
Sanson family	Saint-Martin de Sées and Troarn. ⁴⁷	-	-	-	-	-	1082 to 1111
Tanetin, Roger	Troarn. ⁴⁸	-	-	-	-	-	<=1068 to 1095
Villeray (Orne, cant. Rémalard, comm. Condeau)	Saint-Martin de Sées. ⁴⁹	-	2 (Saint-Léonard de Bellême; Nogent-le-Rotrou). ⁵⁰	1	2 (Saint-Étienne de Caen; Jumièges). ⁵¹	1	1077 to 1097

⁴⁷ *Livre Blanc*, fols. 87v/102v, 94r/110r, 95r/112r; Thompson, 'Cross-Channel Estates', no. 71 (B. N. ms. Lat. 10086, fol. 180v); *Pontieu*, ed. Brunel, no. 15 (SCRIPTA 3156).

⁴⁸ *Regesta*, ed. Bates, nos. 280, 281 II (SCRIPTA 6587, 6588); *Calendar*, ed. Round, no. 467; B. N. ms. Lat. 10086, fol. 30v.

⁴⁹ *Livre Blanc*, fol. 68r/78r.

⁵⁰ *Recueil*, ed. Prou, nos. 128-29 (SCRIPTA 235-36); Métais, *Nogent-le-Rotrou*, p. 57, no. 18.

⁵¹ *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 46 (SCRIPTA 6459; ARTEM 1988); *Jumièges*, ed. Vernier, i. no. 34, p. 110 (SCRIPTA 158; ARTEM 2719).

Some of Roger's vassals were kinsmen. Mabel's half-brother, Oliver, remained a prominent figure in the house of Montgomery's entourage, and so did Oliver's sons. As 'Oliver' or Oliver *bastardus*, Oliver witnessed or signed five grants or confirmations by Earl Roger for Saint-Martin de Sées and Saint-Vincent du Mans, of which the first was no later than 1060 and the last was no later than 1089. Orderic refutes the rumour that Arnulf, son of William Talvas, was murdered by his *germanus* Oliver, and states that Oliver enjoyed a distinguished military career before becoming a monk at Bec during Anselm's abbacy (between 1078 and 1093).¹ *Germanus* most often refers to a brother, and leaves open the possibility that Oliver and Arnulf had different mothers.² That Oliver was illegitimate might explain why he missed out on the main part of William Talvas's land. Three charters combine to show that the same Oliver was Oliver du Merlerault, father of Robert Oison.³ An original charter records that *domnus Olivarius de merlo* attended Robert de Bellême's court at Bellême in 1086.⁴ Robert Oison granted property at Courtomer to Saint-Martin de Sées in the presence of his *cognatus* Robert de Bellême in 1089.⁵ Robert Oison was the lord of other benefactors of Saint-Martin de Sées in 1101 and 1107.⁶ Le Merlerault itself had strategic significance for Earl Roger, for its lords (at least before 1022) had been firm allies of the Giroies, whose nearby castle at Échauffour fell into Roger's hands in c. 1061.⁷ Oliver's military skills could have made him useful to Roger in this potentially disputable region. It is also possible that Oliver's acquiescence in the transmission of his father's property to Roger made him a valuable buttress

¹ *GND* (Orderic Vitalis), ii. 112.

² Louise, *Bellême*, i. 359; *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources* (accessed at www.dmlbs.ox.ac.uk/publications/online, on 4 January 2016).

³ *Livre Blanc*, fols. 50v/59v, 51v/60v; *Pontieu*, ed. Brunel, no. 16 (SCRIPTA 3157); Louise, *Bellême*, ii. 146-47. Le Merlerault, Orne, chef-lieu de cant.

⁴ *Jumièges*, ed. Vernier, no. 34, p. 110 (SCRIPTA 158; ARTEM 2719).

⁵ *Livre Blanc*, fols. 8v/14v, 50r/59r; *Pontieu*, ed. Brunel, no. 16 (SCRIPTA 3157). Courtomer, Orne, chef-lieu de cant.

⁶ *Livre Blanc*, fols. 49v/58v, 58v/68v.

⁷ Maillefer, 'Géré', 180, 182; Bauduin, 'Les Géré', 315.

of Roger's legitimacy.⁸ Perhaps Oliver's role in Normandy made him too valuable to enfeoff in England.

The Quadrel family probably moved into Earl Roger's orbit through his marriage to Mabel, for a grant to Saint-Vincent du Mans by a vassal of Bernard Quadrel at Montgaudry was confirmed by Bishop Ivo in *c.* 1060.⁹ According to charters dated 1081, 1084 and 1089, William Quadrel and his brother Robert granted property at Lignièrès-la-Carelle and Condé-sur-Sarthe to Saint-Martin de Séés.¹⁰ Robert Quadrel was Robert II de Bellême's castellan at Saint-Céneri, but his circumstances changed dramatically in 1088 or 1089, when Curthose seized the castle and blinded him.¹¹ The Quadrels cannot be identified as Roger's subtenants in England in 1086, probably because their military responsibilities in Normandy made them too important to uproot. Nonetheless, the blinding of Robert Quadrel may have convinced William Quadrel to spend some time in England with Hugh III and Arnulf de Montgommery, for William was in Salisbury to witness Rufus's writ concerning a grant by Hugh and Arnulf between 1094 and 1096.¹² William granted property at Montgaudry to Saint-Martin de Séés in 1107, which suggests that his family's outlook had moved northwards since Bernard Quadrel's vassal gave property at Montgaudry to Saint-Vincent du Mans.

Gouffier de Villeray's toponymic locates him at the eastern edge of the lordship of Bellême, so his relationship with the Montgommerys was affected by King Philip and the counts of Mortagne. In September 1077, Gouffier signed Earl Roger's grant to Saint-Étienne de Caen. However, soon after this charter was issued, Curthose rebelled against King William, and it was with Curthose that Robert de Bellême and Gouffier's father Aimery, a supporter of

⁸ Thompson, 'Cross-Channel Estates', 30.

⁹ *Ctl. Saint-Vincent*, eds. Charles and Menjot d'Elbenne, no. 573; Thompson, 'Cross-Channel Estates', 56-57. Montgaudry, Orne, cant. Pervençhères.

¹⁰ Lignièrès-la-Carelle, Orne, cant. Fresnaye-sur-Chédouet; Condé-sur-Sarthe, Orne, cant. Alençon-ouest.

¹¹ OV, iv. 154-56.

¹² *Ctl. Sauve Majeure*, ed. Higounet, no. 1356 (*Regesta*, ed. Davis, no. 410).

King Philip, sided. Aimery's corpse was subsequently flung in front of Earl Roger.¹³ Nonetheless, Gouffier continued to witness charters of Roger II and Robert de Bellême. In 1097, Gouffier was taken prisoner by the Manceaux in their war against Robert, and was released after a ransom was paid.¹⁴ In the same year (perhaps to thank Robert for his release) Gouffier granted property at Vaunoise to Saint-Martin de Sées.¹⁵ Despite the links between Gouffier's family and the Montgomery-Bellêmes, it has been noted that Gouffier evaded an overwhelming subjection to Robert de Bellême by maintaining a relationship with Robert's enemies, the counts of Mortagne.¹⁶

The family of Earl Roger's *dapifer*, Robert de Poëley, were of considerable importance to the administration of Earl Roger's continental property. The title of *dapifer* probably conveyed prestige and indicates frequent attendance upon the lord, but Normans used the term loosely in the eleventh century, and the duties of *dapiferi* were perhaps only vaguely defined.¹⁷ However, we have already seen that Robert de Poëley sometimes acted as Roger's deputy on the continent.¹⁸ A charter confirmed by Earl Roger records that William de Poëley and his son Robert granted property at Poëley, Saint-Germain-le-Vieux and Saint-Léger-sur-Sarthe to Saint-Martin de Sées in 1091.¹⁹ In 1093, William de Poëley granted property in Devon to Saint-Martin de Sées, and in 1095 he granted more property in Devon with the consent of his son Robert.²⁰ William's English estate (worth almost £25, all in Devon) owed nothing to Earl Roger, who had no land in Devon.²¹ William also gained permission to be buried at Saint-Martin de Sées, and he and his sons were allowed to become monks there if they wanted to. It

¹³ OV, ii. 360.

¹⁴ OV, v. 226.

¹⁵ Vaunoise, Orne, cant. Bellême.

¹⁶ For the careers of the house of Villeray, see Thompson, 'Cross-Channel Estates', 60-61; Thompson, 'The Counts of the Perche, c. 1066-1217', unpublished PhD thesis (University of Sheffield, 1995), 70-71, 100-01; Louise, *Bellême*, ii. 100, 219.

¹⁷ Crouch, *Image of Aristocracy*, 282-83, 289-93.

¹⁸ See above, p. 326.

¹⁹ Saint-Léger-sur-Sarthe, Orne, cant. Le Mêle-sur-Sarthe; Saint-Germain-le-Vieux, Orne, cant. Courtomer.

²⁰ *Calendar*, ed. Round, nos. 661, 662, with some errors (*Livre Blanc*, fols. 102r/120r – 103r/121r).

²¹ For William's English estate, see GDB 111r-v (Devon 21:1-21).

is likely that this tenant-in-chief's son, Robert, belonged to a younger generation than Earl Roger's *dapifer* of the 1070s. It therefore seems that the duties of Roger's *dapifer* in Normandy made him too valuable to lose to England, but that other family members found a way to acquire English wealth. It is not known which Robert de Poëley is alleged to have poisoned a son of Robert Giroie whom Robert de Bellême held in captivity in or soon after 1092.²² Whatever the veracity of this allegation, this story further demonstrates the closeness of the Poëleys to the Montgomery-Bellêmes. A list of excommunicates, composed by the canons of Rouen cathedral, reveals that William de Poëley was excommunicated, probably sometime before the death of William the Conqueror. The reason for this punishment is unknown, though it has been suggested that he could have been excommunicated because of his associations with the alleged poisoner, Robert de Poëley, or Roger de Montgomery, who was himself excommunicated.²³ Alternatively, it has been proposed that William de Poëley could have been excommunicated for violently occupying the church of Sant-Léger-sur-Sarthe.²⁴

Other benefactors of Saint-Martin de Sées and attendees of Roger's court also patronized Saint-Vincent du Mans with property around the southern Norman frontier (though it is not always clear which abbey they patronized first). Examples include Odo Cotinel, Gunherius de Lurson and the family bynamed *Collum Asini*. This shows that Roger's abbey at Sées helped him gain the allegiance of southern neighbours.

The Montgommerys were also associated with their neighbours, the Paynels, whose estates were enlarged by William the Conqueror himself when he arranged the marriage of William I Paynel to an heiress with lands in the southern Cotentin and the Bessin.²⁵ The seat of the Paynels' continental estate remained further east, at Les Moutiers-Hubert, just 6.9

²² OV, iv. 294.

²³ See above, p. 344.

²⁴ For the possible offences of William and Robert de Poëley, and for William's opportunity to become a monk and be buried at Saint-Martin de Sées, see Allen, 'Excommunicates from Ducal Normandy', 407-08, 413.

²⁵ For what follows on the Paynels, see Tabuteau, *Transfers of Property*, 62; Guilmin, 'Les Paynel', 221-34, especially at 221-24.

kilometres from Sainte-Foy-de-Montgommery.²⁶ This proximity must have brought them under the house of Montgomery's influence from an early date. William I Paynel signed King William's charter of 1077, confirming Roger II de Montgomery's grant to Saint-Étienne de Caen, and Roger witnessed William I Paynel's agreement with Mont-Saint-Michel between 1071 and 1082.²⁷ William's son, Richard Paynel, reached an agreement with Saint-Martin de Sées concerning property at Rosel and *Sanctum Euurcium*, sometime between 1087 and 1094.²⁸ The relationship between the house of Montgomery and the Paynels can also be seen in two marriages secured by the Paynel family: William I Paynel's likely son-in-law, Walter de Meuvaines, was a benefactor of Troarn in King Henry I of England's reign, and the Paynels provided a wife for Gervase de Domfront, a benefactor of Saint-Martin de Sées who is listed among the men of Robert de Bellême in 1086.²⁹ Ralph Paynel, son of William, was tenant-in-chief of an English estate worth about £133 by 1086, and received further lands thereafter. He owed his English wealth not to Roger de Montgomery but to Robert count of Mortain and the king himself.³⁰

A further group of vassals can be identified through their connections to Troarn. One of the main benefactors of Troarn was Roger Tanetin, who granted property at Airan and Trun by 1068, Giberville in 1092, Renémesnil and Bretteville-le-Rabet in 1095, and *Husmelinivilla*.³¹ These properties were spread over 44 kilometres, so he was a man of some importance. Trun was probably among the original endowment of Troarn by Roger I de Montgomery, which

²⁶ Les Moutiers-Hubert, Calvados, cant. Livarot.

²⁷ Haskins, *Norman Institutions*, 21-22.

²⁸ Rosel, Calvados, cant. Creully.

²⁹ For Gervase's grants, see Thompson, 'Cross-Channel Estates', no. 52, p. 260 (*Livre Blanc*, fols. 32v/40v and 45v/52v); *Livre Blanc*, fol. 58v/68v. For his relationship with Robert de Bellême, see *Jumièges*, ed. Vernier, i. no. 34, p. 110 (SCRIPTA 158; ARTEM 2719).

³⁰ For Ralph Paynel, see P. Dalton, 'Paynel family (*per. c.* 1086-1244)', *ODNB* (2004); Guilmin, 'Les Paynel', 224, 226-33.

³¹ Airan, Calvados, cant. Bourguébus; Trun, Orne, chef-lieu de cant.; Giberville, Calvados, cant. Troarn; Renémesnil (now Cauvicourt), Calvados, cant. Thury-Harcourt; Bretteville-le-Rabet, Calvados, cant. Bretteville-sur-Laize.

indicates that the house of Montgommery's relationship with Roger Tanetin's family dated back at least to the 1030s or 1040s.³²

None of the families under Earl Roger's continental lordship can be shown to have patronized more than one of Roger's Norman foundations during his life. His brother-in-law, Robert fitz Haimo, conceded a vassal's grant of *vado calvonis* to Saint-Martin de Sées in 1088, and himself granted property at Langrune-sur-Mer and Horsley (Gloucestershire) to Troarn by 1107.³³ The only other possible example is Helias de Cagny, who granted property at Cagny to Troarn in 1109, and granted property at Trun to Almenêches sometime before 1178.³⁴ Other families who patronized two of Roger's Norman abbeys include that of *Mara* and Sanson, but both families patronized Troarn only in the first or second decades of the twelfth century.

Occasionally, benefactors of one foundation witnessed or signed grants for another. These included William de Colombiers, Geoffrey and Robert du Cotentin, the Corbet family, the family of Ralph d'Escures, abbot of Saint-Martin de Sées from 1089, and Hugh *Brito*.³⁵ The relationships of these families with more than one of Roger's foundations must have provided some cohesion across his continental estate.

Some of Roger's vassals in Normandy became established in England. The family of Avoise was prominent in the cartulary of Saint-Martin de Sées (see Table 27). They must have established their relationship with Roger after his first marriage, for Avoise is 13 kilometres south-west of Sées, inside the territory of Mabel's family. One of the family, Robert fitz Theobald, became Earl Roger's *vicecomes* of Arundel (see below, p. 367). Another significant Norman family which sent members from Roger's estate in Normandy to that in England was the family of Corbet. Arnulf, Gerard and Robert Corbet all had property in and around Boitron

³² *RADN*, no. 144 (SCRIPTA 1588).

³³ Langrune-sur-Mer, Calvados, cant. Douvres-la-Délivrande.

³⁴ *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 281 II (SCRIPTA 6588; ARTEM 2355); B. N. ms. Lat. 10086, fol. 83v-84r; A. D. Calvados, H 7745, fol. 77r; A. D. Calvados, H 8665; Sauvage, *Troarn*, 148; Musset, 'Almenêches', 36.

³⁵ For Hugh *Brito* witnessing a charter for Saint-Martin de Sées in 1108, see *Livre Blanc*, fol. 96r/113r.

and were lords of their neighbours.³⁶ In Shropshire, Corbet and his sons found themselves neighbouring the family of Sai, whose members Picot, Picot's brother Pagan, and Osmelin granted a cluster of property at Sai, Urou and Juvigny to Saint-Martin de Sées between 1068 and 1089.³⁷ Robert fitz Theobald, Corbet, Picot and Osmelin will be revisited in an examination of Earl Roger's English subtenants.

The lordship and entourage of Roger II de Montgomery in England

Many of Roger's subtenants in England can be identified, which makes it possible to ask whether cross-Channel estates or cross-Channel itineraries were pervasive at social levels beneath England's tenants-in-chief. Given the vast extent of Roger's continental estate, it would also be interesting to know whether he privileged certain continental regions over others when he selected men to enrich in England. Table 28 summarizes the careers of Roger's identifiable subtenants.

³⁶ Boitron, Orne, cant. Le Mêle-sur-Sarthe.

³⁷ Sai, Orne, cant. Argentan-Est; Juvigny-sur-Orne, Orne, cant. Argentan-Est; Urou-et-Crennes, Orne, cant. Argentan-Est.

Table 28: The careers of some of Earl Roger's subtenants

Name	Origin (or known continental property)	As tenant-in-chief £	Held from Earl Roger £	Held from other lords £	Assigned to subtenant or sub-subtenants £	Cross-Channel landholder?	In Norman charters after 1066	In English charters	Benefactor of Shrewsbury?
Robert fitz Theobald	Avoise, Orne, cant. Alençon-3, comm. Radon. ¹	0.00	202.29	0.00	59.09	Saint-Laurent de Beauménil, now in Saint-Gervais-du-Perron, Orne, cant. Sées; other unspecified property. ²	5. ³	6. ⁴	Kemberton and Idsall (1083x1087). ⁵
Reynold de Bailleul	Bailleul-en-Gouffern, Orne, cant. Trun. ⁶	4.25	139.39	2.78	44.81	Bailleul-en-Gouffern; <i>Freneio</i> ⁷	2. ⁸	5. ⁹	Lee by Ellesmere (1085x1094); Oswestry, Myddle, Little Ness, Shrawardine (1094x1098). ¹⁰

¹ *Livre Blanc*, fols. 8r-v/14r-v (*Signum Rotberti filii tetbaldi. Signum Tebaldi de avesia*), 33r-v/41r-v (*Signum Tetbaldi de avesia. Signum Rotberti filii eius*), 60r/70r (*Signum Tetbaldi de avesia. Signum Rotberti filii sui*).

² *Livre Blanc*, fol. 42v/50v continued on 34r/42r.

³ *Livre Blanc*, fols. 33r-v/41r-v, 42v/50v, 60r/70r; Thompson, 'Cross-Channel Estates', no. 19, p. 238 (*Livre Blanc*, fol. 6v/11v); OV, iii. 140.

⁴ *Ctl. Shrewsbury Abbey*, ed. Rees, 33-34; *Livre Blanc*, fols. 99v/117v-110r/118r and 100v/118v-101r/119r; *Calendar*, ed. Round, no. 655 (*Livre Blanc*, fol. 101r/119r-102r/120r); *Calendar*, ed. Round, no. 1391; *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 146 (SCRIPTA 6498).

⁵ *Ctl. Shrewsbury Abbey*, ed. Rees, 33-34.

⁶ Loyd, *Origins*, 11-12.

⁷ OV, iii. 138-42; *Pontieu*, ed. Brunel, no. 74 (SCRIPTA 3176).

⁸ OV, iii. 140; *Livre Blanc*, fol. 8r-v/14r-v.

⁹ *Ctl. Shrewsbury Abbey*, ed. Rees, p. xix, 33-35; *Calendar*, ed. Round, no. 578; *Pontieu*, ed. Brunel, no. 22bis, p. 661; *Pontieu*, ed. Brunel, no. 74 (SCRIPTA 3176).

¹⁰ *Ctl. Shrewsbury Abbey*, ed. Rees, p. xix, 33, 38.

Name	Origin (or known continental property)	As tenant-in-chief £	Held from Earl Roger £	Held from other lords £	Assigned to subtenant or sub-subtenants £	Cross-Channel landholder?	In Norman charters after 1066	In English charters	Benefactor of Shrewsbury?
William d'Anneville	Anneville-en-Saire, Manche, cant. Quettehou.	0.00	61.75	0.00	17.78	Anneville-en-Saire; Le Vicel, Manche, cant. Quettehou; <i>Petot</i> . ¹¹	1. ¹²	0	-
Roger fitz Corbet	Boitron, Orne, cant. Le Mêlesur-Sarthe.	0.00	58.06	0.00	13.25		1. ¹³	8. ¹⁴	Wentnor and Yockleton (1094). ¹⁵
Picot de Sai	Sai, Orne, cant. Argentan-Est. ¹⁶	0.00	57.65	-0.51. ¹⁷	8.00	Sai; Juvigny-sur-Orne, Orne, cant. Argentan-Est; Urou-et-Crennes, Orne, cant. Argentan-Est. ¹⁸	9 or 10. ¹⁹	1. ²⁰	Brompton and Fitz (after 1083). ²¹

¹¹ *Pontieu*, ed. Brunel, no. 73 (SCRIPTA 3175); *GC*, xi. col. 234-37 (SCRIPTA 1882).

¹² *Pontieu*, ed. Brunel, no. 73 (SCRIPTA 3175).

¹³ Thompson, 'Cross-Channel Estates', no. 67, p. 270 (*Livre Blanc*, fol. 79v/93v).

¹⁴ Eyton, *Shropshire*, i. 109; *Ctl. Shrewsbury Abbey*, ed. Rees, 1-3, 9-10, 33-36 and 39n, 256, 272.

¹⁵ *Ctl. Shrewsbury Abbey*, ed. Rees, 33-34, 39, 256.

¹⁶ Loyd, *Origins*, 96.

¹⁷ See Table 31.

¹⁸ Bauduin, 'Du bon usage de la *dos*', 452-54 (SCRIPTA 292); Eyton, *Shropshire*, xi. 225-27 (SCRIPTA 281); *Livre Blanc*, fols. 80r/94r.

¹⁹ *Livre Blanc*, fols. 16r-v/22r-v, 54r/63r, 80r/94r, 81r/95r; Thompson, 'Cross-Channel Estates', nos. 29 and 30, p. 247-48 (*Livre Blanc*, fols. 25r/32r, 30v/38v); Bauduin, 'Du bon usage de la *dos*', 452-54 (SCRIPTA 292); *Jumièges*, ed. Vernier, i. no. 34, p. 110 (SCRIPTA 158; ARTEM 2719); Eyton, *Shropshire*, xi. 225-27 (SCRIPTA 281); Du Motey, *Robert II de Bellême*, 45.

²⁰ *Ctl. Shrewsbury Abbey*, ed. Rees, 34.

²¹ *Ctl. Shrewsbury Abbey*, ed. Rees, 34.

Name	Origin (or known continental property)	As tenant-in-chief £	Held from Earl Roger £	Held from other lords £	Assigned to subtenant or sub-subtenants £	Cross-Channel landholder?	In Norman charters after 1066	In English charters	Benefactor of Shrewsbury?
William Pantulf	Noron-l'Abbaye, Calvados, cant. Falaise-Nord	0.00	18.65	0.00	3.15	Noron and more; Peray, Sarthe, cant. Marolles-les-Braults. ²²	6. ²³	1. ²⁴	-
Helgot	Fourches, Calvados, cant. Morteaux-Coulibœuf.	0.00	15	0.00	3.05		0	2. ²⁵	Monkmoor (1083x1094). ²⁶
Gerard de Tournai	Tournai-sur-Dive, Orne, cant. Trun. ²⁷	0.00	14.60	0.00	2.15		0	2. ²⁸	Betton (1083x1094). ²⁹
Norman the huntsman	Macé, Orne, cant. Sées	0.00	13.10	0.00	1.80	Macé. ³⁰	2. ³¹	2. ³²	Booley (1094x1102). ³³

²² OV, iii. 154-60.

²³ OV, iii. 142, 156-58, 162-64; iv. 72; Thompson, 'Cross-Channel Estates', no. 19, p. 238 (*Livre Blanc*, fol. 6v/11v); B. N. ms. Lat. 10086, fol. 189v (SCRIPTA 5); Thompson, 'Cross-Channel Estates', no. 67, p. 270 (*Livre Blanc*, fol. 79v/93v).

²⁴ OV, iii. 162.

²⁵ *Ctl. Shrewsbury Abbey*, ed. Rees, 4, 33; Eyton, *Shropshire*, i. 109.

²⁶ *Ctl. Shrewsbury Abbey*, ed. Rees, 4, 33, 38.

²⁷ Loyd, *Origins*, 104.

²⁸ *Ctl. Shrewsbury Abbey*, ed. Rees, 33; Galbraith, 'Episcopal Land Grant', 372.

²⁹ *Ctl. Shrewsbury Abbey*, ed. Rees, 33.

³⁰ *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 271 (SCRIPTA 6583); *Calendar*, ed. Round, no. 656 (*Livre Blanc*, fol. 99v/117v and 100v/118v).

³¹ *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 271 (SCRIPTA 6583); *Calendar*, ed. Round, no. 656 (*Livre Blanc*, fol. 99v/117v and 100v/118v).

³² *Ctl. Shrewsbury Abbey*, ed. Rees, 33, 38; Eyton, *Shropshire*, i. 109.

³³ *Ctl. Shrewsbury Abbey*, ed. Rees, 33, 38.

Name	Origin (or known continental property)	As tenant-in-chief £	Held from Earl Roger £	Held from other lords £	Assigned to subtenant or sub-subtenants £	Cross-Channel landholder?	In Norman charters after 1066	In English charters	Benefactor of Shrewsbury?
Tuold de Villy	Villy-sur-Yères, Seine-Maritime, cant. Eu. ³⁴	0.00	11.85	0.20. ³⁵	3.48		0	1. ³⁶	Drayton (1094x1102). ³⁷
Osmelin de Sai	Sai, Orne, cant. Argentan-Est	0.00	9.15	2.35	0.00	Sai; Urou-et-Crennes. ³⁸	3. ³⁹	1. ⁴⁰	
Robert fitz Corbet	Boitron, Orne, cant. Le Mêle-sur-Sarthe.	0.00	8.88	0.00	0.90		0	2. ⁴¹	Loton (1108x1121). ⁴²
Odo de Bernières	Bernières-sur-Mer, Calvados, cant. Douvres-la-Délivrande	0.00	2.50	3.12	0.00		0	2. ⁴³	Hordley (1083x1094); Broadstone (1121x1139). ⁴⁴
Hugh fitz Turgis	-	0.00	2.15	0.00	0.00		1. ⁴⁵	0	-

³⁴ *Cartulaire du Tréport*, ed. de Kermaingant, no. 1, p. 3, n. 12.

³⁵ GDB 253r (Shropshire 3f:1). Identifiable through proximity to Pitchford: Eyton, *Shropshire*, ii. 46.

³⁶ *Ctl. Shrewsbury Abbey*, ed. Rees, 34, 39.

³⁷ *Ctl. Shrewsbury Abbey*, ed. Rees, 34, 39.

³⁸ Eyton, *Shropshire*, xi. 225-27 (SCRIPTA 281).

³⁹ Thompson, 'Cross-Channel Estates', no. 19, p. 238 (*Livre Blanc*, fol. 6v/11v); Eyton, *Shropshire*, xi. 225-27 (SCRIPTA 281); *Livre Blanc*, fol. 86r/100r.

⁴⁰ *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 281 III (SCRIPTA 6588; ARTEM 4883).

⁴¹ *Ctl. Shrewsbury Abbey*, ed. Rees, 1-3, 9-10, 36.

⁴² *Ctl. Shrewsbury Abbey*, ed. Rees, 34, 39.

⁴³ *Ctl. Shrewsbury Abbey*, ed. Rees, 15n, 33-34, 39, 43, 258.

⁴⁴ *Ctl. Shrewsbury Abbey*, ed. Rees, 15n, 33-34, 39, 43, 258.

⁴⁵ OV, iii. 140.

Two of Roger's subtenants in Sussex were of particular significance: Robert fitz Theobald and William d'Anneville. The next wealthiest, Hugh and Geoffrey (£28 8s and £24 respectively) cannot be identified.

Roger's most significant subtenant in Sussex was **Robert fitz Theobald**, who also patronized Shrewsbury Abbey with property in Shropshire. Charters record Robert with Roger somewhere in Normandy between 1068 and 1077, and at Alençon in 1086 or 1087.¹ In 1086 Robert was with Roger at the royal court at Lacock.² Two charters identify Robert as a *vicecomes*.³ Robert was solely Earl Roger's man – in this respect more akin to the seigneurial *vicecomites* of Normandy than the royal shire-reeves of England. Given the location of Robert's lands, he was probably not the king's sheriff of Sussex, but was Roger's *vicecomes* of the rape of Arundel.⁴ As Robert 'of Arundel', he granted property at Hardham to St Pancras of Lewes.⁵ His English toponymic and his patronage of Lewes and Shrewsbury show his commitment to an English career. A Sées charter records his death-bed bequest of property in Toddington (near Arundel) to Saint-Martin de Sées in 1087, and states that he was buried at Saint-Martin de Sées.⁶ Robert the *vicecomes* was probably a cross-Channel landholder, for his son, Hugh de Médavy, had continental property at the unidentifiable *aludo*.⁷ Robert fitz Theobald was the lord of Hugh de Bures, benefactor of Saint-Martin de Sées by 1089.⁸ Hugh de Médavy was the *dapifer* of William Talvas II, count of Ponthieu, in Normandy in 1119.⁹

¹ Thompson, 'Cross-Channel Estates', no. 19, p. 238 (*Livre Blanc*, fol. 6v/11v); OV, iii. 140.

² *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 146 (SCRIPTA 6498).

³ *Livre Blanc*, fols. 99v/117v-110r/118r and 100v/118v-101r/119r: *Rotbertus vicecomes filius tetbaldi*; *Ctl. Shrewsbury Abbey*, ed. Rees, 34: *Robertus filius thetbalt vicecomes*.

⁴ Mason, 'Officers and Clerks', 244-45.

⁵ *Calendar*, ed. Round, no. 1391.

⁶ *Calendar*, ed. Round, no. 655 (*Livre Blanc*, fol. 101r/119r-102r/120r).

⁷ *Livre Blanc*, fol. 54r/63r. For the identity of Robert's son, see also OV, iii. 140; Thompson, 'Cross-Channel Estates', 97. Médavy, Orne, cant. Sées.

⁸ *Livre Blanc*, fol. 42v/50v, 34r/42r.

⁹ *Pontieu*, ed. Brunel, no. 22bis, p. 661.

Table 29: Robert fitz Theobald's estate in England

Shire	Held as Roger's subtenant		Held in demesne		Let to sub-subtenants		Held as subtenant of another lord		Net income £
	Estates	£	Estates	£	Estates	£	Estates	£	
Shropshire	4.00 ¹⁰	16.25	3.00	16.25	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	16.25
Sussex	36.00 ¹¹	186.04	20.64	126.95	15.36	59.09	0.00	0.00	126.95
Total	40.00	202.29	23.64	143.20	16.36	59.09	0.00	0.00	143.20

Robert's property in England was held before 1130 by a certain Alan and Reynold, successively husbands of a certain Aveline, and was acquired in the later 1130s by Jocelyn de Louvain, brother of Queen Adeliza.¹² It cannot be shown that Aveline or her husbands were connected to Robert fitz Theobald's family, so Robert's heir was probably implicated in the rebellion of 1102.¹³

Roger's next most significant subtenant in Sussex was named William, and the later descent of most of the manors under this name identifies their holder as **William d'Anneville**, whom Domesday Book records holding Avon (Hampshire) from Earl Roger.¹⁴ In 1106, William visited Lessay to grant that abbey property around Anneville-en-Saire (confirmed by William Talvas II, count of Ponthieu, in 1118).¹⁵ Anneville-en-Saire was just 2.7 kilometres from Earl Roger's property at Réville in the Cotentin.¹⁶

¹⁰ GDB 256v (Shropshire 4:9).

¹¹ GDB 23r-25r (Sussex 11:2,8,10-14,17-25,27,31,47,50-53,55,57,60,61,69-73), identifiable by later descent: Palmer, 'Notes on the Identifications', 365. Four more identifiable by proximity: GDB 24r-25r (Sussex 11:49,58,78,79).

¹² W. Farrer, *Honors and Knights' Fees*, 3 vols. (London, 1923-1925), iii. 17.

¹³ S. James and D. A. Seal, 'Introduction to the Sussex Domesday', in *Sussex Domesday*, eds. Williams and Erskine, 1-25, at 23.

¹⁴ GDB 44v (Hampshire 21:4); Farrer, *Honors and Knights' Fees*, iii. 56.

¹⁵ *Pontieu*, ed. Brunel, no. 73 (SCRIPTA 3175).

¹⁶ For Réville, see *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 281 II (SCRIPTA 6588; ARTEM 2355).

Table 30: William d'Anneville's estate in England

Shire	Held as Roger's subtenant		Held in demesne		Let to sub-subtenants		Held as subtenant of another lord		Net income £
	Estates	£	Estates	£	Estates	£	Estates	£	
Hampshire	1.00	0.75	1.00	0.75	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.75
Sussex	19.00 ¹⁷	58.00	12.02	40.22	6.98	17.78	0.00	0.00	40.22
Warwickshire	1.00 ¹⁸	3.00	1.00	3.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	3.00
Total	21.00	61.75	14.02	43.97	6.98	17.78	0.00	0.00	43.97

Roger gave Robert fitz Theobald and William d'Anneville distinct spheres of influence (see Figure 38). It has been shown that Roger arranged their estates to maintain control of the routes from the south coast towards London, in conjunction with his own demesne.¹⁹ William d'Anneville's grant to Lessay shows that he was alive in 1106. However, in 1105, William's property in England was held by King Henry I's steward Robert de Hai, who granted much of it to Lessay in that year.²⁰ It is most plausible that William forfeited his property in England in 1102, and that King Henry gave it to Robert de Hai. In 1118, Robert witnessed the confirmation of William's grant to Lessay by William's son, Geoffrey, and William count of Ponthieu. Robert received compensation in return.²¹ This suggests that he had acquired rights over William's Norman property too (perhaps as Geoffrey's lord).

¹⁷ GDB 23v-24r, 25r-v (Sussex 11:16,43,44,81-83,102-07,114), identifiable by later descent: Farrer, *Honors and Knights' Fees*, iii. 55-61; *VCH Sussex*, v. 197. Also possible is Lordington: GDB 24r (Sussex 11:35); Farrer, *Honors and Knights' Fees*, iii. 41; Mason, 'Aspects of Subinfeudation', 122. Five more are identifiable by proximity: GDB 23r, 25r-v (Sussex 11:2-3,77,91,98).

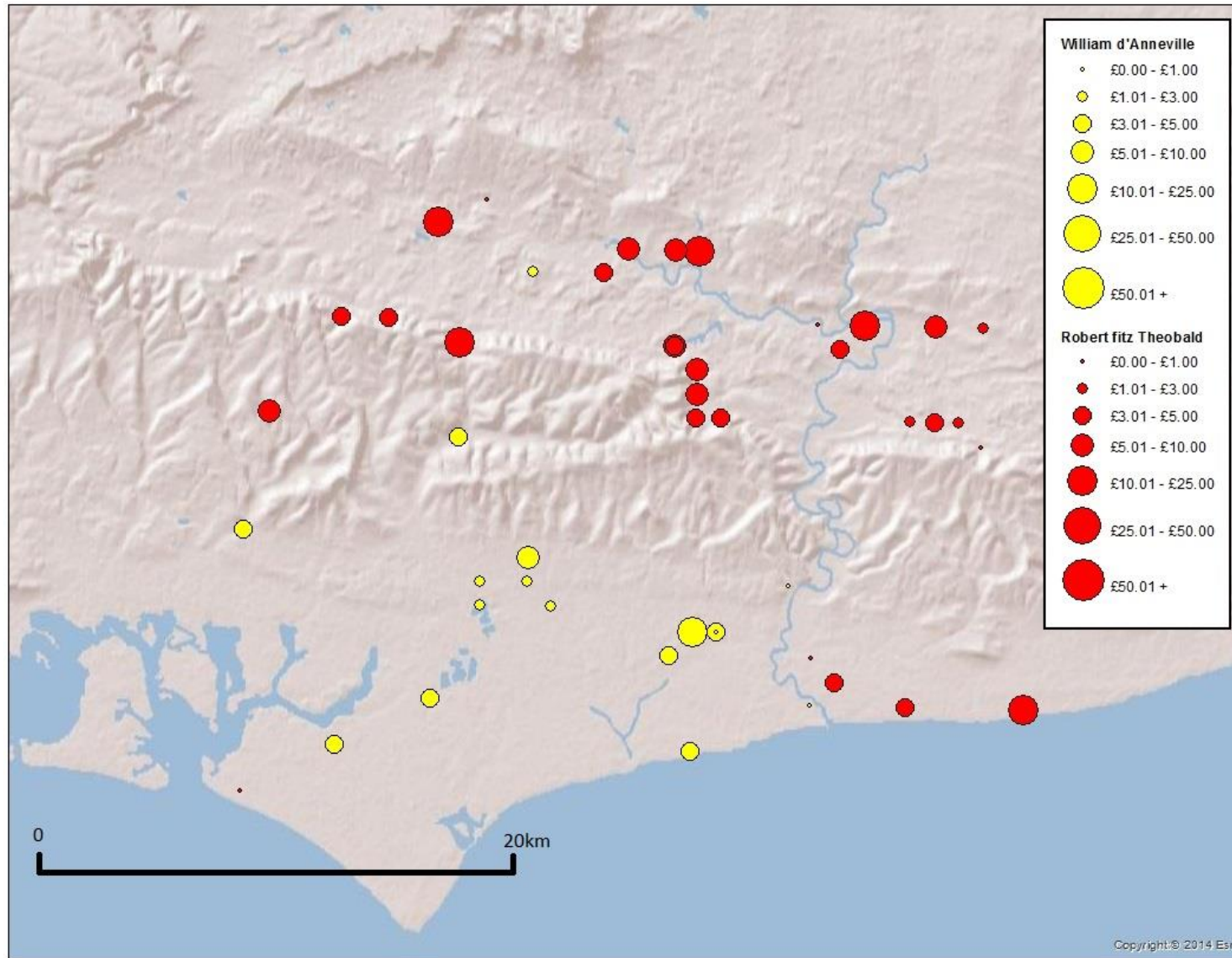
¹⁸ GDB 239r (Warwickshire 12:6); Farrer, *Honors and Knights' Fees*, iii. 56. Identifiable by later descent.

¹⁹ Mason, 'Aspects of Subinfeudation', 119-22; James and Seal, 'Introduction to the Sussex Domesday', 23.

²⁰ Farrer, *Honors and Knights' Fees*, iii. 56; *GC*, xi. instr. col. 233 (SCRIPTA 287/1881; *Calendar*, ed. Round, no. 921).

²¹ *Pontieu*, ed. Brunel, no. 73 (SCRIPTA 3175).

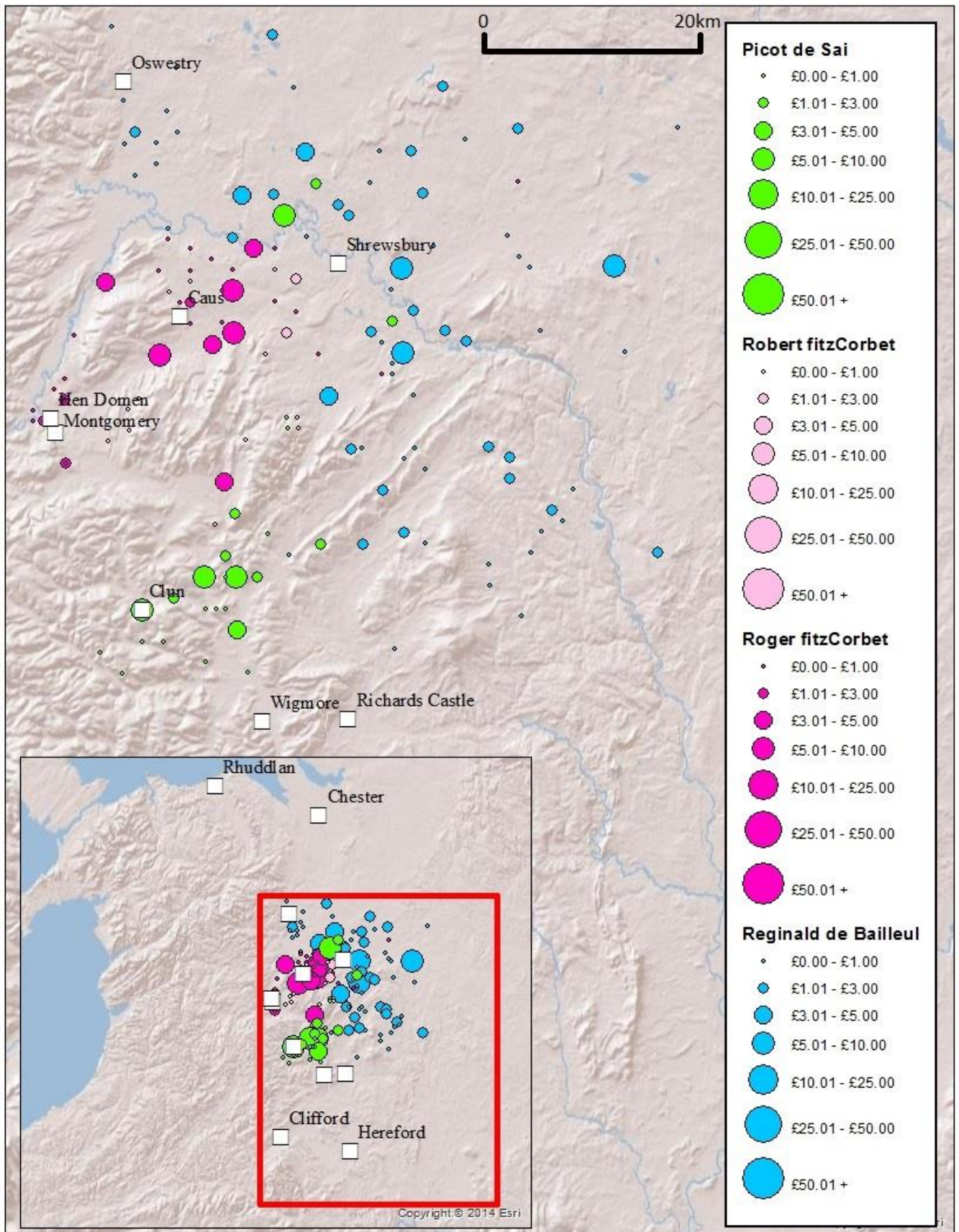
Figure 38: The Sussex estates of Robert fitz Theobald and William d'Anneville



In Shropshire, three of Roger's subtenants stand apart from the rest: the marcher lords Picot de Sai, Reynold de Bailleul and Roger fitz Corbet (see Figure 39). Their lordships were evidently military in function, each with a castle in a hundred on the Welsh frontier.¹

¹ Lewis, 'English and Norman Government', 226-27; Darby, 'Marches of Wales', 268-69; Davies, *Age of Conquest*, 30; M. Lieberman, *The Medieval March of Wales: the Creation and Perception of a Frontier, 1066-1283* (Cambridge, 2010), 59-61, 108.

Figure 39: Property held from Earl Roger in and around Shropshire by Reynold de Bailleul, lord of Oswestry, Picot de Sai, lord of Clun, and the sons of Corbet, lord of Caus



King Henry I's confirmation charter for Shrewsbury Abbey shows that a benefactor, **Picot de Sai** (since deceased), was identical with Roger's subtenant, Picot.² Between 1077 and 1089, Picot signed or witnessed two grants of continental property to Saint-Martin de Sées which were confirmed by Earl Roger.³ On 17 May 1086, Picot was at Robert de Bellême's court at Bellême, where Robert adjudicated a dispute between Picot and Picot's wife Adeloia's former brother-in-law.⁴ Two weeks later, Picot was among the judges of another dispute heard at Bellême.⁵ By 1089, Picot granted property near Sai to Saint-Martin de Sées.⁶ Due to the rarity of his name, he is probably Picot *dapifer*, witness of Walter de Clinchamp's continental grant to Saint-Martin de Sées in 1089.⁷ The same charter records Picot's confirmation of continental grants by Osmelin de Sai. Osmelin de Sai is probably, to judge by the rarity of his forename, Roger's subtenant at Binsted and Merston (Sussex).⁸ He granted property at Merston to Troarn.⁹ Because Osmelin was also known as *Avenellus*,¹⁰ he may also be Roger's subtenant *Avenel* at Cothercott in Shropshire, and the witness of one of Roger's Norman charters for Saint-Martin de Sées.¹¹

² *Ctl. Shrewsbury Abbey*, ed. Rees, 34; GDB 258r (Shropshire 4:20:1, 4:20:15).

³ Thompson, 'Cross-Channel Estates', nos. 29 and 30, p. 247-48 (*Livre Blanc*, fols. 25r/32r, 30v/38v).

⁴ Bauduin, 'Du bon usage de la *dos*', 452-54 (SCRIPTA 292).

⁵ *Jumièges*, ed. Vernier, i. no. 34, p. 110 (SCRIPTA 158; ARTEM 2719); Musset, 'Administration et justice', 134.

⁶ Eyton, *Shropshire*, xi. 225-27 (SCRIPTA 281): *Roberto de Sayo, qui cognominabatur Ficot, et Adaloye uxori*. A grant by Picot at Juvigny is also recorded in *Livre Blanc*, fol. 80r/94r.

⁷ *Livre Blanc*, fol. 16r-v/22r-v: *Picot dapifer*; Musset, 'Administration et justice', 137, 145-46.

⁸ GDB 25r-v (Sussex 11:80,110); C. Thorn and F. Thorn, *Shropshire Notes* (University of Hull, downloadable from <https://hydra.hull.ac.uk/resources/hull:552>), note to 4:20.

⁹ *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 281 III (SCRIPTA 6588; ARTEM 4883).

¹⁰ Eyton, *Shropshire*, xi. 225-27 (SCRIPTA 281): *Osmelinus qui cognominabatur Avenellus*.

¹¹ GDB 259v (Shropshire 4:27:8); Thompson, 'Cross-Channel Estates', no. 19, p. 238 (*Livre Blanc*, fol. 6v/11v).

Table 31: Picot de Sai's estate in England

Shire	Held as Roger's subtenant		Held in demesne		Let to sub-subtenants		Held as subtenant of another lord		Net income
	Estates	£	Estates	£	Estates	£	Estates	£	
Shropshire	26.00 ¹²	47.65	19.28	39.65	6.72	8.00	1.00	-1.05 ¹³	38.60
Staffordshire	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00 ¹⁴	0.54	0.54
Sussex	1.00 ¹⁵	10.00	1.00	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	10.00
Total	27.00	57.65	20.28	49.65	6.72	8.00	1.00	-0.51	49.14

Picot's family retained control of the barony of Clun after 1102.¹⁶ His family's commitment to the Welsh frontier is evidenced by his daughter's marriage to Cadwgan ap Bleddyn of Powys.¹⁷

Roger fitz Corbet and **Robert fitz Corbet**, benefactors of Shrewsbury, were probably sons of Corbet, signatory of a charter issued at Troarn in Earl Roger's presence between 1079 and 1083.¹⁸ We have seen that Corbet's family had interests at Boitron (see above, p. 361). Orderic implies that Corbet may have held the estates of both sons before 1086.¹⁹ The same conclusion is suggested by the exact division of certain villis between Corbet's sons, and in their sharing of 40 shillings 'from Wales'.²⁰ Roger was probably the older brother, for charters list him before Robert.²¹ Of Corbet's sons, only Roger fitz Corbet can be traced in a Norman charter (issued by Arnulf de Montgomery between 1094 and 1096).²² It is likely, then, that the careers of both sons were overwhelmingly English. Robert de Bellême left Roger fitz Corbet to defend Bridgnorth against King Henry in 1102.²³ Nonetheless, the sons of Corbet did

¹² GDB 258r-v (Shropshire 4:20).

¹³ Mytton was held at farm from St Mary's of Shrewsbury by Picot: GDB 252v (Shropshire 3d:5). Identification based on proximity to Fitz: Palmer, 'Notes on the Identifications', 327.

¹⁴ Identified tentatively as the bishop of Chester's subtenant, due to relative proximity: GDB 247r (Staffordshire 2:6).

¹⁵ GDB 25r (Sussex 11:74); Palmer, 'Notes on the Identifications', 327. Identification based on rarity of name.

¹⁶ Sanders, *Baronies*, 112-13.

¹⁷ Davies, *Age of Conquest*, 102.

¹⁸ *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 283 (SCRIPTA 6590; ARTEM 2341).

¹⁹ OV, ii. 262.

²⁰ GDB 253v (Shropshire 4:1:15), 255v (Shropshire 4:4:17, 4:4:21), 256r (Shropshire 4:5:10, 4:5:12); Lieberman, *Medieval March*, 60; Lewis, 'English and Norman Government', 226.

²¹ J. Meisel, *Barons of the Welsh Frontiers: the Corbet, Pantulf and Fitz Warin Families, 1066-1272* (Lincoln, NE, 1980), 3-4.

²² Thompson, 'Cross-Channel Estates', no. 67, p. 270 (*Livre Blanc*, fol. 79v/93v).

²³ OV, vi. 24.

not forfeit their property in England in 1102, perhaps because Henry respected their loyalty towards their lord Robert, and he wanted to win them over for himself.²⁴

Table 32: Roger fitz Corbet's estate in England

Shire	Held as Roger's subtenant		Held in demesne		Let to sub-subtenants		Held as subtenant of another lord		Net income £
	Estates	£	Estates	£	Estates	£	Estates	£	
Shropshire	38.00 ²⁵	58.06	30.41	44.81	7.59	13.25	0.00	0.00	44.81
Total	38.00	58.06	30.41	44.81	7.59	13.25	0.00	0.00	44.81

Table 33: Robert fitz Corbet's estate in England

Shire	Held as Roger's subtenant		Held in demesne		Let to sub-subtenants		Held as subtenant of another lord		Net income £
	Estates	£	Estates	£	Estates	£	Estates	£	
Shropshire	15.00 ²⁶	8.88	13.00	7.98	2.00	0.90	0.00	0.00	7.98
Total	15.00	8.88	13.00	7.98	2.00	0.90	0.00	0.00	7.98

Orderic states that Roger gave the *praesidatum* of Shrewsbury to Warin the Bald, husband of Roger's niece Amieria. *Praesidatum* can be translated as the 'governorship of a province', or more appropriately in this case, 'office of sheriff'.²⁷ Orderic and King Henry's charter for Shrewsbury Abbey identify Warin as a *vicecomes*.²⁸ He was probably Roger's representative in Shropshire when Roger was absent, for Orderic says Roger employed Warin to 'pacify the whole province' under Roger's rule.²⁹ Warin's continental origins are unknown. Warin's grants

²⁴ Sanders, *Baronies*, 29. For Henry's merciful treatment of the defenders of Bridgnorth, see Strickland, *War and Chivalry*, 252.

²⁵ Roger fitz Corbet is named in GDB 255v (Shropshire 4:4). For additional manors identifiable by later descent, see GDB 253v (Shropshire 4:1:7-9); and notes to all three manors in *Domesday Book: Shropshire*, eds. F. Thorn and C. Thorn (Chichester, 1986). GDB 254r (4:1:36) is identifiable by proximity and later descent: Eyton, *Shropshire*, xi. 150.

²⁶ GDB 256r (Shropshire 4:5).

²⁷ OV, ii. 262: *Warino autem Caluo...Amieriam neptem suam et praesidatum Scrobesburiae dedit*. See *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources* (accessed at www.dmlbs.ox.ac.uk/publications/online, on 9 September 2016).

²⁸ OV, iii. 146; iii. 234: *Guarinus uicecomes de Scrobesburia; Ctl. Shrewsbury Abbey*, ed. Rees, 33.

²⁹ OV, ii. 262.

of property at Newton, Sheriff Hales and Weston-under-Lizard to Saint-Evroult were confirmed by Roger by 1081.³⁰ Warin also granted property at Tugford, Upton Magna and Berrington to Shrewsbury Abbey before 1086.³¹ He died between 1085 (when he witnessed a grant by the bishop of Hereford with Roger) and 1086, for Domesday Book lists his estates under Reynold de Bailleul's name.³² Warin's widow, Amieria, married Reynold.³³

Domesday Book identifies Warin the Bald as the predecessor of *vicecomes* **Reynold de Bailleul**.³⁴ It is probable that Reynold acquired Warin's *præsidatum* as the guardian of Warin's son Hugh, for Reynold and Hugh jointly patronized Shrewsbury Abbey after Roger's death.³⁵ Reynold's marriage to Roger's niece, his origins near Roger's property at Trun, and his overwhelming dependence on Roger for his English wealth indicates that Reynold, like Robert fitz Theobald, was a *vicecomes* subordinate to the earl, rather than King William's man. In 1086 or 1087, Reynold joined Earl Roger at Alençon, where Roger confirmed Reynold's grant of property at Bailleul-en-Gouffern to Saint-Evroult.³⁶ Reynold was with Robert de Bellême at Le Merlerault after 1089.³⁷

³⁰ *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 255 (SCRIPTA 6568); OV, iii. 234.

³¹ *Ctl. Shrewsbury Abbey*, ed. Rees, 33.

³² Galbraith, 'Episcopal Land Grant', 372; Thompson, 'Cross-Channel Estates', 116.

³³ *Ctl. Shrewsbury Abbey*, ed. Rees, 33; OV, iii. 140.

³⁴ GDB 254r (Shropshire 4:3:1,8); 255v (Shropshire 4:3:71).

³⁵ Thompson, 'Cross-Channel Estates', 126; *VCH Shropshire*, i. 296.

³⁶ OV, iii. 140.

³⁷ *Livre Blanc*, fol. 8r-v/14r-v (continued from an unknown folio).

Table 34: Reynold de Bailleul's estate in England

Shire	Held as tenant-in-chief		Held as Roger's subtenant		Held in demesne		Let to subtenants or sub-subtenants		Held as subtenant of another lord		Net income
	Estates	£	Estates	£	Estates	£	Estates	£	Estates	£	£
Cheshire	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	3.33 ³⁸	2.78	2.78
Shropshire	0.00	0.00	72.00	94.59	27.53	52.03	44.47	42.56	0.00	0.00	52.03
Sussex	0.00	0.00	3.00 ³⁹	21.05	3.00	21.05	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	21.05
Staffordshire	2.00 ⁴⁰	4.25	3.00 ⁴¹	10.50	4.00	12.50	1.00	2.25	0.00	0.00	12.50
Warwickshire	0.00	0.00	3.00 ⁴²	13.75	3.00	13.75	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	13.75
Total	2.00	4.25	81.00	139.39	37.53	99.33	45.47	44.81	3.33	2.78	102.11

Reynold remained *vicecomes* at some point between 1094 and 1098, but cannot be found in England later.⁴³ At some point after 1094, Warin's son Hugh acquired Warin's former property from Reynold, presumably because Hugh's minority was over.⁴⁴ By 1114, the English estate of Warin/Reynold/Hugh was in the hands of one of King Henry I's favourites, Alan fitz Flaad.⁴⁵ Hugh may have died childless, or he could have lost his property in 1102. Reynold's son, Reynold II, granted property at Trun to Troarn in 1108, 1121 and 1122.⁴⁶ Reynold II was with William Talvas II, count of Ponthieu, in Normandy in 1119, and was the castellan of Le Renouard.⁴⁷ This shows that Reynold's family was significant on Roger's Norman fief.

Unlike Roger's important subtenants on the Welsh frontier, **William Pantulf's** Shropshire manors were scattered throughout the shire, and did not dominate a particular region.

³⁸ GDB 267v-268r (Cheshire 22:1-2, 27:3). The tenant-in-chief was Hugh d'Avranches.

³⁹ GDB 24v (Sussex 11:67). Identifiable by later descent: James and Seal, 'Introduction to the Sussex Domesday', 23. GDB 24r and 25v (Sussex 11:46, 116), identified less certainly, because they are the only two other Reynolds on Roger's English estate.

⁴⁰ GDB 250v (Staffordshire 14:1-2).

⁴¹ GDB 248r (Staffordshire 8:4-6). Identifiable by charter evidence and later descent: *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 255 (SCRIPTA 6568); OV, iii. 234; J. Morris, C. Thorn and F. Thorn, *Staffordshire Notes* (University of Hull, downloadable from <https://hydra.hull.ac.uk/resources/hull:554>), notes to 8:4-6.

⁴² GDB 239r (Warwickshire 12:3-5, 12:7). Identifiable by charter evidence: *Calendar*, ed. Round, no. 578.

⁴³ *Ctl. Shrewsbury Abbey*, ed. Rees, 35.

⁴⁴ *Ctl. Shrewsbury Abbey*, ed. Rees, 258-59: King Stephen's charter refers to Alan fitz Flaad, *qui honorem vicecomitis Warini post filium eius suscepit*.

⁴⁵ *Ctl. Shrewsbury Abbey*, ed. Rees, 39, 258-59.

⁴⁶ Rouet, 'Entre gestation et historiographie', annexe, p. xxxii-xxxvi.

⁴⁷ *Pontieu*, ed. Brunel, no. 22bis, p. 661; OV, vi. 214, 402.

Table 35: William Pantulf's estate in England

Shire	Held as Roger's subtenant		Held in demesne		Let to subtenants		Held as subtenant of another lord		Net income £
	Estates	£	Estates	£	Estates	£	Estates	£	
Shropshire	30.00 ⁴⁸	14.65	22.00	11.50	8.00	3.15	0.00	0.00	11.50
Staffordshire	4.00 ⁴⁹	4.00	4.00	4.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	4.00
Total	34.00	18.65	26.00	15.50	8.00	3.15	0.00	0.00	15.50

Roger's subtenant was probably the son of the William Pantulf who signed Duke Robert I's charter concerning the market Roger I de Montgomery restored at Vimoutiers, sometime between 1027 and 1035.⁵⁰ Roger's subtenant founded the priory of Noron in 1073/74, and subjected it to Saint-Evroult.⁵¹ William Pantulf's endowment of Noron includes tithes from all of his English lands, but none are specified, so he probably had not received them yet. This is a possible indication that William received his English land from Roger between 1073/74 and 1086 – a significant observation, given the rarity with which dates of enfeoffment can be estimated.⁵² William's grants to Noron were confirmed by Earl Roger at Bellême in 1074,⁵³ and Noron's endowment shows that the two families were neighbours around Troarn and Montgomery.⁵⁴ William was suspected of complicity in Mabel's murder because he was a friend of Hugh Bunel, and Mabel had seized William's castle of Peray in Maine. However, William was exonerated after an ordeal of hot iron at Rouen.⁵⁵ The fact that William Pantulf was tried at King William's court surely demonstrates the Conqueror's success in restraining violence and maintaining order by this stage in his reign.⁵⁶ The continuation of William Pantulf's relationship with the Montgommerys is indicative of the aristocracy's willingness to

⁴⁸ GDB 257r-v (Shropshire 4:14). Another manor is identifiable by later descent: GDB 253v (Shropshire 4:1:22); and note in *Domesday Shropshire*, eds. Thorn and Thorn.

⁴⁹ GDB 248r (Staffordshire 8:19-22).

⁵⁰ *RADN*, no. 74 (SCRIPTA 1520; ARTEM 2690); Thompson, 'Cross-Channel Estates', 50-51.

⁵¹ *OV*, iii. 156-58.

⁵² Thompson, 'Cross-Channel Estates', 122-23.

⁵³ *OV*, iii. 154-58.

⁵⁴ Thompson, 'Cross-Channel Estates', 51.

⁵⁵ *OV*, iii. 160. Peray, Sarthe, cant. Marolles-les-Braults.

⁵⁶ Bates, *William the Conqueror* (2016), 415.

resolve conflict.⁵⁷ William Pantulf signed Roger's charters for Saint-Martin de Sées (between 1074 and 1077) and Saint-Evroult (at Alençon in 1086 or 1087).⁵⁸ William Pantulf and his son Robert witnessed Arnulf de Montgomery's grant of property at Argentan to Saint-Martin de Sées between 1094 and 1096, probably (to judge from the witness list) at Curthose's court in Normandy.⁵⁹ William's sons Philip, Ivo, Arnulf, Hugh and Robert all shared names with members of the house of Montgomery-Bellême, and Ivo Pantulf even granted property at Montgomery to Almenêches by 1176.⁶⁰ William's property in England was seized by Robert de Bellême in 1098, so in 1102 William assisted King Henry against Robert's rebellion.⁶¹ After William's death soon after 1112, his Norman and English lands passed to his sons Philip and Robert respectively, which undermines Le Patourel's assertion that cross-Channel landholders preferred to keep their estates together.⁶²

Most of **Helgot's** manors held directly from Roger were concentrated in the central part of southern Shropshire. At Stanton Holdgate, he held a castle.⁶³ His grant to Shrewsbury was added to by his son, **Herbert**, between 1094 and 1102.⁶⁴ Helgot and Herbert witnessed the foundation charter of Quatford between 1089 and 1092.⁶⁵

⁵⁷ For the continuation of the relationship, see Roche, 'The Way Vengeance Comes', 128-29.

⁵⁸ Thompson, 'Cross-Channel Estates', no. 19, p. 238 (*Livre Blanc*, fol. 6v/11v); OV, iii. 142.

⁵⁹ Thompson, 'Cross-Channel Estates', no. 67, p. 270 (*Livre Blanc*, fol. 79v/93v).

⁶⁰ Musset, 'Almenêches', 36; Thompson, 'Cross-Channel Estates', 51.

⁶¹ OV, vi. 24-28.

⁶² OV, iii. 162-64; iv. 72; Meisel, *Barons of the Welsh Frontier*, 25-26.

⁶³ GDB 258v (Shropshire 4:21:5-6).

⁶⁴ *Ctl. Shrewsbury Abbey*, ed. Rees, 4, 33, 38.

⁶⁵ Eyton, *Shropshire*, i. 109.

Table 36: Helgot's estate in England

Shire	Held as Roger's subtenant		Held in demesne		Let to tenants		Held as subtenant of another lord		Net income
	Estates	£	Estates	£	Estates	£	Estates	£	£
Shropshire	19.00 ⁶⁶	13.30	15.00	10.25	4.00	3.05	5.00 ⁶⁷	2.10	12.35
Staffordshire	1.00 ⁶⁸	1.50	1.00	1.50	0.00	0.00	2.00 ⁶⁹	4.00	5.50
Total	20.00	14.80	16.00	11.75	4.00	3.05	7.00	6.10	17.85

Helgot's son, Herbert, was probably Roger de Lassy's tenant at Stanton Long, held in chief by Earl Roger.⁷⁰ Herbert is identifiable as Herbert *de Furcis*, who witnessed Roger de Lassy's agreement with the bishop of Hereford in 1085 and granted property in Shrewsbury to Shrewsbury Abbey, probably before 1094.⁷¹ Evidence from the first decade of the thirteenth century confirms that the *Furcis* family had succeeded to Helgot's property by 1135.⁷² Helgot and Herbert were presumably related to Christian *de Furcis*, who witnessed Walkelin d'Urou's Norman grant to Saint-Martin de Sées before 1089.⁷³ *Furcis* is identifiable as Fourches, where Robert de Bellême built a castle, and presided over pleas between 1094 and 1105 and in 1101.⁷⁴ The later descent of Meadowley suggests that Helgot's tenant at Meadowley was Richard de Beaumais, and Richard may also have been his tenant at Preen.⁷⁵ Beaumais was just 3.9 kilometres north of Fourches, and Richard witnessed English charters of Earl Roger and Hugh de Montgomery after 1088 and 1094 respectively.⁷⁶

⁶⁶ GDB 258v (Shropshire 4:21).

⁶⁷ As tenant of Ralph de Mortemer: GDB 256v-257r (Shropshire 4:11:1, 4:11:9); 260v (Shropshire 6:27, 6:29, 6:32); Lewis, 'Introduction to the Shropshire Domesday', 19. Burwarton, which Helgot held from Ralph (from Earl Roger) descended with at least three of the manors of Earl Roger's subtenant by the late twelfth century: Eyton, *Shropshire*, v. 62.

⁶⁸ GDB 249r (Staffordshire 8:24).

⁶⁹ GDB 249r (Staffordshire 11:24, 11:43). Identifiable as Robert of Stafford's subtenant by rarity of name.

⁷⁰ GDB 256v (Shropshire 4:8:6).

⁷¹ Galbraith, 'Episcopal Land Grant', 372; *Ctl. Shrewsbury Abbey*, ed. Rees, p. xix, 42, 256, 261; Eyton, *Shropshire*, v. 44-47. Thompson identified Helgot's son as Herbert *de Furcis* without providing evidence: Thompson, 'Cross-Channel Estates', 142 n. 130.

⁷² Eyton, *Shropshire*, v. 45, 62.

⁷³ Eyton, *Shropshire*, xi. 225-27 (SCRIPTA 281).

⁷⁴ OV, iv. 229-33; Thompson, 'Cross-Channel Estates', no. 71, p. 272 (B. N. ms. lat. 10086, fol. 180v) and p. 142 n. 130; *Pontieu*, ed. Brunel, no. 15 (SCRIPTA 3156).

⁷⁵ Mason, 'Officers and Clerks', 253-54; Eyton, *Shropshire*, i. 149; vi. 221.

⁷⁶ *Calendar*, ed. Round, no. 656 (*Livre Blanc*, fol. 99v/117v and 100v/118v); *Ctl. Shrewsbury Abbey*, ed. Rees, 9-10, 34-35; Loyd, *Origins*, 13-14. Beaumais-sur-Dive, Calvados, cant. Morteaux-Coulibœuf.

King Henry I's confirmation charter for Shrewsbury shows that **Gerard de Tournai**, a benefactor who died before Roger, was Roger's subtenant, Gerard.⁷⁷ In 1085 Gerard was with Roger to witness the bishop of Hereford's grant to Roger de Lassy.⁷⁸ He kept his English estate after 1102.⁷⁹

Roger's subtenant, Tuold, was **Tuold de Villy**, benefactor of Shrewsbury.⁸⁰ He was probably related to Robert count of Eu's stepson Roger fitz Tuold (d. 1066), who granted property at *Verleio* (Villy-sur-Yères, Seine-Maritime, cant. Eu) to Le Tréport.⁸¹ Due to the distance of Villy-sur-Yères from Roger's Norman property, the relationship is likely to have been forged in England. Tuold did not forfeit in 1102.⁸²

Norman's fief was near Shropshire's forests.⁸³ He is identified as a huntsman in his grant to Shrewsbury.⁸⁴ The foundation charter of Quatford names Norman as the brother of Roger the huntsman, who follows him in Domesday Book.⁸⁵ Norman granted property at Macé to Saint-Martin de Sées by 1082.⁸⁶ Norman (by 1087) and his son Richard (in 1088) later added unidentified property.⁸⁷

Roger's subtenant in Shropshire, **Hugh fitz Turgis**, signed Earl Roger's charter for Saint-Evrault (datable 1086 or 1087) at Alençon.⁸⁸ Given the rarity of the name, the Turgis holding from Earl Roger in Sussex is probably Hugh's father.⁸⁹

⁷⁷ GDB 258v-259r (Shropshire 4:23); *Ctl. Shrewsbury Abbey*, ed. Rees, 33, 38.

⁷⁸ Galbraith, 'Episcopal Land Grant', 372.

⁷⁹ Eyton, *Shropshire*, viii. 128; *VCH Shropshire*, i. 298; *Ctl. Shrewsbury Abbey*, ed. Rees, 28.

⁸⁰ *Ctl. Shrewsbury Abbey*, ed. Rees, 34, 39; *Toraldu de verleio*; GDB 257v-258r (Shropshire 4:19).

⁸¹ Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People*, 431. For Roger fitz Tuold, see above, p. 191.

⁸² *Ctl. Shrewsbury Abbey*, ed. Rees, 34, 39.

⁸³ GDB 259r (Shropshire 4:25).

⁸⁴ *Ctl. Shrewsbury Abbey*, ed. Rees, 33, 38.

⁸⁵ Eyton, *Shropshire*, i. 109.

⁸⁶ *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 271 (SCRIPTA 6583).

⁸⁷ *Calendar*, ed. Round, no. 656 (*Livre Blanc*, fol. 99v/117v and 100v/118v); *Livre Blanc*, fol. 97v/115v.

⁸⁸ GDB 258v (Shropshire 4:22); OV, iii. 140.

⁸⁹ GDB 25v (Sussex 11:106); Lewis, 'Introduction to the Shropshire Domesday', 23.

Roger's subtenant, Odo, can be identified as **Odo de Bernières**, benefactor of Shrewsbury Abbey.⁹⁰ He originated from Bernières-sur-Mer, just 2.5 kilometres east of Courseulles-sur-Mer, where another of Earl Roger's subtenants, Roger de Courseulles, originated.⁹¹ In fact, Roger de Courseulles granted property at Bernières to Troarn at an uncertain date.⁹² It is therefore likely that the families of Roger de Courseulles and Odo de Bernières were acquainted in Normandy before 1066, and that the relationship was renewed in England.⁹³ Earl Roger was influential near Bernières by 1068, by which time Troarn had property less than 4 kilometres away.⁹⁴ Roger de Courseulles held an estate worth around £170 centred in Somerset in 1086, so he was wealthy enough to have attracted Odo to England. This seems probable, but both men would have at least felt Earl Roger's influence in Normandy before becoming his subtenants in England.

Gilbert de Sannerville granted property at Chirbury to Shrewsbury in 1094 and originated from one of the first places granted by Earl Roger to Troarn.⁹⁵ He cannot be securely identified in Domesday Book, but he seems the likeliest identification for Roger's constable Gilbert, who witnessed the bishop of Hereford's charter of 1085 among the earl's men, and who was with the earl at Alençon in 1086 or 1087.⁹⁶ The constable also witnessed one of Roger's charters for Saint-Martin de Sées after 1088.⁹⁷

⁹⁰ GDB 257v (Shropshire 4:18).

⁹¹ GDB 256r (Shropshire 4:7). Bernières-sur-Mer, Calvados, cant. Douvres-la-Déivrande; Courseulles-sur-Mer, Calvados, cant. Creully.

⁹² *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 281 II (SCRIPTA 6588; ARTEM 2355).

⁹³ Lewis, 'English and Norman Government', 234.

⁹⁴ *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 280 (SCRIPTA 6587); B. N. ms. Lat. 10086, fol. 49v, 52r; A. D. Calvados, H 8856. Langrune-sur-Mer, Calvados, cant. Douvres-la-Déivrande; Tailleville, Calvados, cant. Douvres-la-Déivrande.

⁹⁵ *Ctl. Shrewsbury Abbey*, ed. Rees, 34, 39; *RADN*, no. 144 (SCRIPTA 1588). Sannerville, Calvados, cant. Troarn.

⁹⁶ Galbraith, 'Episcopal Land Grant', 372; OV, iii. 140.

⁹⁷ *Calendar*, ed. Round, no. 656 (*Livre Blanc*, fol. 99v/117v and 100v/118v).

Due to the rarity of his name, **Ernuicion**, subtenant in Sussex and Shropshire, was probably the Ernucion *Balbet* who granted property at Trun to Saint-Martin de Sées before 1077.⁹⁸

Richard de Montgaroult cannot be identified as a subtenant, but he was with Roger in Normandy and England. He witnessed a grant to Shrewsbury by Siward *Grossus*, witnessed a plea at Earl Roger's court at Alençon between 1078 and 1089 as a chaplain, and signed a record of a purchase of (probably continental) land by Saint-Martin de Sées between 1078 and 1089.⁹⁹ His place of origin was 3.3 kilometres from Roger's property at Goulet.¹⁰⁰

A charter for Shrewsbury Abbey records that a chaplain, **Richard du Ménil-Hermei**, held a prebend of Morville, which his son would try to retain between 1108 and 1114.¹⁰¹ Earl Roger had interests 6 kilometres west of Ménil-Hermei, at Ségrie-Fontaine,¹⁰² so it is likely that Richard was brought to England by Earl Roger or Robert de Bellême.

Not many of Roger's subtenants had significant interests in both Sussex and Shropshire. His two *vicecomites* certainly held in both shires, presumably so that they could communicate with him easily in whichever shire Roger was located. Picot probably held one valuable manor in Sussex, perhaps because his position as Roger's *dapifer* in Normandy made him sufficiently important to require access to Roger outside Shropshire. William d'Anneville held in Warwickshire, far from his main area of interest. Besides the *vicecomites* and probably Picot,

⁹⁸ GDB 24v-25r (Sussex 11:56, 11:85); 259r (Shropshire 4:27:4); Thompson, 'Cross-Channel Estates', no. 20, p. 239 (*Livre Blanc*, fol. 4v/9v); Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People*, 191.

⁹⁹ Thompson, 'Cross-Channel Estates', nos. 28 and 30, p. 246 and 248 (*Livre Blanc*, fols. 61v/71v, 30v/38v), with comments on p. 50, 71; *Ctl. Shrewsbury Abbey*, ed. Rees, 30, 33.

¹⁰⁰ Montgaroult, Orne, cant. Écouché.

¹⁰¹ *Ctl. Shrewsbury Abbey*, ed. Rees, 1-4; Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People*, 359. Ménil-Hermei, Orne, cant. Putanges.

¹⁰² Thompson, 'Cross-Channel Estates', no. 60, p. 265 (*Livre Blanc*, fol. 96r/113r).

the only subtenants identifiable in Sussex and Shropshire were less significant men with rare names: Ernucion, the brothers *Fulcoius/Fulcuius* and Alchere (benefactor of Shrewsbury),¹⁰³ and possibly Picot's relative Osmelin. The unity of Roger's estate was therefore underpinned by some subtenants, and the *vicecomites* in particular.¹⁰⁴ However, the estates of all of his men in Sussex and Shropshire were overwhelmingly centred in one shire or the other.

A remarkable number of Roger's vassals in England originated from, or held property, in or around the Hiémois (see Figure 40). These included William Pantulf, Helgot, Gerard de Tournai, Reynold de Bailleul, Picot de Sai, Ernucion, Richard du Ménil-Hermei and Richard de Montgaroult. Macé, property of Norman the huntsman, lay just outside the Hiémois, near Sées. Avoise and Boitron were certainly in the Séois, but the Corbet family also had property at Crocy, within 17 kilometres of Bailleul and Sai in the Hiémois.¹⁰⁵ The Lieuvain (in which Montgomery lay) is, however, underrepresented, and followers from the Corbonnais are notably absent. The preponderance of subtenants from the Hiémois indicates that Roger's vassals in the Hiémois were either more trusted or more numerous than elsewhere on the continent. Whichever the case, it was in the region of his vicecomital office that his continental influence was focussed, despite the vast properties he had gained further south through his marriage to Mabel.¹⁰⁶ William d'Anneville (from the Cotentin) and Gilbert de Sannerville (from near Troarn) also originated very close to Roger's Norman property.

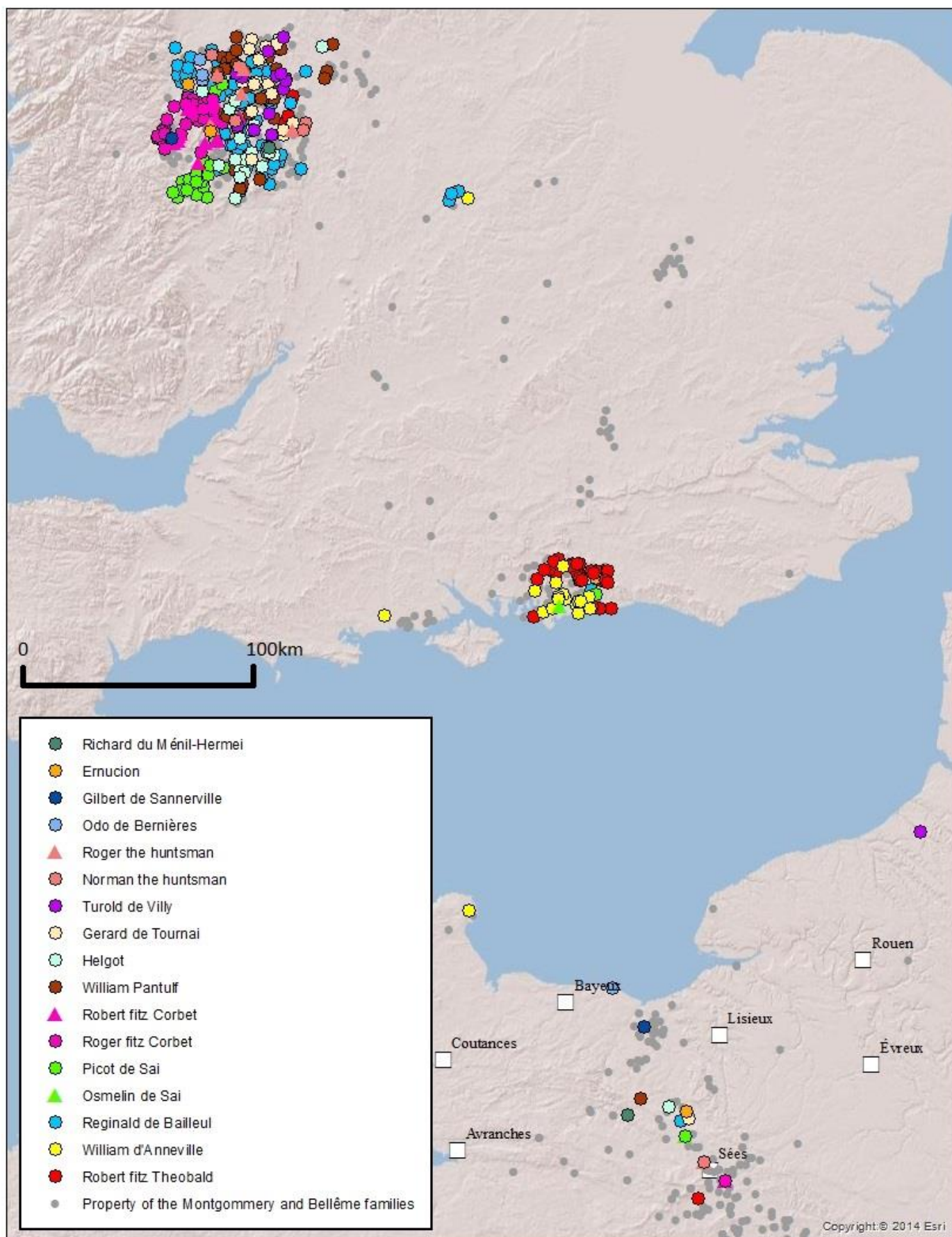
¹⁰³ Mason, 'Officers and Clerks', 255. For *Fulcoius/Fulcuius* and Alchere, see GDB 23v-24r (Sussex 11:14, 31, 32, 41); GDB 254r (Shropshire 4:3:4), 255r (Shropshire 4:3:60, 4:3:65, 4:3:71), 258v-259v (Shropshire 4:21:10, 4:27:2-3, 35); *Calendar*, ed. Round, no. 656 (*Livre Blanc*, fol. 99v/117v and 100v/118v); *Ctl. Shrewsbury Abbey*, ed. Rees, 33.

¹⁰⁴ Lewis, 'English and Norman Government', 219.

¹⁰⁵ Lieberman, *Medieval March*, 63-64.

¹⁰⁶ Thompson proposes that Roger's subtenants suggest his connections were most stable in the Dives/Orne area: Thompson, 'Cross-Channel Estates', 125.

Figure 40: Some of Roger's subtenants and their continental origins



Several of Roger's subtenants pursued cross-Channel careers to some extent: Robert fitz Theobald, William d'Anneville, Picot, Reynold, William Pantulf, Norman the huntsman and Ernucion were cross-Channel landholders, and Robert fitz Theobald, Picot, Warin, Reynold, William Pantulf, Hugh fitz Turgis, Richard de Montgaroult, Roger fitz Corbet and possibly Gilbert de Sannerville can be found on the continent with Roger or one of his sons after 1066.

Neither of Roger's two important subtenants in Sussex were very important outside Sussex. In fact, the only tenant-in-chief holding from Roger in Sussex was Reynold de Bailleul.¹⁰⁷ Conversely, seven of Roger's subtenants in Shropshire were regionally or nationally significant outside Shropshire.¹⁰⁸ Besides Ralph de Mortemer, Roger de Lassy, and Roger de Courseulles, these Shropshire subtenants included Osbern fitz Richard (holding property in Shropshire worth £1 10s 12d from Earl Roger),¹⁰⁹ William de Warenne (one manor worth £10),¹¹⁰ Hugh d'Avranches (£2)¹¹¹ and Ranulf Peverel (£12 8s).¹¹² It therefore appears that Roger sought the support of important men in order to strengthen his power in this strategically important shire. They demonstrate that Roger's subtenants occupied a wide spectrum, not just in overall wealth but also in the extent of their dependence upon him, and the frequency of their presence in his court. Roger's nationally important subtenants were certainly not his men in the same way as subtenants he imported from his continental heartlands.¹¹³

The interests of several of Roger's subtenants in Staffordshire paled in comparison with their interests in the Welsh frontier shires.¹¹⁴ Roger kept little demesne in Staffordshire (three of his four demesne manors being located in modern Shropshire). Apparently the alienation of

¹⁰⁷ Mason, 'Roger de Montgomery and his Sons', 9.

¹⁰⁸ Lewis, 'English and Norman Government', 222.

¹⁰⁹ GDB 257v (Shropshire 4:17).

¹¹⁰ GDB 257r (Shropshire 4:13).

¹¹¹ GDB 254r (Shropshire 4:2).

¹¹² GDB 256v (Shropshire 4:10).

¹¹³ Lewis, 'Introduction to the Shropshire Domesday', 23.

¹¹⁴ *VCH Staffordshire*, iv. 29.

his Staffordshire manors was worth the support it brought him from men influential on the Welsh frontier.

The sons of Roger II de Montgomery

The careers of Roger's sons cannot be treated in detail here: a brief sketch must suffice to locate the house of Montgomery's place on the continent and in England after 1094. The house of Montgomery had a major presence in England by the end of the eleventh century. This is not simply due to the huge estate inherited from Roger II. Probably in 1092, Roger the Poitevin recovered the lands he had been in the process of losing in 1086. He also received the honour of Eye before 1100.¹¹⁵ Arnulf de Montgomery held a castle at Pembroke from 1093.¹¹⁶ Soon after 1096, Arnulf was granted the lordship of Holderness.¹¹⁷

However, Roger's sons did not remain significant English landholders for very long after his death. Roger's heir in England, Hugh, paid Rufus £3000 to keep his English estate after Hugh and Philip were implicated in the conspiracy against Rufus in 1095.¹¹⁸ In 1098, Hugh was killed at Anglesey, during an attack by Magnus, king of Norway. Robert de Bellême then paid Rufus £3000 to inherit Hugh's English estate, thus reuniting Roger II's cross-Channel lands.¹¹⁹ Robert, Roger the Poitevin and Arnulf lost almost all of their English lands due to Robert's rebellion in 1102. Only Roger the Poitevin's manor at Hundon in Lincolnshire was retained.¹²⁰

¹¹⁵ C. P. Lewis, 'The King and Eye: A Study in Anglo-Norman Politics', *EHR*, 104 (1989), 569-89, especially 575-81. For the date of 1092, see K. Thompson, 'Monasteries and Settlements in Norman Lancashire: Unpublished Charters of Roger the Poitevin', *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, 140 (1991), 201-25, at 202.

¹¹⁶ Mason, 'Roger de Montgomery and his Sons', 17; Thompson, 'Cross-Channel Estates', 131, 146.

¹¹⁷ English, *Lords of Holderness*, 13-14.

¹¹⁸ OV, iv. 284; *John of Worcester*, eds. Darlington and McGurk, trans. Bray and McGurk, iii. 82.

¹¹⁹ OV, v. 222-26; ASC, 183.

¹²⁰ OV, vi. 30-32. For Hundon, see Lewis, 'King and Eye', 583-84.

It is notable that Robert de Bellême, Roger the Poitevin and Arnulf married into powerful families beyond Normandy and England (see Figure 5). In 1091, Roger the Poitevin nominally succeeded his brother-in-law, Boso, as count of La Marche, but his wife's uncle Odo appears to have attempted to assume the role of count instead. Roger the Poitevin never became a notable presence in La Marche.¹²¹ Robert inherited the county of Ponthieu through his wife, Agnes, in 1100, but when Agnes died in 1105 or 1106, their son, William Talvas II, took control of Ponthieu.¹²² The relative lack of involvement in La Marche and Ponthieu by Roger the Poitevin and Robert suggests that both men were wary of overstretching themselves at the expense of their interests in Normandy or England. William Talvas II's role at Ponthieu after 1105 or 1106 recalls Roger II's delegation of some authority in the Bellêmois to Robert de Bellême after Mabel's death.

Because Robert de Bellême's rebellion of 1102 threatened Henry in Shropshire, Sussex and elsewhere, Henry chose to neutralize the threat posed by such a large estate by breaking it up after 1102. He redistributed it in stages, to several people: parts of the rape of Arundel were given to his steward, Robert de Hai, and to Savaric fitz Cana, before the rest was given to Henry's second wife, Adeliza, as her dower in 1121;¹²³ the Shropshire estate was governed by Richard de Beaumais as Henry's justiciar, not as earl, and the vicecomital estate there was given to Alan fitz Flaad;¹²⁴ the castle of Montgomery in Wales was given to Baldwin de Bollers around 1110;¹²⁵ the Staffordshire lands were divided between William Pantulf and Alan fitz Flaad;¹²⁶ and the huge estate of Chalton was given to Robert de Beaumont in 1107.¹²⁷ Richard de Beaumais, William Pantulf and probably Savaric fitz Cana were connected to the

¹²¹ V. Chandler, 'The Last of the Montgomerys: Roger the Poitevin and Arnulf', (*BIHR*), 62 (1989), 1-14, at 2-3, 6-8.

¹²² Thompson, 'Bellême, Robert de', *ODNB*.

¹²³ Sanders, *Baronies*, 1-2; Thompson, 'Cross-Channel Estates', 107.

¹²⁴ *VCH Shropshire*, iii. 10; *Ctl. Shrewsbury Abbey*, ed. Rees, 39, 258-59.

¹²⁵ Davies, *Age of Conquest*, 471; Lieberman, *Medieval March*, 71-72, 249.

¹²⁶ *VCH Staffordshire*, iv. 29 n. 90.

¹²⁷ *VCH Hampshire*, iii. 106.

Montgommerys before 1102.¹²⁸ William certainly assisted Henry against Robert de Bellême in 1102,¹²⁹ and it can be supposed that Richard and Savaric kept out of Robert's rebellion too.

The house of Montgomery: conclusions

It is clear that the rise of Roger's family was a function of ducal power, from Roger I's acquisition of Fécamp's property and vicecomital office under Duke Robert I, to the vast English estates granted to Roger II, Roger the Poitevin and Arnulf by William the Conqueror and William Rufus. It is also likely that the Conqueror approved Roger II's marriage to Mabel.

Roger II's close relationship with William facilitated the creation of new alliances at the ducal court. Despite Roger's brother's murder of Osbern fitz Arfast, Roger forged a relationship with his fellow frontier lord and ducal official, William fitz Osbern, with whom he cooperated at Domfront in the mid-eleventh century and in grants to Préaux. Their relationship is evident in William fitz Osbern's grant of the enormous manor of Chalton to Roger, and they could have been expected to cooperate along the Welsh frontier. William's Norman heir patronized Troarn after 1071. The ducal court also fostered Roger's relationship with his fellow vicomte, Roger de Beaumont. Although their relationship must have suffered when Earl Roger raided lands of Saint-Pierre de Préaux, it must often have been more harmonious, for the two Rogers patronized each other's Norman foundations of Troarn and Saint-Pierre de Préaux, and assisted Duchess Matilda in Normandy during the invasion of England. Both men oversaw the election of Anselm to the abbacy of Le Bec in 1078, and they helped to reconcile King William and Robert Curthose in 1080. Another relationship forged at William's court was with Count Robert of Mortain, a fellow lord in Maine and on the southern

¹²⁸ For Savaric, see Thompson, 'Cross-Channel Estates', 107.

¹²⁹ OV, vi. 24-28.

Norman frontier. Robert became Roger's son-in-law, and Robert's father's foundation at Grestain was patronized in England and Normandy by Roger. Roger and Robert were the foremost lay tenants-in-chief in England by 1086, and both men controlled rapes in Sussex. This suggests that their marriage alliance would have served King William's interests in England. Bishop Odo's grant to Troarn was also probably a result of links created at William's court, and the same goes for Richard vicomte of Avranches, benefactor of Troarn by 1068,¹³⁰ whose son Hugh was Roger's neighbour and subtenant on the Welsh frontier, and co-mediator between William and Curthose in 1080. Charter and chronicle evidence suggests that Robert de Bellême's support for Curthose between 1077 and 1080 and in 1088 also originated from William's court, at which Robert and Curthose are found together disproportionately often.¹³¹

Roger's marriage to Mabel worked to Duke William's benefit on the Norman frontier. The marriage of Roger's daughter, Matilda, to Robert of Mortain strengthened King William's security on the southern Norman frontier.¹³² William's arrangement of Robert de Bellême's marriage must have been intended to serve William's interests on the frontier.¹³³ Roger's marriage to Adelaide had the additional benefit of undermining King Philip. The marriage of Roger's daughter to Hugh de Châteauneuf, lord in the Drouais and castellan at Rémalard, was probably supposed to help William, but it backfired when Hugh assisted Curthose's rebellion (with Robert de Bellême) in 1078.¹³⁴ Roger's use of a daughter to create a frontier alliance echoes King William's use of his own daughters and sisters.¹³⁵ Roger the Poitevin and (in 1102) Arnulf also secured outward-looking marriages to expand their own influence.

¹³⁰ *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 280 (SCRIPTA 6587).

¹³¹ Mooers, "Backers and Stabbers", 4-5.

¹³² Golding, 'Robert of Mortain', 120-21; Bates, *William the Conqueror* (2016), 156.

¹³³ For William's role in Robert's marriage, see OV, iv. 158-60.

¹³⁴ OV, ii. 358.

¹³⁵ For William's daughters and sisters, see Bates, *William the Conqueror* (2004), 160-61.

Mabel's illegitimate brother, Oliver, probably inherited property at Le Merlerault, Courtomer and Marcei from his father, William Talvas,¹³⁶ but the vast majority of William Talvas's property was transmitted to Roger II by Mabel. Roger's marriage, and that of William de Falaise to Albreda de Moulins-la-Marche, both demonstrate the use of women as a conduit for channelling violently disputed frontier estates. An earlier parallel can be seen in the early 1030s, when Enguerrand I, count of Ponthieu, acquired a stake in the contested lordship of Aumale by having his son Hugh II marry its heiress. Aumale also demonstrates how dukes used women to extend their influence over frontier counties, for Duke William's sister or half-sister would marry Enguerrand II and retain Aumale with subsequent husbands after Enguerrand II's death.¹³⁷ In 1091 and 1100, Roger the Poitevin and Robert de Bellême would also acquire French counties through their wives.

Inheritance by collateral kinsmen, such as the inheritance of Robert I de Bellême's property by his uncle and brothers, was not practised by the Montgomery-Bellêmes after Roger II married Mabel. Instead, Roger's property passed to his two eldest sons when he died in 1094: the continental estate passed to Robert II de Bellême, and the English estate passed to Hugh de Montgomery. This division recalls the distinction between inherited property and acquired property, which can be seen to have passed to the eldest son and the next eldest respectively, in many other families. The Conquest also allowed Roger the Poitevin and Arnulf to be provided for before Roger II's death. Robert's purchase of Hugh's property in England after Hugh's death in 1098 supports Le Patourel's contention that divided cross-Channel estates could be reunited. However, it also demonstrates royal interference in inheritance, for it has been observed that Arnulf's role in Hugh's grants of property in England to La Sauve Majeure suggests that Hugh intended Arnulf to be his heir.¹³⁸

¹³⁶ For the property of Oliver's son, Robert Oison, see Table 27 and *RADN*, no. 168 (*SCRIPTA* 1613). Marcei, Orne, cant. Mortrée.

¹³⁷ For Aumale, see Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, 299-305.

¹³⁸ *Ctl. Sauve Majeure*, ed. Higounet, nos. 1355-56; Thompson, 'Cross-Channel Estates', 147.

Roger's continental estate refines Musset's contention that estates in Normandy were usually dispersed, for parts of Roger's estate were indeed scattered, but he also controlled a north-south band across the duchy which concentrated his interests into a corridor.¹³⁹ Roger's estate reinforced Duke William's authority as long as its holder was loyal, which Roger certainly was. Unfortunately for Curthose and King Henry I of England, though, the continental estate gave Robert de Bellême vast resources which were used against the ruler of Normandy in 1094, 1103, and the period from 1110 to 1112.¹⁴⁰ Parts of Roger's property in England were dispersed too, but there were also significant, discrete concentrations in Sussex and Shropshire. The danger of allowing the Montgommerys a monopoly of power in discrete English areas was illustrated in 1102, when King Henry faced Robert de Bellême's rebellion in both Sussex and Shropshire.

The importance of local dominance was familiar to the Montgommerys, who had increased their local power in Normandy by acquiring vicecomital office and constructing castles (including at Montgomery) by 1040. Roger's local dominance in an English context is best illustrated in Shropshire, where his power was based on castles, towns, religious foundations, and subtenants who were overwhelmingly his own men. The combination of town, religious foundation and castle had a potent impact in the colonization of England, and Roger would have understood this. After all, Roger founded towns or had property in towns at Montgomery, La Courbe, Saint-Sylvain, Bellême, Trun, Alençon, Bernay and Almenêches and (from c. 1061 to 1088 or 1089) Montreuil-l'Argillé, which all gave him a share in the economic expansion in Normandy after 1047;¹⁴¹ he founded the abbeys of Troarn and Saint-

¹³⁹ See p. 346 and Figure 37.

¹⁴⁰ For Robert's career, see Thompson, 'Bellême, Robert de', *ODNB*.

¹⁴¹ *Ctl. Marmoutier*, ed. Barret, no. 17 (SCRIPTA 91; ARTEM 1994); *RADN*, no. 223 (*Caen*, ed. Musset, no. 1; SCRIPTA 1665; ARTEM 1976); *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 271 (SCRIPTA 6583); Robert of Torigni, *Chronique*, ii. 194; Musset, 'Almenêches', 22, 35; Musset, 'Peuplement en bourgage', 187-88. For towns and economic expansion, see Bates, *Normandy*, 116, 128-32; Bates, *William the Conqueror* (2016), 207; B. Gauthiez, 'The Evolution of Towns in the Duchy of Normandy in the 11th-15th Centuries: An Essay in Historical Geography Using Material and Quantitative Data', in *Making a Medieval Town: Patterns of Early Medieval Urbanization*, eds. A. Buko and M. McCarthy (Warsaw, 2010), 81-103, at 85-86, 94.

Martin de Sées to wrest local influence from the Giroies; and the Norman frontier fluctuated depending on the control of castles. Roger repeated these strategies in England: he imported burgesses to Shrewsbury and established a town at Quatford;¹⁴² he founded churches; and he relied on castles to maintain his local authority and expand it into Wales. Some of his subtenants in Shropshire were significant cross-Channel landholders who maintained some independence: for example, William Pantulf did not patronize Shrewsbury, instead granting property at Drayton to his priory at Noron between 1092 and 1112.¹⁴³ Some were nationally important men: Ralph de Mortemer, for example, was imposed in Shropshire (on Roger's fief and beyond it) by King William with Roger's cooperation.¹⁴⁴ Roger's nationally important subtenants in Shropshire tempered his dominance only slightly, and he must have appreciated the support of such influential men. The dense, relatively discrete honorial society of Shropshire reveals a tenurial revolution since 1066. A similar reorganisation occurred in Sussex.

Roger's English foundations served the purpose of consolidating his local authority. This is illustrated by Shrewsbury Abbey, which received property more concentrated than that of most Norman abbeys.¹⁴⁵ Roger's burial at Shrewsbury was intended to strengthen his successor Hugh's authority over the abbey and attract further grants from his subtenants. The desire to reinforce his authority also lay behind Roger's Norman foundations. The foundation of Saint-Martin de Sées in conjunction with Mabel and Ivo III must have been a powerful symbol of Roger's succession to the property of William Talvas.

Roger's grants of property in England to several continental beneficiaries recalls William of Malmesbury's image of one conjoined twin sustaining the other.¹⁴⁶ Roger's Norman

¹⁴² GDB 252r (Shropshire C:14), 254r (Shropshire 4:1:32).

¹⁴³ GDB 257r (Shropshire 4:14:9); OV, iii. 162.

¹⁴⁴ Lewis, 'English and Norman Government', 244-48.

¹⁴⁵ For dispersed estates of Norman abbeys, see Gazeau, *Normannia monastica*, i. 16; V. Gazeau-Goddet, 'L'aristocratie autour du Bec au tournant de l'année 1077', *ANS*, 7 (1985), 89-103, at 98.

¹⁴⁶ *Gesta Regum*, eds. Mynors, Thomson and Winterbottom, i. 384-86.

foundations benefited considerably from his English fortune. Priors of Saint-Martin de Sées founded at Arundel (by Roger II), Lancaster (by Roger the Poitevin shortly after 1092) and Pembroke (by Arnulf in 1098) would have facilitated the administration of the English property of Saint-Martin de Sées.¹⁴⁷ It is also possible that cross-Channel patronage served a defensive function, because it protected the property concerned from acquisitive neighbours. Roger used his continental property to reinforce relationships with William the Conqueror, Roger de Beaumont, Robert count of Mortain and William fitz Osbern. His religious patronage also demonstrates that his activities extended outside England and Normandy. His patronage of Saint-Vincent du Mans and Marcigny-sur-Loire was a result of his two marriages, and his confirmation for Nogent-le-Rotrou reflects his relationship with Rotrou of Mortagne and his ambitions in Maine after the demise of William Gouet. Perhaps inspired by William de Warenne and William the Conqueror, Roger established links with Cluny by subjecting Much Wenlock to the Cluniac priory of La Charité-sur-Loire. The spread of Cluniac churches to England demonstrates one of the ways in which the increasing integration of Europe was achieved.¹⁴⁸

These networks of patronage are only one aspect of the house of Montgomery's activities outside Normandy. Roger I spent time in exile in Paris. The marriages of Roger II's sons imply far-flung ambitions. Arnulf fought for his father-in-law in Ireland in 1103, and his diplomatic career after 1102 took him to the Angevin court and southern France.¹⁴⁹ Philip would die at Antioch.¹⁵⁰ Robert de Bellême took advantage of European trading networks to import Spanish stallions to the Welsh frontier.¹⁵¹ However, the horizons of Roger II himself

¹⁴⁷ For Pembroke, see Thompson, 'Cross-Channel Estates', no. 74, p. 274 (*Livre Blanc*, fol. 105r/123r; *Calendar*, ed. Round, no. 666). For Lancaster, see Thompson, 'Monasteries and Settlements', 201-25.

¹⁴⁸ See above, p. 44.

¹⁴⁹ Thompson, 'Note de recherche', 49-53.

¹⁵⁰ OV, iv. 302.

¹⁵¹ *Gerald of Wales: The Journey Through Wales / The Description of Wales*, trans. L. Thorpe (Harmondsworth, 1978), 201. On trading networks, see Bartlett, *Making of Europe*, 182-96.

were more limited. On the continent, he is rarely found far from Normandy and his property in northern Maine. His appearance at Angers between 1051 and 1062, his assault on Brou in c. 1059, and his negotiations with Fulk Rechin, count of Anjou, in Maine in 1081 are isolated instances where he ventured further outside Normandy.

The pattern of Roger's religious patronage permits us to identify the core and periphery of his cross-Channel estates. His enrichment of Norman churches with property in England suggests that Normandy was his priority, but the balance may have shifted towards England by the time he founded Shrewsbury Abbey. This is borne out by the diplomatic evidence, which indicates that Roger spent most of the 1060s and 1070s on the continent, before an increase in time spent in England during the 1080s. The decisive moment was probably Mabel's death in 1077, after which Robert de Bellême acquired some responsibility for his parents' continental property. After 1087, the proportion of Roger's time spent in England increased again, and it is likely that England predominated in the last few years of his life. Nevertheless, he did not completely retire from Norman affairs, and he can probably be found in Normandy as late as 1092.

There was clearly a core and periphery within Roger's English estates too. Sussex did not attract much of his attention. He kept only nine demesne manors, of which at least six were farmed out,¹⁵² and he can be found in Sussex only rarely (possibly in 1088, and whenever he began the foundation of the priory at Arundel).¹⁵³ Several of Roger's subtenants in Sussex patronized the priory of Lewes, having no completed foundation of Roger's to patronize in the region.¹⁵⁴ Roger clearly devoted more time to Shropshire, where his foundations were much more significant, and he was responsible for the Welsh frontier. The instability of this frontier made his attention to Shropshire more necessary than Sussex. His forty-nine demesne manors

¹⁵² For the farmed-out manors, see GDB 23r-24r (Sussex 11:1,3,6-7,30,37); Mason, 'Officers and Clerks', 255.

¹⁵³ *John of Worcester*, eds. Darlington and McGurk, iii. 52; Thompson, 'Cross-Channel Estates', 90-92, 108.

¹⁵⁴ Cownie, 'Conquest, Lordship and Religious Patronage', 114.

in Shropshire constituted 58% of the number of his demesne manors in England, and his succession to royal property and rights gave him a degree of autonomy there. The values of his demesne manors fared much better since 1066 than the rest of Shropshire did, which indicates a concerted attempt to manage them efficiently.¹⁵⁵

Roger probably identified emotionally with the Welsh frontier to some extent, for he was the only one of William's subjects to provide a name for a British county.¹⁵⁶ He chose not to subject his foundation at Shrewsbury to any continental church. His religious patronage in Shropshire shows some respect for the local past, for Shrewsbury Abbey was on the site of a chapel built by Edward the Confessor's kinsman, Siward,¹⁵⁷ and Wenlock was associated with a royal Mercian cult. Roger could very easily have chosen to be buried in Normandy, perhaps at Troarn alongside Mabel. His wish to be buried at Shrewsbury therefore demonstrates the pride he derived from Shrewsbury Abbey and the development of Shropshire. His burial there persuaded his subtenants to patronize the abbey further.

Although he and his men were very active on the Welsh frontier, Wales itself was not a priority for Roger, perhaps because it was too volatile to offer lasting territorial gains. Roger is not named as the leader of any expedition, and he probably preferred to let subordinates (like his sons Hugh and Arnulf and his *vicecomes* Warin) undertake raids while he collected the payments made to him by the Welsh according to Domesday Book.¹⁵⁸ Hugh d'Avranches followed a similar policy, allowing most of the conquests obtained by his armies to be held by his cousin, Robert of Rhuddlan.¹⁵⁹

It has been observed that Roger's estate on the Welsh frontier resembled that of a count on the Norman frontier, for both were concentrated around a castle which provided a territorial

¹⁵⁵ Mason, 'Officers and Clerks', 255.

¹⁵⁶ Mason, 'Montgomery, Roger de', *ODNB*.

¹⁵⁷ OV, iii. 142-48; Chibnall, 'Ecclesiastical Patronage', 114.

¹⁵⁸ Davies, *Age of Conquest*, 84-86. For the payments, see Darby, 'Marches of Wales', 276; Lewis, 'Introduction to the Shropshire Domesday', 26.

¹⁵⁹ Lewis, 'Avranches, Hugh d'', *ODNB*.

appellation for the title of *comes*.¹⁶⁰ This title is visible for the first time (in an original charter) in 1091, when Roger is called *comes* of Shrewsbury, and in copies of charters since the 1070s.¹⁶¹ On both frontiers, castles were the basis for expansion or stability. In fact, several families from the Norman frontier have been observed on the Welsh frontier, including William fitz Osbern, Hugh d'Avranches, Ralph de Mortemer, Ralph de Tosny, William III d'Eu, Bernard de Neufmarché (from c. 1093) and William de Briouze (from c. 1095). Perhaps these men and Roger were selected because of their experience on the Norman frontier. Though Roger was not a count on the Norman frontier, some characteristics of the comital institution there appear to have been transferred to Shropshire.¹⁶²

We have seen that Shropshire, though geographically peripheral, constituted the core for Roger's cross-Channel estate, particularly later in his life. It is also possible to identify a core group in his entourage – namely, an itinerant core consisting of followers who accompanied him on both sides of the Channel. Several of Roger's men in England can be found with him or Robert de Bellême on the continent. These included the *vicecomites* Robert fitz Theobald and Reynold de Bailleul, a steward (Picot de Sai), a chaplain (Richard de Montgaroult) and perhaps a constable (Gilbert de Sannerville). Their presence in Normandy reflects their closeness to Roger, rather than any particular duties he required them to fulfil concerning Norman property. They were probably there to accompany and advise.

Their presence can also be explained by the fact that several of them were cross-Channel landholders themselves. Some of Roger's followers were from families prominent on his lands on both sides of the Channel (Robert fitz Theobald, Picot and Osmelin de Sai), in some cases without necessarily being cross-Channel landholders themselves (Roger and Robert fitz Corbet). Some followers held more significant estates in Normandy than in England (William

¹⁶⁰ Lewis, 'Early Earls', 219; M. Lieberman, 'The Medieval "Marches" of Normandy and Wales', *EHR*, 125 (2010), 1357-81, at 1365-66.

¹⁶¹ *Regesta*, ed. Davis, no. 318; also see Table 25.

¹⁶² Lieberman, *Medieval March*, 260-61; 'Medieval "Marches"', 1365-67, 1372; Lewis, 'Early Earls', 219, 222.

Pantulf), while several men (particularly the *vicecomites*) were much wealthier in England. Osmelin de Sai was a cross-Channel landholder quite insignificant in England and Normandy, who had attached himself to a relative more important in both. On a small scale, he illustrates the opportunities available to lesser members of a family, and so does Roger the huntsman (brother of Norman). Taken as a group, Earl Roger's subtenants show that some of the more prominent families within a Norman lordship could acquire riches in England. In some cases (William Pantulf, Reynold de Bailleul and probably Picot de Sai and Norman the huntsman), the most significant family member benefited. In others (Osmelin de Sai, Roger the huntsman, Corbet), English wealth was acquired by lesser members. The continental origins of Roger's vassals in England also show how his family's acquisition of vicecomital office in the Hiémois must have created many subsequently important relationships.

It is also likely that several of Roger's continental followers did not acquire English wealth from him. This could reflect their military importance in Normandy (Oliver and his sons and the Quadrel family), their administrative duties (Robert de Poëley) or their relationship with other lords (Gouffier de Villeray). It has been suggested that King William did not grant English land to men of Maine because their loyalty was susceptible to the counts of Maine and Anjou.¹⁶³ Roger probably overlooked benefactors of Saint-Vincent du Mans for the same reason, even if they patronized Saint-Martin de Sées (eg. Odo Cotinel, Gunherius de Lurson and the family bynamed *Collum Asini*).

All cross-Channel landholders faced the challenges of cross-Channel administration of property, but Roger's case provides some indication as to how this worked in practice. He took advantage of the rivers Orne and Dives, which made his inland Norman property relatively accessible from the rape of Arundel. All or some of the instructions he issued to Mabel, Robert de Bellême and Robert de Poëley might have been sent from England. This is especially likely

¹⁶³ Bates, *Normans and Empire*, 78.

for the instructions sent to Robert de Bellême in a private writ, and one wonders how many such documents were sent to Robert in his capacity as Roger's continental representative. Indeed, it seems likely that such cross-Channel documents must have been far more common within the cross-Channel aristocracy than this rare survival would suggest. Roger's *vicecomites* in Sussex and Shropshire were probably his English representatives during his absences from the kingdom.

Roger understood the importance of having a reliable deputy across the Channel before he even set foot in England, for he had fulfilled the role for William in Normandy when the invasion of England was launched. Similar roles were performed in Normandy and England by William fitz Osbern, Roger de Beaumont, and perhaps Robert count of Mortain, as well as Odo bishop of Bayeux and Geoffrey bishop of Coutances.¹⁶⁴ Roger was a member of King William's elite inner circle of advisers. His acquisition of royal property and rights in Shropshire made him a kind of viceregent there, especially since William himself only ventured north of London and Gloucester during political emergencies.¹⁶⁵ Once Robert de Bellême took some responsibility for the continental lands, Roger could devote more time to the development of Shropshire, and the gradual shift in the centre of gravity of his cross-Channel career could begin.

¹⁶⁴ D. Bates, 'The Origins of the Justiciarship', *ANS*, 4 (1981), 1-12, 167-71; Golding, 'Robert, count of Mortain', *ODNB*.

¹⁶⁵ Roger's viceregal position was also observed in Professor Richard Sharpe's forthcoming article on earls in England, kindly given to me in advance of publication. For William's movements, see Bates, *William the Conqueror* (2004), 110-11; Bates, *William the Conqueror* (2016), 499-500.

Conclusion

The families studied in this thesis offer an instructive overview of the Norman aristocracy, because they acquired property and came to prominence at different times in different ways, and they went on to maintain different types of relationships with Duke William. Roger de Tosny and his son, Ralph III, were ducal standard-bearers, but Ralph never achieved a very close relationship with Duke William. The counts of Eu were close relatives of the dukes. Roger II de Montgomery was one of Duke William's closest allies.

Because they rose to prominence at different times, all three families have different things to say about the Norman aristocracy in the age of William the Conqueror. The Tosnys came to prominence at a remarkably early date, thanks to the appointment of a family member to archiepiscopal office in 942. The counts of Eu owed their wealth to ducal grants of concentrated, castle-based lordships after 996. It is impossible to know how and when the house of Montgomery acquired Montgomery itself, but it is certain that the family's profile increased significantly when Roger I acquired Fécamp's property at Troarn and Almenêches after 1025, and when Roger II acquired the lands of Mabel's family after his marriage around 1050 and the death of Bishop Ivo of Sées in 1071.

The paucity of evidence from the tenth and early eleventh centuries means that the origins of many families remain beyond detection, so the antiquity or newness of much of William's aristocracy cannot be demonstrated prosopographically. The three families studied here confirm that some families were enriched later than others, and that the balance of power within Norman society was constantly shifting to the rhythm of ducal patronage and private enterprise.

These case studies suggest that Norman dukes enjoyed the ability to enrich families in certain circumstances. Archbishop Hugh's alienation of Rouen's property at Tosny and probably Conches presumably had the support of Duke Richard I, and the counts of Eu were

certainly dependent upon ducal grants in the Hiémois and then the Talou. This shows that the families of Tosny and Eu were enriched by ducal patronage from their very beginnings. Duke Robert's admission that he alienated Fécamp's property to his knights suggests that he also facilitated the Montgommerys' acquisition of Fécamp's property at Troarn and Almenêches. Duke William promoted the Montgommerys to even greater heights later on. Collectively, these three families support Musset's contention that the dukes played a decisive role in the composition of the aristocracy, and the fortunes of individual families.¹ This paints a different picture to the model of 'feudal revolution' which posits weak rulers powerless to halt the growing power of aristocrats. It is closer to Fossier's modification to the model, in which political fragmentation was halted at the level of the principality.

If dukes periodically promoted the interests of certain families, it was inevitable that other families would feel overlooked, or threatened in their localities by more favoured neighbours. It was fairly common for men to rebel in Normandy and post-Conquest England precisely because they were separated from the ruler's inner circle by aristocratic rivals.² It was also likely that historically important families would be overtaken by newer ones. This may have happened to the family of Fleitel, who were important before 1035 but not thereafter. Ultimately, other families became closer to Duke William. Possession of the vicecomital office made the Montgommerys influential in the Hiémois, where the Fleitels had been based.³

It is plausible that the Tosnys felt similarly undermined by the successes of ducal favourites in the eleventh century. They might, for example, have felt threatened by the installation of Robert, archbishop of Rouen, as count of Évreux from the late tenth or early eleventh century, and by the progress of the Beaumonts and Montgommerys during Duke

¹ Musset, 'L'aristocratie normande', 75-88, 96.

² For examples, see Crouch, *The Normans*, 69, 110-11; Hagger, *William: King and Conqueror*, 44-45, 64, 185-86.

³ For the early importance of the Fleitels, see Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, 256 n. 52, 291 n. 28, 331-32; Gazeau, *Normannia monastica*, i. 171. For the threat posed by the rise of the Montgommerys to rivals in the south of Normandy, see Bates, *William the Conqueror* (2016), 35.

Robert's reign. Roger de Tosny's foundation of an abbey at Conches was perhaps in part a response to foundations by other nobles who were closer to Duke Robert, including Humphrey de Vieilles, ancestor of the Beaumonts. The house of Montgomery's closer relationship to Duke William became a problem for the Tosnys when Roger II de Montgomery was compelled to pursue the house of Bellême's historic grievances against the Giroies, who were closely associated with the Grandmesnils, allies of the Tosnys. The threat Roger II's marriage posed to the Tosnys came to fruition in *c.* 1061.

Dukes exercised patronage in a variety of ways. One was to alienate property from the ducal demesne. The counts of Eu benefited from such grants of concentrated lordships around Exmes and Eu. The Tosnys and Montgommerys benefited from grants of property in the Cotentin. Another method was to punish one family with forfeiture and to redistribute the resulting gains. The Montgommerys were allowed custody of the forfeited Giroie estate from *c.* 1061.

Short of granting land, a duke could promote a family by appointing them to important positions of authority. Examples include: the episcopal office bestowed upon Hugh, archbishop of Rouen and Hugh, bishop of Lisieux; the vicecomital office obtained by the Montgommerys by 1033; or the custody of ducal castles like Tillières, which Ralph II and Roger de Tosny manned for Duke Richard II. A duke might arrange or approve the alienation of land from ducal churches, such as the property acquired by Ralph I de Tosny and Roger I de Montgomery.

The duke might even involve himself in plans which families would otherwise have arranged for themselves. One kind of ducal intervention affected aristocratic marriage, such as that Duke Richard II arranged between William I d'Eu and Lesceline, daughter of a landholder in the Roumois whose property at Le Bourgtheroulde probably passed to William in the form of a dowry. In a similar intervention, William the Conqueror arranged the enrichment of

William I Paynel, vassal of the house of Montgomery, by means of a marriage to an heiress.⁴ Other examples include the marriages beyond the Norman frontier which Ralph III de Tosny and Roger II de Montgomery are likely to have obtained with Duke William's approval. Another kind of ducal intervention was to divert aristocratic inheritances. Dukes Richard II, Robert and William all shaped the descent of the county of Eu. William I de Bellême persuaded Duke Richard II to disinherit the sons of a certain Helgot in favour of Giroie.⁵ Duke William II probably supported the exclusion of Mabel's illegitimate brother, Oliver. William Rufus intervened in the descent of Hugh III de Montgomery's English estate in 1098. Such top-down strategies were intended to harness aristocratic ambitions for the good of the ruler. It is notable that the Tosnys received less ducal patronage than many of their rivals did in the eleventh century. Even their responsibilities at Tillières did not translate into hereditary interests there.

While dukes were making efforts to shape the aristocracy from above, developments at the grass roots of society were enabling aristocratic families to consolidate their own power. As Duby observed for north-western France, many families in Normandy were affected by the increasing domination of patrimony by a single heir. Duke William's appointment of Hugh d'Eu as bishop of Lisieux suggests that he recognized the problem of landless younger sons and in some cases helped make provision for them. However, the effects of changes in inheritance become increasingly clear after 1066. For example, Robert de Tosny held only modest property in Normandy, and Robert of Stafford is not known to have held any property in the duchy. Both men were tenants-in-chief in England, however, and though two examples hardly prove a rule, they do nonetheless offer some support to the contention that Norman expansion in general, and the invasion of England in particular, was beneficial for younger

⁴ Tabuteau, *Transfers of Property*, 62; Guilmin, 'Les Paynel', 221-22.

⁵ OV, ii. 22.

sons whose claims to Norman patrimonies were gradually being eroded in favour of eldest sons.⁶

The descent of the Bellême lordship changed direction dramatically following Mabel's marriage to Roger II de Montgommery. Mabel's father, William Talvas, was just one of three heirs to his own brother, Robert. However, after Roger II died, both the property of Mabel's family and the Montgommery patrimony passed to Roger's eldest son. However, in this case, Roger's younger sons enjoyed opportunities in England, where Hugh, Roger the Poitevin and Arnulf all became significant tenants-in-chief.

The impression that England was used to provide for younger sons is generally borne out by the rest of the Norman aristocracy. It is possible to identify some of the most prominent Norman nobles in 1066 by referring to the Ship List, and lists of important nobles by William of Poitiers and Orderic Vitalis, although two of the names mentioned in the Ship List are anachronistic.⁷ Of the twenty-two men named in these sources, perhaps fifteen were tenants-in-chief in England in their own right (rather than through episcopal or abbatial office). Of those fifteen tenants-in-chief, twelve demonstrate that England was a source of acquired land for many younger sons (see Table 37) – just like southern Italy had been throughout the eleventh century,⁸ Wales in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries,⁹ and Scotland in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.¹⁰

⁶ See above, p. 32, and Bartlett, *Making of Europe*, 48-51.

⁷ Van Houts, 'Ship List', 176, 179; *GG*, 100; *OV*, ii. 140. William succeeded his father, Richard, as count of Évreux in 1067; Hugh succeeded his father as vicomte of Avranches not before 1082.

⁸ G. A. Loud, 'How "Norman" was the Norman Conquest of Southern Italy?', *Nottinghamshire Medieval Studies*, 25 (1981), 13-34, at 18.

⁹ Davies, *Age of Conquest*, 85-86.

¹⁰ G. W. S. Barrow, *The Anglo-Norman Era in Scottish History* (Oxford, 1980), 1-29.

Table 37: The most prominent Norman nobles who became tenants-in-chief in England

Tenant-in-chief	Value of English estate (to nearest £)	Descent of cross-Channel estate ¹¹	Provision for younger sons in England
Odo, bishop of Bayeux (d. 1097). ¹²	3240	N/A	Younger half-brother of William the Conqueror
Roger II de Montgomery (d. 1094)	2106	Divided	His younger sons Hugh, Roger the Poitevin and Arnulf had English estates.
Robert, count of Mortain (d. 1095).	2003	Intended a division, before younger son died.	Younger half-brother of William the Conqueror
William fitz Osbern (d. 1071). ¹³	Unknown, but very roughly 1750. ¹⁴	Divided	His younger brother, Osbern, was a royal priest in England in King Edward's court, but was made bishop of Exeter after 1066. William's English estate passed to a younger son, Roger, in 1071.
William de Warenne (d. 1088).	1179	Single. ¹⁵	He was a younger son.
Hugh d'Avranches (d. 1101).	916	Single (no choice)	N/A.
Richard fitz Gilbert (d. 1087 x 1090). ¹⁶	827	Divided	English estate passed to younger son.
Walter I Giffard (d. 1084)	443. ¹⁷	Single. ¹⁸	Younger sons acquired ecclesiastical office or English land. ¹⁹
Hugh de Montfort (became monk c. 1088).	416	Divided	English estate passed to younger son.
Hugh de Grandmesnil (d. 1098).	352	Divided	English estate passed to younger son.

¹¹ Unless otherwise stated: Tabuteau, 'Role of Law', 164-65.

¹² D. Bates, 'Odo, earl of Kent (d. 1097)', *ODNB* (2004).

¹³ Lewis, 'William fitz Osbern', *ODNB*.

¹⁴ Estimate from W. J. Corbett, 'The Development of the Duchy of Normandy and the Norman Conquest of England', *Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 5, ed. J. R. Tanner (Cambridge, 1926), 481-520, at 510-11.

¹⁵ Lewis, 'Warenne, William (I) de', *ODNB*.

¹⁶ Mortimer, 'Clare, Richard de', *ODNB*.

¹⁷ Estimate based on Walter II's estate in 1086.

¹⁸ Traill, 'Social and Political Networks', 49.

¹⁹ Traill, 'Social and Political Networks', xii, 49.

Tenant-in-chief	Value of English estate (to nearest £)	Descent of cross-Channel estate ¹¹	Provision for younger sons in England
Baldwin fitz Gilbert (d. 1086 x 1090). ²⁰	350	Divided	He was a younger son. English estate passed to his younger son.
Robert, count of Eu (d. 1089 x 1090)	326	Single	
Roger de Beaumont (d. c. 1093)	324. ²¹	Divided (though complicated).	In 1088 his younger son, Henry, acquired Robert de Beaumont's Warwickshire lands, which may originally have been Roger's. ²²
Ralph de Tosny (d. 1102 x 1103)	233	Single (no choice)	His younger brother, Robert of Stafford, was a tenant-in-chief.
William, count of Évreux (d. 1118).	42	N/A (because died childless, and King Henry seized his property in England). ²³	N/A

The increasing indivisibility of the patrimony was one process which helped aristocratic families make their domination of particular areas endure across generations.²⁴ Such domination was also expressed in hereditary toponymics. Given that the rise of the Tosnys occurred at an early date, it is significant that the Tosnys also provide the earliest evidence for a toponymic in Normandy. They were probably among the first families to use toponymics as an expression of entrenchment because they had begun to dig in earlier than most of their contemporaries. Outside Normandy, the house of Bellême was identified with a toponymic at an early date too – perhaps as early as 1005.²⁵ The sense of identity provided by the toponymic of Bellême was sufficiently established to survive Roger II de Montgomery's acquisition of Bellême, for Roger's eldest son adopted that toponymic.

²⁰ Green, 'Baldwin [Baldwin de Meulles]', *ODNB*.

²¹ Based on the theory that Robert de Beaumont's estate in 1086 was originally granted to Roger: Crouch, *Beaumont Twins*, 10 n. 33; Crouch, 'Beaumont, Robert de', *ODNB*.

²² Crouch, 'Beaumont, Robert de', *ODNB*; Crouch, 'Beaumont, Henry de, first earl of Warwick (d. 1119)', *ODNB* (2004).

²³ Power, *Norman Frontier*, 229 and n. 24.

²⁴ See above, p. 81, n. 110.

²⁵ See above, p. 273.

Inheritance strategies were affected by changes in custom which evolved outside a single family's control. However, all three families shared a common repertoire of strategies to help themselves. The case studies lend support to Bisson's emphasis on violence as a key tactic of the aristocracy. One strategy was private warfare in order to expand or protect oneself against other nobles, such as the wars fought by the Tosnys in the first half of the 1040s, 1090 and 1100, or the violence practised by the Bellême and Montgomery families against the Giroies in c. 1046, 1057 and 1092. Expansion could also be achieved by procuring church property with or without the help of dukes, bishops or abbots. Other strategies aimed at territorialization within the family's existing heartlands.

One strategy for territorialization was the castle. Mabel's ancestors had built castles at Bellême long before the aristocratic castle proliferated in neighbouring Normandy. The castle of Eu is not typical of the model of 'feudal revolution', because it was a ducal castle before the counts of Eu received it. However, the castles of all three families studied here had the potential to undermine ducal authority. Roger I de Montgomery built the castle of Montgomery because ducal weakness provided a window of opportunity. The threat the castle posed to ducal authority was demonstrated at the siege of Montgomery in 1040. Aristocratic defiance against the dukes was often based on castles. This is also demonstrated by William II d'Eu's rebellion, and by Robert de Bellême's rebellions against the sons of William the Conqueror. It also explains why Amaury de Montfort emphasized the usefulness of Ralph IV de Tosny's castles for King Louis VI in 1119. Another method for aristocratic entrenchment was to dominate a town – often a town founded by a nobleman himself, within or close to his fortress, with the intention of acquiring a cut of the wealth exchanged in towns.

Because castles were such effective instruments of territorialization, dukes tried to assert their own control over them. The assertion of ducal influence over the castle of Alençon led to

conflict between William de Bellême and Duke Robert.²⁶ Duke William's success in controlling aristocratic castles is demonstrated by the reaction of Robert de Bellême, Ralph de Tosny and others when William died.²⁷ Curthose's attack on Eu in 1089 must have been intended to return the castle, which had once been ducal, to loyal hands.²⁸

Frontier castles became important because they defined the limits of ducal power: witness Duke Richard II's need to recruit Ralph II and Roger I de Tosny as custodians of Tillières during a war against King Robert II, and the trust he placed in William I d'Eu at first Exmes, and then Eu. Duke William's seizure of the castles of Alençon and Domfront shows how the allegiance of castellans here defined the frontier.

Religious patronage was another important instrument of aristocratic entrenchment. All three of the families studied here used religious foundations to assert their influence in particular localities. Orderic makes it plain that religious foundations were essential status symbols for aristocratic families, and that the proliferation of aristocratic foundations was fuelled partly by competitive rivalry.²⁹ This was certainly the case for Roger II de Montgomery's foundations at Troarn and Sées. It is easy to imagine how Roger de Tosny's establishment of the abbey of Conches was motivated by rivalries with neighbours who prospered during Duke Robert's reign. The abbey became so central to the house of Tosny's power that it was attacked by Ralph III's enemies in 1091. Having been ejected from the castle of Eu, Lesceline's decision to establish Saint-Pierre-sur-Dives could have been motivated by a desire to make herself secure in the volatile *pagus* of the Hiémois. Robert d'Eu's abbey at Le Tréport was relatively late, probably because the lack of other abbeys in the Talou lessened the pressure on Robert to keep up with his neighbours. The college of Eu founded by William I

²⁶ See above, p. 272.

²⁷ See above, p. 90.

²⁸ See above, p. 212.

²⁹ OV, ii. 10.

d'Eu must have sufficed until 1059. The combination of castle, religious foundation and town was present at Conches, Eu and Almenêches.

The explosion of aristocratic monastic foundations from the second quarter of the eleventh century must have received some encouragement from the dukes. Indeed, nobles who founded monasteries were consciously emulating the dukes.³⁰ However, because monasteries were instruments of territorialization, a ruler's attitude towards particular foundations must have changed over time, according to the duke's relationship with the founding family. Dukes wishing to encourage their favourites to dominate localities would naturally support their religious foundations, while the churches of nobles who were less favoured would receive less ducal support. It is notable that the abbeys of Saint-Pierre-sur-Dives, Troarn and Le Tréport benefited from explicit displays of support by Duke William, for this suggests that William trusted the houses of Eu and Montgommery. The aristocratic abbeys of La-Trinité-du-Mont de Rouen and Saint-Pierre de Préaux both received Duke Robert's support. The relative lack of ducal attention for Conches is another illustration of the house of Tosny's more distant relationship with the dukes after Richard II's reign.

Aristocratic families also sought to dominate localities by attracting (or compelling) lesser families into bonds of lordship. It is rarely possible to determine precisely when and how these bonds were formed. However, lords across Normandy must have encouraged and benefited from the gradual spread of dependent tenure.³¹ One consequence of a lord's control of land was his right to exile and disinherit landholders, as Mabel and Robert II de Bellême are known to have done.³² The fact that Roger II de Montgommery's abbey at Sées attracted grants from many benefactors of Saint-Vincent du Mans shows how the establishment of an

³⁰ For the chronology of the proliferation of aristocratic monasteries, see Gazeau, *Normannia monastica*, i. 11-16.

³¹ See above, p. 39 n. 44.

³² OV, iii. 136, vi. 180; Johnson, 'Process of Norman Exile', 35.

aristocratic abbey on the Norman frontier could attract the attention of men active in Maine, thus extending Roger's personal influence as well as the duke's.

The combination of castle, religious foundation and town was so powerful that it was often replicated in England.³³ The best examples studied in this thesis are those of Shrewsbury and Hastings, but there were other places where two of those three things can be found – notably Belvoir, Stafford and Arundel. Charters for Shrewsbury Abbey and Belvoir Priory show how a group of followers could be imported from particular parts of Normandy, in order to help a tenant-in-chief dominate a new locality. Castles, churches, towns and vassals were so effective in colonizing England that all four strategies were utilized again when much of Ireland was colonized from England after 1171.³⁴

Protest and rebellion constituted further important, though risky, expressions of aristocratic power. All three of the families studied here were involved in rebellions in Normandy or England: Ralph III de Tosny in 1078 and 1087; William I d'Eu in Duke Richard II's reign; William II count of Eu around 1047; Robert count of Eu in 1089; Roger I de Montgomery around 1040; Roger II de Montgomery in 1088; and Robert de Bellême in 1078, 1087, 1088, 1094, 1103 and 1110 to 1112. The frequency of rebellion suggests that conflict with the duke or king was inevitable. Consequently, exiles were usually allowed to return. This was the case for Ralph II de Tosny in Italy and probably Roger de Tosny in Spain in Duke Richard II's reign, and Ralph III de Tosny in c. 1063. Exile was rarely used to radically reshape the aristocracy. This supports the proposition that rebellions were understood as part of a process of negotiation between aristocrats and the ruler.³⁵

The main exceptions to this rule were counts: William II, count of Eu, never returned to Normandy, except to fight against Duke William at Varaville. Neither did Guy of Burgundy,

³³ Le Patourel, *Norman Empire*, 316-18.

³⁴ R. Bartlett, 'Colonial Aristocracies of the High Middle Ages', in *Medieval Frontier Societies*, eds. R. Bartlett and A. MacKay (Oxford, 1989), 23-47, at 32-38; Bartlett, *Making of Europe*, 306.

³⁵ See above, p. 39.

count of Brionne, William, count of Arques, and (as far as is known) Richard, count of Avranches and William Werlenc, count of Mortain. Counts were especially dangerous to dukes because their claims to a share in the ducal inheritance were legitimate according to the standards of the rest of the aristocracy.³⁶ Some rebellious Norman counts were not permanently ruined: for example, William I d'Eu went on to receive a second comital endowment from Duke Richard II, and rebellious bishops who were simultaneously counts were not ruined in Duke Robert's reign.³⁷ However, Duke William's success in permanently banishing rebellious counts was a sign of ducal strength after 1047.

In exploring ducal patronage and aristocratic ambition, the case studies in this thesis pull in different directions. On the one hand, the families studied here support Musset's contention that the dukes played a decisive role in shaping the Norman aristocracy before 1066. On the other, it has been seen that these families pursued their ambitions by participating in bottom-up strategies of entrenchment. Some of these strategies are components of the model of 'feudal revolution', and they gave Le Patourel and Bartlett reasons to locate the dynamic behind the expansion of Europe below the level of the rulers, in the land hunger of lords, knights and younger sons within the aristocracy.³⁸ This raises the question of whether a ruler successful at managing the aristocracy from above could be forced into expansion by those very aristocrats. Was William leading the aristocracy into expansion, or was he pushed into it by their hunger for land?

Here it is important to remember that the effects of aristocratic acquisitiveness and changes in inheritance in Normandy were not as destabilizing as some proponents of the 'feudal revolution' have suggested. Aristocratic land hunger sometimes spilled over into violence, but not usually in ways incompatible with ducal power. Indeed, it has been shown that far from

³⁶ See above, p. 173.

³⁷ For two examples, see above, p. 187 *et seq.*

³⁸ See above, section beginning p. 30.

being unrestrained, aristocratic violence was often more about honour than greed, and it was conducted and resolved according to rules that were widely known. Even rebellion could form part of a negotiating process, and tended to be restrained by aristocrats' reluctance to face their rulers in battle.³⁹ The narrowing of inheritance in favour of eldest sons was not so uniform or pervasive as the model of 'family mutation' suggests.⁴⁰ What narrowing *did* occur within loyal aristocratic families tended to buttress, not undermine, ducal authority, for this made them more effective allies than might have been the case if their power had been dissipated by the division of their estates.

Norman dukes were not merely passive victims of violence, castles and other strategies of territorialization or expansion; indeed, they used similar tactics to extend and maintain their own authority. Violence and castles were essential tools for spreading and maintaining ducal power in Normandy in the tenth century.⁴¹ Far from being opportunistic creations by lords seeking independence, the castle-based territorial lordships which appeared in Normandy around 1000 were created by the dukes for their close relatives.⁴² Even William fitz Osbern's castle of Breteuil was built and entrusted to him by Duke William soon after 1054, in response to King Henry's control of the formerly ducal castle of Tillières.⁴³ Religious patronage, an important method of aristocratic entrenchment, was also a tool dukes used to strengthen their symbolic, religious and judicial authority across the duchy.⁴⁴

There are also reasons for doubting whether aristocratic pressure played a determinative role in the Conqueror's decision to invade England in 1066. William of Poitiers and Orderic Vitalis say that Duke William's attempts to rally aristocratic support for the invasion of

³⁹ See above, p. 33, 38-39.

⁴⁰ See above, p. 32.

⁴¹ Bates, 'West Francia', 404-05; Dunbabin, *France in the Making*, 79-81.

⁴² For castles and counts, see Bates, 'West Francia', 417-18.

⁴³ Lewis, 'William fitz Osbern', *ODNB*; Lemoine Descourtieux, *La frontière normande de l'Avre*, 112.

⁴⁴ Potts, *Monastic Revival*; M. Hagger, 'Confrontation and Unification: Approaches to the Political History of Normandy, 911-1035', *History Compass*, 11:6 (2013), 429-42, at 436.

England encountered significant opposition.⁴⁵ Not every Norman aristocrat wanted English land, and some who received it abandoned it before long. Objections were made on both moral and practical grounds.⁴⁶ It has also been suggested that the colonization of England was originally intended to be less Norman than it turned out, and more beneficial for men from other parts of France.⁴⁷ William was under no obligation to satisfy the land hunger of people from principalities outside Normandy, so they cannot be said to have pushed him into expansion. The invasion of England enabled William to satisfy the land hunger of some of his subjects, but this is not sufficient to identify aristocratic land hunger as the driving force of the Conquest. Instead, the invasion was a project in which William's ambitions and those of sections of his aristocracy intersected.

The aristocratic strategies described in this conclusion were motivated by self-interest, as families sought to make their local power permanent. Alliances between aristocrats could serve the same purpose. However, alliances had the additional effect of encouraging cohesion throughout the aristocracy. The Tosny and Montgommery families certainly benefited from alliances. The house of Tosny's main allies before 1066 were the Grandmesnils and Ralph III's father-in-law and brother-in-law, Simon de Montfort. The marriages of Ralph's mother Godehilde and sister Adelize after the death of Roger I de Tosny brought Ralph into relationships with the lords of Évreux and Breteuil as well. Roger II de Montgommery gave his daughters in marriage to create alliances with men on the Norman and Welsh frontiers. Despite the feud which caused the deaths of Osbern fitz Arfast and William de Montgommery, Roger II de Montgommery had a close relationship with William fitz Osbern – so close that William fitz Osbern apparently gave him the huge manor of Chalton.⁴⁸ Alliances could also be

⁴⁵ *GG*, 100, 106; *OV*, ii. 142.

⁴⁶ Green, *Aristocracy of Norman England*, 33; Bates, *William the Conqueror* (2004), 184; Bates, *Normans and Empire*, 39-40; Hagger, 'Grandmesnil', 221-22.

⁴⁷ Bates, *Normans and Empire*, 86; Bates, *William the Conqueror* (2016), 224-25, 342.

⁴⁸ See above, p. 333.

strengthened by shared military service to the duke. For instance, Roger and William fitz Osbern cooperated at the siege of Domfront.⁴⁹ The relationship between Roger and William fitz Osbern illustrates how alliances between the duke's closest advisers strengthened the duke's control of his principality.

Alliances could also be secured through marriage. Nobles could arrange marriages across the frontier. This often had the effect of extending a ruler's influence outside the frontiers of his polity. Roger II de Montgommery's first marriage decisively extended Duke William's authority southwards into the Corbonnais. The marriages of Roger's children, Robert, Roger the Poitevin and Mabel, would also have been intended to increase William's influence outside Normandy. Ralph III de Tosny's marriage to Isabel de Montfort would have increased William's influence in the Pincerais and the Drouais. However, the threat cross-frontier marriages posed to the dukes is demonstrated by the involvement of Hugh de Châteauneuf (Roger II's son-in-law) with Robert de Bellême in Curthose's rebellion in 1078, and by Amaury de Montfort's attempt to recruit Ralph IV de Tosny for an attack on Breteuil in 1119. Because cross-frontier aristocratic marriages could benefit or threaten the dukes, it is probable that dukes were either consulted before these marriages were made, or were active agents in making them. An alternative to a cross-frontier marriage was a local marriage, intended to reinforce a family's dominance in a locality. This is what Robert, count of Eu intended when he married the widow of a local landholder, and when he arranged his son William III's marriage to Beatrice de Bully.

Marriage alliances could be unstable. This is shown by the difficult relationship between William III d'Eu and Hugh d'Avranches in 1096. Ralph de Tosny's war against William d'Évreux and William de Breteuil in the 1090s also shows that marriage alliances forged in the 1040s had become fragile. Ralph's relationship with the Montforts must have deteriorated

⁴⁹ See above, p. 292.

within a few years of Simon's death, for Simon's son (Ralph's nephew) Richard de Montfort died attacking Conches in 1091. However, there remained the potential for reconciliation. By 1103, Ralph's alliance with the Montforts was sufficiently restored for Ralph to have chosen a monk of Coulombs as abbot of Conches.⁵⁰

Although alliances fostered cohesion, aristocratic allies could also find themselves in conflict with a ruler or his favourites. This can be seen in the Tosnys' alliance with the Grandmesnils in the first half of the 1040s and c. 1061, and in the attack by Ralph III de Tosny and William d'Évreux against Robert de Beaumont in 1100. Aristocrats linked by marriage could also join in rebellions against the ruler himself, as Ralph and William de Breteuil did in 1078. The cooperation of Robert de Bellême and William de Breteuil in the rebellion of 1078 was encouraged by the close relationship their fathers had shared.

There were a number of forces that brought nobles together and made aristocratic alliances possible. Men who attended the ducal court must have hoped to secure ducal patronage there, or to influence ducal policy. William's ability to attract barons is a measure of how important ducal authority had become to aristocratic fortunes. Attendance at the ducal court was such a powerful force for bringing people together that it enabled Roger II de Montgommery and William fitz Osbern to dissolve the family feud which resulted in the deaths of Osbern fitz Arfast and William de Montgommery. It was also through his relationship to Duke William that Roger forged a marriage alliance with Robert, count of Mortain.

Aristocratic cohesion was also fostered by the shape and distribution of some aristocratic estates. Scattered estates would have encouraged nobles to align their interests with the success of the duchy as a whole. From the duke's perspective, they countered the threat of political fragmentation by preventing too much local dominance by any one family. Some estates did not fit this pattern – for example, the concentrated estate of the counts of Eu promoted a more

⁵⁰ Gazeau, *Normannia monastica*, i. 223, ii. 69-72.

localized outlook – but the two other families studied here had relatively dispersed estates. The main part of the Tosny estate was intermingled with property of the counts of Évreux and William fitz Osbern. Although intermingling might produce rivalry and violence – as it did between the Tosnys and Beaumonts, and between Ralph III de Tosny and the lords of Évreux and Breteuil – it must have been hoped that this intermingling would aid Ralph III de Tosny’s integration with Duke William’s loyal supporters after the marriages of Godehilde and Adelize de Tosny.⁵¹ The shape of Roger II de Montgomery’s estate must also have promoted cohesion, because parts of it were dispersed and thus intermingled with those of many neighbours, and the bulk of Roger’s lands – stretching in a band from the Corbonnais to the mouths of the rivers Orne and Dives – would have ensured that his reputation was spread consistently from the south to the north of Normandy.

Religious patronage also encouraged cohesion. Ralph III de Tosny’s patronage of Saint-Evrault, Saint-Taurin d’Évreux and Lyre must have been intended to maintain his relationships with Hugh de Grandmesnil, William d’Évreux and William de Breteuil. Roger II de Montgomery’s grants to Grestain aimed at prolonging the relationship with his son-in-law, Robert, count of Mortain, after the death of Robert’s wife. Stephen d’Aumale’s patronage of Le Tréport, and the opposition against Curthose he shared with the counts of Eu in 1089 and 1091, probably helped to win the support of William III d’Eu for the conspiracy to put Stephen on the English throne in 1095.

Networks based around other churches facilitated cohesion too: for example, it has been seen that Ralph’s grants to Norman churches reveal his membership of a milieu on the Norman frontier whose priorities tended to be continental after 1066. Grants to ducal abbeys linked

⁵¹ Searle, *Predatory Kinship*, 186-88; Bates, *William the Conqueror* (2016), 73-74.

benefactors to the duke, and to other benefactors in that religious network.⁵² All three families studied in this thesis were members of such networks around ducal abbeys.

Aristocratic cohesion made Normandy more powerful than other principalities in northern Francia in the mid-eleventh century.⁵³ Subgroups, like the one revealed by Ralph's religious patronage, must have co-existed and differed from each other in their outlooks and priorities. Nevertheless, the aristocracy was bound together by shared recognition and experience of ducal authority.

Chris Wickham has made a strong case for thinking that Anglo-Saxon England was more centralized than France in the tenth century because the Anglo-Saxon kings retained control over an extensive royal demesne and other sources of property with which to exercise patronage. This meant that Anglo-Saxon kings were more able to attract nobles to royal assemblies, and to arrange aristocratic estates which were sufficiently dispersed to prevent too much local dominance by any noble. Dispersed Anglo-Saxon estates thus promoted a cohesive kingdom-wide perspective among nobles.⁵⁴ This argument is broadly persuasive for the case of England in the tenth century, and helps to explain the growing power of Normandy in the early eleventh. Ducal patronage was effected in broadly similar ways, and with similar effects, in eleventh-century Normandy. For example, the dispersed estates of the Tosnys and Montgommerys owed much to ducal patronage. The duke's ability to shape the aristocracy from above helped foster the cohesion manifest in 1066.

This similarity between Anglo-Saxon England and Normandy has further implications for how the principality of Normandy should be understood. David Bates has argued that Normandy was a very strong territorial principality by 1066, strong enough for the Conquest

⁵² Potts, *Monastic Revival*, 116.

⁵³ For Norman centralization compared to fragmentation elsewhere, see Hallam, 'The King and the Princes', 143-56, especially at 146-47. For Norman centralization based on relationships with the dukes, see Searle, *Predatory Kinship*, especially 166, 238-45 (although shared descent from Gunnor's relatives is open to doubt).

⁵⁴ C. Wickham, 'Problems in Doing Comparative History', in *Challenging the Boundaries of Medieval History: The Legacy of Timothy Reuter*, ed. P. Skinner (Turnhout, 2009), 5-28, at 14-28.

of England to be described as one state taking over another.⁵⁵ Bates cited a number of recent publications to support his view that the process of state formation can be observed in both polities before 1066, as rulers succeeded in having their power recognized in definable territories. He argues that rulers in the tenth century were instrumental in establishing both England and Normandy as coherent, stable territorial units.⁵⁶ Elisabeth van Houts showed that William of Jumièges wrote the bulk of his *Gesta Normannorum Ducum* in the 1050s, so it must now be accepted that the status and prestige of being duke of Normandy was sufficient to inspire such a work before William the Conqueror acquired the title of king of England.⁵⁷ Bates also drew attention to the successful integration of Scandinavians in England and Normandy by the early eleventh century, a process which encouraged the evolution of both polities as recognizable states.⁵⁸ Pierre Bauduin emphasized the role of paternal and maternal consanguinity, friendship, marriages and godfathers in binding Norman elite society together.⁵⁹ Dukes controlled coinage and were able to legislate for the whole duchy.⁶⁰ For these reasons, pre-Conquest Normandy can be understood as a strong territorial principality, held together by people conscious of their identity as ducal subjects. The observations of this thesis concerning the centrality of ducal patronage, the existence of dispersed estates, and the various forces promoting aristocratic cohesion, lend further weight to Bates's assertion that Normandy evolved into a powerful state in ways comparable to Anglo-Saxon England before 1066.

This is not to deny that there were important differences between Normandy and England. Curthose's difficulty in maintaining control of the aristocracy after 1087 shows that aristocratic cohesion and centralization depended heavily on personal relationships. In contrast,

⁵⁵ Bates, 'Introduction. La Normandie et l'Angleterre', 13-14; Bates, *William the Conqueror* (2016), 206-07, 498, 525.

⁵⁶ D. Bates, 'Britain and France and the Year 1000', *Franco-British Studies*, 28 (1999), 5-22, at 7-10.

⁵⁷ *GND*, i. p. xxxii-xxxv.

⁵⁸ Bates, 'Britain and France', 9-10, 14.

⁵⁹ P. Bauduin, 'Désigner les parents: le champ de la parenté dans l'oeuvre des premiers chroniqueurs Normands', *ANS*, 24 (2002), 71-84.

⁶⁰ Bates, *William the Conqueror* (2016), 206-07.

Anglo-Saxon and early Norman England was centralized not simply by the ruler's personal relationships, but also by institutions of government. This meant that whoever held the kingship would be able to exercise power across England.⁶¹ The cohesion of the Norman aristocracy under Duke William's rule gave William the confidence and the manpower to appropriate and exploit the apparatus of English government.

While antecessorial grants in England (such as those for William III d'Eu and Robert de Tosny) helped William to replicate the intermingling visible in pre-Conquest England and Normandy, it has also been observed that concentrated lordships in Normandy provided a blueprint for the introduction of new concentrated estates to England after 1066.⁶² Robert d'Eu's rape of Hastings was remarkably close, and similar in its shape and strategic function, to his county in Normandy. Roger II de Montgommery held two concentrated blocks, one in the rape of Arundel and one in Shropshire. Robert and Roger probably received rapes in Sussex because the proximity of those rapes to their property around Norman ports promoted security in the intervening stretches of the English Channel. This proximity would also have promoted the unity of Normandy and England by facilitating easy Channel transferences for Robert and Roger. They must have been made responsible for sections of the English frontier because they already had experience of maintaining frontiers in Normandy. These case studies have also revealed other similarities within each family's cross-Channel estates: for example, it has been noted that Roger de Montgommery's estate in England was essentially an extension of his band of property stretching from Bellême to the mouths of the rivers Orne and Dives, and it has been seen that Ralph de Tosny held dispersed estates in both polities.

⁶¹ Chibnall, *Anglo-Norman England*, 105-06; T. Reuter, 'The "Feudal Revolution": III', *Past and Present*, 155 (1997), 177-95, at 191-92; S. Baxter, 'The Limits of the Late Anglo-Saxon State', in *Der frühmittelalterliche Staat – europäische Perspektiven*, eds. W. Pohl and V. Wieser (Wien, 2009), 503-13; Hudson, 'England and *The Making of Europe*', 44, 52.

⁶² James Campbell recognized that some concentrated Anglo-Saxon estates existed, but more were scattered: J. Campbell, 'The United Kingdom of England: The Anglo-Saxon Achievement', in *Uniting the Kingdom? The Making of British History*, eds. A. Grant and K. J. Stringer (London and New York, NY, 1995), 31-47, at 34, 45. Peter Clarke emphasized the newness of compact honours after 1066: P. Clarke, *The English Nobility Under Edward the Confessor* (Oxford, 1994), 157-58.

William thus arranged dispersed and concentrated estates in England, which mirrored some estates in Normandy which were created or at least augmented by ducal patronage. Intermingled, dispersed estates were especially conducive to aristocratic cohesion, but that does not mean holders of concentrated estates were isolated. This is shown by Robert d'Eu, who patronized two abbeys in the Roumois, fought at Lindsey, and had administrative duties in England outside the rape of Hastings.

Some degree of cohesion in England resulted from the importation of Norman relationships. However, the degree of family solidarity visible in England differed markedly from one case to another. Family solidarity can be perceived in Roger the Poitevin's patronage of his father's foundations of Saint-Martin de Sées and Shrewsbury Abbey, and in Arnulf's patronage of Saint-Martin de Sées. Family solidarity between Robert de Tosny and his son Berengar is clear, for Berengar was Robert's most significant subtenant. It is more difficult to demonstrate family solidarity between different branches of the house of Tosny, except for some intermingling (particularly between the Lincolnshire and Oxfordshire estates of Robert de Tosny and Robert of Stafford). However, the fact that the Tosnys as a whole had a consistent presence across the central part of England must have promoted a sense of kingdom-wide cohesion. Less solidarity can be found between Robert d'Eu and his son William III in England, perhaps because the location of William III's estate was dictated by the forfeiture of Ralph de Limésy long after Robert received the rape of Hastings. Robert was in Normandy for the vast majority of the time that William III was a tenant-in-chief in England. This physical separation hindered opportunities for cooperation in England.

It was also possible for tenants-in-chief to engender cohesion within their own honours by granting manors in separate shires to a single subtenant. This can be observed in the two main blocks of Roger II de Montgommery's property in England, and also among some subtenants of Ralph de Tosny, Robert of Stafford, Robert de Tosny, Berengar de Tosny and

William III d'Eu. Giving subtenants a stake in more than one part of the kingdom encouraged them to support the integrity of both the tenant-in-chief's English lands, and the kingdom as a whole, and like dispersed estates more generally, it made it difficult for any subtenant to be too dominant in any locality.

This inquiry can be broadened to consider whether subtenants promoted cohesion within the cross-Channel polity as a whole. Roger II's subtenants provide strong evidence that they did. Seven of the subtenants who were Roger's own men were landholders in his Norman heartlands too. Four of Robert d'Eu's subtenants were cross-Channel landholders. None of Ralph de Tosny's subtenants who were truly his own men in England can be identified as cross-Channel landholders, though Gilbert fitz Turolde, subtenant of Ralph and *minister* of William fitz Osbern, was a cross-Channel landholder who would have known Ralph from Fontaine-sous-Jouy. Cross-Channel subtenants were among the mainstays of Le Patourel's vision of a united cross-Channel empire, and they are identifiable in enough numbers to suggest that most significant Norman landholders who acquired large English estates imported landholders from their homeland. Cross-Channel unity was also encouraged by subtenants who accompanied their lord in both polities. This can be demonstrated for all three of the families studied here, in particular the Montgommerys and the counts of Eu.

Most of the followers exported from the vicinity of a lord's estate in Normandy to his English one cannot be identified as cross-Channel landholders. Although it is likely that their overwhelmingly English interests would have gradually promoted the separation of Normandy and England, they must have retained emotional links to their homelands throughout the eleventh century. Many of these men are likely to be younger sons, especially when relatives who did hold Norman land can be identified.

It is rare to encounter evidence of subtenants granting property in England to their lords' foundations in Normandy. This is perhaps because the subtenants' interests after 1066 were

predominantly English. It is nonetheless significant that at least one example of cross-Channel religious patronage can be found among subtenants of all three families.⁶³ This is enough to suggest that cross-Channel religious patronage at the subtenants' level did occur, but not enough to suggest that it was the norm.

The origins of subtenants shed light on the tenant-in-chief's attitude towards England and Normandy. Robert d'Eu and Roger II de Montgomery imported more men from their estates in Normandy than Ralph de Tosny. There are a number of possible explanations for this. Roger had bigger estates in both Normandy and England. It is therefore likely that he was compelled to provide for a greater number of his vassals, and he was fortunate to have a big enough English estate to meet this challenge. Robert d'Eu's English estate was more valuable than Ralph's, so he may have felt that he could afford to reward more people.

However, it must also be significant that Roger II de Montgomery and Robert d'Eu were more committed to England than Ralph. Perhaps Ralph preferred to export fewer supporters from Normandy because he expected to need their support in his predominantly continental post-Conquest career. Although Robert d'Eu exported more Norman followers than Ralph, he appears to have preferred not to give his most important men significant English interests. Instead, he increased the number of men beholden to him by creating a new group of important men in England.

Robert de Tosny brought a considerable number of men from his estate in Normandy, presumably because he needed a substantial body of loyal followers to support his predominantly English career. William III d'Eu and Robert of Stafford imported relatively few men by 1086 because the insignificance of their Norman interests made it difficult to attract many vassals in Normandy.

⁶³ See above, p. 108, 135, 243, 367, 373.

The impression that Ralph de Tosny prioritized a continental career after 1066 can be discerned in several ways. Chronicle and charter evidence locates Ralph in England only once or twice, while it is much easier to find him in Normandy or Spain. This impression can be corroborated by Ralph's religious patronage for exclusively Norman beneficiaries; his delegation of responsibility at Clifford and Necton and his subinfeudation of valuable manors; the continental marriage or marriages of his daughter, Godehilde II; and his burial at Conches. It may also be significant that Ralph is not known to have built a castle in England, and if he founded English churches (which is uncertain), then they were alien priories to serve Conches and Saint-Taurin d'Évreux. Ralph's career was very different to those of his brother, Robert of Stafford, and another relative, Robert de Tosny. Their prioritization of England can be observed in their patronage of English abbeys, the marriages arranged for their children, and the impossibility of securely finding them on the continent after 1066. Similarly, William III d'Eu patronized an English abbey and probably found his second wife in England, and after he became a tenant-in-chief, he can most often be found in England. Robert of Stafford and Robert de Tosny were buried in England. Their preference for an English career must be explained by the fact that their estates in Normandy were small or non-existent.

The post-Conquest careers of Robert d'Eu and Roger de Montgomery can be divided into two phases. Both men spent significant time in both polities in the first half of King William's reign. Robert's focus appears to have shifted towards Normandy from the later 1070s. After Mabel's death, Roger seems to have placed increasing emphasis on his English interests, especially in Rufus's reign. The rebellion at Hastings in 1088 suggests that Robert supported Curthose against Rufus, which corresponds with what is known of Robert's geographical priorities since the later 1070s. Roger's support for Curthose in 1088 was equivocal, which can be explained by his concern for his English career by this time.

In contrast to Ralph de Tosny, Robert d'Eu alienated little property in England to Norman churches, choosing instead to patronize his college at Hastings. Roger de Montgomery was generous in giving away property in England outside Shropshire to Norman churches, but he was also responsible for one of the two English Benedictine abbeys founded by the first post-Conquest generation of newcomers. The religious foundations at Hastings and Shrewsbury were not dependent upon any Norman church, and were intended to entrench Robert and Roger in their new surroundings. Both places had the combination of church, castle and town which was so crucial for local power in Normandy and England.

Robert d'Eu and Roger de Montgomery were able to change the focus of their activities by using their eldest sons to look after their property on one side of the Channel: William III d'Eu administered the rape of Hastings for Robert by the early 1080s, and Robert de Bellême took an increasing role in Roger's continental lands from 1077. Roger's private writ addressed to Robert de Bellême provides an indication of how this arrangement worked.⁶⁴ Between 1107 and 1118, Robert de Beaumont adopted the same technique as Roger, issuing a writ at Meulan to take effect in England.⁶⁵ Other people must also have acted as a cross-Channel landholder's regional representative: for example, Robert de Poëley was another of Roger's representatives in Normandy, and Roger's *vicecomites* in Shropshire (and perhaps the rape of Arundel) probably administered the lordship in Roger's absence.

Despite the challenges inherent in maintaining cross-Channel estates, the benefits were apparently worth keeping them united, for the cross-Channel estates of the senior line of the Tosnys and the counts of Eu stayed together throughout the twelfth century. This degree of unity may not have been the norm (see Table 37), but cross-Channel inheritance occurred often enough to prevent the fragmentation of the cross-Channel polity at the aristocratic level. It has

⁶⁴ See above, p. 326.

⁶⁵ Crouch, 'Robert of Beaumont: his Lands, his Acts, and his Self-Image', 99, 103 (act no. 4).

also been observed that divided estates were often reunited: for example, Roger de Montgomery's cross-Channel estate was reunited in 1098, and Baldwin fitz Gilbert's was reunited in 1096.⁶⁶ In addition, sometimes the Norman or English heirs of tenants-in-chief acquired estates in the other polity: Richard fitz Gilbert's Norman heir received an English estate in King Henry's reign, sometime before 1130;⁶⁷ Roger de Beaumont's Norman heir received a great English estate in the reigns of William Rufus and Henry;⁶⁸ and Roger de Beaumont's English heir had already received substantial Norman interests from Roger during Roger's lifetime.⁶⁹ Similarly, though he might not have been a cross-Channel landholder himself, the tenant-in-chief Ralph Paynel arranged for his son and eventual English heir, William, to inherit his family's Norman patrimony from Ralph's brother, Hugh, during Ralph's lifetime.⁷⁰

A leitmotif of this thesis on the Norman aristocracy has been diversity: in the different ways it was possible to rise to the highest levels in society before 1066, and in the different geographical priorities of nobles after 1066. The balance of power between the aristocracy and rulers, and within the aristocracy itself, was constantly shifting. In a century of change, a constant was the decisive influence of the Norman rulers over the fortunes of aristocratic families. All three families studied here attained prominence with the support of the Norman dukes, and all three were liable to resist overweening rulers in Normandy and England. This thesis has thus underlined that successful government in Normandy and post-Conquest England depended upon a network of personal relationships. Despite the diversity of Norman

⁶⁶ For Baldwin, see J. C. Ward, 'Royal Service and Reward: The Clare Family and the Crown', *ANS*, 11 (1989), 261-78, at 265; Bates, *Normans and Empire*, 136.

⁶⁷ Ward, 'Royal Service and Reward', 271; Bates, *Normans and Empire*, 135-36.

⁶⁸ Crouch, 'Beaumont, Robert de', *ODNB*.

⁶⁹ Crouch, 'Beaumont, Henry de', *ODNB*.

⁷⁰ Guilmin, 'Les Paynel', 233.

society and the rivalries within it, each family's need for allies and their shared desire for ducal favour engendered cohesion, which ultimately facilitated Duke William's Conquest of England. Nobles ensured that their English gains would last by importing and adapting strategies of entrenchment which had served them well in Normandy: chiefly castles, churches, and lordship. The Norman kings of England played their part by overseeing the creation of dispersed or concentrated estates similar to those which underpinned the cohesion and security of Normandy. In this way, aristocratic aspiration and the rulers' authority combined to ensure that Norman domination of England would endure longer than its domination of Normandy itself.

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