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**The Social & Political Networks of the
Anglo-Norman Aristocracy:
The Clare, Giffard & Tosny Kin-groups,
*c.940 to c.1200***

Vanessa Josephine Traill

Presented in fulfilment of the requirement of the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Submitted to the University of Glasgow

College of Arts
School of Humanities

May 2013

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Author's Declaration

I declare that, except where explicit reference is made to the contribution of others, that this thesis is the result of my own work and has not been submitted for any other degree at the University of Glasgow or any other institution.

Signature:

Printed Name:

Acknowledgements

This thesis would not have been completed without the support of many people, and the University of Glasgow as a whole, that have supported me as an individual and a scholar. My father has provided the funding for the degree and I could not have managed without his support. I owe a great deal to Professor David Bates for giving me the opportunity in the first place. I also owe my teachers and colleagues in the Medieval Area of the Department of History many thanks, particularly, Professor Matthew Strickland, Dr Marilyn Dunn, Mrs Margo Hunter and Mrs Pam Nye.

Without Dr Stephen Marritt's willingness to become my supervisor in a crisis and his unfailing encouragement throughout, my efforts would have come to an abrupt end in the early stages of the degree. I hope that the end result of our mutual labours repays at least some of his generous support and inspiring guidance.

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My greatest debts are owed to my friends and family without whose encouragement, I would have been lost. Generously contributing their time and expertise, James Thomson and Saskia Köhler brought me into the 21st century with an easily maintainable charter database, transformed my maps into works of art and came nobly to my rescue during IT crises at various hours of the day and night. Genevieve Gerrard graciously took on articles that were

beyond my limited linguistic abilities, ensuring that nothing was lost in translation.

My friends from the late great *Biblocafe*, Marion Davis, Pam Hearne, Neil Dobson, D.C., Charlie, Patrick, Annette, Hattie, Johnny, Rory, Lizzie, OJ, Ele, Kate and above all Louisa Munday, have kept me relatively sane, well caffeinated and acted as proofreaders of the bulk of the thesis despite having little interest in the Anglo-Norman period. Dr John Bush generously listened to my doubts and fears and encouraged me to believe in my work and myself. With amazing patience, 'the Ladies Wot Lunch' have supported me, listened to monologues about the Clares, Giffards and Tosnys, visited historical sites, distracted me when necessary and been generally fabulous.

My sister, Vivienne willingly proofread chapters at short notice, my brothers Laurence and Jonathon respectively provided IT support and challenged me to think deeper and further than before. My father was one of the first to encourage my interest in history and without his support I would not have made it this far academically or personally. As a whole my family have provided moral support and shown Herculean patience the progress of the thesis and with me.

It goes without saying that all the remaining mistakes in fact and interpretation contained in the following pages are entirely my own.

Pro salute animae matris mee, Alma Traill.
(1st January 1941- 5th December 1998)

Abstract

Over the last twenty years, the analysis of social networks has become an increasingly significant tool for sociologists, anthropologists and historians alike. Network analysis has not yet, however, been adopted extensively by historians of ducal Normandy or the Anglo-Norman realm. Although there has been some useful work on specific families or political groups, these have tended to artificially isolate networks from one another and from their broader social milieux.

It has become clear that these problems can only be addressed by both inter and intra network analysis over a broader time frame, and that those networks themselves must also be conceived in broad terms. This thesis therefore considers three aristocratic kin-groups of significant contemporary and subsequent importance; the Clares, Giffards, and Tosnys, and includes both their cadet branches and their in-laws. All three groups are examined in terms of their kinship structures, their roles as lords and vassals, and their relationships to the church. While much of the material is Anglo-Norman, the chronological range extends from *c.*940 to *c.*1200. The aim has been to produce a fuller picture of how all three great family enterprises were constituted, developed, interacted with one another and were embedded within society, and to acknowledge that no man, and indeed, no kin-group, is an island entire of itself.

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Abbreviations

<i>ADC</i>	Archives Départementales du Calvados
<i>Add. Ch.</i>	Additional Charters
<i>Add. Ms.</i>	Additional Manuscripts
<i>ADE</i>	Archives Départementales de l'Eure
<i>ADSM</i>	Archives Départementales de la Seine-Maritime
<i>ANS</i>	<i>Anglo-Norman Studies</i>
<i>AOSB</i>	<i>Annales Ordinis Sancti Benedicti Occidentalium monachorum patriarchae</i> , ed. J. Mabillion, 6 vols. (Paris, 1703-1739, L. Venturini edition, 1739-1745)
<i>ASC</i>	<i>Anglo-Saxon Chronicle</i> , trans. M. Swanton (London, 1996)
<i>Bates, Regesta</i>	<i>Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum: the Acta of William I, 1066-1087</i> , ed. D. Bates (Oxford, 1998)
<i>BL</i>	British Library, London
<i>BN</i>	Bibliothèque Nationale de France
<i>Brut, Peniarth</i>	<i>Brut y Tywysogyon or the Chronicle of the Princes, Peniarth, MS 20 Version</i> , ed. & trans. T. Jones (Cardiff, 1952)
<i>Brut, Hergest</i>	<i>Brut y Tywysogyon or the Chronicle of the Princes, Red Book of Hergest Version</i> , ed. & trans. T. Jones (Cardiff, 1955)
<i>Carmen</i>	<i>Carmen de Hastingae Proelio of Guy of Aimeins</i> , ed, F. Barlow (Oxford, 1999)
<i>CDF</i>	<i>Calendar of Documents preserved in France, illustrative of the History of Great Britain & Ireland</i> , vol. 1, A. D. 918-1216, ed. J. H. Round (London, 1899)
<i>Colchester Cartulary</i>	<i>Cartularium Monasterii Sancti Johannis Baptiste de Colecestria</i> , ed. Stuart A. Moore, 2 vols (London, 1897)
<i>Conches</i>	<i>Grande Cartulaire de Conches et sa copie: transcription et analyse</i> , ed., C. de Haas (Le Mesnil-sur-l'Estrée, 2005)
<i>CP</i>	<i>Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain and the United Kingdom</i> , 13 vols in 14 (London, 1910-59)
<i>DB</i>	<i>Domesday Book</i> , ed. A. Farley and H. Ellis, Record Commission, 4 vols. (London, 1783-1816)
<i>Deeds</i>	<i>Deeds of the Normans in Ireland</i> , ed. E. Mullally (Dublin, 2002)

Delisle, <i>Henri II</i>	L. Delisle and É. Berger, <i>Receuil des Actes de Henri II, roi d'Angleterre et duc de Normandie</i> , 4 vols (Paris, 1909-27)
<i>Diceto</i>	<i>Historical Works of Master Ralph de Diceto</i> , ed. W. Stubbs, 2 vols, RS 68 (London, 1876)
<i>Eadmer</i>	<i>Historia Novorum in Anglia</i> , ed. M. Rule, RS 81(1884)
<i>EEA</i>	<i>English Episcopal Acta</i>
<i>EHR</i>	<i>English Historical Review</i>
<i>Expugnatio</i>	Giraldus Cambrensis, <i>Expugnatio Hibernica: The Conquest of Ireland</i> , ed. & trans. A. B. Scott & F. X. Martin (Dublin, 1978)
<i>EYC</i>	<i>Early Yorkshire Charters</i> , i-iii, ed. W. Farrer, (Edinburgh, 1914-16); iv-xii, ed. C. T. Clay, Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Record Society, extra series I-X (1935-65)
Fairweather, <i>Ely</i>	<i>Liber Eliensis: A History of the Isle of Ely</i> , trans. J. Fairweather (Woodbridge, 2005)
<i>Gaimar</i>	Gaimar, <i>L'Estoire Des Engleis</i> , ed. A. Bell, Anglo-Norman Texts, 14-16 (Oxford, 1960)
<i>Gesta Francorum</i>	<i>Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum</i> , ed. Rosalind Hill (London, 1962)
<i>Gesta Regum</i>	William of Malmesbury, <i>Gesta Regum Anglorum</i> , ed. R. A. B. Mynors, R. M. Thomson and M. Winterbottom, 2 vols (Oxford, 1998-9)
Gilbert of Mons	Gilbert of Mons, <i>Chronicle of Hainaut</i> , trans. L. Napran (Woodbridge, 2005)
<i>Glaber</i>	Rodulfus Glaber, <i>The Five Books of the Histories</i> , ed. & trans. J. France (Oxford, 1989)
<i>HH</i>	Henry of Huntingdon, <i>Historia Anglorum</i> , ed. D. Greenway (Oxford, 1996)
<i>Historia Novella</i>	William of Malmesbury, <i>Historia Novella</i> , ed. E. King and K. R. Potter (Oxford, 1998)
Howlett, <i>Chronicles</i>	<i>Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen and Henry II, & Richard I</i> , ed. R. Howlett, 4 vols, RS 82 (London, 1884-9)
<i>HSJ</i>	<i>Haskins Society Journal</i>
<i>Liber Eliensis</i>	<i>Liber Eliensis</i> , ed. E. O. Blake, <i>Camden Society</i> , 3 rd ser., 92 (1962)
<i>Medieval Miscellany</i>	'Treaty Between William Earl of Gloucester & Roger Earl of Hereford', ed. R. H. C. Davis, in <i>A Medieval Miscellany for Doris Mary Stenton</i> , ed. P. M. Barnes & C. F. Slade (London, 1962), 139-146
<i>ns</i>	New Series

OV	Orderic Vitalis, <i>The Ecclesiastical History</i> , ed. M. Chibnall, 6 vols (Oxford, 1969-80)
PR	<i>Pipe Roll</i> (as published by the Pipe Roll Society)
PRO	Public Record Office
RADN	<i>Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie de 911 à 1066</i> , ed. M. Fauroux, <i>Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie</i> , xxxvi (Caen, 1961)
repr.	Reprint
Rotuli	<i>Rotuli de Dominabus et Pueris et Puellis de Donatione Regis in XII Comitatus 31 Henry II, 1185</i> , ed. J. H. Round, <i>Pipe Roll Society</i> , 35 (1913)
RRAN	<i>Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum</i> , 1066-1154, 4 vols, vol.1, ed. H. W. C. Davis, vol. 2, ed. C. Johnson & H. A. Cronne, vols 3 & 4, ed. H. A. Cronne & R. H. C. Davis (Oxford, 1913-69)
RS	<i>Rolls Series</i>
RT	<i>The Chronicle of Robert de Torigni</i> , in <i>Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen and Henry II, & Richard I</i> , ed. R. Howlett, 4 vols, RS 82 (1884-89), iv
Rutland	<i>The Manuscripts of his Grace the Duke of Rutland, preserved at Belvoir Castle</i> , 4 vols, <i>Historical Manuscripts Commission</i> (London, 1888-1905), iv, ed. J. H. Round
Sancti Petri	<i>Historia et Cartularium Monasterii Sancti Petri Gloucestriae</i> , 3 vols, ed. W. H. Hunt (London, 1863-67)
SbC	<i>Stoke-by-Clare Priory Cartulary</i> , parts 1-3, ed. C. Harper-Bill & R. Mortimer, <i>Suffolk Charters</i> , vols. 4-6 (Woodbridge, 1982-4)
TRHS	<i>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society</i>
VCH	<i>Victoria County History</i>
Wace	Wace, <i>Le Roman de Rou</i> , trans. Glyn S. Burgess, with the text of Anthony J. Holden, notes by Glyn S. Burgess and Elisabeth Van Houts (Jersey, 2002)

Definitions & Terminology

The use of terms such as 'cross-Channel' and 'Anglo-Norman' both require awareness of a complex historiography and of current debates over their meaning and use. While there was no contemporary awareness of an Anglo-Norman aristocracy or an Anglo-Norman state, the anachronistic term 'Anglo-Norman' is both a convention in modern historiography and a useful way to distinguish the aristocracy primarily based in Normandy and/ or England from those in the rest of Europe, and in particular from the rest of Francia. The historiographical debate over the idea of a 'cross-Channel' aristocracy is acknowledged in the main introduction, however as this thesis examines the networks and connections relating to the Clare, Giffard and Tosny kin-groups on both sides of the Channel the term does have a purpose. While the aristocracy as a whole may not have been concerned with maintaining or re-establishing the unity of England and Normandy, these particular kin-groups did have long-lasting ties on both sides and were often actively involved in the conflicts that sought to reunite the two states.

The modern interpretation and spellings of names that have been used are based on the current standard forms, including the use of 'd'Albini' for the descendents of William d'Albini *brito* and 'de Aubigny' for the descendents of William de Aubigny *pincerna* even though the names are generally identical in primary sources. Within this thesis an effort has been made to differentiate between those members of the Clare, Giffard and Tosny kin-groups who were primarily based in England from those concerned with Normandy. The individuals focussed on England with toponymics appear as 'of Tosny' or 'of Montfichet', while those concentrated on Normandy appear as 'de Tosny' or 'de Meulan'. The exceptions to this effort of differentiation include the tenant kin-groups who appear 'de' because of their Norman origins, and those whose regular modern name is established as 'de Vere' or 'de Mandeville'.

Genealogies & Maps

While the maps have individual keys that indicate the individuals and kin-groups represented by the symbols in each case, the various genealogies throughout the text all follow the same basic key in representing the relationships of kinship and lordship that affected their structure.

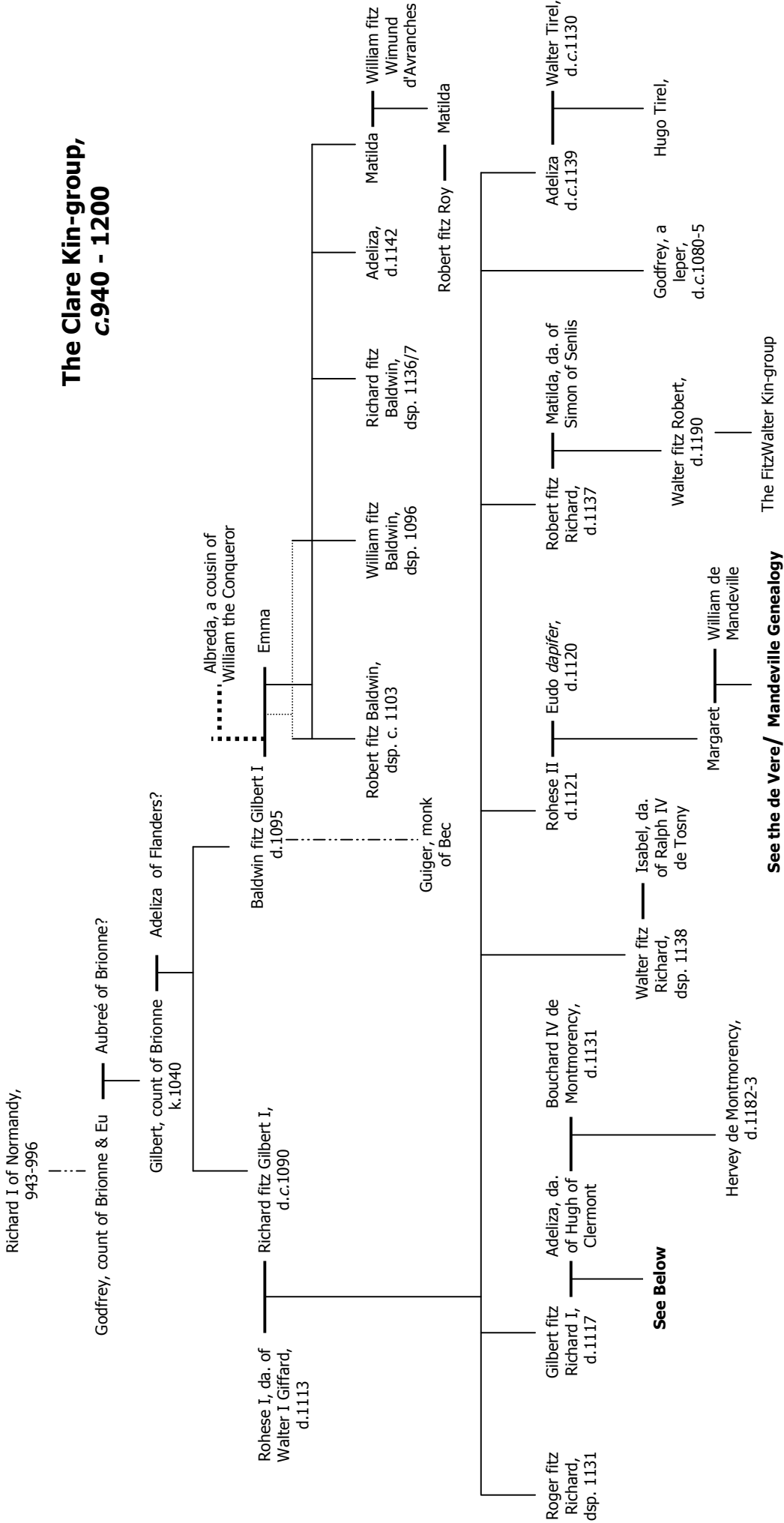
Key:

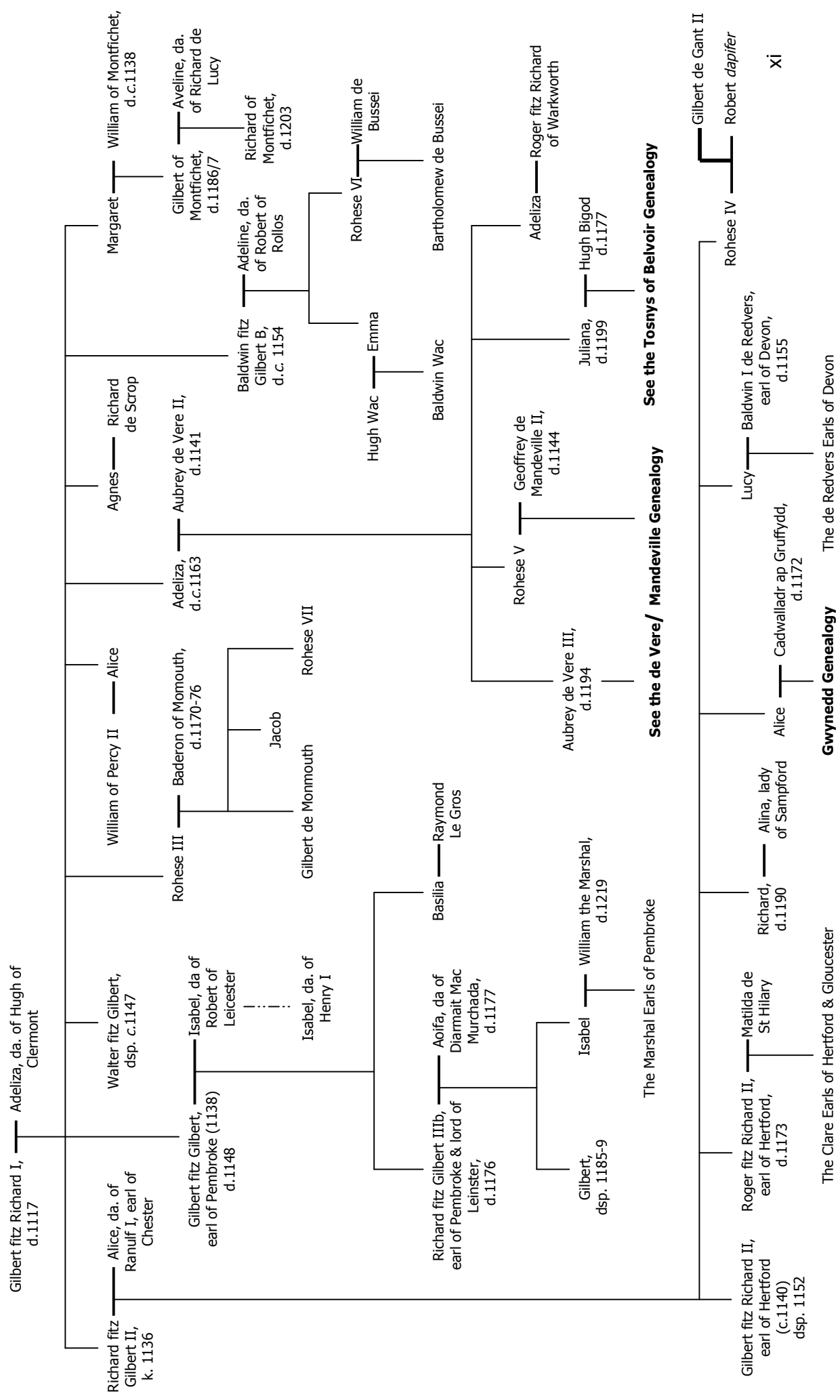
Consanguineous descent	—————
Marriage	—————
Illegitimate descent	-----
Indirect succession	-----
Uncertain relationship

To represent the kin-groups as fully as possible while remaining legible and comprehensible, the relationships can be divided into five different groups, consanguineous descent, meaning those members of a kin-group directly related to each other is represented by a thin, solid line. A thick solid line indicates a marriage because multiple bonds between certain kin-groups meant that marriages had to be depicted between individuals who appeared on the same genealogy but were relatively far apart.¹ A predominantly solid line occasionally interrupted by dots depicts the illegitimate members of the various kin-groups. In comparison those relationships that are unclear or that cannot be proven definitely have been indicated through the use of a dotted line. The line of dashes has been used to indicate when members of a kin-group succeeded to estates through an indirect bond.² Throughout this thesis, the modern standardised names have been used and every effort has been made to be consistent.

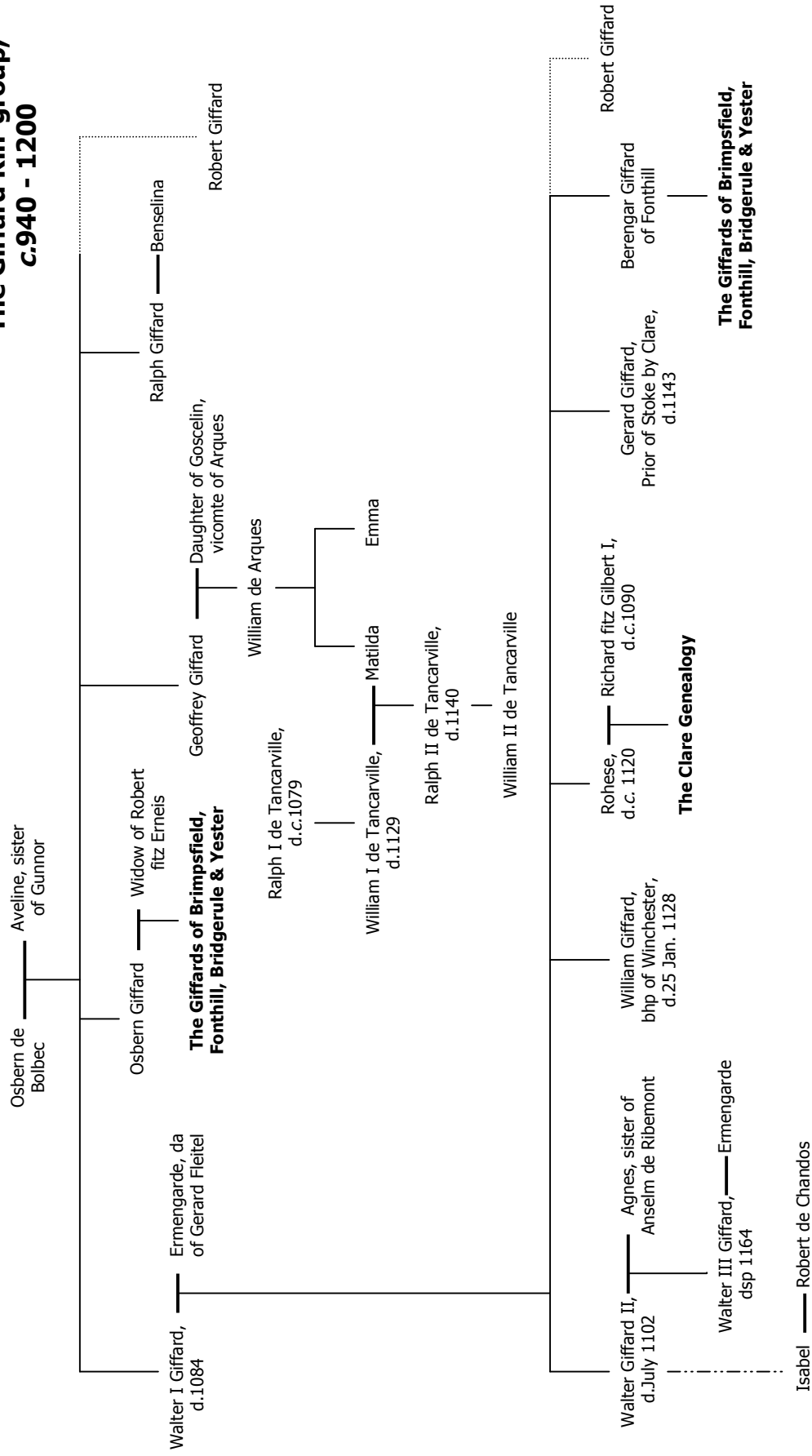
¹ Robert II of Leicester, lord of Breteuil is an exception to this in *The Tosnys and Beaumonts Network* genealogy, as the close ties between the five kin-groups included in that genealogy meant that he had to appear on both sides of the page.

² The case of Gilbert fitz Gilbert and his succession to the Giffard territories in 1189 has not been included because of the complexity of those genealogies and the fact that the connecting line would have to extend over more than one page.

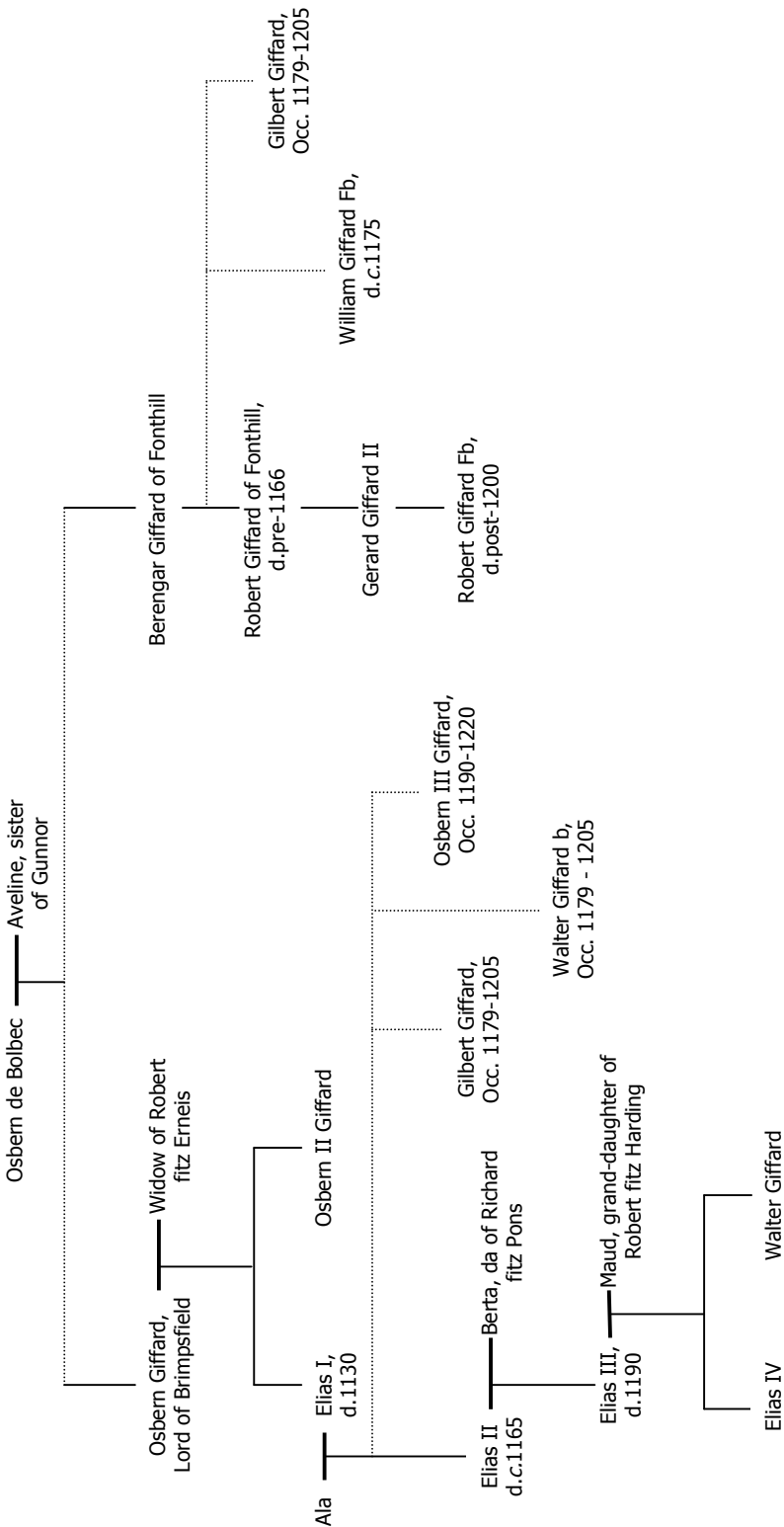


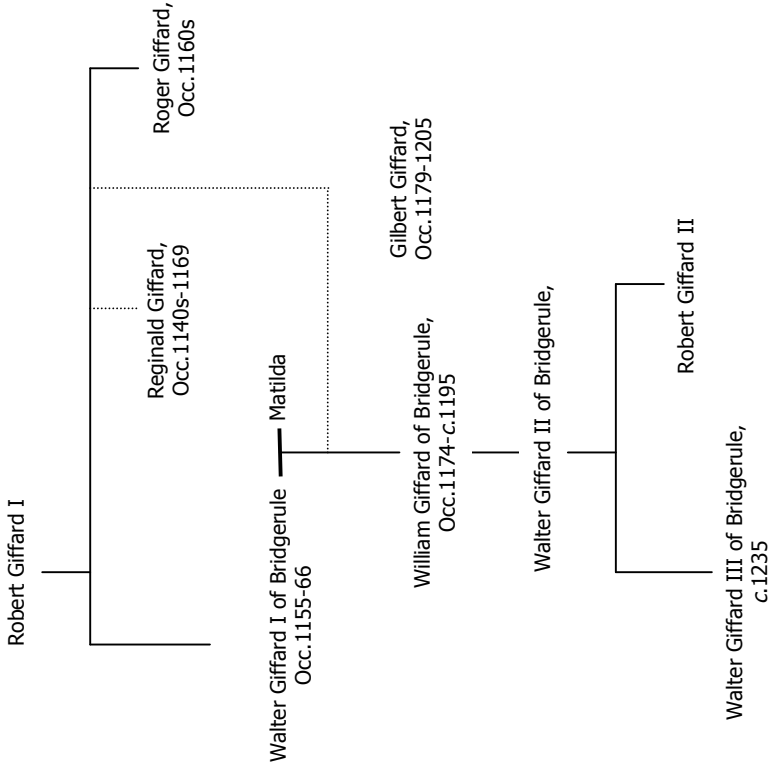


The Giffard Kin-group,
c.940 - 1200

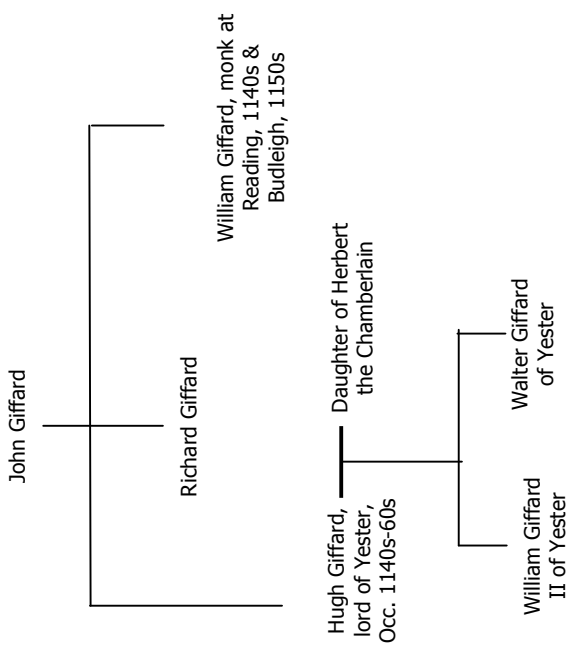


The Giffards of Brimpsfield & Fonthill

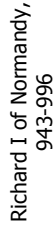


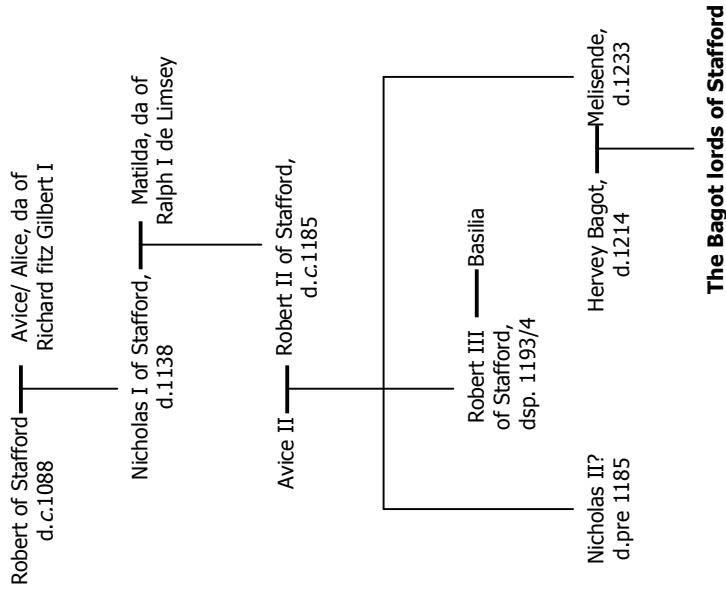
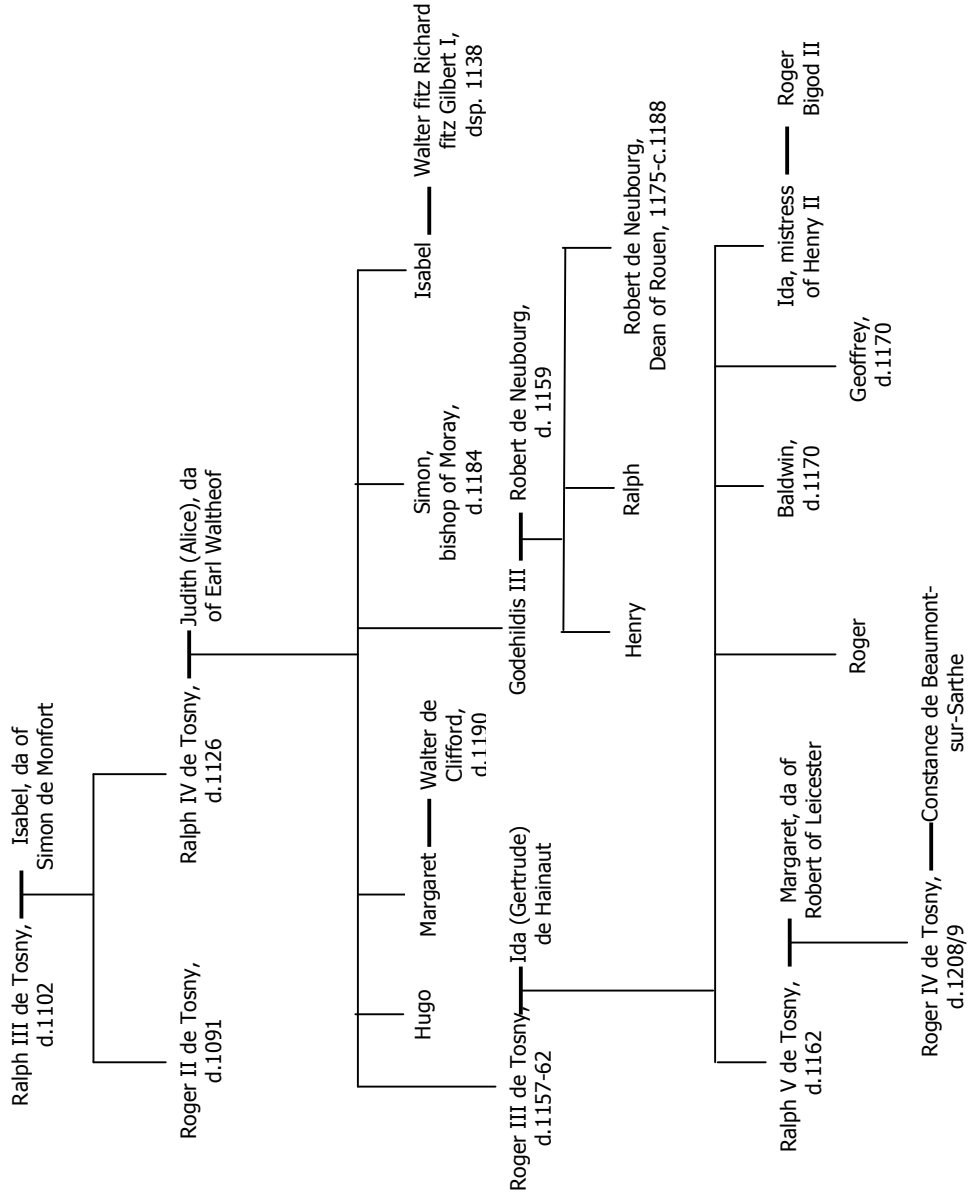


The Giffards of Bridgerule & Yester



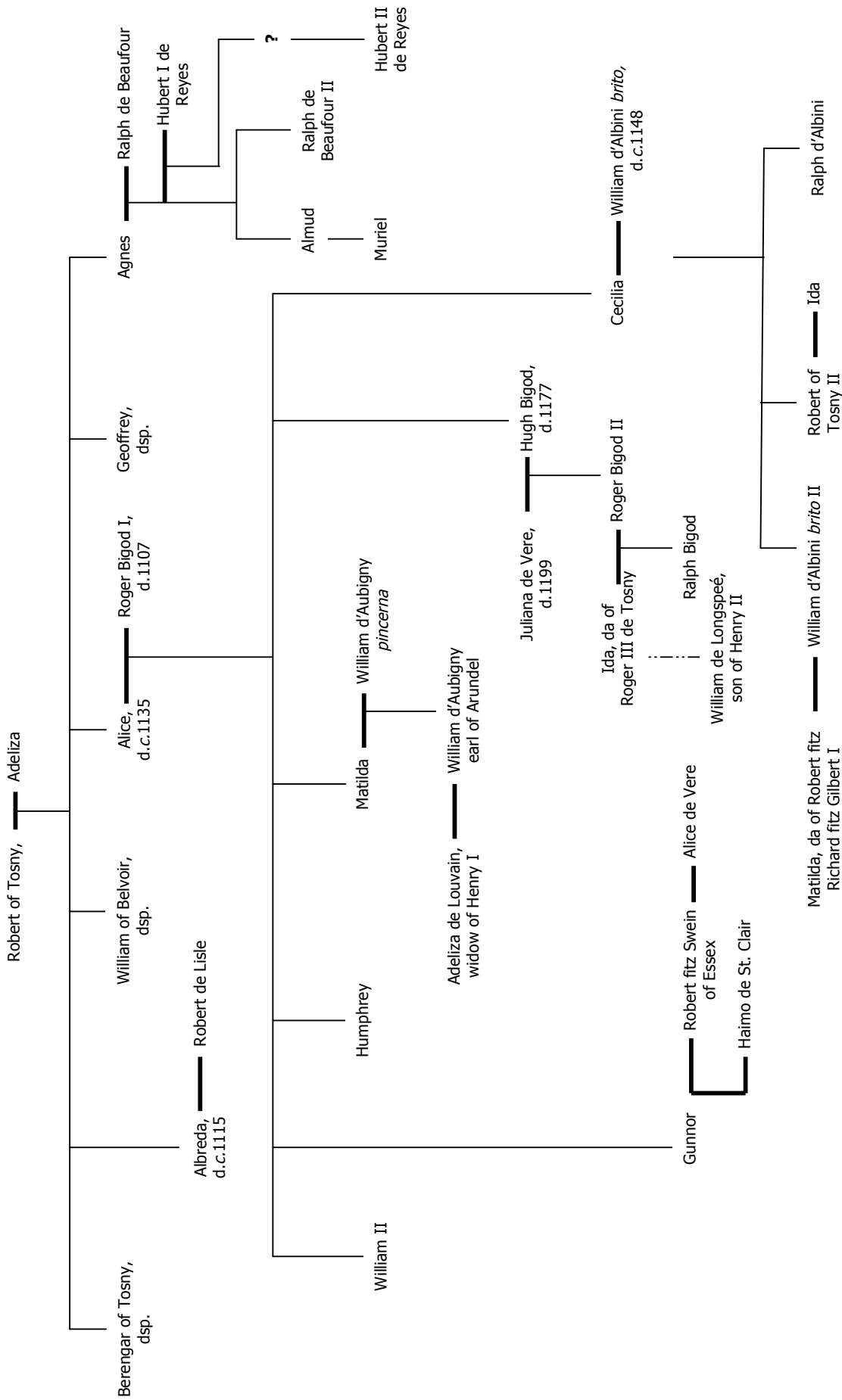
**Malhuc, uncle of Rollo,
1st duke of Normandy**





The Bagot lords of Stafford

The Tosnys of Belvoir



The De Vere/ Mandeville Genealogy

Richard fitz Gilbert I,
d.1090

Rohese I, da of
Walter I Giffard

Aubrey de Vere I,
d.1112

Gilbert fitz Richard I,
d.1117

Rohese II

Eudo *dapifer*

Margaret

Adeliza, da of Hugh
count of Clermont

Adeliza,
d.1163

Aubrey de Vere II
d.1141

William de Mandeville,
d.1129

Geoffrey de Vere

Rohese V,
d.c.1166

Geoffrey de Mandeville II,
d.1144

Payne de Beauchamp
of Bedford,
d.1155/6

Simon de
Beauchamp II
d.s.p. 1207

Beatrice

William de Say,
d.1144

Geoffrey
de Say

Julia,
d.1199

Hugh Bigod
d.1177

Roger Bigod II,
d.1221

Hugh Bigod III,
d.1224/5

Adeliza de Vere

Roger fitz Richard
of Warkworth

Adeliza

John de Lacy

De Lacy Lords of Meath

Aubrey de Vere III,
d.1194

Geoffrey fitz Piers,
Earl of Essex c.1199

Beatrice II

Robert,
d.pre-1189

Hawise

William II,
d.s.p. 1189

Geoffrey de Mandeville III,
d.s.p. 1166

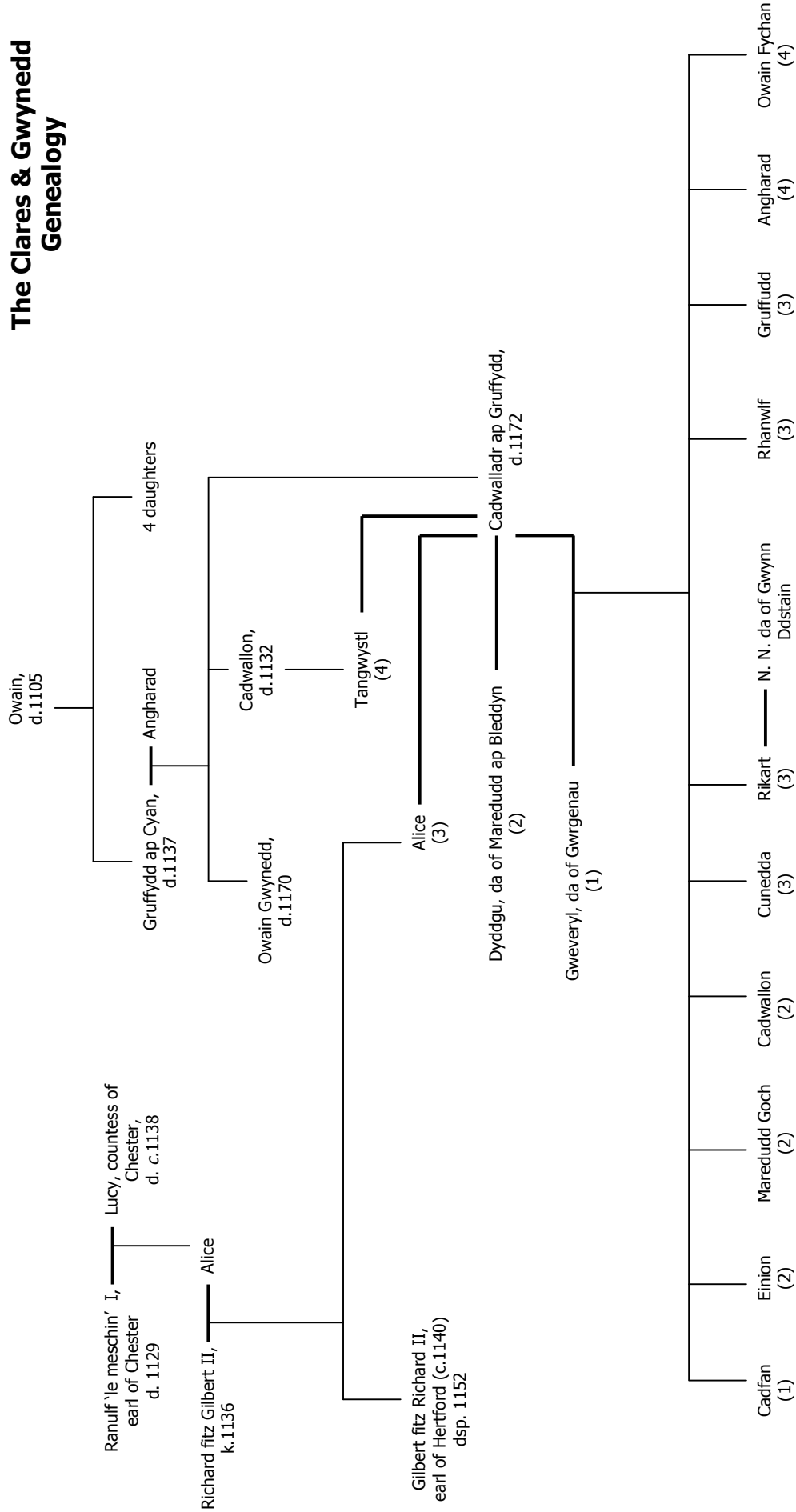
Geoffrey fitz Geoffrey de Mandeville IV,
d.1216

William de Mandeville III,
d.s.p. 1227

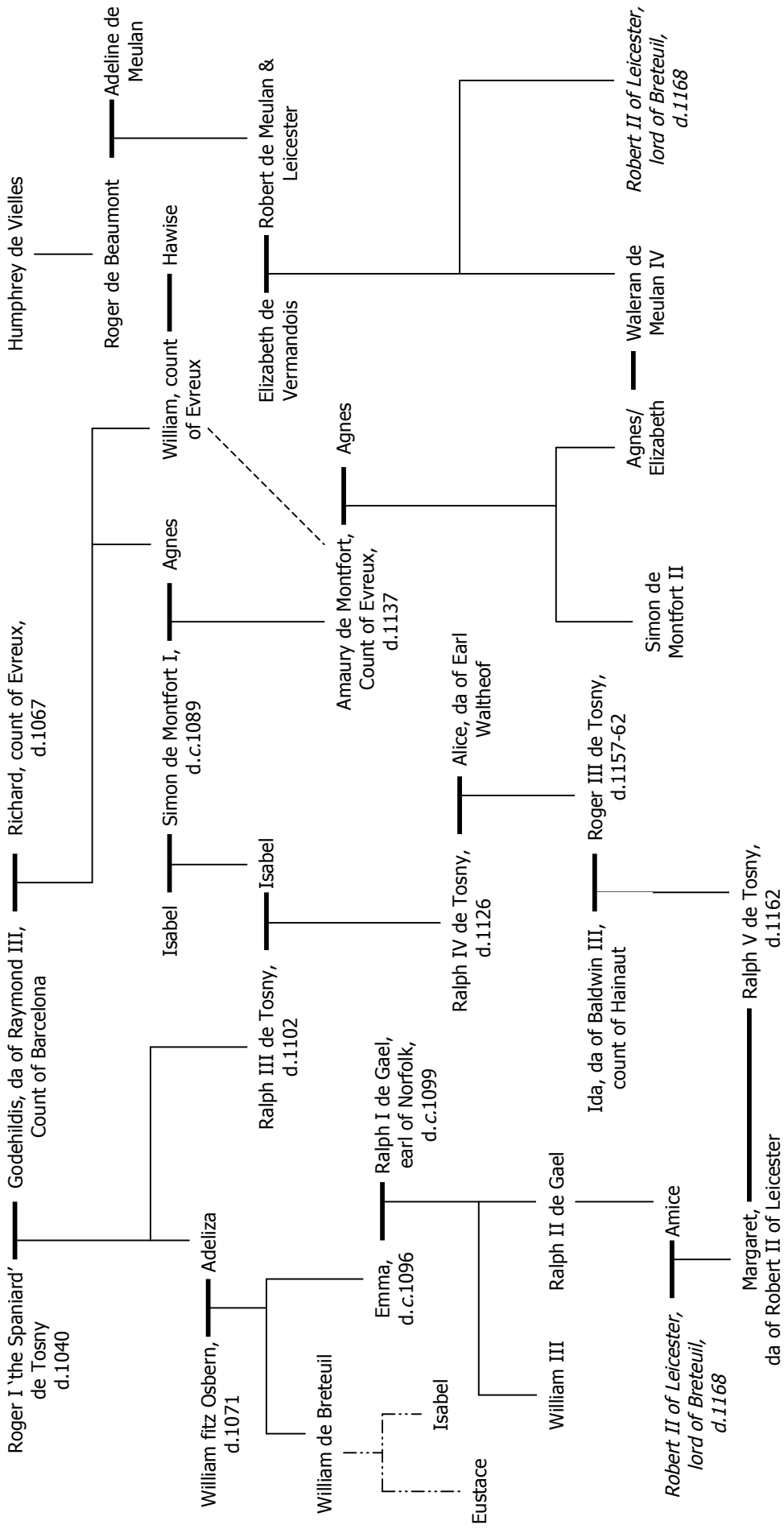
Robert de Vere,
d.1221

Aubrey de Vere IV,
d.1214

The Clares & Gwynedd Genealogy



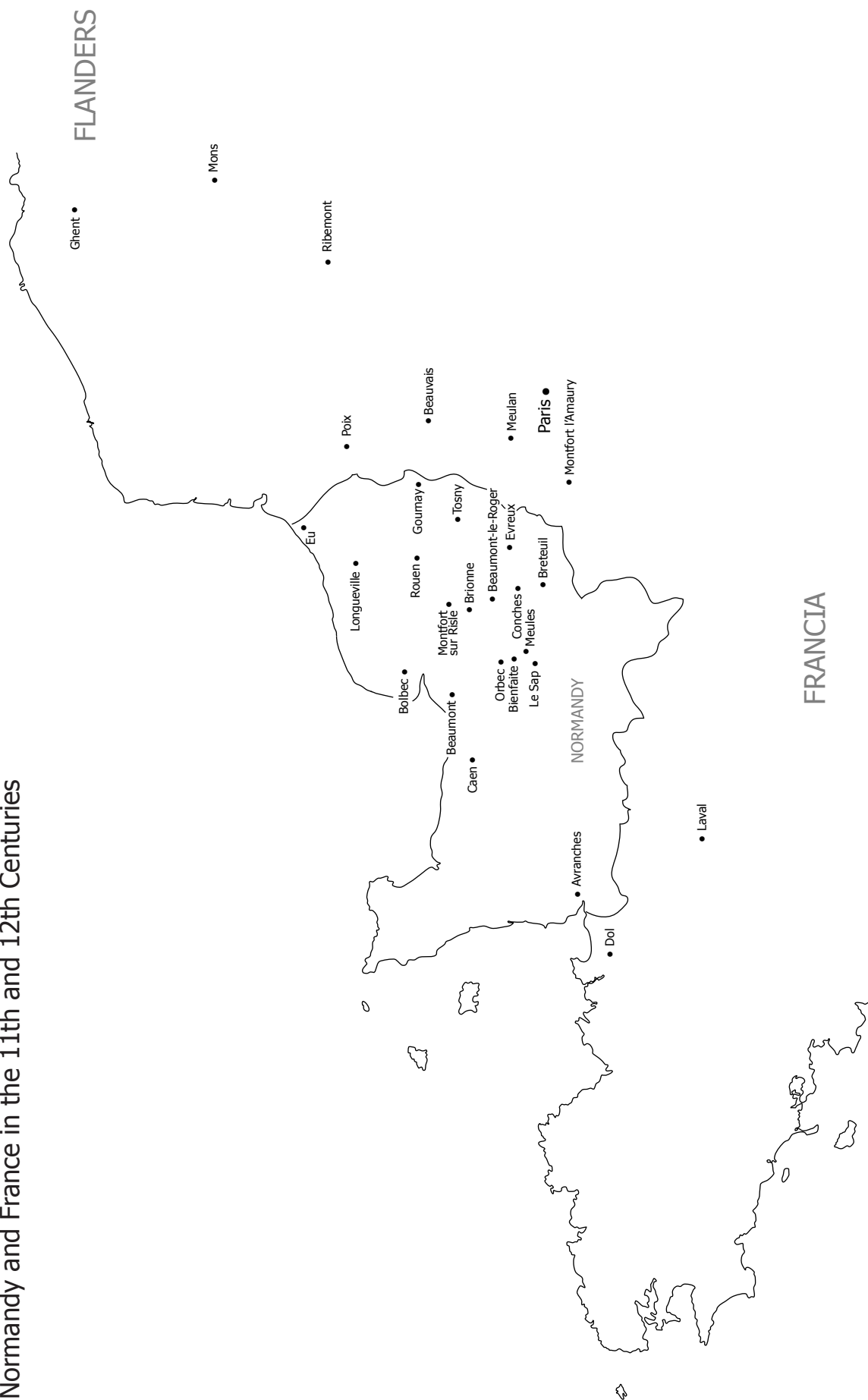
The Tosnys & Beaumonts Network



The Principal Estates of the Clare, Giffard and Tosny Kin-groups



Normandy and France in the 11th and 12th Centuries



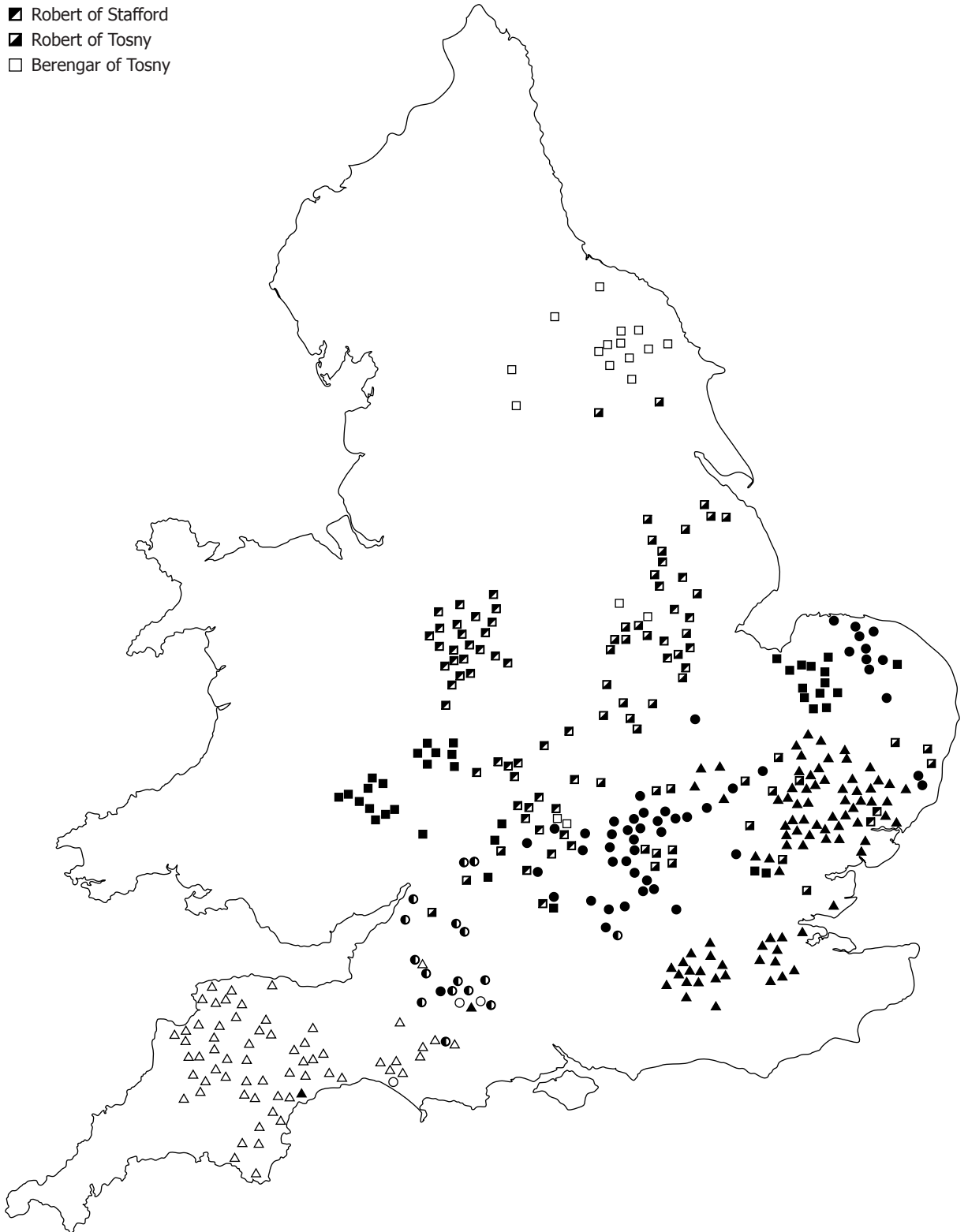
Religious Houses of the Clare, Giffard, and Tosny Kin-groups

- † Cathedral city
- ▲ Abbey
- △ Priory



Patterns of Domesday Land Holding for the Clare, Giffard, and Tosny Kin-groups

- ▲ Richard fitz Gilbert I
- △ Baldwin fitz Gilbert I
- Walter Giffard II
- Osbern Giffard
- Berengar Giffard
- Ralph III de Tosny
- ▣ Robert of Stafford
- ▣ Robert of Tosny
- Berengar of Tosny



Introduction

The purpose of this thesis is to examine the role of social and political networks in the structuring of aristocratic society in the eleventh and twelfth centuries through extended case studies of the Clare, Giffard and Tosny kin-groups, and the general themes of kinship, the church and lordship. These kin-groups were chosen because they are all depicted in contemporary and near-contemporary chronicles, as befitted prominent members of the aristocracy.¹ Relationships and conflicts within and between the families allow for the investigation of reciprocal or shared influences or interests, and comparison with the occasions where individuals acted independently of their networks.² Since this thesis follows three kin-groups, precise start and end dates are difficult to define. By tracing the Clares, Giffards and Tosnys from their origins in ducal Normandy through to the Angevin era, the networks that developed around all three kin-groups can be placed in context. This thesis therefore addresses the period from the mid-tenth century to the last decade of the twelfth century, but the main focus of the thesis is the period from 1035 to 1154.

This introduction is divided two main sections, the first half focuses on the general tools used and the approach that shaped this thesis. The first half of the thesis deals with the theory and application of social network analysis, and the issue of agency and then briefly addresses the historiography on the medieval aristocratic families, the socio-political models that medievalists

¹ Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History*, ed. M. Chibnall, 6 vols (Oxford, 1969-80), iv, 204-18; *Gesta Normannorum Ducum of William of Jumièges, Orderic Vitalis, & Robert of Torigni*, ed. E. M. C. Van Houts, 2 vols (Oxford, 1995), ii, 268-272; William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, ed. R. M. Thomson & M. Winterbottom, 2 vols (Oxford, 1998-9), nos 230, 417, 445; William of Malmesbury, *Historia Novella*, ed. E. King, trans. K. R. Potter (Oxford, 1998), 43n, 116.

² K. K. Petersen, 'Kin Network Research: A Plea for Comparability', *Journal of Marriage & the Family*, 31 (1969), 271-280; G. Gibson, 'Kin Family Network: Overheralded Structure in Past Conceptualizations of Family Functioning', *Journal of Marriage & the Family*, 34 (1972), 13-23; B. L. Foster, & S. B. Seidman, 'Network Structure and the Kinship Perspective', *American Ethnologist*, 8 (1981), 329-355; R. V. Gould, 'Collective Action and Network Structure', *American Sociological Review*, 58 (1993), 182-196; C. Wetherell, A. Plakans, & B. Wellman, 'Social Networks, Kinship, & Community in Eastern Europe', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 24 (1994), 639-663.

have used to shape their studies of the period and the recent use of network studies and analysis in relation to the Anglo-Norman aristocracy. The second half is a historiographical study that addresses the work that has been done on three areas, first the Clare, Giffard and Tosny kin-groups, then the themes of kinship, the church and lordship and finally a subsection on general Anglo-Norman historiography.

Social network analysis involves assessing points or nodes, in this case individuals and the relationships or ties between them that form a system or group, in this case kin-groups.³ The number of bonds linking individuals and the nature of the ties, their strength, form and activity, and the composition of the network all provide information on the individuals as well as the network. Social network analysis has long been a technique in social science studies, with its origins being traced variously to the 1930s, the 1950s or even to the structuralist work of Levi-Strauss in 1969, but there are several benefits in applying social network analysis to the medieval period.⁴ Amongst these are the advantages of relying on the composition of the network as a whole rather than on the individual. It is also a useful tool in approaching an alien society – such as a medieval one – by determining the structure and content of social relations, which can be particularly useful when studying a period where actual interaction with the subject is impossible and the surviving data has many limitations. By concentrating on the basis on which networks were formed, how they developed and when and how they were used, this thesis seeks to combine new knowledge about aristocratic society coming out in biographical studies, with elements of exchange theory and network analysis to build a more congruent view of both how contemporaries

³ J. Scott, *Social Network Analysis* (London, 1991); S. Wasserman & K. Faust, *Social Network Analysis: Methods and Applications* (Cambridge, 1994); L. Freeman, *The Development of Social Network Analysis* (Vancouver, 2006).

⁴ J. L. Moreno, *Who Shall Survive?* (Washington, 1934); J. A. Barnes, 'Class and Committees in a Norwegian Island Parish', *Human Relations*, 7 (1954), 39-58; E. Bott, *Family and Social Networks: Roles, Norms, and External Relationships in Ordinary Families* (London, 1957); and C. Levi Strauss, *Elementary Structures of Kinship* (Boston, 1969); N. Shulman, 'Network Analysis: A New Addition to an Old Bag of Tricks', *Acta Sociologica*, 19 (1976), 307-323, 307-9; M. S. Mizruchi, 'Social Network Analysis: Recent Achievements and Current Controversies', *Acta Sociologica*, 37 (1994), 329-343, 329-30.

viewed the aristocracy and how historians can approach them as individuals and as a body.⁵

The factor of human agency can be lost in these studies, but, without considering that factor, medieval social network analysis can only exist in a simple form: this individual married that individual, or this individual held these lands.⁶ These form the basis from which the thesis developed, first a connection has to be made, only then can the degree to which the individuals involved made use of, acknowledged or were affected by the bond indicates whether or not it was an active relationship. Agency is often difficult to assess for the medieval period, as which party initiated a relationship or why is rarely identifiable. A third party arranged marriages, often when the bride and groom were children, while lordship was not something most individuals could choose to acknowledge or disregard at will. Agency becomes a factor when what was an essentially passive or inactive connection turns into an active relationship, and therefore part of a network.

The idea of the kin-group acting as a single unit has been a recurring theme in studies of the Anglo-Norman aristocracy, but this model of a fixed kin-group structure is inaccurate.⁷ Despite work on the construction of familial groups by Constance Bouchard on the French aristocracy, and Gerd Althoff and David Herlihy more generally, historians of the Anglo-Norman period have still tended to attribute the actions and motivations of one individual or generation to an entire kin-group.⁸ By approaching each group as dynamic in

⁵ E.g. D. Crouch, *The Beaumont Twins: The Roots & Branches of Power in the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, 1986); K. Thompson, 'William Talvas, Count of Ponthieu, and the Politics of the Anglo-Norman Realm', in *England and Normandy in the Middle Ages*, ed. D. Bates & A. Curry (London & Rio Grande, 1994), 169-184; eadem, 'The Lords of Laigle: Ambition and Insecurity on the Borders of Normandy', *ANS*, 18 (1995), 178-199; C. Potts, 'The Earliest Norman Counts Revisited: The Lords of Mortain', *HSJ*, 4 (1992), 23-35.

⁶ E. Mustafa, & J. Goodwin, 'Network Analysis, Culture, and the Problem of Agency', *American Journal of Sociology*, 99 (1994), 1411-1454, 1436-8, 1442-6.

⁷ Thompson, 'Family and Influence to the south of Normandy in the eleventh century: the lordship of Bellême', *Journal of Medieval History*, 11 (1985), 215-226, additional examples of this in Thompson's work can be found in fn. 5. See also, Crouch, *Beaumont Twins*, 1-98; E. King, 'The Origins of the Wake Family: The Early History of the Barony of Bourne in Lincolnshire', *Northamptonshire Past & Present*, 5 (1975), 166-176; A. Wareham, 'The Motives & Politics of the Bigod Family, c.1066-1177', *ANS*, 17 (1994), 223-42.

⁸ Bouchard, 'The Structure of a Twelfth-Century French Family: The Lords of Seignelay', *Viator*, 10 (1979), 39-56; eadem, 'Family Structure & Family Consciousness Among the Aristocracy in

nature, and remembering that its structure was dependent on the relationships between individuals, a more complex analysis is possible.⁹ Therefore any actions taken to protect family interests could also be interpreted as being motivated by self-interest, since the greater good for the kin-group generally benefited the individuals involved as well.

The use of social network analysis also allows a greater flexibility than other models of medieval society such as Frank Stenton's honorial model or K. B. McFarlane's 'bastard feudalism'.¹⁰ Both models, as David Crouch has shown, are constrained by their artificiality as tools for understanding the eleventh and twelfth centuries.¹¹ Despite Stenton's perception of the honor as the feudal state in miniature, he also thought that the structure of post-Conquest society was imprecise and unclear even to contemporaries, pointing out the lack of definition given to terms relating to social status in texts dealing with such matters.¹² While the honor was a part of aristocratic society there were complexities that Stenton did not fully develop or acknowledge, particularly the multiplicity of allegiances between tenants and lords and the fluid nature of those roles, consequently the honor could not provide a solid basis for analysis of medieval society.¹³ Stenton's work on the honor and the role it played in aristocratic society has been reassessed by historians such as David Bates, David Carpenter and Crouch, and the broader interpretation of the

the Ninth to Eleventh Centuries', *Francia*, 14 (1987), 639-658; D. Herlihy, *Women, Family & Society in Medieval Europe: Historical Essays, 1978-91*, ed. A. Molho (Oxford & Providence, 1995), 136; G. Althoff, *Family, Friends & Followers: Political & Social Bonds in Medieval Europe*, trans. C. Carroll (Darmstadt, 1990, Cambridge, 2004), 41.

⁹ C. B. Bouchard, *"Those of my Blood": Constructing Noble Families in Medieval Francia* (Philadelphia, 2001), 2.

¹⁰ F. M. Stenton, *The First Century of English Feudalism, 1066-1166* (Oxford, 1961, 2nd edn); K. B. McFarlane, *The Nobility of Later Medieval England: the Ford Lectures for 1953 and Related Studies* (Oxford, 1973).

¹¹ D. Crouch, 'From Stenton to McFarlane: Models of Societies of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries', *TRHS*, Ser. 6, v (1995), 179-200.

¹² Stenton, *The First Century of English Feudalism*, 5, 23.

¹³ Crouch, 'From Stenton to McFarlane', 185-6.

model that they have developed presents the honorial model as one method of approaching medieval society amongst several options.¹⁴

McFarlane's reinterpretation of 'bastard feudalism' provides a more flexible model for examining the vertical bonds of lordship.¹⁵ Developed from his work on the later Middle Ages, this model has subsequently been projected back into the early thirteenth century by Peter Coss, and into the twelfth century by Crouch and Carpenter.¹⁶ It focuses on the relationship between lord and vassal or master and man, but neither dissertation addresses the specific bond between aristocrat and king. Jurisdictional and administrative features that arguably had only begun to be established during the twelfth century meant that this transmission of service in return for favour to a wider cross-section of society bound local social units together. Crouch argues in favour of continuity, and his evidence that there was little more than a change in language and a different emphasis on well established methods of maintaining lordship is convincing and provides another means of examining aristocratic society.¹⁷ Carpenter placed more emphasis on the role of the Angevin kings in changing the situation of the magnates, arguing for a more radical change than Crouch, while remaining a more moderate interpretation than that of Coss and McFarlane.¹⁸

Amongst Anglo-Norman historians, Crouch is also one of the few to approach the era contextualised with social theory and analysis. His assessment of previous efforts to establish a model of medieval society that functioned on

¹⁴ Ibid, 179-200; D. Bates, *Re-ordering the Past and Negotiating the Present in Stenton's First Century, The Stenton Lecture 1999* (Reading, 2000); D. A. Carpenter, 'The Second Century of English Feudalism', *Past & Present*, 168 (2000), 30-71.

¹⁵ W. Stubbs, *The Constitutional History of England in its Origin and Development* (Oxford, 1880), 'bastard feudalism' was interpreted as a negative development that hampered society, see particularly, 33-8. McFarlane's reinterpretation saw it as a more positive matter, K. B. McFarlane, 'Bastard Feudalism', repr. in *England in the Fifteenth Century* (London, 1981), 23-43, 29-30.

¹⁶ P. R. Coss, 'Bastard Feudalism Revised', *Past & Present*, 125 (1989), 27-64; J. G. Bellamy, *Bastard Feudalism and the Law* (London, 1989), 2; D. Crouch & D. A. Carpenter, 'Bastard Feudalism Revised', *Past & Present*, 131 (1991), 165-189; P. R. Coss, 'Bastard Feudalism Revised: A Reply', *Past & Present*, 131 (1991), 190-203.

¹⁷ Crouch, 'Bastard Feudalism Revised', 165-177.

¹⁸ Carpenter, 'Bastard Feudalism Revised', 180-82.

socio-political levels has remained consistent. He has incorporated elements of both Stenton and McFarlane's views of medieval society, while emphasising the evidence of a plurality of groups and allegiances in the sources, and which do not fit into any one model.¹⁹ Crouch has defined and examined the elements that formed the socio-economic sphere within which the aristocracy operated and by which they can be identified by historians, including heraldry, chivalry, literature, land and genealogy.²⁰ Crouch's actual model of society is based on the display of status through various means such as heraldry and chivalric behaviour, which allowed for both the self-awareness of the aristocracy as a body to develop and the categorisation of different ranks within the group.²¹ Both Hugh M. Thomas and Peter Coss concentrated on the thirteenth century in their studies on the gentry and lordship and community respectively, but in both cases their social models referred back to the twelfth century to show the development of certain elements in social and political structures.²²

The works discussed above, to some degree focus on the definition of different ranks within the aristocracy. Although this has not necessarily been the intent of their work, Stenton, McFarlane, Crouch and Thomas all devised models of society structured by the rank of the individuals or groups being considered. In comparison, social network analysis focuses on the relationships between different nodes – in this case either individuals or kin-groups – with the closeness and density of the ties linking each point to others in the network providing a form of status.²³ The boundaries of socio-political rank were still nascent and therefore the status an individual held

¹⁹ Crouch, 'From Stenton to McFarlane', 185, 190, 193.

²⁰ D. Crouch, *The Image of the Aristocracy in Britain, 1000-1300* (London, 1992); idem, *The Birth of Nobility: Constructing Aristocracy in England and France, 900-1300* (Harlow, 2005); idem, *Tournament* (London, 2005).

²¹ Crouch, *Image of the Aristocracy*, 1.

²² P. R. Coss, *Lordship, Knighthood and Locality: A Study in English Society, c.1180-c.1280* (Cambridge, 1991), 8; H. M. Thomas, *Vassals, Heiresses, Crusaders and Thugs: the Gentry of Angevin Yorkshire, 1154-1216* (Philadelphia, 1993), 19-32.

²³ T. Yamagishi, M. R. Gillmore, & K. S. Cook, 'Network Connections and the Distribution of Power in Exchange Networks', *American Journal of Sociology*, 93 (1988), 833-51.

within a network indicates their social and political power more clearly than their apparent rank, which was not a useful category at this point.

In the last decade interest in the role of networks in the eleventh and twelfth centuries has started to become apparent amongst Anglo-Norman historians, although there has been then a tendency to concentrate only on one form of network at a time.²⁴ Judith Green has used several case studies of members of the aristocracy at particular times and places to examine the impact that networks based on kinship or lordship could have on the careers of individuals or on particular groups.²⁵ Each of these case studies has very precise time or geographical limits, which restricts the degree of comparison between the different influences, while allowing for extensively detailed studies of the chosen models. This thesis aims to prove that each network was influenced by a multiplicity of factors including other networks and that this fact must always be kept in mind, which in turn confers a freedom that has previously been lacking in the study of the aristocracy during the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

1. Historiography of the Case Studies

Historians have studied each of the three kin-groups at the centre of this thesis, and their research has covered a variety of aspects of the kin-groups and their circumstances. The Clares have received the most attention, beginning with J. H. Round, who focused primarily on the descendants and

²⁴ H. Tsurushima, 'The Fraternity of Rochester Cathedral Priory about 1100', *ANS*, 14 (1991), 313-37; H. J. Tanner, *Families, Friends and Allies: Boulogne & Politics in Northern France & England, c.879-1160* (Boston, 2004); N. Strevett, *The Anglo-Norman Aristocracy Under Divided Lordship, 1087-1106: A Social & Political Study*, unpublished PhD thesis, University of Glasgow (2005).

²⁵ J. A. Green, 'Aristocratic Loyalties on the Northern Frontier of England, c.1100-1174', in *England in the Twelfth Century*, ed. D. Williams (Woodbridge, 1988), 83-100; eadem, 'Family Matters: Family & the Formation of the Empress's Party in South-West England', in *Family Trees and the Roots of Politics: The Prosopography of Britain & France from the Tenth to the Twelfth Century*, ed. K. Keats-Rohan (Woodbridge, 1997), 147-164; eadem, 'Networks and Solidarities at the Court of Henry I Beauclerc', in *Liens personnels, réseaux, solidarités en France et dans les îles Britanniques (XIe – XXe siècle)*, ed. D. Bates & V. Gazeau (Sorbonne, 2006), 113-126.

in-laws of Richard fitz Gilbert I, while in 1965, Michael Altschul published a family biography of the later earls of Hertford, which included a brief but informative study on the early Clares and detailed genealogies.²⁶ Then through the 1980s, Jennifer Ward and Richard Mortimer dealt with the financial, religious and tenurial circumstances of the Clares in several articles.²⁷ Meanwhile, David Crouch has examined the role of the Clares in Wales and their involvement in the civil war of King Stephen's reign.²⁸

The Giffards attracted less attention before Jacques le Maho's 1976 extensive article on their Norman properties, which also includes some biographical details, particularly on those branches based in Normandy.²⁹ Also focusing on their French territories, Daniel Power's article on their later Marshal connections provides a detailed summary of the possible heirs, their holdings and territories and their relationship with the Clares.³⁰ Crouch's biography of William the Marshal includes details on the connections between the Giffard and Tancarville kin-groups, as well as the Marshal's succession to the Giffard lands.³¹ Jenny Wormald and Matthew Hammond have separately examined the Giffards or Giffords of Yester in Scotland, and discuss the arrival of this

²⁶ J. H. Round, 'The Family of Clare', *The Archaeological Journal*, 56 (1899), 221-231; idem, 'Walter Tirel and His Wife', in *Feudal England* (Bloomsbury, 1909), 468-479; M. Altschul, *A Baronial Family in Medieval England: The Clares, 1217-1314* (Baltimore, 1965).

²⁷ R. Mortimer, 'The Beginnings of the Honour of Clare', *Proceedings of the Battle Conference*, 3 (1980), 119-41, endnotes, 220-21; idem, 'Land & Service: The Tenants of the Honour of Clare', *ANS*, 8 (1985), 177-97; J. C. Ward, 'Foundations of the Clare Family, 1066-1314', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 31 (1982), 427-51; eadem, 'Royal Service and Reward: The Clare Family and the Crown, 1066-1154', *ANS*, 11 (1988), 261-78.

²⁸ D. Crouch, 'The March and the Welsh Kings', *The Anarchy of King Stephen's Reign*, ed. E. King (Oxford, 1994), 255-289; idem, 'Normans & Anglo-Normans: A Divided Aristocracy?' *England & Normandy in the Middle Ages*, ed. D. Bates & A. Curry (London, 1994), 51-67; idem, *The Reign of King Stephen, 1135-1154* (Harlow, 2000), 44-5, 129-30, 222-5.

²⁹ J. le Maho, 'L'apparition des seigneuries châtelaines dans le Grand-Caux à l'époque ducale', *Archéologie Médiévale*, 6 (1976), 5-148.

³⁰ D. Power, 'The French Interests of the Marshal Earls of Striguil & Pembroke', *ANS*, 25 (2002), 199-226.

³¹ D. Crouch, *William Marshal: court, career and chivalry in the Angevin Empire 1147-1219* (Harlow, 1990); idem, *William Marshal: knighthood, war and chivalry, 1147-1219* (London, 2002); Another recent view on the individual and the biography of William the Marshal, *History of William Marshal*, ed. A.J. Holden, & trans. S. Gregory, historical notes D. Crouch, 3 vols (London, 2002-2006).

cadet branch of the kin-group in Scotland and the methods they used to integrate with the Scottish aristocracy.³²

Similarly the Tosnys have received limited attention in their own right, but are most often examined as long term opponents and later kinsfolk of the Beaumonts.³³ Lucien Musset's 1977 biographical and tenorial article on the Tosnys examines their origins and relations in Normandy and England, as well as addressing the lands they came to hold on both sides of the Channel.³⁴ In his biography of the Beaumont twin earls, David Crouch necessarily dealt with the Tosny family as recurring opponents of the Beaumonts in Normandy.³⁵ Daniel Power has also examined the position of the Tosnys as minor nobility in Normandy, while Andrew Wareham's study of endogamous and exogamous marriages in Anglo-Saxon England and Anglo-Norman Normandy provides a detailed examination of the familial and tenorial relationships of the Tosnys and their in-laws.³⁶ As a cadet branch of the Tosnys, the Staffords have primarily been examined in relation to the religious houses they founded or patronised and their position as sheriffs of Staffordshire.³⁷ In 1998-9, Katherine Keats-Rohan and Judith Green reassessed the Tosnys of Belvoir on genealogical and tenorial fronts and the descent of the lordship of Belvoir into the Bigod and d'Albini kin-groups.³⁸ Their clarification of the

³² J. Wormald, *Lords and Men in Scotland: Bonds of Manrent, 1442-1603* (Edinburgh, 1985), 95; M. Hammond, *A Prosopographical Analysis of Society in East Central Scotland, circa 1100 to 1260, with special reference to ethnicity*, unpublished PhD thesis, University of Glasgow (2005), 40, 50-1, 60-2, 134, 176-181.

³³ E. Mason, 'Magnates, Curiales and the Wheel of Fortune, 1066-1154', *ANS*, 2 (1979), 118-140, 190-195.

³⁴ L. Musset, 'Aux Origines D'une Classe Dirigeante: Les Tosny, Grands Barons Normands Du X Au XIII Siècle, *Francia*, v (1977), 45-81.

³⁵ Crouch, *Beaumont Twins*, 31-3, 37-8.

³⁶ A. Wareham, 'Two Models of Marriage: Kinship and the Social Order in England and Normandy', in *Negotiating Secular and Ecclesiastical Power*, ed. A-J Bijsterveld, H. Teunis & A. Wareham, International Medieval Research, 6 (Turnhout, 1999), 107-132; D. Power, *The Norman Frontier in the Twelfth and Early Thirteenth Centuries* (Cambridge, 2004).

³⁷ J. A. Green, *English Sheriffs to 1154*, Public Record Office Handbooks, 24 (London, 1990); *The Staffordshire Chartulary*, ed. R. W. Eyton, Staffordshire Historical Collections, ii (1881), 178-226; *Edition of the Kenilworth Cartulary*, ed. C. Watson, Unpublished PhD thesis, University of London (1966).

³⁸ K. Keats-Rohan, 'Belvoir: The Heirs of Robert and Berengar de Tosny' *Prospon Newsletter*, 9 (1998), 1-4; J. A. Green, 'The Descent of Belvoir', *Prospon Newsletter*, 10 (1999), 1-6. Andrew Wareham's study of the relationship of the Bigods with their overlords is another contribution

division of the properties held by Robert of Tosny's heirs and the transmission of the lordship of Belvoir through the female line out of the Tosny kin-group provides an interesting example of the interaction between kinship and lordship, succession and tenure.

There are several issues to be kept in mind when dealing with medieval primary source documents ranging from the lacuna left by the documents that have not survived to the present day to the contemporary editing and forging that can mislead historians. While these are issues relevant to this thesis, the most significant issue is the lack of first hand primary sources, as no accounts, letters, charters or other texts that were definitely written by the Clares, Giffards or Tosnys have survived or are known to have been produced. While the original grants to religious houses were often written at the time, they were produced by a scribe, not the grantor themselves. Contemporary chroniclers were even more distanced from the individuals whose lives they recorded as they recounted events they had witnessed at second hand and even those received third hand from people who said they had witnessed those events.³⁹ This multiplicity of authors and the distancing from the individuals being studied does mean that the information extracted from the sources and the related analysis must contain a degree of ambiguity. At the same time this lack of direct personal material is a fact of medieval aristocratic research and these limitations have to be acknowledged and remembered but cannot prohibit constructive research.

The most important primary sources for this kind of analysis are charters, particularly the records of grants to religious houses, which provide a mixture of detailed and ambiguous information. Those relating to land or monetary gifts or exchanges enumerate details to ensure the grant was carried out, and the *pro anima* clauses – offering prayers for specific individuals either by name or by office - provide some details of familial and tenurial relationships. In her 1998 work on patronage patterns in Anglo-Norman England, Emma Cownie compiled statistical evidence of 185 donors and the *pro anima* clauses

to this re-evaluation of the kin-group and the lordship of Belvoir, 'Motives & Politics of the Bigod Family', 223-42.

³⁹ *WP*, xxvii-xxxv, 122-4; *JW*, iii, p.xix, 198; *GS*, xviii-xxxviii; *HN*, xxxii-xxxv.

in their grants, indicating that after the donor's own self, the nuclear family appeared most frequently.⁴⁰ These details are extremely useful in the construction of genealogies, particularly because the *pro anima* clause indicates a relationship that is acknowledged by the grantor, whether of blood, affinity or lordship. The clauses never provide the full details of a kin-group and this means that the identity of certain individuals, often women and younger sons, remains obscure. For example, while the grantor and probably the scribe who recorded '*pro salute mea et uxoris mee heredumque meorum*', knew exactly whom they meant by these persons, they cannot be properly identified as individuals without further information.⁴¹ In comparison, details of the recipient's identity and relationships were sometimes provided, '*pro salute anime Matilde de Luc uxoris mee*', which identifies the individual as both the wife of the grantor and a member of the de Lucy kin-group.⁴²

The majority of the charters that have survived were either records of grants to religious houses, which were then copied into the cartularies for that house, or royal and ducal grants or confirmations.⁴³ The information provided by the surviving charters is therefore heavily weighted towards the religious houses and the royal court. In spite of these limitations, charters provide information on social interactions and the contemporary political circumstances and the individuals in the charter, whether within the main text or as witnesses and also through the expressed intentions of the grantors who include them in the document. Combining the information from charters, cartularies and the chronicles, it is possible to identify specific relationships

⁴⁰ E. Cownie, *Religious Patronage in Anglo-Norman England, 1066-1135* (Woodbridge, 1998), Table 1, 155.

⁴¹ *Chartes de l'Abbaye de Jumièges (v. 825-1204)*, ed. J.-J. Vernier, 2 vols (Rouen & Paris, 1916), no. civ. See also: *Cartulary of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem in England, Secunda Camera: Essex*, ed. M. Gervers, *Records of Social & Economic History*, ns, 6 (Oxford, 1982), no. 315: *pro salute anime mee et uxoris mee et omnium parentum et amicorum nostrorum*.

⁴² *Stoke-by-Clare Cartulary*, ed. C. Harper-Bill & R. Mortimer, 3 vols, *Suffolk Charters*, 4-6 (1982-4), no. 183; see also: *Grande Cartulaire de Conches et sa copie: transcription et analyse*, ed. C. de Haas (Le Mesnil-sur-l'Estrée, 2005), no. 410, *pro sepultura Ide, uxoris sue*.

⁴³ Personal, familial, tenorial and patronage details all contribute to social and political networks.

and larger networks of bonds and how these fitted into the social and political scene.

For the purposes of this study the information offered by the chroniclers is as useful for evidence of perceptions and values of their contemporaries as for details of political events and social information.⁴⁴ The chroniclers recorded the inter-relationships, lives and careers of the aristocracy and in doing so they made the initial identification and assessments of the Clare, Giffard and Tosny kin-groups and their associates possible.⁴⁵ The chroniclers, themselves, had often grown up in the society that they were now observing, so they provide a degree of informed assessment about the role of kinship and lordship in society as perceived by the chroniclers. Contemporary chroniclers with a broad historical intent, such as Orderic Vitalis and William of Malmesbury, provide a great deal of general and specific information on both the people and the era.⁴⁶ Other accounts were written under the aegis of a specific patron or for a particular audience such as William of Poitiers' *Gesta Guillelmi*, the *Gesta Stephani* and William of Malmesbury's *Historia Novella*, and therefore the focus was on the interests or actions of their patron or audience.⁴⁷

A degree of awareness of kinship, heritage and lineage developed through the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and later chroniclers recorded aristocratic genealogies and projected the significance of prominent members of their contemporary aristocracy backwards to show perceived social and political

⁴⁴ J. Gillingham, *The English in the Twelfth Century* (Woodbridge, 2000), xv.

⁴⁵ Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History* and the *Gesta Normannorum Ducum* provide the most detailed genealogical information on the Clares, Giffards and Tosnys.

⁴⁶ M. Chibnall, *The World of Orderic Vitalis* (Oxford, 1984); eadem, 'Women in Orderic Vitalis', *HSJ*, 2 (1990), 105-121; K. Thompson, 'Orderic Vitalis and Robert de Bellême', *Journal of Medieval History*, 20 (1994), 133-141; H. Farmer, 'William of Malmesbury's Life and Works', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 13 (1962), 39-54; R. B. Patterson, 'William of Malmesbury's Robert of Gloucester: A Re-evaluation of the *Historia Novella*', *American Historical Review*, 70 (1965), 983-997; J. J. N. McGurk, 'William of Malmesbury', *History Today*, 26 (1976), 707-714.

⁴⁷ *Gesta Stephani*, ed. K. R. Potter & R. H. C. Davis (Oxford, 1976); *Gesta Guillelmi of William of Poitiers*, ed. & trans. R. H. C. Davis & M. Chibnall (Oxford, 1998); William of Malmesbury, *Historia Novella*, xci, 2.

networks.⁴⁸ This genealogical interest was probably due to the increasingly established nature of the aristocracy of England and Normandy, as the kin-groups that were detailed in the works of Orderic Vitalis and Robert de Torigni were those that had played a prominent role in Norman politics since the beginning of the eleventh century.⁴⁹ It is impossible to tell whether the more formalised approach towards succession and inheritance matters encouraged interest in the recording of genealogical information, or if the improved genealogical records led to more clearly defined rules about succession.⁵⁰ While the chronicles are a useful source each individual chronicler was writing for a specific audience, frequently for a patron, and this therefore influences their interpretation of events. The authorial bias is often most evident when there are multiple chronicles addressing the same contemporary events, or a contemporary and a later chronicler may have very different perceptions of key events. The time of the chronicle being produced also has an impact on the reliability of the text as the closer to the events the more direct the knowledge, while a later account could combine multiple sources and a more distant assessment. Despite these issues, which affect all chroniclers to some extent, the information both factual and interpretative that they provide can add to the more formulaic and restricted evidence of charters and the tax and financial record of the pipe rolls.⁵¹

⁴⁸ *The History of the Norman People: Wace's Roman de Rou*, ed. G. S. Burgess (Woodbridge, 2004); The reliability of Wace's *Roman de Rou* has been questioned: M. Bennett, 'Poetry as History? The 'Roman de Rou' of Wace as a source for the Norman Conquest', *ANS*, 5 (1982), 21-39; E. M. C. van Houts, 'Wace as Historian', in *History & Family Traditions in England & the Continent, 1000- 1200* (Aldershot, 1999), repr. *Family Trees & the Roots of Politics*, ed. K. Keats-Rohan, (Woodbridge, 1997), 103-32.

⁴⁹ *GND*, ii, 264-74; *OV*, ii, 40, 104-6; iii, 124-6; iv, 210-18; *GS*, 201-2; *Jordan Fantosome's Chronicle*, ed. & trans. R. C. Johnston (Oxford, 1981), 121.

⁵⁰ R. DeAragon, 'The Growth of Secure Inheritance in Anglo-Norman England', *Journal of Medieval History*, 8 (1982), 381-91.

⁵¹ *Pipe Roll 31 Henry I*, ed. J. Hunter for Record Commission (London, 1833); *Pipe Rolls 2-3-4 Henry II*, also ed. for the Record Commission; subsequent volumes by the Pipe Roll Society; *Pipe Rolls of the Exchequer of Normandy, for the reign of Henry II 1180 & 1184*, ed. V. Moss (London, 2004).

2. Thematic Historiography

The three thematic elements addressed in this thesis: kinship, the church and lordship have extensive historiographies, which will be addressed here. The first section of this thesis deals with relationships and bonds created through both consanguinity and affinity.⁵² David Herlihy regarded these two forms of relationship as complementary yet separate, but he did not allow for the nature of relationships to change over time or for the existence of multiple bonds.⁵³ A tie of affinity in one generation would lead to the next generation being bound by a blood tie, which would grow less close over each subsequent generation. For these bonds to form a network it is necessary to have evidence that those concerned were aware of the bond and its consequences for themselves and others involved.⁵⁴ The danger of overstressing genealogical ties in particular must be kept in mind with case studies based on kin-groups, as Andrejs Plakans has remarked, although it is possible:

'...to establish a genealogical tie between an individual and his sister's husband's brother's son's wife, the status of this tie as a kinship tie would be in doubt.'⁵⁵

In the case of the Clares, Giffards and Tosnys there are occasions when individuals connected by more tenuous kinship bonds can be seen working together, but most of the evidence shows that co-operation and interaction was found between individuals connected within four of the seven degrees of either consanguinity or affinity.⁵⁶ This indicates the degree of kinship that the aristocracy consciously acknowledged as members of their kin-groups and with whom they shared a form of reciprocal altruism both socially and

⁵² D. Bullough, 'Early Medieval Social Groupings: The Terminology of Kinship', *Past & Present*, 45 (1969), 3-18, 6-7, 16-17.

⁵³ D. Herlihy, *Medieval Households* (Harvard, 1985), 11. 'Consanguinity and affinity are complementary, but also mutually exclusive.'

⁵⁴ As summarised by Eleanor Searle, in *Predatory Kinship and the Creation of Norman Power, 840-1066* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, & London, 1988), 89, 'Cousinship counted; but only particular cousins were allowed to count.'

⁵⁵ A. Plakans, *Kinship in the Past: Anthropology of European Family Life, 1500-1900*, (Oxford, 1984), 74.

⁵⁶ Bouchard, "Those of my Blood", 4.

politically.⁵⁷ These acknowledged bonds form a unit of individuals related through blood or marriage, in a similar vein to the derivation of 'family' from the Latin *familia* or household.⁵⁸

Although network analysis makes it possible to re-construct detailed genealogies they have only a limited use when endeavouring to show what kinship meant to contemporaries and what purpose it had in their lives.⁵⁹ The nature of a relationship, and why it was formed, must be placed in its contemporary social and political context both locally and in the wider sphere to allow for a deeper understanding of its significance.⁶⁰ Social network analysis facilitates awareness of the multiple factors that affect the development of socio-political structures because it concentrates on the links between the individuals, rather than on the nodes or individuals in isolation.⁶¹ This thesis is artificially divided into three themes, kinship, the church and lordship, and social network analysis enables each to be explored in depth. Kinship does not merely mean consanguinity or affinity; it can also be interpreted as a sharing of common interests or goals, which could subsequently be reinforced by a marriage linking the individuals or members of their kin-group together. Such shared interests or goals, combined with bonds of blood or marriage, alters a kin-group into a kin-based network.⁶² Therefore the kinship section below concentrates on the relationships between the individuals who formed the Clare, Giffard and Tosny kin-groups and their peers, through links originating in blood or created and acknowledged through marital and political affinity.

⁵⁷ R. L. Trivers, *Natural Selection and Social Theory: Selected Papers of Robert Trivers* (Evolution and Cognition series) (Oxford, 2002), 3-55.

⁵⁸ C. B. Bouchard, *Sword, Miter & Cloister: Nobility and the Church in Burgundy, 980-1198* (Ithaca & London, 1987), 29: '...that group of persons – many of them unrelated – who lived under one roof and formed an economic unit.'

⁵⁹ Bouchard, "Those of my Blood", 6.

⁶⁰ Herhily, *Women, Family & Society*, 136.

⁶¹ D. J. Brass, K. D. Butterfield & B. C. Skaggs, 'Relationships and Unethical Behaviour: A Social Network Perspective', *Academy of Management Review*, 23 (1998), 14-31, 17.

⁶² D. Freeman, 'On the Concept of the Kindred', *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 91 (1961), 192-220, 203; Wormald, *Lords and Men in Scotland*, 82, 90.

By concentrating on particular bonds that existed between different points, and acknowledging the contribution of other factors, including human agency, a more rounded view of the social and political interactions of the aristocracy can be determined.⁶³ In this thesis the term 'in-law' refers to kin-groups associated through marriage to a female member of the Clares, Giffards or Tosnys, while the term 'cadet' describes new branches or kin-groups that originate through younger sons. Kin-groups naturally follow a chronological structure, their relationships shifting with each generation, meaning that each of the case studies should be examined within the context of the socio-political situation of the time. The reasons why particular kin-groups chose to become allies or why other members of a kin-group failed to work together, or were in conflict with each other, contribute to the use of network analysis in forming a view of the political and social situation.

After establishing the chronological development of the Clare, Giffard and Tosny kin-groups and the networks that evolved with them, further analysis of the formation and use of these networks by the kin-groups is necessary. Although the degree to which the Church could enforce rulings on whom and when the aristocracy could marry is debateable, these regulations directly affected the aristocracy.⁶⁴ Therefore tracing and analysing marriage choices and patterns for the kin-groups can be instructive about their central concerns. The nature of each match that was arranged, whether endogamous – localised in terms of distance or kinship – or exogamous – a more long distance arrangement – had an impact on the relationship between both the affines and the members of the next generation. The term politically endogamous is used in this thesis to describe marriages or other relationships that were due to social or political affiliation, rather than geographical location, and where one of the individuals was often a *curiale* rather than a magnate.⁶⁵ There were marriages between members of the

⁶³ Goodwin & Mustafa 'Network Analysis, Culture, and the Problem of Agency', 1411-1454; Mizruchi, 'Recent Achievements and Current Controversies', for a discussion on the importance of human agency in network analysis, 338.

⁶⁴ G. Duby, *The Knight, The Lady and The Priest* (London, 1984), 3-21, 35-6, 77-85, 90-2, 172-6; J. A. Brundage, *Law, Sex and Christian Society in Medieval Europe* (Chicago, 1987), 88-9, 140-1, 191-5, 238, 243, 254, 355-7, 373-4, 434-5; Bouchard, 'Those of my Blood', 58.

⁶⁵ Mason, 'Magnates, Curiales and the Wheel of Fortune', 118-40, & 190-95.

landed aristocracy that were arranged for political reasons that entirely or partially disregarded the location of their estates.

There were other ways in which individuals and kin-groups could display their association with another group or with a particular line of descent in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. This is particularly useful when considering the significance of the more complex kin-bonds such as step and half-kin, produced by the multiple marriages that occurred in medieval aristocratic society.⁶⁶ Wardship also created ties of both lordship and kinship between the individuals involved. While the occurrences of these complex kin-bonds are rare within the Clares, Giffards and Tosnys, they did exist and as such must be considered in relation to both social and political networks.

Naming patterns of both the *nomen* and *cognomen* could indicate a surviving family heritage, while the appearance of new names showed who amongst the affines was considered worthy of being acknowledged as kin.⁶⁷ Similarly the use of patronymics and toponymics reflected the particular legacy that each person or family unit chose to emphasise.⁶⁸ By the mid-twelfth century came the added possibility of using heraldry as a public and increasingly complex method of identifying who was perceived as part of a kin-group.⁶⁹

The second theme of this thesis, the Church, focuses primarily on the Clare, Giffard and Tosny kin-groups' associations with specific religious houses, as well as those members of the kin-groups who became clerics or monks

⁶⁶ Bouchard, 'The Structure of a Twelfth-Century French Family', 39-56; eadem, 'Family Structure & Family Consciousness', 639-58; C. Trafford & D. Crouch, 'The Forgotten Family in Twelfth-Century England', *HSJ*, 13 (1999) 41-63; S. F. C. Milsom, 'The Origin of Prerogative Wardship', in *Law & Government in Medieval England & Normandy*, ed. G. Garnett & J. Hudson (Cambridge, 1994), 223-44.

⁶⁷ D. Postles, *Naming the People of England, c.1100-1350* (Cambridge, 2006), xi.

⁶⁸ C. Clark, 'A Witness to Post-Conquest English Cultural Patterns: The Liber Vitae of Thorney Abbey', in *Words, Names and History*, ed. P. Jackson (Cambridge, 1995), 339-47; J. C. Holt, 'What's in a Name? Family Nomenclature & the Norman Conquest', in *Colonial England* (London, 1997), 179-96; idem, 'Feudal Society & the Family in Early Medieval England, II: Notions of Patrimony', in *Colonial England* (London, 1997), 197-222; G. T. Beech, M. Bourin, & P. Chareille (ed.), *Personal Names Studies of Medieval Europe: Social Identity & Familial Structures* (Kalamazoo, 2002).

⁶⁹ Crouch, *Image of the Aristocracy*, 229-35; idem, *Birth of the Nobility*, 156-62.

themselves.⁷⁰ Initially, the Clares, Giffards and Tosnys appeared in the cartularies of religious houses founded by either their overlords or their aristocratic peers as benefactors or as witnesses to other gifts as both an act of piety and a political performance.⁷¹ In Normandy patronage of the ducal religious foundations came to represent aristocratic loyalty to the dukes.⁷² Before 1066 the Clares, Giffards and Tosnys were also founders and benefactors of religious houses in their own right and the links they developed with the abbeys of Le Bec, St Wandrille, Conches and St Evroul in particular travelled with them across the Channel.⁷³ After 1066, religious houses on both sides of the Channel had political and spiritual significance for the expanded aristocracy, and contributed to the cross-Channel connections for these three families.⁷⁴ The creation of alien houses in England, in addition to the local houses that were founded or re-founded after 1066 served the

⁷⁰ F. Barlow, *The English Church 1000-1066: a History of the Later Anglo-Saxon Church* (London, 1979); idem, *The English Church 1066-1154: a History of the Anglo-Norman Church* (London, 1979). A small sample of more specific studies: Bouchard, *Sword, Miter & Cloister*, 150-69; and S. Vaughn, 'Henry I and the English Church: The Archbishops and the King', in *Henry I and the Anglo-Norman World*, ed. D. Fleming & J. M. Pope, *HSJ Special Volume*, 17 (2006), 133-157.

⁷¹ A fact that was acknowledged by contemporary historians: *OV*, iii, 142-50; More recent discussions include: Cownie, *Religious Patronage in Anglo-Norman England*, 153-60; J. C. Holt, 'Feudal Society & the Family in Early Medieval England, III: Politics & Patronage,' in *Colonial England* (London, 1997), 223-244; S. D. White, 'The Politics of Exchange: Gifts, Fiefs and Feudalism', in *Medieval Transformations: Texts, Power, and Gifts in Context*, ed. E. Cohen & M. B. De Jong (Boston, 2001), 169-188.

⁷² A sample of the various approaches to this dual role of religious patronage: C. Harper-Bill, 'The Anglo-Norman Church', in *A Companion to the Anglo-Norman World*, ed. C. Harper-Bill & E. M. C. van Houts (Woodbridge, 2003), 165-190, particularly, 170; while J. L. Nelson, 'Review Article – Church Properties and the Propertied Church: Donors, the Clergy and the Church in Medieval Western Europe from the Fourth Century to the Twelfth', *EHR*, 124 (2009), 355-374, includes a useful examination of the historiography on religious patronage.

⁷³ M. Chibnall, *Select Documents of the English lands of the Abbey of Bec*, Camden Society 3rd Ser., 73 (1951); Ward, 'Foundations of the Clare Family', 427-451; E. Cownie, 'Religious Patronage & Lordship: the Debate on the Nature of the Honor', in *Family Trees and the Roots of Politics: The Prosopography of Britain & France from the Tenth to the Twelfth Century* ed. K. Keats-Rohan (Woodbridge, 1997), 133-146; K. Stoeber, *Late Medieval English and Welsh Monasteries and Their Patrons, c.1300-1540*, unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Southampton (2003).

⁷⁴ J. Blair, 'Local Churches in Domesday Book and Before', in *Domesday Studies*, ed. J. C. Holt (Winchester, 1986), 265-278; Harper-Bill, 'The Anglo-Norman Church', 182-4; C. W. Hollister, 'Normandy, France and the Anglo-Norman Regnum', *Speculum*, 51 (1976), 202-42, repr. in *Monarchy, Magnates & Institutions*, 129-36; J. le Patourel, 'Normandy and England 1066-1166', Stenton Lecture, 1970 (1971), repr. in *Feudal Empires: Norman and Plantagenet* (London, 1984), ch. 7, 3-38; idem, *The Norman Empire* (repr., Oxford, 1997); Holt, 'Notions of Patrimony', 197-222; F. J. West, 'The Colonial History of the Norman Conquest', *History*, 84 (1999), 219-236.

new Anglo-Norman aristocracy as the Norman monastic movement in the tenth and eleventh centuries had served the dukes.⁷⁵

These houses often functioned as focal points for both the members of a kin-group and those within a particular lordship, forming a centralised node from which the networks of kinship and lordship could radiate out across England and Normandy.⁷⁶ Monastic cartularies are therefore a key source for tenants of the Clares, Giffards and Tosnys, as the records often contain both the vertical and horizontal ties that defined their society. Cartularies can also provide specific information on their aristocratic benefactors, particularly as regards decisions about interment for oneself and one's kinsfolk. Over time these houses became increasingly associated with the kin-group or lordship – in some cases these were essentially the same thing – as members of a kin-group or the lord, his family and tenants gave gifts of money, lands, or possessions to the houses in return for prayers being said for the souls of kinsfolk and lords.⁷⁷ Brian Golding and Cownie both examined patterns of aristocratic burial, to show that sites of interment were often thought of in advance and could indicate the significance of a specific religious house, order or manor.⁷⁸ Such decisions could also influence the subsequent direction of development of an aristocratic network within a kin-group or

⁷⁵ E.g. Clares: *Cartulary of Forde Abbey*, ed. S. Hobbs, Somerset Record Society, 85 (Taunton, 1998); *Chronique du Bec et Chronique de François Carré*, ed. Abbé Porée, Société de l'Histoire de Normandie (Rouen, 1883); Giffards: *Chartes du Prieuré de Longueville*, ed. P. Le Cacheux (Société de l'Histoire de Normandie, Rouen & Paris, 1934); *Newington Longueville Charters*, ed. H. E. Salter, Oxfordshire Record Society, iii (1921); Tosnys: *The Burton Cartulary*, ed. G. Wrottesley Staffordshire Historical Collections, v (1884); *The Stone Cartulary: The Text*, ed. G. Wrottesley, Staffordshire Historical Collections, vi (1885), 5-28.

⁷⁶ Mortimer, 'Beginnings of the Honour of Clare', 119-141 & 220-221; idem, 'Land & Service', 195; S. Kettering, 'Patronage and Kinship in Early Modern France', *French Historical Studies*, xvi (1989), 408-435; Cownie, 'Religious Patronage & Lordship', 145.

⁷⁷ Some examples of specific houses and their benefactors, as well as reasons for their benefactions: S. F. Hockey, 'William fitz Osbern and the endowment of his abbey of Lyre', *Proceedings of the Battle Conference*, 3 (1980), 96-105, endnotes, 213-5; D. Bates, 'The Building of a Great Church: The Abbey of St Peter's, Gloucester, and its early Norman Benefactors', *Transactions of the Bristol & Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, 102 (1984), 129-132; S. D. White, *Custom, Kinship & Gifts to Saints: The Laudatio Parentum in Western France, 1050-1150* (Chapel Hill & London, 1988); idem, 'The Politics of Exchange', 169-188; J. Potter, 'The Benefactors of Bec & the Politics of Priors', *ANS*, 21 (1998), 175-192.

⁷⁸ B. Golding, 'Anglo-Norman Knightly Burials', in *The Ideals & Practice of Medieval Knighthood*, i, ed. C. Harper-Bill & R. Harvey (Woodbridge, 1986), 35-48; Cownie, *Religious Patronage in Anglo-Norman England*, 163-5, 179-84.

lordship or indicate the continuation of a pre-existing relationship between the members of a network and a particular house or order.

Those members of the Clare, Giffard and Tosny kin-groups who became churchmen contributed to the development of networks both within and without the church, which could influence or be influenced by their secular kinsfolk. Among them were individuals who reached high positions within the church. In some cases, they can be shown to have assisted their kin when the occasion warranted it, while their secular kin could also offer support through difficult situations, although neither of these possibilities were guaranteed. The networks and patterns, which can be identified and traced amongst the secular elements of the Clares, Giffards and Tosnys, however, do not necessarily appear in studies of the careers of their ecclesiastical kinsmen.

In this thesis, the third theme addressed is lordship and the privileges and responsibilities owed to and by members of the Clare, Giffard and Tosny kin-groups, which underlies the networks formed through the bonds of consanguinity and affinity. In this thesis the tie between the aristocracy and their overlords, as well as that with their own tenants has been interpreted as 'lordship'. Although the early dukes of Normandy were not kings, they were autonomous rulers of Normandy by hereditary right. The eleventh and twelfth century kings of England were simultaneously lords with the same rights and obligations to their tenants as the aristocracy, and also anointed rulers who perceived themselves and were perceived by others as different.⁷⁹ The relationship between the aristocracy and their overlords was complex, and rebellion against the king-dukes was often a political tool that allowed for manoeuvrings on both sides rather than a direct challenge to the king on the part of a magnate or magnates.⁸⁰

⁷⁹ M. J. Strickland, 'Against the Lord's anointed: aspects of warfare and baronial rebellion in England and Normandy, 1075-1265', in *Law & Government in Medieval England & Normandy*, ed. G. Garnett & J. Hudson (Cambridge, 1994), 56-79; R. Bartlett, *England Under the Norman and Angevin Kings, 1075-1225* (Oxford, 2000), 121, 'Relations between a king and his barons can thus be seen as but a sub-set of relations between lords and vassals in general'.

⁸⁰ Studies of the political and social role of rebellion in addition to Strickland, 'Against the Lord's anointed', include: Wareham, 'Motives & Politics of the Bigod Family', 223-242; R.

The historiography of lordship is enormous, ranging from technical studies of Domesday Book data through analysis of charters and tenurial lordship, to the study of heraldry.⁸¹ The bonds of lordship have been examined in general studies on the aristocracy and with specific cases regarding their interactions with their overlords, including the role of the Anglo-Norman king-dukes in the formation of lordship-based networks.⁸² Since the 1970s there have also been studies of the behaviour of individual magnates or certain kin-groups that have contributed to the reassessment of the aristocracy and the roles that they fulfilled in society.⁸³ Although this thesis is focussed primarily on the relationship between individuals, the legal and land-holding aspects of lordship have also been considered where appropriate.⁸⁴ An attempt to study lordship and the aristocracy requires all these approaches to be combined to allow the different influences that impacted on the people and on the network to be understood.

The Clares, Giffards, Tosnys were keenly interested in their relationships with their overlords and the evidence that survives tends to be biased towards

Sharpe, '1088- William II and the Rebels', *ANS*, 26 (2003), 139-157; Strevett, *The Anglo-Norman Aristocracy Under Divided Lordship*, 68, 70-1, 81-7, 119-121, 152-4.

⁸¹ E.g. F. Barlow, 'Domesday Book: A Letter of Lanfranc', *EHR*, 78 (1963), 284-289; P. Sawyer, '1066-1086: A Tenurial revolution?' in *Domesday Book: A Reassessment*, ed. P. Sawyer (London, 1985), 71-85; A. Ailes, 'Heraldry in Twelfth-Century England: the Evidence', in *England in the Twelfth Century*, ed. D. Williams (Woodbridge, 1988), 1-16; P. Coss, *The Knight in Medieval England, 1000-1400* (Stroud, 1993); R. Fleming, *Domesday Book & the Law* (Cambridge, 1998); P. Coss & M. Keen, ed. *Heraldry, Pageantry and Social Display in Medieval England* (Woodbridge, 2002).

⁸² See above fn. 5, and additional studies of the relationship between the Anglo-Norman aristocracy and their overlords: E. King, 'King Stephen & the Anglo-Norman Aristocracy', *History*, 59 (1974), 180-194; N. Strevett, 'The Anglo-Norman Civil War of 1101 Reconsidered', *ANS*, 26 (2003), 159-175.

⁸³ See above fns 7, 25. Additional examples of the specific and general approaches: King, 'Origins of the Wake Family', 166-176; T. N. Bisson, 'Medieval Lordship', *Speculum*, 70 (1995), 743-759.

⁸⁴ D. Bates, 'The Land Pleas of William I's Reign: Penenden Heath Revisited', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 51 (1978), 1-19; L. Bonfield, 'The Nature of Customary Law in the Manor Courts of Medieval England', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 31 (1989), 514-534; R. Fleming, *Kings and Lords in Conquest England* (Cambridge, 1991); J. C. Holt, 'Politics and Property in Early Medieval England', in *Colonial England* (London, 1997), 113-160; A. Cooper, 'Extraordinary Privilege: The Trial of Penenden Heath and the Domesday Inquest', *EHR*, 116 (2001), 1167-1192; S. Baxter, *The Earls of Mercia: Lordship and Power in Late Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 2007).

these interactions.⁸⁵ Relationships with tenants and vassals are more difficult to trace and were unlikely to be reinforced by marriage so other methods of reaffirming the bonds had to be found.⁸⁶ Since these stressed the relative social positions of those involved, the nature of these relationships would appear vertical, rather than the horizontal interconnections of kinship.⁸⁷ The cartularies of monasteries established by aristocratic families provide information about their tenants as individual benefactors to their lords' foundations, and witnesses to their lords' own grants.⁸⁸ Domesday Book, *Cartae Baronum* and the *Rotuli de Dominabus*, also provide information about the lands, finances and tenants of the Clares, Giffards and Tosnys.⁸⁹ Combining these sources together it is possible to identify these vertical bonds linking specific tenant kin-groups to their lords and examine the different elements to the relationship.

⁸⁵ *Violence and Society in the Early Medieval West*, ed. G. Halsall (Woodbridge, 1998); K. Thompson, *Power and Border Lordship in Medieval France: The County of the Perche, 1000-1226* (Woodbridge, 2002); G. Garnett, *Conquered England: Kinship, Succession and Tenure, 1066-1166* (Oxford, 2007).

⁸⁶ E.g. D. Williams, 'The Peverils and the Essebies 1066-1166: a Study in Early Feudal Relationships', in *England in the Twelfth Century*, ed. D. Williams (Woodbridge, 1988), 241-259; J. M. W. Bean, *From Lord to Patron: Lordship in late medieval England* (Manchester, 1989); R. Abels, 'Sheriffs, Lord-Seeking and the Norman Settlement of the South-East Midlands', *ANS*, 19 (1996), 19-50; J. Morsel, 'Inventing a Social Category: The Sociogenesis of the Nobility at the End of the Middle Ages', *Ordering Medieval Society: perspectives on intellectual & practical modes of shaping social relations*, ed. B. Jussen, trans. P. Selwyn (Philadelphia, 2001), 200-240.

⁸⁷ J. Russell Major, 'Vertical Ties through Time', *French Historical Studies*, 17 (1992), 863-871, 863.

⁸⁸ Cownie, *Religious Patronage in Anglo-Norman England*, 173.

⁸⁹ *Domesday Book*, ed. A. Farley (London, 1783), iii, iv, ed. H. Ellis (1816); *Red Book of the Exchequer*, ed. H. Hall, 3 vols (London, 1896); *Rotuli de Dominabus et Pueris et Puellis de Donacione Regis in XII Comitatus 31 Henry II, 1185*, ed. J. H. Round, Pipe Roll Society, 35 (1913); *Widows, Heirs and Heiresses in the Late Twelfth Century: The Rotuli de Dominabus et Pueris et Puellis*, trans. J. Walmsley (Arizona, 2006).

3. Historiography of Anglo-Norman Era

The starting points for genealogical studies of the Anglo-Norman aristocracy remain William Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum* and *The Baronage of England*, because of the information on aristocratic kin-groups, their holdings and their relationship with the church.⁹⁰ J. H. Round's work on a genealogical approach to the eleventh and twelfth century aristocracy of England formed the basis for twentieth century historians examining aristocratic kin-groups.⁹¹ Biographical registers such as the revised edition of *The Complete Peerage* are a wide-ranging study of the titled nobility, but its scope means that many individuals receive abbreviated attention, and the information is unreliable.⁹² L. C. Loyd and I. J. Sanders both examined the origins of the Anglo-Norman aristocracy and the English lordships that developed from these beginnings and provide information on kin-groups as well as on the tenurial circumstances.⁹³ K. Keats-Rohan has also produced biographical registers initially based on Domesday Book and on selected published primary resources up to 1166 that focused on the kinship relationships that could be identified through those sources.⁹⁴ The second, more wide-ranging volume by Keats-Rohan has several limitations and inaccuracies created by the select number of primary texts used in the production of the information. Keats-Rohan has produced articles and online documents of the corrections to her own *Domesday Descendants* and to Sanders' *English Baronies*.⁹⁵

⁹⁰ W. Dugdale, *The Baronage of England*, 2 vols (London, 1675); idem, *Monasticon Anglicanum: a history of the abbies and other monasteries, hospitals, friaries, and cathedral and collegiate churches, with their dependencies, in England and Wales*, ed. W. Dugdale, rev. edn. J. Caley, H. Ellis and B. Bandinel, 6 vols in 8 (London, 1817-30).

⁹¹ J. H. Round, *Geoffrey de Mandeville* (London, 1892); idem, 'The Family of Clare', *The Archaeological Journal*, 56 (1899), 221-231; idem, 'King John and Robert Fitzwalter', *EHR*, 19 (1904), 707-711; idem, 'Walter Tirel and His Wife', 468-479; idem, *Feudal England* (London, 1909); idem, *Family Origins and Other Studies*, ed. W. Page (London, 1930).

⁹² *The Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain and the United Kingdom*, by G. E. C., rev. edn., 13 vols in 14 (London, 1910-59).

⁹³ L. C. Loyd, *The Origins of Some Anglo-Norman Families*, ed. C. T. Clay & D. C. Douglas (Leeds, 1951, repr. 1999); I. J. Sanders, *English Baronies: A Study of their Origin and Descent, 1086-1327* (Oxford, 1960).

⁹⁴ K. Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People* (Woodbridge, 1999); eadem, *Domesday Descendants: A Prosopography of Persons Occurring in English Documents 1066-1166* (Woodbridge, 2002).

⁹⁵ K. Keats-Rohan, 'Additions and Corrections to Sanders's Baronies', *Prosopon Newsletter*, 11 (July 2000), 1-4; users.ox.ac.uk/~prosop/domesday-descendants-corrigenda.pdf, corrections

A key figure in the 1980s is Eleanor Searle with her controversial re-assessment of the role of kinship in the creation of eleventh century Normandy.⁹⁶ Searle's argument, that the aristocracy were aggressive in their pursuit of power amongst their peer group and manipulated the bonds of kinship is convincing to an extent. This aggressive use of kinship was not the only decisive factor in the formation of Normandy and modern prosopographical studies have allowed for more wide-reaching examinations to be made of both the aristocracy as a whole and of kin-groups or individuals. Judith Green, as stated previously, has examined the role of kinship in the creation of politically active groups and networks in twelfth century England and Normandy since the 1980s, covering both the general studies and the specific case studies mentioned above.⁹⁷ The significance of kin-based networks in the Anglo-Norman aristocracy forms a central theme within much of Green's work, although each study has focussed on specific places, people or times.⁹⁸ In a similar vein, Kathleen Thompson's studies of Norman border families and lordships assess the interplay between aristocratic social and political aspirations and relationships between their peers and their overlords.⁹⁹ Green and Thompson have both come to disagree with the possibility of applying a coherent model of society to the Middle Ages because of the wide variety of interests and influences they have revealed. In the broader field of Europe, Constance Bouchard has examined

by Keats-Rohan and members of the genealogy/ medieval newsgroup, accessed 25th October 2008.

⁹⁶ Searle, *Predatory Kinship*; B. S. Bachrach, 'Review: Predatory Kinship and the Creation of Norman Power, 840-1066 by Eleanor Searle', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 21 (1989), 609-11; D. Bates, 'Review: Predatory Kinship and the Creation of Norman Power, 840-1066. by Eleanor Searle', *Speculum*, 65 (1990), 1045-7; S. Fanning, 'Review: Predatory Kinship and the Creation of Norman Power, 840-1066 by Eleanor Searle', *Albion*, 20 (1990), 666-7; S. D. White, 'Review: Predatory Kinship and the Creation of Norman Power, 840-1066. by Eleanor Searle', *American Historical Review*, 95 (1990), 1180; J. Dunbabin, 'Review: Predatory Kinship and the Creation of Norman Power, 840-1066 by Eleanor Searle', *EHR*, 107 (1992), 692-3.

⁹⁷ J. A. Green, 'King Henry I and the Aristocracy of Normandy', in *La "France Anglaise" au Moyen Âge* (Actes du 111 Congrès National des Sociétés Savantes, Poitiers, 1986), 161-73; eadem, 'Unity and Disunity in the Anglo-Norman State', *Historical Research*, 62 (1989), 114-34; eadem, *The Aristocracy of Norman England* (Cambridge, 1997).

⁹⁸ See fn. 25 above.

⁹⁹ Thompson, 'Family and Influence: the lordship of Bellême', 215-226; and see fns 5, 7, 46 and 85 for other examples by Thompson.

aristocratic kin-groups in eleventh and twelfth century Francia and Burgundy in detail, covering many of the elements that shaped contemporary and subsequent views of what constituted a family and provides valuable insights for the Anglo-Norman aristocracy.¹⁰⁰

The church, as noted, through monastic patronage and those individuals who were ecclesiastics, was an important feature in the formation of political and social networks. Although there is a different focus, much of the wide-ranging historiographical literature on the church still provides information on kinship, lordship and on elements such as aristocratic patronage, aspects that are relevant to this thesis.¹⁰¹ The act of giving gifts to monasteries was both a religious act and could serve another function, such as the public display of wealth and status, and both motivations also led to the forming or reinforcing of bonds between individuals on both horizontal and vertical lines.¹⁰² Other elements of the interaction between the Church and the aristocracy can be gained through the lives of abbots, bishops and archbishops, particularly those such as Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, who formed personal bonds with specific individuals that feature in this thesis.¹⁰³ The church assisted in

¹⁰⁰ Bouchard, 'The Structure of a Twelfth-Century French Family', 39-56; eadem, 'Consanguinity and Noble Marriages in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries', *Speculum*, 56 (1981), 268-287; eadem, *Strong of Body, Brave and Noble: Chivalry and Society in Medieval France* (Ithaca and London, 1998) and see fns 8, 9 and 66 for other examples.

¹⁰¹ Dugdale, *Monasticon*, discussed above; G. R. C., Davis, *Medieval Cartularies of Great Britain, a Short Catalogue* (London, 1958); *The Heads of Religious Houses – England & Wales: 940-1216*, ed. D. Knowles, C. N. L. Brooke, & V. C. M. London (Cambridge, 1972); A. Binns, *Dedications of Monastic Houses* (Woodbridge, 1989); the *English Episcopal Acta* series, various editors (London, 1980-present) and the *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae, 1066-1300*, ed. D. E. Greenway (London, 1968-2003) also provide useful details relating to specific individuals and religious houses in England and Wales.

¹⁰² Further examples of the multiple functions of aristocratic patronage: include: Potter, 'The Benefactors of Bec', 175-192; A. Bijsterveld, 'The Medieval Gift as Agent of Social Bonding and Political Power: A Comparative Approach', in *Medieval Transformations: Text, Power, and Gifts in Context*, ed. E. Cohen & M. B. De Jong (Leiden, Boston, & Köln, 2001), 123-156; White, 'The Politics of Exchange', 169-188; idem, 'From Peace to Power: The Study of Disputes in Medieval France', in *Medieval Transformations: Texts, Power, and Gifts in Context*, ed. E. Cohen & M. B. De Jong (Boston, 2001), 203-218.

¹⁰³ Biographies and studies of the lives and careers of prominent churchmen relevant to this thesis include: A. Saltman, *Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury* (London, 1956); C. Harper-Bill, 'Herluin, Abbot of Bec & his Biographer', in *Religious Motivation: Biographical & Sociological Problems for the Church Historian*, ed. D. Baker (Oxford, 1978), 15-25; D. Bates, 'The Character and Career of Odo, Bishop of Bayeux (1049/50-1097)', *Speculum*, 100 (1975), 1-20; S. Vaughn, *Anselm of Bec & Robert of Meulan: the Innocence of the Dove & the Wisdom of the Serpent* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London, 1987); idem, 'St. Anselm and Women', *HSJ*, 2 (1990), 83-93.

the reinforcing and recording of the bonds between individuals and kin-groups that became networks, and therefore helps the historian to see into these networks that shaped the medieval aristocracy.

A similarly wide-ranging historiography exists on studies of the constitutional and political themes of medieval society that developed from the late nineteenth century under the direction of William Stubbs and F. W. Maitland.¹⁰⁴ Stubbs was one of the founders of the 'Whig' school of thought in the late nineteenth century and his work therefore interpreted the events of 1066 as a disruption in the constitutional progression towards the Great Britain of his own time.¹⁰⁵ Similarly, Maitland's interest in the legal aspects of medieval society caused him to examine the theory and reality of primogeniture as well as the administrative structure of eleventh and twelfth century England and this in turn led to the 'pyramid of obligation' model of medieval society.¹⁰⁶ The 'Whig' school also influenced Round and the critical attitude towards the aristocracy that this view encouraged strongly affected much of his work.¹⁰⁷

Since the mid-twentieth century the 'Whig' view of history has been increasingly disregarded as historians have moved away from the construct of feudalism, or the feudal system and instead have given precedence to the role of lordship in society.¹⁰⁸ In part this has been due to the shift in opinion regarding the changes to the construction of society that took place between the tenth and thirteenth centuries, specifically whether or not these changes caused evolutionary or revolutionary shifts in the format of society. Susan

¹⁰⁴ The constitutional approach: Stubbs, *Constitutional History of England*; F. W. Maitland, *The Constitutional History of England* (Cambridge, 1908).

¹⁰⁵ W. Stubbs, *Lectures on Early English History* (Oxford, 1906); idem, *Select Charters and Other Illustrations of English Constitutional History from the Earliest Times to the Reign of Edward the First* (Oxford, 1946).

¹⁰⁶ F. W. Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond* (London, 1897, repr. 1960), 'pyramid of obligation', 368; F. Pollock & F. W. Maitland, *The History of English Law*, 2 vols (repr. Cambridge, 1968), i, 407-16.

¹⁰⁷ See above fn. 91 for details of Round's work.

¹⁰⁸ A detailed summary of the general historiography of the Anglo-Norman period can be found in M. Chibnall, *The Debate on the Norman Conquest* (Manchester, 1999), 79-96, which is a particularly clear summary of the changing focus from feudalism to lordship.

Reynolds' work on the link between lord and vassal and the concept of the fief has been critical of how useful these attempts were to define the relationships and bonds that linked the different members of society to each other and to the land.¹⁰⁹ Subsequent to Reynolds' work, T. N. Bisson's article regarding the role of violence in social change and a series of responses to this article have addressed many elements of this debate.¹¹⁰ Bisson has continued to explore the role of violence in causing social change in the twelfth century across Europe in his recent book.¹¹¹

Throughout the twentieth and into the twenty-first century, the relationship between the aristocracy and their overlords during times of political crisis has received a great deal of attention.¹¹² An example of this is the amount written about the involvement of both specific magnates and the aristocracy as a body in the civil war between the supporters of Stephen and Matilda in the mid-twelfth century.¹¹³ Stubbs and Round baptised this conflict 'an anarchy' and this attitude and title has continued to be used and to shape the

¹⁰⁹ S. Reynolds, *Fiefs and Vassals: The Medieval Evidence Reinterpreted* (Oxford, 1994), 17-74.

¹¹⁰ This interpretation of the period developed from: T. N. Bisson, 'The Feudal Revolution', *Past & Present*, 142 (1994), 6-42; Into a controversial debate: idem, 'Debate: The 'Feudal Revolution'', *Past & Present*, 155 (1997), 177-225; D. Barthélemy, & S. D. White, 'Debate: The "Feudal Revolution"', *Past & Present*, 152 (1996), 196-223; T. Reuter, 'Debate: The 'Feudal Revolution'', *Past & Present*, 155 (1997), 177-225; C. Wickham, 'Debate: The 'Feudal Revolution'', *Past & Present*, 155 (1997), 177-225; the progression of the debate was reviewed in: D. Bates, 'England and the "Feudal Revolution"', *Il Feudalesimo nell'Alto Medioevo* (2000), 611-649. Most recently Bisson has expanded this debate in a Europe wide study of lordship: *The Crisis of the Twelfth Century* (Princeton & Oxford, 2009), 22-84, 168-82 and 378-398 in particular.

¹¹¹ Bisson, *The Crisis of the Twelfth Century*, 64, 136-42, 232-9.

¹¹² For example: S. L. Moors, "Backers and Stabbers:" Problems of Loyalty in Robert Curthose's Entourage', *Journal of British Studies*, 21 (1981), 1-17; C. W. Hollister, 'The Anglo-Norman Civil War: 1101', in *Monarchy, Magnates & Institutions in the Anglo-Norman World* (repr., London, 1986), 77-96; idem, 'The Campaign of 1102 Against Robert of Bellême', *Studies in Medieval History presented to R. Allen Brown*, ed. C. Harper-Bill, C. J. Holdsworth & J. L. Nelson (Woodbridge, 1988), 193-202; Sharpe, 'William II and the Rebels', 139-157; M. Sheridan, 'Mothers and Sons: Emma of Normandy's role in the English succession crisis, 1035-42', *Studies on Medieval & Early Modern Women 4: Victims or Viragos?*, ed. C. Meek & C. Lawless (Dublin, 2005), 39-48; Strevett, 'The Anglo-Norman Civil War of 1101 Reconsidered', 159-175.

¹¹³ In this field as in so many others, the paradigm came from Round, *Geoffrey de Mandeville*; which has been reassessed by R. H. C. Davis, 'The Treason of Geoffrey de Mandeville: a comment', & 'Geoffrey de Mandeville: a final comment', *EHR*, 103 (1988) 967-968; idem, 'Last Words on Geoffrey de Mandeville: debate', *EHR*, 105 (1990), 671-672. J. O. Prestwich, 'The Treason of Geoffrey de Mandeville', *EHR*, 103 (1988), 283-312; idem, 'Debate: Geoffrey de Mandeville: a further comment', *EHR*, 103 (1988), 960-966; idem, 'Debate: 'Last Words on Geoffrey de Mandeville'', *EHR*, 105 (1990), 670-1.

views of historians until thirty years ago when the work of Edmund King, Keith Stringer, and as the most recent example David Crouch, revised the former interpretation of both King Stephen and of the aristocracy.¹¹⁴ In the Anglo-Norman context, this focus on the perceived 'unruly' behaviour of the magnates and the ability of the king to control his subordinates began to change in the mid-1970s. John le Patourel and Edmund King led the reassessment of the aristocracy by modifying the accusations levelled at the medieval aristocracy of exacerbating royal succession disputes for their own ends.¹¹⁵ From this point historians' stance on the aristocracy shifted and both general studies and individual biographical studies became more varied in their attitudes and conclusions regarding the people and circumstances under examination.¹¹⁶

This shift in historiographical attitude in the last thirty years has expanded beyond the civil war between the Empress and King Stephen. The move away from the constitutional view and towards a more balanced approach to the aristocracy as legitimate members of society is demonstrated in John Hudson's authoritative work on both the tenurial and legislative aspects to lordship and succession details.¹¹⁷ In addition increasingly detailed work on Domesday Book by historians such as Robin Fleming and David Roffe has also made it possible for the relationship between lord and vassal and its

¹¹⁴ K. Stringer, *The Reign of Stephen: Kingship, Warfare & Government in Twelfth Century England* (London, 1993); E. King (ed.) *The Anarchy of King Stephen's Reign* (Oxford, 1994).

¹¹⁵ J. le Patourel, 'What Did Not Happen In Stephen's Reign', *History*, 58 (1973), 1-17; King, 'King Stephen & the Anglo-Norman Aristocracy', 180-194; idem, 'The Anarchy of King Stephen's Reign', *TRHS*, 5th ser., 34 (1984), 133-154.

¹¹⁶ A sample of the reinterpretation of the aristocracy and period: G. J. White, 'King Stephen, Duke Henry & Ranulf de Gernons, Earl of Chester', *EHR*, 41 (1976), 555-565; P. Dalton, 'William Earl of York and Royal Authority in Yorkshire in the Reign of Stephen', *HSJ*, 2 (1990), 155-65; idem, 'In Neutro Latere: The Armed Neutrality of Ranulf II Earl of Chester in King Stephen's Reign', *ANS*, 14 (1991), 39-59; T. Callahan, Jr., 'The Arrest of the Bishops at Stephen's Court: A Reassessment', *HSJ*, 4 (1992), 97-108; C. W. Hollister, 'The Magnates of Stephen's Reign: Reluctant Anarchists', *HSJ*, 5 (1993), 77-87; G. J. White, 'Continuity in Government', in *The Anarchy of King Stephen's Reign*, ed. E. King (Oxford, 1994), 117-144; idem, 'The Myth of the Anarchy', *ANS*, 22 (1999), 323-337.

¹¹⁷ J. Hudson, 'Life-grants of land and the development of inheritance in Anglo-Norman England', *ANS* 12 (1989), 67-80; idem, *Land, Law, and Lordship in Anglo-Norman England* (Oxford, 1994), 4-5.

implications to be explored beneath the level of the king and the aristocracy in more detail.¹¹⁸

Another aspect of the historiography of lordship that has developed over the second half of the twentieth century has been the competing ideas of colonisation and frontier studies.¹¹⁹ John le Patourel's view of a co-operative cross-Channel aristocracy that wanted to have one ruler for England and Normandy also contributed to modify the interpretation of the Anglo-Norman aristocracy as violent and uncontrolled.¹²⁰ In the 1980s and into the 1990s this concept was supported by C. Warren Hollister and to a lesser degree J. C. Holt.¹²¹ At much the same time David Bates and Judith Green came to a different conclusion, believing that local interests rather than cross-Channel concerns tended to affect a larger number of the aristocracy.¹²² Bates specifically rebutted many of the points of le Patourel's *The Norman Empire* while simultaneously presenting his own interpretation of the pre-Conquest aristocracy of Normandy.¹²³ These re-evaluations have led to several prosopographical studies that assessed the lives and careers of the more famous or infamous magnates, contributing to the widening of the field of lordship.¹²⁴

¹¹⁸ Indicating the depth and breadth of Domesday studies by these specific historians: Fleming, *Kings and Lords in Conquest England*; idem, *Domesday Book & the Law*; D. Roffe, *Domesday: the Inquest and the Book* (Oxford, 2000); idem, *Decoding Domesday* (Woodbridge, 2007).

¹¹⁹ A selection of the vast literature on the colonial view of the twelfth century: R. R. Davies, 'Colonial Wales', *Past & Present*, 65 (1974), 3–23; idem, *Domination & Conquest: The Experience of Ireland, Scotland & Wales, 1100-1300* (Cambridge, 1990); G. W. S. Barrow, *The Anglo-Norman Era in Scottish History* (Oxford, 1980); R. Bartlett, 'Colonial Aristocracies of the High Middle Ages', in *Medieval Frontier Societies*, ed. R. Bartlett, & A. MacKay (Oxford, 1989), 23-47; West, 'The Colonial History of the Norman Conquest', 219-236; D. Power, 'French and Norman Frontiers in the Central Middle Ages', in *Frontiers in Question: Eurasian Borderlands, 700-1700*, ed. D. Power & N. Standen (1999), 105-127.

¹²⁰ le Patourel, *The Norman Empire*, 190-200.

¹²¹ J. C. Holt, '1153: The Treaty of Winchester', in *The Anarchy of King Stephen's Reign*, ed. E. King (Oxford, 1994); idem, 'Feudal Society & the Family in Early Medieval England, I: The Revolution of 1066', in *Colonial England* (London, 1997), 161-178.

¹²² J. A. Green, 'The Lords of the Norman Vexin', in *War and Government in the Middle Ages*, ed. J. Gillingham and J. C. Holt (Cambridge, 1984), 47-61, 58, 60; eadem, *The Government of England under Henry I* (Cambridge, 1986); and see fn. 25 and 97 for further examples.

¹²³ D. Bates, *Normandy Before 1066* (New York, 1982), 46-56; idem, 'Normandy and England after 1066', *EHR*, 104 (1989), 851-880.

¹²⁴ H. W. C. Davis, 'Henry of Blois and Brian Fitz-Count', *EHR*, 25 (1910), 297-303; White, 'King Stephen, Duke Henry & Ranulf de Gernons', 555-565; D. Crouch, 'Geoffrey de Clinton &

The current historiography of the eleventh and twelfth centuries and the primary source material covers a vast array of topics and provides a great deal of information on the aristocracy of the British Isles and Northern France. The works touched on here are not an exhaustive bibliography but cover the principal themes and approaches that have been used in the past. Aspects of the issues addressed in these texts are examined in this thesis; otherwise the information they provide on the kin-groups will be assessed in relation to the purpose of this study.

By analysing the networks that developed amongst members of the Clare, Giffard and Tosny kin-groups this thesis seeks to ease the conflict between the accounts of the chroniclers and evidence of the charters with the assumptions and theories of later historians about why individuals and groups of magnates behaved in the way they did. Formed of dynamic and reciprocal components, networks functioned because the people involved wished to interact with each other, meaning that personal bonds rather than impersonal theories or concepts were at their basis and formed the framework of the social and political worlds of the aristocracy.¹²⁵ This fluidity means that the networks and groups that made up the society of the eleventh and twelfth century remained '... a construct, specific to a certain time and place, rather than a self-evident and unchanging entity...' and as such these networks illuminate how the Clares, Giffards and Tosnys inhabited their world and lived their lives.¹²⁶

Roger, Earl of Warwick: New men & Magnates in the Reign of Henry I', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 55 (1982), 113-123; Dalton, 'In Neutro Latere', 39-59; Potts, 'Earliest Norman Counts Revisited', 23-35; Wareham, 'Motives & Politics of the Bigod Family', 223-242.

¹²⁵ G. Dahl, *Trade, Trust and Networks: Commercial Culture in Late Medieval Italy* (Lund, 1998), 299-301.

¹²⁶ Bouchard, *"Those of my Blood"*, 2.

Part I

KINSHIP

Introduction

Kinship can refer to both shared familial bonds and those who share common ground – whether in terms of geographical proximity or in terms of mutual interests or shared political goals. Any attempt to produce a strict set of rules regarding the structures of kinship and the family for the eleventh and twelfth centuries breaks down when multiple families are compared. Therefore the term ‘kin-group’ has been used in preference to ‘family’ in this thesis, as it is both a more flexible and more accurate description of the bodies being examined.¹ While it has been impossible to study every branch of each kin-group to the same degree, the individuals who appear in this thesis include more than the principal patrilineal lines of the Clare, Giffard and Tosny kin-groups, or those that succeeded them when a particular line descended to a female family member and her husband.

The creation of a bond of kinship between individuals or groups was often due to the location of their estates or intended as a political alliance. This chapter will therefore also focus on the rationale behind the development of kin-based networks in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. These familial bonds can be subdivided into *cognati* (blood-kin) and *affines* (in-laws), although as in-laws to one individual became the blood-kin of his or her descendants these definitions shifted within a kin-group for each generation.² None of the relationships between individuals or kin-groups were formed with an absolute guarantee that they would provide social advancement, political alliance or other possible benefits. These deliberately created bonds covered the practical aspects of kinship, but a kin-group that could or did act as a unit

¹ Herlihy, *Medieval Households*, 11; Bouchard, *Sword, Miter & Cloister*, 29.

² Bullough, ‘Early Medieval Social Groupings’, 6-7.

was more complex. Each individual chose from amongst cognates and affines who they recognised as belonging to their kin-group and this kin-group was also subject to change as circumstances changed.³ This recognition of blood ties beyond the nuclear family was complicated by the existence of step-kin and half-kin within the kin-groups from the multiple marriages that appear to have been a recurring feature amongst the aristocracy.⁴ Another relationship that complicates any attempt to identify a kinship-based network was that of wardship. It was not necessary for guardians and wards to be related by blood but amongst members of the aristocracy it was customary, although approval from their overlord was required before any individual could become the guardian of a minor and the associated lands.⁵

In the networks considered here, formed through ties of kinship, the majority of the relationships are horizontal as the individuals are of approximately equal status and situation. Royal favour or particular circumstances enabled individuals to marry heiresses, which gave the individual increased social standing and political power. Within a kin-group, there were both vertical and horizontal bonds, which were technically permanent, but emotional connection and acknowledgement were never guaranteed. It was also possible for members of a previously close kin-group to turn against each other, disrupting the network either temporarily or permanently; the ruling kin-group provides an obvious example of this tendency.⁶ The closest connections could be cause for competition rather than of support, and the succession disputes of the king-dukes provide a clear example of this. At the same time, these periods of civil unrest were often limited by the reluctance of the magnates to risk themselves or their possessions on the

³ Tanner, *Families, Friends and Allies*, 11.

⁴ B. Surtees Phillipotts, *Kindred and Clan in the Middle Ages and After* (Cambridge, 1913); Foster & Seidman, 'Network Structure and the Kinship Perspective', 329-355.

⁵ *Rotuli de dominabus*, 1-2, 5, 7, 9, 12, 26, 35-37, 40, 47-8, 54, 81, 84; *Widows, Heirs and Heiresses*, nos 1, 3, 7, 15, 19-20, 25, 28, 42, 51-53, 63, 66, 71-2, 74, 76, 81-2, 86-7, 89, 106.

⁶ *OV*, v, 26. An example of this behaviour further discussed below: Ranulf II, earl of Chester was supported by his brother-in-law Gilbert fitz Gilbert and his nephew, Gilbert fitz Richard II when he was imprisoned by King Stephen in 1145, despite his capture of another brother-in-law, Baldwin fitz Gilbert B in 1141.

success or failure of members of the royal line.⁷ This reluctance is reflected in the aristocracy's frequent avoidance of set battles during civil conflicts where the opposing side was likely to include members of their extended kin.⁸

A lack of distinction between private and public matters meant that family ties and political interests influenced each other, and kinship bonds were often formed as political enterprises.⁹ Kinship based networks have been described as causing '...linkages through proximity, blood and marriage [to] make the family the building block of larger social structures.'¹⁰ The evidence of the Clare, Giffard and Tosny kin-groups and their interactions with other aristocratic families reinforces this concept of kinship as the basic foundation of medieval social structures and its impact can be seen even when examining non-kinship based networks. These building blocks have been interpreted as belonging to one of two paradigms, endogamous or exogamous, depending on the form of the social structure under development. An endogamous or local marriage developed a geographically and socially coherent region, while exogamous marriages spread the kin-groups interest and influence over a wider field.¹¹ In pre-Conquest Normandy magnates tended to marry into neighbouring families, thereby creating networks that bound together the most powerful lords in a locality, and in the border regions these networks often involved kin-groups from both sides.¹² Whereas in England post-1066 marriage became a means of legitimising conquest as the incomers sought to establish themselves in their new

⁷ Strickland, 'Against the Lord's anointed', 56-79; Wareham, 'Motives & Politics of the Bigod Family', 223-242; Green, 'Family Matters', 147-164; Sharpe, 'William II and the Rebels', 139-157; Strevett, 'The Anglo-Norman Civil War of 1101 Reconsidered', 159-175.

⁸ E.g. *OV*, iv, 280; Strickland, 'Against the Lord's anointed', 77. '...factors of baronial kinship and political empathy undoubtedly compromised the... effective persecution of war.'

⁹ Bartlett, *England Under the Norman and Angevin Kings*, 121 and 212.

¹⁰ Herlihy, *Women, Family & Society*, 136; Bouchard, *"Those of my Blood"*, 2.

¹¹ Green, *Aristocracy of Norman England*, 348; Wareham, 'Two Models of Marriage', 107-132.

¹² Green, 'The Lords of the Norman Vexin', 58, 60; Searle, *Predatory Kinship*, 15-26, 129-30, 220, 222-3; Power, *The Norman Frontier*, 81-112.

territories.¹³ Therefore endogamous and exogamous marriage alliances were not necessarily contradictory; rather they were variations of the same method of protecting and advancing the physical property and more intangible assets of both the individual and their kin-group. After 1066, these definitions became even more complex as a marriage between an England based individual and a Normandy based individual could be geographically exogamous particularly if they were not neighbours in either region, yet they were generally ruled by one overlord and had similar political interests, making the marriage essentially endogamous.

The concept of kinship in medieval society was functional rather than purely emotional, and while emotional bonds undoubtedly existed, the formulaic nature of many of the surviving sources makes them difficult to identify. The political functions of kinship were not constant, nor were the members involved in them; this is neatly summarised by Heather Tanner:

‘The members of the kindred know who their blood relatives are, but do not routinely act as a unit. Kin-based action groups function as ad hoc coalitions brought together by unity or complementarity of interests and contain only a portion of the kindred as well as affines and friends.’¹⁴

In general terms it is possible to discuss the interests or goals of a family while remembering that the kin-group or family does not have an inviolable and concrete form.¹⁵ Each kin-group is redefined as new individuals join through birth and marriage, while others are removed by death. Changing external factors such as geography and political loyalties also modify the kin-group, while an awareness of the kin-group’s goals could have an impact on the external factors. This supports Herlihy’s conviction that ‘...the family

¹³ E. Searle, ‘Women and the Legitimation of Succession at the Norman Conquest’, *Proceedings of the Battle Conference*, 3 (1980), 159-170, endnotes, 226-229; P. Stafford, ‘Women and the Norman Conquest’, *TRHS*, 6th ser., iv (1994), 221-249.

¹⁴ Tanner, *Families, Friends & Allies*, 10; ‘kin-based action group’ first appeared in: Freeman, ‘On the Concept of the Kindred’, 203.

¹⁵ Bouchard, *Those of my Blood*, 6.

cannot be studied in isolation; we must constantly shift our gaze from its internal structure to its connections with the larger society, and back again'.¹⁶

In addition to the factors addressed above, this part also serves the purpose of providing detailed narrative accounts of the Clare, Giffard and Tosny kin-groups. This provides a necessary base for analysis as the importance of individuals, relationships and networks cannot be assessed without the chronological context being understood. By presenting the three kin-groups together it is also possible to approach this as a comparative study, an approach that has not previously been taken by Anglo-Norman historians. Instead of either a broad general work on the aristocracy or a case study of a specific family, this comparative approach allows the Clares, Giffards and Tosnys to be assessed as separate kin-groups, as part of the Anglo-Norman aristocracy and as neighbours, allies and kinsfolk.

¹⁶ Herlihy, *Women, Family & Society*, 136.

Chapter 1:

Origins and Primogenitors of Aristocratic Kin-groups

The Clares

By identifying the origins of the Clare, Giffard and Tosny kin-groups in geographical, social and political terms the early context for kin-based networks can be discussed. The Clares were descended from Count Richard II of Normandy and one of his concubines, and this bond of patrimony and lordship dominated the next two generations. Richard II granted the county of Eu as a gift to his illegitimate son Godfrey, who also received the castle and lands of Brionne, possibly through his marriage to the heiress of Brionne. Godfrey's presence at the ducal court can be proven by surviving charters and is also indicated through later chroniclers' accounts of the eleventh century Norman ducal court.¹⁷ While his relationship with his legitimate half-siblings apparently remained cordial, little else is known of Godfrey.¹⁸ His son, Gilbert inherited the honour and title of Brionne but not of Eu, which was instead passed to another of the illegitimate descendants of Richard II.¹⁹ This was probably due to the reduction in the amount of land available to the dukes to grant to members of the aristocracy for any reason. Bates has argued that in the time of Duke William II, further acquisition of land was dependent on other members of the aristocracy losing their lands.²⁰ Although his wife's identity is unknown, Gilbert's marriage may have been exogamous because of this lack of available land. It has been convincingly argued that she was Flemish because of his sons' refuge in Flanders after Gilbert's death in 1040, and the Flemish name of the younger son, Baldwin.²¹ It is possible that her name was Adeliza, as Richard and Baldwin each had a daughter with that name and daughters of the aristocracy were often named for their

¹⁷ *Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie*, ed. M. Fauroux, Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie, 36 (Caen, 1961), nos 4, 24; *GND*, ii, 270.

¹⁸ Searle, *Predatory Kinship*, 134-6.

¹⁹ *GND*, ii, 92, 270; *OV*, ii, 10-2; Searle, *Predatory Kinship*, 184-5; P. Bauduin, *La Première Normandie (Xe-Xie siècles)* (Caen, 2004), 295-8.

²⁰ Bates, *Normandy Before 1066*, 101, 153.

²¹ Ward, 'Royal Service and Reward', 261-278; Searle, *Predatory Kinship*, 184; *Domesday Descendants*, introduction; Postles, *Naming the People of England*, 69-70.

paternal grandmother.²² Gilbert was recognised as a member of both the extended ducal kin and part of the Norman court in charters and this led to his position as one of the guardians of the young Duke William II after 1035.²³ Despite his position as a 'tutor' to the Conqueror-to-be, Gilbert was not on good terms with many of the boy-duke's other relations and this unpopularity amongst his peers contributed to his murder.²⁴ In addition Gilbert was frequently involved in disputes over land, and on at least two occasions he violently attacked the minor heirs to the county of Eu and was only defeated by their adult kin.²⁵

One reason for Gilbert's combative relationship with his peers came from his close blood tie to the ducal family, a relationship that both his descendants and chroniclers were eager to emphasise.²⁶ Robert de Torigny recorded Gilbert's descent as, 'Gilbert count of Brionne, a grandson of Richard II, duke of Normandy, through his son count Godfrey...'²⁷ By emphasising Gilbert's direct inheritance from the ducal line rather than his father's illegitimate birth or their loss of Eu to other ducal kinsmen, Robert de Torigny was gratifying both his own desire to praise the ancestors of the twelfth century Clares and the kin-group's own wish to aggrandise their lineage.²⁸ Both Godfrey, count of Eu and Brionne and Gilbert de Brionne emphasised their connection to the

²² M. Bourin, 'How Changes in Naming Reflect the Evolution of Familial Structures in Southern Europe, 950-1250', *Personal Names Studies of Medieval Europe: Social Identity & Familial Structures*, ed. G. T. Beech, M. Bourin, & P. Chareille (Kalamazoo, 2002), 3-14, 10-11; le Jan, 'Personal Names and the Transformation of Kinship in Early Medieval Society', 37; Bouchard, *Those of my Blood*, 9.

²³ Robert de Torigny, *Chronica* in *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen and Henry II, & Richard I*, iv, ed. R. Howlett, RS 82.iv (London, 1889), 19.

²⁴ *OV*, iii, 88.

²⁵ Searle, *Predatory Kinship*, 166, 169, 180.

²⁶ *RADN*, nos 48, 65: 'Gislebertus filius Godefridi comitis'; *Calendar of Documents preserved in France, illustrative of the History of Great Britain & Ireland, A. D. 918-1216*, ed. J. H. Round (London, 1899), no. 704; Searle, *Predatory Kinship*, 132-6 discusses the careers of the acknowledged sons of Duke Richard II and states that the violence that characterised these accounts was due to 'distrust from rival ducal kinsmen, but more importantly from the paternally defined ducal line itself.' 136.

²⁷ *RT*, 19; *GND*, ii, 92; *Vita Herluini*, in *The Works of Gilbert Crispin Abbot of Westminster*, ed. A. S. Abulafia & G. R. Evans (London, 1986), 185.

²⁸ E. M. C. van Houts, 'Robert of Torigny as Genealogist', *Studies in Medieval History, presented to R. A. Brown*, ed., C. Harper-Bill, C. J. Holdsworth, & J. L. Nelson (Woodbridge, 1989), 215-233, 215-7.

ducal line, and this made them a threat in the eyes of their more ambitious peers.²⁹ Gilbert de Brionne, rather than his father, was the true progenitor of the Clare kin-group, indicated by his sons' patronymic identity as 'sons of Count Gilbert' throughout their lives.³⁰ This demonstrates a conscious decision, presumably by Richard and Baldwin, to emphasise that specific relationship, and the scribes and chroniclers facilitated this by recording the brothers in this guise. The repetition of the names Richard and Gilbert as first names and patronymics throughout the Clare kin-group for over two hundred years similarly indicates the sense of lineage that existed in the kin-group.³¹

The Giffards

The progenitor of the Giffard kindred was Osbern de Bolbec, a member of the ducal household in the early tenth century and married an unidentified sister of Gunnor, consort of Count Richard I of Normandy.³² There has been a dispute over which of Gunnor's sisters Osbern married, but, Graeme H. White and, more recently, Elisabeth van Houts have made convincing arguments in favour of Aveline.³³ Eleanor Searle has argued that the magnates who were successful during the minority of Duke William II could be '...identified ...as cousins through Duchess Gunnor.'³⁴ The Giffards – unlike the Clares and the Tosnys – could claim this relationship, and only they managed to successfully navigate the disturbances of the minority without the death of the familial patriarch.³⁵

²⁹ Searle, *Predatory Kinship*, 186.

³⁰ Richard also appears in chronicles as '*Richard de Bienfaite*', Baldwin as '*Baldwin de Meules*' and '*Baldwin of Exeter*', but the patronymic was the norm in charters. *DB*, i, fos 81, 93, 105v; *OV*, ii, 215; iii, 100; *RADN*, nos 27, 130, 179, 192, 220, 231; *Feudal Documents of Bury St Edmunds* ed. D. C. Douglas (London, 1932), nos 7, 9, 10; *EYC*, i, 488.

³¹ *SbC*, no. 5: '*Gilebertus filius Ricardi comes Brionie*', issued 1183-1188.

³² *GND*, ii, 270-1.

³³ G. H. White, 'The Sisters and Nieces of Gunnor, Duchess of Normandy', *The Genealogist*, 37 (1921), 57-65, 128-131; van Houts, 'Robert of Torigni as Genealogist', 215-233.

³⁴ Searle, *Predatory Kinship*, 100-107, 184.

³⁵ *Ibid*, 182-9.

Walter Giffard I was amongst the childhood companions of Duke William, and he appears as a witness to seven of the charters surviving from the first fifteen years of William II's rule, the majority of which were issued at and for ducal abbeys such as Fécamp and Saint Wandrille.³⁶ Walter Giffard I, as his father appears to have been, was a trusted advisor to the dukes but by the minority of Duke William II the sons of Osbern de Bolbec had also begun to develop bonds of affinity within the Pays de Caux. Walter Giffard I's marriage to Gerard Fleitel's daughter, Ermengarde, connected the Giffards to many of the other aristocratic families in the Pays de Caux region.³⁷ These horizontal bonds lessened the significance of their familial tie to the ducal kin-group, but, the personal relationship between Duke William II and Walter Giffard I was, in the eyes of at least one later chronicler, based on genuine friendship.³⁸

The Giffards were not at the centre of these developing kinship bonds, instead it was Gerard Fleitel and his children who formed the initial connection between the other kin-groups.³⁹ Gerard's daughter Basilia was married twice, first to Ralph de Gacé, kinsman and eventual guardian to Duke William II, and secondly to Hugh de Gournay.⁴⁰ In the next generation Basilia and Hugh's son Gerard de Gournay, married Edith, daughter of William de Warenne I.⁴¹ This series of marriages between the Fleitel-Giffard-Gournay-Warenne kin-groups was based on both geographical proximity and shared political interests as they sought to secure the Pays de Caux against the disruptions of the ducal minority.⁴²

³⁶ *WP*, 48; *RADN*, nos 102, 105-07, 129, 147, 227.

³⁷ *OV*, iv, 186.

³⁸ *Wace*: 176, the Conqueror to Walter I: '...I loved you before and now I love you more. If I can escape alive, things will be improved for you for ever more.'

³⁹ See *The Giffard Genealogy*, xii.

⁴⁰ *OV*, ii, 254; Bates, *Normandy before 1066*, 210-211.

⁴¹ *GND*, ii, 268, 272-4.

⁴² Searle, *Predatory Kinship*, 220-1.

The Tosnys

The progenitors of the Tosnys arrived in the duchy c.942 when William Longsword asked Hugh de Saint-Denis, son of Hugh de Calvacamp, to become archbishop of Rouen.⁴³ Hugh granted the estates of Tosny in upper Normandy, which had belonged to the archbishopric, to his brother Ralph.⁴⁴ David Bates has suggested that these properties were prepared in advance of Ralph I's arrival in Normandy, to establish him amongst the aristocracy.⁴⁵ From an early date however, there is evidence of a Tosny origin myth. Before 1034 the French monastic chronicler Adhemar de Chabannes believed that Roger I de Tosny's Viking heritage was responsible for his alleged cannibalism in Spain.⁴⁶ Adhemar, however, was only referencing a stereotype of Norman origins to explain the supposed actions of Roger I in Spain.⁴⁷ By the twelfth century, however, Robert of Torigni had recorded the idea that the Tosnys had Viking origins in his additions to the text of the *Gesta Normannorum Ducum*. Robert declared that the Tosnys were descended from one Malahulc, 'an uncle of Rollo', making the Tosnys distant agnates of the Norman dukes.⁴⁸ This origin story indicates how attitudes changed from the tenth century to the twelfth. By establishing their Viking origins and claiming a kinship with the dukes of Normandy, the Tosnys apparently sought to prove or even improve their status. A false kinship bond with the king-dukes was considered of more value to the twelfth century Tosnys than commemorating the favour shown by the second duke of Normandy to one of their ancestors.

The early Tosny kin-group has been a subject of debate by Musset and Wareham; the debate hinges on whether there were one or two Ralphs

⁴³ Musset, 'Les Tosny', 45-81; Bates, *Normandy Before 1066*, 108, 241.

⁴⁴ *Acta archiepiscoporum Rotomagensium* in *Vetera Analecta*, ed. J. Mabillon (Paris, 1723), 222-226, 224.

⁴⁵ Bates, *Normandy Before 1066*, 35.

⁴⁶ Adémar de Chabannes, *Chronique*, ed. J. Chavanon (Paris, 1897), 178-9; Rodulfus Glaber, *The Five Books of the Histories*, ed. & trans. J. France (Oxford, 1989), 96-103. These accounts provide a more distant point of view of Normandy and the Normans.

⁴⁷ N. Webber, *The Evolution of Norman Identity, 911-1154* (Rochester, 2005), discusses the perception of Norman identity and stereotypes in contemporary French sources, 85-6.

⁴⁸ *GND*, ii, 94-5.

between c.942 and c.1024. It involves the respective ages of Ralph I and Hugh de St Denis, and the inheritance of the Tosnys possessions during that period. Hugh was archbishop of Rouen for more than fifty years, and was probably the younger of the brothers given his ecclesiastical career and his name.⁴⁹ If so then Ralph I would have been not have been able to take an active part in sieges and battles in 1012-13.⁵⁰ Musset was convinced that there was only one Ralph de Tosny before Roger I's inheritance, but Wareham has suggested that there were two Ralphs.⁵¹ The length of time between the first appearance of Ralph de Tosny and the last in the period in question makes Wareham's suggestion more probable. Based on the extended genealogies of the Clare, Giffard and Tosny kin-groups, the average range of generations would mean that Ralph I was probably succeeded by his son Ralph II between 980 and 990, allowing Ralph II's son Roger I, to succeed him c.1024.⁵²

The Tosnys appear more consistently in the surviving primary sources from 1012-13, when Ralph II de Tosny and his son Roger supported Duke Richard II against Eudo de Blois et Chartres.⁵³ Shortly after this they were exiled from Normandy for an unrecorded reason, although the standard reason for such an exile was suspected treason against the duke.⁵⁴ Ralph II went to Italy and Roger I travelled to Spain, and in each case they provided military support for Christian societies against Muslim invaders.⁵⁵ Roger I is said to

⁴⁹ Bouchard, *Sword, Miter & Cloister*, 59-62. Later naming patterns would suggest that Hugh was a second son, as he had his father's name, and the Tosnys genealogy suggests that names appeared every second generation or were used for younger sons.

⁵⁰ *GND*, ii, 22-25; *Wace*, 108-9.

⁵¹ Musset, 'Les Tosny': Ralph I, d. 1024, Ralph II, d. 1102, Ralph III, d. 1126, Ralph IV, d. 1162; Wareham, 'Two Models of Marriage' and this thesis: Ralph I, d. unknown, Ralph II, d. 1024, Ralph III, d. 1102, Ralph IV, d. 1126 (and therefore Ralph V, d. 1162), 119.

⁵² Early deaths and long minorities make a true average impossible, however outside of these circumstances, the Clare, Giffard and Tosny heirs tended to survive their father for 20-30 years, leading to the probable dates for Ralph II's succession. *GND*, ii, 22-25; *Wace*, 108-9.

⁵³ *GND*, ii, 22-25; *Wace*, 108-9; see also *ADE H262*, fo. 3v; *Conches*, no. 7; Bauduin, *La Première Normandie*, 186.

⁵⁴ *Adémar*, 177-9; *Glaber*, 96-103.

⁵⁵ This appears to have been unusual but not unheard of, although they were amongst the earliest known examples. More famous cases were Robert Guiscard and Tancred d'Hauteville who fought and settled in Italy and Sicily in the 1030s-40s and Raymond, count of Toulouse in the late eleventh century who went to Spain. *GND*, ii, 156-9.

have married Estephania, daughter of Count Raymond III of Barcelona, but there is little extant evidence and current understanding is that when he left Spain and returned to Normandy he married one Godehildis.⁵⁶ It is certainly she who appears in the charters to Conches Abbey as Roger's wife and mother to his children.⁵⁷ In addition, van Houts has suggested that the recovery of Roger I's wife Godehildis from a serious illness after they visited the abbey of Sainte-Foy, Conques in south-western France and prayed to the saint led to his subsequent foundation of the abbey church of Sainte-Foi at his *caput* of Conches.⁵⁸

Ralph II died in c.1024, shortly after he and his son returned to Normandy. After his succession, Roger I began to try and re-establish himself and his family in the duchy. Roger I's fight with Humphrey de Viellies over estates that lay between their *capita* in 1035, became one amongst several baronial disputes that broke out during the ducal minority. In 1040 Roger I and his sons Helbert and Helinand, died because of this conflict. Searle regarded Roger as an isolated figure amongst the Norman aristocracy because of his French heritage, and his time in exile.⁵⁹ However, as Searle herself admits Roger's 'otherness' did not prevent himself and his father from being loyal and trusted supporters of Richard II. The principal known relationship that Roger I had with any of his peers was the conflict with Humphrey de Viellies, that he was not entirely isolated within the duchy, however is evident from the actions of his tenants and the support that his widow and children received after 1040, which will be addressed in the next chapter.⁶⁰

⁵⁶ Adhémar, 178-80; *Chronique de Saint-Pierre-le-Vif de Sens, dite de Clarius (Chronicon Sancti Petri Vivi Senonensis)* ed. R. Bautier & M. Gilles (Paris, 1979), 112-14; *OV*, ii, 68; Musset, 'Les Tosny', 52-3. Godehildis appears as Gotelina in Musset's article, however these are merely different spellings of the same name; R. Fletcher, *The Quest for El Cid* (London, 1989), 77-79; L. Villegas Aristizábal, 'Algunas Notas Sobre la Participación de Rogelio de Tosny en la Reconquista Ibérica', *Estudios Humanísticos*, iii (2004), 263-274, translated by the author as: 'Roger of Tosny's adventures in the County of Barcelona', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 52 (2008), 5-16.

⁵⁷ *Conches*: nos 268-9, 406-7, 409, 411.

⁵⁸ *The Normans in Europe*, ed. E. M. C. van Houts (Manchester, 2000), 216, 229. The abbey church of Sainte-Foi is known throughout as Conches Abbey.

⁵⁹ Searle, *Predatory Kinship*, 186.

⁶⁰ *GND*, ii, 96-7; *OV*, ii, 40; iii, 88.

Summary

Although this chapter covers only a few individual members of the Clare, Giffard and Tosny kin-groups, it does show the development of particular themes that will be addressed throughout Part 1, these include the importance of blood kinship, tenurial ties and alliances. The historiography on this period of Norman history is relatively slight, in comparison to the vast array for the post-1066 period, and this means that there are not as many interpretations of the evidence of the events covered in this chapter as for subsequent chapters.⁶¹ The primary source materials are also limited in number and in variety, with few of the chroniclers having begun their work in the tenth century and even later chronicles do not address that time in as much depth as those years closer to their own time.⁶² Fewer charters were produced, of those, a small proportion have survived, which further limits the information available as to the actions and intentions of those members of the three kin-groups.⁶³

Amongst the historiography, the arguments Searle used in her discussion of predatory kinship have been particularly interesting in this study, as the Clares, Giffards and Tosnys different origins influenced their circumstances and position prior to 1060 as members of the aristocracy. Within these case studies however, there is also evidence to support the re-evaluations of Searle's thesis that have been made in specific cases – most clearly in the case of Roger I de Tosny and the consequences of his death.⁶⁴ While Searle believed that the marriages that connected the Tosnys to the counts of Evreux, the lords of Breteuil and the de Montforts were due to the greed of neighbouring magnates, Wareham's argument that marriages were defensive alliances made between neighbours and focused against the Beaumonts seems a more accurate interpretation of the evidence.⁶⁵

⁶¹ Studies focussed on ducal Normandy include: C. J. Haskins, *Norman Institutions* (Cambridge & Harvard, 1918); Bates, *Normandy Before 1066*; Searle, *Predatory Kinship*

⁶² A discussion of the changes in a chronicle due to the different sources they have available (one text, several texts, eyewitnesses) can be found in, *JW*, iii, p. xix.

⁶³ See *RADN* for the early Norman charters.

⁶⁴ Searle, *Predatory Kinship*, 15-26, 129-30, 220, 222-3.

⁶⁵ Wareham, 'Two Models of Marriage', 123-4.

The emphasis on blood ties to the ducal kin-group is apparent in contemporary sources and later chronicles, particularly in the case of the Clare kin-group.⁶⁶ Despite their awareness of this bond the case of Count Gilbert de Brionne demonstrates that politics within the aristocracy and without could turn this advantage against the individual – as it was a combination of his competition with Ralph de Gacé over the guardianship of Duke William II and his aggressive efforts to reclaim his father's castle of Eu that led to his death. The subsequent removal of his young sons to Flanders also indicates that Count Gilbert had connections – most likely through marriage – with powerful political figures outside the duchy. In comparison the Giffards ties to the ducal kin-group receive more attention in the twelfth century than they did in the eleventh. Searle's argument that the deaths of Roger I de Tosny and Count Gilbert de Brionne were due to their lack of blood ties to Duchess Gunnor and her family is interesting, but appears more as an explanation for the survival of certain kin-groups – such as the Giffards- and the near collapse of previously prominent individuals or families as with Count Gilbert and the Tosnys respectively, than a deliberate contemporary policy.

It appears that the arguments of David Bates, focused more on tenurial and institutional concerns, can also find support in these three case studies, particularly when the issue of ducal favour is also taken into account.⁶⁷ The exile of the Tosnys in the early eleventh century and the redistribution of the castle and county of Eu to other members of the extended kin-group demonstrate the authority that Norman dukes could possess and exercise over their aristocracy. The minority of Duke William II disrupts this control and the competition over the guardianship of the young duke combined with the burgeoning rivalries and conflicts between aristocratic kin-groups led to the occurrence of unsuppressed violence. While the dukes could not prevent such outbreaks they were usually in a position to react to them, however during the minority of William II there was no one in a position to exert their authority over the duchy. The bonds

⁶⁶ *GND*, ii, 270-4.

⁶⁷ Bates, *Normandy Before 1066*, 107-8, 113-4.

of kinship examined in this section can therefore be seen to be useful in gaining properties, or in forging alliances against rivals. Too close a tie to the ducal kin-group, however, could also involve a kin-group in dynastic struggles, which could prevent, or at least hamper, their development. These events set up the circumstances from which each kin-group began to form the horizontal kin-based networks that are the focus of this section and which will be explored in detail in the next chapters.

Chapter 2:

Norman Aristocratic Kin-groups and the Conquest

The Clares

Richard and Baldwin fitz Gilbert I returned to Normandy in the entourage of Matilda of Flanders, but despite their kinship with Duke William II, neither received the greater part of their father's possessions and this led Jennifer Ward to declare that 'Before 1066, the family were of little importance among the Norman magnates...' ⁶⁸ This appears to be an overstatement of the situation they faced politically and socially in 1051. Each received estates formerly held by their father and renewed his relationship with the abbey of Le Bec, and appear in the witness lists of ducal charters.⁶⁹ Although they did not inherit their father's title of count or the castle of Brionne, which remained ducal possession, they were still members of William II's court and he acknowledged their kinship.⁷⁰

It is worth restating that their appearances in charters and chronicles are almost exclusively identified by patronymic rather than toponymics, reminding others of their father's identity and status despite their reduced circumstances.⁷¹ Duke William provided more than just land for his cousins; he was most probably involved in arranging their marriages. Richard fitz Gilbert I was married to Rohese, daughter of Walter Giffard I, one of Duke William's closest companions and a powerful magnate at court and in the Pays de Caux region.⁷² Baldwin fitz Gilbert I's marital situation is more complex for the historian; Orderic mentions Albreda 'a kinswoman of William

⁶⁸ Ward, 'Royal Service and Reward', 261.

⁶⁹ *CDF*, Richard: nos 71-2, 95; Baldwin: nos 95, 1167; *RADN*, Richard: nos 130, 179, 192; Baldwin: no. 192.

⁷⁰ *OV*, iv, 210.

⁷¹ See above fn. 30.

⁷² Rohese: *RRAN*, ii, no. 1015; *SbC*, no. 137; *Feudal Documents of Bury St Edmunds*, no. 170.

the Conqueror', but in the charters an 'Emma' appears.⁷³ The most persuasive solution is that Baldwin was married to a relation of the duke, and her name was Emma, but the later account in the chronicles recorded the wrong name. She may also be one of several women whose forename changed during their lifetime, particularly at the time of their marriage.⁷⁴ The possibility of Baldwin having two wives has led to uncertainty over the respective ages of his sons. Robert fitz Baldwin is identified by Orderic Vitalis as the second son despite his receipt of the Norman lands, which more often went to eldest sons after the Conquest.⁷⁵ Although Orderic Vitalis provides a great deal of the genealogical information for the Anglo-Norman aristocracy, his belief that Robert was the second son is not convincing. There is no reason for Baldwin to distribute his lands differently from his own elder brother, and there is enough evidence towards a pattern of inheritance amongst this group of magnates that Robert's succession to the Norman lands marks him as the eldest son.⁷⁶ Both Holt and Green accept Robert as the eldest son, followed by William and Richard respectively, and he will be regarded as such for this thesis.⁷⁷

These matches mark the first evidence of the Clares involvement in horizontal bonds, formed within their peer group. Richard's marriage to Rohese would have benefited the Clares as it reinforced their own connection to the duke and extended their links within the aristocracy.⁷⁸ Baldwin's marriage gave him a close tie to the ducal kin group, presumably on the maternal side

⁷³ CDF, no. 439; RADN, no. 231; L. Musset, *Les Actes de Guillaume le Conquérant et de la Reine Mathilde pour les Abbayes Caennais*, Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie, 37 (Caen, 1967), nos 2, 8, 11; OV, iv, 208; *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum: the Acta of William I (1066-1087)*, ed. D. Bates (Oxford, 1998), no. 61.

⁷⁴ There is the famous case of Henry I's first wife, Edith/Matilda – OV, iv, 272; WM, *Gesta*, ii, 470-1; Other discussions of this can be found in: Duby, *The Knight, The Lady and The Priest*, 44-5; Bouchard, *'Those of my Blood'*, 61, 120; eadem, *'Strong of Body, Brave and Noble'*, 74; Postles, *Naming the People of England*, 5.

⁷⁵ OV, ii, 208, iv, 210, n. 4. Orderic does not name William as the eldest son, but Richard appears to have been significantly younger and the debate revolves around Robert and William.

⁷⁶ Green, 'Family Matters', 147-164; R. Durand, 'Family Memory & the Durability of the Nomen Paternum', in *Personal Names Studies of Medieval Europe: Social Identity & Familial Structures*, ed. G. T. Beech, M. Bourin, & P. Chareille (Kalamazoo, 2002), 77-86.

⁷⁷ Holt, 'Politics and Property', 122-123; Green, *Aristocracy of Norman England*, 326; see The Clare Genealogy, ix-x.

⁷⁸ *Chartes de l'Abbaye de Jumièges*, nos xxxi-xxxii; GND, ii, 270.

rather than the paternal, while his own familial status would have improved the status of Emma's kin within the aristocracy.⁷⁹ The two marriages and the lands the brothers received demonstrated that Richard and Baldwin had a close connection to Duke William II. Two generations later Orderic, who knew the kin-group, believed that the relationship between the Clares and the duke was not merely acknowledged, but also valued by both parties.⁸⁰ Despite this D. C. Douglas put Richard and Baldwin fitz Gilbert I in the likely but not proven section of his list of those involved in the Conquest of England, as it is not until the 1140s that the Clares appear in accounts of the meeting of the Norman court that led to the Conquest.⁸¹

Post-1066 the duke-king could be more generous towards members of the aristocracy, and the improved status of the brothers was reflected in Baldwin's position as sheriff of Devon, custodian of the royal castle at Exeter from 1067 and a prominent landholder in the county, while Richard assisted the official regents in keeping order during the king's absences, most notably in 1075 and was one of the wealthiest secular landholders in the southeast.⁸² These helped to establish the Clares' status amongst their peers and with their children growing up, there were moves made to expand the horizontal network of affinity. The change in status and wealth for Richard and Baldwin between their return to Normandy and settling in England meant that they and Richard's children, in particular, were amongst the upper levels of the aristocracy in the post-Conquest court. The effects of this will be discussed in the next chapter where the relationships developed by Richard's children will be the focus.

⁷⁹ Bouchard, *'Strong of Body, Brave and Noble'*, 5.

⁸⁰ *OV*, iv, 210.

⁸¹ *OV*, ii, 140-2; D. C. Douglas, 'Companions of the Conqueror'; *History*, 28 (1943), 129-47; The identities of those who accompanied Duke William have been examined elsewhere, with little variation in those named: G. H. White, 'The Companions of the Conqueror at the Battle of Hastings', *Genealogists' Magazine*, 6 (1932), 50-4; idem, 'Companions of the Conqueror', *Genealogists' Magazine*, 9 (1946), 417-24; J. F. A. Mason, 'The Companions of the Conqueror: An Additional Name', *EHR*, 71 (1956), 61-69.

⁸² *WP*, 180; Bates, *Regesta*, nos 42-3; *Textus Roffensis*, ed. P. Sawyer, 2 vols, Early Manuscripts In Facsimile (Copenhagen, 1957-62), fo. 169v; *OV*, ii, 215; iii, 314-16. Their tenurial gains and the offices they held, will be discussed at length in Part III.

The Giffards

The principal line of the Giffards served Duke William II as military leaders and advisors throughout the 1040s and 50s.⁸³ In addition one of Osbern de Bolbec's younger sons, Godfrey, married an unnamed daughter of the vicomte of Arques after the Giffards had supported the duke against a rebellion by the Count of Arques. Godfrey's son William of Arques later succeeded to the office of vicomte, and his daughter Matilda married into the de Tancarville kin-group.⁸⁴

In 1066, Walter I with his son and heir Walter II and Robert Giffard, Walter I's probable younger brother, were amongst the duke's forces at the Battle of Hastings and they were rewarded for their support in England.⁸⁵ This caused relationships to shift within the Giffard kin-group and in the overlapping kin-based network of the Fleitel-Giffard-Gournay-Warenne lordships of the Pays de Caux.⁸⁶ While Walter I, his brother Godfrey and their heirs remained primarily focussed on their Norman properties, Walter I's sons Osbern II and Berengar, and his daughter Rohese I, were based in England.⁸⁷ Walter I had received new lands in England, however, as he died in 1084 it was his son Walter II who appeared in Domesday Book and therefore exactly what the elder Giffard had held can only be conjectured.⁸⁸ On the subject of the Conqueror's distribution of land in England after 1066, Orderic Vitalis noted

⁸³ Their military support for the duke will be discussed in Part III.

⁸⁴ *GND*, ii, 269-70.

⁸⁵ *WP*, 132-4; *GND*, ii, 166-172; E. M. C. van Houts, 'The *Brevis Relatio de Guillelmo nobilissimo comite Normannorum* written by a monk of Battle Abbey', ed. & trans., *History & Family Traditions in England & the Continent, 1000- 1200* (Aldershot, 1999; reprinted from *Camden Miscellany*, 5th ser. 10, 1997), 1-48, ch. 7, 27-4; *The Chronicle of John of Worcester*, ed. P. McGurk, 3 vols (Oxford, 1998), ii, 598-606; Douglas, 'Companions of the Conqueror', 129-47.

⁸⁶ Bates, *Regesta*, no. 176.

⁸⁷ Osbern II: Berkshire, Dorset, Gloucestershire, Oxfordshire, Somerset and Wiltshire: *DB*, i, fos 62, 72v, 82v, 98, 160, 164v, 168v; Berengar: Dorset and Wiltshire *DB*, i, fos 72v, 82v; Walter II appeared in Berkshire, Oxfordshire, Somerset and Wiltshire close to his kinsmen: *DB*, i, fos 56-56v, 59-60, 71v, 95, 154, 157v.

⁸⁸ In total Walter Giffard II held lands in eleven counties, Hampshire, Berkshire, Wiltshire, Somerset, Buckinghamshire, Oxfordshire, Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, Bedfordshire, and Norfolk and Suffolk: *DB*, i, fos 50; 56-57, 59, 60; 71v; 95; 147-48; 154, 157v; 196; 205v; 211-211v; *DB*, ii, fos 112, 114-15, 240-43, 276; 430.

that 'To Walter called Giffard he gave the county of Buckingham'.⁸⁹ There is a degree of uncertainty if the Conqueror or his heir William Rufus, actually made this grant as Orderic's chronicle was not written until the twelfth century. However, whether it was Walter Giffard I or II who became the first earl, the grant was a clear indication of the high regard the kin-group was held in by the first two Norman kings of England.

The most important relationships that developed in the new Anglo-Norman realm for the Giffards were the marriages of Walter I's children, in particular that between Walter's daughter Rohese and Richard fitz Gilbert I. Their marriage took place after Richard's return to the duchy in 1052 and by 1066 by which time they had more than one child, but her husband's improved status after the Conquest increased the significance of this marriage for the Giffards.⁹⁰ The close association between William the Conqueror, Walter Giffard I and Richard fitz Gilbert I meant that the match was endogamous in social and political terms, while widening the Giffards' connections beyond their local region.

For contemporaries, Rohese's identity as the wife and later widow of Richard fitz Gilbert I and mother of the Clares, was of more importance than her position as Walter Giffard I's daughter.⁹¹ Whereas, historians have identified Rohese as a member of her birth kin-group and have given her the name 'Rohese Giffard', despite this name or manner of identification never being used in contemporary sources.⁹² This later re-naming of Rohese Giffard has detached her from the principal kin-based network in which she lived, that of the Clares, and detracts from her central position within the network. Her new wealth allowed Rohese to act as a benefactor to her younger brother Gerard as well as to religious houses. The priories of Clare and St Neots were re-founded by Rohese and her husband, and when Clare Priory moved

⁸⁹ *DB*, i, fos 147-48; *OV*, ii, 264.

⁹⁰ *OV*, iv, 212.

⁹¹ *DB*, i, fos 142v, 207.

⁹² Round, 'The Family of Clare', 221-231; idem, 'Walter Tirel and His Wife', 468-479; Altschul, *A Baronial Family in Medieval England*, 18-20; Ward, 'Royal Service and Reward', 261-278.

to Stoke-by-Clare, Rohese's younger brother Gerard Giffard became the first prior of the house.⁹³

Walter II did not marry until after the Conquest. His marriage to Agnes, daughter of the lord of Ribemont gave him a connection beyond the duchy, one with lands closer to Flanders than to Normandy.⁹⁴ Exogamous marriages were rare within the Giffard kin-group; in the principal line Walter II's marriage is the only known example.⁹⁵ This match, like the marriages of Gilbert fitz Richard I to Adeliza, daughter of Hugh, count of Clermont and Walter Tirel to Adeliza, daughter of Richard fitz Gilbert I, created ties between members of the Anglo-Norman aristocracy and magnates beyond the borders of the duchy. It is likely that the relationship also reflected the continental focus of both Walter I and Walter II, as the former would have been involved in arranging the match. This marriage may also have been an early sign of the interest in exogamous marriages that became more numerous in the 1080s and 90s as both the Anglo-Norman aristocracy and the king-dukes began to expand their horizons on both sides of the Channel.⁹⁶

Another Giffard took part in the Battle of Hastings, but his position in the genealogy is unclear, as is his name. The *Carmen de Hastingae Proelio*, identified the knight who mutilated Harold while he was dying, as 'Giffard fourth of that name'.⁹⁷ More recently, Kari Ellen Gade and Elisabeth van Houts, have separately constructed arguments for this knight being Robert Giffard, and attempted to trace his further career.⁹⁸ Robert Giffard's kinship with Walter I was most likely behind his career at the royal-ducal court after

⁹³ *SbC*, nos 70, 137; *EEA*, 18: *Salisbury, 1078-1217*, ed. B. R. Kemp (Oxford 1999), no. 120.

⁹⁴ *OV*, vi, 36-38.

⁹⁵ *OV*, vi, 36-38; *RT*, 55. However, this is due to the lack of information about Walter III's wife.

⁹⁶ See Chapter 3 below.

⁹⁷ *Carmen de Hastingae Proelio of Guy of Aimeins*, ed. F. Barlow (Oxford, 1999), li.534-536.

⁹⁸ E. M. C. van Houts, 'Latin poetry and the Anglo-Norman court 1066-1135: The *Carmen de Hastingae Proelio*', in *History & Family Traditions in England & the Continent, 1000-1200* (Aldershot, 1999, reprinted from *Journal of Medieval History*, 15, 1989), 39-62, 55; K. E. Gade, 'Morkinskinna's Giffardspátr: Literary fiction or historical fact?' *Gripla*, 11 (2000), 181-198, 189-91.

1066, where he became a noteworthy member of Curthose's court.⁹⁹ However, no direct interaction between Robert Giffard and the principal line of the kin-group can be identified.

The Tosnys

The experience of the Tosny kin-group after the death of Roger I has been interpreted in two contrasting ways. Searle believed that the aristocratic group based on kinship to Duchess Gunnor, wife of Richard I of Normandy, which secured the guardianship of the boy-duke after 1040, arranged marriages to disperse the Tosny estates amongst established neighbouring baronies.¹⁰⁰ Wareham suggested that the endogamous marriages were a mutually defensive move on the part of the Tosnys and their neighbours to protect their holdings.¹⁰¹ The idea that the marriages formed a mutually defensive network is convincing, as the evidence of the second half of the eleventh century shows that the families with whom the Tosnys established bonds were also antagonistic to the Beaumonts.¹⁰² After the Tosnys losses in 1040, their neighbours would have wanted to ensure that their mutual competitor did not claim the Tosnys' lands and wealth.

Roger I's widow, Godehildis I, married Richard, count of Évreux, shortly after her first husband's death, and a marriage was also arranged between her daughter, Adeliza, and William fitz Osbern, lord of Breteuil, during the 1040s.¹⁰³ These marriages would have required the approval of the duke, but as William II was still a minor, and Richard, count of Évreux was his cousin and William fitz Osbern one of his closest companions, this may have been nominal. A final marriage between Simon I de Montfort and Agnes,

⁹⁹ *OV*, iv, 16, 338; W. Aird, *Robert Curthose, Duke of Normandy* (Woodbridge, 2008), 121-2.

¹⁰⁰ Searle, *Predatory Kinship*, 186.

¹⁰¹ Wareham, 'Two Models of Marriage', 116.

¹⁰² *GND*, ii, 96-8; *OV*, iii, 126-30.

¹⁰³ A recent study on the marriage and patronage of Adeliza, daughter of Roger I de Tosny is: P. Bauduin, 'Autour de la dos d'Adelise de Tosny: mariage et contrôle du territoire en Normandie (XI-XII siècles)', in *Les Pouvoirs Locaux dans la France du centre et de l'Ouest, VIIIe-XIe siècles: implantation et moyens d'action*, ed. D. Barthélemy & O. Bruand (Rennes, 2004), 157-73.

daughter of Godehildis I and her second husband, Richard, count of Évreux completed a network of relationships that linked the four kin-groups into one extended kin-group.¹⁰⁴ The localised network formed by these marriages was expanded in the next decade when Ralph III married Isabel, Simon I's daughter, from his first marriage. The complexity of the bonds linking these kin-groups together meant that in some cases half-siblings also became affines. These connections, as well as their adversarial relationships with the Beaumonts, guided the actions of the Tosnys during the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

This support network proved its worth when Ralph III de Tosny, Hugh de Grandmesnil and Ernald d'Echauffour were banished by Duke William on suspicion of plotting rebellion in 1060.¹⁰⁵ In 1063 Ralph and his companions were recalled and restored to their lands by the duke '...on the intercession of Simon of Montfort, Waleran of Breteuil in Beauvois, and many other important friends and neighbours...'.¹⁰⁶ By 1066 Ralph III had regained his status in Normandy and, along with other members of the Breteuil-Évreux-Montfort-Tosny kindred he was involved in planning the invasion of England and was also present at the Battle of Hastings. While Ralph III, and William fitz Osbern took part in the events of 1066 themselves, Richard, count of Évreux was represented by his son William.¹⁰⁷ After the Conquest, the Tosnys and members of the extended kin-group began to develop new ties on both sides of the Channel, some of which involved them in new disputes. In 1075, Ralph III de Tosny did not join his nephew Roger of Hereford or his niece Emma and her husband, Ralph II de Gael in their rebellion against William the Conqueror.¹⁰⁸ In the aftermath, however, Ralph III received the manor of Flamstead and the castle of Clifford, which had been taken by

¹⁰⁴ The earliest possible date for Agnes' birth is 1041/2, allowing enough time for Godehildis and Richard to marry and for Agnes to be born, so if the marriage took place as soon as she was old enough, it would have been c.1053-55.

¹⁰⁵ *OV*, ii, 90. Echauffour is approximately thirty miles southwest of Conches and close to the town of Gacé, as is the abbey of Saint-Evroult founded by Hugh and Robert de Grandmesnil, while their main territories extended from Gacé towards the town of Falaise.

¹⁰⁶ *OV*, ii, 104-6

¹⁰⁷ *WP*, 132-4; *OV*, ii, 174.

¹⁰⁸ *GND*, ii, 24-26; *OV*, ii, 310-22.

William the Conqueror from Roger of Hereford.¹⁰⁹ The partial distribution of seized lands to recognised kinsfolk who had neither been involved in a rebellion nor suspected of treasonous behaviour, occurs several times in the Anglo-Norman period and appears to have been accepted as a conciliatory gesture to insure the continued loyalty of the kin-group.¹¹⁰

By 1086, Ralph III held property in seven counties as tenant-in-chief but the charter evidence indicates that he spent relatively little time in England and focussed on his Norman patrimony instead.¹¹¹ It was the younger of Roger I's sons Robert who gained the most in England, to the extent that his descendants adopted the toponymic of Stafford.¹¹² The brothers' interests therefore followed divergent routes and other than grants relating to the Abbey of Conches there is no surviving evidence that Ralph III and Robert I worked together.¹¹³ The new Stafford lordship may be behind Robert I's alleged marriage to a daughter of Richard fitz Gilbert I. Although not neighbours, their interests were compatible and the marriage is not outwith the bounds of possibility. However, no direct evidence of the match exists, and the lack of acknowledgement on the Clares' side makes it less probable, particularly as the identification did not appear until the sixteenth century in a poetical history of Stone priory and the Stafford kin-group.¹¹⁴

¹⁰⁹ *DB*, i, Flamstead: fo. 138; Clifford: fo. 183.

¹¹⁰ Sharpe, 'William II and the Rebels', 148-57.

¹¹¹ He appears in three surviving royal charters relating to England. One definitely issued in England, and two of unknown origin. Bates, *Regesta*, nos 255 (Winchester). In comparison, he appeared in far more grants issued in Normandy: Bates, *Regesta*, nos 50, 59, 61 (Caen), 164 (Jumièges), 26, 231 (Rouen); *Conches*: nos 245, 268-69, 406, were variously issued at Caen, Conches, Jumièges, Lisieux, Vandreuil, Rouen.

¹¹² He appears as 'Robertus de Stadford' in the landholder lists at the beginning of seven counties: Berkshire, Oxfordshire, Worcestershire, Northamptonshire, Warwickshire, Staffordshire, Lincolnshire. Robert of Stafford: *DB*, i, fos 62, 158, 176v, 225, 246, 248v-249v, 368v, 376v-377v; *DB*, ii, fo. 445.

¹¹³ Several grants to the abbey include multiple family members appearing together: *Conches*: nos 158-59 – Robert of Stafford, his son Nicholas I, Robert II of Stafford, Melisende and Hervey Bagot I; 406-07 – Roger I, his father Ralph II, Godehildis, Ralph III, Robert of Stafford, his father Roger I, and son Nicholas I of Stafford; 409 – Roger III, his father Ralph III, his son Ralph IV, Godehildis, Robert of Stafford; 411 – Roger III, his father Ralph III, his son Ralph IV, Godehildis, Roger I, Robert of Stafford, Ralph V, Margaret, da of Robert of Leicester, Roger IV.

¹¹⁴ *Monasticon*, vi.i, no. 2, 230-1.

Two of Roger I's daughters were married outside the duchy. Bertha married Guy de Laval before Roger I's death, while Godehildis II was married to Baldwin de Boulogne sometime after 1040.¹¹⁵ Wareham has convincingly argued that Bertha received a smaller dowry than her sister Adeliza consisting of lands relatively distant from the Tosnys' *caput* of Conches because her marriage was exogamous and less valuable to the Tosnys.¹¹⁶ Bertha's marriage provided an external ally and a possible refuge if the internal kin-based network failed in its purpose.¹¹⁷ Godehildis II's marriage to Baldwin de Boulogne was an attempt by both sides to extend their regions of influence and to create connections at new courts.¹¹⁸ After 1066, the Tosnys were prominent members of the Norman aristocracy and Baldwin's marriage to Godehildis was probably an attempt to integrate himself, as a younger son, into the duchy.¹¹⁹ According to William of Tyre, Godehildis II accompanied her husband on the First Crusade, until her death at Marasch in 1097.¹²⁰ After Godehildis' death there is no evidence of any further connection between the two kin-groups.

Robert of Tosny and his son, Berengar, were also tenants-in-chief in Domesday Book, holding lands in fourteen counties between them.¹²¹ The relationship between them is detailed in Domesday Book, as Berengar is listed as a tenant-in-chief, but held the majority of his lands from his father.¹²² Robert of Tosny and his descendants adopted and regularly used

¹¹⁵ *OV*, iv, 218.

¹¹⁶ Wareham, 'Two Models of Marriage', 107-132.

¹¹⁷ R. E. Barton, *Lordship in the County of Maine, c.890-1160* (Woodbridge, 2004), 117, 148, 212-18.

¹¹⁸ *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, ed. Rosalind Hill (London, 1962), 85; William, Archbishop of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, trans. & ed. E. Atwater Babcock & A.C. Krey (Cambridge, 1976-1988), i, 487-8; *OV*, iii, 126; *JW*, iii, 98.

¹¹⁹ C. Tyreman, *God's War* (London, 2006), 202.

¹²⁰ William of Tyre, *History*, i, 177-179, 416.

¹²¹ They held lands in: Hertfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Oxfordshire, Gloucestershire, Cambridgeshire, Bedfordshire, Northamptonshire, Leicestershire, Nottingham, Rutland, Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, Essex and Suffolk. *DB*, i, Robert of Tosny: fos 138, 149, 168, 198v, 215, 219, 225, 230v, 233v, 234, 236v, 314, 352v- 353v, 376v; *DB*, ii, 90v, 429, 429v; Berengar of Tosny: fos 159, 291v, 298, 314-315, 353v.

¹²² *DB*, ii, fos 159, 314.

the toponymic of Belvoir, clearly indicating that the direction of their interests had shifted to the new properties in England.¹²³ The earlier toponymic of Tosny occasionally reappears amongst later descendants, maintaining an association with their origins.¹²⁴ The precise nature of the relationship between the Tosnys of Conches, the Staffords and the Tosnys of Belvoir is unclear and they are generally called 'cousins'.¹²⁵ Musset believed that the name Berengar showed that the Tosnys of Belvoir were descended from Roger I, and Estephania daughter of Ramon Berengar, count of Barcelona while Ralph III and Robert of Stafford were from Roger I's marriage to Godehildis.¹²⁶ The lack of interaction between the two branches of the kin-group does not lend itself to the idea that they were related through Roger I, particularly as the Tosnys of Belvoir gave no gifts to his foundation of Conches. It seems probable that the connection was more distant; they could be descended from the unnamed children of Archbishop Hugh or from another unknown individual from the generations prior to the Conquest. This would explain why they used the same toponymic, but did not interact with the principal line of the Tosnys, or appear to have any connection to the kin-group's principal lands at Conches.

Summary

The Clare, Giffard and Tosny kin-groups were all actively involved in Duke William II's rule in Normandy, providing counsel, military support and participating in the invasion of England.¹²⁷ Their increased activity at court, newly established ties to other members of the aristocracy, in addition to the growing numbers of surviving chronicle and charter sources makes it possible

¹²³ *Early Yorkshire Charters*, i-iii, ed. W. Farrer (Edinburgh, 1914-16), i, Ralph and Robert de Belvoir: no 359.

¹²⁴ *The Manuscripts of his Grace the Duke of Rutland, preserved at Belvoir Castle*, ed. J. H. Round, 4 vols, Historical Manuscripts Commission (London, 1888-1905), iv, Robert of Tosny II: nos 100, 108; William de Tosny: no. 108. See also *The Tosnys of Belvoir Genealogy*, xvii.

¹²⁵ Loyd, *Origins of Some Anglo-Norman Families*, 104; Sanders, *English Baronies*, 117 fn. 11; Musset, 'Les Tosny', 59.

¹²⁶ Musset, 'Les Tosny', 52-53.

¹²⁷ White, 'The Companions of the Conqueror at the Battle of Hastings', 50-4; Douglas, 'Companions of the Conqueror', 129-47; White, 'Companions of the Conqueror', 417-24; Douglas, 'The Earliest Norman Counts', *EHR*, 61 (1946), 129-156; Mason, 'An Additional Name', 61-69; Potts, 'The Earliest Norman Counts Revisited', 23-35.

to identify the kin-based networks that shaped and were shaped by their social and political concerns.¹²⁸ This chapter introduces the issue of endogamous and exogamous marriages, which is a relatively new tool in the study of marriage, and one that has been particularly relevant to this thesis.¹²⁹ Nevertheless the standard meaning of endogamous was too limited to explain the reasons behind or impact of a particular bond. Therefore, the terms politically endogamous or politically exogamous have also been used to clarify further the purpose and consequences of a relationship.

According to Searle the period in this chapter is the result of the predatory kinship practised by the Norman aristocracy; a useful parallel to this is Bates' study of the development of the duchy socially and politically.¹³⁰ Examining the circumstances of the duchy prior to 1066 provides a political framework, around which social network analysis can deepen understanding of the events and personalities involved.¹³¹ The historiography for this period focuses on specific studies of kin-groups or regions, many of which provide useful insights into the exemplar kin-groups as well as providing parallels for comparison.¹³²

Amongst the Clares, Giffards and Tosnys there are significant changes as they concentrated on expanding and reinforcing their connections amongst the aristocracy, through endogamous marriages. This development may have been more gradual than it appears through the surviving evidence, but despite this cautionary note, the Clares and Giffards apparently developed their ties to the ducal line and also turned towards other aristocratic kin-groups – including each other. At the same time the Tosnys focused on establishing themselves within the duchy - with endogamous marriages between the Tosnys, the counts of Evreux, the lords of Breteuil and the de Montforts secured them within the Norman aristocracy and their lands. The

¹²⁸ See Introduction, fns 1 & 75.

¹²⁹ Wareham, 'Two Models of Marriage', 131-2.

¹³⁰ Bates, *Normandy Before 1066*, 46-56; Searle, *Predatory Kinship*, 8-11.

¹³¹ Mizurichi, 330.

¹³² See Introduction, fns 5, 7, 25 & 97.

network on interconnections between these kin-groups was a significant factor in influencing their actions on both sides of the Channel.

The external threats to Normandy, as well as the residual internal unrest that marked the 1050s, gave the Norman aristocracy more reason to concentrate on strengthening their internal bonds. The lack of exogamous marriages amongst the three kin-groups during this period suggests that either the aristocracy itself or Duke William did not want to risk links with their enemies in Anjou and the Île de France. The Clares were focused on re-building their territory and status after the events of 1040, and concentrated their attention on the ducal court and household, as demonstrated by both Richard and Baldwin's marriages linking them to William II and his closest advisors. Meanwhile the Giffards developed a network of endogamous ties amongst the aristocracy of the Pays de Caux, and as with the Tosnys, this appears to have been for defensive purposes. The marriage between Richard fitz Gilbert I and Rohese I connected the Giffards with a relatively near neighbour who could provide support and, probably more significantly, with the ducal kin-group through blood as they were already linked through the Duchess Gunnor. It is notable that the exogamous marriage of Walter Giffard II to Agnes, sister of Anselm de Ribemont, although discussed in this chapter, did not occur until the 1070s when both the Giffards and their overlord were more securely situated.

These networks that developed amongst the aristocracy were created for multiple reasons, including political alliances and a desire to improve their status within the duchy. In Normandy, kin-based ties provided the Clares, Giffards and Tosnys with support networks that benefited them as individuals, as kin-groups, and provided William II with a loyal and closely bound aristocracy. The internal ties created through loyalty to the duke, and endogamous marriages meant that by 1066 the Clares, Giffards and Tosnys were part of a wide-ranging aristocratic network in Normandy. The expansion into England altered the nature of the bonds connecting these networks, as the Tosnys' kinsmen discovered in 1075, and altered the balance of power between the Clares and the Giffards.

Chapter 3:

The Growth of Aristocratic Cross-Channel Kin-groups

The Clares

Before the deaths of Richard and Baldwin fitz Gilbert I, their children are difficult to trace in the surviving sources, although certain of their sons are identifiable as members of religious houses: Richard fitz Richard and Baldwin's illegitimate son Guiger who entered the abbey of Le Bec as children; and Godfrey fitz Richard who died in the care of the monks at St Neots c.1090.¹³³ However, in the secular world, Roger fitz Richard first appears in the historical record only when he supported Robert Curthose against the Conqueror and accompanied the former into exile in 1077-8.¹³⁴

When Richard fitz Gilbert I retired to St Neot's Priory in c.1088, his lands were divided between his two eldest sons, just as the Conqueror's territories had been the previous year. Roger fitz Richard I, as the elder, inherited the castles of Beinfaité and Orbec on the river Risle in central Normandy, while his brother Gilbert fitz Richard I inherited the principal holdings in England including the castles of Clare in Suffolk and Tonbridge in Kent.¹³⁵ Both appear most often with the patronymic 'fitz Richard' like the rest of their siblings, but both also occur with toponymics: Roger 'de Beinfaité', and Gilbert 'of Tonbridge'.¹³⁶ In the first years after they inherited, the brothers were named together in the witness lists of royal charters, indicating that they were at court at the same time, or associated together in the minds of court scribes.¹³⁷ Outside of the royal court, the brothers also worked

¹³³ *Letters of Anselm*, i, nos 94, 96; *GND*, ii, 250, 270; *OV*, v, 208-10; *Liber Eliensis*, ed. E. O. Blake, Camden Society, 3rd ser., 92, 225-6; *Liber Eliensis: A History of the Isle of Ely*, trans. J. Fairweather (Woodbridge, 2005), 271-2; *SbC*, no. 137. For further details on their careers and the religious houses they were associated with, see Part II.

¹³⁴ *OV*, iii, 100.

¹³⁵ *The Historical Works of Master Ralph de Diceto*, ed. W. Stubbs, 2 vols, RS 68 (London, 1876), i, 214; *RT*, 48; *JW*, iii, 50.

¹³⁶ Roger: *Annales Ordinis Sancti Benedicti* vol. 5, ed. J. Mabillon (Paris, 1745), 245; Gilbert: *RRAN*, i, nos. 290, 301, 319-20, 450; ii, 544, 548, 552, 577, 626, 636, 677; *OV*, iv, 280; *Textus Roffensis*, 209v, 213r, 220r.

¹³⁷ Roger and Gilbert: *RRAN*, ii, nos 544, 548, 552, 577, 875, 941, 1015, 1015(a).

together, in 1088 Gilbert fortified Tonbridge castle with his brother's support as they found themselves involved in the complexities of divided loyalties created by the rivalry between the Conqueror's sons.¹³⁸

Gilbert fitz Richard I's marriage to Adeliza, daughter of Hugh, count of Clermont, expanded the Clares' kinship bonds beyond the borders of Normandy and should have given Gilbert a connection to a French aristocratic kin-group.¹³⁹ Gilbert himself, however, seems to have had little or no interest in expanding his possessions on to the continent, focusing his energies in South Wales.¹⁴⁰ When Gilbert fitz Richard I died, his widow Adeliza de Clermont married Bouchard IV de Montmorency, and they had a son Hervey. Although this marriage re-connected Adeliza to the French royal court, she continued to appear regularly with the children of her first marriage in the Anglo-Norman territories.¹⁴¹ Adeliza's ongoing association with the Clare properties was probably due to Bouchard IV's death in 1132, and her continued closeness to her children. Hervey's connection with the Clares will be expanded on in the appropriate chronological sections.

Another marriage that had certainly occurred prior to 1086 was the marriage of Richard fitz Gilbert's daughter Adeliza to Walter Tirel, lord of Poix, as Walter was recorded as holding his wife's dower in the Domesday inquest.¹⁴² This match also connected the Clares with territories outside the Anglo-Norman realm.¹⁴³ Despite his geographical possessions being in northern

¹³⁸ *OV*, iv, 236; v, 208-18.

¹³⁹ *OV*, v, 288-294; Suger, *The Deeds of Louis the Fat*, trans. R. Cusimano & J. Moorhead (Washington, 1992), 31-4.

¹⁴⁰ *Brut y Tywysogyon or the Chronicle of the Princes, Peniarth, MS 20 Version*, ed. & trans. T. Jones (Cardiff, 1952), 37; *Brut y Tywysogyon or the Chronicle of the Princes, Red Book of Hergest Version*, ed. & trans. T. Jones (Cardiff, 1955), 70, 78, 90-2, 100.

¹⁴¹ *SbC*, nos 32, 71, 137; *Chartulary of the Priory of St. Pancras of Lewes*, ed. L. F. Salzman, Sussex Record Society, 2 vols, 38 & 40 (1933-5), i, no. 50. In a charter issued by Adeliza de Clermont, her sons Gilbert, Walter, Baldwin, and Hervey appear as brothers, alongside their sister Rohese. *Monasticon*, i, 601, no. x.

¹⁴² *DB*, ii, fo. 41.

¹⁴³ *PR* 31 HI, 110; *OV*, v, 288-294; *Deeds of Louis the Fat*, 31-4. The reasons for this interest in exogamous marriages in the 1080s will be discussed below, *Facsimiles of Early Charters from Northamptonshire Collections*, ed. F. M. Stenton, Northamptonshire Record Society, iv (London, 1930), no. xviii.

France, Walter Tirel's involvement in the English court and his friendship with William Rufus meant that while this marriage was geographically exogamous it did have socio-political endogamous elements.¹⁴⁴ William Rufus presumably saw the marriage as a way of rewarding his friend and binding him more closely to the Anglo-Norman realm. The Clares gained a connection to someone in the king's favour, and Walter Tirel a relationship to wealthy and powerful magnates on both sides of the Channel.¹⁴⁵ The marriage of Richard fitz Gilbert I's daughter Rohese II to Eudo *dapifer*, was similarly due to Eudo's position of steward in the royal household of William the Conqueror and his sons.¹⁴⁶ Eudo was also a major landholder in East Anglia, where Richard fitz Gilbert I also held a many estates. The benefit for Eudo *dapifer*, was the Clares' close association with their overlords and their social status as part of the aristocracy. Eudo and Rohese II's daughter, Margaret married William de Mandeville, custodian of the Tower of London and this marriage formed the basis of a network of relationships that influenced the actions of these members of the aristocracy into the second half of the twelfth century.¹⁴⁷

Robert and Walter, the younger sons of Richard fitz Gilbert I were largely dependent on royal favour throughout their careers. Robert fitz Richard became a royal steward and received the lordship of Dunmow; while Walter was granted the lordship of Striguil on the Welsh Marches, one of several Clares to be involved in the Norman advance into South Wales.¹⁴⁸ Although they mostly appear in the sources separately, they do occasionally appear together in royal charters and in a general confirmation charter for Stoke-by-Clare Priory.¹⁴⁹ Their appearance in the latter indicates that they maintained

¹⁴⁴ Green, *Aristocracy of Norman England*, 280.

¹⁴⁵ Round, 'Walter Tirel and his wife', 468–79.

¹⁴⁶ He witnesses thirty-eight surviving charters for William the Conqueror; thirty-five for William Rufus and seventy-four for Henry I. Eudo also acted as an advisor and counsellor on matters relating to the church. *Letters of Anselm*, ii, no. 163; Newman, *Anglo-Norman Nobility*, 106.

¹⁴⁷ *OV*, iv, 170–4; v, 310–12. Geoffrey de Mandeville II: *Cartulary of the Knights of St John of Jerusalem in England, Secunda Camera: Essex*, ed. M. Gervers, Records of Social & Economic History, ns, 6 (Oxford, 1982), no. 220; *EEA*, 31: *Ely*: no. 34; *Cartulary of Launceston Priory*, ed. P. L. Hull, Devon & Cornwall Record Society, ns, 30 (1987), no. 5; *RRAN*, iii, nos 275–6, 308. See also The Mandeville & de Vere Genealogy, xviii.

¹⁴⁸ His property was also close to the lands in East Dyfed that his cousin Richard fitz Baldwin had surrendered to Henry I in 1104.

¹⁴⁹ *RRAN*, ii, nos 1015, 1283; *RRAN*, iii, no.387; *SbC*, no. 137.

a relationship with their brother Gilbert.¹⁵⁰ In addition, Robert fitz Richard agreed to support his brother's grant of certain privileges to the monks at Stoke-By-Clare '...for love of Prior Gerard Giffard his kinsman...' indicating a close bond between these members of the extended Clare-Giffard kin-group.¹⁵¹ A grant to a religious house where the head of the house was a kinsman was not unusual; however, it was less common when the relationship was outwith the nuclear family.¹⁵²

Through their service at Henry I's court, both Walter and Robert received both lands and wives, allowing them to establish their independence from the principal line of the Clare kin-group. Robert fitz Richard married Matilda, a daughter of Simon I de Senlis, earl of Huntingdon.¹⁵³ Their descendants who adopted the patronymic FitzWalter in the later twelfth century developed their own networks to the north of their kinsfolk's territories and gave them connections even further north.¹⁵⁴ The marriage between Walter fitz Richard and Ralph IV de Tosny's daughter Isabel, began a series of endogamous marriages around the Clare lordships of Striguil, Ceredigion and Pembroke.¹⁵⁵ This marriage was probably arranged around the time that Walter received the lordship of Striguil from Henry I, adjacent to the Tosny castle and lands at Clifford.¹⁵⁶ It provided additional security for Walter as a new Marcher lord, and for Ralph IV de Tosny, whose focus was still more Norman than Anglo-Norman, it removed a potential threat to one of his more distant properties.

During the reign of William Rufus, Gilbert fitz Richard I and Roger fitz Richard, were involved in rebellions against the king which hindered their

¹⁵⁰ *SbC*, no. 137: ...*pro anima sua et omnium antecessorum suorum...*

¹⁵¹ *ibid*: ...*pro amore Girardi Giphardi prioris cognati sui...*

¹⁵² Althoff, *Family, Friends and Followers*, 84; Bouchard, 'Those of my Blood', 171.

¹⁵³ *GND*, ii, 270-1.

¹⁵⁴ *SbC*, no. 183; *Rotuli de Dominabus*, 1, 63; *Widows, Heirs and Heiresses*, nos 2, 161.

¹⁵⁵ *GND*, ii, 270-1.

¹⁵⁶ *DB*, i, fo. 183.

advancement both politically and socially.¹⁵⁷ The supposed plot, which led to the king's death in the New Forest, has been convincingly dismissed several times over.¹⁵⁸ That historians could believe that such a plot could have been the work of an extended kin-group, including at least three individual lords is of more interest than the accusations themselves. The account of the *Liber Eliensis* indicates that contemporaries were aware of the close-knit kindred formed by the Giffards and the Clares. The Clares appear under the group patronymic 'Ricardi', which is more accurate than the toponymic 'Clares' at this point, but unfortunately, too variable to be truly viable when discussing multiple generations of the kin-group:

*Ricardi enim et Gifardi, duo scilicet ex propinquo venientes familie, virtutis fama et generis copia illustres effecerant natales suos et quocumque nobiliam conventus se ageret, illorum pompa terribili multitudine ferebatur nec iam tutum erat in eorum presentia quemlibet de magnatibus aut in hospitibus accipiendis aut in causis tractandis eis resistere, quorum manibus crebre cedes fiebant in curia regiamque maiestatem frequenti terrore concusserant.*¹⁵⁹

The political benefits of their alliance and the support they offered each other are indicated in this description of the behaviour of the two kin-groups at Henry I's court. Members of the aristocracy managing to bully the king is not a common view of the royal court of Henry I, and this account provides an interesting insight into the early years of his reign and on the amount of power that the Clares and the Giffards had managed to gain within court circles by the beginning of the twelfth century.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁷ OV, iii, 356-358.

¹⁵⁸ OV, v, 288-90; *Deeds of Louis the Fat*, 28; F. Barlow, *William Rufus* (London, 1983), 420-29, especially, 425-6; C. W. Hollister, 'The Strange Death of William Rufus', in *Monarchy, Magnates & Institutions in the Anglo-Norman World* (London, 1986), reprint from *Speculum* 48 (1973), 59-75; Green, *Aristocracy of Norman England*, 280.

¹⁵⁹ *Liber Eliensis*, 226-7; Fairweather, *Ely*, 272-3.

¹⁶⁰ WM, *Gesta*, i, 742-4; Hollister, 'Henry I and the Anglo-Norman Magnates', in *Monarchy, Magnates & Institutions in the Anglo-Norman World* (reprint, London, 1986), 171-89; Green, *The Government of England Under Henry I* (Cambridge, 1986), 14; eadem, 'King Henry I and the Aristocracy of Normandy', in *La "France Anglaise" au Moyen Âge* (Actes du 111 Congrès

After 1100, the descendants of Richard fitz Gilbert I continued to form bonds between themselves and other members of the aristocracy. When Gilbert fitz Richard I died in 1117 after a long illness, he was succeeded by Richard fitz Gilbert II, his eldest son.¹⁶¹ Richard fitz Gilbert II maintained the family's East Anglian base, but also continued his father's efforts to establish himself in Wales.¹⁶² The most significant step he made was his marriage to Alice, daughter of Ranulf I Meschin, earl of Chester. Not only did this tie the Clares to the most powerful Marcher lord, it also strengthened the Clares' position in the Marches and South Wales.¹⁶³ Richard fitz Gilbert II died in 1136 during a conflict between the native population and the Anglo-Norman incomers, and in the immediate aftermath of his death, the Clares' possessions in the region were lost.¹⁶⁴

Gilbert fitz Richard I's second son, Gilbert fitz Gilbert inherited Bienfaite and Orbec from his uncle Roger fitz Richard in 1131 and then in c.1135 the lands of a second paternal uncle, Walter fitz Richard.¹⁶⁵ In both cases the lands returned to the crown before being granted to Gilbert fitz Gilbert as a sign of royal favour, further justified by his blood relationship with the previous incumbents. The last of Gilbert fitz Richard I's sons, was Baldwin fitz Gilbert B, presumably named for his paternal great-uncle Baldwin fitz Gilbert I.¹⁶⁶ He became a knight at Henry I's court, and was apparently a loyal and competent one, because he was rewarded with marriage to Adeline, heiress

National des Sociétés Savantes, Poitiers, 1986), 161-73, 161-2, 165, 171-2; eadem, *Henry I* (Cambridge, 2006), 231-35; Newman, *Anglo-Norman Nobility*, 97-8, 108, 114-48.

¹⁶¹ *Brut, Hergest*, 100.

¹⁶² Davies, 'Colonial Wales', 3-23; idem, 'Kings, Lords and Liberties in the March of Wales, 1066-1272', *TRHS*, 5th ser., 29 (1979), 41-61; idem, 'Henry I and Wales', in *Studies in Medieval History presented to R. H. C. Davis*, ed. H. Mayr-Harting & R. I. Moore (London, 1985), 132-147; idem, *Conquest, Coexistence and Change: Wales, 1063-1415* (Oxford, 1987), 41, 45.

¹⁶³ *RRAN*, iii, no 365; *Anglo-Norman Earls of Chester*, no. 39; *Receuil des Actes de Henri II, roi d'Angleterre et duc de Normandie*, ed. L. Delisle & É. Berger, 4 vols (Paris, 1916-27), no. 60.

¹⁶⁴ *Brut, Hergest*, 113; *Brut, Peniarth*, 51; *GS*, 18.

¹⁶⁵ *OV*, vi, 520.

¹⁶⁶ Baldwin fitz Gilbert B, is identified with this formula because although he is the second individual within the extended kin-group with that name, he is not a direct descendant of the original Baldwin fitz Gilbert I. The same is the case with Richard fitz Gilbert IIb, who appears in chapters four and five.

to the barony of Bourne.¹⁶⁷ Adeline inherited both her father Richard de Rollos' estates, and the properties of her uncle, William de Rollos, which together formed the Lincolnshire barony.¹⁶⁸ Gilbert fitz Gilbert and Baldwin fitz Gilbert B, were younger sons, who relied on kinship bonds, royal service and royal favour to establish themselves amongst their peers.¹⁶⁹

The marriage of Gilbert fitz Richard I's daughter, Margaret, in the 1130s was likely grounded in geographical propinquity. Her husband William of Montfichet held lands in Essex and the Welsh Marches, so his tenurial interests paralleled the Clares' principal interests.¹⁷⁰ William of Montfichet was also amongst the members of the aristocracy who owed their advancement to Henry I's favour.¹⁷¹ The marriage gave the Clares a connection to another neighbour, but the Montfichets gained status through the association and subsequently they would deliberately emphasise their maternal affinity with the Clares.¹⁷² Their son's name Gilbert indicates his parents' focus on the maternal line, rather than his paternal grandfather, Robert.¹⁷³ In the following generation, Gilbert's own son was named Richard, and by the end of the twelfth century, the Montfichets possessed a coat-of-arms that echoed the Clares' red and gold chevronny with a blue label as a mark of cadency from the original device.¹⁷⁴ Another of Gilbert fitz Richard I's daughters,

¹⁶⁷ *PR 31 HI*, 110; *RRAN*, ii, nos 1222, 1283, 1664, 1666, 1900; King, 'Origins of the Wake Family', 166-176.

¹⁶⁸ *PR 31 HI*, 110. The marriage and the lands cost Baldwin £301 16s 4d; *EEA*, I: *Lincoln, 1067-1185*, ed. D. M. Smith (London, 1980), no. 61.

¹⁶⁹ G. Duby, *The Chivalrous Society* (London, 1977), 111-22, 117-9.

¹⁷⁰ *Jordan Fantosme's Chronicle*, ed. & trans. R. C. Johnston (Oxford, 1981), 121; *EEA*, 15: *London, 1076-1187*, ed. F. Neiningen (London, 1999), no. 227; *RBE*, i, 349-51; Crouch, *Reign of King Stephen*, 130. In a confirmation by Henry II, William and his wife, 'Rohese' gifted nine acres in demesne and one *mesuagium* to St Albans with their son William. This grant apparently mixes up one of Gilbert fitz Richard I's daughter with her sister, *Monasticon*, i, 228-9, no. xv.

¹⁷¹ *Monasticon*, v, 587.

¹⁷² *EEA*, IV: *Lincoln, 1186-1206*, ed. D. M. Smith (London, 1986), no. 168.

¹⁷³ *EEA*, 15: *London*, no. 107; *Rotuli de Dominabus*, 85-6; *Widows, Heirs and Heiresses*, no. 219.

¹⁷⁴ William de Montfichet: *RRAN*, iii, nos 41, 69; *Knights of St John*, no. 57; *RBE*, i, 349-51; Gilbert de Montfichet: *EEA*, II: *Canterbury, 1162-1190*, ed. C. R. Cheney & B. E. A. Jones (London, 1986), no. 315; *EEA*, 26: *London, 1189-1228*, ed. D. P. Johnson (Oxford, 2003), no. 58; *Rotuli de dominabus*, 83, 85-6; *Widows, Heirs and Heiresses*, nos 213, 219, 222; *Knights of St John*, no. 273; Delisle, *Henri II*, nos 79 (1156-8), 364 (1156-73); Coss, *The Knight in*

Adeliza married Aubrey de Vere II, c.1106. This was probably due to the proximity of their respective properties in Suffolk and Essex, and Aubrey II's position in the royal household.¹⁷⁵ Adeliza and Aubrey II's daughter Rohese V married Geoffrey de Mandeville II even though they were second cousins, (Geoffrey was the great-grandson of Richard fitz Gilbert I, while Rohese V was his great-grand-daughter).¹⁷⁶ Gilbert fitz Richard I's third daughter, Alice, who married William II de Percy in the 1130s.¹⁷⁷ This geographically exogamous marriage connected the Clares considerably further to the north than their previous relationships, as William de Percy II was a prominent landholder in Yorkshire. These marriages, beginning at the end of the eleventh century, created bonds, which would influence the Clare kin-group throughout the twelfth century as their interests expanded.¹⁷⁸

After Baldwin fitz Gilbert I died c.1095, his properties were divided between two of his sons. Robert fitz Baldwin received the Norman lands of Meules and Le Sap, while William fitz Baldwin received the English territories concentrated in Devon.¹⁷⁹ If Baldwin fitz Gilbert I had two wives then the distribution of their inheritance would suggest that Robert and William were the offspring of his first marriage and Richard – who would have inherited nothing, if his elder brothers had had heirs – was the son of Baldwin's second wife. Richard appears to have been considerably younger than his siblings since he did not immediately take over his elder brother William's lands upon his death, in 1096. The eldest brother, Robert, took over the English lands until his own death in 1103, when Richard fitz Baldwin, the youngest of

Medieval England, 79-80; Crouch, 'The Historian, Lineage and Heraldry 1050-1250', in *Heraldry, Pageantry and Social Display in Medieval England*, ed. P. Coss & M. Keen (Woodbridge, 2002; paperback, 2003), 17-37, 32-5; S. Slater, *The History and Meaning of Heraldry* (London, 2003, 2nd edn 2008), 116-7.

¹⁷⁵ Aubrey III had reached his majority by 1141 so they were unlikely to have married later than 1120, and probably married before her father's death in 1117. *Chartulary of Lewes Priory*, no. 25. For further details see: R. C. DeAragon, 'Aubrey de Vere (II), d.1141', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/28203?docPos=1> accessed 9th October 2008.

¹⁷⁶ See The Clares Genealogy, x-xi, and Appendix 1, map 1, 239.

¹⁷⁷ *RRAN*, iii, nos 583-4, 797, 942, 944.

¹⁷⁸ *Westminster Abbey Charters, 1066-c.1214*, ed. E. Mason, London Record Society, 25 (1988), nos 464, 470.

¹⁷⁹ *RRAN*, i, nos 378, 401; *OV*, iv, 204-10.

Baldwin's sons succeeded to all the English lands, however it cannot be proven that he received any of Robert's Norman properties.¹⁸⁰ He also died without direct heirs, and was succeeded by his sister, Adeliza and her descendants.¹⁸¹ None of Baldwin fitz Gilbert's sons appear to have married, so the only evidence of networks based on kinship that can be traced is to their cousins, Richard fitz Gilbert I's descendants, but they only rarely interact outwith royal charters.¹⁸²

The Giffards

Walter Giffard II succeeded his father in c.1084, and was already established in his lordship when the Conqueror died, and England and Normandy were divided between different rulers. According to Orderic Vitalis, Walter Giffard II and his wife Agnes had only one son, also named Walter, born after many childless years.¹⁸³ There was also a girl, Isabel, who was probably Walter II's illegitimate daughter, although her identity has been disputed.¹⁸⁴ Daniel Power's argument that she was Walter II's illegitimate daughter is more convincing because if she was a sister-in-law she was unlikely to be known as a Giffard and a legitimate sister would have become Walter Giffard III's heiress after he died childless.¹⁸⁵ Unlike the stepdaughter of Gilbert fitz Gilbert, earl of Pembroke, Isabel Giffard was presumably granted some kind of dowry given her exogamous marriage to Robert de Chandos, castellan of

¹⁸⁰ *PR 31 HI*, 153, 157; *Charters of the Redvers Family and the Earldom of Devon, 1090-1217*, ed. R. Bearman, Devon & Cornwall Record Society, 37 (1994), no. 4.

¹⁸¹ *Monasticon*, v, 269; *Cartulary of Forde Abbey*, 377.

¹⁸² William fitz Baldwin and Gilbert fitz Richard I: *RRAN*, i, no. 319; Robert fitz Baldwin, Roger, Gilbert, Walter fitz Richard and Eudo dapifer, *RRAN*, ii, no. 544; Robert and Richard fitz Baldwin, Gilbert and Roger fitz Richard and Eudo dapifer, no. 552; Gilbert fitz Richard, Robert fitz Baldwin and Eudo dapifer, no. 636; Richard fitz Baldwin, Gilbert and Walter fitz Richard, no. 877; Richard fitz Baldwin and Roger fitz Richard, no. 1203; Richard fitz Baldwin and Roger fitz Richard, no. 1246. A rare non-royal example: Gilbert fitz Richard I and Robert fitz Baldwin, *Textus Roffensis*, 219.

¹⁸³ *OV*, vi, 38-40.

¹⁸⁴ Power, 'The French Interests of the Marshal Earls', 205. See also: *OV*, vi, 342-4, fn. '...sometimes said to be a sister of Walter Giffard, was in fact the daughter of Alfred of Epaignes (de Hispania) lord of Nether Stowey'; Sanders, *English Baronies*, 67.

¹⁸⁵ ADE H8 – mentions of Robert de Candos, Isabel his wife and Walter his heir; ADE H9 – grant by Robert de Candos and Isabel to Goldcliff Priory; they also appear in the register of benefactors for Tewkesbury Abbey, BL Add. Ms. 36985, fo. 13r; an Isabel de Candos made a grant to Le Bec in the mid-twelfth, BN ms. Lat. 9211, no. 6.

Gisors. Isabel's marriage lay beyond the Pay de Caux region where the Giffards were based, but the two kin-groups had mutual interests in protecting the border between Normandy and Capetian France.¹⁸⁶ For Robert de Chandos, marriage into a kin-group, even through an illegitimate daughter, which was accustomed to defending the border of the duchy and that had ties to other such kin-groups across upper Normandy improved his status and the security of Gisors as a border castle.¹⁸⁷

After Walter II's death in 1102, Agnes acted as Walter III's guardian until he reached his majority.¹⁸⁸ Orderic Vitalis recorded that she had "...brought up carefully (her son)... until he had attained manhood, and successfully administered to his father's honour on his behalf..."¹⁸⁹ Agnes held the position of guardian for the earldom of Buckingham and the lordship of Longueville, despite her alleged involvement with Robert Curthose, which would have given Henry I a justifiable reason not to trust her in such a position.¹⁹⁰ Whatever the truth about her relationship with Curthose, Agnes does not appear to have involved herself in the conflict between the brothers. In Normandy the Tancarville branch of the extended Giffard kin-group continued, Ralph II de Tancarville, succeeded his father as ducal chamberlain ensuring that he was at the centre of political events.¹⁹¹

Other members of the extended kin-group appear in historical accounts for the first time as they began to establish themselves as cadet branches after 1066. Osbern Giffard, a younger son of Walter Giffard I, and presumably named after his grandfather Osbern de Bolbec, held the lordship of

¹⁸⁶ Power, 'The French Interests of the Marshal Earls', 205.

¹⁸⁷ *RRAN*, iii, no. 373; Delisle, *Henri II*, no. 38; *OV*, vi, 550; *RT*, 14. Gisors to Longueville, fifty-five miles; Gisors to Gournay, fifteen miles, the Giffards kinship with the de Gournays was also an important factor in maintaining peace on the border.

¹⁸⁸ *OV*, vi, 36-38.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid*, 38: *...quem post mortem patris usque ad uirile orbur diligenter educauit, et paternum ei honorem per multos annos prudenter gubernauit.*

¹⁹⁰ *RRAN*, ii, nos 974, 979; *OV*, ii, 264; Aird, *Robert Curthose*, 213-4.

¹⁹¹ C. J. Haskins, *Norman Institutions* (Cambridge & Harvard, 1918), 50, 77, 94, 109, 112, 183; D. C. Douglas, *Domesday Monachorum of Christ Church Canterbury* (London, 1944), 42-44.

Brimpsfield in Gloucestershire.¹⁹² He appears in several royal charters, issued between 1074 and 1083, he appears to have been in regular attendance, and followed the court on its travels as the charters were issued in France, while Osbern's estates were in England.¹⁹³ He may also have only received his lands in the last years of the Conqueror's reign, which may explain why he does not occur in charters issued after 1083. Osbern was and he married the widow of Robert fitz Erneis as St Stephen of Fontenay holds Middleton in Wiltshire, which was gifted to the abbey when Robert fitz Erneis was buried there.¹⁹⁴

Osbern's son Elias Giffard I had succeeded to the lands by c.1090, when he made a donation to St Peter's Abbey, Gloucester, with the consent of his wife, Ala.¹⁹⁵ Another Osbern Giffard occurs in 1111 in a charter issued by Henry I, possibly a younger son of the previous Osbern.¹⁹⁶ Elias I died c.1130 and was succeeded by his son Elias II.¹⁹⁷ His younger son Gilbert does not appear to have received any part of their inheritance, despite which Gilbert appears with Elias II and his wife Berta, in family gifts to St Peter's Abbey.¹⁹⁸ Meanwhile, Berengar Giffard, possibly a son of Walter Giffard I, occurs in Domesday Book in possession of Fonhill and two other manors in Wiltshire and was succeeded by his son Robert.¹⁹⁹ This length of time suggests that there were two Berengars, but as others of Walter Giffards' children survived until the 1120s, it is not inconceivable that Berengar did so

¹⁹² *DB*, i, 52, 62, 66v, 72v, 82v, 98, 160, 164v, 168v, 216v, 219.

¹⁹³ Bates, *Regesta*, nos 27 (1074, Bayeux), 64 (18 July 1083, Caen), 269 (1080-83, Saumur).

¹⁹⁴ *DB*, i, 72; *Monasticon*, vi.ii, 1084-5, no. II; *VCH Wiltshire*, ii, ed. R. B. Pugh, E. Crittall (1955), 154; Green, *Aristocracy of Norman England*, 45.

¹⁹⁵ *Historia et Cartularium Monasterii Sancti Petri Gloucestriae*, ed. W. H. Hunt, 3 vols, RS 33 (London, 1863-7), i, nos 62-3, 124, ii, 316.

¹⁹⁶ *RRAN*, ii, no. 976 (April 1111, Woodstock); *Cartulary of Worcester Cathedral Priory*, ed. R. R. Darlington, Pipe Roll Society, ns. 38 (1968), no. 21.

¹⁹⁷ *PR 31 HI*, 22; *Sancti Petri*, i, nos 66, 69.

¹⁹⁸ *Sancti Petri*, Berta: i, nos 66, 158, 117; ii, 188 was issued by Berta herself; Gilbert: i, nos 117, 158; Walter Giffard: i, no. 117.

¹⁹⁹ *DB*, 72v, 82v; *RBE*, i, 206, 213, 239; *VCH, Wilts.*, ii, 154, 208-9; *Domesday Descendants*, 994.

too.²⁰⁰ The origins of the *prenomen* Berengar in the Giffard kin-group are obscure; however as a younger son it could be from his grandparents' generation, not all of whom can be identified. These brief appearances for the Giffards of Brimpsfield and the Giffards of Fonthill show the beginning of the cadet branches establishing themselves as independent units.

The Tosnys

Ralph III de Tosny and his kinsmen, the de Montforts and the counts of Évreux, had been bound by geography and kinship for approximately fifty years, but in 1090 this bond was disrupted by internal succession disputes.²⁰¹ William de Breteuil – son of William fitz Osbern – and William de Évreux were without direct heirs, and the potential heirs were Roger II de Tosny and Amaury de Montfort. They appealed to Robert Curthose to arbitrate, but when he failed to intervene they turned instead to William Rufus, who named Roger II de Tosny as the heir to both lordships.²⁰² In the next year the network was further upset when Isabel, wife of Ralph III de Tosny quarrelled with her sister-in-law, Helwise, wife of William, count of Évreux.²⁰³ Although Orderic reported Isabel's behaviour in a favourable light, he was critical of the violence that broke out between the two kinsmen because of their wives. The dispute was eventually resolved by the intervention of William de Breteuil, nephew of both Ralph III and William of Évreux, his involvement providing further evidence of an awareness of the close ties that bound the kin-groups together.²⁰⁴

When Roger II predeceased his father, William de Breteuil and William count of Évreux in 1091, Amaury de Montfort became the heir presumptive to three lordships.²⁰⁵ Roger's younger brother, Ralph IV de Tosny does not seem to

²⁰⁰ *RBE*, i, 404, ii, 695, 770; also discussed in, *Sir Christopher Hatton's Book of Seals*, ed. L. C. Loyd & D. M. Stenton (Oxford, 1950), 349.

²⁰¹ See above: The Tosny & Beaumont Network, xx and Appendix 1, Map 3, 241.

²⁰² *OV*, iv, 236; vi, 188, 204, 244; J. A. Green, *Henry I: King of England and Duke of Normandy* (Cambridge, 2006), 31.

²⁰³ *OV*, iv, 212; Delisle, *Henri II*, no. 28 (1155-57).

²⁰⁴ *GND*, ii, 226-30.

²⁰⁵ *OV*, iv, 286-90.

have been considered as his brother's successor in regards to Évreux and Breteuil even though he did become his father's heir. While Amaury de Montfort inherited the properties and titles of Évreux, and his father's properties in the Île de France, Breteuil initially went to William de Breteuil's illegitimate son Eustace.²⁰⁶ Henry I, however, became Duke of Normandy before either William, count of Évreux or William de Breteuil died, and he ignored this earlier agreement, granting Breteuil to Ralph II de Gael and subsequently to his daughter Amice and her husband, Robert de Beaumont II of Leicester after their marriage in 1121.²⁰⁷ Henry's decision to favour Robert de Beaumont by granting or arranging his marriage to Amice and the lordship of Breteuil reflected the Beaumont kin-group's established position as royal and ducal favourites.²⁰⁸ The succession disputes surrounding the honour of Breteuil will be explored in greater depth below in Part III. The significance of Henry I's decision to award the lands, title and status to a member of the Beaumonts rather than allowing Amaury de Montfort III or another aristocrat of similarly divided loyalties to claim the property indicates the real power that he held as king-duke over the estates and lives of his magnates.²⁰⁹

In consequence of Henry I's decision to support Ralph de Gael over himself, Amaury de Montfort rebelled, and spent several years exiled from his Norman properties and allied himself with Louis VI of France, Fulk V of Anjou, Robert II count of Flanders and William Clito, Robert Curthose's legitimate son, against Henry. Once peace had been established Amaury was restored to his patrimony and the comital lands and title of Évreux, but he never received the honour of Breteuil.²¹⁰ The consequences of this succession dispute amongst the kin-based network show the possible dangers and benefits

²⁰⁶ *OV*, vi, 40, 214; Crouch, *Beaumont Twins*, 108, discussion of the conflict that broke out between Eustace de Breteuil and Ralph II de Gael over the lordship.

²⁰⁷ *OV*, vi, 214, 294; *GND*, ii, 226; *The Letters and Charters of Gilbert Foliot*, ed. A. Morey and C. N. L. Brooke (Cambridge, 1967), nos 194-196; *EEA*, VI: *Norwich, 1070-1214*, ed. C. Harper-Bill (London, 1990), no. 412a.

²⁰⁸ Crouch, *Beaumont Twins*, 102-114; Bartlett, *England Under the Norman and Angevin Kings*, 28-35.

²⁰⁹ Green, *Henry I*, 55-69, 171, 176, 178-184; Bartlett, *England Under the Norman and Angevin Kings*, 28-35.

²¹⁰ *OV*, vi, 350.

inherent in the development of such bonds. The Tosnys kinship with the counts of Évreux and the lords of Breteuil gave them the possibility of succeeding to a comital title and a valuable lordship, but they were ultimately prevented by Henry I's policies and Amaury de Montfort's ambitions.

Ralph IV de Tosny succeeded to his patrimony in 1102. His marriage to Alice the younger daughter of Earl Waltheof was probably arranged c.1100, for politically endogamous reasons, rather than geographical proximity.²¹¹ The Tosnys received several properties from William fitz Osbern near to the late Earl Waltheof's lands.²¹² Their marriage contributed to the extended and overlapping network of relationships linking the Évreux-Breteuil-Montfort-Tosny lordships. Specifically it created another tie between the Tosny kin-group and those previously involved in the rebellion in 1075.²¹³ Although there is no surviving evidence that either Ralph III de Tosny or the king planned the marriage because of the pre-existing ties between the Tosnys and William fitzOsbern's children, Roger of Hereford and Emma, wife of Ralph de Gael I, it seems probable that these bonds were a factor in the arrangement.²¹⁴ Ties of consanguinity and affinity were not always sufficient reason to risk disinheritance as Ralph III demonstrated in 1075. Despite his possessions in Hereford and the involvement of his cousins Roger and Emma, Ralph III chose not to participate and remained focussed on his Norman estates. In addition this marriage is an example of the limitations concerning the definition of marriages as endogamous or exogamous. While the Tosnys' held lands in England, their principal English properties were not adjacent to to Alice's inheritance and the Tosnys' focus remained on their Norman properties, politically and socially however, the Tosnys were closely bound to the late Earl Waltheof and his heirs.

²¹¹ Musset, 'Les Tosny', 63; Wareham, 'Two Models of Marriage', 131.

²¹² *DB*, i, fos 130v, 160, 182v, 202-202v, 206v-207, 217-217v, 228, 293v, 366v-367.

²¹³ ADE H262, no. 2v; *Conches*, no. 4, 'Rogerius (III) de Thoenio filius Radulphi junioris'; *RRAN*, ii, no. 1447; *OV*, ii, 262, 310-22. Green, *Aristocracy of Norman England*, 377; Wareham, 'Two Models of Marriage', 122.

²¹⁴ *GND*, ii, 270-72; Green, *Henry I*, 233.

Ralph IV showed an unusual level of interest in his English properties, relative to his father, brother and sons; presumably due to his wife Alice's own interests and estates.²¹⁵ Throughout the baronial rebellions and the threat of William Clito and his allies between c.1110 and c.1128, Ralph IV remained a loyal supporter of Henry I.²¹⁶ Again, members of the Breteuil-Évreux-Montfort-Tosny network participated in rebellion against the king- duke, including Amaury III de Montfort who claimed to Louis VI that Ralph IV de Tosny, as his kinsman, would support a French-Flemish attack on Normandy.²¹⁷ Ralph IV did not assist his kinsman and his loyalty contributed to Henry I's victory. In addition, his actions probably secured Henry I's approval for the marriage of his son and heir Roger III de Tosny to Ida, daughter of the count of Hainaut, c.1130.²¹⁸ Henry I granted Roger III land from the royal demesne in East Bergholt, Suffolk at the time of his marriage to Ida.²¹⁹ To the Tosnys, this marriage provided them with potential support outside their troubled network formed of the Breteuil-Évreux-Montfort-Tosny kin-groups.²²⁰ By the 1130s, as two of the direct male lines of these kin-groups had died out, this was more accurately the Beaumont/Breteuil-Évreux/Montfort-Tosny network, leaving the Tosnys a disadvantage in terms of territory and status.

²¹⁵ *Cartulary of Holy Trinity Aldgate*, ed. G. A. J. Hodgett, *London Record Society*, 7 (1971), App. no. 13; Wareham, 'Two Models of Marriage', 127-31, 'comprised 100 carucates', 131.

²¹⁶ S. Burton Hicks, 'The Impact of William Clito upon the Continental Policies of Henry I of England', *Viator*, 10 (1979), 1-21; C. W. Hollister, 'Henry I and the Anglo-Norman Magnates', in *Monarchy, Magnates & Institutions in the Anglo-Norman World* (reprint, London, 1986), 171-189; Green, 'King Henry I and the Aristocracy of Normandy', 161-73; C. A. Newman, *The Anglo-Norman Nobility in the Reign of Henry I: The Second Generation* (Philadelphia, 1988); R. E. Barton, 'Henry I, Count Helias of Maine, and the Battle of Tinchebray', in *Henry I and the Anglo-Norman World*, ed. D. Fleming & J. M. Pope, *HSJ Special Volume*, 17 (2006), 63-90; Green, *Henry I*, 66-70, 124.

²¹⁷ *OV*, vi, 238-46; *Deeds of Louis the Fat*, 111-18, 115.

²¹⁸ *RRAN*, ii, nos 956, 1207; *Monasticon*, vi.i, 995, n. 4; *OV*, v, 115; Gilbert of Mons, *Chronicle of Hainaut*, trans. L. Napran (Woodbridge, 2005), 35.

²¹⁹ *Liber Feodorum: the Book of Fees, commonly called Testa de Nevill*, ed. H. C. Maxwell Lyte et al, 3 vols (London, 1920-31), i, 134; *RRAN*, ii, nos 1582, 1701.

²²⁰ The counts of Hainaut took their kinship with the Tosnys very seriously, and their generous military, political and familial support continued throughout the twelfth century, however, it does not appear chronologically until the next chapter.

There were changes as well amongst the cadet branches, although they were more localised in both geography and effect. Robert I of Stafford was succeeded by his son Nicholas I as sheriff of Staffordshire.²²¹ Nicholas I's wife Matilda, was a daughter of Ralph de Limésy, a neighbour of the Staffords.²²² There has been some uncertainty over Matilda's identity, with suggestions that her father was Ranulf I, earl of Chester although there is no surviving evidence of anything beyond her forename.²²³ The most convincing evidence is indirect, as it comes through the identification of Matilda's son, Robert II of Stafford as the '*nepos*' of Ralph II de Limésy in a grant.²²⁴ The significance of the connection between the two kin-groups is now difficult to assess, as they do not often appear together in sources, other than the above-mentioned grant. The marriage was a geographically endogamous match as Ralph de Limésy's *caput* was in Warwickshire, close to the Staffords' main estates.²²⁵ On Nicholas I's death in 1138, he was buried at the priory of Stone and was succeeded by his son Robert II.²²⁶

The lordship of Belvoir had a more complicated pattern of inheritance than most lordships in this thesis. Initially Berengar of Tosny, the eldest of Robert of Tosny's sons, received his Norman estates, and the younger son William inherited the lordship of Belvoir.²²⁷ Robert's other surviving children were a third son Geoffrey, and three daughters Albreda, Alice and Agnes. William and Geoffrey died without heirs and Belvoir passed to Albreda and her

²²¹ *RRAN*, ii, nos 600, 865, 900, 1412, 1428, 1744; *PR 31 HI*, 82; Green, *English Sheriffs to 1154*, 75; *Kenilworth Cartulary*, 177-8.

²²² *Staffordshire Chartulary*, ii, nos 1, 10; *Kenilworth Cartulary*: nos 13, 36, 212, 228, 478; *Monasticon*, ii, 301; P. Jackson, 'Ralph de Limésy: Conqueror's Nephew? The Origins of a Discounted Claim', *Prosopon Newsletter* (1997), 1-3.

²²³ *CP*, xii, 168; F. Madan, 'The Gresleys of Drakelow', *Staffordshire Historical Collections*, 19, ns, 1 (Oxford, 1898), 17; *Kenilworth Cartulary*, 175.

²²⁴ *Monasticon*, ii, 301.

²²⁵ *DB*, i, Robert I of Stafford: fos 225, 238, 242v; Ralph I de Limésy: fos 238, 243. They both had property in the borough of Warwick and their other estates in the country are all within 25 miles of the town.

²²⁶ *Monasticon*, vi.i, 231, no. II; *Staffordshire Chartulary*, ii, no. 8; *Stone Cartulary*, 28; *Kenilworth Cartulary*, 178, nos H502; H503, H998. This will be developed in the next chapter.

²²⁷ *RADN*, no. 157.

husband Robert de Lisle.²²⁸ Albreda also had no heir and her sister Alice succeeded to the lordship between c.1105-15 in her turn.²²⁹ Amongst the Tosnys of Belvoir, marriages were again primarily endogamous, geographically or politically and generally both.²³⁰ The most significant of these marriages, were those of the eventual heiress Alice, and her daughters Cecily and Matilda, all of whom were used by Henry I to reward members of his court.²³¹ Roger Bigod, William d'Albini *brito* and William de Aubigny *pincerna* all held offices directly of the king, Roger as a steward, and William de Aubigny as a butler in the royal household.²³² While, William d'Albini *brito*, acted as an itinerant justice for the king in 1129-30 and attended court throughout Henry I's reign.²³³ Meanwhile the lands and possessions of the lordship of Belvoir made their respective marriages attractive to Roger Bigod, William d'Albini *brito* and William de Aubigny *pincerna*.

Summary

The post-1066 possessions and interests of the Clares, Giffard and Tosny kin-groups again requires finding a middle road through historiographical debates, in this case between the older view of a cross-Channel aristocracy and the more recent view of a regional aristocracy focussed on their local concerns.²³⁴ Amongst these three kin-groups specific individuals can be

²²⁸ *The Lincolnshire Domesday and the Lindsey Survey*, ed. C.W. Foster and T. Longley, Lincoln Record Society 19 (1924) 237-260, 3/8, 4/3, 6/5, 7/5, 10/1; *RRAN*, ii, nos 1054, 1277; *EEA*, 1: *Lincoln*, 179-180.

²²⁹ *RRAN*, ii, no. 1458; Green, *Aristocracy of Norman England*, 374-5; eadem, *Government of England*, 229; Wareham, 'Motives & Politics of the Bigod Family', 230.

²³⁰ *DB*, i, fos 138, 149, 154, 159, 168, 196v, 215, 219, 225, 230v, 233v-234, 236v, 291v, 298, 314-315, 352v-353v, 376, 377; ii, 90, 429. Their lands were in Oxfordshire, Nottinghamshire, Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, Bedfordshire, Northamptonshire, Leicestershire and Essex.

²³¹ Green, *Government of England*, 228-30, 235-6, 276.

²³² *RRAN*, ii, xi-xii; G. H. White, 'The Household of the Norman Kings', *TRHS*, 4th series, xxxii (1949), 127-55.

²³³ *PR 31 HI*, 115, 133, 134.

²³⁴ Cross-Channel aristocracy: le Patourel, *The Norman Empire*, 190-200; see Introduction, fns. 112-3, 115-6, 119; Regional aristocracy: Green, 'The Lords of the Norman Vexin'; see Introduction fns. 5, 7, 25. The debate over which view is correct or how to find a middle ground can be found: Bates, 'Normandy and England after 1066', 851-880; Green, 'Unity and Disunity in the Anglo-Norman State', 114-34; Crouch, 'Normans & Anglo-Normans: A Divided Aristocracy?' 51-67.

identified as having cross-Channel interests as defined by le Patourel.²³⁵ The conflict between Robert Curthose and William Rufus demonstrates the interaction of personal bonds, local interests and cross-Channel politics. While Roger and Gilbert fitz Richard I initially supported Curthose despite Gilbert's lack of Norman possessions, the Norman based Walter Giffard II and Ralph III de Tosny chose to support Rufus after his successful campaigns in the duchy in the early 1090s. The motivations behind their involvement in ducal-royal politics were not therefore based entirely on a conviction that one of the Conqueror's would be the best ruler for both the kingdom and the duchy, but a combination of factors. The Tosnys, as a whole, were less concerned with the politics of their overlords, focussing on the internal matters of their kin-based network and their localised interests, even Ralph III's change in allegiance from Curthose to Rufus was due to the latter's intervention in Ralph's favour in the internal dispute of the network. Those members of the kin-groups who did involve themselves in the succession dispute were rarely willing to risk their possessions, as demonstrated by Gilbert fitz Richard I's abrupt surrender in both 1088 and 1095. These examples suggest that there was always an element of self-interest governing the actions of the magnates, but this did not necessarily mean that actively working to maintain the unity of England and Normandy was detrimental to their self-interests. A similar balance between the interests of the Clare, Giffard and Tosny kin-groups and the interests of the king-duke must be maintained when examining their actions under Henry I.

While the Clares and Tosnys soon became part of Henry's court, Walter Giffard II and Robert Giffard were involved in different sides of the 1100 rebellion against the new king, demonstrating that the kin-groups were not always united in their actions. Walter Giffard III's minority and his lack of legitimate siblings meant that the principal line of the Giffards' kin-based networks could not develop as much as those of the Clares and Tosnys.

Despite the issues of divided lordship and of succession disputes it was possible for members of the aristocracy to concentrate on localised or internalised matters that were only tangentially affected by their overlords'

²³⁵ le Patourel, *The Norman Empire*, 190-200.

concerns. At the beginning of the twelfth century the cadet branches for all three kin-groups were primarily concerned with establishing themselves on their lands, and by connecting themselves to their neighbours. This period also shows the degree to which the affairs of the king of England or the duke of Normandy could influence members of the aristocracy, and the limitations of that influence. Although they continued to serve their overlords in various offices and roles, Clares, Giffards and Tosnys were also able to concentrate on expanding their horizons both in terms of their physical territory and in terms of the networks they developed to establish themselves in those new regions. While it was under William Rufus that the first expansions were made into Wales, it in the twelfth century that the Anglo-Norman aristocracy established themselves in the Welsh Marches and at the same time cadet branches – like the members of Giffard kin-group examined here - began to travel to Scotland to join David I's court. During Henry I's reign exogamous marriages began to develop amongst the aristocracy as a way of creating connections between Normandy, England and their neighbours.²³⁶ Although these marriages – within the focal kin-groups – do not happen consistently throughout Henry I's reign it is clear that there are occasions when the king and the aristocracy respectively felt confident enough in the internal security of their territories to seek external allies who could also be potential external threats.²³⁷

²³⁶ For example, the exogamous marriages of Gilbert fitz Richard I and Adeliza, daughter of Hugh, count of Clermont, Adeliza, daughter of Richard fitz Gilbert I and Walter Tirel, Roger III de Tosny and Ida, daughter of Baldwin, count of Hainaut.

²³⁷ Wareham, 'Two Models of marriage', 131-2.

Chapter 4:

Aristocratic Kin-groups during the Civil War of Stephen's Reign

The Clares

During the 1130s and 40s Gilbert fitz Gilbert, a younger son of Gilbert fitz Richard I, became the most prominent member of the Clare kin-group. He had inherited the Norman domains of Bienfaite and Orbec from his paternal uncle, Roger fitz Richard c.1131, and in c.1138 he also received the Marcher lands of Striguil and Chepstow, previously held by another paternal uncle, Walter fitz Richard.²³⁸ During this period Gilbert married Isabel, daughter of Robert I de Meulan, earl of Leicester and this match as well as his new properties transformed his status.²³⁹ Isabel had been Henry I's mistress and at the time of her marriage, shortly before 1135, already had a daughter by the king.²⁴⁰ This marriage was a sign of royal favour both because of Isabel's family's social status and power, and because of her former association with the king.²⁴¹ The Clare and Beaumont kin-groups had been prominent members of Henry I's court, and this marriage reinforced the position both kin-groups held at the beginning of King Stephen's reign.²⁴²

Henry I's daughter by Isabel de Meulan remained unmarried and dependent on her stepfather throughout her life, presumably due to Henry I's death before she was of marriageable age and her stepfather seeing no advantage in arranging her marriage.²⁴³ While Gilbert fitz Gilbert appears to have shown little interest in his stepdaughter, those recognised as part of the Clare

²³⁸ *OV*, vi, 462, 470, 520; *Monasticon* vi.i, 995, no. III; *RRAN*, iii, nos 275-6, 634.

²³⁹ *GND*, ii, 270-1.

²⁴⁰ *GND*, ii, 250, 270; *Eynsham Cartulary*, ed. H. E. Slater, 2 vols, Oxford History Society, xlix, li (1907-8), no. 34; *Delisle*, Henri II, no. 576; K. Thompson, 'Affairs of State: the Illegitimate Children of Henry I', *Journal of Medieval History*, 29 (2003), 129-51,

²⁴¹ For many years the definitive list of Henry I's illegitimate children was *CP*, XI, appendix D; more recently, Thompson, 'Affairs of State', 141-51.

²⁴² *GS*, 76; *GND*, ii, 326.

²⁴³ *CP*, X, appendix H, 102.

kin-group were not necessarily limited to the nuclear family. Gilbert was Gilbert of Montfichet's guardian c.1137 and in his performance of this role he became involved in a land dispute with St Peter's abbey in Gloucester on behalf of his nephew.²⁴⁴ In addition the relationship between the Clares and their cousins the Tirels also continued, as Walter Tirel's son, Hugh financed his part in the Second Crusade by selling his mother's dower, the manor of Langham in Essex. In 1147 he obtained the consent of his cousin and overlord Gilbert fitz Richard II for this sale.²⁴⁵ Hugh returned from the crusade and went on to marry and establish himself in his lordship of Poix and within the Anglo-Norman realm.²⁴⁶ In 1169, Hugh II, the grandson of Walter and Adeliza accompanied Richard fitz Gilbert III to Ireland.²⁴⁷ In an earlier grant made to St Peter's abbey, Gilbert fitz Gilbert acknowledged his half-brother, Hervey de Montmorency as '*Hervicus frater meus*'.²⁴⁸ Even after the death of their mother, Adeliza of Clermont, the relationship continued and Hervey appears to have relied on his maternal siblings, rather than his paternal relations, for the furtherance of his ambitions.²⁴⁹ In 1170 he led Richard fitz Gilbert III's army to Ireland and his kinship with the earl was emphasised as being the reason for his presence and for his position within the army.²⁵⁰

The principal line of the Clares was less prominent in court politics during the 1130s and 40s, possibly because of Richard fitz Gilbert II's death in Wales in

²⁴⁴ *Sancti Petri*, ii, nos 165-174; *Rotuli de dominabus*, xxxix, 83, 85-6; *Widows, Heirs and Heiresses*, nos 213, 219.

²⁴⁵ *Book of Seals*, nos 84, 105; *SbC*, no. 530; Round, 'Walter Tirel and his wife', 471.

²⁴⁶ *Cartulaire de l'Abbaye de Saint-Martin de Pontoise*, ed. J. Depoin (Pontoise, 1901), no. 85: a grant by Walter fitz Walter Tirel, Adeliza his mother, Hugh, his brother and Ada, Hugh's wife all appear, while Walter Tirel is mentioned posthumously.

²⁴⁷ *Expugnatio Hibernica: The Conquest of Ireland by Giraldus Cambrensis*, ed. & trans. A. B. Scott & F. X. Martin (Dublin, 1978), 199, 393; M. Chibnall (M. Morgan) *The English Lands of the Abbey of Bec* (Oxford, 1946), 146.

²⁴⁸ *Facsimiles of Royal and other charters in the British Museum, William I – Richard I*, i, ed., G. F. Warner & H. J. Ellis (London, 1903), no. 17, '*Hervicus frater meus*' is the first witness.

²⁴⁹ *Expugnatio*, 30-32.

²⁵⁰ *Deeds of the Normans in Ireland*, ed. E. Mullally (Dublin, 2002), 64, 68, 82, 'Hervey de Montmorency indeed crossed over too'; *Expugnatio*, 30-32, 60; Gervase of Canterbury, *Historical Works*, in *Chronicle of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II, & Richard I*, ed. W. Stubbs, 2 vols, RS 73 (London 1879-80), i, 234-5; ii, 79-80.

the first year of Stephen's reign. Richard was killed as he travelled home, having left the royal court with the alleged intention of rebelling against Stephen.²⁵¹ Despite the circumstances of Richard fitz Gilbert II's death, Stephen did not prevent Gilbert fitz Richard II from succeeding to the Clare properties in England and the Welsh Marches. At the same time Baldwin fitz Gilbert B, Richard's younger brother and member of the new king's court, attempted reprisals against the Welsh on King Stephen's orders and in the hope of regaining the Clares' estates in Ceredigion.²⁵²

Gilbert fitz Richard II does not appear to have married and certainly had no surviving children to succeed to the Clare estates forming the earldom of Hertford.²⁵³ It has been suggested that Lucy, wife of Baldwin de Redvers, was a daughter of Ranulf I, and the widow of Gilbert fitz Richard II.²⁵⁴ Assignment of Lucy's relationship to Gilbert is based on only one text, a gift to Stoke-by-Clare priory by Lucy c.1152-55, which mentioned Gilbert fitz Richard II and Baldwin de Redvers in conjunction, in the *pro anima* clause.²⁵⁵ It is more probable, however, that Lucy was a daughter of Richard fitz Gilbert II and Alice, and named after her maternal grandmother.²⁵⁶ This would make her Gilbert fitz Richard II's sister rather than his aunt and wife, and as her brother and familial patriarch her prayers for his soul were not inappropriate.²⁵⁷ Neither theory of Lucy's identity can be truly assessed on the basis of one grant made to Stoke-by-Clare priory, but her marriage into the Redvers kin-group, which held lands that had formerly belonged to the fitz Baldwins, could be interpreted as providing further support for her being a *cognati* member of the Clare kin-group.

²⁵¹ *GS*, 10; *JW*, iii, 220.

²⁵² *GS*, 18-20; *JW*, iii, 220.

²⁵³ King Stephen granted Gilbert fitz Richard the title earl of Hertford c.1140.

²⁵⁴ *Charters of the Redvers Family*, 9.

²⁵⁵ *Charters of the Redvers Family*, no. 36; *SbC*, no. 69; F. Hockey, 'The House of Redvers and its Monastic Foundations', *ANS*, 5 (1982), 146-53.

²⁵⁶ See *The Clares Genealogy*, xi.

²⁵⁷ *Domesday Descendants*, 245.

During the 1140s the Marcher lords displayed what David Crouch termed 'Marcher solidarity' against the resurgent Welsh princes in their efforts to protect their lordships, as King Stephen rarely contributed royal support to campaigns in Wales.²⁵⁸ This was often expressed through marriages that ignored the political divisions of the civil war. The Clares were involved in several of these matches in the 1130s and 40s, as they sought to re-establish themselves in Wales after their losses of 1136. Gilbert fitz Richard I's daughter, Rohese III married a neighbouring Marcher lord, Baderon de Monmouth in c.1139, even though he supported the Empress.²⁵⁹ Gilbert fitz Gilbert, as her eldest surviving male relation had presumably helped to organise the marriage, which also benefited his own interests as the new lord of Striguil, he reputedly did not attend the wedding, but their brother Walter, who held no known lands, was present.²⁶⁰ During Gilbert's short-lived campaign in Wales in 1145, Baderon de Monmouth accompanied his brother-in-law, and witnessed charters relating to a dispute over the church at Dundledy.²⁶¹ Out of Rohese and Baderon's three children, two were named, Gilbert and Rohese after their maternal relations.²⁶² After Baderon's death c.1173, Gilbert inherited the lordship of Monmouth, while his sister Rohese VII married Hugh II de Lacy, a companion of Richard fitz Gilbert IIIb in 1169-70 and later constable of Ireland and lord of Meath.²⁶³

In c.1142, Richard fitz Gilbert II's daughter, Alice was married to Cadwaladr ap Gruffydd of Gwynedd, who had claimed the lands of Ceredigion, lost by the Clares after 1136.²⁶⁴ While Cadwaladr was an important person in Wales and

²⁵⁸ Crouch, 'The March & the Welsh Kings', quote from 280.

²⁵⁹ Baderon de Monmouth can primarily be traced through the charters of Miles of Gloucester, a loyal Angevin and his son Roger of Hereford. 'Charters of the Earldom of Hereford', ed. D. Walker, *Camden Miscellany*, xxii, 4th ser., i (London, 1964), 1-75, nos 11, 17-8, 27, 40, 42, 48, 53, 55, 68-9, 72-3; *Earldom of Gloucester Charters: The Charters & Scribes of the Earls and Countesses of Gloucester to A.D. 1217*, ed. R. B. Patterson (Oxford, 1973), no. 96.

²⁶⁰ *Monasticon*, v, 265-71; J. G. Wood, *A Short History of Tintern Abbey and the Lordship of Striguil* (London, 1904), 4.

²⁶¹ *Worcester Cathedral Priory*, no. 254.

²⁶² BL Add. Ch. 20405 – Grant by Baderon to Monmouth Priory, attested to by his sons Gilbert and Jacob.

²⁶³ *RBE*, i, 280-1; *Anglo-Norman Earls of Chester*, no. 109.

²⁶⁴ *Brut, Hergest*, 113-4; *Brut, Peniarth*, 51.

the Marches in his own right he also became an occasional ally and protégé of the Normans. He was often an ally of the earl of Chester, particularly during his dispossession and exile by his brother Owain in 1143-44 and from 1147-57.²⁶⁵ The names of Cadwaladr's children by Alice indicate that he was aware of the political significance of his association with the Marcher lords, as their sons were named Rikart after their maternal grandfather, and Rhanwlf after their maternal great-grandfather, Ranulf I and great-uncle Ranulf II of Chester.²⁶⁶ Cadwaladr was responsible for the building of at least two castles in Ceredigion, and made use of his English connections when fighting his brother, and on at least one occasion fought with his in-laws against other Welsh princes.²⁶⁷ Despite his tie to the Clares, and the Earls of Chester, Cadwaladr was not as interested in their concerns as his own, and after Alice's death, he supported his brother's efforts to rule Wales over the Clares' wishes to reclaim their lost possessions.

The wider political issues of the conflict between Stephen and Matilda affected the Clares as they did other prominent aristocrats, but kinship also affected both their actions and the responses of those around them. The Clares generally supported Stephen and in return several individuals within the kin-group received rewards in terms of lands and honours.²⁶⁸ On several occasions, however, particular circumstances led members of the kin-group to rebel against the king and – more rarely – to actively support the Empress as will be discussed below. At the Battle of Lincoln in 1141, Gilbert fitz Gilbert was amongst those members of the aristocracy who fled the field early.²⁶⁹ He then witnessed charters issued by the Empress after the

²⁶⁵ *Brut, Hergest*, 113-4, 131; *Brut, Peniarth*, 51, 53, 58; *Anglo-Norman Earls of Chester*, nos 64, 84; L. H. Nelson, *Normans in South Wales, 1070-1171* (Austin, 1966), 124-5; Crouch, 'The March & the Welsh Kings', 279, 287.

²⁶⁶ See The Clares and Gwynedd Genealogy, xix. A classic example of this is Fergus of Galloway and his sons, Gilbert and Uchtred, Norman and Gallic/Cumbrian names reflecting their respective mothers' heritage. *Acts of Malcolm IV, King of Scots: 1153-1165*, ed. G. W. S. Barrow (Edinburgh, 1960), 12-13, nos 131, 159, 230, 254, 265; K. Stringer, 'The Early Lords of Lauderdale, Dryburgh Abbey & St Andrew's Priory at Northampton', ed. *Essays on the Nobility of Medieval Scotland*, 44-71, 49.

²⁶⁷ *Brut, Hergest*, 109, 113-4; *Brut, Peniarth*, 51-3, 56, 63-5.

²⁶⁸ See Part III, Chapter 1, Section 3.

²⁶⁹ *GS*, 220-222.

battle.²⁷⁰ He was, however, the only member of his immediate kin who did so and he had rejoined Queen Matilda's forces before Stephen was released.²⁷¹

The Battle of Lincoln resulted in several changes to the Clare kin-group, particularly for individuals captured by Ranulf II, earl of Chester.²⁷² Gilbert de Gant II married Ranulf II's niece, Rohese IV daughter of the late Richard fitz Gilbert II, to secure his release.²⁷³ Ranulf II's ability to arrange the marriage of his niece may have been due to her father's early death, but it is surprising that she was in the care of her maternal uncle, rather than her brother Gilbert, earl of Hertford or her paternal uncle Gilbert, earl of Pembroke. Gilbert de Gant's principal estates were in Yorkshire, and Lincolnshire, and he was a tenant-in-chief throughout much of central England, although he held few lands in the Eastern counties where the Clares were based.²⁷⁴ This marriage connected the Clares to the north of England and although not a great physical distance the marriage therefore could be described as exogamous, while the Clares and the Gants support for King Stephen meant that the marriage was politically endogamous.²⁷⁵

Baldwin fitz Gilbert B of Bourne was also captured by Ranulf II, earl of Chester in 1141, and although Baldwin's late brother Richard fitz Gilbert II had been married to Ranulf II's sister Alice, the earl appears to have insisted that Baldwin's daughter Emma be married to Hugh Wac, one of his household knights.²⁷⁶ Baldwin's son, Roger, seems to have died before 1141

²⁷⁰ *RRAN*, iii, nos 275, 634-5.

²⁷¹ *Ibid*, nos 275-6.

²⁷² John of Hexham, *Symeonis Monachi opera omnia, Historia Regum Continuata per Johannem Hagustaldensem*, in *Historia Regum*, ed. T. Arnold, 2 vols, ii (1882-85), 315; P. Dalton, 'Aiming at the impossible: Ranulf II earl of Chester and Lincolnshire in the reign of King Stephen', *Journal of the Chester Archaeological Society*, 71 (1991), 121-5; *idem*, *Conquest, Anarchy and Lordship: Yorkshire, 1066-1154* (Cambridge, 2002), 65-6; Crouch, *Reign of King Stephen*, 227.

²⁷³ *Monasticon*, v, 490-1.

²⁷⁴ *DB*, i, fos 56, 62, 149v, 159v, 197-197v, 203, 207, 215, 227v, 236, 238, 243v, 276v, 277v, 290v, 293v, 326, 336, 342-3, 345v, 353, 354v-356v, 373v, 375-377, 382.

²⁷⁵ *EYC*, ii, no. 1217; *Domesday Descendants*, 261, 763.

²⁷⁶ *Anglo-Norman Earls of Chester*, nos 68-9, 82, 106; Delisle, *Henri II*, nos 50, 55.

as he appeared in only one extant grant in 1138, while a later grant by Baldwin's widow, Adeline, only mentioned her daughters and specified that it was to benefit her only unmarried daughter who had not received any of her patrimony.²⁷⁷ In the 1185 *Rotuli de Dominabus* account, Baldwin fitz Gilbert B's daughters Emma and Rohese VI were listed along with their husbands as Baldwin's heirs; Emma and Hugh Wac apparently inherited the larger part while Rohese VI and William de Bussei received the smaller portion.²⁷⁸

In 1142 Gilbert fitz Gilbert was sent on behalf of the king to suppress Geoffrey de Mandeville II's rebellion, but Gilbert initially joined the uprising before returning to the king without resolving the conflict.²⁷⁹ Geoffrey II was a kinsman of Gilbert fitz Gilbert through Gilbert's first cousin, Margaret and his niece, Adeliza.²⁸⁰ Geoffrey II was the son of Margaret, daughter of Rohese II and Eudo Dapifer and was married to Rohese V, the daughter of Aubrey de Vere II and Adeliza, daughter of Gilbert fitz Richard I.²⁸¹ Despite this brief rebellion, Gilbert successfully petitioned King Stephen for the forfeited English lands of his cousin, Walter Giffard III in the same year.²⁸² These actions obviously benefited Gilbert fitz Gilbert as an individual, as his Norman properties of Orbec and Bienfaite were under Angevin control.²⁸³ Gilbert's efforts could also be interpreted as a protective measure, endeavouring to keep the estates within the extended kin-group.²⁸⁴ Gilbert was prepared to risk his own English estates to protect those of his kinsmen,

²⁷⁷ *Monasticon*, vi.i, 370; Stenton, *Facsimiles of Early Charters*, 18-20, no. IVa; 82-3, no. XXX(a); Baldwin's son Roger was alive to consent to the foundation of Bourne Abbey; King, 'Origins of the Wake Family', 170.

²⁷⁸ *HH*, 738; *GS*, 114; *Historia Novella*, 50; *JW*, iii, 292; *Monasticon*, vi.i, 370-1; *Rotuli de Dominabus*, 11-12, 45; *Widows, Heirs and Heiresses*, nos 22, 99, 103; *The Norfolk Portion of the Chartulary of the Priory of St Pancras of Lewes*, ed. J. H. Bullock, Norfolk Record Society, 12 (1939), nos 87, 89, 91-2, 94-6, 99, 101.

²⁷⁹ *RRAN*, iii, no. 634; *RT*, 146-7.

²⁸⁰ See The Mandeville & de Vere Genealogy, xviii.

²⁸¹ *Monasticon*, vi.i, 374; *Westminster Abbey Charters*, no. 350; *Cartulary of Holy Trinity Aldgate*, no. 962.

²⁸² *Norfolk Portion of the Chartulary of the Priory of St Pancras of Lewes*, nos 59-60; *RT*, 145; Crouch, 'The March & the Welsh Kings', 275n.

²⁸³ *OV*, vi, 550.

²⁸⁴ Ward, 'Royal Service And Reward', 274-5; Crouch, *Reign of King Stephen*, 129-30.

as will be discussed shortly, suggesting that the latter motive was a significant factor in his actions.

The kinship bonds between the Clares and Ranulf II, earl of Chester came to the political forefront in 1146 when Ranulf II was imprisoned and then ransomed by the king. Gilbert fitz Richard II, earl of Hertford acted as a guarantor for Ranulf II as his nephew.²⁸⁵ Once released, however, Ranulf II immediately rebelled again, which led to reprisals by Stephen.

'Gilbert fitz Richard... the king took at the very beginning of the insurrection because he had given himself, together with his castles, as hostage for the earl, being his nephew...'²⁸⁶

After he had surrendered his own castles, Gilbert fitz Richard II joined Ranulf II, and they were soon joined by Gilbert fitz Gilbert, who had failed to persuade King Stephen to grant the forfeited castles of his nephew Gilbert to his care.²⁸⁷ The author of the *Gesta Stephani* recorded that Gilbert fitz Gilbert made the claim on his nephew's lands because they were his by hereditary right.²⁸⁸ Strictly interpreted this was clearly an inaccurate claim as Gilbert fitz Richard's brothers would have had a better claim on his lands and title, but as the eldest and most powerful member of the kin-group, Gilbert apparently believed he was the proper person to act as guardian to the familial estates.²⁸⁹

That the bond of kinship had motivated or was believed to have motivated the actions of Gilbert fitz Richard II is clear as the chronicler actually described him as 'being his nephew'.²⁹⁰ It also shows that on occasion,

²⁸⁵ *GS*, 200-2; *RT*, 152.

²⁸⁶ *GS*, 200.

²⁸⁷ *Ibid*, 200-4; *Diceto*, i, 255-6.

²⁸⁸ *GS*, 200-1; Discussion of Anglo-Norman succession practice and law: Hudson, 'Life-grants of land and the development of inheritance in Anglo-Norman England', 67-80; *idem*, *Land, Law, and Lordship*, 4-5.

²⁸⁹ Crouch, *Reign of King Stephen*, 129-30.

²⁹⁰ *GS*, 200. *...erat namque illius nepos...*; his two uncles are described differently, Ranulf of Chester is *...auunculum se...* while Gilbert fitz Gilbert is *...patruus suus...* both terms mean

kinship was considered sufficient reason for a magnate to take political action risked the loss of all his possessions. In this case, the separate concerns of the Marcher lords, which sometimes appeared to supersede the civil war between the king and the empress, may have contributed to Gilbert's decision.²⁹¹ Both Gilberts' had reconciled with the king by 1147, and were restored to their earldoms and lands, while Ranulf II of Chester continued to support the Angevins against Stephen.²⁹²

Less than a year later in 1148, Gilbert fitz Gilbert died and was succeeded by his son Richard fitz Gilbert IIIb, also known as Richard Strongbow.²⁹³ After his inheritance, Richard fitz Gilbert IIIb was focussed on the Welsh and marcher lands of Pembroke and Striguil rather than on civil war politics.²⁹⁴ In 1152 Gilbert fitz Richard II also died, but without a direct heir, so his younger brother, Roger fitz Richard, succeeded to all his lands and titles.²⁹⁵ Roger, like his cousin Richard, focussed on securing and reclaiming the lands Richard fitz Gilbert II had held in Wales before 1135.²⁹⁶ Their decision to absent themselves from the civil war reflected the actions of a large portion of the aristocracy after 1147 as the conflict continued despite the inability of either side to achieve an outright victory.²⁹⁷ The reduced participation in the conflict by the aristocracy of both sides is particularly notable in the

uncle however it is interesting that the maternal paternal uncles are identified by different terms.

²⁹¹ *GND*, ii, 276; And for a discussion of the relationships between the Marcher lords and the Welsh princes; P. Barbier, *The Age of Owain Gwynedd* (London & Newport, 1908), 3-4, 8; Davies, 'Colonial Wales', 3-23; idem, 'Kings, Lords and Liberties in the March of Wales', 41-61; idem, *Conquest, Coexistence and Change*; idem, *Domination & Conquest*; I. W. Rowlands, 'The Making of the March: Aspects of the Norman Settlement in Dyfed', *Proceedings of the Battle Conference*, 3 (1980), 142-157, endnotes, 221-225; Crouch, 'The March & the Welsh Kings', 255-289.

²⁹² *GS*, 236; *EEA*, IV: *Lincoln*, Appendix I, no. xviii; *Anglo-Norman Earls of Chester*, no. 89.

²⁹³ *GND*, ii, 270; *RT*, 270; *Deeds*, 64.

²⁹⁴ Several members of the aristocracy took part in the Second Crusade, and their losses in England and Normandy, as well as a desire to remove themselves from the conflict probably contributed to their motivations at least as much as piety. *RT*, 152; *Chartulary of Lewes Priory*, no. 14N.

²⁹⁵ *RT*, 172.

²⁹⁶ *Brut*, *Hergest*, 139-41, 145; *Brut*, *Peniarth*, 60-3.

²⁹⁷ Hollister, 'Reluctant Anarchists', 79; J. Bradbury, *Stephen and Matilda, the Civil War of 1139-1153* (Stroud, 1996), 141-164.

behaviour of the Clares, but has also been addressed by Dalton and Crouch amongst others in relation to specific examples such as Waleran de Meulan and Robert de Neubourg.²⁹⁸

The fitz Walters, a cadet branch of the Clares, descended from Robert fitz Richard, and two of Gilbert fitz Richard I's younger sons also appear in civil war sources but only limited information about their activities can be found.²⁹⁹ The fitz Walter branch of the kin-group continued to serve in the royal household. Robert fitz Richard's son Walter inherited the lordship of Dunmow in 1137, and was a royal steward throughout the civil war period, as his father had been under Henry I and briefly, under King Stephen.³⁰⁰ Walter's first wife, Matilda was the daughter of Humphrey de Bohun II, a royal constable under Henry I and later a supporter of the Empress.³⁰¹ The marriage probably occurred around the time of Robert fitz Richard's death in 1137, and the positions of Walter and Humphrey within the royal household would have contributed to the match. After 1137, Walter and Humphrey were on opposite sides during the civil war, and it is unlikely that the marriage was arranged during that period. Matilda may have died shortly after the marriage took place, as they had no children, and Walter was able to marry again.³⁰²

Walter fitz Gilbert, as a younger son of Gilbert fitz Richard I, and his nephew Richard fitz Richard II, younger son of Richard fitz Gilbert II held insufficient land to act independently, and they appear instead as representatives of their respective elder brothers.³⁰³ Walter fitz Gilbert had inherited nothing directly

²⁹⁸ D. Crouch, 'A Norman 'conventio' and bonds of lordship in the middle ages', in *Law & Government in Medieval England & Normandy*, ed. G. Garnett & J. Hudson (Cambridge, 1994), 299-324, 299-306, 321-4.

²⁹⁹ See Part III, Chapter 2, The Clares Genealogy, x-xi.

³⁰⁰ *EEA*, VI: *Norwich*, nos 147, 148; *EEA*, 31: *Ely, 1109–1197*, ed. N. Karn (London, 2005) nos 64, 136. This will be discussed in more Part III.

³⁰¹ *Monasticon*, i, 66, 482; Delisle, *Henri II*, nos 3, 50, 413, 462, 470; *Historia Novella*, 36-7.

³⁰² As both of Walter's wives were named Matilda it is not always clear which wife appeared in the charters.

³⁰³ For a discussion of this trend during the mid-twelfth century see Crouch, 'The March & the Welsh Kings', 280-1; idem, *Reign of King Stephen*, 130-1.

from his father, although he apparently held the castle of Le Sap for King Stephen between c.1138 and c.1144.³⁰⁴ Walter's custodianship of Le Sap may have been due to it formerly being held by his great-uncle Baldwin fitz Gilbert I, as the Clares repeatedly demonstrate a long communal memory of their former properties and sought to reclaim them at any opportunity.³⁰⁵ As previously discussed, Walter accompanied his sister Rohese to her wedding to Baderon de Monmouth, and later acted as Gilbert fitz Gilbert's caretaker in the Welsh marches, while his brother attended the royal court.³⁰⁶ He lost his position at Le Sap following the Angevin successes in Normandy and was entirely dependent on the king and his kinsmen for support and favour. However the Clares' relationship with Stephen was at its lowest ebb between 1144 and 1147 and this may explain why Walter chose to join the Second Crusade in 1147, removing himself from the civil war.³⁰⁷ He subsequently returned to England and resumed his position as dependent and trusted younger brother although there little post-1147 evidence of his existence.³⁰⁸

Richard fitz Richard II was the younger brother of both Gilbert and Roger fitz Richard II and his existence can be traced primarily through his appearances in the cartulary of Stoke by Clare as a witness to the grants of his kinsmen.³⁰⁹ He was probably the Richard de Clare who was married to Alina, daughter of Geoffrey fitz Baldwin of Bures, a tenant of the Clares in Suffolk, although this identification is disputed.³¹⁰ The marriage is only recorded in two grants made by Alina '*...pro anima Ricardi de Clara viri mei...*' presumably after Richard's death in 1190, and a later confirmation issued by Gilbert fitz Richard III, earl of Hertford and Gloucester.³¹¹ Michael Gervers has

³⁰⁴ OV, vi, 470.

³⁰⁵ Ward, 'Royal Service and Reward', 274-5; Crouch, *Reign of King Stephen*, 129-30.

³⁰⁶ *Sancti Petri*, i, nos 116, 248; ii, 221; *Monasticon*, iv, 596-7, nos 2, 3; *Book of Seals*, no. 193; Wood, *Tintern Abbey*, 7-8, *Walter de Sap*.

³⁰⁷ *RRAN*, iii, nos 102, 546, *Walterus filius Gilberti perrexit Jerosolimam*.

³⁰⁸ BL Add. Ms. 46701; *SbC*, no. 26 (1173); *Stixwold Cartulary*, no. 4.

³⁰⁹ *SbC*, nos 25-26, 28, 30, 34, 67, 134; *Anglo-Norman Earls of Chester*, no. 109; Bouchard, *Sword, Miter & Cloister*, 62.

³¹⁰ *DB*, ii, fos. 393v, 396v; *RRAN*, iii, no. 201; *Feudal Documents of Bury St Edmunds*, no. 78. See also, the Bures Genealogy in Appendix 2.

³¹¹ *SbC*, no. 571; *Knights of St John*, nos 424-25.

suggested that Alina married Reinfrid, son of Roger and then after his death, Richard fitz Roger, earl of Hertford, and after his death in 1217, she finally married Hugo de Clahull.³¹² This is possible as Reinfrid was alive concurrently with Richard fitz Roger, earl of Hertford, as the earl confirmed Reinfrid and Alina's possession of the manor of Sampford, and Hugo de Clahull also predeceased Alina, dying between 1225 and 1230.³¹³ This all suggests that her marriages were short-lived and contained within the first three decades of the twelfth century, and this was unlikely as Alina's own charters for Stoke-by-Clare priory issued c.1173, already use the title '*Alina domina de Samford*', which suggests that she had acquired the title and the manor in her own right at an early date.³¹⁴

This would seem more likely if she received the manor as her dower from a marriage into the Clare kin-group, rather than through a less formal relationship.³¹⁵ In addition to being too young in the 1170s, the disparity in status also makes Alina's marriage unlikely to have been to Richard fitz Roger, earl of Hertford. Particularly as it is known that Richard married Amice, daughter of William earl of Gloucester and although they separated, they did not divorce and Richard died first.³¹⁶ It seems improbable that the third earl of Hertford would have replaced the daughter and subsequent heiress of the earl of Gloucester with the already mature daughter of one of his tenants.³¹⁷ Since the language used to describe the relationship and her freedom to dispose of the manor of Sampford to her chosen heirs indicate that a marriage was recognised between Alina and Richard, it is more probable that her first marriage was an early match to Richard fitz Richard II ended by his death c.1190.

³¹² *Monasticon*, i, 499, *Rogeri filii Reinfredi; Knights of St John*, nos 906, 924, 926, and notes.

³¹³ *Knights of St John*, no. 926: confirmation grant of the manor of Sampford to Reinfrid and Alina by Richard fitz Roger c.1210; nos 907, 927: both issued after no. 906 (c.1225) and after the death of Hugo de Clahull, but before the death of Gilbert fitz Richard III, earl of Hertford and Gloucester c.1230.

³¹⁴ *SbC*, no. 567, dated late twelfth century.

³¹⁵ *SbC*, nos 291, 568; *Knights of St John*, nos 906-07, 924-27.

³¹⁶ *SBC*, no. 64, iii, p. 23; *CP*, vi, 502.

³¹⁷ *Monasticon*, i, 61.

The Giffards

Walter Giffard III was amongst those members of the aristocracy who still held substantial properties on both sides of the Channel and he was forced to choose between them as the civil war developed.³¹⁸ Initially a supporter of King Stephen in Normandy, Walter III submitted to Geoffrey of Anjou c.1142 because maintaining possession of the lordship of Longueville was more important to him than the lands his father and grandfather had acquired in England.³¹⁹ As discussed above, Gilbert fitz Gilbert and his son Richard were granted custodianship of the English lands, and after Henry II's coronation they were restored to Walter III.³²⁰ Walter III was perceived by the chroniclers as having led the principal aristocratic kin-groups to surrender the Pays de Caux to the Angevin forces, which suggests that the most powerful aristocratic kin-groups were seen as functioning as a unit.³²¹ Walter III remained loyal to the Angevins in Normandy but did not contribute to the efforts of the Empress in England.³²²

Walter III's wife, Ermengarde, appeared in charters, but no information is extant as to her parentage or identity beyond her first name.³²³ Ermengarde was a relatively unusual name at that time but it appeared in other kin-groups from the Pays de Caux, including Ermengarde, daughter of Gerard Fleitel who became the wife of Walter Giffard I a century earlier.³²⁴ This Ermengarde could also be a daughter of Ranulf I, earl of Chester whose wife was Ermentrude, daughter of Hugh de Clermont or related to the de

³¹⁸ *OV*, vi, 186.

³¹⁹ *RT*, 148-9.

³²⁰ *OV*, vi, 550; *RT*, 145; Crouch, 'The March & the Welsh Kings', 275n; idem, *Reign of King Stephen*, 194, 206.

³²¹ *RT*, 145; *OV*, vi, 550; *Reading Abbey Cartularies*, 2 vols, Camden 4th series, 31 & 33, ed. S. F. Hockey & B. R. Kemp (London, 1975 & 1977), i, 209-10.

³²² Delisle, *Henri II*, nos 36 (1151-3); 117 (1156-9); 133 (1156-60); 236 (1157-64)

³²³ *Chartes Longueville*, nos 14-16; *Newington Longueville Charters*, ed. H. E. Salter, *Oxford Record Society*, 3 (1921), nos 1-2, 121.

³²⁴ *Chartes Longueville*, no. 15; *EEA*, 28: *Canterbury. 1070-1186*, ed. M. Brett & J. A. Gibbin (London, 2004), no. 28; *Monasticon*, vi.i, 277; *OV*, iv, 186.

Gournays, where the name Ermentrude also appeared, but without further evidence her origins remain entirely speculative.³²⁵

The geographical bases of both cadet branches of the Giffards were in areas that were controlled by the Angevins for most of the civil war.³²⁶ Elias Giffard II of Brimpsfield chose to be an active supporter of the Empress, while Robert Giffard of Fonthill is not named as a supporter of either side in any of the surviving sources.³²⁷ Elias II's decision to support the Empress and his appearances in the witness lists of her charters may have been partially due to his marriage to Berta, daughter of Richard fitz Pons.³²⁸ This marriage meant that he was connected by affinity to Miles of Gloucester, and this relationship, although relatively tenuous in terms of consanguinity, was important to both parties geographically as their territories abutted with each other and with the Welsh Marches.³²⁹

Elias II was one of the Empress' loyal supporters and named with fifty-one others as such by Brian fitz Count in his letter to Henry, bishop of Winchester.³³⁰ The relationships between many of those named can from the external perspective create a web of connections between many of the prominent aristocratic kin-groups of the time, although the actual degree of relevance that each tie had for the individuals involved would have varied. For example: Ranulf of Chester's sister married Gilbert fitz Gilbert's brother; and Gilbert's sister had married Baderon de Monmouth; and Gilbert's aunt was Aubrey de Vere's mother, while Aubrey's sister married Geoffrey de

³²⁵ *OV*, ii, 262; v, 314. The modern versions of Ermengarde and Ermentrude are different, however in manuscripts they are not, and the decision to use one or the other in a transcription depends as much on the editor as it does on the medieval scribe.

³²⁶ *RBE*, i, 239-241, 245, 300, 312-13.

³²⁷ *Sarum Charters, Charters & documents illustrating the history of the cathedral, city and diocese of Salisbury, in the twelfth & thirteenth centuries*, ed. W. (H.) R. Jones & W. D. Macray, RS 78 (London, 1891), no. 17; *RRAN*, iii, nos 343, 393.

³²⁸ *Sancti Petri*, i, nos 66, 158, 117; ii, 188.

³²⁹ *RRAN*, iii, nos 345, 388; *Earldom of Gloucester Charters*, no. 96; R. H. C. Davis, 'Treaty Between William Earl of Gloucester & Roger Earl of Hereford', in *A Medieval Miscellany for Doris Mary Stenton*, ed. P. M. Barnes & C. F. Slade (London, 1962), 139-146, no. 1; 'Charters of the Earldom of Hereford', no. 17.

³³⁰ E. King, 'The Memory of Brian fitz Count', *HSJ*, 13 (1999), 75-98; M. Chibnall, *The Empress Matilda* (Oxford, 1991), 99.

Mandeville II, and finally Walter de Chandos was related to Robert de Chandos who married Isabel, the half-sister of Walter Giffard III, whose father had been the brother of Gilbert fitz Gilbert's grandmother.³³¹

The majority of these relationships were relatively close in degree although there is little evidence of direct contact between the principal and cadet branches of the Giffards.³³² Indeed, local political and geographical associations appear more important for the branches of the Giffard kin-group, as will be explored through this thesis. Between 1147 and 1150 Elias II also appeared third out of fourteen witnesses in the confirmation *conventio* issued by William, earl of Gloucester and Roger II, earl of Hereford.³³³ Elias appeared on behalf of Roger II, earl of Hereford, son of Miles of Gloucester. Also attesting to the agreement were Elias' brother-in-law Walter de Clifford and members of the extended Giffard-Clare kindred and neighbouring peers such as Baderon de Monmouth and Robert de Chandos. Elias II attended the Empress' court and as such, he joined Matilda in making gifts to Heytesbury.³³⁴

The Tosnys

According to Orderic Vitalis, Roger III had been suspected of supporting Geoffrey of Anjou and the Empress Maud in the last months of Henry I's reign.³³⁵ In the aftermath of Henry's death and Stephen's coronation his support for the Empress and her husband became increasingly overt.³³⁶

³³¹ *Monasticon*, i, 60; and see the Giffard Kin-group and the de Vere/ Mandeville Genealogies, xii, xviii.

³³² *RBE*, i, 240, 245, 312; *Liber Niger Scaccarii nec non Wilhelmi Worcestrii annals Rerum Anglicarum*, ed. Thomas Herne, 2 vols (London, 1774), 59, 80, 189; The Giffards of Brimpsfield were tenants of the Giffards de Longueville and the two branches also shared at least one sub-tenant family, as members of the de Nuers kin-group appeared in charters issued by both lines. This will be expanded on in Part III.

³³³ 'Charters of the Earldom of Hereford', no. 14; Crouch, 'A Norman 'conventio'', 314.

³³⁴ *RRAN*, iii: nos 343, 393, 795; 902; Delisle, *Henri II*, no. 65; *Sarum Charters*, no. 15; Davis, 'Henry of Blois and Brian Fitz-Count', 300; S. Marritt, 'Secular Cathedrals and the Anglo-Norman Aristocracy', in *Cathedrals, Communities and Conflict in the Anglo-Norman World*, ed. P. Dalton, C. Insley & L. J. Wilkinson (Woodbridge, 2011), 151-68, 162.

³³⁵ *OV*, vi, 444-8.

³³⁶ *Ibid*, 444-8, 456-62.

There were probably several reasons for Roger's decision, and the rights of the Empress to the throne would have formed the least part of his motivation. The relative proximity of Anjou to Conches, particularly since Roger's father had faced invasions from Anjou less than two decades earlier, would have been a contributory factor, but, it was conflict with the Beaumonts that contemporaries saw as critical.³³⁷ Waleran de Meulan and Robert II, earl of Leicester were both very close to King Stephen in the early years of his reign, resulting in Waleran acting as the king's lieutenant in Normandy.³³⁸ This refreshed the old conflict between the Tosny's and the Beaumont's, and in 1136 Waleran de Meulan and Count Theobald of Blois captured Roger III after a series of attacks and he was not released until 1137.³³⁹ In the immediate aftermath of the imprisonment, Roger III successfully attacked Breteuil and the struggle was resumed for another year.³⁴⁰

In 1138 Roger, apparently reconciled with the Beaumonts, accompanied Waleran and Robert II to England, and it was probably at this time that the marriage of Ralph V de Tosny, and Margaret, daughter of Robert II of Leicester was arranged.³⁴¹ In the same period, Roger III's sister Godehildis III married Robert de Neubourg, cousin to Waleran de Meulan and Robert II of Leicester.³⁴² During his conflict with the Beaumonts, Roger III had received support from his brother-in-law, Baldwin IV, Count of Hainaut and a large force.³⁴³ This case provides evidence that an exogamous marriage could result in positive support when needed. Baldwin's involvement may also explain why the Beaumonts and the Tosnys made peace during the

³³⁷ *OV*, vi, 202-4, 220, 228-34; *Deeds of Louis the Fat*, 69-75, 111-18; *HH*, 464.

³³⁸ *OV*, vi, 456, 514.

³³⁹ *Ibid*, ii, 40.

³⁴⁰ *Ibid*, vi, 456-8, 514-18, 524-8; *RT*, 131-2.

³⁴¹ *Sarum Charters*, no. 12; *RRAN*, iii, nos 640, 787-88, all issued in the winter of 1139, with Waleran de Meulan; by 1164, Margaret was a widow, with £24 from her dower of Walthamstow: *Rotuli de Dominabus*, 77; *Widows, Heirs and Heiresses*, no. 194; *PR 10 HII*, 38; *PR 12 HII*, 125; *PR 13 HII*, 152.

³⁴² *GND*, ii, 278.

³⁴³ *OV*, vi, 456, '80 knights'; *Gilbert of Mons*, 38, '300 knights'; Power, *The Norman Frontier*, 228.

autumn of 1138, leading to Roger III's reconciliation with King Stephen. The rapprochement did not last and for the rest of the civil war Roger III supported the Empress and afterwards her son, Henry.³⁴⁴

The situation of the Stafford kin-group has been less well recorded, and this has made it difficult to assess the extent of Robert II of Stafford's interactions with his distant relations.³⁴⁵ No reference to Robert II's wife Avice's heritage or parentage is extant.³⁴⁶ Since the majority of Robert II's actions during Stephen's reign take place in a lordship context rather than that of kinship they will be discussed in Part III. In comparison several individuals who were part of the Tosnys of Belvoir's extended kin-group played prominent roles in the civil war between Stephen and Matilda.³⁴⁷ By 1136, the lordship of Belvoir had passed to the daughters and granddaughter of Robert of Tosny and their husbands, including William d'Albini *brito* and William d'Aubigny *pincerna* and was no longer a 'Tosny' lordship.³⁴⁸ Amongst the descendants of Robert of Tosny, Roger Bigod and Alice's son Hugh Bigod I, played a prominent role in the civil war.³⁴⁹ William d'Albini *brito* was not able to fully claim the lordship of Belvoir until after his mother-in-law's death, but he continued to act as lord of Belvoir as castellan for the king.³⁵⁰

Summary

The Clare, Giffard and Tosny kin-groups found that kinship was a significant yet unreliable bond during the crisis in Stephen's reign, and it provides another approach to the vast historiography on the role of the aristocracy

³⁴⁴ *RRAN*, iii, no. 729; *CDF*, no. 109; Delisle, *Henri II*, nos 14, 70-71, 133, 423, 433.

³⁴⁵ *RRAN*, iii, no. 134; *Staffordshire Chartulary*, ii, nos 4, 9-10, 12; *Kenilworth Cartulary*, no. 210.

³⁴⁶ *Staffordshire Chartulary*, i, no.5; ii, nos 8, 15-16, 18-19.

³⁴⁷ See The Tosnys of Belvoir Genealogy, xvii.

³⁴⁸ *EEA*, IV: *Lincoln*, no. 173.

³⁴⁹ *Liber Eliensis*, 285; *Historia Pontificalis of John of Salisbury*, ed. M. Chibnall (Oxford, 1986), 84; *EEA*, VI: *Norwich*, nos 21, 22; Wareham, 'Motives & Politics of the Bigod Family', 223-242; C. W. Hollister, 'The Aristocracy', in *The Anarchy of King Stephen's Reign*, ed. E. King (Oxford, 1994), 37-66.

³⁵⁰ *Monasticon*, vi.i, 289, no. 111; *Rutland*, 109-10, 144; *RRAN*, iii, no. 180; King, 'The foundation of Pipewell abbey, Northamptonshire', *HSJ*, 2 (1990), 167-77, 171n.

during the conflict from 1138-53.³⁵¹ This historiography has diverged greatly in its interpretation of the motivations and behaviour of the aristocracy and it is in this area that the comparative evidence of the three kin-groups is crucial.³⁵² While there are no extant first hand sources for the Clare, Giffard or Tosny kin-groups at that time which can provide direct information about the reasons why they acted in a certain way, their behaviour during Stephen's reign can be placed in the context of their actions throughout the tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries, allowing for a more broadly informed interpretation. Through these case studies it is possible to see evidence supporting the older interpretation of disruptive magnates motivated by greed and self-interest and also of the more modern view of the aristocracy as members of society concerned by the disorder and seeking to minimise the impact.³⁵³ A key example of one magnate whose behaviour fitted both interpretations was Gilbert fitz Gilbert, and his actions to accumulate the forfeited estates of both his cousin Walter Giffard III and his nephew Gilbert fitz Richard II. These acquisitions have been interpreted as the machinations of self-interest, but can also be seen as a genuine impulse to protect the extended kin-group and their possessions. Given the results of his actions, it seems most likely that Gilbert fitz Gilbert was concerned with benefitting himself, but that he also sought to use his status at the king's court to protect the interests of those he considered family. His behaviour was not entirely unselfish as there was the possibility that he would be able to retain the lands permanently.

Another example of this multiplicity of motivations is the case of the Tosnys of Conches, whose involvement in the succession dispute was shaped by their ongoing dispute with the Beaumonts. Since their rivals were amongst the king's closest advisors, and they had married into the kin-based network the Tosnys had previously developed, Roger II's earlier exogamous marriage to Ida of Hainaut provided him with a valuable ally in the conflict. Roger's support of the Angevin party can be seen as a defensive manoeuvre or

³⁵¹ This area of historiography was examined in the Introduction, see fns 28, 82, 114-16.

³⁵² White, 'King Stephen, Duke Henry & Ranulf de Gernons', 555-565; Hollister, 'The Magnates of Stephen's Reign: Reluctant Anarchists', 77-87; White, 'Continuity in Government', 117-144; idem, 'The Myth of the Anarchy', 323-337.

³⁵³ The most impressive is Dalton's defence of Ranulf II, Dalton, 'In Neutro Latere', 39-59.

aggressive and self-serving. Whereas the Tosnys benefited from the support of their kin-based network, the Clares discovered that kinship was sometimes ignored for self-interest, as in the case of Ranulf II of Chester, who held one of his Clare brother-in-laws to ransom, and rebelled against Stephen despite knowing his Clare nephew would be held accountable. The willingness of the Clares to risk their possessions to support their kinsman contrasts with their reluctance to support Robert Curthose to that extent in the 1090s and the beginning of the twelfth century.

The general absence of Walter Giffard III from the sources that detail the events of the civil war make it impossible to judge the degree to which he was involved in the events in Normandy. In comparison the situation of the Angevin court allowed Elias Giffard II to improve his status amongst the aristocracy, assisted by his ties of affinity to prominent members such as Miles of Gloucester. Elias II is more prominent in the royal-ducal charters because of the civil war and this point will be discussed further in Part III. The involvement of the Tosnys of Belvoir and the Staffords are more complex. The Tosnys of Belvoir had descended through the female line for two generations and with the titles held by the Bigods and by William d'Albini *brito* it was no longer a Tosny lordship in any real sense as the associations of the other kin-groups had come to dominate. Robert II of Stafford was still connected to his cousins through shared ties to religious houses, but his involvement in the civil war was restricted to local matters and both of these matters will be discussed in more detail below.

The case studies of the Clare, Giffard and Tosny kin-groups provide evidence that the behaviour of the aristocracy during King Stephen's reign was both self-interested and concerned with public order. Their commitment to the king or the Empress was affected by other factors, but those other factors were not necessarily disruptive or self-seeking, and could be based in a effort to protect the people and possessions of extended kin-based networks. The consequences of the civil war and the actions and bonds developed during Stephen's reign affected the next generation of the Clare, Giffard and Tosny kin-groups influencing further acknowledgement and development of their kin-based networks under Henry II.

Chapter 5:

Aristocratic Kin-groups after 1154

The Clares

Under Henry II, the Clares' social and political standing appears to have been reduced, perhaps because of their prior close association with King Stephen. In comparison to the regular appearances by members of the kin-group in Henry I and Stephen's charters, the earls of Hertford and Pembroke between them appeared in only thirty-three of the surviving charters issued by Henry II, although they are still the most frequent attestors of their patrilineal kinsmen.³⁵⁴ This new relationship between the king and the Clares may explain their shift in family arrangements, as new bonds of kinship were formed through both endogamous and exogamous marriages. Endogamous marriages in particular offered connections with kin-groups possessing royal favour; while exogamous marriages provided external allies independent of Henry II. These alternatives are most clearly apparent in the marriages of Roger fitz Richard II, earl of Hertford and Richard fitz Gilbert III, whose title earl of Pembroke was removed from him by Henry II.³⁵⁵

Roger fitz Richard II's marriage to Matilda de Saint Hilaire cannot be accurately dated as he does not appear in the sources prior to his inheritance of his brother's properties and titles.³⁵⁶ Matilda was the daughter of Humphrey II de Bohun, who held lands in Norfolk based around Buckenham, not too far from the Clares' Suffolk properties, and also had properties at Harcourt in Normandy approximately twenty miles from Orbec.³⁵⁷ Humphrey

³⁵⁴ N. Vincent, 'Did Henry II Have a Policy Towards the Earls?', in *War, Government and Aristocracy in the British Isles, c.1150-1500*, ed. C. Given-Wilson, A. Kettle, L. Scales (Woodbridge, 2003), 1-25, 14.

³⁵⁵ Roger fitz Richard II's title was confirmed by Henry II by c.1155, although he appeared more often as earl of Clare; Richard fitz Gilbert III's earldom of Pembroke disappeared after 1154, although after 1171 he was recognised as earl of Striguil. M. T. Flanagan, 'Strongbow, Henry II and Anglo-Norman Intervention in Ireland', in *War and Government in the Middle Ages*, ed. J. C. Holt, & J. Gillingham (Bury St Edmunds, 1984), 62-77, 64-5; Vincent, 'Did Henry II Have a Policy Towards the Earls?', 9-10, 16.

³⁵⁶ *RRAN*, iii, nos 81, 118, 201, 272 are all dated after 1153.

³⁵⁷ G. J. White, 'Humphrey (III) de Bohun (b. before 1144, d.1181)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/2774?docPos=2> accessed 9th October 2008, includes details on Humphrey II de Bohun, father of Humphrey III and Matilda

II had been a loyal supporter of the Empress from her arrival in England, following the lead of his father-in-law, Miles of Gloucester.³⁵⁸ The loyalties of Humphrey de Bohun II, and the fact that this was not a match that brought vast quantities of land, or a significant gain in status to the Clares suggest that the marriage occurred after 1154 as Roger fitz Richard II's position at Henry II's court was not as prominent as his father's had been at Stephen's court.³⁵⁹ In c.1172 Matilda and Roger's son Richard married Amice, daughter of William, earl of Gloucester and granddaughter of Robert of Gloucester.³⁶⁰ This marriage created a bond between two of the most powerful kin-groups in South Wales and the Marches, and meant that the Clares had a kin-based network that extended from Gloucester to their own lands of Ceredigion on the Welsh coast. Amice and Richard separated by 1198, but their son, Gilbert fitz Richard III succeeded both his parents and held the earldom of Hertford from 1217 and Gloucester by 1225.³⁶¹

In the 1160s Diarmait Mac Murchada's appeal for assistance in reclaiming Leinster provided Richard fitz Gilbert IIIb with the opportunity of improving his status and new territories independent of Henry II.³⁶² Richard's uncle Hervey de Montmorency and men from his household led the invasion of Ireland in 1169.³⁶³ Hervey continued to support his nephew in their new lands, receiving the land of Uí Bairrche from Richard and acting as the intermediary between Richard and the King prior to Henry II's visit.³⁶⁴ Richard, himself, did not arrive in Ireland until after the capture of Waterford,

wife of Roger fitz Richard II, earl of Hertford. Buckenham is approximately seventy miles from Clare; Harcourt is approximately twenty miles from Orbec.

³⁵⁸ *HN*, 36-7; *RRAN*, iii, nos 420, 666, 795.

³⁵⁹ Vincent, 'Did Henry II Have a Policy Towards the Earls?', 9-10, 16.

³⁶⁰ *Monasticon*, i, 61; *RT*, 258, 308; *The Cartulary of Bradenstoke Priory*, ed. V. C. M. London, Wiltshire Record Society, 35 (1979), no. 400.

³⁶¹ *Monasticon*, i, 61; *Curia Regis Rolls*, PRO, 16 vols (London, 1923), i, 186, 225, 249; *Annales Monastici*, i, 61, 70, 76-7.

³⁶² *Deeds*, 92; *Expugnatio*, 28-9.

³⁶³ Hervey de Montmorency was Richard's father's half-brother, through the second marriage of Adeliza, widow of Gilbert fitz Richard I, his life and career will be addressed below. *Gervase of Canterbury*, i, 234-5, ii, 79-80.

³⁶⁴ *Deeds*, 131, 161.

and then married Diarmait's daughter Aoifa.³⁶⁵ In this example of an exogamous match, the promise of profit in terms of land, wealth and status provided the motivation rather than desire for a political ally.

While older kinship bonds contributed to Richard's successes in Ireland, the new lands meant that there were opportunities for Richard, his sister, his children and the other kin-groups who had an interest in Ireland to form new bonds and networks.³⁶⁶ Although he had been the nominal leader of the forces that invaded Ireland, Richard was not able to take complete control over other aristocrats intent on establishing themselves there. Richard's principal competitor in Ireland was Raymond le Gros, the grandson of Gerald of Windsor and Nest ferch Rhys and a principal member of the Geraldine kin-group – a collective name for relations of Gerald of Wales.³⁶⁷ The marriage of his sister Basilia to Raymond le Gros and Hervey de Montmorency's marriage to Nest, a cousin of Raymond's were examples of the alliances Richard fitz Gilbert IIIb had to make in Ireland given his still fragile relationship with the king.³⁶⁸

Richard fitz Gilbert IIIb's success in Ireland is shown by Henry II granting him comital title to his lands of Striguil, if not his father's estate of Pembroke, and Richard remained in Ireland as the king's lieutenant.³⁶⁹ The wealth and status of this branch of the Clare kin-group was increased by the division of the escheated Giffard estates in England and Normandy between the heirs of Rohese Giffard by Richard I.³⁷⁰ The Clares connection to the Giffards had occurred more than a hundred years earlier, however, their relationship was clearly known by their contemporaries and it seems to have been the king's

³⁶⁵ *Deeds*, 92; *Rotuli de Dominabus*, 66, 76; *Widows, Heirs and Heiresses*, nos 168, 189.

³⁶⁶ See above p. 84, for the marriage of Rohese VI, daughter of Baderon de Monmouth and her husband, Hugh II de Lacy, *RBE*, i, 280-1; *Anglo-Norman Earls of Chester*, no. 109.

³⁶⁷ Nelson, *Normans in South Wales*, 138 fn. 17, 143.

³⁶⁸ *Expugnatio*, 103, 142-3, 159, 165-7; *RT*, 270.

³⁶⁹ *Expugnatio*, 121, 135-7.

³⁷⁰ *Cartae Antiquae: Rolls 11-20*, ed. J. Conway Davies, Pipe Roll Society (1960), ns 33, no. 564; *The Itinerary of King Richard I*, ed. L. Landon, Pipe Roll Society, ns 13 (1935), 17; *Expugnatio*, 67.

justification for his grant. Demonstrating that even distant kinship bonds could become important political tools in particular circumstances. The marriage of Richard fitz Gilbert IIIb's daughter and eventual heiress, Isabel to William the Marshal a royal favourite, was arranged by King Richard I.³⁷¹ This match increased William's standing within the Anglo-Norman aristocracy, as he was otherwise dependent on the king.³⁷² For the Clares, particularly the Pembroke branch, the marriage was a means of securing their lands and improving their status at court.

Amongst the Fitzwalter cadet branch other marriages indicate the kin-groups' or the king's efforts to create a new series of connections for the Clares as a whole. Walter fitz Robert's first wife, Matilda, daughter of Humphrey de Bohun II predeceased her husband as stated previously. By c.1158, Walter had married Matilda, daughter of Richard de Lucy, gaining her dowry of Diss in Norfolk.³⁷³ Whether this marriage was endogamous or exogamous in nature depends on how broadly these words are interpreted as Diss lay less than sixty miles from Walter's caput of Dunmow in Essex, which was also approximately fifty miles from Matilda's father's principal holding at Huntingdon. If the political and social repercussions of the match are considered then the match was definitely endogamous as Richard de Lucy and Walter fitz Robert had both been members of King Stephen's household.³⁷⁴ Richard de Lucy, like Walter fitz Robert, had been loyal to Stephen but he was also trusted by Henry II and became a significant figure in the Angevin court.³⁷⁵ The descendants of Walter fitz Robert became

³⁷¹ Delisle, *Henri II*, ii, no 466; *History of William Marshal*, ed. A.J. Holden, & trans. S. Gregory, historical notes D. Crouch, 3 vols (London, 2002-2006), i, ll. 9361-9372, 9511-9550; D. Power, 'Henry, Duke of the Normans (1149/50-1189)', in *Henry II: New Interpretations*, ed. C. Harper-Bill & N. Vincent (Woodbridge, 2007), 85-128, 111.

³⁷² Crouch, *William Marshal: court, career & chivalry*, idem, 'Writing a Biography in the Thirteenth Century: the Construction and Composition of the "History of William Marshal"' in *Writing Medieval Biography: Essays in Honour of Frank Barlow*, ed. D. Bates, J. Crick & S. Hamilton (Woodbridge, 2006), 221-235.

³⁷³ *Curia Regis Rolls*, i, 20; *Monasticon*, i, 66, 482; Delisle, *Henri II*, nos 3, 50, 413, 462, 470; *Historia Novella*, 36-7.

³⁷⁴ *Ancient Charters*: nos 28, 35, 38-41; *Early Charters of the Cathedral Church of St Paul's*, ed. M. Gibbs, Camden 3rd ser., 58 (London, 1939): nos 36-39, 43-44; *Monasticon*, iii, 475; v, 181.

³⁷⁵ *RT*, 282; E. Amt, *The Accession of Henry II in England* (Woodbridge, 1993), 17, 21-3, 67, 166.

known as the Fitzwalters and his son Robert Fitzwalter was one of the leaders of the baronial conflict that led to the creation of Magna Carta in 1215.³⁷⁶

The Giffards

In 1154, after Henry II's coronation Walter III was restored to his English possessions, adding them to his Norman estates based around Longueville. His decade of dispossession may explain why Walter III used the title 'earl of Buckingham' more frequently than his father had tended to do, in both his own and royal charters.³⁷⁷ After he had regained his lands, Walter III appears to have rigorously reinforced his lordship in England, founding three religious houses on his lands between 1155 and 1164.³⁷⁸ Walter III had no heir and the earldom of Buckingham and the lordship of Longueville therefore escheated to the crown.³⁷⁹ Subsequently Isabel, daughter of Richard fitz Gilbert IIIb, her husband William the Marshal, and her cousin Richard earl of Hertford and lord of Clare received these estates.³⁸⁰

David Crouch has argued that William the Marshal was the grandson of Gilbert Giffard, royal constable under Henry I and a younger son of the Giffards of Brimpsfield.³⁸¹ However, Crouch does not accept that the Giffards of Longueville and the Giffards of Brimpsfield were related, whereas in this thesis it is presumed that there was a kinship bond, even if the details are unclear.³⁸² If William the Marshal was a grandson of Gilbert Giffard, then his

³⁷⁶ *Monasticon*, iii, 475; v, 181; His daughter Matilda, married William de Luvetot but was widowed by the time she was 24: *Rotuli de Dominabus*, 67, 87; *Widows, Heirs and Heiresses*, no. 172.

³⁷⁷ *Monasticon*, vi.i, 277; *Chartes Longueville*, nos 6, 15, 95; *Newington Longueville Charters*: no. 1; *EEA*, 31: *Ely*, no. 66; in comparison he appeared as earl or count of Longueville very rarely, Delisle, *Henri II*, no. 36.

³⁷⁸ Newington Longueville Priory, Notley Abbey and Sheringham Priory: the foundations of these houses will be discussed in more detail in Part III.

³⁷⁹ *PR 2-3-4 HII*, 124, 126, 140; *EEA*, VI: *Norwich*, no. 258; *Rotuli de Dominabus*, xxvi, xxxix, 31n, 34n, 38n, 41n, 42n, 51, 52n, 53, 55n, 56n, 57n, 85; *Widows, Heirs and Heiresses*, x-xi, 90n, 119, 124, 139n, 218.

³⁸⁰ *Cartae Antiquae: Rolls 11-20*, no. 564.

³⁸¹ *History of William Marshal*, i, ll. 783-794; Crouch, *William Marshal: Knighthood, War and Chivalry*, 13; N. E. Stacy, 'Henry of Blois and the Lordship of Glastonbury', *EHR*, 114 (1999), 1-33, 32-3.

³⁸² See the Giffard Genealogy, xii-xiv.

position as guardian to Elias Giffard IV during his minority was probably a combination of affinity and lordship, as the Giffards of Brimpsfield held lands from the Giffards of Longueville in Buckingham.³⁸³ This connection would be a further reason for the Marshal's inheritance to a part share of the principal Giffards holdings.

In addition to the Giffards of Brimpsfield and Fonthill there were several other Giffards active in the southwest of England, although precise relationships between members of these isolated units can not be identified. These examples can help further network analysis of the Anglo-Norman aristocracy as the bonds they developed as individuals or generational family units can sometimes be traced back to larger groups, but the lack of information as to their relationship with the identified Giffard kin-groups means that they do not tend to illuminate the Giffard network as a whole. William Giffard was a member of the Giffards of Fonthill kin-group, a tenant of the Staffords and a benefactor of Kenilworth priory.³⁸⁴ He was a steward to Roger Earl of Warwick and held two knights' fees from him in 1166.³⁸⁵ His brother Roger Giffard, and a Gilbert Giffard also attested charters issued by Roger earl of Warwick.³⁸⁶

A Hugh Giffard accompanied Ada de Warenne to Scotland as part of her entourage on her marriage to Earl Henry of Scotland.³⁸⁷ He was soon established within the Scottish court, and was married to a nameless

³⁸³ *RBE*, i, 312.

³⁸⁴ *Kenilworth Cartulary*, 169-71.

³⁸⁵ *RBE*, i, 326; *Monasticon*, vi.iii, 1326; *Worcester Cathedral Priory*, no. 9.

³⁸⁶ William Giffard: *Monasticon*, vi.iii 1326; *Kenilworth Cartulary*, nos 24, 26, 58, 143, 212, 438, H.1039; H.1041. Gilbert Giffard: *Monasticon*, vi.iii 1326. Roger Giffard: *Kenilworth Cartulary*, nos 212, 228, 438. Robert Giffard: *Kenilworth Cartulary*, nos 58-59. See The Giffard Genealogy, xii.

³⁸⁷ *Early Scottish Charters, Prior to A.D. 1153*, ed. A. C. Lawrie (Glasgow, 1905), no. 260; *Acts of William I, King of Scots, 1165-1214 Regesta Regum Scottorum*, ed. G. W. S. Barrow & W. W. Scott (Edinburgh, 1971), nos 3, 5, 28, 48, 52, 55, 78-9, 85, 100, 129, 136, 149, 151-53, 173, 199, 201-3, 213, 222, 227, 242, 250, 266, 270, 296, 352, 358, 469; V. Chandler, 'Ada de Warenne, Queen Mother of Scotland (c.1123-78)', *Scottish Historical Review*, 60 (1981), 119-139, 126-9.

daughter of Herbert, royal chamberlain to David I and Malcolm IV.³⁸⁸ Hugh Giffard received the manor of Borrowstoun from Herbert as his wife's dowry; David I, Malcolm IV and William the Lion also gave Hugh land in Fife.³⁸⁹ Several of Hugh's immediate kin occur or are mentioned in his charters, including his father John, his brothers Richard and William and his own son, another William.³⁹⁰ Hugh and William Giffard witnessed one charter issued by Ada de Warenne in company with a Walter Giffard.³⁹¹ Victoria Chandler found no evidence of where Walter fitted with the Giffards of Yester; however he could have been a younger son of Hugh's or a cousin from the Giffards of Bridgerule, where Walter is the most common familial forename.³⁹² Hugh's descendants became part of the Scottish court and aristocratic society apparently without maintaining any ties to their Anglo-Norman origins.³⁹³ Hugh's connection to the Giffard kin-group cannot be identified with any certainty, but it is most likely that he was related to the Giffards of Brimpsfield.

The Giffards of Bridgerule can also be found in the southwest of England. Geography and name patterns suggest a possible connection with the Giffards of Fonhill, or even with the Clare kin-group.³⁹⁴ In the cartulary of Launceston Priory a Gilbert de Warenne is described as Walter Giffard's uncle.³⁹⁵ The record shows that Gilbert held Tatson and Bridgerule until c.1155-6, when he became a canon of Launceston, and granted Tatson

³⁸⁸ *Calendar of writs preserved at Yester house 1166-1503*, ed. C. C. Harvey & J. MacLeod, (Edinburgh, 1916-28), no. 1; *Acts of William I*, nos 48,85; *Acts of Malcolm IV*, no. 303.

³⁸⁹ *Yester writs*, no. 1; *Acts of William I*, nos 48, 149; *Acts of Malcolm IV*, no. 303.

³⁹⁰ *Early Scottish Charters*, no. 207; *Acts of William I*, nos 5, 209, 267, 296, 300, 335, 340-2, 358, 374, 378, 385, 389, 402, 405, 409-10, 413, 418-19, 421, 423, 426-27, 429, 432, 459, 464, 474. Richard Giffard also appears in: *Westminster Abbey Charters*, no. 386. John Giffard: *Liber Cartarum Prioratus Sancti Andree in Scotia*, ed. T. Thomson (Edinburgh, 1841), 238.

³⁹¹ *Early Scottish Charters*, nos 149, 405; *Calendar of the Laing Charters A.D.854-1837*, ed. J. Anderson (Edinburgh, 1899), no. 2; *Acts of William I*, no. 140,

³⁹² Chandler, 'Ada de Warenne', 126-7.

³⁹³ L. C. Loyd, 'The Origin of the Family of Warenne', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 31 (1932), 97-113, 110; Wormald, *Lords and Men in Scotland*, 95.

³⁹⁴ Bridgerule is in Devon, approximately 168 miles from Brimpsfield and 124 from Fonhill. Hammond, *Prosopographical Analysis of Society in East Central Scotland*, 66-73, 95-111.

³⁹⁵ *Launceston Priory*, nos 428-432, 440.

to the priory and Bridgerule to his nephew, Walter Giffard.³⁹⁶ It is possible that this Warenne-Giffard connection explains Hugh Giffard's position as one of Ada de Warenne's most prominent tenants in Scotland.³⁹⁷

Walter, Robert and William are all names that appear in the line of the Giffards of Longueville, Gilbert appears in the Brimpsfield branch, Robert appears in the Fonthill branch and both William and Walter appear in the Yester line. William and Robert were so common amongst the twelfth century aristocracy that they are not reliable indicators of a relationship. However, Walter is not exceptionally common and taken with the surname it indicates an attempt to relate to the principal line of the kin-group. An Osbern Giffard also occurs in a c.1155 charter for St Pancras of Lewes, a Warenne foundation, suggests that these Giffards of Bridgerule may have been connected to the Giffards of Brimpsfield.³⁹⁸ Amongst the various lines of Giffards in the twelfth century, only the Giffards of Brimpsfield appear to use the forename Osbern. Osbern II may have lived until c.1155 and there appears to be an Osbern III in the next generation, although the lack of specific dates for many of the charters makes clear identification impossible.³⁹⁹ Walter and Gilbert's charters also include references to other members of their kin-group, his wife Matilda, their son William and his brother Roger are named, and William had succeeded to his father's estates by 1180.⁴⁰⁰ Walter's father Robert was also named in grants to Tavistock Abbey, by both Walter and his son William, and they maintained a relationship with the abbey into the thirteenth century.⁴⁰¹ The evidence of nomenclature is not a guarantee, and therefore the relationships suggested

³⁹⁶ Ibid, nos 428, 430, 440; *Cartulary of Bradenstoke Priory*, nos 280, 282.

³⁹⁷ Chandler, 'Ada de Warenne', 126.

³⁹⁸ *Chartulary of Lewes Priory*, no. 15F.

³⁹⁹ Osbern II Giffard: Bates, *Regesta*, no. 27, 64, 269; Osbern III: *Cartulary of Worcester*, no. 21; *Chartulary of Lewes Priory*, no. 15.

⁴⁰⁰ *Launceston Priory*, 72, 432, 435, 440; *EEA, VII: Hereford, 1079-1234*, ed. J. Barrow (London, 1993), no. 29.

⁴⁰¹ H. P. R. Finberg, 'Some Early Tavistock Charters', *EHR*, 62 (1947), 352-77, nos xiv, xxiv, xxxviii, xlix, lix.

above remain speculative but from an informed basis that adds more weight. Therefore there is a strong likelihood that the Giffards of Brimpsfield, Fonthill, Yester, and Bridgerule were connected to varying degrees with the principal Giffard line and with each other.

The Tosnys

Roger III de Tosny was rewarded for his loyalty to the Angevins; in Normandy, he received the castle of Pont-St-Pierre and in England, the Norfolk manor of Holkham.⁴⁰² Between 1157 and 1162, he was succeeded by his son, Ralph V, who himself died in 1162.⁴⁰³ It has been noted above that Ralph V's marriage to Margaret, daughter of Robert II of Leicester may have been intended to end the recurrent conflict between the Beaumonts and the Tosnys and was largely successful in achieving this end.⁴⁰⁴ In 1162 Ralph V's son, Roger IV was a minor and he did not reach his majority until c.1189, and during that time Simon II de Montfort, count of Évreux acted as guardian to his first cousin twice removed.⁴⁰⁵ Simon II's position would have been granted or at least confirmed by Henry II, who may have been motivated by geographical proximity or by their known kinship.⁴⁰⁶

In the late twelfth century, Roger IV's sister Ida was first the ward and then a mistress of Henry II, and the mother of his son William de Longspee, earl of Salisbury. Later she married Roger Bigod II, earl of Norfolk.⁴⁰⁷ Roger IV held twenty-six estates in Norfolk, including the manor of Holkham, which the king granted to his father, so a connection to the most powerful magnate in

⁴⁰² *OV*, vi, 444-6, 456-62; *RT*, 131; *Rotuli de Dominabus*. 50-1; *Widows, Heirs and Heiresses*, no. 117; Crouch, *Beaumont Twins*, 32.

⁴⁰³ Delisle, *Henri II*, nos 70 (1154); 71 (1154); 133 (1156-60); *Conches*: nos 406, 411; *EEA*, 31: *Ely*, no. 57.

⁴⁰⁴ *Rotuli de Dominabus*, 77; *Widows, Heirs and Heiresses*, no. 194.

⁴⁰⁵ ADE H262, fo. 78r; Roger IV did not appear in any charters issued by Henry II, his first court appearances were in 1189 for Richard I. Landon, *Itinerary of King Richard I*, 17, 22-3.

⁴⁰⁶ Milsom, 'The Origin of Perogative Wardship', 223-244.

⁴⁰⁷ *PR 11 John*, 101; *Cartulary of Bradenstoke Priory*, no. 646. M. Morris, *The Bigod Earls of Norfolk in the Thirteenth Century* (Woodbridge, 2005), 2.

Norfolk was a beneficial arrangement.⁴⁰⁸ By the beginning of the thirteenth century the Tosnys were amongst the Angevin kings' closest advisors, although they had not acquired a comital title on either side of the Channel.⁴⁰⁹ Roger IV de Tosny reached his majority c.1189; prior to which he married Constance, daughter of Richard Beaumont-sur-Sarthe.⁴¹⁰

This marriage created a second connection between the Tosnys and the Scottish kings, as Constance's sister Ermengarde was married to William the Lion.⁴¹¹ The primary beneficiaries of these connections within the Tosny kin-group were Simon de Tosny, son of Ralph IV de Tosny and his nephew Geoffrey, son of Roger III, and their connection with the Scottish royal court will be addressed in Part II. This exogamous marriage brought Roger IV the manor of South Tawton in Devon as his wife's dowry, as well as forming a connection to the *vicomtes* of Maine.⁴¹² Roger IV took part in the Third Crusade and after he returned home, he was amongst those members of the aristocracy called on to provide their sons as hostages for the king's ransom in 1193/4.⁴¹³ At this point, Baldwin V, count of Hainaut and Flanders intervened and kept his four year-old cousin at Mauberge rather than allowing him to be used as a hostage.⁴¹⁴

Among the cadet branches of the Tosny kin-group after 1154 Robert II of Stafford continued to hold the office of sheriff of Stafford.⁴¹⁵ His son, Nicholas

⁴⁰⁸ *DB*, ii, fos 232, 235-236v, 245, 277. Hugh II Bigod was the only earl confirmed by Henry II to have the rank as a hereditary right. Garnett, *Conquered England*, 270, 319-20; Vincent, 'Did Henry II have a Policy Towards the Earls?', 4.

⁴⁰⁹ The Tosnys had almost succeeded to the county of Évreux, but Henry I ultimately chose to grant the title and lands to the de Montforts.

⁴¹⁰ *Monasticon*, iv, 299; *Book of Fees*, i, 98.

⁴¹¹ The first relationship had been Ralph IV de Tosny's wife Alice, whose sister Matilda had married as her second husband, David I and father of Henry earl of Huntingdon, and grandfather of Malcolm IV and William the Lion.

⁴¹² *RADN*, no. 159; Barton, *Lordship in the County of Maine*, 125, 215-7, Beaumont-sur-Sarthe is approximately 80 miles from Conches.

⁴¹³ *CDF*, nos 309, 1084; *PR 30 HII*, xxiii.

⁴¹⁴ Landon, *Itinerary of Richard I*, 83.

⁴¹⁵ *RBE*, ii, 652; *PR 2-3-4 HII*, 29; Green, *English Sheriffs to 1154*, 75; *EEA*, 16: *Coventry and Lichfield, 1160-1182*, ed. M. J. Franklin (Oxford, 1998), no. 26; *Kenilworth Cartulary*, no. 7.

II, presumably the eldest, predeceased his father, so that when Robert II died c.1178-85, another son, Robert III, succeeded.⁴¹⁶ Robert III died in 1193/4 without an heir, and the lordship of Stafford passed to his sister Melisende and her husband Hervey Bagot.⁴¹⁷ Hervey was the descendent of a Domesday tenant of Robert I of Stafford and held the manor of Bramshall in Staffordshire from Robert III.⁴¹⁸ This marriage likely took place before the death of Robert II of Stafford. Women who were not heiresses generally married slightly beneath their father's social status or wealth, while heiresses married royal favourites or established and powerful members of the aristocracy.⁴¹⁹ Hervey had to pay 200 marks to the king to get the title 'lord of Stafford' transferred to himself and his descendants.⁴²⁰ The Staffords heraldic device of a single red chevron on a gold background was in use by 1193.⁴²¹ It is believed that the Bagots had a coat of arms as well and Hervey's adoption of the Stafford coat of arms submerged the Bagots into the Staffords. The kin-group continued to use the name of Bagot, but they were lords of Stafford, and utilised all the forms to display and embrace this identity.⁴²²

The d'Albinis of Belvoir can primarily be identified through their gifts to Belvoir priory.⁴²³ The original familial Norman toponymic was a part of the Tosnys of Belvoir identity that survived the matrilineal descent of the lordship. William de Albini *brito's* second son appears as Robert of Tosny II, a reflection of the original Norman lord of Belvoir, and indicating that the

⁴¹⁶ The most common aristocratic patrilineal naming pattern involves alternating forenames for the eldest son in each generation. *Kenilworth Cartulary*, 180; Holt, 'What's in a Name?', 179-196; le Jan, 'Personal Names', 31-53.

⁴¹⁷ *Conches*, no. 159; *Staffordshire Chartulary*, ii, nos 1, 4, 14, 16, 18-19. Robert III of Stafford's wife Basilia's antecedents are unknown, *PR 9 RI*, 178.

⁴¹⁸ *DB*, fo. 682; *RBE*, i, 266-8; *Staffordshire Chartulary*, ii, nos 1, 4, 14, 16, 18-20; *Kenilworth Cartulary*, nos 36, 233, 234, 14; *Conches*, no. 159.

⁴¹⁹ Bouchard, 'Strong of Body, Brave and Noble', 74; Bouchard, 'Those of my Blood', 3, 133.

⁴²⁰ *PR 5 RI*, 84; *Monasticon*, vi.i, 230-1, no. 2.

⁴²¹ *Eight Thirteenth Century Rolls of Arms in French and Anglo-Norman Blazon*, ed. G. J. Brault (London, 1973), 32.

⁴²² G. Wrottesley, 'History of the Bagot Family', in *Staffordshire Historical Collections*, ns. xi (1908), 3-224, genealogies on 116, 144.

⁴²³ *Rutland*, 99-100, 108, 110-11, 113, 138, 159, 165-66.

maternal familial identity was not forgotten.⁴²⁴ The Bigods, were cousins to the d'Albinis, and as the earls of Norfolk were more prominent.⁴²⁵ Hugh Bigod rebelled in 1173 in support of the Young King, but his son Roger II remained loyal to Henry II. Roger II's loyalty probably led to the king's arrangement of the previously noted marriage between Roger Bigod II and Roger III de Tosny's daughter Ida, after Hugh Bigod's death in 1177.⁴²⁶

Summary

The bonds created by kinship continued to be significant in the development and expression of social and political networks amongst Clare, Giffard and Tosny kin-groups in the aftermath of the civil war.⁴²⁷ The consequences of Stephen's reign for the aristocracy in general as discussed in Nick Vincent's article 'Did Henry II Have A Policy Towards the Earls?' matches the evidence of the three case studies. Those members of the kin-group known to have supported the king were not as prominent at Henry II's court, and in the example of Richard fitz Gilbert IIIb was not confirmed in his father's title of earl, even though he continued to hold the majority of the lands Gilbert fitz Gilbert had possessed. This troubled relationship between magnate and king caused Richard to look outside the royal court for a way to improve his status, leading to his campaigns in Ireland.

Marriage was also a way in which the former supporters of King Stephen could seek to manoeuvre their way back into royal favour, as demonstrated most clearly with the Clare kin-group. The geographically endogamous but politically exogamous marriages benefitted both the Clares and Henry II, and the arrangement of several of the matches may have originated with the king as a means of encouraging aristocratic unity and loyalty. Richard fitz Gilbert IIIb's new possessions in Ireland allowed him and his companions to form

⁴²⁴ *Rutland*, 144; *PR 31 HI*, 121, 133-4; *Monasticon*, iii, 330; *RRAN*, ii, nos 180, 1152-3, 1223, 1481; *Westminster Abbey Charters*, no. 469; Delisle, *Henri II*, no. 205 (1156-59).

⁴²⁵ *Rutland*, 5.

⁴²⁶ *Cartulary of Bradenstoke Priory*, 9, nos 481, 646; Vincent, 'The Court of Henry II', 331-2.

⁴²⁷ See M. T. Flanagan, 'Strongbow, Henry II and Anglo-Norman Intervention in Ireland', in *War and Government in the Middle Ages*, ed. J. C. Holt, & J. Gillingham (Cambridge, 1984), 62-77, 63-5; Vincent, 'Did Henry II Have A Policy Towards the Earls?', 9.

new kin-based networks and regain their status.⁴²⁸ Although not as censured as their cousins, the Clare earls of Hertford appear to have behaved in a circumspect way throughout Henry II's reign, and sought to develop their post-1154 ties through marriage to regain their previous status.

In comparison to the difficult circumstances that the Clares found themselves in after 1154, the principal branch of the Tosnys developed a good relationship with Henry II and subsequently with Richard I. Similarly Walter Giffard III also appears to have benefitted from his acceptance of the Angevin victory in Normandy and was restored to his lands and title in England by the new king. While both kin-groups presumably intended to build on their strong position at the start of Henry II's reign, they were handicapped by succession issues, in the case of the Tosnys through Roger IV's minority, while the principal line of the Giffards came to an end with Walter III. These familial problems restricted the development of kin-based networks as well as interrupting and delaying the benefits Ralph V had probably hoped to accrue from Henry II's coronation.

The twelfth century saw several changes in the structure of the Clare, Giffard and Tosny kin-groups between the increased independence of the cadet branches and the failure of either the male line or the line entirely and both inheritance and identity therefore became more complicated. The changes to those branches of the kin-groups that survived through matrilineal or complex inheritance patterns also enabled new connections to be developed and the kin-based networks to continue to evolve. The increased use of heraldry, as well as the already established use of nomenclature, enabled individuals and kin-groups to form and portray their chosen or acknowledged identity. In a similar vein the Clares appear under the group patronymic 'Ricardi' in the twelfth century, but historians do not use this name to identify the kin-group, due to the instability of the strict patronymic.⁴²⁹ In the case of the Staffords and the lordship of Belvoir, this was shown in the survival of familial

⁴²⁸ B. Smith, "I have nothing but through her": Women and the Conquest of Ireland, 1170-1240', *Studies on Medieval & Early Modern Women: Pawns or Players?*, ed. C. Meek & C. Lawless (Dublin, 2003), 49-58.

⁴²⁹ *Liber Eliensis*, 226-7; *Fairweather, Ely*, 272-3.

forenames and toponymics, as well as the transference of heraldry in the case of the former. The majority of the cadet branches and in-laws of the Clares, save for William the Marshal, support these examples.⁴³⁰ The Marshal retained his own coat-of-arms because of his reputation from tournaments and because it displayed his association with the royal family after he was a mentor to the Young King.⁴³¹ The survival of the lordship and the identity of the kin-group therefore depended on the intentions of both the king and of the heiresses' husband, and some changes in nomenclature or caput might have to be incorporated into the whole.

The Clare, Giffard and Tosny kin-groups were in very different circumstances at the beginning of Henry II's reign and comparing their circumstances and actions allows for the role that their kin-based networks had during the second half of the twelfth century. After the principal line of the Giffards came to an end with Walter III, the Clares used their kinship to the Giffards to secure the properties, but not the titles, of the principal Giffard branch. Meanwhile the Tosnys survived the long minority of Roger IV under the guardianship of Simon II de Montfort, count of Évreux, and with the assistance of Baldwin V, count of Hainaut and Flanders, demonstrating the strength of their endogamous and exogamous kinship bonds.

⁴³⁰ *Rolls of Arms: Henry III*, 8-9.

⁴³¹ Ailes, 'Heraldry in Twelfth –Century England: the Evidence', 1-16; Crouch, 'The Historian, Lineage and Heraldry', 17-37.

Conclusion

These three kin-groups show that there was no set definition of either kinship or family. While the extended and extensive Clare kin-group remained closely linked to newly created cadet branches, by comparison the Giffards and the Tosnys both had a more localised focus, often looking to in-laws rather than cadet branches for support. Initially the Anglo-Norman magnates could only prove or claim noble blood by linking themselves to the dukes of Normandy, so all three kin-groups asserted that they were descended from the ducal line – or the chroniclers who recorded their genealogies did – with varying degrees of success and veracity. This interest in claiming a share of the status and power of the Norman dukes and Anglo-Norman king-dukes through blood kinship indicates the importance of consanguinity and kinship for the developing aristocracy.⁴³²

Kinship contributed to the creation of identity throughout the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and the three families show the different ways it could be done. The descendants of Gilbert, count of Brionne, and in particular those of his son, Richard fitz Gilbert I, only began to use the toponymic surname of Clare in the mid-twelfth century.⁴³³ Previously names had followed a patronymic style, which changed every generation, a more accurate reflection of the situation as the fluidity of the individual names matched that of the group who were recognised as family. Beginning in the late eleventh century, the toponymic Clare began to be used by members of kin-group, and historians have expanded the usage to include cadet branches and affines, as well as extending it back in time to the primogenitors of the kin-group.

The Giffards were unusual in that they did not regularly use titles or patronymics until the reign of Henry II.⁴³⁴ According to J. C. Holt 'Giffard' was originally a nickname for Osbern de Bolbec and 'the hereditary nickname' as a way of acknowledging and commemorating the 'great men of the family'

⁴³² Bouchard, *'Strong of Body, Brave and Noble'*, 5.

⁴³³ The first member of the family to use the toponymic Clare regularly was Roger fitz Richard II, earl of Hertford, but often known as the earl of Clare or Roger de Clare: *SbC*, nos 25-29, 38, 40, 67.

⁴³⁴ Holt, *'What's in a Name?'*, 193.

functioned just like toponymics or more direct patronymics.⁴³⁵ It even served the purpose of indicating the origins of the kin-group, and the family surname continued to be used, despite the independent interests of each branch into the thirteenth century.⁴³⁶

The exact relationship between Ralph III de Tosny, Robert of Stafford and their cousin Robert of Tosny is uncertain but that there is a connection is indicated by the similarities of both the forename and the toponymic.⁴³⁷ Despite the close blood ties the Tosnys are difficult to examine as a cohesive kin-group due to their focus on regional matters. In comparison to the anachronistic use of the Clares' toponymic, the Tosnys were amongst the first Norman kin-groups to identify themselves through a consistent toponymic. That they used Tosny instead of Conches was presumably because that estate had been their first possession in the duchy, and was the one nearest to the ducal seat of Rouen.⁴³⁸

The Clares, Giffards and Tosnys had different approaches to the development of kinship-based networks and the degree they relied on these bonds, politically and socially, throughout the period varied with their circumstances. The Tosnys formed an endogamous network in the Risle valley that bound the neighbouring lords together and provided them with allies and options during a personal dispute or wider crisis. Their bonds of kinship underpinned at least one baronial revolt and when there was a ducal/ royal political crisis they defended each other and the shared territory. The Giffards also formed a network concentrated on the Pays de Caux for largely defensive reasons as the disputed Vexin territory shared a border with the Pays de Caux.

⁴³⁵ Holt, 'What's in a Name?', 191.

⁴³⁶ *PR* 31 HI, 108; *Monasticon* vi.i, 231; *Staffordshire Chartulary*, i, 195, 215; Madan, 'The Gresleys of Drakelow', 63, 258, 271, 298; Wormald, *Lords and Men in Scotland*, 95.

⁴³⁷ All three of these toponymics appear to have been in use by 1086, as they appear in Domesday Book. Ralph de Tosny: *DB*, i, fos 52, 62v, 138, 168, 176, 180-81, 183-183v; *DB*, ii, fos 91, 232, 235-236, 245, 277; Robert of Stafford: *DB*, i, fos 62, 158, 176v, 225, 246, 248v-249v, 368v, 376v-377v; *DB*, ii, fo. 445; Robert of Tosny: *DB*, i, fos 138, 149, 154, 159, 168, 196v, 215, 219, 225, 230v, 233v-234, 236v, 291v, 298, 314-315, 352v-353v, 376, 377, 380-382; *DB*, ii, fos 90, 429.

⁴³⁸ Holt, 'What's in a Name?', 194.

In comparison to the Giffards and Tosnys, the Clares formed several localised networks, combining in-laws and cadet branches depending on the region and maintaining contact between the different branches. The earls of Hertford, the fitzWalters of Dunmow, the Montfichets, and the fitz Baldwins appear together in royal and private charters and protected each other's interests during personal and political crises. For example, during the baronial conflict that led to Magna Carta the Clares socio-political prominence is reflected by the number of their extended kin-group who were directly involved.⁴³⁹ In the Welsh Marches, where branches of all three of the main kin-groups held lands, networks were formed as neighbours and kinsmen with specialised concerns co-operated in defence of their lands, even when they were otherwise divided by civil war.

During the Anglo-Norman period, the succession disputes amongst their overlords and baronial revolts made it necessary to know who could be relied on amongst their peers. In a crisis or conflict, concerning localised or state affairs, it was necessary for the people involved in it to know whom they could trust, and it was during circumstances such as the civil wars of Stephen's reign that kinship-based networks were at their most useful and profitable. Kinship and ecclesiastical affairs were both more and less obviously linked together, cartularies recorded the gifts given by the aristocracy and the *pro anima* clauses acknowledged and identified an individual's kin. In the Giffard and Tosny kin-groups this shared patronage of family foundations and mausolea is the principal surviving evidence of interaction between the cadet branches and the principal line of the family.

This study of kin-based networks also shows the impossibility of isolating any one form of network or strictly defining the parameters of these networks whether that is the people, or the purpose of the bonds that shaped the network. Kinship obviously played an essential role in relation to networks based on lordship and the church, while it may be possible to overstate the role of kinship in some instances, the majority of these networks were created through kinship, expressed and recorded through the Church and inspired and sustained through lordship.

⁴³⁹ *Jordan Fantosme's Chronicle*, 120; Holt, 'Politics & Patronage', 225.

Part II

THE CHURCH

Introduction

The church in this period could provide an institutional method of expressing, reinforcing and recording the bonds that formed kin- and lordship-based networks.¹ Religious houses were part of an order, which could have very strong internal ties, or have only loose connections between individual houses, and the daughter houses and dependent cells that were established. The cartularies created by religious houses preserve many of the charters issued by the king-dukes, the aristocracy and their tenants. These records, as well as monastic chronicles, provide information on blood kinship and affinities, and on ties of lordship, land transference, and political association. The patterns of aristocratic patronage indicate their geographical and political interests, particularly when changing circumstances were reflected by alterations in those patterns.² This part approaches the church in two ways, firstly through the relationship between individual religious houses and their patrons and secondly through those members of the Clare, Giffard and Tosny kin-groups who became churchmen. Therefore matters of religious reform or of theological debate and canon law will only be addressed when directly related to these particular matters.

The relationship between the church and the aristocracy has acquired an extensive historiography.³ The importance of aristocratic patronage of

¹ Harper-Bill, 'The Anglo-Norman Church', 182-4; Cownie, 'Religious Patronage & Lordship', 133-146; White, 'The Politics of Exchange', 169-188.

² Hockey, 'William fitz Osbern and the endowment of his abbey of Lyre', 96-105, endnotes 213-5; Holt, 'Politics & Patronage', 223-244; Bates, 'The Building of a Great Church', 129-132; White, *Custom, Kinship & Gifts to Saints*, passim; Stoeber, *Late Medieval English and Welsh Monasteries and Their Patrons*, 10-12.

³ Cownie, *Religious Patronage in Anglo-Norman England*, 153-60; J. C. Holt, 'Feudal Society & the Family in Early Medieval England, III: Politics & Patronage,' in *Colonial England* (London,

religious houses has been acknowledged since the eleventh and twelfth centuries, with Orderic Vitalis being particularly effusive in his praise for the aristocratic founders and benefactors of his own abbey of St Evroult.⁴ In ducal Normandy, the great cathedrals and monasteries were primarily patronised by the dukes, but the aristocracy began to act as benefactors towards established houses and new foundations from the eleventh century.⁵ In addition to spiritual centres, the aristocracy increasingly realised that monasteries were useful tools '...as sources of literate men ...private monasteries aided their lords in managing their estates, writing documents and mobilizing financial capital'.⁶ This led to enduring close associations between particular kin-groups and houses.

These relationships continued after the Conquest of England, and the Norman monasteries were amongst those who profited from the windfall of landed wealth, both as landowners, and through the size and number of gifts the houses received from the aristocracy. The Anglo-Norman aristocracy could and did make grants to houses outwith England and Normandy, but it tended to be houses connected to them through kinship. On other occasions, as was the case in England, their interest in houses beyond the Anglo-Norman realm was due to military conquest or recent acquisitions of territory such as in Wales, Ireland and Scotland. Similarly, aristocratic burial patterns could be significant because they indicated an individual's or a kin-group's interests, both geographically and spiritually.⁷ The chronicles and cartularies provide information about the burial places of certain members of the Clare, Giffard and Tosny kin-groups, but not all, as there were also many individuals where there is no extant information about their burial place so the patterns formed by internment remain necessarily incomplete.

1997), 223-244; S. D. White, 'The Politics of Exchange: Gifts, Fiefs and Feudalism', in *Medieval Transformations: Texts, Power, and Gifts in Context*, ed. E. Cohen & M. B. De Jong (Boston, 2001), 169-188 and for further details see Introduction, fns 71-4, 76-77.

⁴ OV, ii, 14; similarly William of Malmesbury dedicated his *Historia Novella* to his patron, Robert of Gloucester, xiv, 1.

⁵ OV, ii, 10.

⁶ C. Potts, *Monastic Revival & Regional Identity in Early Normandy* (Woodbridge, 1997), 110.

⁷ Golding, 'Anglo-Norman Knightly Burials', 36; Burton, *Monastic and Religious Orders in Britain*, 216-9.

Religious houses patronised by the Clare, Giffard and Tosny kin-groups could also be affected by the involvement of their patrons in political events.⁸ When the focus of a kin-group's geographical lordship shifted with the acquisition of new territories, or the loss of previous possessions, their relationship with specific religious houses also changed. A formerly significant house might even be abandoned for religious houses within the new lordship.⁹ The aristocracy provided the leading personnel amongst the monasteries, abbeys and priories as well as acting as benefactors and founders.¹⁰ Amongst the Clares, Giffards and Tosnys, there were also those who turned to the religious life as adults, both men and women, although the circumstances, other than genuine piety, that caused their withdrawal from secular life varied.¹¹ Women might turn to the church after they had been widowed, while the male members of the Clares, Giffards and Tosnys who became monks late on in life often did so despite their wives still being alive.¹²

The relationship between the church and the aristocracy provided a forum for the display and acknowledgement of kin-based networks and provided a means of confirming lordship based networks within the Clares, Giffards and Tosnys. This chapter focuses on the relationship of the aristocracy to the church, through specific houses with a connection to the kin-groups or through individual members of the kin-groups who were also members of the church. These relationships indicate development of ties between the specific houses and the kin-groups into localised networks.¹³

⁸ J. Burton, *Monastic and Religious Orders in Britain, 1000-1300* (Cambridge, 1994, repr. 1997), 223-4.

⁹ Ward, 'Foundations of the Clare Family', 427; Golding, 'Anglo-Norman Knightly Burials', 35-48; Cownie, *Religious Patronage in Anglo-Norman England*, 197.

¹⁰ J. Barrow, 'Hereford Bishops and Married Clergy, c.1130-1240', *Historical Research*, 110 (1987), 1-8; idem, 'English Cathedral Communities and Reform in the Late Tenth and the Eleventh Centuries', in *Anglo-Norman Durham, 1093-1193*, ed. D. Rollason, M. Harvey & M. Prestwich (Woodbridge, 1994), 25-39; idem, 'The Canons and Citizens of Hereford, c.1160-c.1240', *Midland History*, 24 (1999), 1-23.

¹¹ Bouchard, *Sword, Miter & Cloister*, 56-58.

¹² Ibid, 59-61; *Rotuli de Dominabus*, xxiii-xxvi, xxxvii-xli; *Widows, Heirs and Heiresses*, xii-xiii.

¹³ The most important houses in regards to the Clares, Giffards and Tosnys were identified in the Introduction, fns 41-2 & 75.

Chapter 1: Aristocratic Patronage

1. Ducal Normandy

The Clares:

Prior to 1066 Gilbert de Brionne and later his sons Richard and Baldwin were benefactors of various religious houses founded by the dukes and their peers.¹⁴ Their most significant relationship was with the abbey of Le Bec-Hellouin even though the Clares' primogenitor, Gilbert, Count of Brionne had initially opposed the foundation.¹⁵ Abbot Herluin, had been a knight in service to Count Gilbert when he left to found the abbey at Bonneville in c.1034, on lands he held from the count.¹⁶ Count Gilbert objected to the loss of his knight and to the foundation of the abbey, even using threats against the lands held by Herluin's siblings to coerce his former knight's obedience. When Gilbert was reconciled with Herluin, he granted the new abbey lands of his own and these gains made it possible for the abbey to move from Bonneville to Bec in 1039.¹⁷ The death of Count Gilbert a year after the abbey had been relocated, and the subsequent exile of his sons, meant that the ties between the abbey and the Clares were disrupted.¹⁸ When Richard and Baldwin had regained part of their father's holdings, they were also able to resume their relationship with the abbey, although their reduced inheritance and geographical distance meant that they were not in a position to be extremely generous patrons during the 1050s.¹⁹ Neither had been granted the castle of Brionne, and the lands they both held were about thirty-five miles distant, suggesting that their continued patronage of the abbey

¹⁴ *RADN*, nos 192, 231; *CDF*, no. 95; *OV*, ii, 38; iii, 124-6.

¹⁵ *Gilbert Crispin*, 185-6, 188, 194.

¹⁶ *RT*, 26-27, 42-3.

¹⁷ *OV*, iii, 13; *Chronique du Bec*, 1-2.

¹⁸ *GND*, 92, 270-72; *OV*, iii, 88; iv, 204-12.

¹⁹ V. Gazeau-Goddet, 'L'Aristocratie Autour du Bec au Tournant de l'Année 1077', *ANS*, 2 (1979), 89-103; Ward, 'Foundations of the Clare Family', 427-28; M. Chibnall, 'The English Possessions of Bec in the Time of Anselm', in *Piety, Power and History in Medieval England and Normandy* (Aldershot, 2000), 274-5.

was not necessarily for the same reasons as their father.²⁰ Le Bec was now one of the great abbeys of the duchy, and being known as benefactors would have been socially and even politically beneficial for the Clares, while their father's ties to the house would also have encouraged them to support Le Bec.²¹ Their gifts to the abbey of the churches from their restored patrimony of Orbec, Beinfaitte and Le Sap suggests a definite interest in re-establishing family claims and ties with the house as it left them with less potential to make substantial gifts to other houses.²²

The Giffards:

At the beginning of the eleventh century, Osbern de Bolbec was lord of the territory containing the women's abbey of Montvilliers, sixteen miles from his caput of Bolbec.²³ However, in the next generation Walter Giffard I shifted the tenurial focus to Longueville, and his patronage also shifted. Walter appears as both an individual patron of various religious houses and as a witness to gifts made by others, particularly to the ducal houses of Saint-Wandrille, Fécamp and Saint-Ouen.²⁴ His marriage to Ermengarde, daughter of Gerard Fleitel, gave Walter a kin-based connection with the ducal abbey of Saint-Wandrille as his father-in-law was a patron and eventually a monk there.²⁵ In addition, Saint-Wandrille's location within the Pays de Caux made it a significant focus for the local aristocracy during the first half of the eleventh century as the Giffards, the Warennes, the Fleitels and the Gournays developed interlocking kinship ties into a network.²⁶ By 1066, unlike many of their peers, the Giffards had not established a religious house in the duchy,

²⁰ Distance from Le Bec: Bienfaite, 31 miles; Le Sap, 34 miles; Meules, 36 miles; Orbec, 30 miles.

²¹ *RADN*, no. 98; *Works of Gilbert Crispin*, 182-212; *GND*, 60-75; S. Vaughn, *The Abbey of Bec and the Anglo-Norman State 1034-1136* (Woodbridge, 1981), 1-2.

²² Abbé Porée, *Histoire de l'Abbaye du Bec*, i (Evreux, 1901), 645-649.

²³ *RADN*, no. 90ter; le Maho, 'L'apparition des seigneuries châtelaines dans le Grand-Caux', 34-36; Bates, *Normandy Before 1066*, 100-102.

²⁴ *ADSM* G9102; *ADSM* 54H1; *RADN*, nos 102, 105-07, 129, 147, 227.

²⁵ BN ms. Lat. 16738; *GND*, ii, 81, 116.

²⁶ *RADN*, nos 30, 102, 105; *OV*, ii, 254, iii, 84; Bates, *Normandy before 1066*, 210-211.

nor associated themselves with a specific house as the Clares had, instead they continued to act as benefactors and attest to grants to the ducal houses.

The Tosnys:

Hugh, Archbishop of Rouen was a generous patron to several religious houses in his own right.²⁷ Hugh's later reputation was as a corrupt and irreligious figure, however his generosity to Saint-Ouen ensured that the abbey was able to compete with Rouen Cathedral to be the religious centre of upper Normandy.²⁸ In the first half of the eleventh century, Roger I de Tosny was amongst the earliest of the Norman aristocracy to establish a religious house close to his caput at Conches.²⁹ The abbey of Conches-en-Ouche, with the church of Sainte-Foy was created c.1026 and was associated with the ducal abbey of Fécamp. Roger I's lengthy exile from the duchy, as well as the miraculous cure of his wife under the auspices of the abbey of Sainte-Foy, Conques in southwestern France, influenced his foundation of Conches.³⁰

The first two abbots and the initial group of monks for the new house came from Fécamp.³¹ Roger I's request of monks from Fécamp, rather than Conques, for the new foundation indicates that the abbey was meant at least in part to re-establish Roger I within both his lordship and the duchy. Fécamp was a ducal foundation and the centre of Benedictine reform in Normandy, and the connection between Fécamp and Conches ensured that Roger I's foundation had ties to both the established Norman church and the reforming movement.³² The abbey of Conches, along with the castle and town of the same name became a focal point of the Tosny kin-group.³³ In

²⁷ Including his former house, the abbey of Saint-Denis, see *RADN*, no. 3.

²⁸ *OV*, iii, 82; R. Allen, *The Norman Episcopate, 989-1110*, 2 vols, unpublished PhD thesis, University of Glasgow (2009), i, 25.

²⁹ Musset, 'Les Tosny', 53.

³⁰ Van Houts, *Normans in Europe*, 216, 229.

³¹ ADE H262, fo. 219r-v; *Conches*, no. 406i; *OV*, ii, 10; van Houts, *Normans in Europe*, 215-17.

³² Potts, *Monastic Revival and Regional Identity*, 117-8.

³³ ADE H262, fos 219r-225v, 227r-228v; *Conches*, nos 406-7, 409-11; Delisle, *Henri II*, no. 423. These grants are all summaries of multiple grants issued by members of the Tosny kin-group, and occasionally their tenants, to Conches over several generations.

particular, the abbey provided a link between the principal branch, which remained focused on Normandy, and the cadet branch of the Staffords, who were established in England as both continued to support the foundation.³⁴

2. Patronage Post-1066

The Clares:

The Conquest of England increased Richard and Baldwin fitz Gilbert's wealth and social status, and made it possible for them to become Le Bec's most significant benefactors.³⁵ Between 1066 and 1086 Richard fitz Gilbert I granted Le Bec ten manors in Surrey, Little Sampford in Essex and property in Tonbridge in Kent, while Baldwin fitz Gilbert I and his wife Emma granted the manor of Christow in Devon.³⁶ In 1081, Richard fitz Gilbert I and Rohese I, daughter of Walter Giffard I re-founded the Anglo-Saxon monastery of St Neots in Kent as a daughter priory of Le Bec.³⁷ Abbot Anselm of Bec sent monks to replace the resident monastic community who had ties to the Anglo-Saxon abbey of Ely.³⁸ Rohese I continued to support the priory after her husband's death in c.1090 and in 1113 granted the manors of Standon and Eynesbury to St Neots.³⁹ Later generations of the Clares were not tied as closely to St Neots, but individuals within the kin-group continued to patronise the priory.⁴⁰

Richard's sons were also patrons of Le Bec, but for the most part patronised daughter houses of the abbey in England.⁴¹ One, the college of Clare, was

³⁴ *Monasticon*, vi.ii, 994.

³⁵ Ward, 'Foundations of the Clare Family', 430; Potter, 'Benefactors of Bec', 175-192, *passim*.

³⁶ Chibnall, *English Lands of the Abbey of Bec*, 144, 147-149; eadem, 'The English Possessions of Bec', 274-5.

³⁷ *DB*, i, fos. 142v, 207; *EEA*, 28: *Canterbury*, no. 31.

³⁸ *Letters of Anselm*, i, nos 90-1, 94, 96; *Liber Eliensis*, 188-9; Fairweather, *Ely*, 125-6; Porée, *Histoire de l'Abbaye du Bec*, i, 453-4; *Select documents of the Abbey of Bec*, 11.

³⁹ Chibnall, *English Lands of the Abbey of Bec*, no. 39.

⁴⁰ *EEA*, VI: *Norwich*, nos 149, 279.

⁴¹ *RRAN*, i, no. 450; *SbC*, nos 10, 136-37; *EEA*, 28: *Canterbury*, nos 9, 12, 29-30.

initially within Clare castle in Suffolk, and had been originally founded by Alfric with the consent of his son Withgar between 1044 and 1066.⁴² After the Conquest the college was given to Le Bec, and c.1095 Gilbert fitz Richard I re-established the church as Clare priory a short distance from the castle.⁴³ At this point, Gilbert also granted the priory the plough land of Walton, and its river meadow, four ploughmen in the vill of Stoke, a villein and the wood of Clare, Alvrice the fisherman with all his land, and fishing rights to the river by Clare to his foundation.⁴⁴ In 1124 Richard fitz Gilbert II transferred Clare priory to Stoke, where it became known as Stoke-by-Clare.⁴⁵ In this form the priory became the religious focal point for the Clare kin-group and their tenants, into the thirteenth century.⁴⁶

Other members of the Clare kin-group also continued to patronise Le Bec, demonstrating that the house was still important even to individuals who were based outwith the duchy. Baldwin fitz Gilbert's son William fitz Baldwin granted the manors of Cowick and Exwick to Le Bec, and a dependant cell was subsequently established at Cowick in 1144.⁴⁷ Adeliza, daughter of Richard fitz Gilbert I, her husband Walter Tirel and their son Hugh were benefactors to Le Bec's daughter house of Conflans within the Île de France.⁴⁸ Hugh Tirel also granted the manor of Langham in Kent to Le Bec in 1138, but the grant seems not to have been permanent, because he was still in possession in 1146 when he sold it to Gervase Cornhill, justiciar for London with the consent of his lord and kinsman, Gilbert fitz Richard II, to finance his participation in the Second Crusade.⁴⁹

⁴² *SbC*, nos 70, 136-37; *The Chronicle of Jocelin of Brakelond concerning the acts of Samson Abbot of the Monastery of St Edmund*, trans. H. E. Butler (London, 1949), 57; Jocelin of Brakelond, *Chronicle of the Abbey of Bury St Edmunds*, trans. D. Greenway & J. Sayers (Oxford, 1989), 51.

⁴³ *SbC*, i, 56-7; J. Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society* (Oxford, 2005), 360, 363, 365, 447.

⁴⁴ *SbC*, no. 70; Ward, 'Foundations', 267.

⁴⁵ *SbC*, nos 70, 137; *EEA*, VI: *Norwich*, no. 46.

⁴⁶ *EEA*, VI: *Norwich*, no. 151; *Liber Eliensis*: 103-4, 188-9; Fairweather, *Ely*, 126.

⁴⁷ *DB*, i, fo.107; Delisle, *Henri II*, i, no. 563.

⁴⁸ Round, *Feudal England*, 478-9.

⁴⁹ *Book of Seals*, no. 84; Chibnall, *English Lands of the Abbey of Bec*, 146.

Other religious houses and the new monastic orders also received gifts and foundations from the Clares, but these were more often from cadet branches of the kin-group. Walter fitz Richard established Tintern abbey in the Wye valley in 1131, stipulating that when he died he would be buried there.⁵⁰ This early foundation indicates a further connection between the Clare and Giffard kin-groups, as Walter fitz Richard's foundation was influenced by his uncle, William Giffard, Bishop of Winchester who founded the first Cistercian house in England.⁵¹ There is no direct evidence of this influence; however the first monks came from L'Aumône in Blois the motherhouse of Waverley abbey.⁵² When Gilbert fitz Gilbert succeeded to Walter's lordship of Striguil he also took over his uncle's patronage of Tintern abbey and was later buried there.⁵³

In 1136 Richard, the youngest of Baldwin fitz Gilbert I's sons, established a Cistercian abbey on his manors of Okehampton and Huntshaw in Devon with monks from Waverley abbey.⁵⁴ Richard fitz Baldwin's connection to William Giffard, Bishop of Winchester was more distant in terms of blood than that of their mutual cousin Walter fitz Richard, so it is more likely that the popularity of the Cistercians in the mid-twelfth century influenced Richard's decision.⁵⁵ After his death in 1137 the monks received no further gifts and were unable to sustain the foundation on the original land grant. According to the history of the house they were returning to Waverley when they reached Richard's married sister Adeliza who persuaded the monks to attempt a new foundation at Harescath.⁵⁶ Further endowment of the manor of Thorncombe led to the

⁵⁰ BL Arundel 19, fo. 1; *Monasticon*, v, 265-6; *Annales Monastici*, ii, 228; Wood, *Tintern Abbey*, 4.

⁵¹ Burton, *Monastic and Religious Orders in Britain*, 69; D. Robinson, *The Cistercian Abbeys of Britain: Far from the Concourse of Men* (London, 1998, pbk 2002), 199-201.

⁵² *Monasticon*, v, 426; D. Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England* (Cambridge, 1963, 2nd edn), 707; Ward, 'Foundations of the Clare Family', 440; Robinson, *Cistercian Abbeys of Britain*, 186-91.

⁵³ *RRAN*, iii, nos 275-6, 634; *Monasticon*, v, 266; *OV*, vi, 520; Wood, *Tintern Abbey*, 7-8.

⁵⁴ *Cartulary of Forde Abbey*, vii; *Monasticon*, v, 277-8; *Annales Monastici*, ii, 225; Ward, 'Foundations of the Clare Family', 440; Robinson, *Cistercian Abbeys of Britain*, 109-10.

⁵⁵ *Brut*, *Hergest*, 45, 49; *Brut*, *Peniarth*, 24-6.

⁵⁶ *Cartulary of Forde Abbey*, vii; *Monasticon*, v, 277-8.

successful establishment of Forde abbey between 1141 and 1148.⁵⁷ The later marriage of Richard fitz Roger, earl of Hertford and Amice, heiress to the earldom of Gloucester connected the Clares to another Cistercian house as Amice patronised her grandfather's foundation of Margham Abbey in Glamorgan.⁵⁸

The Clares were also benefactors to houses that were neither associated with Le Bec, nor established as Cistercian houses. The Clares and Montfichets, as Marcher lords, had spiritual, geographical, social and political reasons to develop a relationship with St Peter's abbey, Gloucester, a great Anglo-Saxon abbey, which the Norman aristocracy patronised shortly after the Conquest.⁵⁹ In addition to their own foundation of St Mary's abbey at Stratford Langthorpe in c.1135, Margaret, daughter of Gilbert fitz Richard I, her husband William of Montfichet, and their son were also benefactors of St Peter's abbey.⁶⁰ When Gilbert fitz Gilbert, earl of Pembroke became Gilbert of Montfichet's guardian, he became involved in a land dispute between his nephew and the abbey, as well as making his own gifts to St Peter's.⁶¹

Socio-political reasons, as well as geographical proximity may have been behind Gilbert fitz Richard I and his wife Adeliza's grant of the church of Tonbridge and its appurtenances in c.1110 to the priory of St Pancras of Lewes in Sussex.⁶² This gift established a relationship between the Clares and St Pancras of Lewes, which was renewed in c.1145 when Gilbert fitz Gilbert made a grant to the priory. This grant, witnessed by his son Richard, was made when Gilbert returned to the king's court after a brief and successful campaign in Wales. Since Gilbert fitz Gilbert was a younger son of Gilbert fitz Richard I and held lands in the Welsh Marches rather than in Kent

⁵⁷ *Cartulary of Forde Abbey*, 25-28.

⁵⁸ *Monasticon*, v, 740-2; Robinson, *Cistercian Abbeys of Britain*, 138-41.

⁵⁹ Bates, 'The Building of a Great Church', 129-132.

⁶⁰ *Monasticon*, v, 586; *Sancti Petri*, ii, nos 701-2, 708, 714.

⁶¹ *Sancti Petri*, ii, nos 702, 708, 714.

⁶² *Chartulary of Lewes Priory*, nos 48P, 49P, 50P.

and Surrey, his grant was presumably made because of his father's previous gifts to the priory.⁶³

The Clares were benefactors to established religious houses and also founded new priories and cells in Ireland, just as they had in England and Wales. The use of the church to both secure tenurial claims and to reinforce personal status is apparent in the actions of the Clares in Ireland. Both Richard fitz Gilbert IIIb and his uncle Hervey de Montmorency, were patrons of St Mary's abbey, Dublin.⁶⁴ Then in c.1175, Hervey provided for the foundation of a Cistercian abbey on his lands at Dunbrody, which Richard confirmed while making a grant to the new abbey.⁶⁵ The foundation was initiated by Hervey as a method of establishing himself on his new lands and in his new status, describing himself as '*...Hereveius de Monte Moricii, Marescallus Domini Regis de Hibernia, et Senescallus de tota terra Ricardi Comitis...*'.⁶⁶ At the same time a genuine piety was intrinsic to their religious foundations and benefactions and was further expressed when Hervey became a monk at Christ Church, Canterbury towards the end of his life.⁶⁷

The Giffards:

After the conquest of England, Walter I and his son Walter II made donations from their new acquisitions to Norman houses including Le Bec, and Fécamp.⁶⁸ In 1084 Walter II created the Cluniac priory of Sainte-Foi at Longueville, the first familial foundation.⁶⁹ Despite its relatively late foundation the priory became a focal point for the Giffard kin-group and their

⁶³ *Chartulary of Lewes Priory*, no. 23H.

⁶⁴ *Chartularies of St Mary's Abbey, Dublin and the Register of its House at Dunbrody; and Annals of Ireland*, ed. J. T. Gilbert, 2 vols, RS 80 (London, 1884-86), i, 78.

⁶⁵ *Ibid*, ii, 151-4; *Expugnatio*, 189.

⁶⁶ *Chartularies of St Mary's Abbey, Dublin*, ii, 151-2.

⁶⁷ *Chartularies of St Mary's Abbey, Dublin*, ii, 304-5.

⁶⁸ Delisle, *Henri II*, no. 46 (1155-58).

⁶⁹ *Chartes Longueville*, no. 1.

tenants.⁷⁰ For example, Walter II's nephew, Roger fitz Richard from the Clare kin-group, gifted his lands next to the hermitage of St. Remigius in Alheirmont near Dieppe, and also attested to Henry I's confirmation of early gifts to the priory.⁷¹

William Giffard, Bishop of Winchester and younger son of Walter Giffard I, established three religious houses in England: Hamble priory (Tironensian) in Hampshire, c.1109; Taunton priory (Augustinian) in Somerset, c.1120 and Waverley abbey (Cistercian) in Surrey, 1128, the first Cistercian house in England.⁷² As was discussed in the previous section, William's interest in the Cistercian order encouraged his nephew Walter fitz Richard's foundation of Tintern Abbey, which was established as a daughter house of Waverley abbey.⁷³ His role as a reformer and founder is a part of his role as bishop of Winchester and clearly shows him working to reform the church for presumably the same beliefs that would not allow him to be invested in his position by the king.⁷⁴

Walter Giffard III focussed on his English possessions for most of his religious foundations and benefactions but continued to support Longueville priory and Saint-Pierre-de-Préaux abbey.⁷⁵ In England, c.1152, Walter III established the Cluniac priory of Newington Longueville, Buckinghamshire as an alien cell of

⁷⁰ *Chartes Longueville*, no. 1; *CDF*, no. 74; *EEA*, I: *Lincoln*, no. 166; *EEA*, VI: *Norwich*, nos 116, 116a, 117, 118; Chibnall, *English Lands of the Abbey of Bec*, 148. *Delisle, Henri II*, no. 7 (1155).

⁷¹ *Chartes Longueville*, no. 1.

⁷² Hamble: *VCH Hampshire*, ii, 221; M. J. Franklin, 'The Bishops of Winchester and the Monastic Revolution', *ANS*, 12, 47-65, 49, fn.18; Taunton: *Monasticon*, vi.i, 166; Waverley: *Monasticon*, v, 241; *Annales Monastici*, ii, 48, 221; *EEA*, VIII: *Winchester, 1070-1204*, ed. M. J. Franklin (London, 1993), nos 7-8, 15-16; for a discussion of William Giffard's commitment to religious reform see, Franklin, 'The Bishops of Winchester', 48-50.

⁷³ *Monasticon*, v, 426; Knowles, *Monastic Order*, 707; Ward, 'Foundations of the Clare Family', 440.

⁷⁴ *JW*, iii, 126. See below for a detailed discussion of his career in the next chapter.

⁷⁵ *Cartulaire de l'Abbaye Bénédicte de Saint-Pierre-de-Préaux, 1034-1227*, ed. D. Rouet, Collection de Documents Inédits sur l'Histoire de France, 34 (Paris, 2005), no. B15; *Delisle, Henri II*, no. 209 – grant to Saint-Pierre-de-Préaux.

Longueville priory.⁷⁶ Several of his kinsmen witnessed the foundation charter including his Clare nephews Roger fitz Richard II and Richard fitz Richard II, and his cousin Elias Giffard II.⁷⁷ His tenants such as Hugh de Bolbec, Ralph de Langetot and Hugh de Nuers were also amongst the initial benefactors to Newington Longueville. With Walter III's death the principal Giffard line ended but the priory of Longueville continued to receive donations from the tenants on both sides of the Channel.⁷⁸

Walter III and his wife Ermengarde also established an Arrouaisian house at Long Crendon in Buckinghamshire between 1155 and 1162, which came to be called Notley abbey.⁷⁹ Long Crendon was the English caput of the kin-group, its park and church had been previously gifted to Longueville priory, but Walter transferred the properties, and also granted all the parish churches on Giffard demesne land in the county.⁸⁰ The third foundation, c.1162, was a priory at Sheringham in Norfolk, as a cell of Notley Abbey and further provided for the canons of the abbey.⁸¹ These new foundations signify a change of focus for the kin-group, which is further evidenced by Walter III's increased use of the comital title to Buckingham. Both of these changes related to Walter's efforts to re-establish himself in England, after his restoration to the earldom of Buckingham by Henry II.⁸² Despite this new direction the Giffards were still very closely connected to Longueville priory, demonstrated by the gifts made by Walter III and his wife, as well as the creation of Newington Longueville as a daughter house.

⁷⁶ CDF, no. 74-77; *Chartes Longueville*, no. 1; *Newington Longueville Charters*, nos 1-2; *Monasticon*, vi.i, 1036-7; *EEA*, 31: Ely, no. 66.

⁷⁷ *Newington Longueville Charters*, no. 1.

⁷⁸ *Chartes Longueville*, e.g. nos 19-20, 23, 25; *Newington Longueville Charters*, nos 5, 8, 19, 20-22, 24, 52-3, 58, 71-2, 74-6, 78.

⁷⁹ *Newington Longueville Charters*, xv; J. G. Jenkins, 'The Lost Cartulary of Nutley Abbey', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 17 (1954), 379-396, 381-2, no. 1.

⁸⁰ *Monasticon*, vi.i, 277, no. 1; *EEA*, 18: *Salisbury*, no. 94; *EEA*, IV: *Lincoln*, Appendix I, no. xv; *Twelfth Century English: Archidiaconal & Vice-Archidiaconal Acta*, ed. B. R. Kemp (Canterbury & York, 2001), nos 180-1; Jenkins, 'Lost Cartulary of Nutley Abbey', nos 1-2, 4-5.

⁸¹ *Monasticon*, vi.i, 277, no. 3.

⁸² *EEA*, I: *Lincoln*, nos 173, 242; *EEA*, VI: *Norwich*, no. 120.

The Tosnys:

Robert of Tosny, the primogenitor of the Belvoir cadet branch, endowed and initiated construction of a new house at Belvoir c.1076. However, Robert was unable to finish building Belvoir and the priory was completed by 1088 as a daughter house of St Albans.⁸³ A relationship between the Anglo-Saxon house of St Albans and part of the land that formed the lordship of Belvoir had existed before 1066, as Robert's *antecessor* Oswulf son of Fran, had been a patron of the abbey.⁸⁴ The new Norman lord maintained the connection between the abbey and the manor, and Belvoir priory served as a unifying focal point for his new tenants.⁸⁵ The priory's political and familial role can be seen from its proximity to the new castle of Belvoir, allowing it to act as a literal and spiritual adjunct to Robert's own lordship.⁸⁶ Belvoir castle was established by 1088, because the foundation charter for the priory describes the church as being '*juxta castellum suum*'.⁸⁷ The priory continued to be significant amongst Robert's heirs despite the complexity of the succession to the lordship of Belvoir.⁸⁸

Several members of the extended Tosny kin-group maintained close ties with Conches Abbey after 1066 and several of their foundations were established as daughter houses or cells of the abbey. In an early demonstration of this, Ralph III de Tosny and his younger brother Robert I of Stafford were both involved in the foundation of Wotton Wawen priory between 1066 and c.1088 in Warwickshire.⁸⁹ Robert I established the priory but Ralph III contributed

⁸³ Knowles, *Heads of Religious Houses*, 85; Binns, *Dedications of Monastic Houses*, 63.

⁸⁴ *Charters of St Albans*, ed. J. Crick, *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, xii (Oxford, 2007), nos 17-17°, p. 81, 223-6, 231; *Monasticon*, iii, 289; Flemings, *Kings and Lords*, 173.

⁸⁵ *Monasticon*, i, 220-1, 223 no.iv; *Rutland*, 98, 108.

⁸⁶ *Rutland*, 1.

⁸⁷ *Monasticon*, iii, 288; *Rutland*, 107; E. Armitage, *The Early Norman Castles of the British Isles* (London, 1912), 102; D. F. Renn, *Norman Castles in Britain* (London, 1968), 105; Armitage's agenda has been questioned by more recent historians, but not her scholarship, R. Eales, 'Royal Power and castles in Norman England', in *Anglo-Norman Castles*, ed. R. Liddard (Woodbridge, 2003), 41-68, 41-8.

⁸⁸ E.g. *Rutland*, 99-108, 110, 118.

⁸⁹ ADE H251; ADE H262, fo. 111v-112r, 227r-228v, 234r-235v; *Conches*, nos 159, 409xiii, 413xiii; *Monasticon*, vi.ii, 994-5, no. i. Robert I of Stafford died c.1088, establishing the constraints for the foundation.

to the initial grants.⁹⁰ Later twelfth century grants by Roger III de Tosny (c.1138) and Hervey I of Stafford (c.1190) show that both branches of the kin-group continued to have ties to the house.⁹¹ Robert I held no Norman lands, and his choice of Conches abbey as the motherhouse for his new foundation can only have been due to his sense of kinship with his father, his brother and the abbey as a familial foundation. His foundation of the new priory also emphasises his focus on establishing himself in England, and creating a largely independent cadet branch. Ralph III's interest remained largely Norman, and he patronised the abbeys of Jumièges and St Evroult in addition to Conches, and in 1085-6 he granted East Wretham in Norfolk to Le Bec.⁹² This, and the grant of Wotton Wawen to Conches, shows that Ralph III regarded his English lands as a means for further providing for his Norman interests and relationships. Wotton Wawen continued to act as a link between the principal and cadet branches of the Tosnys into the twelfth and even the thirteenth centuries, as Nicholas I and Robert II of Stafford, confirmed their predecessors' grants, and Ralph III's grandson, Roger III de Tosny confirmed Ralph's grants.⁹³ Roger III's confirmation was attested by his Clare in-laws, Gilbert fitz Richard II and Roger fitz Richard II, even as the de Montfort's had attested their kinsman's grants in the previous century.⁹⁴

The principal line of the Tosnys did patronise English houses, despite their political focus being in Normandy. Ralph IV de Tosny's widow, Alice, removed the church at Walthamstow from the priory of Wotton Wawen and transferred it to the Augustinian canons established at Aldgate by Queen Edith Matilda.⁹⁵ She made this gift of what had been her dowry for the souls of her late husband, and her son Hugh, who had been buried at Aldgate, and

⁹⁰ *Monasticon*, vi.ii, 994-5 nos ii-v.

⁹¹ BI MFE 400; *Monasticon*, vi.ii, 994-5 nos ii-v.

⁹² *Chartes de L'Abbaye de Jumieges*, nos 32, 38; *CDF*, no. 625; Chibnall, *English Lands of the Abbey of Bec*, 148.

⁹³ *Monasticon*, vi.ii, 995, no. iii-v.

⁹⁴ *Ibid*, no. iii: '*Testibus hiis, Gilberto et ejus fratre Rogero*'.

⁹⁵ *Cartulary of Holy Trinity Aldgate*, xiv, nos 2, 4, App. 13.

for Roger, Simon and Isabel, her still living children.⁹⁶ This gift can be dated between Ralph IV's death in 1126 and the death of Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury in 1148.⁹⁷

Roger III de Tosny, Ralph IV's son established the Benedictine nunnery of St-Giles-in-the-Wood at Flamstead on his lands in Hertfordshire as a dependent cell of St Albans, like the priory of Belvoir founded by his cousin.⁹⁸ In the time of Edward the Confessor, the Tosnys antecessor Turnhot received the manor of Flamstead from Abbot Leofstan in return for him becoming the abbey's protector.⁹⁹ After 1066 Roger's grandfather Ralph III had acknowledged this prior relationship between St Albans and the manor of Flamstead and according to the account in the *Gesta Abbatum* agreed to fulfil the service for the abbey promised by Turnhot.¹⁰⁰ The nunnery was probably established between 1138 and 1140, during Roger III's reconciliation with Stephen, as he is not otherwise known to have been in England.¹⁰¹ The foundation of the nunnery is the only direct evidence of Roger actively concerning himself with his English territories in their own right, rather than as a means to provide for Norman houses.

Robert I of Stafford and his descendants had connections with several English foundations and their dependent cells, in particular Evesham abbey and the priories of Kenilworth and Stone.¹⁰² The Staffords were not the founders of Kenilworth or Stone, but they became some of the most prominent

⁹⁶ *Monasticon*, vi.i, 152, no. 6; *Cartulary of Holy Trinity Aldgate*, no. 4; *RRAN*, ii, no. 906; Knowles, *Heads of Religious Houses*, 173-4; Wareham, 'Two Models of Marriage', 131.

⁹⁷ *EEA: 15, London*, no. 50; confirmed by Archbishop Theobald, Saltman, *Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury*, no. 165.

⁹⁸ *Monasticon*, iv, 299, no. i; *Gesta Abbatum Monasterii Sancti Albani*, ed. H. T. Riley, RS (London, 1867-9), i, 93; *DB*, Flamstead, fo. 138.

⁹⁹ *Sancti Albani*, i, 40

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid*, i, 40-1; *VCH Hertford*, ii, 193.

¹⁰¹ *OV*, vi, 456-8.

¹⁰² *Chronicon Abbatiae de Evesham, ad. Annum 1418*, ed. W. Dunn Macray (London, 1863), 75, 101, 213; *Staffordshire Chartulary*, i, nos 1-2; *Kenilworth Cartulary*, nos 1-3; *EEA, II: Canterbury*, no. 142.

benefactors.¹⁰³ Geoffrey de Clinton founded Kenilworth priory c.1124, and Stone priory became a dependant cell of the other priory in c.1135. The Tosnys position as benefactors to Stone, led to the priory becoming a focal point for the Staffords as a kin-group and as lords, and even grants made to Kenilworth often related to Stone.¹⁰⁴

3. Withdrawing from the World

The Clares, Giffards and Tosnys did not often turn from the secular world to the spiritual life and therefore the three kin-groups have not been separated for this particular section. While there are relatively few examples of this between the three kin-groups, those that exist contribute to the understanding of the relationship between the aristocracy and the church. It also demonstrates the ties between members of the three kin-groups and specific religious houses.

From the Clares, only two individuals can be found who chose to turn to the church as adults. Richard fitz Gilbert I, became a monk at St Neots, his own 1088 re-foundation of an Anglo-Saxon priory as an alien cell of Le Bec, approximately two years before his death.¹⁰⁵ Subsequently his daughter Adeliza, widow of Walter Tirel, became a nun at the abbey of Conflans in c.1131.¹⁰⁶ This daughter house of Le Bec had been established by Abbot Anselm in the French Vexin, and was almost equidistant between the territories of her paternal kin in Normandy and her husband's caput at Poix. Her retirement to the nunnery meant that she did not have to remarry, and by turning to a house connected to Le Bec she displayed an appreciation of her familial ties, while the abbey's location allowed her to remain physically

¹⁰³ *Kenilworth Cartulary*: Robert I: H998; Nicholas I: 3, 9, 19, 71, 207, 210; Robert II: 37, 58, 207, 210, 212; *RRAN*, iii, no. 418; *Staffordshire Chartulary*, ii, nos 1-2, 4-6, 8-22; *EEA*, 14: *Coventry and Lichfield, 1072-1159*, ed. M. J. Franklin (London, 1997), no. 38; *EEA*, 16: *Coventry and Lichfield*, no. 99.

¹⁰⁴ *Stone Cartulary*, 6-7, 11-13, 16, 20, 23, 28; *Kenilworth Cartulary*, 174; *EEA*, 14: *Coventry and Lichfield*, nos 71-72,

¹⁰⁵ *OV*, iv, 204-212; *Letters of Anselm*, i, no. 90.

¹⁰⁶ Round, 'Walter Tirel and His Wife', 471, 476. Walter Tirel died c.1130.

close to her son, Hugh Tirel. In c.1139, Hugh continued the connection by granting money from the manor of Langham – which had been his mother's dowry – to the abbey of Conflans, because of his mother's presence in the house.¹⁰⁷

There were no secular members of the principal line of the Giffards who can be identified as retiring to the church later in their adult life, but in c.1036, Walter Giffard I's father-in-law, Gerard Fleitel, became a monk at St Wandrille upon his return from the Holy Land.¹⁰⁸ Gerard's sons, Anscher, Albert, and Robert becoming patrons of St Wandrille both before and after his death in 1045, was probably influenced by both Gerard's presence and by the status of the abbey within the region.¹⁰⁹ However, there were two members of the Giffard kin-group by blood, who did retire to a monastery late on in their lives. In c.1126 William Giffard, Bishop of Winchester, as previously mentioned, gave up his episcopacy and became a monk at St Swithun's abbey in Winchester.¹¹⁰ His choice of where to retire was influenced by the bonds and networks that had formed through his career rather than through his blood.¹¹¹ In the same way Elias Giffard II of Brimpsfield became a monk of St Peter's abbey, Gloucester, approximately three years prior to his death in c.1165.¹¹² The reasoning behind the choices made by the Giffards who chose to become monks appears to have been extremely localised interests. Each member of the extended kin-group chose a local house and one that they had personal connections to even if the rest of their kin-group did not.

¹⁰⁷ Eadmer, *The Life of St Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury*, ed. & trans. R.W. Southern (Oxford, 1972)

¹⁰⁸ *GND*, 81,116; *OV*, iii, 84. 252; *Études Critiques sur L'Abbaye de Saint-Wandrille*, F. Lot (Paris, 1913), no. 22; *Inventio et miracula sancti Vulfranni*, ed. J. Laporte, Société de l'histoire de Normandie (Rouen, 1938), 40-41.

¹⁰⁹ *RADN*, Anscher: nos 30, 46, 46*bis*, 102, 108, 234; Albert: no. 234; Robert: nos 46, 46*bis*, 108, 234; Gerard's other son, William, bishop of Évreux: nos 106-08, 120, 122, 126, 129, 137, 145, 188, 208-209, 219-220, 234; *OV*, ii, 78.

¹¹⁰ BL Add. MS 29436, fo.13r; *RT*, 113; *JW*, iii, 186-7.

¹¹¹ William de Vere's life shows a similar distance between his kinsfolk at the end, even though he had frequently collaborated with members of his extended kin-group including members of the de Mandeville and Clare kin-groups. J. Barrow, 'A twelfth-century bishop and literary patron: William de Vere', *Viator*, 18 (1987) 175-189.

¹¹² *Sancti Petri*, i, 117.

There is no extant evidence of the men of the principal line of the Tosnys turning to the church at the end of their lives, although this does not exclude the possibility that they did so. Isabel, widow of Ralph III de Tosny retired to the priory of Haute-Bruyere in 1102 shortly after her husband's death.¹¹³ It had been established by her father Simon I de Montfort and was patronised by her brother Amaury IV, and was situated only a few miles from his estate at Montfort l'Amaury.¹¹⁴ Isabel's decision to retire there returned her to the geographical and spiritual sphere of her birth family.

Robert I of Stafford became a monk at Evesham shortly before his death.¹¹⁵ In the 1070s he had granted the manor of Wrottesley to Evesham, but it had reverted to his possession by the Domesday Inquest.¹¹⁶ When he became a monk, he re-granted Wrottesley, with the consent of his wife and son.¹¹⁷ Robert also continued to act as a benefactor to his father's foundation of Conches abbey, and its English cell, Wotton Wawen priory. Either would seem more obvious possibilities for his retreat from the secular world. His decision to be buried at Evesham, near his own acquired lordship in England, suggests an interest in emphasising his independence from the principal Tosny kin-group. The geographical location of the abbey, and its role as a focal point for lordship of Stafford would also have contributed to Robert's connection to the abbey.

The evidence of these three kin-groups indicates that this was not a common phenomenon in either England or Normandy, for either men or women. The Clares, Giffards and Tosnys may be exceptional in this area, however there is no evidence from their affines to indicate that this is the case. Therefore if it

¹¹³ *OV*, iii, 126.

¹¹⁴ Delisle, *Henri II*, nos 77, 210.

¹¹⁵ *Staffordshire Chartulary*, i, nos 1-2; *Monasticon*, ii, 608-9.

¹¹⁶ *DB*, i, fo. 249.

¹¹⁷ *Staffordshire Chartulary*, i, no. 2: '*Ego Robertus monachus factus in infirmitate mea in eodem monasterio hanc donationem propria manu signo cruces confirmavi.*'; Thomas of Malborough, *The History of the Abbey of Evesham*, ed. & trans. J. Sayers and L. Watkiss (Oxford, 2003), 136-7.

was a common occurrence much of the supporting evidence has been lost, but such absolute silence from the chronicle accounts that have survived indicates that it was a rare event and a personal expression of piety and agency.

4. Burial Patterns

The Clares:

The close association between the Clare kin-group and the abbey of Le Bec was not reflected in the number of individuals who can be identified as having been buried within its confines. Guiger, the illegitimate son of Baldwin fitz Gilbert I, had been a monk of the abbey and was buried there.¹¹⁸ Rohese II, widow of Eudo *dapifer* was also buried at Le Bec, although she had wished to be buried with her husband in St John's abbey in Colchester.¹¹⁹ Her surviving family chose to disregard her wishes, possibly because of the expense and instead buried her in the older house, with more widespread and enduring ties with the Clares. The evidence of the Clares and Le Bec would therefore suggest that contemporaries did not necessarily take kinship bonds and personal wishes into account. Despite this, the extended Clare kin-group and in particular the principal kin-group, display burial patterns that reflected both their kin-based and their lordship-based networks, whether these patterns were deliberately created or developed unconsciously on the part of each generation.

The first members of the Clare kin-group known to have been buried in England were Richard fitz Gilbert I who was buried at St Neots Priory in c.1090 and his young son Godfrey who was buried in St John's church at Clare c.1080-5.¹²⁰ Subsequently, Gilbert fitz Richard I was buried at Stoke-by-Clare priory c.1117, and from this point, Stoke-by-Clare became a mausoleum for the principal line of the family. Gilbert fitz Richard I's

¹¹⁸ *OV*, v, 208-10.

¹¹⁹ *Cartularium Monasterii Sancti Johannis Baptiste de Colecestria*, ed. Stuart A. Moore, 2 vols (London, 1897), 21; *Monasticon*, iv, 608-9; Golding, 'Anglo-Norman Knightly Burials', 47.

¹²⁰ *OV*, iv, 204-212; *SbC*, no 137.

grandsons Gilbert fitz Richard II and Roger fitz Richard II were also buried here.¹²¹ Richard fitz Gilbert II is an important exception to this, after he was killed in 1136 by rebellious Welsh forces, he was buried at St Peter's abbey in Gloucester.¹²² The circumstances of his death may also have been behind his interment in St Peter's instead of his uncle's foundation of Tintern Abbey.¹²³ Richard had left Stephen's court angered by the king's refusal of new lands and support for campaigns in Wales and threatening rebellion, all of which combined with the Welsh uprising that had caused his death meant that his burial became a symbol for the marcher solidarity that marked this period.¹²⁴ Richard fitz Roger was also buried at Stoke-by-Clare in c.1217, but his son Gilbert, the first Clare earl of Hertford and Gloucester, was buried before the great altar of Tewkesbury abbey in 1230 at the centre of his new properties.¹²⁵

There were alternatives to Stoke-by-Clare, as the cadet branches increasingly established themselves on their own manors. In particular Walter fitz Richard's 1136 foundation of Tintern abbey. In 1138, Walter was the first member of the kin-group to be buried there.¹²⁶ His nephew, Gilbert fitz Gilbert succeeded to Walter's lands and was also buried in the abbey in 1148.¹²⁷ However, Gilbert's son, Richard fitz Gilbert IIb, was buried in Dublin in 1176, his interment reflecting his achievements in Ireland rather than his ties to his ancestors.¹²⁸ The pattern that develops amongst the Clares demonstrates that they chose their place of interment based on the focus of their lordship, this is particularly obvious as their attention shifts from southeast to southwest and from Stoke-by-Clare to Tewkesbury.

¹²¹ *SbC*, no. 512: '*pro salute...dominorum meorum Gilberti et Rogeri comitum qui in eadem ecclesia requiescunt...*'

¹²² *Sancti Petri*, i, xxix, 104; *GS*, 16; *JW*, iii, 220-1.

¹²³ *Monasticon*, v, 270.

¹²⁴ *GS*, 16-18; Crouch, *Reign of King Stephen*, 45, 54.

¹²⁵ *Monasticon*, v, 61; *Annales Monastici*, i, 176.

¹²⁶ *Monasticon*, v, 266.

¹²⁷ *Ibid*, 270.

¹²⁸ *Diceto*, i, 470.

The Giffards:

All three of the patriarchs of the principal Giffard line were buried in family foundations, Walter I and Walter II at Longueville in 1084 and 1102, and Walter III at Notley in 1164.¹²⁹ Walter I and Walter II's decision to be buried in the priory reflected their focus on their patrimonial lands in the Pays de Caux rather than their English acquisitions.¹³⁰ Equally Walter III's interment at Notley Abbey, in addition to his religious foundations in England and use of the English title 'earl of Buckingham', contributes to the sense that he was more engaged with his English possessions than his predecessors.¹³¹ This shift in location indicated a change in focus similar to that of the Clares after they became earls of Gloucester as well as earls of Hertford. The Giffards of Brimpsfield also had a localised focus, and throughout the twelfth century they were buried in St Peter's Abbey, Gloucester, reinforcing the family relationship that they had established as patrons of St Peter's during their lifetimes.¹³² This allowed three generations of two branches of the Giffards to associate themselves with their lordship and with their immediate kinsfolk. This information demonstrates that the Giffards chose their place of interment because of their tenorial and familial concerns, which were localised to each branch of the kin-group.

The Tosnys:

Members of the principal branch of the Tosnys were buried at Conches abbey from the death of Roger I to the end of the eleventh century so far as can be judged.¹³³ His sons, Elbert and Elinand, were also buried there in 1040, then

¹²⁹ Walter Giffard I & Walter Giffard II: *Chartes Longueville*, no. 1; *Monasticon*, vi.ii, 1036-7; OV, vi, 36-8; Walter Giffard III: *Monasticon*, vi.i, 278.

¹³⁰ OV, vi, 36-8; Cownie, *Religious Patronage in Anglo-Norman England*, 214-5.

¹³¹ See Part I, fn. 377.

¹³² *Sancti Petri*, i, 62-3, 66-7, 69, 79-80, 111, 117, 158; ii, 188, nos 127, 130, 165, 316, 347; iii, 531, 597, 610, 614, 630, 680.

¹³³ ADE H262, fos 149-150r, 219r-220r, 222r-223v, 227r-228v, 230v-233v; *Conches*, nos 269, 406-07, 409, 411.

Ralph III's son Roger II in 1091 and Ralph III himself in 1102.¹³⁴ This adherence to familial tradition indicates that their spiritual interests as well as their political and tenurial focus remained on their Norman estates over their new acquisitions in England. The burial places of Ralph IV, Roger III and Ralph V are not recorded. It has been suggested that Ralph IV broke with this tradition and was buried at Holy Trinity, Aldgate, although Orderic Vitalis recorded that he was interred at Conches abbey.¹³⁵ Ralph's young son, Hugh definitely was buried at Aldgate, probably because of his mother's attachment to the house. Nevertheless the continuing association between the kin-group, lordship and abbey suggests that Ralph IV and the other members of the principal line without a known burial place were probably buried at Conches.

Tosny cadet branches tended to be interred at local religious houses, rather than at Conches, reflecting their regional interests and localised networks. Adeliza, daughter of Roger I, and her husband William fitz Osbern were interred in the abbeys they had established together in the lordship of Breteuil, William at Corneilles and Adeliza at Lyre.¹³⁶ Robert I of Stafford stipulated that he wished to be buried at Evesham, and this request was carried out, however his descendants turned to Stone priory.¹³⁷ The priory functioned as a mausoleum for the lords of Stafford after the deaths of Nicholas I and his wife Matilda, who had been especially important benefactors.¹³⁸ Robert II of Stafford and his wife, Avise II were also apparently buried at Stone, and their son Robert III was buried alongside his parents in c.1193 shortly after his return from the Third Crusade.¹³⁹ His

¹³⁴ ADE H262, fos 219r-220r, 222r-223v, 227r-228v, 230v-233v; *Conches*, nos 406, 407, 409, 411; Golding, 'Anglo-Norman Knightly Burials', 40.

¹³⁵ *EEA*, VII: *Hereford*, no. 142; Golding, 'Anglo-Norman Knightly Burials', 40; *OV*, iii, 126

¹³⁶ *GND*, ii, 132; *OV*, ii, 12, 280-4. The death of William fitz Osbern pre-dates that of the Conqueror and his wife, although Adeliza may have outlived them. This makes the similar pattern of interment that both couples followed interesting but inconclusive.

¹³⁷ *Chronicon Abbatiae de Evesham*, 75, 101, 213; *Staffordshire Chartulary*, i, no. 2; *Kenilworth Cartulary*, no. 1.

¹³⁸ *Monasticon*, vi.i, 231, no. ii; *Kenilworth Cartulary*, 179.

¹³⁹ *PR 2 RI*, 18; *Monasticon*, vi.i, 231, no. ii.

sister Melisende and her husband, Hervey Bagot, were also interred at Stone.¹⁴⁰ For Hervey Bagot and his heirs the adoption of the priory, like their adoption of the title and toponymic name of Stafford, emphasised their legitimate succession to the lordship.¹⁴¹ This identification with their predecessors was successful enough that the fifteenth century plaque declared Hervey Bagot as '*After this blessed baron Robert... then was Harvey his sonne, lord and founder here...*'.¹⁴²

Robert of Tosny's foundation charter for Belvoir priory included the request that if he or his wife Adeliza died in England they were to be buried at either St Albans or Belvoir.¹⁴³ They were only to be buried at the latter priory if St Albans gave permission.¹⁴⁴ Robert was buried at Belvoir in 1088, and over the next sixty years he was joined by two of his daughters, Albreda and Agnes, and his granddaughter Cecily Bigod.¹⁴⁵ Agnes chose to be buried in her father's foundation despite being married twice; while Albreda was her father's heir before the lordship passed to her younger sister Alice and her descendants.¹⁴⁶ Alice and the Bigod branch of the extended kin-group were not buried at Belvoir but at the Bigod foundation of Thetford priory.¹⁴⁷ The relationship between family and priory was not broken altogether however, as Cecily Bigod and her husband William d'Albini *brito* were both buried at Belvoir.¹⁴⁸ The maintenance of the ties between the new lords and their predecessors were an important method for the d'Albini's to establish

¹⁴⁰ *Monasticon*, vi.i, 231, no. ii.

¹⁴¹ Wrottesley, 'History of the Bagot Family', 3-224; *Stone Cartulary*, 13, 17-18, 20, 24.

¹⁴² *Monasticon*, i, 220, vi.i, 231, no. ii.

¹⁴³ *Rutland*, 109-10, 144; *Monasticon*, iii, 288-9.

¹⁴⁴ *Rutland*, 150-153; *Monasticon*, ii, 223.

¹⁴⁵ *Monasticon*, iii, 289.

¹⁴⁶ See Part I, fns 228-31.

¹⁴⁷ *Monasticon*, v, 153; Golding, 'Anglo-Norman Knightly Burials', 35-6.

¹⁴⁸ *Monasticon*, i, 220; iii, 289; v, 153; *OV*, vi, 146; *RRAN*, ii, no. 886; Golding, 'Anglo-Norman Knightly Burials', 35-6, 39-40; Cownie, *Religious Patronage in Anglo-Norman England*, 212-5; Green, *Aristocracy of Norman England*, 425.

themselves as lords and as the heirs to the Tosnys.¹⁴⁹ Belvoir Priory had an important role, as its location adjacent to the castle made it the geographically logical and spiritually appropriate centre to use as a focal point for the extended kin-group as its identity shifted over the generations.

Summary

The multiple forms of aristocratic patronage that the Clare, Giffard and Tosny kin-groups participated in provide a view into the interactions of the religious and secular aspects of society. The historiography of aristocratic patronage takes a wide range of approaches to the topic, which makes it possible to place the three focal kin-groups in a wider context. Stephen White's work on the act and meaning of gift-giving to religious houses shows a similar pattern to the Clares, Giffards and Tosnys, they initially attest to ducal gifts to ducal foundations, then become benefactors themselves to those houses and then increasingly began to establish their own houses.¹⁵⁰ The different progression of this process is demonstrated by the divergence between the kin-groups in the 1030s when Gilbert de Brionne became a key patron of Le Bec after his former knight founded the abbey in 1034, and Roger I de Tosny founded Conches abbey in 1035. In comparison the Giffards did not found a religious house until the 1084 foundation of Sainte-Foi priory at Longueville.

The relationships that developed between these particular houses and the kin-groups demonstrate the overlapping of secular and spiritual imperatives that has been explored in detail by Bouchard for France, and in particularly exhaustive detail for Burgundy. The social or tenurial importance of religious houses closely linked to the lords kin-group, which will be discussed further in Part III, builds on Cownie's work on Anglo-Norman religious patronage. The emphasis on the practical and secular factors that influenced the Clares, Giffards and Tosnys does not mean that genuine piety was not the basic motivation behind the foundation, merely that the aristocratic founders either

¹⁴⁹ *Rutland*, 99-100, 103, 108, 118, 127-28, 144, 157-58, 161, 165, 177.

¹⁵⁰ White, 'The Politics of Exchange: Gifts, Fiefs and Feudalism', in *Medieval Transformations: Texts, Power, and Gifts in Context*, ed. E. Cohen & M. B. De Jong (Boston, 2001), 169-88. See also, V. Gazeau-Goddet, 'Les Abbes Benedictines de la Normandie Ducale', *ANS*, 26 (2003), 75-86.

had spiritual and practical reasons or that once the house was established, they realised the secular role such a house could have within their lordship.¹⁵¹

Cownie's main work on patronage focuses on Anglo-Norman England and describes the adoption of Anglo-Saxon houses by the new aristocracy, which could range from the re-foundation of St Neots and Clare priories by the Clares to the acknowledgement of pre-existing ties between their lands and St Albans Abbey in the cases of the Tosnys of Conches and their cousins the Tosnys of Belvoir. At the same time it is clear from the evidence of the three case studies that the primary focus for patronage by the Anglo-Norman aristocracy remained the Norman houses they were already connected to, such as Le Bec, Conches and before the foundation of Longueville, St Wandrille.¹⁵² The cadet branches that began to establish themselves in England generally had fewer direct ties to the Norman houses and therefore focussed on the religious houses in their new estates whether they were newly established or of Anglo-Saxon heritage.

The division was not absolute, as shown by the enduring ties between the England based Stafford branch of the Tosnys and Conches abbey. This maintenance of pre-existing networks and bonds tied into kin-based and lordship-based networks and was a way for the Clares, Giffards and Tosnys to identify themselves as members of a kin-group and to reinforce their lordship on both a local level and within the Anglo-Norman realm as a whole. Similarly members of the Clare kin-group sought to establish themselves first in the Marches, then South Wales and finally in Ireland and at each stage they founded or patronised other religious houses. For example, the marriage of Walter fitz Richard de Clare and Isabel, daughter of Ralph III de Tosny may have motivated the Tosnys and Clares to make or attest grants to Le Bec and Wotton Wawen respectively. While Walter Giffard III's English foundations of Newington Longueville, Notley and Sheringham linked his

¹⁵¹ Cownie, 'Religious Patronage & Lordship', 145; Mortimer had made this point previously, in relation to the Clare kin-group, 'Land and Service', 195.

¹⁵² Cownie, *Religious Patronage in Anglo-Norman England*, 151-206; V. Gazeau-Goddet, 'The Effect of the Conquest of 1066 on Monasticism in Normandy: The Abbeys of the Risle Valley', in *England and Normandy in the Middle Ages*, ed. D. Bates & A. Curry (London & Rio Grande, 1994), 131-42.

cross-Channel possessions and indicated his augmented interest in his English lands after 1154.

The few members of the Clares, Giffards and Tosnys who are known to have turned to the church as adults, particularly towards the end of their lives can be divided by gender, the men appearing to be older than the women and apparently for different reasons. In the case of Robert I of Stafford, ill health was explicitly mentioned as one reason for becoming a monk in the charter recording his wishes.¹⁵³ The women were generally younger when they turned to the religious life and were widowed, whereas the men became monks despite their wives still being alive. The decision for women was not merely which religious house they wished to be associated with, but also whether they chose to return to one associated with their paternal kin or a house connected with their husband and therefore their children.¹⁵⁴ In the kin-groups examined in this thesis only two women turned to the church Adeliza, daughter of Richard fitz Gilbert I and Isabel, daughter of Simon I de Montfort, and both became nuns at houses linked to their paternal kin. Comparison of the limited examples present in the three kin-groups suggests that this was not a universal phenomenon amongst the Anglo-Norman aristocracy, although Cassandra Potts found that it was a common event amongst the aristocracy.¹⁵⁵

Burial choices and patterns is a relatively small field in the historiography, and in the case of the Clares, Giffards and Tosnys there are sufficient lacunae in the surviving sources to cause all statements to retain an element of speculation. The principal lines of the Clare, Giffard and Tosny kin-groups and even some of their cadet branches appear to follow a specific pattern of burial, with the patriarchs of the families choosing in turn to be buried in the religious house most closely associated with their lordship. When a particular

¹⁵³ *Staffordshire Chartulary*, i, no. 2, *Ego Robertus monachus factus in infirmitate mea in eodem monasterio...*

¹⁵⁴ Basilia, widow of Hugh de Gournay retired to Le Bec after her husband's death, possibly because of the proximity of the house to both Rouen and the Gournay estates in the Pays de Caux as much as the reputation that the abbey was rapidly acquiring in the late eleventh century. *Letters of Anselm*, i, nos 68, 147; iii, 420.

¹⁵⁵ C. Potts, *Monastic Revival and Regional Identity in Early Normandy* (Woodbridge, 1997), 50.

house became a mausoleum for a kin-group or a cadet branch of a kin-group it became a means for the individuals to reinforce their identity as part of that kin-group, even as the patronage of tenants reinforced their position as part of a lordship.

The examination of aristocratic patronage through network analysis provides a more complete view of the society within which the Clare, Giffard and Tosny kin-groups existed.¹⁵⁶ The surviving primary sources that provide details of the foundations and benefactions made to specific houses, to the decisions of joining a religious house or choosing to be buried in one are also the best sources for exploring kin-based and lordship-based bonds. The networks of connections developed through the church seem more sparsely populated and less structural until the overlapping ties of kinship and lordship are taken into consideration.

¹⁵⁶ Schulman, 309.

Chapter 2:

The Aristocracy and the Religious Life

The Clares:

The first members of the Clare kin-group known to have entered the church were Richard fitz Richard, son of Richard fitz Gilbert I and Baldwin fitz Gilbert's illegitimate son, Guiger, who became monks at Le Bec in the second half of the eleventh century.¹⁵⁷ It has also been suggested that 'Nun M', the recipient of a letter c.1094 from Archbishop Anselm, was a daughter of Richard fitz Gilbert I, because she is named 'M, daughter of Richard', and also because Richard and his wife Rohese I had close ties to both Anselm and to Le Bec.¹⁵⁸ Little evidence of Guiger survives, and therefore equally little can be said about the role of his kin in his life, beyond his father Baldwin fitz Gilbert I's connection to Le Bec presumably being the reason Guiger entered the abbey.¹⁵⁹

This means that out of three potential members of the kin-group who entered the church in the late eleventh century, only Richard fitz Richard's life can be examined in any depth. The letters between Abbot Anselm and Richard fitz Gilbert I provide the earliest evidence of Richard fitz Richard's existence, as he had been entrusted into the Abbot's care.¹⁶⁰ Several letters of Anselm's concern the re-foundation of St Neots as a cell of Le Bec by Richard fitz Gilbert I and Rohese I, and it has been speculated that Richard was one of the monks sent from Le Bec to assist in the priory's re-foundation.¹⁶¹ The presence of two members of their kin-group in the abbey of Le Bec would

¹⁵⁷ Richard: *Liber Eliensis*, 226-7; Fairweather, *Ely*, 272-3; Guiger: *Histoire de l'abbaye du Bec*, 629.

¹⁵⁸ *Letters of Anselm* ii, no. 184.

¹⁵⁹ *Histoire de l'abbaye du Bec*, 629.

¹⁶⁰ *Letters of Anselm*, i, nos 90, 94, 96; ii, no. 196; *Liber Eliensis*, 225-6; Fairweather, *Ely*, 270-1.

¹⁶¹ *Letters of Anselm*, i, nos 90-1, 94, 96, see editors notes on identification with Richard fitz Richard.

have contributed to the strong ties between the extended kin-group and the abbey and its associated houses.

Richard was promoted to the abbacy of Ely in 1100-01 by Henry I, but despite their previous relationship, Archbishop Anselm protested the king's interference in church matters and refused to approve the new appointment.¹⁶² At the Council of Westminster in 1102, Anselm deposed Richard along with other new appointments, although the relationship between Richard's parents and the Archbishop was apparently not affected by this decision.¹⁶³ Anselm, Richard and several others travelled to Rome to make their cases before Pope Paschal II.¹⁶⁴ Richard also appealed to his paternal and maternal secular kinsfolk for support in his case. The account of this appeal in the *Liber Eliensis*, emphasised the Clares and Giffards ability to exert a great deal of pressure on Henry I, and even claimed that they terrorised the king and carried out murders at the court to increase their dominance.¹⁶⁵ Henry I, perhaps influenced by their pressure, continued to support Richard's appointment to Ely, despite Anselm and Paschal II's protests.¹⁶⁶ Richard was restored in 1103, but, neither Anselm nor the pope accepted his restoration, and Paschal II excommunicated him in 1105.¹⁶⁷ Even after Henry I and Anselm had reached a compromise, Paschal II continued to insist that Richard was not permitted to act as abbot, nevertheless Richard continued to carry out his duties.¹⁶⁸ A papal letter formally restoring Richard to his position finally arrived in England shortly before his death in June 1107.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶² *Liber Eliensis*, 224-36; Fairweather, *Ely*, 271-4; *JW*, iii, 102.

¹⁶³ *RRAN*, ii, no. 549; *Liber Eliensis*, 224; *JW*, iii, 102-4; M. Brett, *The English Church Under Henry I* (London, 1975), 78.

¹⁶⁴ *Liber Eliensis*, 226-8; Fairweather, *Ely*, 272-3; S. Vaughn, 'St. Anselm and the English Investiture Controversy Reconsidered', *Journal of Medieval History*, vi (1980), 61-86, 71; Brett, *English Church Under Henry I*, 235.

¹⁶⁵ *Liber Eliensis*, 226-7; Fairweather, *Ely*, 272-3. See Part I, fn 158, for a further discussion of this incident.

¹⁶⁶ *Letters of Anselm*: iii, nos 280, 310, 397, 422.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid*, nos 280, 310, 397; *Liber Eliensis*, 226-7; Fairweather, *Ely*, 272-3.

¹⁶⁸ *Letters of Anselm*: iii, no. 397; *Liber Eliensis*, 234; Fairweather, *Ely*, 269-274, 278, 283-4.

¹⁶⁹ *RT*, 95; *JW*, iii, 112; *Letters of Anselm*, iii, no. 422; *Liber Eliensis*, 230, 235.

Two more possible clerical members of the Clare kin-group, Gilbert and Richard de Clare shared the forenames and toponymic of members of the principal Clare line, but exact relationships cannot be identified. Both occur in the witness lists of the mid-twelfth century charters of Archbishop Theobald of Canterbury, Gilbert in the 1140s and Richard in the 1150s.¹⁷⁰ During that decade there was only one known member of the kin-group with that name, Richard fitz Richard II, son of Richard fitz Gilbert II. Despite being a younger son, he does not appear to have been intended for the church, instead acting as his elder brother's lieutenant.¹⁷¹ It is also possible that Gilbert and Richard de Clare were using the toponymic either because they had been born at Clare, or their careers had begun at Stoke-by-Clare. Osbert de Clare, scholar and eventually, prior of Westminster, was not a member of the Clare kin-group although he claimed to have been born at Clare castle, and therefore used the toponymic.¹⁷²

The Giffards:

Within the principal line of the Giffard kin-group two younger sons of Walter Giffard I, Gerard and William, chose or were chosen for ecclesiastical careers. Gerard was the first known prior of Stoke-by-Clare from c.1136 to 1143, and probably received the position because of his relationship to the Clares, through his sister Rohese, and her marriage to Richard fitz Gilbert I.¹⁷³ His status within the wider Clare-Giffard kin-group can be seen through the words of his nephew Robert fitz Richard, who consented to his elder brother Gilbert's grant of fishing rights in the Stour Mere to the monks of Stoke-by-Clare with the declaration that he did so '*pro amore Girardi Giphardi prioris cognati*'.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷⁰ Saltman, *Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury*, Gilbert: nos 42, 59, 63, 146, 155, 161; Richard: nos 77-8, 176, 225.

¹⁷¹ *SbC*, nos 25-6, 28, 30, 34, 67, 134. Bouchard, *Sword, Miter & Cloister*, 62. See part I, fn. 303.

¹⁷² F. Barlow, 'Osbert of Clare, prior of Westminster and ecclesiastical writer', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/5442>, accessed 9th October 2008.

¹⁷³ *SbC*, nos 70, 137; *EEA*, 18: *Salisbury*, no. 120.

¹⁷⁴ *SbC*, no. 137.

Much more is known of William Giffard, royal chancellor and Bishop of Winchester. In the context of this thesis, the focus is on the relationships and networks that developed during William's life, in particular the role of his kinsfolk and of his secular overlords, successively William Rufus and Henry I. William Giffard can first be identified as a canon at Rouen cathedral, before becoming subdean there.¹⁷⁵ He was then transferred to St Paul's, London where he served as a prebendary, although still in deacon's orders.¹⁷⁶ He became first chaplain and then chancellor to William Rufus in the 1090s, where he was a key figure in the king's service, at the same time his brother Walter Giffard II was, according to Orderic Vitalis, leading William Rufus' forces.¹⁷⁷ William kept his office immediately after Henry I's coronation, and was then appointed Bishop-elect of Winchester.¹⁷⁸ Archbishop Anselm agreed to consecrate him as Bishop of Winchester on his return from exile but in 1102 when the royal candidates were refused consecration in their offices, William Giffard deferred to the Archbishop, and also refused consecration by the Archbishop of York.¹⁷⁹ Henry I then banished him from England and confiscated his lands.¹⁸⁰ This breakdown in William's relationship with the King mirrors Richard fitz Richard's troubled relationship with Archbishop Anselm. The pressure brought to bear by the Clares and Giffards on Henry I at court was presumably on behalf of both members of their extended kin-

¹⁷⁵ CDF, no. 4; RRAN, i, no. 405; D. S. Spear 'The Norman Empire and the Secular Clergy, 1066-1204', *Journal of British Studies*, 21 (1982), 1-10, 7; idem, *The Personnel of the Norman Cathedrals during the Ducal Period, 911-1204* (London, 2006), 200; Franklin 'The Bishops of Winchester', 47-65.

¹⁷⁶ *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae, 1066-1300: St Paul's London, i*, ed. D. E. Greenaway (London, 1968), 42, 85; Franklin 'The Bishops of Winchester', 47-65; eadem, 'William Giffard, Bishop of Winchester', *Dictionary of National Biography*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/10655?docPos=1> accessed 9th October 2008.

¹⁷⁷ BL Add. MS. 29436 *Chartulary of St Swithun, Winchester*, fo. 12; RRAN, i, nos 315, 324, 328, 386, 394, 397, 399-400, 410, 423, 426, 429, 471, 474; *Feudal Documents of Bury St Edmunds*, no. 19; EEA, VIII: *Winchester*, no. 12; OV, v, 214; Stenton, *Facsimiles of Early Charters*, nos Ia, Ib; S. M. Christelow, 'Chancellors and Curial Bishops: Ecclesiastical Promotions and Power in Anglo-Norman England', *ANS*, 22, 49-69, 60, 65.

¹⁷⁸ RRAN, ii, nos 488, 490; *Westminster Abbey Charters*, no. 59; *Letters of Anselm*, ii, nos 212, 229.

¹⁷⁹ Eadmer, *Historia Novorum*, ed. M. Rule, RS 81 (London, 1884), 144-6; *Annales Monastici*, ii, 41; *Letters of Anselm*, ii, nos 212, 229.

¹⁸⁰ JW, iii, 104; *Letters of Anselm*: ii, 265.

group. William Giffard was finally reconciled with the king in 1105, consecrated in 1107 and reclaimed his position at court – after the White Ship disaster in 1120, William performed the marriage of Henry I to his second wife, Adelaide.¹⁸¹

There were up to four other William Giffards' holding different offices within the church in the mid-twelfth century, however the disparate pieces of evidence probably refer to two or three individuals, although their exact identity within the kin-group remains unclear. It is possible that one or more of these men, was the William Giffard who came into conflict with William Cumin.¹⁸² William Giffard was in possession of the church of Budleigh in Devon by 1150, but he was asked to surrender the church to William Cumin by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Exeter.¹⁸³ William Giffard refused to accept his dismissal and appealed to Pope Eugene III, and in 1152 the Bishop of Exeter was ordered to restore him to Budleigh.¹⁸⁴ A second William Giffard can be found as a clerk to Earl Henry of Scotland and his wife Ada de Warenne, and was amongst those that accompanied them to Scotland in 1139.¹⁸⁵ This William was probably the brother of the Fife-based Hugh and Walter Giffard, as they occur together several times in royal charters.¹⁸⁶ A third William Giffard, '*fratre*' William Giffard of Reading abbey, attended King David I's court regarding the abbey's interests in founding a daughter cell at Rindalgrös between 1143 and 1153.¹⁸⁷ He also witnessed other royal acts for

¹⁸¹ *Letters of Anselm*: iii, nos 322, 344; *JW*, iii, 148-50, 152; Vaughn, 'St Anselm and the English Investiture Controversy reconsidered', 73-76.

¹⁸² *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae, 1066-1300: Monastic Cathedrals (Northern & Southern Provinces), II*, ed. D. E. Greenaway (London, 1971), 30; A. Young, *William Cumin: Border Politics and the Bishopric of Durham, 1141-1144* (York, 1979), 26.

¹⁸³ *Letters and Charters of Gilbert Foliot*, nos 33, 34; *Charters of King David I: The Written Acts of David I, King of Scots, 1124-53 and of His Son Henry, Earl of Northumberland, 1139-52*, ed. G. W. S. Barrow (Woodbridge, 1999), nos 165-67.

¹⁸⁴ Saltman, *Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury*, 145; Young, *William Cumin*, 26.

¹⁸⁵ Chandler, 'Ada de Warenne', 128-9.

¹⁸⁶ *Laing Charters*, no. 2; *Yester Writs*, nos 1-8.

¹⁸⁷ *Monasticon*, iv, 60; *Early Scottish Charters*, nos 161, 207; A. A. M. Duncan, 'Documents relating to the Priory of the Isle of May, c. 1140-1313', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 90 (1956-7), 52-80, 52-58.

various Scottish religious houses including Jedburgh priory.¹⁸⁸ The second and third William Giffards are almost certainly the same person, arriving in Scotland c.1139 and appearing in royal charters for David I, Earl Henry, Ada de Warenne and Malcolm IV over the next decade.

The fourth William Giffard may not have been a cleric, as there is no explicit internal evidence for his office; instead his presence appears to have been due to his family's own connection to the Warennes. He appears in the witness list to a grant to John of Kington by Gundreda, widow of the earl of Warwick and daughter of William II de Warenne. William Giffard appears in the list after Gundreda's son William, earl of Warwick and before her daughter-in-law.¹⁸⁹ This is a very prestigious position for a younger son of a cadet branch, and one probable explanation for his placement is that he was a cleric or monk. Since the Warennes held land in Devon and had strong ties to the Scottish royal court, it would not be impossible for the '*fratre*' William Giffard of Reading abbey, the William Giffard witnessing Warrene gifts recorded in Reading's cartulary, the William Giffard who was clerk to Ada de Warenne and the William Giffard of Budleigh Church in Devon to be two closely related individuals, and they may even all be the same person.¹⁹⁰

The Tosnys:

The Tosnys, as discussed in Part I, entered Normandy as dependents of Hugh, son of Hugh de Calvacamp, a monk at the great French abbey of St Denis, who was appointed to be Archbishop of Rouen in 942 at the request of William Longsword, duke of Normandy.¹⁹¹ The assassination of the duke by Arnulf of Flanders, and the minority of Duke Richard I under the guardianship of Louis IV, limited Hugh's early influence.¹⁹² Hugh and those under his

¹⁸⁸ *Charters of King David I*, nos 165, 166-7; *Acts of Malcolm IV*, p. 96-7, no 44.

¹⁸⁹ *Reading Abbey Cartularies*, no. 579.

¹⁹⁰ See Part I, fns 394-401.

¹⁹¹ *RADN*, no. 3; Dudo of St. Quentin, *History of the Normans*, ed. & trans. E. Christiansen (Woodbridge, 1998), xxvi, 69-70; *RT*, 13.

¹⁹² For near contemporary and more recent studies of this period: *Dudo of St. Quentin*, 102-21; Searle, *Predatory Kinship*, 79-90; R. Allen, *The Norman Episcopate, 989-1110*, 2 vols, unpublished PhD thesis, University of Glasgow (2009), i, 19-27.

protection received gifts and privileges from the French king but despite work as a reformer and promoter of local Norman cults, Hugh's reputation in chronicle accounts focussed on his failings as a religious leader.¹⁹³ He became a controversial figure, and his unsavoury reputation may, it is possible to speculate, have provided Robert of Torigini with a strong motive to construct an alternative history for the Tosnys in the twelfth century.¹⁹⁴

Two other known members of the Tosny kin-group were churchmen, and both spent the majority of their lives outwith England and Normandy, demonstrating the far ranging interests of the kin-group. Ralph IV de Tosny's son Simon entered the religious life, sometime after his father's death in 1126 as he was still with his mother when she made a grant to Aldgate for her late husband.¹⁹⁵ He occurs in grants made to the royal Cistercian abbey of Melrose from its foundation in 1136.¹⁹⁶ The familial connection came through the daughters of Earl Waltheof, as Ralph IV de Tosny married Waltheof's younger daughter Alice, and David I married the elder daughter, Matilda, which meant that Simon de Tosny was a maternal first cousin of both King Malcolm IV and King William I.¹⁹⁷ In c.1148 Simon travelled to Coggeshall abbey, a former Savignac house in Essex to become abbot there as the order merged with the Cistercians.¹⁹⁸ He remained at Coggeshall for approximately twenty years, before briefly returning to Melrose abbey, then on 23 January

¹⁹³ RADN, no. 10; *Acta archiepiscoporum Rotomagensium*, 223.

¹⁹⁴ *Acta archiepiscoporum Rotomagensium*, 223-4, quote from 224: '*Illic vero fuit prospia clarus, sed ignobilis cunctis operinus... carnis petulantiae se omnio contulit. Filios enim quam plures procreavit*'; OV, iii, 81-2; Spear, *Personnel of the Norman Cathedrals*, 195. See above Part I, fn. 48.

¹⁹⁵ D. Broun & J. Harrison (ed.) *The Chronicle of Melrose Abbey: A Stratigraphic Edition* (Woodbridge, 2007), 8; G. W. S. Barrow, *The Kingdom of the Scots: Government, Church and Society from the eleventh of the fourteenth century* (London, 1st edn, 1973; Edinburgh, 2nd edn, 2003), 291.

¹⁹⁶ *Acts of William I*, 6.

¹⁹⁷ OV, ii, 262.

¹⁹⁸ Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon Anglicanum*, ed. J. Stevenson, RS 66 (London, 1875), 16-17; Originally founded by King Stephen and his wife Matilda, on lands that had been held by her family the counts of Boulogne, since 1086. DB, i, fos 8, 26, 27.

1172 he was consecrated Bishop of Moray.¹⁹⁹ In his position as Bishop of Moray, Simon received several gifts for the cathedral church of the Holy Trinity from William the Lion.²⁰⁰ Although his life and career received little attention from chroniclers, Ralph de Coggeshall, a thirteenth century abbot's account, describes a man who was well thought of by contemporaries.²⁰¹ Simon's interaction with his kin appears to have been restricted to his royal Scottish cousins after he entered Melrose abbey, although personal messages and letters may not have survived.²⁰² His presence at the Scottish royal court and at the royal abbey was to his mother's affinity with the Scottish royals through her sister Matilda.²⁰³

Roger III de Tosny's son, Geoffrey, spent the majority of his life in Hainaut with his mother's family under the aegis of his uncle, Baldwin IV of Hainaut.²⁰⁴ In the 1150s and 60s Geoffrey travelled to England, where he attested to several charters for Nigel, Bishop of Ely, as a chaplain.²⁰⁵ Amongst those charters he appeared as 'de Tosny' in a charter that also names his elder brother Ralph V, between 1157 and 1162.²⁰⁶ Geoffrey was granted the church of All Saint's, Long Stanton because it had been found that the church was under the 'patronage' of Ralph V. This one charter therefore demonstrates that although they had not grown up together, the secular authorities who issued the judgement, the ecclesiastical administrators who had to enact it and the Tosnys themselves recognised Geoffrey as a member of the kin-group. Between c.1148 and 1175,

¹⁹⁹ *Ralph of Coggeshall*, 17; *Acts of William I*, no. 132, notes; *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanæ Medii Aevi Ad Annum 1638*, revised edition, The Scottish Record Society, ed. D. E. R. Watt & A. L. Murray (Edinburgh, 2003), 278.

²⁰⁰ *Acts of William I*, nos 139, 198, 205, 212; *Liber Cartarum Prioratus Sancti Andree*, nos 59, 73, 147.

²⁰¹ *Ralph of Coggeshall*, 16-17, 162-3.

²⁰² *Acts of William I*, no. 142; *Liber Cartarum Prioratus Sancti Andree*, nos 64, 69, 73, 78, 100, he also witnessed a confirmation charter issued by Hugh, bishop of St Andrews, 147.

²⁰³ *GND*, ii, 270-2

²⁰⁴ *Gilbert of Mons*, 35; *EEA*, 31: *Ely*, no. 57.

²⁰⁵ *EEA*, 31: *Ely*, nos 43-47, 51-52, 56-57, 61, 71.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid*, no. 57, 'Galfrido de Thoeneio'.

Geoffrey attested to a charter issued by Isabel widow of Gilbert fitz Gilbert, earl of Pembroke, to the Cistercian abbey of Foucarmont in the diocese of Rouen.²⁰⁷ Geoffrey's appearances in Norman charters were generally associated with his kinsman Robert of Neubourg, dean of Rouen whom he travelled with, which means that the chronological range for this charter is likely 1163-75.²⁰⁸ During this period, Geoffrey also witnessed a charter issued by Robert de Neubourg at Evreux.²⁰⁹ Around c.1175, he witnessed Henry II's general confirmation to Longueville priory, and occurs there between Robert the Chaplain – personal chaplain to his paternal kinsmen, the Archbishop Rotrou of Rouen – and Roger of Warwick, who at that time was Henry II's personal chaplain, suggesting that he held a similarly elevated position.²¹⁰ Geoffrey returned to Hainaut c.1175, and in 1177 his cousin Count Baldwin V nominated him for the bishopric of Cambrai, but he did not receive it.²¹¹ He died soon after and was buried near his brother Baldwin at the monastery of Saint Jean at Valenciennes, the comital residence.²¹²

Summary

In comparison to several of the kin-groups Bouchard studied in Burgundy, the evidence shows that the Clare, Giffard and Tosny kin-groups did not automatically send their younger sons or daughters into the church.²¹³ In the case of the Clares, and the extended Clare kin-group between the years 1000 and 1200 only three sons are known to have been churchmen, and even then one was illegitimate and a second dying of possible leprosy. Instead the

²⁰⁷ ADSM 8H 108.

²⁰⁸ Spear, *Personnel of the Norman Cathedrals*, 137, 161, 202, 213; see The Tosny Genealogy, xv-xvi.

²⁰⁹ ADE G122, no. 85.

²¹⁰ ADSM H8 108; *Chartes du Prieure de Longueville*, no. 19; 'Robertus archidiaconus et decanus Rothomagensis ecclesie; Amicus archidiaconus; magister Rogerius; Robertus capellanus; Gaufridus de Thoenio; Rogerius de Warvuic; Ricardo, decano Rothomagensi; magistro Roberto Balbo; Drogone de Trublevilla et Ricardo Hayr[on] canonicis Rothomagensibus...' A brief assessment of Geoffrey's presence in Normandy can be found in Spear, *Personnel of the Norman Cathedrals*, 152, 241.

²¹¹ *Gilbert of Mons*, 70.

²¹² *Ibid*, 35.

²¹³ Bouchard, *Sword, Miter & Cloister*, 46, 48-56.

Clares seem generally to have regarded younger sons as more opportunities to increase their status and expand their tenorial goals.²¹⁴ The principal branch of the Giffards likewise produced very few churchmen, and although the numbers increase with the inclusion of the cadet branches, the evidence is sufficiently limited and confusing as to make true analysis impossible. In comparison, the Tosnys had more members of the principal line in the church, which fits with the broader patterns identified by Bouchard in Burgundy.²¹⁵ While a wealthy aristocratic kin-group, the Tosnys never secured a comital title, and therefore they turned to the church and their kinship bonds to the counts of Hainaut and the king of Scots to provide for Simon de Tosny, Bishop of Moray and Geoffrey de Tosny.

The careers of Richard fitz Richard, Abbot of Ely and William Giffard, Bishop of Winchester and Hugh of St Denis, Archbishop of Rouen were distinctly different from the lives and careers of their secular kinsfolk, but not necessarily separate. In the case of Hugh, there are sufficient lacunae about his life and career, for the degree of interaction between the Archbishop and his brother to be unclear. Hugh was the reason for Ralph I's arrival in Normandy and without the lands that Hugh granted to his brother the Tosny kin-group would have had no security of tenure during their first generations in the duchy. His career is closer to that of Richard fitz Richard, whose life remained closely linked to first his father and subsequently his brothers in Le Bec, St Neots – if he was the Richard, Anselm sent – and Ely. The most famous incident in Richard's career was also the one which involved his brothers. Their willing intimidation of Henry I to secure Richard's re-appointment to the abbacy of Ely, which may also be one of the only occasions when William Giffard, Bishop of Winchester turned to his kinsfolk for support. Since the Ely chronicler is very clear that both the '*Ricardi*' and the '*Gifardi*' were terrorising the court, it seems probable that they were doing so on behalf of both Richard and William. This is not explicitly stated

²¹⁴ Ward, 'Royal Service and Reward', 261-278.

²¹⁵ Bouchard, *Sword, Miter & Cloister*, 83-6.

however, and William's apparent lack of connection to his kin-group may have already developed by that point.²¹⁶

The less well-known churchmen in the three kin-groups also appear to have been more connected to their kinsfolk than might initially appear. While Gerard Giffard does not appear in the grants made or chronicle accounts dealing with the Giffard kin-group, he was a valued member of the extended Clare kin-group and lordship as has been seen through his position at Stoke-by-Clare. While the information on the other Clare churchmen by blood, is too sparse to allow for much analysis, Guiger, Baldwin fitz Gilbert I's son and Godfrey fitz Richard are both situated in religious houses closely tied to their family and in the latter's case his siblings honoured his memory through further gifts to Stoke-by-Clare, where he was buried.²¹⁷

The Clare, Giffard and Tosny kin-groups show that relatively few members of the Anglo-Norman aristocratic families were given to the church for life, although a sufficient number exist to allow for limited comparative analysis. While those members of the a kin-group who lived the religious life had ties to the secular world, particularly through kinship, but also strong bonds of lordship, they did not always actively connect the individuals to the secular networks surrounding their kin. This may be due to more active networks within their religious house or order overwhelming the less relevant networks of kinship and lordship, or it may be that this apparent separation on behalf of the church men is created by the nature of the surviving evidence.

²¹⁶ Franklin, 'The Bishops of Winchester and the Monastic Revolution', 47-65

²¹⁷ *SbC*, no. 137.

Conclusion

The purpose of this part of the thesis was to address the relationship between the Clares, Giffards and Tosnys and the church, examining multiple factors including the material benefactions and spiritual objectives that shaped this bond.²¹⁸ By examining the patterns of patronage and interment within each kin-group and mapping them across their principal lordships it is possible to identify the elements that motivated or influenced these decisions. While the degree of agency for each individual cannot be evaluated with any accuracy, the surviving sources demonstrate that decisions about such issues were recognised as significant by contemporaries. The change in pattern for the principal line of the Clares at the end of the twelfth century, from burial at Stoke-by-Clare to interment at Tewkesbury, was due to their acquisition of the lands and lordship of the earldom of Gloucester and their apparent wish to associate themselves with their new territory. It is more striking in the principal line of one of the main kin-groups because gaining sufficient new lands to make such a change necessary was not something that appears to have occurred with any regularity.

Although the three kin-groups all founded houses in the new monastic orders in the twelfth century, there were only sufficient Cistercian houses established to allow for an assessment of familial influence on foundations. The evidence of these examples suggests that cadet branches tended to turn to the Cistercians more frequently and before the principal lines, probably because the cadet branches were generally less closely tied to the older Benedictine houses. This general pattern is not a clear cut division and may have been weighted by at least one, and probably two, of the Clare cadet branches being influenced by William Giffard, Bishop of Winchester's interest in the Cistercian order.

While patterns of burial and patronage are never entirely consistent, there are often identifiable reasons why an individual was not interred at their previously favoured house. The occasions when these reasons can be identified in this thesis include Rohese II, daughter of Richard fitz Gilbert I or

²¹⁸ Burton, *Monastic and Religious Orders in Britain*, 226-8.

Richard fitz Gilbert II. Rohese II's wishes were ignored by her kinsfolk because it was more practical, while Richard II's death and burial at St Peter's Gloucester was tied to the Marcher lords' political concerns in 1136. The religious houses that had been established or patronised by members of a kin-group often provided aristocratic men and women with a second career or a refuge in the latter part of their life. It is apparent that women often turned to the church after they were widowed, whereas the men rarely became monks until their last years, or even months. The reasons behind these choices were rarely recorded and although spiritual concerns were evidently a factor, from a social network analysis perspective the secular reasons are equally as important. The ties of lordship and kinship were reflected in the decision as to which religious house an individual would join and these bonds have a more identifiable influence on the decision through the surviving sources.

Although the Clares, Giffards and Tosnys were all generous patrons, they were not considered remarkable for the direct involvement of members of their kin-group in the church. The Clares had the fewest churchmen out of the three kin-groups, while the Tosnys had the most – that can be identified and their lives analysed. The Giffards may have had several more churchmen amongst the cadet branches, the William Giffard's addressed in Part I, however, the pieces of surviving information are too disparate to allow much analysis. The three most significant ecclesiastical members of the kin-groups (an abbot, a bishop and an archbishop), showed the differences and similarities between these offices and between the individuals involved. While Hugh de St. Denis's career was criticised by the later monastic chroniclers, he was able to act as the benefactor and patron to his secular siblings, while Richard fitz Richard relied on the secular side of his kin-group to secure his position as the Abbot of Ely against the wishes of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Pope. While William Giffard's career appears to have been less directly influenced by his kin, it is also likely that his social and political position was related to his kinship to the earls of Buckingham and lords of Longueville. In comparison Gerard Giffard and Simon and Geoffrey de Tosny were clearly dependent on their maternal kin

for at least the beginning of their careers and this reinforces the existence of a relationship bond between both sides of their kin-groups.

The Church facilitated the expression of the bonds of both kinship and lordship, while individual religious houses and orders provided a means of tracing the networks that shaped the lives and careers of the medieval aristocracy. An examination of the Clares, Giffards and Tosnys, their in-laws and tenants as patrons of religious houses, members of religious communities and patterns formed by each group through burials allows for further and deeper understanding of the links between kinship and lordship. In turn this clarifies the interactions between the social and political networks that had developed from them, as well as the contribution of the church to the various factors, such as status, tenure, and family, which led to these developments within and between different networks.

Part III

LORDSHIP

Introduction

The purpose of this part of the thesis is to examine the role of lordship in the formation and development of social and political networks addressing the intangible factors of social status and political power, as well as the more tangible elements of land tenure, financial wealth, and royal service.¹ Crouch addresses the qualities, attributes, ideas and ideals that defined the aristocracy, and these elements are used in this thesis to characterize the socio-political idea of lordship, as it entailed more than holding the title to land. The vertical bond between lord and vassal shaped the society of the eleventh and twelfth centuries as much as the largely horizontal bonds of kinship, and it is important to take both into consideration. The Clares, Giffards and Tosnys, as members of the aristocracy, served their overlords in return for increased status and land, while being owed service from their tenants.

There are two areas of discussion in this part of the thesis: the aristocracy and their own overlords, and the aristocracy and their tenants. The first of these is the largest and has been divided into three chronological chapters, which examine different aspects of the relationship between the Anglo-Norman aristocracy and their overlords.² In the first chapter, the focus is on the first half of the eleventh century when the interests of the aristocracy were essentially focussed within the duchy. In the second chapter the focus is on the aftermath of the Conquest of England and then the division of England and Normandy between the Conqueror's sons. This allows

¹ Crouch, *Image of the Aristocracy*, 2-38, esp. 27-38; idem, *Birth of Nobility*, 2-3, 8-86.

² See Kathleen Thompson's work on other aristocratic families to put the Clares, Giffards and Tosnys in context, Introduction, fns 5, 7, 85.

historiographical discussions of both cross-Channel lordship and the consequences for the aristocracy of divided and multiple overlords to be assessed within the context of the case studies.³ The third chapter examines the role of aristocratic networks in the civil war of Stephen's reign and the aftermath as the aristocracy and the Angevin kings adapted and evolved.⁴ The final chapter focuses on the interaction between the Clares, Giffards and Tosnys and their tenants has been examined through multiple tenant families. Where possible the tenant families have been chosen from those who accompanied their lords from Normandy to England, or, at least, from families whose relationship with their lords extended over two or more generations on both sides.⁵ This allows a fuller examination of the bonds connecting lords and tenants. No specific examples of cases where the bond between lord and tenant collapsed could be identified within the principal kin-groups and their tenants.

Modern historiographical constructs of the honor, 'bastard feudalism', and increased awareness of the possibility of multiple allegiances, have contributed to this section.⁶ The socio-political approach to lordship in this thesis owes much to the work of David Crouch in both his revision of the social models of Stenton and McFarlane, and his work on the tools of the aristocracy in performance of their identity and status throughout the eleventh and twelfth centuries.⁷ Several elements found in the vast historiography of lordship have been helpful in the development of this thesis, including studies on the relationship between the Anglo-Norman aristocracy

³ E.g. Burton Hicks, 'The Impact of William Clito', 1-21; Sawyer, '1066-1086: A Tenurial revolution?', 71-85; Bates, 'Normandy and England after 1066', 851-880; Green, 'Unity and Disunity in the Anglo-Norman State', 114-34; Crouch, 'Normans & Anglo-Normans: A Divided Aristocracy?' 51-67; Garnett, *Conquered England*, 125-261.

⁴ E.g. Le Patourel, 'What Did Not Happen In Stephen's Reign', 1-17; King, 'King Stephen & the Anglo-Norman Aristocracy', 180-194; White, 'King Stephen, Duke Henry & Ranulf de Gernons', 555-565; Dalton, 'In Neutro Latere', 39-59; Hollister, 'Reluctant Anarchists', 77-87; Holt, '1153: The Treaty of Winchester', 291-316.

⁵ See Appendix 2 for example genealogies.

⁶ McFarlane, 'Bastard Feudalism', 23-43, 29-30; Bisson, 'The Feudal Revolution', 6-42; and see more details of these discussions in Introduction, fns 15-16, 110.

⁷ See the Introduction, fns 10-16, and Crouch, 'From Stenton to McFarlane', 185-6; idem, 'Bastard Feudalism Revised', 165-189; idem, *Image of the Aristocracy*, 1-29; idem, *Birth of Nobility*, 261-302.

and their overlords, including the roles of rebellion and household service in shaping their connections.⁸ The situation for the aristocracy when they had multiple overlords, particularly when these overlords were rivals has been debated since the nineteenth century, and has been shaped by developments in the interpretation of the role of the aristocracy.⁹ The historiographical debate about the concept of cross-Channel magnates was summarised in the introduction, and with the increasing focus on localised loyalties, current thinking is dismissive of le Patourel's arguments.¹⁰ In this thesis however, the Clare, Giffard and Tosny kin-groups appear as cross-Channel magnates, not only because they held lands in both Normandy and England, but also because of their political actions as will be explored below. While le Patourel's concept cannot be applied to every member of the three case studies, the evidence does indicate that there were members of the aristocracy who sought to maintain England and Normandy as a single political entity.

⁸ Thompson, 'William Talvas, Count of Ponthieu', 169-184; eadem, 'The Lords of Laigle', 178-199; *Power and Border Lordship in Medieval France: The County of the Perche, 1000-1226*, For further examples see Introduction, fn. 99.

⁹ Round, *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, 98-99, 159, 200-235; le Patourel, 'What Did Not Happen In Stephen's Reign', 1-17; Hollister, 'The Campaign of 1102 Against Robert of Bellême', 193-202; Mooers, 'Backers and Stabbers', 1-17; Stringer, *The Reign of Stephen*, 49-60; Hudson, *Land, Law, and Lordship*, 223-44.

¹⁰ le Patourel, *The Norman Empire*, 190-200; see Introduction, fns 123-4.

Chapter 1: Section 1

The Aristocracy in Ducal Normandy

The Clares

Godfrey, illegitimate son of Richard I, duke of Normandy received the comital titles and properties of Eu and Brionne, by the time of his father's death in 996.¹¹ The motive may have been the dual impulses suggested by Searle, whereby younger or illegitimate brothers and sons were appeased with border lordships to avoid challenges to the ducal title and to maintain the frontiers for their kinsmen.¹² These lands ensured Godfrey's status amongst the Norman aristocracy as much as did his blood tie to the duke, but his son Gilbert, only received Brionne, with Eu granted instead to William, another illegitimate son of Richard I.¹³ Nevertheless, c.1030 Gilbert was temporarily successful in reclaiming possession of the estates and castle of Eu after the death of his half-uncle, when he displaced the late count's widow and young sons.¹⁴

Gilbert of Brionne continued to attend the ducal court, and several aspects of his career were shaped by his role as a *tutor* of the young Duke William II, from 1035.¹⁵ There is little evidence of what his role as guardian or tutor to the young duke entailed, but a recent discussion about the guardians of Duke William II concluded that the *actores* were the public and political faces of the regents, while the *tutores* fulfilled a more pastoral position.¹⁶ Gilbert's death in 1040 had both local and ducal causes: his efforts to reclaim the county of Eu led him to drive out the late count's widow and young sons which led to their kinsfolk reacting aggressively; in addition he was also in conflict with

¹¹ *RADN*, nos 4, 24; *GND*, ii, 270.

¹² Searle, *Predatory Kinship*, 184-6.

¹³ *WP*, 92; *GND*, ii, 8-10, 128.

¹⁴ *WP*, 100 – William of Eu's sons were Robert, later count of Eu, and Hugh, bishop of Lisieux; *GND*, ii, 8-10, 92: appearance of Gilbert de Brionne as 'Count Gilbert of Eu'; *OV*, iii, 84, 120.

¹⁵ *RADN*, 98; *CDF*, nos 113, 704.

¹⁶ Strevett, *The Anglo-Norman Aristocracy Under Divided Lordship*, 63, fn. 58: Discussion of the language used to describe the duke's guardians, is based on, *GND*, ii, 80, 92, 94; *GR*, i, 546; *OV*, iii, 86, iv, 82; *RADN*, nos 220, 259, 262.

Ralph de Gacé over control of the young duke, and possession of the territory of Le Sap.¹⁷

Upon their return from exile Richard and Baldwin received Bienfaite, Orbec, Meules and Le Sap in central Normandy, but although they regained some of their father's property, status and power, neither brother received the castle of Brionne or a comital title, suggesting that William II did not wish to restore to them the entirety of their father's power.¹⁸ This partial restoration appears to have been an act of compensation by Duke William, acknowledging his late guardian and kinsman's status. The inclusion of Le Sap could be interpreted as a form of remuneration extracted from the family that caused the injury to the surviving kin of the victim.¹⁹ The language associated with a feud would be out of place in this case, as there is no evidence that the conflict was regarded in that light, although Orderic Vitalis recorded that Robert de Vitot made restitution, presumably to the duke, but possibly to Richard and Baldwin.²⁰ Throughout the 1050s Richard and Baldwin attended the ducal court regularly, likely endeavouring to re-establish themselves in the duchy.²¹ Contemporary chroniclers did not list the brothers amongst those involved in the planning of the Conquest, but twelfth-century accounts do describe them as participants in the Battle of Hastings.²² Between 1052 and 1066 then, Richard and Baldwin were utilising their kinship with their lord and their father's former status to establish their own position within the aristocracy.

The Giffards

Throughout the eleventh century, the Giffards received rewards for their loyal service to the Norman dukes both at court and in war. Osbern de Bolbec took his toponymic from the initial grant of Bolbec by Richard II, but it was

¹⁷ *OV*, iii, 84, 120; *GND*, ii, 92, 94 fn 2, 99 fn 4; Searle, *Predatory Kinship*, 184; Reynolds, *Fiefs and Vassals*, 129-133.

¹⁸ *GND*, ii, 92; *OV*, ii, 24; iii, 88, 120; iv, 82.

¹⁹ *GND*, ii, 92; *OV*, iii, 120.

²⁰ *OV*, ii, 24.

²¹ *CDF*, nos 71-2, 1167; *RRAN*, i, no. 1; *RADN*, nos 130, 179, 192, 220, 231; Bates, *Regesta*, no. 61; *GND*, ii, 144; *OV*, iv, 88.

²² *RADN*, no. 231; *GND*, ii, 81n; *OV*, iii, 140.

supplanted as the *caput* of the kin-group by the lands of Montivilliers in c.1025-30 given by Duke Robert I with the approval of the associated abbey.²³ Walter Giffard I was a childhood companion of William II and attested ducal charters between 1035 and 1050.²⁴ He is thought to have been amongst the Norman forces that accompanied Edward the Confessor on his short-lived expedition to England in 1036, after the death of Cnut.²⁵ Once he had succeeded his father he can be found contributing to ducal forces when required. The *Gesta Normannorum Ducum* account of the 1053 battle at St. Aubin, has him as a leading member of the Norman forces whose feigned flight brought Norman victory.²⁶ Walter I also fought at the Battle of Mortemer in 1054, and in the same year he supported the duke against the rebellious William of Arques. He and his family were well rewarded for this commitment.²⁷ He was granted the estates of Longueville-sur-Scie, which became the new *caput* of his lands from c.1054-5, and around this time his brother Godfrey married a daughter of the vicomte of Arques.²⁸

In 1066 Walter I was involved in preparations for invasion, and according to Wace, he lead the men of the Pays de Caux in the battle.²⁹ Wace also portrays him as a close companion of the duke and invents conversations between them that frame the battle, the first of which is of particular interest.³⁰ Wace shows Walter refusing to carry the ducal banner in the battle, and declaring that he had:

²³ Bates, *Normandy Before 1066*, 104.

²⁴ *WP*, 48.

²⁵ *Encomium Emmae Reginae*, ed. A. Campbell, Camden 3rd ser. 72 (London, 1949), 48-9; Wace, 142-3; D. Gurney, *The Record of the House of Gournay* (London, 1848), 37; F. Barlow, *Edward the Confessor* (Yale University Press, 1997), 45.

²⁶ *WP*, 132; *GND*, ii, 104; *OV*, iii, 254.

²⁷ *GND*, ii, 144; *OV*, iv, 88.

²⁸ *WP*, 32-42; *GND*, ii, 102.

²⁹ *WP*, 100-2, 132-4; *OV*, ii, 140-2; Wace, 176-91; White, 'The Companions of the Conqueror at the Battle of Hastings', 50-4; Douglas, 'Companions of the Conqueror' 129-47; White, 'Companions of the Conqueror', 417-24; Mason, 'An Additional Name', 61-69.

³⁰ Wace, 176-7.

"...a large company of knights and men from my own
fief. I have never had such a good opportunity to
serve you as I do now..."³¹

According to Wace, Walter I's refusal pleased the Duke, who declared, "...If I can escape alive, things will be improved for you for ever more."³² In the second conversation, Walter I told Duke William that he had done enough in the battle and he should rest, again indicating their close relationship.³³ The reliability of Wace as a source for events that had occurred a century earlier has been debated, but his depiction of the relationship between the duke and Walter I reflects other surviving evidence of his personal bond with his overlord.³⁴ In the Ship-list of William the Conqueror, Walter I was recorded as providing thirty ships and approximately one hundred knights for the invasion.³⁵ These statistics indicated to van Houts that Walter Giffard I, and many of the other contributors, had provided more than was required for their obligations in 1066.³⁶ While apocryphal, and perhaps reflecting the social attitudes of the second half of the twelfth century more than the eleventh, this statement by Walter I of the service he believed he owed is supported by the previously mentioned Ship List of William the Conqueror.

The Tosnys

The initial grant of Tosny was evidently important to the kin-group as this family was amongst the first to adopt a toponymic and they continued to use it even after their main focus had transferred to the estates, town and castle of Conches.³⁷ Throughout the first half of the eleventh century, the Tosnys attended the ducal court, and like the Giffards, they appeared in accounts of

³¹ Ibid, 176.

³² Ibid.

³³ Ibid, 191.

³⁴ Wace, 177; Bennet, 'Poetry as History?', 21-39.

³⁵ E. M. C. van Houts, 'The Ship List of William the Conqueror', *ANS*, 10 (1987), 159-183, Appendix 1 175-6.

³⁶ Ibid, 170-1.

³⁷ Tosny remained the most common name for members of the kin-group, however there were occasions when 'de Conches' was used by the head of the principal line: *CDF*, no. 625; Bates, *Regesta* nos 164, 255; Bates, *Normandy before 1066*, 35.

battles between the dukes of Normandy and their domestic and foreign opponents. In 1013-14 Ralph II, his son Roger I, with Nigel, vicomte of Contentin, assisted Duke Richard II in capturing the castle of Tillières from Eudo of Chatres and they were granted the joint custodianship of the castle as a reward.³⁸ However, both Ralph II and Roger I were expelled from the duchy c.1015 because of an unknown dispute with the duke.³⁹

Ralph II fled to Italy and was able to put his case before Pope Benedict VIII, who requested his military assistance at Apulia, according to Rodulf Glaber's account.⁴⁰ Ralph II led his Norman troops to several victories before suffering a defeat, which resulted in his withdrawal from Italy.⁴¹ He apparently sought assistance from Emperor Henry II, against the Byzantine forces working to regain the cities they had lost due to his efforts.⁴² His appeal succeeded and while the Emperor led an army against the Byzantines, Ralph and his men returned to Normandy where Duke Richard II restored Ralph to his lordship.⁴³ Ralph II's association with the Pope and the Holy Roman Emperor improved his socio-political status, which probably facilitated his and Roger I's return to Normandy c.1023. By 1024 Roger I had succeeded his father and had also re-entered the ducal sphere, receiving the territory of St-Christophe-du-Foc, previously part of the dowry of Judith, wife of Duke Richard II.⁴⁴ He witnessed ducal charters during the 1020s and 30s.⁴⁵ The Tosny family suffered various vicissitudes during Duke William II's minority that have been discussed previously.⁴⁶

³⁸ *GND*, ii, 22; Bauduin, *La Première Normandie*, 186.

³⁹ *Adémar*, 177-9; *Glaber*, 96-103; van Houts, *Normans in Europe*, 229, 231-235, 269-70; Fletcher, *Quest for El Cid*, 77-8.

⁴⁰ *Glaber*, 96-98; *Adémar*, 177-178.

⁴¹ *Glaber*, 221.

⁴² *Ibid*, 100.

⁴³ *Ibid*, 102.

⁴⁴ *RADN*, no. 11; Musset, 'Les Tosny', 72-3; Bates, *Normandy Before 1066*, 103.

⁴⁵ *RADN*, nos 15, 69. His son Vuaso also witnessed a grant of Duke William II, 1037-1045, no. 102.

⁴⁶ See Part I, fns 60, 102..

By c.1050 Ralph III de Tosny had begun to carry out his duties, including the office of ducal standard-bearer allegedly held by his father before him.⁴⁷ According to Orderic Vitalis, he was sent to announce the French defeat at the Battle of Mortemer in 1054 to the army of Henry I thus causing the king to retreat without battle.⁴⁸ However, relations with the duke deteriorated and by 1060, Ralph III and his neighbours Hugh de Grandmesnil and Ernald d'Echaffour were banished for suspected treachery.⁴⁹ In Orderic Vitalis' account Roger II de Montgomery and his wife Mabel de Bellême were the ones who turned the duke against the three men despite there being no proof of the accusations.⁵⁰ This incident demonstrates the negative side of the personal bonds that connected members of the aristocracy to the duke, as those closest to the William II were able to influence his treatment of other members of the aristocracy.

Ralph III's exile was shorter than that of his father and grandfather fifty years previously. By 1063 he and the others had returned to Normandy and their patrimony and other possessions were restored.⁵¹ By 1066, Ralph III had re-established himself at the ducal court, and is named by William of Poitiers in his account of the preparations of the invasion.⁵² In his account of the battle Wace described the duke initially approaching Ralph III and offering him the ducal standard to carry because 'By right and through your ancestors...' he should do so.⁵³ This ties into Wace's account of the Giffards involvement in the battle and may have been an attempt by the different kin-groups to claim greater status for their ancestors or flattery on the part of the author towards

⁴⁷ *GND*, ii, 94; *OV*, ii, 140, 174.

⁴⁸ *GND*, ii, 144; *OV*, iv, 88; *RT*, 33.

⁴⁹ *GND*, ii, 152; *OV*, ii, 90.

⁵⁰ *CDF*, no. 625; *GND*, ii, 152; *OV*, ii, 90-92; iii, 124-6.

⁵¹ *OV*, ii, 104-6.

⁵² *WP*, 132-4.

⁵³ *Wace*, 176; *OV*, ii, 140, 174. iii, 124.

those members of the kin-groups who attended Henry II's court where they might encounter Wace's work.⁵⁴

Summary

By 1066 the Clares, Giffards and Tosnys were prominent members of the Norman aristocracy, their status reflecting both their political power and their tenurial wealth. The three kin-groups had each taken a different route to achieve that situation. While Searle's conclusion in *Predatory Kinship* that the Norman dukes built a political community based on cooperation, matches the evidence of the Clare, Giffard and Tosny kin-groups but does not entirely explain the relationship between them and their overlord.⁵⁵ The importance of ties to the socio-political centre in the form of the duke is very clear through the tress laid on real or imagined bonds of kinship. The importance of ducal service whether as an advisor at court or in a more specific role, such as those held by Gilbert of Brionne, Osbern de Bolbec and Ralph II, is also apparent in the case studies.

This focus on the centralised position of the duke is a better fit with the Clares, Giffards and Tosnys and matches the conclusions drawn by Bauduin's recent work on ducal Normandy and the securing of border territories.⁵⁶ In particular, Bauduin argues for a stronger acknowledgement of the power the Norman dukes had over their aristocracy than current historiographical opinion allows.⁵⁷ This matches the evidence of the Tosnys recurrent episodes of exile for suspected treason, since while their sentence was not always accepted quietly the right and ability of Richard II and William II had to enforce their orders was ultimately recognised. The Clares, Giffards and Tosnys – and therefore many other aristocratic kin-groups – did have sufficient power and status to negotiate with their overlords as demonstrated by Ralph II, Roger I and Ralph III's return from exile through both their own work and of their kinsmen to redeem them in the eyes of the duke.

⁵⁴ Bennet, 'Poetry as History?', 21-39.

⁵⁵ Searle, *Predatory Kinship*, 245.

⁵⁶ Bauduin, *La Première Normandie*, 319-22.

⁵⁷ The development of the historiography is discussed in Introduction, fns 5, 7, 79-82.

The Giffards provide a contrasting picture of apparently untroubled and unquestioned loyalty and service in ducal Normandy. Their acquisition of properties and status within the Pays de Caux reflected the improvement of their position at the ducal court. While the Clares close kinship to the ducal line initially ensures a rapid procurement of land and a comital title, it also demonstrates the necessity of balancing horizontal and vertical bonds. Gilbert de Brionne's disregard for his aristocratic peers led to his death as much as his position as kinsman and guardian to the boy-duke.

After the minority of William II, the activities of the Norman aristocracy had been redirected by the centralising energy of the duke and had the incentive of reward for loyal service. In addition to an equally strong desire to avoid penalties such as exile, imprisonment or confiscation of their estates and titles in ducal Normandy became more important and more complex after the Conquest and the creation of multiple lordships and multiple lords.

Chapter 1: Section 2

The Aristocracy post-1066 in England, Normandy & Beyond

The Clares

Richard and Baldwin fitz Gilbert I received new estates, and greater responsibilities in England from 1067 onwards.⁵⁸ Richard was amongst the ten richest secular magnates by 1086.⁵⁹ Both brothers continued to attend the king-duke's court and held offices in the new kingdom. After accompanying William the Conqueror to suppress an attempted rebellion in the southwest in 1067, Baldwin fitz Gilbert I was made sheriff of Devon.⁶⁰ He also supervised the building of the royal castle at Exeter, and another castle that he held in his own right at Okehampton.⁶¹ Once they were complete he was given the custodianship of the castle at Exeter and was responsible for the garrisons at both.⁶² Despite his responsibilities in Devon, Baldwin was still able to accompany the king-duke's court, and attest to grants on both sides of the Channel.⁶³

Richard fitz Gilbert I received lands in East Anglia and other south-east counties, and by 1086 the manors and castles of Tonbridge in Kent and Clare in Suffolk were established as his principal holdings.⁶⁴ Although Robert de Torigni's story about the lowy of Tonbridge being measured out to match the

⁵⁸ *OV*, iii, 140: Orderic Vitalis described the brothers as being amongst 'the foremost laity of the realm', although he believed that had been the case in Normandy as well as England.

⁵⁹ *DB*, i, fos 3-4v, 5v-7v, 8v, 14, 30-30v, 34v-35v, 36v, 38, 72, 113, 142v, 196v, 207, 216; ii, fos 3v-4, 6v, 38v-41v, 101v-103, 385, 389v-397v, 447v-448; Green, *Aristocracy of Norman England*, 328-9.

⁶⁰ *OV*, ii, 215; J. A. Green, 'The Sheriffs of William the Conqueror', *ANS*, 5 (1982), 129-145, eadem, *English Sheriffs to 1154*, 35.

⁶¹ *DB*, i, fo. 105v.

⁶² *Ibid*, i, fos 100, 105v.

⁶³ Royal charters relating to Baldwin: England: Recipient: *RRAN*, i, no. 59; Bates, *Regesta*, no. 14; Witness: *EYC*, i, no. 468, 488; Bates, *Regesta*, nos 39, 146, 154, 193-4, 253, 272, 290, 305-6; Normandy: Witness: *CDF*, nos 115, 421, 919, 1375; Bates, *Regesta*, nos 27, 58-9, 61, 144, 148, 150, 166-7, 175.

⁶⁴ *DB*, i, Kent: fo. 5v; *DB*, ii, Suffolk: fo. 389; *GND*, ii, 289.

lands of Brionne must be apocryphal, it does show that the Clares claim to their lost patrimony was still strongly remembered into the 1160s.⁶⁵ In the 1070s Richard acted as part of the council, which governed England while William the Conqueror was in Normandy alongside Lanfranc, Odo of Bayeux and William fitz Osbern.⁶⁶ This council mustered an army, enforced the peace, and acted as judges in post-Conquest property disputes.⁶⁷ Richard helped to suppress the baronial rebellion of 1075 and to resolve land pleas between Ely and Bury St Edmunds, despite being one of those named by Rochester abbey as being in possession of lands rightfully belonging to the abbey.⁶⁸ These duties would also explain why he did not attend court in Normandy as often as his brother.⁶⁹ In 1077 Richard's position was made more complex, as his eldest son Roger fitz Richard supported Curthose's rebellion and followed him into exile.⁷⁰ Roger's circumstances were similar to those of Robert Curthose; a son with no position until he inherited, and Roger may also have hoped for future rewards following his support.⁷¹ Richard fitz Gilbert I presumably continued to serve the new king until c.1088 when he

⁶⁵ *GND*, 228; Mortimer, 'Beginnings of the Honour of Clare', 121.

⁶⁶ *OV*, iii, 314-16. '...Ricardus de Benefacta filius Gisleberti comitis, quos rex praecipuos Angliae iusticiarios constituerat in regni negotiis.' Although the historiography of Norman government focuses on Henry I, there are several texts that look back to the Conqueror's governance: H. G. Richardson & G. O. Sayles, *The Governance of Mediaeval England from the Conquest to Magna Carta* (Edinburgh, 1963), 62-118; F. West, *The Justiciarship in England 1066-1232* (Cambridge, 1966), 2-10; D. Bates, 'The Origins of the Justiciarship', *ANS*, 4 (1981), 1-12; C. W. Hollister, 'Magnates and "Curiales" in Early Norman England', in *Monarchy, Magnates & Institutions in the Anglo-Norman World* (repr. London, 1986), 97-115, 97-110; W. L. Warren *The Governance of Norman and Angevin England, 1086-1272* (London, 1987), 25-63.

⁶⁷ *WP*, 180; Bates, *Regesta*, nos 42-3; *Letters of Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury*, ed. M. Gibson (Oxford, 1979), nos 34, 44.

⁶⁸ *Textus Roffensis*, fo. 169v; E. Miller, 'The Ely Land Pleas in the reign of William I', *EHR*, 61 (1947), 438-56, Richard fitz Gilbert is referenced 444 and 448; Bates 'Penenden Heath revisited', 1-19. The ongoing claims and counter claims between Gilbert of Tonbridge, earl of Hertford and Rochester Cathedral are recorded in *EEA*, 28: *Canterbury*, no. 30, although this charter is generally accepted as a forgery.

⁶⁹ Royal charters relating to Richard: England: Recipient: Bates, *Regesta*: nos 43, 72, 84, 129; *Feudal Documents of Bury St Edmunds*, nos 9-10; Witness: Bates, *Regesta*: nos 18, 39, 52, 69, 82, 118-19, 121, 138, 146, 150, 153-54, 181, 254, 272, 290, 305-06, 309, 315, 322; *Textus Roffensis*, fos 169, 209; *EYC*, i, no. 468; Normandy: Grantor: *Chartes de l'Abbaye de Jumièges*, no. 32; Recipient: Bates, *Regesta*: nos 42-3, 129; *Chartes de l'Abbaye de Jumièges*, no. 31; Witness: *CDF*, nos 73, 152, 1375; *RRAN*, i, no 1; Bates, *Regesta*: nos 52, 150, 164, 166-7, 205, 248.

⁷⁰ *OV*, iii, 356-358.

⁷¹ Mooers, "Backers and Stabbers", 6.

retired to the priory of St Neots, however there are no extant sources that connect him to William Rufus.⁷²

Richard fitz Gilbert I's possessions, as previously stated, were divided between two of his sons, the Norman lands to his eldest son Roger, and the English lands to his second son, Gilbert.⁷³ Both worked together in 1088 to support Robert Curthose by fortifying the castle at Tonbridge - Roger contributed to the garrisoning of the castle, and at least one of his knights, a Geoffrey de Blaveni, settled in England.⁷⁴ While Roger had previously accompanied Curthose into exile a decade earlier, the regional influence of Odo, bishop of Bayeux, earl of Kent, half-brother of the late king and a leading rebel also cannot be ignored.⁷⁵ Odo could encourage or coerce members of the regional aristocracy such as Gilbert fitz Richard I to support Curthose.⁷⁶ Odo was also Gilbert's lord for several estates within the lowy of Tonbridge, including Hadlow the largest manor in the lowy.⁷⁷

The king's army besieged Tonbridge castle for approximately two days, until Gilbert surrendered after he was injured, and once he had recovered he joined the king's forces.⁷⁸ He accompanied Rufus for the remainder of the campaign, probably to reassure the king that he would not join the surviving rebels.⁷⁹ After the conflict was resolved, Roger returned to Normandy and Gilbert was permitted to return to his lands and titles without any apparent

⁷² *GND*, ii, 270-1.

⁷³ See Part I, fns 135-138.

⁷⁴ *OV*, iv, 208-10; *RT*, 48; *SbC*, nos 123, 136-7, 264, 306, 322, 332, 343, 432, 531, 536, 586-7, 636. In no. 137: *Gaufridus de Blavineio miles... domino suo Rogero*.

⁷⁵ *Diceto*, i, 214; *RT*, 48; *JW*, iii, 48-50; Bates, 'The Character and Career of Odo, Bishop of Bayeux', 16-18.

⁷⁶ *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*, trans. & ed. M. Swanton (reprint, London, 2000), 1088; John of Worcester believed that Odo was the primary mover behind this conflict, rather than Curthose: *JW*, iii, 48-50.

⁷⁷ *DB*, i, fos 7v, 8v, 9v, 11v, Hadlow: TRE held by Eadgifu, worth £30 throughout; W. V. Dumbreck, 'The Lowy of Tonbridge', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, 72 (1959), 138-147.

⁷⁸ *HH*, 414.

⁷⁹ *RRAN*, i, no. 301.

loss.⁸⁰ Strickland and Wareham have examined in detail the use of rebellion as a legitimate political tool in the eleventh century, and even being rewarded for it.⁸¹ In addition, detailed re-examinations of the rebellion of 1088 by Sharpe and Strevett have found that Rufus' response to the rebels was variable.⁸² In certain cases, he was prepared to negotiate and offer inducements to bring members of the aristocracy back to the court. The Clares, particularly the younger sons who are discussed below, were given incentives to support Rufus but Gilbert fitz Richard I was not as prominent at Rufus' court as his father had been at the Conqueror's.⁸³

In 1095 Gilbert was again initially involved in rebellion, despite the magnanimity he had been shown previously.⁸⁴ After securing a pardon from the king, Gilbert confessed to the regicidal conspiracy and was exempted from the more aggressive retribution that befell the rebels in 1095.⁸⁵ This exemption may have been due to multiple factors, including his familial status, his confession, and the fact that his declaration led other members of the royal entourage who supported Robert de Mowbray to realign themselves with the king.⁸⁶ After this second flirtation with insurrection Gilbert fitz Richard I avoided open disagreement with Rufus, but at no time did he have a close relationship like Richard fitz Gilbert I's with the Conqueror. He made no further advances in terms of status or power for himself or his kin, but he was able to protect his inheritance.

⁸⁰ *OV*, v, 208-10; *GR*, i, 548.

⁸¹ Strickland, 'Against the Lord's anointed', 56; Wareham, 'Motives & Politics of the Bigod Family', 226-7.

⁸² Sharpe, 'William II and the Rebels', 139-57; Strevett, 'The Anglo-Norman Civil War of 1101 Reconsidered', 159-75.

⁸³ *RRAN*, i, nos 290, 301, 319-20, 450.

⁸⁴ *ASC*, 1088; *OV*, iv, 126-28; *JW*, iii, 48; Mason, *William II: Rufus, the Red King* (Stroud, 2005), 55-70, 144, 161-64.

⁸⁵ *GND*, ii, 212-4; *ASC*, 1095; *OV*, ii, 266; iv, 128, 278-82, 286; v, 280; *Gaimar, L'Historie des Engleis*, ed. A. Bell (Oxford, 1960), li. 6123-34, 6138-72; Strickland, 'Against the Lord's Anointed', 67, 72-73; Strevett, *The Anglo-Norman Aristocracy Under Divided Lordship*, 118.

⁸⁶ *OV*, iv, 280-82.

After the rebellion of 1088, Roger fitz Richard I returned to Normandy, where he became involved in a dispute about lordship over the abbey of Bec and the castle of Brionne. Bec tradition cited Roger fitz Richard as the member of the Clare kin-group involved, while Orderic Vitalis identified Robert fitz Baldwin.⁸⁷ Roger had certainly inherited his father's Norman properties by this time, and Robert was less likely to be in possession of Le Sap and Meules, as his father was still alive at that point. Roger, therefore, appears to be the more likely candidate since he was in possession of his own estates in the region. The immediacy of the issue to the monks of Bec is also more convincing than the later account of Orderic Vitalis.⁸⁸ In 1090 Curthose granted Brionne to Roger de Beaumont and his son Robert de Meulan in exchange for Ivry, but they soon became embroiled in a quarrel with Bec. According to the Bec record, Abbot Anselm's protests to the duke that the independence of the abbey was being threatened by the Beaumonts, was supported by local magnates, including Roger fitz Richard, William de Breteuil and William Crispin.⁸⁹ These young lords declared at the ducal court that they would as a group '...remove whatever their parents had bestowed upon the church of Bec, if the count of Meulan held the monastery under his lordship.'⁹⁰ Curthose capitulated and imprisoned Robert de Meulan, granting possession of the castle of Brionne to Roger fitz Richard I.⁹¹

This success was short-lived as the Beaumonts were reconciled with the duke and Brionne was to be restored to Robert de Meulan. At this point Roger fitz Richard I refused to surrender the castle and Curthose laid siege to it in June 1090. Orderic Vitalis claimed that the Clare castellan, whom he believed to be Robert fitz Baldwin, declared that he was willing to surrender the castle if the duke wished to hold it in demesne, but would not allow himself to be

⁸⁷ *ASOB*, 245; *OV*, iv, 204-10; further support for the identification of Roger fitz Richard in this role, *GND*, ii, 229.

⁸⁸ Vaughn, *Anselm of Bec & Robert of Meulan*, 97; Potter, 'Benefactors of Bec', 183-184.

⁸⁹ *ASOB*, 245; L. Delisle, 'Les Courtes Annales du Bec', *Notices et documents publiés pour la Société de l'histoire de France*, 217, ed. C. Jourdan, (Paris, 1884), 93-99, there is no mention in the surviving annals of this event, but they primarily only list the deaths of abbots, bishops, archbishops connected to Le Bec and those of members of the ducal-royal family.

⁹⁰ *OV*, iv, 204-10; *ASOB*, 245.

⁹¹ *GND*, ii, 228; *OV*, iv, 204-10.

replaced by another magnate as 'I now hold Brionne, my grandfather Gilbert's chief castle and will continue to do so while God upholds my right.'⁹² The duke was successful however and this disappointment over Brionne may have been behind Roger's shift in allegiance when Henry I was crowned, despite his previous support for Curthose.⁹³ The Beaumonts and the Clares both acknowledged Curthose's authority over the lordship of Brionne and looked to him to resolve the dispute over tenure, which reinforces the recent reinterpretations of Curthose's life and the relationship between the duke and his barons.⁹⁴

Roger fitz Richard had the longest and best recorded connection to the new king of all the brothers. He joined Henry I's court after the campaign of 1101, and Roger was a loyal and prominent supporter of Henry on both sides of the Channel. He was eventually granted estates in England to add to his Norman properties, making him the only truly cross-Channel descendent of Richard fitz Gilbert I.⁹⁵ In Normandy, Roger provided military support for Henry I during 1106 and at the Battle of Brémule in 1119. There, he and William de Warenne advised Henry I to give battle, and Roger saved the king's life.⁹⁶ He was also one of the magnates chosen to escort Henry I's daughter Matilda to meet her future husband Emperor Henry V, in 1109 and he returned to the Imperial court in 1124 to escort the widowed Empress back to England.⁹⁷ He was an active, trusted and favoured member of the royal court, able to represent the king-duke at the Imperial court and to support him on the battlefield.

⁹² *OV*, iv, 208.

⁹³ *OV*, iii, 356-358; iv, 208-10; *Diceto*, i, 214; *RT*, 48; *JW*, iii, 48-50; Mooers, "Backers and Stabbers", 6.

⁹⁴ J. A. Green, 'Robert Curthose Reassessed', *ANS*, 22 (1999), 95-116; Aird, *Robert Curthose*, 103-21, 130-34; K. Lack, 'Robert Curthose: Ineffectual Duke or Victim of Spin', *HSJ*, 20 (2009), 110-41.

⁹⁵ *RRAN*, ii, nos 956, 1207, 1447, 1701; *Monasticon*, i, 482, no. ix; *PR*, 31 *HI*, 46, 49, 59, 99, 104; *SbC*, no. 137.

⁹⁶ *RRAN*, ii, no. 809; *OV*, iv, 226; vi, 235-43; *HH*, 54-5.

⁹⁷ *OV*, vi, 166-8.

Other Clares found new opportunities for a fresh start with the coronation of Henry I. Richard fitz Gilbert I's younger sons, Richard, Walter and Robert can be found at the royal court and began to receive rewards from the king for their service.⁹⁸ They had not inherited lands from their father and therefore had to find different means to support themselves and, incidentally, contribute to the expanding kin-group.⁹⁹ Robert fitz Richard was a royal steward during Henry I's reign and served briefly under King Stephen, but the surviving charter evidence does not equate with the apparent longevity of his office or the rewards he received.¹⁰⁰ He spent the majority of his time in England, where he married a daughter of Simon de Senlis I, earl of Huntingdon and received lands forfeited by William Baynard in 1110.¹⁰¹ Robert's new estates were primarily in Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex, but included properties in Hertfordshire and a castle in London itself.¹⁰² These were all counties where Gilbert fitz Richard I was a significant tenant-in-chief, and his *caput* at Little Dunmow in Essex and the connections with other Clare territories meant that the Clares as a kin-group had gained more property in regions where they were already powerful.

Robert and William fitz Baldwin succeeded their father c.1095, the former inheriting Le Sap and Meules, the latter the English lands and his father's position of sheriff of Devon. According to the *Brut Y Tywysogon*, William fitz Baldwin was at the forefront of the Norman expansion into Wales, even before his father's death, and did so with William Rufus' approval.¹⁰³ On his

⁹⁸ For an earlier study of the specific services and rewards that shaped the relationship between the Clares and the Anglo-Norman kings, see Ward, 'Royal Service and Reward', 261-278.

⁹⁹ Richard fitz Richard, abbot of Ely was discussed above, Part II, chapter 2, fns. 162-9.

¹⁰⁰ Only six charters issued under Henry I survive: *RRAN*, ii, nos 1015, 1204, 1222, 1283, 1645; *Colchester Cartulary*, no. 4. Under King Stephen, there are considerably more, despite Robert's death in 1137: BL Add. Ch. 28315, BL Add. Ch. 28316; *RRAN*, iii, nos 39-40, 46, 50, 99, 166, 284, 287-88, 337, 386, 389, 827; *EYC*, i, nos 99, 243; *EEA*, 28: *Canterbury*: no. 80; *Ancient Charters*: no. 20.

¹⁰¹ *RRAN*, ii, nos 1203-4.

¹⁰² William Baynard's lands in 1086: *DB*, i, fos 138, 138v; *DB*, ii, 68v-71v, 247v-253v, 413v-415v; *Monasticon*, vi, 147.

¹⁰³ *Brut*, *Hergest*, 35; *Brut*, *Peniarth*, 20; *Annales Cambriae*, ed. J. Williams ab Ithel, RS (London, 1860), 30.

death, his brother Robert was his heir and his Welsh lands were lost. The youngest of the brothers, Richard, reclaimed the lands in East Dyfed and received the English portion of Baldwin fitz Gilbert I's estates after Robert fitz Baldwin died in 1103.¹⁰⁴ Richard re-established the castle of Rhyd-y-Gors but in 1107 he had to surrender these lands to Henry I, and in compensation for this loss, the king made Richard sheriff of Devon as his father had been.¹⁰⁵

Although the surviving evidence does not suggest that he was amongst the king's closest advisors, Gilbert fitz Richard I was consistently loyal to Henry I.¹⁰⁶ His first known appearance was when he attested and acted as security for Henry I's treaty with the count of Flanders, on the 10 March, 1101.¹⁰⁷ His loyalty was rewarded with grants of new lands in Northamptonshire which had been held by Geoffrey Bishop of Coutances, a fellow rebel against William Rufus.¹⁰⁸ These English lands were not, however, especially large or valuable and Gilbert's principal gains from Henry I were in South Wales. Welsh lands were a way for William Rufus and Henry I to reward members of the aristocracy at little cost to the royal demesne, while at the same time benefiting royal ambitions.¹⁰⁹ The Clares were able to make demands of Henry I, as they had not been able to of William Rufus for several reasons. Their increased numbers were one reason. In the first years of Henry I's reign, the five surviving sons of Richard fitz Gilbert I and the two surviving sons of Baldwin fitz Gilbert appeared repeatedly in witness lists of royal

¹⁰⁴ *Annales Cambriae*, 33. Ricahrd may also have received the Norman lands of his eldest brother Robert, however there is no extant evidence of his holding those estates.

¹⁰⁵ *Brut*, *Hergest*, 45, 49; *Brut*, *Peniarth*, 24-6; *Monasticon*, i, 501, no. xviii; *EEA*, 18: *Salisbury*, no. 31.

¹⁰⁶ *RRAN*, ii, nos 515, 544, 548, 552, 577, 626, 636, 677, 731, 818, 857, 877, 941, 1015, 1041, 1057, 1091, 1132; *CDF*, no. 1417; *Chartulary of Lewes Priory*, nos 48-50; *Colchester Cartulary*, nos 11, 20.

¹⁰⁷ *RRAN*, ii, 515. *Diplomatic Documents, preserved in the Public Record Office*, i, 1101-1272, ed. P. Chaplais (London, 1964), nos 1-2; E. M. C. van Houts, 'The Anglo-Flemish Treaty of 1101', *ANS*, 21 (1998), 169-74.

¹⁰⁸ Stenton, *Facsimiles of Early Charters*, no. XVIII; *Monasticon*, ii, 601, 603. Ward argues that he also received the lands of Rainald son of Ivo, previously mentioned, at this time rather than from William Rufus, 'Royal Service and Reward', 271.

¹⁰⁹ *Annales Cambriae*, 35; Davies, 'Henry I and Wales', 132-147.

charters.¹¹⁰ The status and wealth of the extended kin-group, as well as their political and military capabilities, ensured that Henry I sought to secure their loyalty and to balance their ambitions through the negotiations of tenure that occurred between the king and members of the Clare kin-group throughout his reign. In the case of Gilbert, the challenge of South Wales was a way of satisfying an openly land-hungry magnate, whose frequent demands for greater rewards had led Henry I to declare:

'Thou wert always', said he, 'seeking of me a portion of the territory of the Britons. I will now give thee Cadwagan's territory. Go and take possession of it.' And then he gladly accepted it from the king.¹¹¹

In the *Liber Eliensis*, as previously stated, this situation was emphasized as being such that Henry I was afraid of the combined power of the Clares and the Giffards.¹¹²

There may have been more co-operation between the two branches than can be proven from the surviving sources, while the cousins tended to be listed together in witness lists to royal charters, there is no surviving evidence that they deliberately worked together outside the court.¹¹³ The Clares' interest in Wales was probably due to William Rufus and Henry I's territorial concerns in that direction, as well the Clares' own desire to expand their territory. The Welsh lands Gilbert, and later his son Richard fitz Gilbert II, acquired under Henry I were in a different area of South Wales from those previously held by their cousins. Gilbert's lordship of Ceredigion was not easily conquered, but in 1114 Gilbert was able to lead a contingent of Henry I's army against Gwynedd with men from Cornwall and South Wales.¹¹⁴ Richard fitz Gilbert II

¹¹⁰ *RRAN*, ii, nos 544, 547-8, 552.

¹¹¹ *Brut, Hergest*, 71-3.

¹¹² *Liber Eliensis*, 226-7; *Fairweather, Ely*, 272-3.

¹¹³ Various combinations of the fitz Richard and the fitz Baldwin Clares can be found in: *RRAN*, ii, nos 544, 547-8, 552, 1203-4, 1283-4.

¹¹⁴ *Brut, Hergest*, 79-83; *Brut, Peniarth*, 37-8; *Annales Cambriae*, 35, 37.

continued to concentrate on establishing the lordship of Ceredigion, including paying Henry I £43 6s 8d for his Welsh possessions in 1130.¹¹⁵

Walter fitz Richard, one of Richard fitz Gilbert's younger sons, came to be based in the Welsh Marches. Walter was initially dependent on his kin and his overlord, he frequently witnessed royal charters, but does not seem to have had a household office, unlike his brother Robert, or the social status of his brothers Roger and Gilbert.¹¹⁶ Before 1119, Walter received the lands previously held by William of Eu, who had been disseized after his participation in the rebellion of 1095. These formed the base of what would come to be known as the lordship of Striguil on the Welsh border.¹¹⁷ The honor's key manors were Chepstow castle in the Marches and Tidenham in Gloucestershire.¹¹⁸ This lordship provided a refuge for his brother Gilbert and later his nephew Richard fitz Gilbert II when their own more isolated Welsh possessions were lost to native unrest.¹¹⁹ The Clares' persistence from the 1090s onwards in maintaining and when necessary reclaiming, their lands and castles in Wales, led to evidence of the kin-group acting as a unit and to the strong ties of kin-ship through marriage that they built up and maintained amongst the Marcher lords.¹²⁰

The Giffards

After the Conquest of England, Walter Giffard I received a great deal of new land from his overlord, and he continued to attend court, attesting to the Conqueror's grants on both sides of the Channel, even acting for the king during the Ely land disputes.¹²¹ By 1086, Walter II held 112 manors and

¹¹⁵ *PR*, 31 *HI*, 53.

¹¹⁶ *RRAN*, ii, nos 544, 683-685, 828, 877, 1015, 1057, 1283-1284, 1303, 1466, 1715; *CDF*, nos 372, 1417; *Sarum Charters*, nos 6, 22, 41.

¹¹⁷ Wood, *Tintern Abbey*, 4; Nelson, *Normans in South Wales*, 122; Davies, 'Henry I and Wales', 132-147.

¹¹⁸ *PR*, 31 *HI*, 23, 62, 80, 104; *OV*, iii, 280.

¹¹⁹ *GS*, 10-11.

¹²⁰ For the detailed discussion of this kin-based network, see Part I, chapter 4.

¹²¹ Post-1066 charters relating to Walter Giffard I: England: Bates, *Regesta*, nos 39, 82, 166, 176, 211, 220, 290, 303, 305-6; Normandy: Bates, *Regesta*, nos 45, 50, 54, 198, 235; *Chartes*

smallholdings, while other properties may also have been distributed between his brothers Berengar and Osbern.¹²² Walter II's estates clustered in the central counties, while Berengar and Osbern's properties are in the southwest, but there is an identifiable scattering of Giffard held properties across England.¹²³ Walter II was the wealthiest secular and non-royal landholder in Buckingham, with only a few other estates in other counties.¹²⁴ Walter I's daughter Rohese held two manors as tenant-in-chief in 1086, but they were more likely a dower granted by her husband Richard fitz Gilbert I than held from her father, because she was already married by the time of the Conquest.¹²⁵ Robert Giffard, who may have been a younger brother of Walter Giffard I, was also at Hastings but seems not to have been rewarded in England.¹²⁶ His career was intertwined with that of Robert Curthose, beginning in the 1070s in the campaigns in Maine and continuing through the First Crusade.¹²⁷ Despite his family's possessions in Normandy and England, Robert, like the younger sons of Richard fitz Gilbert, sought to establish himself through service to his overlord.

Walter II succeeded his father in 1084. He was a Domesday commissioner, and held some of the responsibilities which would later develop into the justiciarship, and was made earl of Buckingham, c.1084-5 for his and his

de L'Abbaye de Jumieges, no. 31; *Feudal Documents of Bury St Edmunds*, no. 7. For the Ely land pleas, see Bates, *Regesta*, no. 117.

¹²² Osbern held 22 manors, *DB*, i, fos 52, 62, 72v, 82v, 98, 160, 164v, 168v, 216v, 219; Berengar held 3 manors, *DB*, i, fos 72v, 82v.

¹²³ See Appendix 1, Map 2, 240.

¹²⁴ *DB*, i, fos 50, 56-57, 59, 60, 71v, 95, 147-148, 154, 157v, 196, 205v, 211, 211v; *DB*, ii, 112, 114v, 115, 240v-243, 276v, 430; S. Painter, *Studies in the History of the English Feudal Barony* (Baltimore, 1943), 17-18.

¹²⁵ *DB*, i, fos 142v, 207 Standon, in Hertfordshire, Eynesbury, in Huntingdonshire.

¹²⁶ Bayeux Tapestry, scene 57 in *The Bayeux Tapestry*, ed. L. Musset, trans. R. Rex (Woodbridge, 2005); *Carmen*, li 534-536, "*Quartus Gifardus, patris a cognomine dictus*"; van Houts, 'Latin poetry and the Anglo-Norman court', 55; Gade, 'Morkinskinna's Giffardspátr', 189.

¹²⁷ *CDF*, no. 1016; Bates, *Regesta*, nos 101, 169; a charter issued by the Conqueror to Curthose and those governing Maine, including Robert Giffard. *EYC: The Honour of Warenne*, ed. C. T. Clay (1935-65), extra series I-X, IV, no. 2. Robert Giffard witnessed a charter to the priory of St Pancras, Lewes, probably issued in Normandy. See also, *OV*, iv, 16, 338.

father's services to the Conqueror.¹²⁸ This grant may have been due to his service on the Domesday Survey, although Orderic Vitalis believed the grant was made later and connected it to William de Warenne's receipt of the earldom of Sussex in return for his loyalty during the 1088 rebellion.¹²⁹ Walter II, like de Warenne, was loyal to Rufus in both England and Normandy in 1088 and thereafter.¹³⁰ He initially surrendered his castles to the king's lieutenants and then to the king himself, whereupon he was financially recompensed for his support.¹³¹ Orderic's description of the magnates, who were loyal to William Rufus, also showed that geographical location was a factor, since the majority were based in the Pays de Caux.¹³² Potentially then, the decision to support the king may have been due to a localised network of lordships, some of whom were also kin, rather than kinship being the most significant factor in the decision.¹³³

Geoffrey Gaimar's famous dubbing scene also shows the close bond between Walter II and William Rufus. The account begins at the Pentecost feast on 29 May 1099, where Walter II had been at the royal court for a month waiting for Rufus to knight the young men in his care.¹³⁴ He protested the delay by getting the young men to cut their hair, which amused Rufus and he insisted that other 'youths', who were about to become knights also had their hair cut short.¹³⁵ This action shows that Walter II had enough status and

¹²⁸ *RADN*, nos 220, 234; Bates, *Regesta*: nos 230, 350; *Hemingi Chartularium Ecclesiae Wigorniensis*, ed. T. Herne, 2. vols. (Oxford, 1723), 287-8; D. Bates, 'The Origins of the Justiciarship', *ANS*, 4 (1981), 1-12, 8; Roffe, *Domesday: The Inquest and the Book*, 124, 144.

¹²⁹ *RRAN*, ii, no. 488, he does not appear to have used the title often and not at all during Rufus' reign; *OV*, ii, 264; C. P. Lewis, 'The Earldom of Surrey and the Date of Domesday Book', *Historical Research* 63 (1990), 329-36; J. A. Green, 'Robert Curthose Reassessed', *ANS*, 22 (1999), 95-116; Power, 'The French Interests of the Marshal Earls', 199-226.

¹³⁰ *OV*, iv, 182; v, 214; Mason, *William II*, 62.

¹³¹ *GND*, ii, 206, fn 2; *ASC*, 1090; *JW*, iii, 56-7; Green, 'Robert Curthose Reassessed', 108; Mason, *William II*, 82.

¹³² *OV*, iv, 182-4.

¹³³ *Ibid*, 236.

¹³⁴ *Gaimar*, li. 6077-6104, and p. 274 – Bell erroneously believes it to be either Walter Giffard III, or not a member of the Giffard kin-group.

¹³⁵ *Gaimar*, li. 6085-104, 'les tups'; J. Gillingham, 'Kingship, Chivalry, and Love: Political and Cultural Values in the earliest history written in French: Geoffrey Gaimar's *Estoire des Engleis*', in *Anglo-Norman Political Culture and the 12th Century Renaissance*, ed. C. Warren Hollister

influence to be able to subtly challenge the king and knew how to do so without repercussions.¹³⁶ It illustrates as well the reciprocal nature of the relationship between the king and the aristocracy, including the responsibilities they shared regarding the young knights.

Walter II attended Henry I's coronation, and witnessed several royal charters but was amongst those who conspired against the king in 1101.¹³⁷ Walter II's support for Robert Curthose, newly returned from the Holy Land, was probably due to his own focus remaining on his Norman properties. Robert Giffard had returned to Normandy with the duke and appears to have been involved in gathering support for the rebellion.¹³⁸ K. E. Gade identified Robert Giffard as an elderly Norman knight called 'Giffaðr', who participated in the 1100-1101 battle of Fuxerna under the Norwegian king Magnus, his presence there presumably due to seeking external support for Curthose's cause.¹³⁹

The Giffards were included in the author of the *Liber Eliensis*' claim that magnates terrorised Henry I and his court.¹⁴⁰ Given that Walter II died in 1102, and so did not have had the opportunity to develop the reputation for demanding favours from the king that his cousin Gilbert fitz Richard I acquired, his contribution to this reputation likely originated in his participation in the 1101 revolt.¹⁴¹ In 1102, Walter III was still a minor and his mother Agnes de Ribemont acted as his guardian.¹⁴² Orderic Vitalis

(Woodbridge, 1997), 33-58, 42. Further studies on the symbolic importance of masculine hair styles can be found in R. Bartlett, 'Symbolic Meanings of Hair in the Middle Ages', *TRHS*, 6th ser., 4 (1994), 43-60, hair cuts as a coming of age ritual, 47-9, 56-8; P. Stafford, 'The Meaning of Hair in the Anglo-Norman World: Masculinity, Reform and National Identity', in *Saints, Scholars and Politicians: Gender as a Tool in Medieval Studies, Festschrift in honour of Anneke Mulder-Bakker on the occasion of her sixty-fifth birthday*, ed. M. Van Dijk & R. Nip (Turnhout, 2005), 153-71, and on the use of hair-cuts as a political challenge, 153-4, 168-71.

¹³⁶ *OV*, v, 214.

¹³⁷ *RRAN*, ii, no. 488 (d); *ASC E* 1103; *OV*, v, 306-8; vi, 12-14; *JW*, iii, 104; *GR*, i, 716-8; J. Beeler, *Warfare in England, 1066-1189* (New York, 1966), 72.

¹³⁸ *OV*, iv, 16, 338.

¹³⁹ Gade, 'Morkinskinna's Giffaðspátr', 188-9, 193.

¹⁴⁰ *Liber Eliensis*, 226-7; *Fairweather, Ely*, 272-3.

¹⁴¹ *OV*, v, 306-8.

¹⁴² For recent work on women ruling in their own right and challenging contemporary and modern stereotypes of gender roles see: A. Livingstone, 'Aristocratic Women in the Chatrain', in

recorded claims that Agnes was Robert Curthose's mistress and possibly responsible for the death of his wife, Sibyl di Conversano.¹⁴³ Throughout Walter III's minority, despite this relationship with Curthose, Agnes seems to have avoided being considered an opponent by Henry I and raised her son to be loyal to the king.¹⁴⁴ Walter III had reached his majority as lord of Longueville and earl of Buckingham by 1115, and he was experienced enough to act as one of the king-duke's commanders at Brémule four years later.¹⁴⁵ Although loyal to Henry I, Walter III was not prominent at court.¹⁴⁶ He appears to have been a magnate who was content to protect and maintain his inheritance, rather than pursue expansion.

The Tosnys

Ralph III de Tosny, his brother Robert I of Stafford and their cousin Robert of Tosny all received English lands after the Conquest, but their attitudes towards them differed.¹⁴⁷ Ralph III and Robert of Tosny both held lands in Normandy, but while the former chose to focus on his Norman estates, Robert of Tosny gained more in England than he possessed in the duchy, particularly the lands that formed the lordship of Belvoir.¹⁴⁸ Robert of Stafford is not known to have held anything in Normandy, and despite the lands he held as tenant-in-chief his career was that of a royal official.¹⁴⁹ In

Aristocratic Women in Medieval France, ed. T. Evergates (Pennsylvania, 1999), 44-73, 64-71; K. A. LoPrete, 'Adela of Blois: Familial Alliances and Female Lordship', in *Aristocratic Women in Medieval France*, ed. T. Evergates (Pennsylvania, 1999), 7-43; *ibid*, *Adela of Blois, Countess and Lord, c.1067-1137* (Dublin, 2007), 75-80, 94-100, 119-122, 140-155, 419-38; *ibid*, 'Women, Gender and Lordship in France, c.1050-1250', *History Compass*, 5.6 (2007), 1921-41, 1926-9.

¹⁴³ *Ibid*, vi, 38-40, Aird, *Robert Curthose*, 213-4.

¹⁴⁴ *OV*, vi, 38.

¹⁴⁵ *RRAN*, ii, 1204; *OV*, vi, 202-4, 220, 228-34; *Deeds of Louis the Fat*, 196; *HH*, 464; Green, *Henry I*, 151-153.

¹⁴⁶ *RRAN*, ii, nos 911, 1204.

¹⁴⁷ See Appendix 1, Map 3, 241.

¹⁴⁸ Ralph III witnessed two charters between 1066 and 1087, both were issued in Normandy. Bates, *Regesta*, nos 50, 59; *DB*, Robert of Tosny: 82 manors, worth £246 9s 10½d; Berengar of Tosny: 46 manors, worth £76 1s 10d.

¹⁴⁹ *DB*, Ralph III de Tosny: 37 manors, worth £173 16s 0d; Robert of Stafford: 107 manors, worth £194 8s 1d.

1086, Ralph III held only thirty-seven manors in seven counties, while Robert of Stafford held 107 manors spread over eight counties.¹⁵⁰ This included a large proportion of the manors in northern Staffordshire where he held the office of sheriff, which led to his adoption of the toponymic 'of Stafford' from the 1070s.¹⁵¹ By 1086, Robert of Tosny held eighty-two manors scattered over twelve counties, and his son Berengar held forty-six manors in five of those counties, the majority of which were held from his father, although he also appeared as a tenant-in-chief in his own right.¹⁵² The lands that the different branches of the Tosny kin-group held on both sides of the Channel shaped their relationship with the king-duke, particularly once the Conqueror's territories were divided, first by civil war and then between his sons.

The 1075 rebellion against William the Conqueror involved several barons belonging to the extended kin-group of the Tosnys, but no Tosny participated in the rebellion.¹⁵³ Ralph III de Tosny did, however, join Robert Curthose's rebellion in 1077 for unknown reasons.¹⁵⁴ The majority of Curthose's support came from young men, who, like their lord, were eager to establish themselves; Ralph III was one of the few older members of their party, and one of the few who already held his lordship.¹⁵⁵ Like Curthose, he was exiled but did not accompany him, travelling instead to Spain. By 1081 he had made his peace with the Conqueror and attended the royal Christmas court at Winchester.¹⁵⁶ After 1087 Ralph III was involved in the wide-reaching conflict

¹⁵⁰ Ralph III: *DB*, i, fos 52; 62v, 138, 168, 176, 180-181, 183-183v; *DB*, ii, fos 91, 232, 235-236v, 245, 277; Robert I of Stafford: *DB*, i, fos 62, 158, 176v, 225, 238, 242v, 246, 248v-249v, 368v, 376v-377v; *DB*, ii, fo. 445v.

¹⁵¹ Occasions of toponymic *Staffordshire Chartulary*, i, no. 1; Bates, *Regesta*, no. 265; *Conches*: nos 158, 406, 407, 409, 411.

¹⁵² Robert of Tosny: *DB*, i, fos 138; 149; 168; 196v; 215; 219, 225, 230v, 233v, 234, 236v; 314, 352v-353v, 376, 377; *DB*, ii, fos 90v; 429, 429v; Berengar of Tosny: *DB*, i, fos 154, 159; 291v; 298, 314-315; 352v-353v, 376; 380-382.

¹⁵³ *OV*, ii, 310-12. For a more detailed account see, Part I, fn. 108.

¹⁵⁴ Ralph de Tosny: *CDF*, no. 625; Bates, *Regesta*: nos 26, 50, 59, 164, 255.

¹⁵⁵ Mooers, "Backers and Stabbers", 1-17.

¹⁵⁶ *OV*, iii, 28.

between William Rufus and Robert Curthose through an internal struggle with his kinsmen and former allies William, count of Évreux, William de Breteuil and Amaury de Montfort.¹⁵⁷ The duke's efforts to reclaim the castles held by Ralph III, after he had driven out the garrisons installed by the Conqueror also distanced Ralph III from Curthose.¹⁵⁸ Ralph III and his affines do not appear amongst those named on either side of the English uprising of 1088, but in August of that year, they were in the ducal army, which sought to reinforce Norman rule in Maine.¹⁵⁹ In 1090 Ralph III's dispute with William count of Évreux gave William Rufus an opportunity to prove that he was a better overlord than Curthose and his support resulted in Ralph III and several other Norman lords joining his forces.¹⁶⁰ Ralph III's lands and his Norman focus made him a useful adherent for Rufus during his campaigns in the duchy but Ralph's concerns continued to be localised. This led Ralph III, supported by his restored ally William count of Évreux, to attack Robert II de Beaumont, count of Meulan shortly after the king's death. Orderic wrote that the attack was in revenge for allegations which had led to the Tosnys' loss of favour at court, made by Robert de Beaumont to William Rufus.¹⁶¹

Somewhat surprisingly Ralph III cannot be found in sources immediately after Henry I's coronation in 1100, nor is he named as a participant in the conflict between Henry I and Robert Curthose in 1101.¹⁶² The next appearance by a member of the principal branch of the Tosnys occurs in England in 1103 in the person of Ralph IV de Tosny, who had succeeded his father in 1102.¹⁶³ His visit was probably related to the lordship of Breteuil. Curthose had again failed to resolve the rival claims of Ralph IV, William de Gael, Reginald de

¹⁵⁷ *GND*, ii, 204-7; *OV*, v, 212-18. For a more detailed account see, Part I, fn. 201.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid*, iv, 114-16; Green, 'Robert Curthose Reassessed', 104, 106-7, 109-10.

¹⁵⁹ *OV*, iv, 154, 182-98.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid*, iv, 214; v, 236.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid*, v, 300; Musset, 'Les Tosny', 61-62.

¹⁶² Presumably due to ill health or his age being against active participation in these political manoeuvrings.

¹⁶³ *OV*, vi, 54.

Grancey and Eustace, William de Breteuil's own illegitimate son.¹⁶⁴ Henry I, however, with the assistance of Robert II, count of Meulan arranged a marriage between Eustace and one of the king's illegitimate daughters, compensating Ralph IV with marriage to Alice, the younger daughter of Earl Waltheof, and the lands of East Bergholt in Suffolk.¹⁶⁵ When William de Gael and Eustace de Breteuil co-operated with each other, as the claimants who had blood claims, local support and royal backing, Reginald de Grancey could not compete. Although Ralph IV did fight for Henry I at Tinchebrai, he was not one of the commanders.¹⁶⁶ He also does not appear to have been a frequent visitor to the royal-ducal court, and his absence may have been due to the Beaumonts' position amongst the king's closest advisors.¹⁶⁷

Ralph IV's position became more complex when his kinsman, neighbour and ally Amaury IV de Montfort rebelled against Henry I in 1112 because he had not been granted the lordship of Breteuil and in an attempt to claim the lands and titles of William, count of Évreux who had been exiled in 1111 for opposing the king.¹⁶⁸ When William, count of Évreux died in 1118, his nephew Amaury IV de Montfort again claimed the county.¹⁶⁹ By 1119, Eustace de Breteuil and his wife had been exiled for supporting Henry I's

¹⁶⁴ Ibid, vi, 40-7; Green, *Henry I*, 73-74, 233; eadem, 'Robert Curthose Reassessed', 106-07.

¹⁶⁵ *OV*, vi, 524-5; *Book of Fees*, i, 134.

¹⁶⁶ *RRAN*, ii, no. 1207: Issued at Rouen, June 1119; For accounts of the battle: *OV*, vi, 84; *HH*, 454; *RT*, 85; H. W. C. Davis, 'A Contemporary Account of the Battle of Tinchebrai', *EHR*, 24 (1909), 728-32; Davis, 'The Battle of Tinchebrai: A Correction', *EHR*, 25 (1910), 295-6; Barton, 'Henry I, Count Helias of Maine, and the Battle of Tinchebray', 63-90; K. Lack, 'Robert Curthose: Ineffectual Duke or Victim of Spin', *HSJ*, 20 (2009), 110-41; most recently the proceedings of the 2006 anniversary conference have been published, *Tinchebray, 1106-2006, Actes du Colloque de Tinchebray*, ed. V. Gazeau & J. Green (Flers, 2009), that cover the battle itself and the surrounding political circumstances that contributed to the battle, e.g. J. Green, 'La bataille de Tinchebray: un tournant dans l'histoire de la Normandie et de l'Angleterre', 47-60; K. Thompson, 'L'héritier et le remplaceant: le rôle du frère puîné dans la politique anglo-normande (1066-1204)', 93-100.

¹⁶⁷ *RRAN*, ii, no. 956 – the only surviving royal act issued in England that Ralph IV witnessed; nos 1207, 1447. Discussion of the Beaumonts position at the royal court, see Crouch, *The Beaumont Twins*, 24-30.

¹⁶⁸ *OV*, vi, 176, 188; Green, *Henry I*, 124-5. Burton Hicks, 'The Impact of William Clito', 1-21; Green, 'King Henry I and the Aristocracy of Normandy', 161-73; eadem, 'Le Gouvernement d'Henri I Beauclerc en Normandie', *La Normandie et l'Angleterre au Moyen Âge*, ed. P. Bouet & V. Gazeau (Colloque de Cerisy-la-Salle, octobre 2001) (Caen, 2003), 61-73.

¹⁶⁹ *OV*, vi, 180, 188.

enemies, and Breteuil was granted to Ralph II de Gael as William fitz Osbern's grandson.¹⁷⁰ Henry I restored William, count of Évreux to his former possessions after fourteen months in exile. At this point, Ralph IV de Tosny was granted the properties of Pont-St-Pierre and the valley of Pistres, both of which had been part of the lordship of Breteuil, presumably as additional recompense and an inducement to remain loyal.¹⁷¹ These various conflicts put Ralph IV's lands in the middle of the fighting for the next two years, but he remained loyal to Henry I.¹⁷²

Roger III de Tosny first began to appear in charters from 1121, probably in the aftermath of the White Ship disaster, and is included the oath sworn by the magnates to accept the Empress Matilda as Henry I's successor in 1125.¹⁷³ Roger III succeeded c.1126, to estates on a direct route into the duchy from Anjou and at a time when Henry I was quarrelling with the Empress Matilda and Geoffrey of Anjou, the threat this posed, and the status of his familial enemies Robert and Waleran de Beaumont at Henry I's court, may explain why Roger III was accused of favouring the Angevins.¹⁷⁴ He was forced to accept a royal garrison in the castle at Conches, similar to the one his father had expelled in 1087.¹⁷⁵ These events demonstrated the interaction between the internal tensions of the Evrecin aristocracy and the succession problems that shaped the last years of Henry I's reign.

The Tosny cadet branches are not as prominent in the sources, yet they occurred frequently in surviving royal charters, as many still held royal offices.¹⁷⁶ Robert of Stafford was the king's sheriff, and unlike the Tosnys of

¹⁷⁰ *GND*, ii, 230, 250; *OV*, vi, 40, 214.

¹⁷¹ Henry I's grant to Ralph de Gael, *OV*, vi, 214, Eustace and Juliana made their peace with Henry I, but were not restored to the lordship of Breteuil, 278, 294.

¹⁷² *OV*, vi, 276-8, 330; *Deeds of Louis the Fat*, 115; Green, *Henry I*, 157.

¹⁷³ *RRAN*, ii, nos 1277, 1458, 1582, 1701.

¹⁷⁴ *OV*, vi, 444-6.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid*, 444-6; *Historia Novella*, xli-xlii; *RT*, 125-6.

¹⁷⁶ *RRAN*, ii, nos 600 (1100-1102); 865 (1100-07); 900 (1102-08); 1054 (1114?); 1412 (1107-23); 1428 (1125); 1744 (1132?); Green, *English Sheriffs to 1154*, 75; R. Abels, 'Sheriffs, Lord-Seeking and the Norman Settlement of the South-East Midlands', 19-50.

Conches, he was too dependent on the support of the king to risk rebelling against his overlord.¹⁷⁷ After Robert I's death in 1088, Nicholas I of Stafford was made sheriff of Staffordshire, and he continued to hold the office until c.1123.¹⁷⁸ The lordship of Belvoir, as previously discussed, initially passed to William, son of Robert of Tosny, but was eventually inherited by his younger sister Alice and her husband Roger Bigod I.¹⁷⁹ William d'Albini *brito* acted for the king in matters relating to the lordship of Belvoir after Alice's inheritance of the lordship as a widow and remained loyal to Henry I throughout his reign.¹⁸⁰

Summary

After the Conquest of England, members of the Clare, Giffard and Tosny kin-groups acquired new lands and new offices. While their situation changed, the relationship that each kin-group had with the Conqueror appears to have remained largely unchanged. Their positions became more complex after the death of the Conqueror as the principal lines and some of the early cadet branches held lands on both sides of the Channel and therefore owed loyalty to two rival lords. Although they continued to provide counsel and military support, all three kin-groups also participated in rebellions against either William Rufus or Henry I as king, or against Robert Curthose as duke.¹⁸¹ This section of the thesis demonstrates that le Patourel's concept of a cross-Channel aristocracy, concerned with the reunification of the two halves of the Conqueror's realm, is still a useful historiographical tool.¹⁸² Examination of the relationships that the three focal kin-groups had with Robert Curthose, Henry I and William Rufus has been facilitated by the publication of recent historical

¹⁷⁷ Bates, *Regesta*, no. 265, addressed to 'R. the sheriff'.

¹⁷⁸ Green, *English Sheriffs to 1154*, 75.

¹⁷⁹ *PR 31 HI*, 114. For more details see Part I, fns. 228-232.

¹⁸⁰ *RRAN*, ii, nos 1152-3, 1223; *PR 31 HI*, 133-4; *Westminster Abbey Charters*, no. 469.

¹⁸¹ *OV*, ii, 262, 310-22; iii, 356-358; vi, 238-46.

¹⁸² le Patourel, *The Norman Empire*, 190-200.

biographies.¹⁸³ In particular, recent work has attempted to redeem Robert Curthose but his relationships with the various members of the Clares, Giffards and the Tosnys support a much more traditional interpretation of the duke as an ineffectual ruler, causing them to turn instead to first William Rufus and subsequently to Henry I.¹⁸⁴

Whereas recent historiography has focussed on the limitations to royal power inherent in royal-aristocratic relationship in the high middle ages, the evidence in this thesis indicates that the duke-kings of England and Normandy were generally capable of enforcing their will on their subjects.¹⁸⁵ Before and after 1066 the Clares, Giffards and Tosnys gained and lost lands at the king-duke's command, and relied on his intervention to resolve internal disputes. It was Curthose's failure to successfully and forcefully intervene in matters like the localised disputes of the Tosny-Évreux-Breteuil-Monfort kindred that caused Ralph III de Tosny and Walter Giffard II to support William Rufus despite their primarily Norman interests. While there were rebellions in England and Normandy they were short lived and aggressively suppressed. This included case of Roger fitz Richard's refusal to surrender the castle of Brionne to Curthose, which resulted in the duke carrying out a three day siege and seizing the castle by force.

A desire for a strong centralised authority may have been the motivation for individuals such as Walter Giffard II to align himself with Rufus against Curthose and to oppose the coronation of Henry I after a his lifelong loyalty to the Conqueror. Despite this the aristocracy were not powerless against their overlords, as the Clares in particular were able to use the threat of rebellion as a political tool to secure rewards from William Rufus and were even able to coerce Henry I at his own court. These examples demonstrate

¹⁸³ Mason, *William II: Rufus, the Red King* (Stroud, 2005); Green, *Henry I: King of England and Duke of Normandy* (Cambridge, 2006); Aird, *Robert Curthose, Duke of Normandy* (Woodbridge, 2008).

¹⁸⁴ Green, 'Robert Curthose Reassessed', *ANS*, 22 (1999), 95-116; Lack, 'Robert Curthose: Ineffectual Duke or Victim of Spin', *HSJ*, 20 (2009), 110-41.

¹⁸⁵ Hudson, 'Anglo-Norman Land Law and the Origins of Property', in *Law and Government in Medieval England and Normandy: Essays in Honour of Sir James Holt*, ed. G. Garnett & J. Hudson (Cambridge, 1994), 198-222; Garnett, *Conquered England*, 45-135; Bisson, *The Crisis of the Twelfth Century*, 168-81, 269-78, 378-97.

that the vertical bond of relationship was not an entirely one sided relationship. At such time the aristocracy could and did expect rewards to encourage or secure their loyalty, backed by the ability to enforce their acceptance. The development of the Welsh march and the expansion into Wales show that this could be land that had to be conquered, or as in the case of the county of Évreux won by force on the justification of rightful inheritance. These competing elements in the vertical relationship between the aristocracy and their overlords became more apparent after 1135.

The cadet branches of all three kin-groups relied on their overlords to establish themselves through rewards for their services, such as land or marriage to an heiress. As the cadet branches including the Staffords, Robert fitz Walter, Walter fitz Richard and Osbern Giffard had primarily local interests concentrated in either England or Normandy, they appear to have remained loyal to the overlord from whom they held their estates, generally the king. In the case of Robert Giffard, however, he was a loyal vassal and ally to Robert Curthose in Maine, Normandy and the Holy Land.

Despite the problems of multiple lords and divided territories the Clares, Giffards and Tosnys continued to develop their kin-based and lordship-based networks and these internal or localised factors often directed their involvement in the disputes between the Conqueror's sons. Gilbert fitz Richard's support of Curthose was probably due to the pre-existing ties between the new duke and Gilbert's brother Roger fitz Richard. Similarly, the close ties that linked the Tosnys to their extended kin-group and neighbourhood network, impacted on their relationship with their overlords, particularly when the kin-group experienced its own succession disputes and the problems of external interference into their concerns. Neighbours in the duchy were not necessarily neighbours in England and this meant that old alliances and arrangements had to adapt, often violently.

Chapter 1: Section 3

The Aristocracy in King Stephen's Reign & its Aftermath

The Clares

The conflict that dominated King Stephen's reign has produced a wide-ranging and detailed historiographical discussion on the role of the aristocracy in the conflict. While much of the debate has focussed on the perceived strengths and weaknesses of the king, the Empress and the future Henry II, there has been a great deal written about the actions of the aristocracy and their relationship with the royal competitors.¹⁸⁶

In 1135 there were seven significant adult male members of the Clare kin-group; Baldwin fitz Gilbert I's son Richard fitz Baldwin, Richard fitz Gilbert I's sons Walter fitz Richard and Robert fitz Richard, and Gilbert fitz Richard I's sons Richard fitz Gilbert II, Gilbert fitz Gilbert, Walter fitz Gilbert and Baldwin fitz Gilbert B. Despite their prominence, no Clare is mentioned as being involved with the succession debate in Normandy or as being involved in Stephen of Blois' coronation.¹⁸⁷ However, Robert and Walter fitz Richard, and Baldwin fitz Gilbert B were present at Stephen's court shortly after his coronation. Robert appears as a royal steward by Easter 1136, and Gilbert fitz Gilbert witnessed royal acts relating to his nephew and ward Gilbert de Montfichet in the same year.¹⁸⁸

In that same year 1136 Richard fitz Gilbert II demanded support from Stephen to secure his Welsh possessions before he would swear fealty to the

¹⁸⁶ The development of this debate can be seen in the Introduction, fns. 112-16.

¹⁸⁷ *OV*, vi, 448-50, 454; 516-18; *RT*, 128-9; *GS*, 5-8; *Historia Novella*, 14-15; *Gervase of Canterbury*, i, 94.

¹⁸⁸ Robert fitz Richard: *RRAN*, iii, nos 39-40, 46, 50, 99, 166, 284, 287-88, 386-89; *Westminster Abbey Charters*, nos 107-8; as part of the royal household, Robert accompanied Stephen on his campaign against David I, king of Scots in the spring of 1136, *HH*, 706; Richard of Hexham, *De Gestis Regis Stephani et de Bello Standardii*, in *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I*, ed. R. Howlett, 4 vols., iii, RS 82 (1884-89), 146. Gilbert fitz Gilbert's first appearances: *RRAN*, iii, nos 40-42; Walter fitz Richard and Baldwin fitz Gilbert B at the Easter court: *RRAN*, iii, no. 387.

new king.¹⁸⁹ When he was refused Richard returned to Ceredigion intending to rebel against the king, but was killed by Welsh rebels. His attempts to demand favours from the king are similar to the actions of his father, Gilbert fitz Richard I in the early years of Henry I's reign. While Richard's requirements before he swore fealty had not been met, the fact that he believed he could make his wishes known and coerce the king into granting them also shows the challenging tie between aristocracy and overlord.¹⁹⁰ Baldwin fitz Gilbert B was sent to Wales by the king to enforce order and to secure his late brother's possessions in South Wales. His failure to do so meant that his nephew Gilbert fitz Richard II inherited a reduced patrimony, and these losses may have led to Stephen granting Gilbert the title of earl of Hertford to ensure the loyalty of the principal branch of the Clares.¹⁹¹ The Clares' involvement in Wales shaped their participation in the early years of King Stephen's reign, while all save Richard fitz Gilbert II remained loyal, they were more concerned with local matters.

Richard fitz Gilbert II's murder was not the only death in the kin-group, many of the older members died over the next two years. Richard fitz Baldwin and Robert fitz Richard both died in 1137, and Walter fitz Richard died in 1138. This meant that before the civil war began, the principal line of the Clares in East Anglia, the fitz Walter cadet branch at Little Dunmow and the lordship of Striguil had all passed to younger men who received their lands from King Stephen. Walter fitz Robert had become a royal steward after the death of his father Robert fitz Richard in 1137, and appears to have remained loyal to Stephen throughout the conflict, although there are only a few charter references on which to base this.¹⁹²

Gilbert fitz Gilbert received the English and Norman properties of his paternal uncles, Roger and Walter fitz Richard, both of whom had died without heirs

¹⁸⁹ *Brut, Hergest*, 113-4; *Brut, Peniarth*, 51; *Annales Cambriae*, 40; *JW*, iii, xliii, 220; *GS*, 10-11, 16-18.

¹⁹⁰ *GS*, 11.

¹⁹¹ *GS*, 18-20; Crouch, 'The March & the Welsh Kings', 260.

¹⁹² *RRAN*, iii, nos 102 (1136-54); 239c (1135-54); 814 (1147-53).

by c.1135.¹⁹³ In 1136 both Gilbert fitz Gilbert and his younger brother, Walter fitz Gilbert took part in the defence of the duchy against Geoffrey of Anjou. Gilbert was involved in the siege of Exmes on the southern border of Normandy, where William Talvas defeated the king's supporters.¹⁹⁴ After his return to England Gilbert also received the wardship of his nephew Gilbert of Montfichet and he was made earl of Pembroke and granted custody of the royal castle of Pevensey, c.1140.¹⁹⁵ The grant of the earldom of Pembroke was probably due to his connections to the Beaumonts through his wife and the support he had given Stephen in Normandy.¹⁹⁶ In five years, Gilbert fitz Gilbert had gone from a landless knight dependent on his overlord and his kin, to an earl and one of the key figures of Stephen's reign.¹⁹⁷ He held no lands in Pembroke when given the title however, it gave him permission to regain the lands his extended kin-group had held across South Wales. His brother Walter fitz Gilbert, appears to have acted as his lieutenant in Normandy and South Wales.¹⁹⁸

The Clares' military responsibilities are also apparent at the Battle of Lincoln in 1141. Both Gilbert fitz Gilbert and Baldwin fitz Gilbert B, are mentioned in contemporary accounts of the battle. According to Henry of Huntingdon, Baldwin was called on as a member of the king's household to make the inspirational pre-battle speech to the royal army.¹⁹⁹ Once the battle began Gilbert fitz Gilbert, like many others, fled the field, however, Baldwin fitz Gilbert B remained with the king and was eventually captured by Ranulf II,

¹⁹³ *GND*, ii, 270-1. Gilbert inherited Orbec, Bienfaite and the lordship of Striguil.

¹⁹⁴ *GND*, ii, 250.

¹⁹⁵ *OV*, vi, 520; *RRAN*, iii, nos 40-42, 275-6, 634; *Sancti Petri*, ii, 165-174; *Rotuli de dominabus*, 85; *Widows, Heirs and Heiresses*, no. 219; R. H. C. Davis, *King Stephen: 1135-1154* (London, 1967), 136-9.

¹⁹⁶ *OV*, vi, 464.

¹⁹⁷ *GS*, 203; *GND*, ii, 250; *OV*, vi, 520; *RRAN*, iii, nos 275-6, 634; Ward, 'Royal Service and Reward', 274-5; Crouch, 'The March & the Welsh Kings', 275n; idem, *Reign of King Stephen*, 130.

¹⁹⁸ Crouch, 'The March & the Welsh Kings', 280-1.

¹⁹⁹ *HH*, 724-38; *OV*, vi, 542-4; *GS*, 110-14; *Historia Novella*, 47-9; *Liber Eliensis*; 320-1; *Gervase of Canterbury*, i, 115-6.

earl of Chester.²⁰⁰ Gilbert then joined the Empress, and in July 1141 he attested Matilda's charter recording the grant of the earldom of Essex to Geoffrey II de Mandeville, husband of Gilbert's niece Rohese V, and Gilbert's own cousin.²⁰¹ By Christmas 1141, Gilbert had returned to the king's party and witnessed Stephen's confirmation of Geoffrey as earl of Essex, as did Baldwin fitz Gilbert B, and Gilbert fitz Richard II, earl of Hertford in his first appearance in surviving royal charters.²⁰² July 1141 was Gilbert fitz Gilbert's only occurrence in Matilda's charters, and his decision to join the Empress was clearly intended to prevent the loss of his lands and status when she was crowned.

During the 1140s both Gilbert fitz Gilbert and his nephew, Gilbert fitz Richard II established themselves within Stephen's court, but they also almost lost their new status and titles because of the incompatibility of the claims of kinship and lordship. In 1143 Gilbert fitz Gilbert and Aubrey de Vere III were amongst those sent to suppress Geoffrey de Mandeville's revolt, where instead they briefly joined the rebels.²⁰³ Gilbert's standing seems not to have been damaged by his short lived revolt, and after the surrender of Normandy to Geoffrey of Anjou, he was granted custody of the English lands of his cousin, Walter Giffard III.²⁰⁴ His rebellion, reward and re-admittance to the royal court echoed the experience of Gilbert fitz Richard I in 1088, and Walter Giffard II in 1101.²⁰⁵ Gilbert turned his attention to attempting to secure his

²⁰⁰ *GS*, 112-4; *OV*, vi, 342.

²⁰¹ *RRAN*, iii, no. 275. The dating of this charter has been disputed, however the principal point of evidence in favour of 1141 over 1142 directly relates to the presence of Gilbert fitz Gilbert. Since he had rejoined Stephen's court by Christmas 1141, he would not have attested a grant issued by the Empress six months later. This position is stated and defended by Davis, 'Geoffrey de Mandeville reconsidered', *EHR*, 79 (1964), 299-307; idem, 'The Treason of Geoffrey de Mandeville: a comment', *EHR*, 103 (1988) 313-7; idem, 'Geoffrey de Mandeville: a final comment', 967-968; idem, 'Last Words on Geoffrey de Mandeville: debate', *EHR*, 105 (1990), 671-672; Chibnall, *The Empress*, 108-11; Crouch, *King Stephen*, 182. The counterarguments can be found in Prestwich, 'The Treason of Geoffrey de Mandeville', 283-312, however the dating of the charter to 1141 is accepted in this thesis as it fits with what is known of Gilbert fitz Gilbert's behaviour.

²⁰² *RRAN*, iii, no. 276.

²⁰³ *GS*, 162-66; *Liber Eliensis*, 319-22; *Fairweather*, *Ely*, 403-6.

²⁰⁴ *Norfolk Portion of the Chartulary of the Priory of St Pancras of Lewes*, no. 17; *Reading Abbey Cartularies*, i, nos 209-10.

²⁰⁵ *RRAN*, iii, no. 42; *Knights of St John*, nos 4-5.

Welsh and marcher lands.²⁰⁶ He succeeded in recapturing and rebuilding Carmarthen castle and established his lordship in the region, assisted by his ties to other marcher lords before he returned to Stephen's court in 1146.²⁰⁷

In 1145, Gilbert fitz Richard II's maternal uncle Ranulf II earl of Chester was arrested by Stephen and imprisoned at Stamford.²⁰⁸ Gilbert acted as guarantor for his uncle's release.²⁰⁹ Ranulf immediately rebelled and Gilbert fitz Richard II was imprisoned until he had surrendered his castles. Stephen's decision to enforce the guarantee when it did not harm the actual rebel and instead damaged a magnate who had been consistently loyal to him proved to be a mistake and when he was released Gilbert fitz Richard II joined Ranulf II in rebellion.²¹⁰

In 1146 Gilbert fitz Gilbert, Gilbert fitz Richard II's paternal uncle and Ranulf II of Chester's brother-in-law, approached King Stephen and claimed his nephew's castles which were still held by the king by '*iure hereditario*'.²¹¹ Stephen refused and Gilbert fitz Gilbert joined his kinsmen in rebellion. According to the *Gesta Stephani*, King Stephen declared:

'It is wrong that the man to whom I have granted such great and varied wealth, whom I took when he was a poor knight and raised in honour to the dignity of an earldom... [is] aiding the cause of my enemies against me.'²¹²

²⁰⁶ *Worcester Cathedral Priory*, nos 252-55. Worcester was held by Waleran de Meulan, who continued to support the Empress after 1141, but was also Gilbert's brother-in-law. *Brut*, *Hergest*, 121; *Brut*, *Peniarth*, 54; Barbier, *Age of Owain Gwynedd*, 35-6.

²⁰⁷ Davies, 'Colonial Wales', 3-23; idem, 'Kings, Lords and Liberties in the March of Wales', 41-61; idem, 'Henry I and Wales', 132-147; idem, *Conquest, Coexistence and Change*; Rowlands, 'The Making of the March', 142-57, 221-5; Crouch, 'The March & the Welsh Kings', 280-1.

²⁰⁸ *GS*, 196.

²⁰⁹ *GS*, 200; Crouch, *Reign of King Stephen*, 129; D. Matthew, *King Stephen* (London, 2002), 125-6.

²¹⁰ *GS*, 200.

²¹¹ *Ibid*, 200; *Diceto*, i, 255-6.

²¹² *GS*, 202.

Stephen captured several of Gilbert's castles, and the royal castle of Pevensey which he had held for the king. Pevensey was never restored to the Clares, but their other properties were restored on reconciliation with the king c.1147.²¹³ The realisation that they could not win back their lands and titles by force was most likely behind this reconciliation. When Gilbert fitz Gilbert died in 1148, his young son and heir Richard fitz Gilbert IIIb received the lands and title of the earl of Pembroke.²¹⁴ Between 1147 and his death in 1152, Gilbert fitz Richard II was not regularly in attendance on the royal court, and occurs most often in the cartulary for Stoke-by-Clare priory.²¹⁵ Gilbert had never married and was succeeded by his younger brother Roger, only a year before the end of the civil war.²¹⁶ This series of events demonstrates that Stephen was still capable of asserting royal authority over the aristocracy that looked to him, and also demonstrate the flaw in kin-based bonds, as the Clare earls nearly lost their lands through the behaviour of Ranulf II.

Roger fitz Richard II and Richard fitz Gilbert IIIb, respectively the new earls of Hertford and Pembroke were faced with a different situation from their predecessors. While Stephen was apparently secure in England, Henry had inherited Normandy and Anjou from his father and acquired Aquitaine through his marriage to Eleanor, former wife of Louis VII of France.²¹⁷ Both the new earls were amongst the witnesses to the Treaty of Westminster, which formalised the end of the civil war in 1152.²¹⁸ Their involvement in the resolution to the civil war suggests that the Clares were amongst the

²¹³ *RRAN*, iii, nos 42, 169-70; both used their titles in their own acts, *Book of Seals*: no. 84: 'Comes Gillebertus de Clara' and 'comes Gillebertus de Penbr' respectively granted and witnessed a confirmation of the sale of the manor of Langham for their kinsman Hugh Tirel to fund his departure on the Second Crusade. They also began to support the Hospitallers at this time: *Knights of St John*, nos 4-6, 286.

²¹⁴ *RRAN*, iii, no. 272; Delisle, *Henri II*, no. 56, 64; *Brut*, *Hergest*, 126; *Brut*, *Peniarth*, 56; Flanagan, 'Strongbow, Henry II and Anglo-Norman Intervention in Ireland' 63-5; Vincent, 'Did Henry II Have A Policy Towards the Earls?', 9.

²¹⁵ *RRAN*, iii, nos 42, 169-70; *SbC*, nos 9, 24, 34, 71, 136-7, 376.

²¹⁶ *Ibid*, nos 81, 118, 201, 272, 823, 864-5.

²¹⁷ *GS*, 226-7.

²¹⁸ *RRAN*, iii, 272; Delisle, *Henri II*, no. 56; *GS*, 240.

magnates who refused to fight at Wallingford, forcing their overlords into the truce and subsequent peace treaty.²¹⁹

Gilbert fitz Gilbert's close bond to King Stephen had consequences for Richard fitz Gilbert IIIb as his title of earl of Pembroke is never used in royal charters under Henry II.²²⁰ He does not appear to have been a regular member of the royal court and the Norman properties of Orbec and Bienfaite remained in the hands of his maternal cousin Robert de Montfort.²²¹ By 1167, however, Richard had accompanied the king's daughter Matilda to her marriage to the duke of Saxony, just as his great-uncle Roger fitz Richard had escorted the king's mother to her marriage to the Holy Roman Emperor.²²² In 1168 Diarmait Mac Murchada, king of Leinster arrived at Henry II's court appealing for assistance in reclaiming Leinster, Richard fitz Gilbert IIIb agreed to help, and through his marriage to Diarmait's daughter he succeeded to Leinster in 1171.²²³

Richard's achievements in Ireland caused Henry II to seize his English and Welsh lands in 1171 while they negotiated, initially through third persons, including Hervey de Montmorency.²²⁴ Richard had to surrender Dublin and other parts of his new acquisitions, however he was restored to his English and Welsh lands, his comital title was recognised for Striguil and he still held considerable properties in Ireland.²²⁵ During the rebellion of the young king in 1174, Richard was required to attend Henry II's court, as his loyalty was

²¹⁹ *GS*, 238-40.

²²⁰ Flanagan, 'Strongbow, Henry II and Anglo-Norman Intervention in Ireland', 63-5; Vincent, 'Did Henry II Have A Policy Towards the Earls?', 9.

²²¹ *Book of Seals*, no. 40: *Rogero comite de Clar', Ricardo filio Gisleberti, Waltero filio Roberti* three branches of the Clare kin-group, Richard occurs under a patronymic rather than comital title, unlike his cousin Roger of Clare; *Launceston Priory*, nos 96, 281; *Chartulary of Lewes Priory*, no. 13.

²²² *RT*, 224; *Diceto*, i, 330; for Roger fitz Richard's escort of the Empress, see above fn. 97.

²²³ *GND*, ii, 270; *Expugnatio*, 29, 159-61; *Gervase of Canterbury*, i, 234-5; ii, 79; *Brut, Hergest*, 151; *Brut, Peniarth*, 65; *Annales Cambriae*, 51-4.

²²⁴ *Brut, Hergest*, 157; *Brut, Peniarth*, 68.

²²⁵ *RT*, 252; *Expugnatio*, 120-21; William of Newburgh, *Historia rerum Anglicarum*, ed. R. Howlett, RS 82 (1884), 167-8.

suspect, although he did not take part in the rebellion.²²⁶ By his death in 1176, Richard had secured lands in England, Wales and Ireland for his young son Gilbert, and the relationship between king and earl was once more a mutually beneficial bond.²²⁷

Roger fitz Richard II's comital title seems to have been acknowledged immediately after Henry II's coronation, although he occurs more often as Earl Roger of Clare than earl of Hertford.²²⁸ He appears to have concentrated on recovering the lordship of Ceredigion in Wales from Rhys ap Gruffudd of Deheubarth, and was amongst Henry II's forces in his Welsh expedition in 1157, briefly retaking Richard fitz Gilbert I's castle of Cardigan.²²⁹ In the 1163-5 Welsh uprising, he was driven out of Ceredigion again and began to spend more time on his English estates.²³⁰ Throughout Henry II's reign, Roger occasionally attended the new king's court on both sides of the Channel, but he does not attest royal charters as frequently as his predecessors.²³¹ In 1170 he was, nevertheless, appointed as a commissioner for the inquest of sheriffs.²³² To a limited extent, his relationship with Henry II reflects that of his grandfather with Henry I and his great-grandfather with William the Conqueror, but with smaller rewards and less evidence of mutual trust. However, Roger did receive royal support against Thomas Becket, archbishop of Canterbury's attempt to claim lordship over Tonbridge.²³³ Roger fitz Richard II's death in 1173 meant that his response to the young

²²⁶ *Expugnatio*, 121, 135-7.

²²⁷ *Expugnatio*, 165-7; *Annales Cambriae*, 54-5.

²²⁸ *RBE*, i, 365, 403-407: *Honoris de Clare*: Cambridge, 2 knights' fees; Suffolk and Surrey, 152 knights' fees; *Book of Seals*, no. 40: *Rogero comite de Clar*'.

²²⁹ *Brut*, *Hergest*, 139; *Brut*, *Peniarth*, 60; Butler, *Chronicle of Jocelin of Brakelond*, 69; Greenway, *Jocelin of Brakelond*, *Chronicle*, 62.

²³⁰ *Ibid*, 198; *Annales Cambriae*, 48.

²³¹ Vincent, 'The Court of Henry II', 278-334; *idem*, 'Did Henry II Have a Policy Towards the Earls?', 14, prior to his death, Roger witnessed 10 charters in England and 7 in Normandy, while Richard fitz Gilbert III only witnessed four charters in England and a further 2 in Ireland.

²³² *Gervase of Canterbury*, i, 216.

²³³ "Vita Sancti Thomae, Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi et Martyris, Auctore Willelmo Filio Stephani", ed. James Craigie Robertson, *Materials for the Study of Thomas Becket: Archbishop of Canterbury*, 7vols. (London, 1875-85), iii, 42-3.

king's rebellion cannot be ascertained.²³⁴ His son and heir Richard fitz Roger, however, was believed to support his cousin once removed, Gilbert de Montfichet, who joined the young king.²³⁵ This led to the earl of Clare being under suspicion at the beginning of Henry II's campaign in England, however he had joined the king by July-August 1174.²³⁶ There is no indication that Richard fitz Roger's involvement caused Henry II to demand reprisals after he had successfully suppressed the rebellion.²³⁷

The Giffards

Walter Giffard III accepted Stephen's coronation but only appears in one surviving royal charter from 1136.²³⁸ No evidence survives of his having visited England between 1136 and 1154. His absence from chronicle accounts of the civil war, particularly in Normandy, is unusual for a magnate of his status. There is no extant evidence of Walter III's actions in the duchy between 1136 and 1142 when he attested to a grant made by Waleran de Meulan to Le Bec.²³⁹ His English lands from c.1142 appear to have been in the care of his cousin, Gilbert fitz Gilbert, earl of Pembroke, and were restored to him by Henry II.²⁴⁰ A desire to protect what he held, if not to expand it, would normally bring those of comital rank with lands on both sides of the Channel to court, if not actively into the conflict, however Walter III appears to have been an exception to this pattern.

²³⁴ *Diceto*, i, 385.

²³⁵ *Jordan Fantome's Chronicle*, 121, no. 173.

²³⁶ *Diceto*, i, 385.

²³⁷ *PR 20 HII*: 36, 41, 63, 67; *PR 21 HII*: 14, 71, 108, 113, 139; *PR 22 HII*: 1, 30, 47, 60, 63, 70, 215.

²³⁸ *RRAN*, iii, no. 284 – Davis believed it to be a fake for several reasons including the appearance of '*Walter(us) comes de Bukingeha(m)*', instead of 'Earl Giffard' or 'of Longueville' which he felt were Walter III's authentic titles Walter III. Since Walter III did appear as earl of Buckingham relatively frequently, this is not a convincing flaw in the text, however the other reasons still make the authenticity of this charter dubious.

²³⁹ *OV*, vi, 550.

²⁴⁰ *PR 2-3-4 HII*: 124, 126, 140, 150; *Norfolk Portion of the Chartulary of the Priory of St Pancras of Lewes*, no. 17; *Reading Abbey Cartularies*, i, 209-10.

After Geoffrey of Anjou's successful conquest of Normandy, Walter appears in four ducal charters. The first from 1144-50, involves Walter's annual gift of a hawk to the abbey of Saint-Ouen in Rouen for the soul of William fitz Osbern de Cailly, and was confirmed by Geoffrey in his role as duke of Normandy.²⁴¹ Second in 1151-3, Walter III witnessed Duke Henry's general confirmation to Mortemer abbey, and made an additional grant of 80 acres to the abbey himself.²⁴² He also witnessed a second grant issued by Duke Henry during the same period, possibly even on the same occasion, where Walter attested to the grant immediately after the Empress, which implies that his status remained high and that the new duke favoured Walter III even as his father and grandfather had been.²⁴³ Several of the witnesses to both these grants had ties to Walter III – Osbert de Cailly was related to the beneficiary of Walter's own grant to Saint-Ouen, while Hervey de Nouville was related to Walter's butler Robert de Nouville, and William de Tancarville, chamberlain of Normandy, a distant kinsman to Walter III himself. In the third charter for the 1152 foundation of Le Valasse abbey by the Empress and Henry II, Walter Giffard III, and Waleran IV de Meulan are the only other named benefactors, and both magnates also attested.²⁴⁴ This evidence indicates that Walter III was a respected member of the royal court, but was not amongst the close advisors to the new king. The first two grants also provide evidence of members of Walter's own household accompanying their lord to the king-duke's court. When Walter III died without an heir in 1164, his lands returned to the royal demesne.²⁴⁵

The cadet branches of the Giffards in southwest England did not hold extensive lands in Normandy, but their lands in England were on the internal

²⁴¹ ADSM 14 H 917, no. 3; *RRAN*, iii, no. 734.

²⁴² *CDF*, no. 1406; *RRAN*, iii, no. 600; Delisle, *Henri II*, no. 36.

²⁴³ *RRAN*, iii, no. 653; *EYC*, vi, no. 19.

²⁴⁴ *Ibid*, no. 909: Walter's gift was an annual pound of salt, '*unum pondus salis apud Luram singulis annis*'.

²⁴⁵ *RBE*, i, 312-3; ii, *Infeudationes Militum*, 633, 646; *Rotuli de Dominabus*, 31, 34, 38, 41-2, 51-3, 55-7, 85; *Widows, Heirs and Heiresses*, 76-7.

frontier of the civil war.²⁴⁶ Elias II's lands and connections with Miles of Gloucester brought him to the attention of Robert of Gloucester, the Empress, and eventually Duke Henry.²⁴⁷ Both Miles of Gloucester and Elias II occur in a badly damaged charter confirming the shrievalty of Gloucester and custody of the castle to an unknown 'of Gloucester', Elias II is of one only two identifiable witnesses, and occurs last.²⁴⁸ Elias Giffard II and Miles of Gloucester favoured Matilda and were amongst those Brian fitz Count named as witnesses to Henry, bishop of Winchester's vacillations between the empress and the king.²⁴⁹ Thereafter he occurs in charters issued by the Empress Matilda and Duke Henry in England throughout the civil war.²⁵⁰

Elias III had succeeded his father by 1166, when he still owed £100 for his father's lands.²⁵¹ He is less prominent than his father because the civil war had ended, while Elias II was distinguished because of the geographical limitations of the Angevin court and his relationship to Miles of Gloucester, Elias III was less noteworthy within Henry II's court. In 1166, Elias Giffard III still held two knights' fees from Walter Giffard III, indicating that this line of the Giffards still had some ties to their kinsmen in the vertical form of lordship.²⁵² The experiences of Giffards of Fonthill during the civil war are unknown; they next appeared in the 1166 inquest.²⁵³

²⁴⁶ The Angevin territory included Cornwall, Devon, Somerset, Dorset, Wiltshire, Gloucester, Hereford and Berkshire. At certain points in the war it extended to include the counties of Worcestershire, Oxfordshire and Hampshire. See Crouch, *The Reign of King Stephen*, 110-19. 354.

²⁴⁷ *JW*, iii, 270; Davis, 'Treaty Between William Earl of Gloucester & Roger Earl of Hereford', text of the agreement found 144-5, and the early agreement between their respective fathers, Robert, Earl of Gloucester and Miles of Gloucester is found, 145-6; 'Charters of the Earldom of Hereford', no. 17; Crouch, 'A Norman 'conventio' and bonds of lordship', 299-324.

²⁴⁸ *RRAN*, iii, no. 388.

²⁴⁹ Davis, 'Henry of Blois and Brian Fitz-Count', 300; Elias Giffard II was amongst those Brian fitz Count named as witnesses to Henry, bishop of Winchester's vacillating loyalties.

²⁵⁰ *RRAN*, iii, nos 343, 393, 795, 850-51, 902; Delisle, *Henri II*, no. 65; *Sarum Charters*, nos 15, 17.

²⁵¹ *RBE*, i, 239-241; 'Charters of the Earldom of Hereford', no. 17.

²⁵² *RBE*, i, 240-1, 300, 312; *EEA*, 18: *Salisbury*, no. 83.

²⁵³ *RBE*, i, 206, one knights' fee; 213-4, one hide and six parts in Dorset; 239, one knight's fee shared with Walter de Calestone in Wiltshire; 247 one knights' fee in Wiltshire; Cambridge, six parts of a knights' fee; ii, 770.

Another line of the Giffards accompanied Ada de Warenne to Scotland at the time of her marriage in 1139 in the persons of Hugh Giffard of Yester and William Giffard, a cleric. The Giffards of Longueville and the de Warennes had been neighbours in Normandy in the Pays de Caux, and the lands in the southwest of England held by the cadet branches of the Giffards, included estates held from the de Warenne kin-group.²⁵⁴ Hugh Giffard's status was improved by his marriage to Herbert the Chamberlain's daughter, and her dowry of the land of Borrowstoun.²⁵⁵ Malcolm IV, king of Scots granted Hugh Giffard the lordship of Yester between 1153 and 1165, further establishing the Giffards as members of the Scottish aristocracy.²⁵⁶ Since there is no evidence that Hugh Giffard had any land in England, as the cadet branch of a cadet branch, these efforts to improve his situation and establish a tenurial base are expected behaviour. Hugh had established himself sufficiently as a member of the Scottish aristocracy by 1174 to be one of the hostages offered to secure the freedom of William the Lion after he was captured in England.²⁵⁷

The Tosnys

In 1135, Roger III was suspected of treasonous behaviour against Henry I, and was summoned to court to prove his innocence, but the king's death meant Roger did not have to prove his loyalty upon his arrival.²⁵⁸ King Stephen's close relationship with the Beaumonts ensured that Roger III openly supported the Empress and Geoffrey of Anjou when they launched their first sortie into Normandy. In 1136 he seized and the ducal castle of

²⁵⁴ *Launceston Priory*, nos 428-432.

²⁵⁵ *Yester Writs*, no. 1.

²⁵⁶ *Acts of Malcolm IV*, no. 303.

²⁵⁷ *Annals of Roger de Hoveden, a.d. 732 to a.d. 1180*, 2 vols, ed. H. T. Riley (London, 1853), i, 400: '...the king's brother David as a hostage, as also earl Dunecan, earl Waltheof, earl Gilbert, the earl of Angus, Richard de Morville, his constable, Nes Fitzwilliam, Richard Cumin, Walter Corbet, Walter Olifard, John de Vals, William de Lindesey, Philip de Colville, Philip de Baluines, Robert Frenbert, Robert de Burneville, Hugh Giffard, Hugh Riddel, Walter de Berkeley, William de la Haie and William de Mortimer...'.
²⁵⁸ *OV*, vi, 444-6.

Vaudreuil for the Angevins.²⁵⁹ While the impact of Geoffrey of Anjou's initial attacks was sporadic, the conflict continued amongst the Norman aristocracy. The Beaumonts and Theobald of Blois acted as Stephen's lieutenants, while Roger III sought to disrupt their control of the duchy.

In 1138, Roger III and the Beaumonts came to an agreement and he accompanied them to the royal court in England and made his peace with King Stephen.²⁶⁰ He also attended Stephen's Christmas court at Salisbury in December 1139.²⁶¹ Roger III de Tosny returned to Normandy sometime in 1140, and cannot thereafter be found in the surviving charters of either King Stephen or Geoffrey of Anjou.²⁶² In 1150-1, he attested Duke Henry's charter of liberties for the city of Rouen.²⁶³ His son Ralph V also began to appear in the duke's charters from 1153-4.²⁶⁴ Roger III and his son and heir both died by 1162, and Ralph V in 1162, since the last mentioned had only married c.1155, his son Roger IV de Tosny was a minor when he inherited in 1162.²⁶⁵ It was not until the reign of Richard I that Roger IV began participating in politics in his own right.²⁶⁶

The Tosny cadet branch, by then known as the Staffords, was primarily concerned with local matters throughout the civil war. Little evidence exists of the relationship between Nicholas I of Stafford (d. 1138) or his heir Robert II and their overlords. The surviving evidence indicates that they were both

²⁵⁹ Ibid, 444-8.

²⁶⁰ *OV*, vi, 524.

²⁶¹ *Sarum Charters*, no. 12; *RRAN*, iii, nos 640, 787-88, all issued in the winter of 1139, with Waleran de Meulan.

²⁶² ADE H262, fos 2v, 229-230v; *Conches*, nos 5, 410; he was still involved in matters in England in 1144: *Letters and Charters of Gilbert Foliot*, no. 284, Gilbert Foliot contributed the manor of Glasbury held under Roger de Tosny to the agreement the abbot had with Walter son of Richard fitz Pons.

²⁶³ *CDF*, no. 109; Delisle, *Henri II*, no. 14 (1150-1); *RRAN*, iii, no. 729.

²⁶⁴ Delisle, *Henri II*, nos 70-1, 133, 423- confirmation of rights and privileges of Conches abbey, 433.

²⁶⁵ *Beauchamp Cartulary Charters, 1100-1268*, ed. E. Mason, Pipe Roll Society, ns, 63 (London, 1980), nos 360, 367, 370, 373.

²⁶⁶ *Rotuli de Dominabus*, 77; *Widows, Heirs and Heiresses*, no. 194.

loyal to King Stephen, but they appear to have been focussed entirely on local concerns and attended no royal court.²⁶⁷ Robert II's behaviour seems to have been that of a loyal local official and leading landowner endeavouring to maintain order in Staffordshire. His principal associations were with Roger de Clinton, bishop of Coventry and Ranulf II, earl of Chester.²⁶⁸ He worked with the bishop against Ranulf II's attempts to expand his influence in Staffordshire.²⁶⁹ The appearance of Robert II in two surviving charters issued by Ranulf II has been interpreted as evidence of Robert II aligning himself with the earl of Chester.²⁷⁰ It seems more likely that Robert II was maintaining a relationship with the most powerful magnate in the region. His more numerous appearances in grants issued by Roger de Clinton, bishop of Coventry, were probably on a similar basis.²⁷¹

The need of both King Stephen and Duke Henry to appease the earl of Chester in 1146 and 1153 respectively placed Robert II at a disadvantage, as first the castle of Stafford, and then almost the whole of Staffordshire, including Robert II's lands, were promised to Ranulf II.²⁷² After Ranulf II died in 1154/5, however, while his son Hugh II was confirmed as earl of Chester he did not receive the lands promised to his father in 1153.²⁷³ Henry II confirmed Robert II of Stafford as sheriff of the county in 1155, and he retained the office until 1160.²⁷⁴ His heir, Robert III inherited his patrimony, but there is no indication that he ever held any official post during his brief adulthood.

²⁶⁷ *RRAN*, iii, nos 134 (1135-9), 964 (1137-9); Green, *English Sheriffs to 1154*, 75.

²⁶⁸ S. P. Marritt, *The Bishops of King Stephen's Reign*, Unpublished Thesis, University of Glasgow (2002), 119-120, 127-8.

²⁶⁹ Green, *Aristocracy of Norman England*, 312-16; Marritt, *The Bishops of King Stephen's Reign*, 117-9.

²⁷⁰ *Anglo-Norman Earls of Chester*, nos 62, 65.

²⁷¹ *Stone Cartulary*, no. 3; *Staffordshire Chartulary*, ii, nos 1-6, 11-12, 16.

²⁷² *RRAN*, iii, nos 178, 180; *Anglo-Norman Earls of Chester*, nos 62, 65, 176.

²⁷³ *RRAN*, iii, no. 180; Vincent, 'Did Henry II Have a Policy Towards the Earls?', 6 fn 20.

²⁷⁴ *RBE*, i, 263-8, ii, 651-2, 676, 701; Delisle, *Henri II*, no. 297 (after 1170); Green, *English Sheriffs to 1154*, 75.

By this date the identity of the family holding the lordship of Belvoir is no longer a 'Tosny' one, after Alice daughter of Robert of Tosny and her husband Roger Bigod inherited the lordship.²⁷⁵ Their daughter Cecilia and her husband William d'Albini *brito* succeeded to the lordship in c.1135, and the d'Albini family continued to hold Belvoir for the remainder of the twelfth century.²⁷⁶

Summary

The second half of the twelfth century saw dramatic changes in the circumstances of the Clare, Giffard and Tosny kin-groups. Some of those changes were due to the male line or the whole line dying out, but many of the changes were due to the events of King Stephen's reign. All of the principal lines of the kin-groups were still cross-Channel magnates and the division of Normandy from England therefore meant that they had to decide which lands and which loyalties were more important to them. The Tosnys in particular initially supported the Angevins because of their own, private dispute with the Beaumonts, King Stephen's favoured supporters. Walter Giffard II's decision to accept Geoffrey of Anjou was also due to his wish to protect his Norman patrimony over the English part of his possessions.

This influence of local or personal concerns amongst the aristocracy means that all three kin-groups can be seen as the disruptive and selfish barons of the nineteenth to mid-twentieth century historiography, most famously depicted by Round in his biography of Geoffrey de Mandeville.²⁷⁷ At the same time they can also be seen as fitting into the current historiographical views on the aristocracy during this conflict, where the aristocracy tried to combine loyalty to their overlord and maintaining the peace within their own territories.²⁷⁸ In the case of certain revisions, such as Davis, the aristocracy

²⁷⁵ Rutland, 109-10, 144; Wareham, 'Motives & Politics of the Bigod family', 223-42; C. Clark, 'The *Liber Vitae* of Thorney Abbey and its 'Catchment Area'', in *Words, Names and History*, ed. P. Jackson (Cambridge, 1995), 320-338.

²⁷⁶ Rutland, 100, 144, 157; *RRAN*, iii, no. 271; *Book of Seals*, no. 39.

²⁷⁷ Round, *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, *passim*.

²⁷⁸ Dalton, 'William Earl of York and Royal Authority in Yorkshire in the Reign of Stephen', 155-65; idem, 'In Neutro Latere: The Armed Neutrality of Ranulf II Earl of Chester in King Stephen's Reign', 39-59; Callahan, 'The Arrest of the Bishops at Stephen's Court: A

have been excused from being actively disruptive and instead the failure of King Stephen to provide a strong centralised authority is blamed for the 'anarchy'.²⁷⁹ The works of King, and Dalton in particular referenced above have reinterpreted the aristocracy's actions in a more positive light and following their approach combined with network analysis allows the behaviour of the Clares, Giffards and Tosnys to be examined as part of the socio-political whole rather than on the outside.

The Clares were the most involved of the three kin-groups in the conflict between King Stephen and the Empress Matilda, even younger sons such as Walter fitz Gilbert can be identified in the sources supporting the king in Normandy. Gilbert fitz Gilbert had gained great rewards through Stephen, and was even able to guard and protect the lands of several of his kinsmen during the conflict. Although Gilbert rebelled against King Stephen on two occasions in the 1140s, he did not turn to the Empress. His one true change in allegiance was in the immediate aftermath of the battle of Lincoln and the imprisonment of the king. There were several reasons for Gilbert's involvement in the civil war, including his ties of affinity to the Beaumonts and his own connection to King Stephen to whom he owed the majority of his lands and titles. While Walter Giffard III apparently remained on the sidelines of the conflict for most the Stephen's reign, the Giffards of Brimpsfield benefited from a sudden increase in status due to the restricted nature of the Angevin English court and his bond of affinity to Miles of Gloucester, a prominent member of the Empress' court.

After 1154, under Henry II the earls of Hertford and Pembroke had fewer options when it came to protecting themselves and the kin-group as Henry II neither needed their support nor did he trust them as Stephen had. It is clear from the recent work done on Henry II's charters and court by Nick Vincent that the new king was not inclined to forget about the previous loyalties of his magnates.²⁸⁰ Despite their association with the Angevins from

Reassessment', 97-108; Hollister, 'The Magnates of Stephen's Reign: Reluctant Anarchists', 77-87; White, 'The Myth of the Anarchy', 323-337.

²⁷⁹ Davis, *King Stephen: 1135-1154*, 24-35, 127-8.

²⁸⁰ Vincent, 'Did Henry II Have a Policy Towards the Earls?', 9.

the beginning of the civil war, the Tosnys potential gains under Henry II failed to materialise probably because of the long minority of Roger IV de Tosny. The failure of the principal Giffard line with the death of Walter Giffard III left his estates in the hands of the king for thirty-five years. However, the eventual distribution of the Giffard estates between the two branches of the Clare kin-group demonstrates both that they were aware of the kinship bond between them and that they had succeeded in re-establishing themselves at the royal court.

In the nineteen years of civil war and the reign of Henry II, where they dealt with the aftermath of the war, the strength and weakness of kin-based and lordship-based networks became apparent. While the Clares – primarily in the person of Gilbert fitz Gilbert - endeavoured to protect the extended kin-group by claiming custodial rights of the lands and persons of his kinsfolk, they did not receive the same consideration in return from Ranulf II of Chester. In the complex and fluid political situation that the Clares, Giffards and Tosnys found themselves after 1135 it was necessary for the people involved to know whom they could trust, and networks based on kinship and lordship became extremely valuable but were revealed as being vulnerable at the same time.

Chapter 2:

The Aristocracy as Overlords

The Clares

The main source for examining the relationship between the Clares and their tenants in England is the cartulary of Stoke-by-Clare Priory, through which Richard Mortimer has already examined the financial value of the tenancies and the knights' fees they owed in 1166.²⁸¹ However, the bonds linking the various tenant families to each other as well as to their overlord have not been examined. Amongst the Clare tenants named in Domesday Book there were several tenants who had accompanied Richard fitz Gilbert I from his Norman possessions to England between 1066 and 1087, and can be identified by the toponymics recorded in Domesday book and charters.²⁸² These include Roger de Orbec, Picot de Friardel, Roger d'Abernon, Walter de Caen, Robert de Watteville, Roger de St. German and Germund de Villare, as well as a Gilbert, who may have been Ralph de la Cressuniere's ancestor and was certainly his antecessor for the manor of Hawkedon.²⁸³

Their descendants generally inherited their fathers' possessions, but they were not necessarily amongst the wealthiest or most prominent tenants. Roger de Orbec was succeeded by his son Richard, and was probably the father of Hugo de Orbec who attested to the foundation charter for Launceston Priory in Devon.²⁸⁴ This connection with Devon, could indicate a link between the fitz Richard and fitz Baldwin branches of the Clare kin-group, as the descendants of Baldwin fitz Gilbert I had no direct ties to Orbec

²⁸¹ Mortimer, 'Beginnings of the Honour of Clare', 119-141, 220-221; idem, 'Land & Service', 177-197.

²⁸² Loyd, *Origins of Some Anglo-Norman Families*, 139.

²⁸³ Roger de Orbec: *DB*, ii, fos 393, 447v; Picot de Friardel: *DB*, i, fo. 35; *Feudal Documents of Bury St Edmunds*, no. 170; Walter de Caen, *DB*, ii, fo. 394v; Germund de Villare; *Chartes de L'Abbaye de Jumièges*, no. 32 (post-1080); Gilbert: *DB*, ii, fo. 390v, Hawkedon was held by Ralph I de la Cressuniere by 1124, possibly before 1117: *SbC*, nos 22, 37, 39, 71, 136-7. Roger d'Abernon: *DB*, i, 35; ii, 394v, 395v; For Robert de Watteville and Roger de St German, see below.

²⁸⁴ Richard de Orbec: Loyd, *Origins of Some Anglo-Norman Families*, 75; Hugo de Orbec: *Launceston Priory*, no. 5, *EEA, XI: Exeter, 1046-1184*, ed. F. Barlow (London, 1996), no. 17.

itself. There are no known descendants of Picot de Friardel or Walter de Caen, but Roger d'Abernon had at least three sons, his heir Ingelran, Jordan, and Walter, who were all recorded in a general charter that records multiple grants of varying size to the priory.²⁸⁵ A William d'Abernon also attested and was acknowledged as a kinsman, but not a brother, suggesting that he could be either an uncle or a cousin.²⁸⁶ Ingelran d'Abernon also witnessed gifts by Gilbert fitz Richard I to St Pancras priory in Lewes in c.1110, a religious house closer to Ingelran's own holdings.²⁸⁷ In 1160, Richard fitz Gilbert IIIb confirmed a gift to St Pancras by one of his own tenants, and Laurence and Jordan II d'Abernon attested to the charter.²⁸⁸ Finally, Germund de Villare had two sons, Ralph the priest and Swein, but by 1166 Swein's descendants did not hold from the Clares. The presence of these individuals and kin-groups in England demonstrates that the tenants could have equal interests in maintaining old and establishing new tenurial ties. Swein's name in particular indicates that Anglo-Saxon connections were already developing at that level.

Robert de Watteville was the wealthiest of the Clares' tenants, and held the estate of Hempsted in Essex.²⁸⁹ He and his descendants were not frequent benefactors of Stoke-by-Clare priory, but they did continue to make and witness gifts to the priory into the twelfth century.²⁹⁰ There is also evidence that members of the de Watteville kin-group later accompanied the Clares into the Welsh marches, when Robert II de Watteville and his wife Matilda attested to gifts to religious houses in the southwest of England.²⁹¹ The de

²⁸⁵ Ingelran: *SbC*, nos 23, 37, 70, 136-7; Walter and Jordan: no. 137.

²⁸⁶ William: *SbC*, no. 137, '*cognato eorum*'.

²⁸⁷ *Chartulary of Lewes Priory*, no. 49 – Gilbert fitz Richard II, grants the church of Tonbridge, 1140-52, not Gilbert fitz Richard I, c.1110 as Salzman stated; no. 50 – Gilbert fitz Richard I and his wife, c.1110.

²⁸⁸ *Chartulary of Lewes Priory*, no. 13.

²⁸⁹ *DB*, i, fos 30, 34v, 35, 35v; *DB*, ii, fo. 41v. Mortimer, 'Land and Service', 185. For the de Watteville genealogy see Appendix 2.

²⁹⁰ *RBE*, i, 405; *SbC*, nos 123, is a general confirmation, 176, includes Robert's brother Otuel de Watteville in the witness list, and 560, is a specific gift by Robert II de Watteville and his wife Matilda.

²⁹¹ *Sancti Petri*, ii, no. 597; *RRAN*, iii, no. 438; *Letters and Charters of Gilbert Foliot*, nos 302, 304; *EEA, VII: Hereford*, nos 18, 73.

Wattevilles remained tenants of the Clares, however, by the mid-twelfth century they were also connected to the Beaumonts, and also wealthy enough to establish themselves as lords in their own right.²⁹² In the mid-twelfth century Robert II de Watteville witnessed the foundation charter for Alcester priory issued by Robert II, earl of Leicester, while William II de Watteville witnessed a grant to St Wandrille of lands near Watteville itself for Waleran de Meulan.²⁹³ Robert II de Watteville and his wife Matilda also became benefactors of Chertsey Abbey in Surrey, and to other houses in Hampshire and Wiltshire.²⁹⁴ At the end of the twelfth century and into the thirteenth century the de Wattevilles, like the Clares themselves, began to patronise the Templars.²⁹⁵ These new ties demonstrate the breadth of their connections by this period.

A second de Watteville appears in Domesday Book, but as a tenant-in-chief. William II de Watteville held estates in Suffolk and may have been Robert's elder brother but this is impossible to verify.²⁹⁶ He was also a tenant of William de Warenne elsewhere, and had perhaps been a tenant of the Warennes in Normandy or of the Giffards, who were kin to both the Warennes and the Clares.²⁹⁷ Watteville's location in upper Normandy means that ties between those holding it and the most prominent magnates in the Pays de Caux region were likely.²⁹⁸ Robert I and William II de Watteville and their descendants, therefore owed their fealty to different lords on both sides of the Channel, but as their various lords were neighbours and shared ties of

²⁹² *EEA, 20: York, 1154-1181*, ed. M. Lovatt (Oxford, 2000), no. 37; *EEA, 24: Durham, 1153-1195*, ed. M. G. Snape (Oxford, 2002), nos 14, 91, 94, 100, 121, 142, 148-9, App. 2, no. 2.

²⁹³ BL Add. Ch. 21494; BN Ms. Lat. 5425, 100-4; *Cartulaire de l'église de la Sainte-Trinité de Beaumont-le-Roger*, ed. E. Deville (Paris, 1912), no. 18; Crouch, *Beaumont Twins*, 110

²⁹⁴ ADC H7858; *EEA, VIII: Winchester*, no. 4; *EEA, 18: Salisbury*, no. 155.

²⁹⁵ *Knights of St John*, nos 265, 608-9, 928.

²⁹⁶ *DB*, ii, fo. 435, 435v.

²⁹⁷ *DB*, i, fo. 26v-27v, 32v, 33; ii, 36v, 106v; *Chartes de L'Abbaye de Jumièges*, no. 33, William de Watteville I and Walter Giffard II are the only witnesses to a grant by William archbishop of Rouen.

²⁹⁸ Watteville is in upper Normandy, fifty miles from both Orbec and Bienfaite, twenty-three miles north of Brionne and twenty miles south of Bolbec.

kinship the division was minimised.²⁹⁹ While it is possible to trace the de Watteville kin-group to a degree, the relationship is harder to reconstruct. The limited interaction between the Clares and their wealthiest tenants is probably due to the de Wattevilles focus being on establishing themselves as tenants-in-chief and on their ties with other aristocratic families rather than simply on the Clares.

In 1086 Roger de St German held Cavendish in Suffolk, but the kin-group does not appear in the inquest of knights fees from 1166.³⁰⁰ Members of the St German kin-group, however, were still in possession of manors in Suffolk at that time and can be traced through the gifts granted to the priories of Stoke-by-Clare and St Bartholomew's, Sudbury during the twelfth and into the thirteenth centuries.³⁰¹ Roger II de St German had married an Emma of unknown origin, and they had at least two children, William and Ralph.³⁰² William occurs on both sides of the Channel, appearing in the cartulary of the abbey of Saint-Taurin and attesting a charter for Hugo de Mortemer for the church of Walterville alongside the Giffards' tenants Jordan and Robert de Belnai.³⁰³ In comparison his brother, Ralph de St German occurs less frequently in surviving sources, although his attestation with Hubert de Ria may indicate connections with the paternal family of Eudo dapifer.³⁰⁴ The St German kin-group provides a useful contrast with the de Wattevilles who held from multiple lords and were consistently improving on their wealth and status. Roger de St German and his descendants occur much more frequently in records of Clare houses, perhaps because the kin-group had fewer outside

²⁹⁹ ADSM 9H26, no. 3: William II and Robert I de Watteville with Roger fitz Richard II.

³⁰⁰ *DB*, i, fos 392, 448.

³⁰¹ *SbC*, Roger II: nos 39, 243; Walter: nos 22, 70; William II: nos 99, 137; Roger III: nos 37, 71, 123, 136, 166; *Charters of St Bartholomew's Priory, Sudbury*, ed. R. Mortimer, Suffolk Charters, 15 (Suffolk Record Society, 1996), no. 122 - Roger III and Robert de St German; no. 123 - Robert de St German and his son John.

³⁰² *SbC*, Roger II: nos 39, 243; Emma, mother of William St German, no. 137.

³⁰³ ADE H793: Small Cartulary of Saint-Taurin, fo. 156; ADSM 15H8; *SbC*, nos 99, 137.

³⁰⁴ *EEA*, VI: *Norwich*, no. 77.

ties.³⁰⁵ The more localised concerns of the St German kin-group indicates the significance of the local religious house patronised by lords and tenants.³⁰⁶

Amongst the Clares' tenants was at least one kin-group who arrived after 1086.³⁰⁷ Geoffrey de Blaveni was a knight of Roger fitz Richard I sent to garrison Gilbert fitz Richard I's castle at Tonbridge when Roger assisted his brother in improving the castle fortifications in 1088.³⁰⁸ Geoffrey became a benefactor of Stoke-by-Clare, granting the priory ten acres from his holdings at Birdbrook in Essex.³⁰⁹ He ended his days as a monk at the priory with the support of his wife and his son Robert I de Blaveni.³¹⁰ Robert I's son Richard confirmed his father and grandfather's gifts and in 1199-1200 Geoffrey's great-grandson Robert III requested that the priory at Stoke-by-Clare receive his brother, William de Blaveni.³¹¹ Geoffrey's descendants continued to patronise Stoke-by-Clare into the mid-thirteenth century, and included their lords in their *pro anima* clauses as the beneficiaries of their generosity.³¹² This relationship between kin-group and priory had become as central to the de Blavenis as it was to the principal branch of the Clares. Robert de Blaveni I also occurred as witnesses to other tenants' grants, as well as those of the Clares themselves to the priory.³¹³ The de Blaveni kin-group's ties to Stoke-by-Clare priory and to the Clares reinforce the importance and endurance of localised ties between lord and tenant, which could be mutually beneficial, and certainly benefited the local religious house.

³⁰⁵ For the St German genealogy see Appendix 2.

³⁰⁶ *PR 2-3-4 HII*: 57, 78, 116; *PR 21 HII*, 99.

³⁰⁷ For the de Blaveni genealogy see Appendix 2.

³⁰⁸ *SbC*, no. 137: *Gaufridus de Blavineio miles Rogerii filii Ricardi*.

³⁰⁹ *DB*, ii, fo. 80v – in 1086 Ranulf brother of Ilger held the manor in demesne; *SbC*, nos 123, 136.

³¹⁰ *SbC*, nos 136-7 – general confirmation of multiple grants including those by Geoffrey and his son Robert; no. 343 – Robert gave an additional seven acres to secure the monks care for his mother during her widowhood.

³¹¹ *Ibid*, nos 136-7, 342.

³¹² *Ibid*, nos 341, 344, 586-7 – these specific grants provide the most information about the familial relationships of the kin-group.

³¹³ *Ibid*, nos 264, 306, 332, 432, 531, 536, 636; *Knights of St John*, no. 322.

The Bures kin-group first appear as tenants in 1086 in the person of Geoffrey son of Hamo who held from Richard fitz Gilbert I in Suffolk, but within three generations they had become part of the extended Clare kin-group.³¹⁴ Although there is no identifiable sign of the Bures kin-group in Normandy before 1066, the link between the tenants and their overlords probably originated in Normandy, as Geoffrey granted the tithes of Wratting to the abbey of Le Bec-Hellouin.³¹⁵ He also granted a vineyard to Stoke-by-Clare upon its relocation in 1124, to assist in the building of the new church.³¹⁶ By 1139, Baldwin was Gilbert fitz Richard II's steward.³¹⁷ This office reinforced the vertical bonds of service and reward between the Bures kin-group and the Clares, Baldwin's son however, did not succeed him in this office, perhaps because of Baldwin's early death.³¹⁸

Baldwin was married to Beatrice de Bullers, who held manors in her own right in Suffolk from the Clares, and they had a son, Geoffrey fitz Baldwin.³¹⁹ Baldwin died c.1152, while Geoffrey was still a minor, and led to Roger fitz Richard II, earl of Hertford becoming Geoffrey's guardian. By c.1162, Geoffrey was able to issue a grant to Launceston priory in his own name, and he may therefore have been beginning to become independent of his guardians, but in the *Cartae Baronum*, Geoffrey's mother Beatrice held fourteen knights fees in Suffolk, possibly indicating that he had not come into his majority by 1166.³²⁰ A Geoffrey fitz Baldwin held ten knights fees under

³¹⁴ *DB*, ii, fos 393v, 396v. For the Bures genealogy see Appendix 2.

³¹⁵ *SbC*, nos 71, 136-7; H. E. Salter, 'Two Deeds about the Abbey of Bec', *EHR*, 90 (1925), 76-8.

³¹⁶ *SbC*, no. 70.

³¹⁷ *Ibid*, nos 21, 71, 137.

³¹⁸ *Ibid*, nos 164, 166. Roger fitz Richard II, earl of Hertford's steward was one Gilbert fitz Robert.

³¹⁹ *EEA*, 15: *London*, no. 117 (1163-72); *EEA*, 26: *London*, no. 57 (1196-8).

³²⁰ *RBE*, I, 403 – Beatrice appears third on the list of the *Cartae Baronum* returns for Suffolk.

the earl of Cornwall, and one fee in Suffolk under Roger de Kentwell, but this could be a separate individual unrelated to the Bures kin-group.³²¹

Geoffrey remained close to Roger fitz Richard II, naming him in *pro anima* clauses in grants to Stoke-by-Clare priory, which also continued to be a focus for the family.³²² Richard, Geoffrey's son granted Stoke-by-Clare land that William 'claviger' the mace bearer held from him.³²³ Geoffrey's daughter, Lucy, or Lucia, was married twice, and occurs in gifts to the priory as the widow of Walter Godard, and as Lucy *de Bachebroc*.³²⁴ Geoffrey's second daughter Alina, was probably the youngest of the family as she was still alive in c.1230 and had become a regular benefactor to the Templars.³²⁵

Alina's husbands were Richard fitz Richard II of the Clares, Reinfrid fitz Roger and Hugo de Clahull and have been discussed previously because of her marriage into the Clares.³²⁶ In the cartulary, Alina appears as the lady of Sampford, a manor in Essex, which in 1086 was held by Richard fitz Gilbert I in demesne and appears to have been her dowry from Richard fitz Richard II.³²⁷ Alina's charters are often confirmed or witnessed by members of the Clare kin-group, indicating that her own ties to her affines and the close relationship between lord and tenant that existed between the Bures and Clare kin-group continued into the middle of the thirteenth century.³²⁸ The other names mentioned as witnesses or in the text of the charters relating to Alina, indicate that bonds of friendship or proximity led to networks amongst

³²¹ *Launceston Priory*, no. 210; *SbC*, no. 166 notes; Mortimer, 'Land & Service', 184; *RBE*, i, 262, 403, 410.

³²² *SbC*, nos 166, 198: two versions of the same charter, in addition to his parents, Geoffrey also named his wife Alice and Earl Roger in the *pro anima* clauses.

³²³ *Ibid*, nos 37, 71, 136 (1150-73), 137.

³²⁴ *Ibid*, nos 361-62, 366-67.

³²⁵ *Knights of St John*, nos 906-7, 924-7. Her second husband Reinfrid fitz Roger was named in nos 924, 925, 926, but only appeared in the earliest, no. 926 in c.1210; Her third husband, Hugh de Clahull, appeared in no. 906 in c. 1225, while nos 907 and 927, were issued after his death c.1230.

³²⁶ For the full discussion of Alina's marriages, see Part I, fns 310-317.

³²⁷ *DB*, i, fos 38-41; *SbC*, nos 291, 567-68, 570-71; no. 567 'ego Alina domina de Samford'

³²⁸ *Knights of St John*, nos 907, 924-26.

the tenants of a lordship or an honor. Several individuals and their descendants appeared with Alina over the twenty years that she made gifts to the Templars, William fitz Reginald in five out of six charters, Henry de Kemesek in four out of six, and Robert de Lindsey and William de Sweyn on three occasions each.³²⁹ Walter Bond appears on three occasions, and his kinsmen, Henry and Geoffrey fitz Richard Bond in Alina's last charter.³³⁰ Although Henry de Kemesek and Robert de Lindsey do also occur in charters relating to Stoke-by-Clare, these tend to involve Alina as well, suggesting that she had her own unit of tenants and dependents.³³¹ Their relationship with the Clares developed from lord and tenant into guardian and ward and finally kinship, and this reflects the complexity of the potential connections. The vertical bonds of lordship are maintained even as the horizontal ties of kinship developed between the two kin-groups.

The Giffards

The cartularies of the religious houses founded by the Giffards are the principal sources for information on the tenant kin-groups. William de Greinville, his son Robert, and Ralph de Greinville occur as tenants of the Giffards before 1066 in the Pays de Caux.³³² The subsequent genealogy of this kin-group is difficult to trace, since while some relationships are explicitly mentioned in charters, many others have to be deduced from less explicit information. By 1086, however, Ralph de Greinville had also acquired lands in Buckinghamshire, which he held from Walter Giffard I.³³³ The next reliably dated appearance of a member of the kin-group comes in 1166, with Gerard de Greinville listed as holding the English estates, and Eustace de Greinville recorded in possession of the Norman properties.³³⁴ Eustace had married

³²⁹ *Knights of St John*, William fitz Reginald: nos 906-07, 924-26; Henry de Kemesek: nos 906-7, 924-25; Robert de Lindsey: nos 906, 924-25; William Sweyn: nos 907, 924-25.

³³⁰ *Knights of St John*, Walter Bond: nos 907, 924-925; Henry and Geoffrey fitz Richard Bond, no. 927.

³³¹ *SbC*, nos 567-68, 570-71.

³³² William de Greinville and his son Robert: ADSM G9102; Ralph: *Monasticon*, vi.ii, 1074; *Bates, Regesta*, no. 94.

³³³ *DB*, i, fos 147-148.

³³⁴ *RBE*, i, 312-3; Loyd, *Origins of Some Anglo-Norman Families*, 47-8.

Fredsend, sister of Agnes de Ribemont, the wife of Walter Giffard II, connecting the Giffards and the de Greinviles through kinship in addition to the vertical bond of lordship that already linked them.³³⁵ Eustace tends to be close to the top of the witness lists in Walter II's grants to Longueville priory, which implying that he was perceived as an important figure within the lordship, or as a member of the lord's extended kin-group. This doubled relationship between the Giffards and the de Greinviles may explain the presence of a Eustace de Greinville on the Clares' lands in East Anglia, and in the cartulary of Stoke-by-Clare priory as a benefactor in the second half of the twelfth century.³³⁶

The relationship between the Norman and English based branches of the de Greinviles becomes most explicable just prior to the Norman line dying out in 1225. From the 1150s-60s the de Greinviles in Normandy supported their lord's English foundation of Notley Abbey, as can be seen by their grants and attestations recorded in the cartulary.³³⁷ In 1225, the last of Eustace de Greinville's heirs died childless, and Gerard de Greinville's descendant Robert de Greinville succeeded to both Norman and English properties.³³⁸ This indicates that the two branches were part of the same kin-group and combining this knowledge with the most common divisions of property post-1066, it seems likely that Eustace and Gerard were brothers. This connection is evidenced by the grants that Eustace and Gerard de Greinville II made in the thirteenth century to Notley abbey and Newington Longueville priory, despite the majority of Eustace's lands being on the other side of the Channel.³³⁹ The relationship between the de Greinviles and their lords was restored when William the Marshal received much of the Giffard estate in

³³⁵ *Chartes Longueville*, nos 11, 22-23.

³³⁶ *SbC*, nos 304-06. Eustace appears to be used by the Norman branch of the kin-group; therefore this was probably either the same Eustace or his son and namesake.

³³⁷ Jenkins, 'Lost Cartulary of Nutley Abbey', nos 28, 34-5.

³³⁸ *Cartulary of Missenden Abbey*, ed. J. Gilbert Jenkins, Historical Manuscripts Commission, iii (London, 1962), nos 629, 659; Loyd, *Origins of Some Anglo-Norman Families*, 48.

³³⁹ *Newington Longueville Charters*, nos 52-3; Jenkins, 'Lost Cartulary of Nutley Abbey', nos 16, 19-20, 34-5, 38-40, 42, 44-5, 49, 52.

1189, with more gifts being attested to and made by members of the de Greinville kin-group to Notley abbey.³⁴⁰

Another tenant kin-group, the de Bolbecs also held lands from the principal line of the Giffards on both sides of the Channel. Osbern, the progenitor of the Giffard kin-group, had used the toponymic Bolbec, but as has been noted above it was replaced by the familial surname of Giffard as their focus turned to the honor of Longueville early in the eleventh century.³⁴¹ This apparent transmission of the toponymic led to speculation that the later de Bolbecs were a cadet branch of the Giffard kin-group rather than tenants in the *Complete Peerage*.³⁴² Recurrent forenames in the de Bolbec kin-group also occur amongst the extended Giffard kin-group, and this as well as their position as the wealthiest of the Giffard tenants could be evidence either of blood kin-ship or of a close vertical bond between lord and tenant. There is, however, no direct statement of a relationship, while the surviving evidence does provide information of the vertical bond between the Giffards and the Bolbecs, and the relationship has therefore been interpreted as being one of tenure and vassalage rather than blood for the purposes of this thesis.

In the mid-eleventh century a Hugh de Bolbec held lands from Walter Giffard I in Normandy and a later copy of his 1061 grant to St Michaels-du-Treport records Walter Giffard I as having consented to the gift as his lord.³⁴³ Other tenants of Walter I, including the previously mentioned William de Greinville and his son Robert, witnessed this grant. In England, Hugh de Bolbec held most of his estates from Walter Giffard II, but Hugh was also a tenant-in-chief in his own right in three counties.³⁴⁴ The properties he held from Walter Giffard II amount to approximately one quarter of Walter II's own holdings, making Hugh de Bolbec the foremost of his tenants.³⁴⁵ His son was named

³⁴⁰ Jenkins, 'Lost Cartulary of Nutley Abbey', nos 3, 6-10.

³⁴¹ See above Chapter 1, fn. 28.

³⁴² *CP*, ii, xx; v, 639-53.

³⁴³ ADSM G9102: 1-3.

³⁴⁴ *DB*, i, fos 143, 150v, 157v, 205v.

³⁴⁵ *Ibid*, fos 147-148, 157v, 196, 205v.

Walter de Bolbec I, his forename presumably chosen for his lord, acknowledging the vertical bond between them.³⁴⁶

Walter I de Bolbec received the manor of Styford in Northumberland from Henry I, in return for which he owed five knights and the duty of castle guard at Newcastle.³⁴⁷ Through his acquisition of Styford, Walter I also began to attest in charters issued by David I, king of Scots, who claimed the earldom of Northumberland through his wife Matilda, daughter of Earl Waltheof.³⁴⁸ His connection to the Scottish royal family was not initially due to any acquisitions by the de Bolbecs in Scotland, but instead showed the ties linking the Scottish kings to certain counties and religious houses in England.³⁴⁹ Walter I's only known appearance in Scotland occurred between 1114 and 1124 when he attested to the foundation of Selkirk abbey.³⁵⁰ Subsequently, his lands were divided between his two sons; Walter II inherited the manor of Styford, while Hugh II succeeded to his father's properties in Buckinghamshire, Oxfordshire, and Huntingdonshire.³⁵¹ Walter II maintained the connection to the Scottish kings and witnessed royal charters issued by David I and Malcolm IV in England and for English houses.³⁵² Individuals from the cadet branches of the Giffards became members of the Scottish court in the mid-twelfth century, but there does not appear to have been any interaction between the two kin-groups.³⁵³ Hugh II de Bolbec died while his son was still a minor and his brother Walter II became the guardian of Hugh's son Walter III.³⁵⁴ Despite the increased independence and status of his

³⁴⁶ Bouchard, *Sword, Miter & Cloister*, 62; eadem, "Those of my Blood", 98.

³⁴⁷ *RBE*, ii, 563; *RRAN*, ii, nos 1533, 1760, 1766; Loyd, *Origins of Some Anglo-Norman Families*, 17; Sanders, *English Baronies*, 84-5.

³⁴⁸ W. H. Hart, *Cartularium Monasterii de Rameseia*, 3 vols., RS 79 (London 1889-93), i, nos 69, 91-94, 96-97; *RRAN*, iii, no. 24; *PR 2-3-4 HII*: 177.

³⁴⁹ *Acts of Malcolm IV*, nos 10, 13; *Charters of David I*, nos 14, 27, 102, 105.

³⁵⁰ *Charters of David I*, no. 14.

³⁵¹ *RBE*, i, 316-7, 437.

³⁵² *Acts of Malcolm IV*, nos 113, 122, 126; *Charters of David I*, no. 187.

³⁵³ *Yester writs*, no. 1; Chandler, 'Ada de Warenne', 126-7.

³⁵⁴ *Cartulary of Missenden Abbey*, nos 626-27.

family, Hugh II attested to Walter Giffard III's foundations of Newington Longueville priory and Notley Abbey along with other tenants of the Giffard estates.³⁵⁵ His son Walter III also witnessed other grants to the abbey but was not a benefactor to it himself.³⁵⁶

Both branches of the de Bolbec kin-group descended from Hugh I de Bolbec remained tenants of the principal line of the Giffards into the second half of the twelfth century. Other individuals shared the toponymic although their position in the kin-group is not clear.³⁵⁷ There was also a Ralph de Bolbec who was probably a son of Walter II de Bolbec as he appears primarily in more northern sources.³⁵⁸ In his role of witness in these northern charters, Ralph de Bolbec appeared in the company of Roger de Clére, a tenant of the Tosnys of Belvoir, who also had northerly interests.³⁵⁹

The de Belnai kin-group held property in the region of Longueville and in Buckinghamshire; in both cases these estates were held from the principal line of the Giffards. The earliest extant mention of a member of the de Belnai kin-group occurs in 1085 - Bernard de Belnai attested on behalf of Gulbert d'Auffay to an agreement with Fécamp abbey.³⁶⁰ However, the de Belnai kin-group does not seem to have arrived in England until after 1086, as there is no record of them in Domesday Book.³⁶¹ The link between the Giffards and the de Belnai kin-group does not become apparent until the twelfth century

³⁵⁵ *Newington Longueville Charters*, no. 1: the witness list includes Hugh de Bolbec, Hugh de Nuers and Gerard de Greinville, no. 121, Hugh appeared in the witness list of this grant by Gerard de Redham to the priory immediately after Walter Giffard III and his wife; Jenkins, 'Lost Cartulary of Nutley Abbey', no. 1.

³⁵⁶ Jenkins, 'Lost Cartulary of Nutley Abbey', Walter III: nos 2, 5.

³⁵⁷ *Rotuli de Dominabus*, 34, 40, 43, 86: and see xxxix-xli for Round's discussion of the de Bolbecs, and the consequences of Walter Giffard III's death.

³⁵⁸ BI MFE 428: Rievaulx Cartulary, no. cxxix; *RBE*, i, 436; *EYC*, i, nos 395, 595, 617: Ralph de Bolbec appears as a witness.

³⁵⁹ *EYC*, i, no. 595: Roger de Clére's grant was witnessed by Ralph de Bolbec; no. 617: both Roger de Clére and Ralph de Bolbec appear in the witness list for William de Mandeville.

³⁶⁰ Bates, *Regesta*, no. 145 is the most detailed examination of this charter; it also appears in *CDF*, no. 116 and *RRAN*, i, no. 207.

³⁶¹ *DB*, i, fos 147-148. The Giffard possessions for Buckinghamshire, where the de Belnai brothers held land after 1100.

although the location of their properties indicates that the connection was maintained on both sides of the Channel.³⁶²

The first evidence of a connection between the Giffards and the de Belnais, appears in a charter of Walter Giffard III for Conques Abbey in c.1107, which was attested by an Engelranus de Belnai.³⁶³ After this first appearance, the vertical bond between the Giffards and the de Belnais continued, in the persons of Engelranus or Ingelran I de Belnai's sons, the brothers Jordan, Robert, Elias and Ingelran II. The brothers were all benefactors to Longueville priory. In 1143 Robert, Elias and Ingelran II gifted the church of Sainte-Geneviève to Longueville along with their kinsmen Lambert and William Porchet.³⁶⁴ Walter Giffard III then confirmed the grant at the gates of Longueville castle; the account of this action in the charter reinforces the cohesive nature of the location and the relationships.³⁶⁵ In 1177/8, Jordan de Belnai, his wife Agnes and their son Ingelran III granted the chapel of Belmesnil to Longueville priory.³⁶⁶ Jordan's son Gerard de Belnai, who also attested to another gift made by William de Carville, subsequently confirmed his father's grant.³⁶⁷ There was another branch of de Belnais, and the link between them and the other members discussed here is unclear. Adam I was a member of the royal household and acted as an itinerant justice for King Stephen, before and after the events of 1141.³⁶⁸ The de Belnais remained a Norman based kin-group, reflecting the main direction of the Giffards own interests.

³⁶² Distance between Longueville and the Belnai properties, Auffay: six miles; Beaunay, Beauval-en-Caux: seven miles; Ste-Geneviève: ten miles; Belmesnil: four miles. Distance between Auffay and each of the Belnai properties is between five and six miles.

³⁶³ *Cartulaire de l'Abbaye de Conques en Rouergue*, ed. G. Desjardins (Paris, 1879; Cambridge, 2010), no. 497.

³⁶⁴ *Chartes Longueville*, no. 3, see also nos 20-21.

³⁶⁵ *Ibid*, no. 3, '*Hec omnia postea recitata sunt apud Longam villam in introitu porte castelli coram Walterio Gifardo comite...*'

³⁶⁶ *Ibid*, no. 20.

³⁶⁷ *Ibid*, nos 74, 79.

³⁶⁸ *RRAN*, iii, for discussion of his role as an itinerant justice, xxii-iii; nos 318, 506, 752.

The earliest appearance of a member of the de Nuers kin-group was a Gilbert de Nuers named as a witness in a dubious charter issued by Richard II, duke of Normandy.³⁶⁹ Subsequently, Robert and William de Nuers appear as tenants in Domesday Book.³⁷⁰ William de 'Noyers' held one manor from the king in Cambridgeshire, but the majority of his lands were in Norfolk held from the king and Bishop William of Thetford. In addition he also held one manor from Bishop William in Suffolk, and was the custodian of the former Archbishop Stigand's land in Suffolk for the king.³⁷¹ William's descendants had no apparent link to the Giffards, but were tenants of the Tosnys of Belvoir, and will therefore be addressed below. In 1086 Robert de Nuers held the manor of Gayhurst in Buckinghamshire from the bishop of Lisieux, who held from the bishop of Bayeux.³⁷² In 1166 the manor of Gayhurst was held by a Ralph de Nuers, Robert's grandson or great-grandson, although the information about this line of descent is limited.³⁷³

Although they initially had few ties to the Giffards in England, the foundation of Missenden abbey in Buckinghamshire in 1133 by William de Nuers also received benefactions from many of the tenants of Walter Giffard III.³⁷⁴ His son Hugh supported the foundation, although he does not appear to have been a benefactor to the abbey in his own right but he did continue to witness gifts made by others.³⁷⁵ In 1166, shortly before his death Hugh was listed as holding one fee from Walter Giffard III; this passed to his son William III, and by 1185 William IV had inherited his father's lands.³⁷⁶ Amongst the tenants who held from the Giffards of Brimpsfield there were

³⁶⁹ *RADN*, no. 27, supposedly issued in 1024 this charter has many inconsistencies particularly in the individuals named in the witness list and is correctly dismissed as a fake.

³⁷⁰ *DB*, i, fos 145, 189v; *DB*, ii: fos 116v, 117v, 138, 192v, 194-194v, 195v, 196v, 197v, 198v, 199v, 200, 288, 380v.

³⁷¹ *DB*, ii, fo. 288.

³⁷² *DB*, i, fo. 145.

³⁷³ *Book of Seals*, no. 88; *RBE*, i, 194-5, 332-3.

³⁷⁴ *Cartulary of Missenden Abbey*, xii, no. 623.

³⁷⁵ *Ibid*, nos 544, 570, 612, 624.

³⁷⁶ *RRAN*, iii, no. 856; *RBE*, i, 312; *Rotuli de Dominabus*, 38; *Widows, Heirs and Heiresses*, 81.

other members of the de Nuers kin-group. In c.1127 Alexander de Nuers and his brother Pagan attested to an agreement between Elias Giffard II and his father-in-law Richard fitz Pons.³⁷⁷ The brothers were certainly members of the de Nuers kin-group, although the precise nature of the link between these brothers and the de Nuers of Buckingham cannot be identified.

The tenant kin-groups continued to patronise the priories of Longueville and Newington Longueville and Notley abbey into the thirteenth century even after the Giffard estates had been divided between the descendants of Rohese Giffard and Richard fitz Gilbert I.³⁷⁸ In the latter half of the twelfth century the de Belnai, and de Greinville families issued or witnessed grants to the priory of Longueville from their Norman properties.³⁷⁹ The de Greinville's connection to Notley abbey has already been mentioned, and c.1189 Eustace de Greinville witnessed a general confirmation issued by William the Marshal and Isabel, daughter of Richard fitz Gilbert IIIb, in their role as successors to half the Giffard estates.³⁸⁰

The Tosnys

Roger de Clére I, the first member of the de Clére kin-group to appear in Norman or Anglo-Norman accounts, was associated with the principal branch of the Tosnys prior to the Conquest of England. In 1040 Roger de Clére was credited with killing Robert de Beaumont I either during the battle in which Roger I de Tosny and two of his sons also died, or in revenge for their deaths shortly after the battle.³⁸¹ Roger I also made a grant to his late lord's foundation of Conches abbey, between 1040 and 1060, which was confirmed by both Godehildis I, by then Countess of Evreux and her son Ralph III de Tosny, for the soul of *senioris sui Rogerii de Totteneio*.³⁸² This grant is an

³⁷⁷ *Ancient Charters*, no. 12.

³⁷⁸ *Cartae Antiquae: Rolls 11-20*, no. 564.

³⁷⁹ *Chartes Longueville*, 13-16.

³⁸⁰ Jenkins, 'Lost Cartulary of Nutley Abbey', no. 6; they continued to act as benefactors to the abbey throughout the thirteenth century, nos 21-3, 35-42, 44-53, 56.

³⁸¹ *GND*, ii, 96-7; *OV*, ii, 40; iii, 88.

³⁸² *Conches*, no. 406.

early example of the behaviour that became common in the twelfth century, with local religious houses connected to an overlord becoming an arena for displaying both genuine piety and the vertical bond between lord and vassal.³⁸³

After the Conquest of 1066, the de Clére kin-group remained tenants of the Tosnys in Normandy and one branch became tenants of the Tosnys of Belvoir in England. There is less surviving information about the Norman branch of the de Cléres, but in the 1140s-50s Geoffrey de Clére attested to several grants first by Geoffrey of Anjou as duke of Normandy and then by his son Duke Henry.³⁸⁴ He also appeared in various royal charters with his brother Hugh and occasionally with a Fulco de Clére, despite this, in the 1170s and 80s, Matthew de Clére held six-seven knights fees from Ralph V de Tosny.³⁸⁵

In the first half of the twelfth century, one branch of the de Cléres held estates in Yorkshire from the Tosnys of Belvoir. Roger II de Clére first appeared in England during Henry I's intervention in a land dispute between Roger II and Eustace fitz John.³⁸⁶ By 1166, Roger II's sons had inherited, Roger III received Norfolk, and his brother Ralph I received Suffolk.³⁸⁷ This was the first, but not the last appearance, of the *pronomén* Ralph in the de Clére kin-group, meaning that the tenants had now adopted the two most common forenames of the principal branch of the Tosnys.³⁸⁸ This decision, as in the case of the Giffards and the de Bolbecs, may have been an acknowledgement of the tie between lord and tenant.³⁸⁹

The de Fraxino kin-group were also connected to the Tosnys from an early point, as a Gerelmus I de Fraxino became a benefactor to Conches abbey,

³⁸³ Mortimer, 'Land and Service', 195; Cownie, 'Religious Patronage & Lordship', 145.

³⁸⁴ Delisle, *Henri II*, i, Geoffrey: nos 14-15, 18; his brother Hugh: no. 18; Fulco: no. 18.

³⁸⁵ *RBE*, ii, 642.

³⁸⁶ *RRAN*, ii, App. no. cclxi.

³⁸⁷ *RBE*, i, 397, 405; Musset, 'Les Tosny', 76.

³⁸⁸ *EYC*, i, nos 594, 615.

³⁸⁹ Bouchard, *Sword, Miter & Cloister*, 62; eadem, "Those of my Blood", 98.

supported by his son Ralph I de Fraxino in 1046-9.³⁹⁰ In addition, Gerelmus II attested to two grants made by Ralph III de Tosny to Conches abbey.³⁹¹ Despite this connection to the abbey and the Tosnys, the de Fraxino kin-group probably came from Fresnay-le-Samson, around forty-two miles from Conches, as members of the kin-group also appear under the alternative spelling of their toponymic 'de Fresne'.³⁹² The de Fraxino kin-group gained lands in England before 1166, by which point they held lands across four counties from multiple overlords, which did not include any members of the Tosny kin-group.³⁹³ The de Fraxinos like the de Watteviles, had multiple bonds of lordship and this minimised their connection to the Tosnys, however the relationship endured for over a century before the bond was replaced by newer ties to other lords.

Roger de Fraxino appears to have been a member of King Stephen's household and attested to grants and confirmations issued by Stephen throughout his reign.³⁹⁴ He is the exception though, as the other members of the de Fraxino kin-group are most frequently found in the cartulary for Conches abbey.³⁹⁵ Gerelmus II de Fraxino witnessed two gifts to Conches abbey by Roger III de Tosny, in one case Ralph II de Fraxino appeared beside his brother in the witness list.³⁹⁶ Gerelmus II's son, William I de Fraxino, also attested to grants made by Roger III de Tosny and his son Ralph V to Conches abbey.³⁹⁷ The de Fraxino kin-group's connection to the Tosnys was primarily based in Normandy and focussed on Conches abbey, in

³⁹⁰ *Conches*, no. 406.

³⁹¹ *Ibid*, nos 406-7, 409, 411.

³⁹² *RBE*, i, 280, 283; both variations are used in *Domesday Descendants* by Keats-Rohan, 466-7. Members of the kin-group appear as 'de Fresnel' in Crouch, *Beaumont Twins*, 106, 111.

³⁹³ *RBE*, i, 190-1, 224-5, 279-83, 314-5.

³⁹⁴ *RRAN*, iii, nos 34-7, 89, 137, 158, 203, 223, 225, 227, 229-30, 236, 446, 448-50, 470, 502, 565, 842, 846-7; *Ancient Charters*, nos 29-31; *EYC*, viii, no. 111.

³⁹⁵ *Conches*, nos 1, 406-7, 410-11.

³⁹⁶ Both gifts are listed together in the abbey's cartulary in one entry, *Conches*, no. 410.

³⁹⁷ *Conches*, nos 1, 410.

England they held for multiple lords and, during King Stephen's reign, they also appear to have been reliable, if minor, members of his court.³⁹⁸

The de Acigneio kin-group probably took the toponymic of Acquigny, an estate approximately twenty-two miles from Conches.³⁹⁹ In the twelfth century the Tosnys continued to hold the castle of Acquigny and Isabel de Montfort gave the revenues from the castle to the priory of Haute-Bruyère for her lifetime after she became a nun there.⁴⁰⁰ In England Richard de Acigneio held two manors from the Tosnys of Conches in Oxford and Cambridgeshire, Garsington and Whittlesford.⁴⁰¹ Richard also witnessed two charters of Ralph IV's in England between 1102 and 1162.⁴⁰² In the second half of the twelfth century a Roger de Acigneio witnessed a charter issued by other tenants of the Tosnys to the abbey of Conches.⁴⁰³ According to the broader study of the Tosny tenants by Daniel Power, the de Acigneio or Acquigny kin-group were rare amongst Tosny tenants in that they did appear on both sides of the Channel.⁴⁰⁴ The connection between lord and vassal also took the de Acigneio kin-group outside the Anglo-Norman realm - in 1190, Matthew de Acigneio witnessed a charter to the French abbey of Coulombs for Roger IV de Tosny.⁴⁰⁵ Their presence on both sides of the Channel and at Nogent suggests either a particularly close relationship to their overlords, or an active interest in spreading their own resources wide and improving their own position.

³⁹⁸ In addition to Roger de Fraxino's appearances as a member of the royal household, Richard and William II de Fraxino both attested for King Stephen. *RRAN*, iii, no. 456; *Feudal Documents of Bury St Edmunds*, no. 69; *Knights of St John*, no. 4.

³⁹⁹ Loyd, *Origins of Some Anglo-Norman Families*, 2.

⁴⁰⁰ *OV*, iii, 128; *RRAN*, iii, 380; Delisle, *Henri II*, i, no.77.

⁴⁰¹ *DB*, i, fos 156v, 159v; 194, 198, 202. Garsington was held by St Mary's of Abingdon and Miles Crispin, while Whittlesford was held by Alan of Brittany, Hardwin de Scales and Countess Judith.

⁴⁰² *Beauchamp Cartulary Charters*, 356, 358.

⁴⁰³ ADE H262, fos 229-230v; *Conches*, no. 410.

⁴⁰⁴ Power, *The Norman Frontier*, 296-7.

⁴⁰⁵ BN ms lat 17048.

Many tenant kin-groups occur in connection to only one branch of the extended Tosny kin-group. However the de Cloptons were tenants of the Staffords, and also had other ties to the extended kin-group. The progenitor of the kin-group appears to be the Domesday holder of Clopton in Northamptonshire, one Alfred de Grantcourt, a tenant of Eustace sheriff of Huntingdon.⁴⁰⁶ The various branches of the de Clopton kin-group were probably descended from Alfred de Grantcourt's children as he had several sons and daughters, although the precise relationships are not always easily identified.⁴⁰⁷ It is not until the twelfth century that there is evidence of the de Clopton's holding from the extended Tosny kin-group. There were several branches of the de Clopton kin-group, and they held land from different lords, making an examination of their social and political networks difficult.⁴⁰⁸ For example, Robert de Clopton and his son Peter attested to several grants by the Clares to Stoke-by-Clare priory between 1136 and 1175, but they did not make any gifts to the priory themselves.⁴⁰⁹

During the twelfth century Walter de Clopton attested to two grants issued by Simon de Senlis, earl of Northampton and he appeared immediately after William d'Albini of Belvoir and his brother Robert in both witness lists.⁴¹⁰ In the mid-twelfth century Nicholas de Clopton, attested to grants from Robert II of Stafford to Bordesley abbey appearing immediately after Robert's own sons in the witness list of one of the charters.⁴¹¹ Nicholas also attested to at least one gift that Robert II made to Conches abbey, as well as several grants made to Stone priory.⁴¹² During this period Nicholas' brother, Francis de Clopton, also attested to grants for Stone priory by Robert II of Stafford,

⁴⁰⁶ *DB*, i, fo. 228; 'Estate Records of the Hotot Family', ed. E. King, *A Northamptonshire Miscellany* (1983), 1-58, 4.

⁴⁰⁷ King, 'Estate Records of the Hotot Family', 5-6.

⁴⁰⁸ See Appendix 2 for the de Clopton Genealogy.

⁴⁰⁹ *Book of Seals*: no. 88; *SbC*, nos 22, 37, 70-1, 136.

⁴¹⁰ *Rutland*, 99, 165.

⁴¹¹ *Book of Seals*: nos 143, 197.

⁴¹² *ADE H262*, fo. 211; *Staffordshire Chartulary*: i, no. 21; *Conches*, no. 158. He may also be the otherwise unknown 'H. de Clopton' who appeared in the witness list for another of Robert II of Stafford's grants to Stone priory, fo. 4.

appearing alongside his brother in one witness list.⁴¹³ The de Clopton's English focussed interests reflect those of their lords, as the Staffords had no direct possessions in Normandy, and they were therefore less likely to have numerous tenants from across the Channel.

The de Hotot kin-group primarily held lands from the Tosnys of Belvoir, however, the marriage of Walter I de Clopton's daughter Alice to Robert de Hotot in the mid-twelfth century linked them to the Stafford branch of the Tosnys.⁴¹⁴ The kin-groups of Clopton and Hotot became closely associated, and details of both kin-groups can be found in the 'Estate Records of the Hotot Family'.⁴¹⁵ The de Hotots later acquired a large part of the manor of Clopton in Northampton and this became their principal estate.⁴¹⁶ The toponymic originated in Normandy, Hotot-en-Ouche is approximately sixty miles northeast of Conches, the Tosnys' *caput*, but is around one hundred miles distant from Robert of Tosny's lands at Guernsey and Vesley, near Gisors.⁴¹⁷ Since Odard de Hotot was a tenant of Robert of Tosny in the lordship of Belvoir in 1086, while Ralph de Hotot was recorded as a Domesday juror in Cambridgeshire the connection between the Tosnys of Belvoir and the de Hotot kin-group presumably dated from 1066, not before.⁴¹⁸

Odard's immediate successor, William de Hotot, held the manor of Bottesford from William d'Albini *brito* I who had succeeded to his grandfather-in-law's lordship of Belvoir.⁴¹⁹ William de Hotot's son Ralph II succeeded to

⁴¹³ *Stone Cartulary*, fos 6, 19.

⁴¹⁴ This connection between the two tenant kin-groups would also explain the appearance of Walter de Clopton beside the lords of Belvoir in the previously mentioned witness lists.

⁴¹⁵ BI MFE 428: Rievaulx Cartulary, no. xxxviii; King, 'Estate Records of the Hotot Family', 4-10, A1.

⁴¹⁶ King, 'Estate Records of the Hotot Family', A2, A7-A9, A11-A12, A25, Richard de Hotot's acquisition of lands in Clopton and Turvey.

⁴¹⁷ *RBE*, i, 642; Loyd, *Origins of Some Anglo-Norman Families*, 74.

⁴¹⁸ *DB*, i, fo. 234; *Inquisitio Comitatus Cantabrigiensis*, ed. N. E. S. A. Hamilton (London, 1876), 9, 97-8; Roffe, *Domesday: the Inquest and the Book*, 120-2.

⁴¹⁹ *PR 31 HI*, 88.

Bottesford, and in 1166 Ralph II was recorded as owing half a knight's fee to William d'Albini *brito* II.⁴²⁰ Between 1102 and 1126 there was a Roger de Hotot who witnessed a confirmation for Ralph III de Tosny relating to a land restoration between tenants in Wiltshire and Norfolk. This indicates that the de Clopton-Hotot extended tenant kin-group was connected to all three branches of the Tosnys.⁴²¹ The evidence of one charter, however, is too limited to act as proof that the different branches of the Tosnys were more closely connected than can be found through other bonds.

The de Waleton kin-group held from the Staffords and frequently attested for their lords and were benefactors in their own right to the priories of Kenilworth and Stone.⁴²² According the history of Stone priory, Ensian de Waleton was required to found the priory by Geoffrey de Clinton and Robert II of Stafford in expiation of his murder of two nuns and a priest at the hermitage of St Wulfade.⁴²³ In actuality the deaths at the hermitage predated the Normans arrival in England, however, Ensian's son Ernald did kill someone, and owed monetary and spiritual recompense for his actions.⁴²⁴ The land that Stone priory was subsequently built on was sold to Geoffrey de Clinton to redeem this debt.⁴²⁵ Similarly Ensian's initial gifts of land in Waleton and Stone to Kenilworth were also to gain forgiveness for his son.⁴²⁶ The continued relationship between the kin-group and the new priories was probably due to a combination of factors: geographical proximity, their involvement in the foundation of the priory and the patronage of the Staffords.

⁴²⁰ *RBE*, i, 328.

⁴²¹ *Beauchamp Cartulary Charters*, no. 355.

⁴²² *DB*, i, fo. 248v; *Staffordshire Chartulary* ii, nos 1- 4, 6-7, 11, 14-15; *Stone Cartulary*, fos 11, 19, 21, 23-4, 38; *Kenilworth Cartulary*, nos 7-9, 11, 36, 40, 215, 478.

⁴²³ *Monasticon*, vi.i, 231, no. ii; *VCH Staffordshire*, iii, ed. M. Greenslade (London, 1970), 240-7; *Stone Cartulary*, 1-2.

⁴²⁴ *PR 31 HI*, 75.

⁴²⁵ *VCH, Staffs*, iii, 241.

⁴²⁶ *Stone Cartulary*, 2.

The genealogy developed from the gifts made or witnessed by various members of the de Waleton kin-group to the religious houses associated with their lords identifies several definite relationships between individuals, while other connections are less certain.⁴²⁷ Ensian, his son Ernald II and daughter Ailia and her husband Alan appear together regularly between 1122 and 1135, although Ailia is only named in one charter.⁴²⁸ Ensian, Ernald II and Alan appear to have been a close family unit and the surviving charters detail their relationships to each other.⁴²⁹ Ernald had a son Ensian II, who married an Alicia and they were also benefactors of Stone priory.⁴³⁰ There was another branch of the kin-group that appeared in the records of Stone priory in the twelfth century. Ivo I de Waleton had a son Robert who was probably named for Ivo's father and possibly two other sons William and 'N' although the ties between the different individuals are not definitively clear.⁴³¹ Then Ivo II de Waleton appears with his two sons, Roger and Geoffrey, towards the end of the twelfth century.⁴³² Through their appearances in the cartulary of Stone priory the de Waletons appear with several other tenants of the Tosny kin-group including the previously discussed de Cloptons and Bagots both of whom held from the Staffords.⁴³³

Summary

An exploration of the vertical bond of lordship and the development of the connections between the Clare, Giffard and Tosny kin-groups and their tenants, is a necessary part of understanding lordship-based networks. The non-aristocratic members of the Conqueror's followers who became tenants of the new lordships in England have received little attention from his

⁴²⁷ For the de Waleton Genealogy see Appendix 2. The main primary source for information on the de Waleton kin-group is *Stone Cartulary*, see below, fns 429-33.

⁴²⁸ *Ibid*, fo. 19.

⁴²⁹ *Stone Cartulary*, fos 19, 21, 23, 27, 29, 38; *Book of Seals*, no. 130; *EEA*, 26: *London*, no. 30.

⁴³⁰ *Stone Cartulary*, fo. 21.

⁴³¹ *Ibid*, fos 10, 20-1, 24.

⁴³² *Ibid*, fo. 29.

⁴³³ *Ibid*, fos 21-4. The Bagots appear in Part I, as Hervey Bagot married Melisende, daughter of Robert II of Stafford.

historians, although Mortimer's study of the Clare tenants provided a framework for this section of the thesis.⁴³⁴ Similarly, Thomas' work on the 'middle' or gentry class has also been a useful tool in approaching the limited sources relating to the tenants of the focal kin-groups.⁴³⁵

The relationship between the Clares, Giffards and Tosnys and their tenants provides useful information about the case studies and the various bonds that shaped their society. In particular the different information on the different branches of the de Nuers kin-group links the Giffards of Longueville with their cadet branch the Giffards of Brimpsfield. One of the few pieces of evidence that connect the two lines of the Giffards, other than their own vertical bond as the Giffards of Brimpsfield held from their cousins. Meanwhile the example of the Tosnys of Conches and their cousins the Tosnys of Belvoir is even more striking as they did not share lands, or patronage of specific religious houses, but through the different branches of their tenants the de Clères, a connection beyond nomenclature can be found between these branches of the Tosny kin-group. The division between members of the de Clères follows the geographical and political concerns of the Tosnys of Conches and the Tosnys of Belvoir respectively.

Building on the role of honorial religious houses as centres of familial and tenurial identity and display, the evidence of the tenants of the Clares, Giffards and Tosnys, confirms the accepted view that religious houses established by an aristocratic kin-group often had a central role in the development of the ties that connected the tenants of a lordship internally.⁴³⁶ The role of the local religious house within the lordship can be traced, as the Clares, Giffards and Tosnys own territorial concerns shifted with their gains and losses over the generations. While the post-1066 redistribution of lands and settlement of Norman tenants in England was the most dramatic example of this symbiotic relationship between the ties of lordship and the

⁴³⁴ Mortimer, 'Land & Service: The Tenants of the Honour of Clare', 177-97. On a broader view of the relationships between lord and tenant, Reynolds, *Fiefs and Vassals*, has been particularly useful.

⁴³⁵ Thomas, *Vassals, Heiresses, Crusaders and Thugs: the Gentry of Angevin Yorkshire, 1154-1216* (Philadelphia, 1993), 4-5.

⁴³⁶ Mortimer, 'Land and Service', 195; Cownie, 'Religious Patronage & Lordship', 145.

role of the church, the expansion of the Clares into Wales and Ireland showed the tenants remaining loyal to local houses and maintaining an interest in their lords' new lands.

The fluidity of the relationships between individuals and within kin-groups is demonstrated by the relationship between the Clares and the Bures kin-group, or Staffords and the Bagots at the end of the twelfth century. However, the division between the lords and the tenants was generally clear to contemporaries, and the localised networks formed through these vertical bonds between lords and tenants produced socio-political units that were shaped by geographical proximity and ties of lordship.

Conclusion

The study of networks based on lordship is more complex than the study of those based on kinship, as the vertical bonds of lordship and the disparity of numbers between lord and vassals tends to obscure the networks that existed around the central node, in this case an individual or kin-group. The Clare, Giffard and Tosny kin-groups as members of the aristocracy owed their position as lords to their own overlords, but that position gave them responsibilities and ties to their own tenants. The vertical ties between the Anglo-Norman king-dukes and their aristocracy and those between the aristocracy and their tenants had an unequal role in shaping lordship-based networks. The relationships developed separately but were not isolated from each other, shaping and being shaped by the social and political circumstances within which the aristocracy operated. Particularly in the tenth and early eleventh century the basis of their relationship with their overlord could affect the way in which these bonds developed. The Clares initially owed their estates, castles and comital title to their consanguinity with the dukes, while the Giffards were trusted members of the ducal court following Osbern de Bolbec's marriage to Gunnor's sister. The Tosnys, however, established themselves without direct blood kinship to the ducal kin-group, Hugh, archbishop of Rouen was closely connected to Duke Richard I and this would have ensured that his secular kin were also supported by the duke.

The relationship of the Clares, Giffards and Tosnys with their overlord could not be defined as a network as it was a reciprocal vertical bond, but inherently limited, as the aristocracy never had more than two acknowledged royal-ducal overlords. While recent arguments have been made that the cross-Channel magnates were not as large a group nor in as awkward a situation as le Patourel, Hollister and others have argued, the principal lines of the Clares, Giffards and Tosnys were all in that position. The Tosnys of Conches were particularly involved in the disputes between Robert Curthose and William Rufus in Normandy, while the Clares in the persons of Roger and Gilbert fitz Richard I were more significant in England. Walter Giffard II was less obviously involved; however, he was amongst the barons whose fealty for his Norman lands was given to Rufus during the negotiations in 1091-2.

The conflict between 1090 and 1106 meant the aristocracy had to choose between two lords on several occasions. The coronation of Henry I and his success at Tinchebrai simplified the political situation for these kin-groups and their allies and kinsmen on both sides of the Channel. The situation during King Stephen's reign was different because of the length of the conflict. Beyond the external influences of the civil war, there were also internal political influences as in the case of the Tosnys support of the Angevins being due to their own conflict with Stephen's favourites the Beaumonts. On a larger scale, the concerns of the Marcher lords and their internal alliances were maintained throughout Stephen's reign despite their distribution into the Angevin or Royalist camps.

The surviving sources provide an uneven perspective on the role of the Clares, Giffards and Tosnys as lords and on the lives of their tenants. While members of the de Blaveni, de Nuers and de Clopton kin-groups can be identified as owing fealty to more than one branch of their lords' kin-groups respectively, the amount of detail within the tenant kin-groups that can be discovered is more variable. In addition the roles of lord and tenant could be difficult to differentiate in cases such as the Giffards and the de Bolbecs, where it has been believed that the twelfth century de Bolbec kin-group was directly descended from the Giffards because of their inheritance of the 'Bolbec' toponymic. In this case the wealth and status held by the de Bolbecs independently of the Giffards also added to complexity as they were peers as well as lord and tenant. The tenants of the Clares provide examples of several tenant kin-groups who followed their lords from Normandy to England, including the case of Geoffrey de Blaveni who began his career as a knight of one Clare and ended his life as a monk in Stoke-by-Clare priory, established by another Clare. This shift from one lord to another within the same kin-group does not appear as an example of multiple bonds since Roger and Gilbert fitz Richard were brothers and known to work together. The bonds linking lords and tenants could also provide supporting evidence of relationships or connections that were otherwise unclear. In the case of the extended de Hotot-Clopton kin-group they provide a link between two branches of the Tosny kin-group that otherwise do not appear to have any direct tie except for their inherited names.

The vertical bonds of lordship form a complex pyramid rather than a network, but are necessary to fully grasp the complexity and breadth of the networks that formed the socio-political sphere within which the aristocracy operated. The kin-based networks of the Clares, Giffards and Tosnys were formed because of shared interests in either the geographical or political aspects of lordship. The marriages and subsequent consanguinity that connected them into identifiable units were generally the means to an end, rather than the end in their own right. This symbiotic relationship between lordship and kinship clearly shows the importance of acknowledging the multiple influences and interpretations that influence each network in regards to both development and analysis.

Conclusion

The purpose of this thesis has been to examine the roles of social and political networks in the Clare, Giffard and Tosny kin-groups, through the themes of kinship, the church and lordship. Hitherto, there has been a tendency to study the aristocracy in isolation rather than as a part of a multi-layered society. Dependent on the focus or purpose of the research, particular relationships or themes are included and others excluded. Churchmen, for instance, have largely fallen within the ambit of ecclesiastical history while younger sons who were raised with maternal uncles and cousins have been largely ignored. By removal of self-imposed boundaries, and through prosopography and social network analysis, however, an integrated view of Anglo-Norman aristocratic society can be developed. The degree of interaction between these groups varied widely even within the three case studies addressed here, but they do show that the whole range of aristocratic relationships need to be taken into consideration.

In addition to the application of social network analysis, an important factor has been the issue of agency; the degree to which individuals or kin-groups consciously assessed their participation in particular activities.¹ Marriage was identified in the introduction as a key example of the issue of agency, demonstrating the extent to which it was influenced by factors such as status, power, local politics, ducal-royal favour, and state conflicts. In each of the three case studies the issue of agency is made more complex as the benefits for both parties involved in a match can now be difficult to discern. Nevertheless, an important element that has become evident through these case studies and which can be assessed is the degree to which particular relationships became active features in the development of kin-based networks. The individuals involved in the marriage were generally not the agents who arranged it, but they did influence how significant the relationship became within the network. This control was important because the number and intensity of ties linking two individuals related to the strength

¹ Goodwin & Mustafa, 'Network Analysis, Culture, and the Problem of Agency', 1436-41.

of the network.² The agency of the individual can therefore be obscured by the strictures of aristocratic society, but awareness of these restrictions can assist in determining the emphasis to be placed on relationships through social network analysis.

A significant feature in the assessment of the nature of these kin-based networks has been the idea of endogamy and exogamy, especially when the usual geographical definition is expanded to include the political. Though this has added to the complexity of the discussion, it has also allowed an extra layer to be added to the problem of network formation. Endogamous marriages formed the majority of those matches examined in the Clare, Giffard and Tosny kin-groups between the tenth and thirteenth centuries. During periods of crisis within the Anglo-Norman realm, such as the recurring succession disputes and civil conflicts of the ruling kin-group, endogamous bonds formed stabilising networks. The classic example of this trend is the behaviour of the Marcher lords during King Stephen's reign. This thesis shows that an equally powerful example can be seen in Tosny-Montfort-Évreux-Breteuil network that was created after 1040. This alliance developed both to protect the southern border of the Evrecin region and also internally to secure the families' estates against the ambitions of the Beaumont kin-group.

The Clares, Giffards and Tosnys generally contracted exogamous marriages, especially those that extended their ties beyond the boundaries of the Anglo-Norman realm, during periods of political stability. At such times the ambitions of the aristocracy expanded, and their overlords were willing to approve of such ties when they were confident of maintaining their position. Such an exogamous marriage therefore demonstrated confidence in the security of the reign of the king-duke by both the aristocracy and by their overlord himself. Nevertheless, these exogamous marriages could also provide external support and if necessary a refuge when the next internal conflict broke out.

² Shulman, 'Network Analysis: A New Addition to an Old Bag of Tricks', 307-323; Mizruchi, 'Recent Achievements and Current Controversies', 329-343.

This emphasis on the role of kinship also allowed for a chronology of each case study and a prosopographical examination of each kin-group to be established, forming a necessary basis for the examination of social and political networks. In addition by following the members of the Clare, Giffard and Tosny kin-groups through the eleventh and twelfth centuries it has been possible to identify the degree of agency each generation exercised in the development and maintenance of their kin-based networks. The generally accepted significance of blood ties is reinforced in the earliest identifiable generations of the three kin-groups, as the Clares and Giffards relied heavily on their kinship with the ducal kin-group, while the Tosnys, in the person of Ralph I de Tosny owed their presence in the duchy to his brother Hugh, archbishop of Rouen.

Over the subsequent generations, however, comparison of the Clare, Giffard and Tosny kin-groups shows that the aristocracy had no set definition of kin; instead each kin-group formed its own pattern. Of the three, the Clares seem to have acted the most self-consciously as a unit, maintaining connections between different branches and across generations. There is rather less evidence of interaction between different branches of the Giffards, and the limited principal line had an insufficient number of individuals to develop wide reaching bonds. In comparison to the principal lines the cadet branches had more localised concerns and focussed on developing their regional ties. Contrary to the traditional view of the relative importance of blood kinship over connections through marriage, the Tosnys and the Giffards do not appear to have maintained close ties between branches of the family, indicating that simply being part of a kin-group did not entail a close connection. However, they did focus on those connections formed through marriage. These three kin-groups, therefore, demonstrate that to speak of the Anglo-Norman aristocracy as a whole in terms of kin-groups is difficult due to the degree of variation in which individuals were regarded as part of a family unit between one kin-group and another. The tie of kinship was not a guarantee of political or social support, merely one contributory factor; therefore extended kin-based networks have to be assessed individually for each case study and for each generation.

A second theme of this thesis has been an examination of the role that social and political networks played in relation to the church. Though there are limitations in the surviving evidence patterns of patronage and burial amongst the three kin-groups provide an indication of the social and political interests and aspirations of the individual and of the kin-group, as well as the degree to which agency could be exercised in such circumstances. This can be most clearly seen through the patterns of patronage for and burial at the traditional and established Benedictine houses, and the more recently created Cistercians in both Normandy and England. The Benedictine houses and dependent cells were primarily supported by the principal branch of the family, as in the cases with Stoke-by-Clare and St Neots for the Clare kin-group, while the cadet branches that established themselves after 1100 often turned to the new monastic orders, especially the Cistercians.

In the Clare, Giffard and Tosny kin-groups there were relatively few churchmen and women that could be positively identified. The most important being an abbot in the Clare kin-group, a bishop and a prior from the Giffards, and an archbishop, a bishop and a chaplain from the Tosny kin-group. Assessment of the churchmen as important parts of the kin-group rather than something separate has allowed a more rounded view of the Clares, Giffards and Tosnys to be developed. This is particularly true of the cases of younger sons and brothers such as Simon and Geoffrey de Tosny, or Gerard Giffard, who owed their careers to their maternal and sisterly connections or of Richard fitz Richard whose familial support secured his appointment despite Archbishop Anselm's censure.

Lordship based networks form the third theme of the thesis, primarily the relationship between the aristocracy and their overlords, the Anglo-Norman king-dukes. Initially the Clare, Giffard and Tosny kin-groups were dependent on the Norman dukes for the land and titles they received in the duchy. They continued to be vulnerable to the authority of their overlords throughout the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Although the Clares were the most powerful in terms of wealth and status by the time of Stephen's reign, they were still vulnerable to loss of land and status when they lost royal favour. Rebellion did not necessarily trigger the loss of royal favour, as the Clares demonstrated under William Rufus and Henry I, when they were granted

more land in an effort to secure their future loyalty. However, Gilbert fitz Gilbert, earl of Pembroke permanently lost his position as royal castellan to Pevensey castle after rebellion in 1146, although King Stephen did restore his earldom once they had reconciled. Gilbert's son Richard lost the title earl of Pembroke under Henry II, until his successes in Ireland ensured that he was acknowledged as earl of Striguil. The evidence in these examples supports the late-twentieth century view of the degree of power and agency that the aristocracy could exercise in relation to their overlords. However, the evidence also indicates that the king-dukes were frequently capable of enforcing their authority to a degree that contradicts the current view on the matter, making the relationship one of negotiated power that shifted as the individuals and circumstances altered.

Examining the vertical ties between the Clares, Giffards and Tosnys and their tenants, has proven highly complex. While much of the evidence confirms the current standard view of the role of the church in providing a focus for ties of lordship, there is also evidence of the importance of taking individual circumstances into account. The development of multiple close ties between members of a tenant kin-group and their lord, as in the case of the Clares and the de Bures kin-group, is an example of such a case. Meanwhile through the relationship between the Giffards and the de Nuers tenant family and the Tosnys and the de Clères respectively, comes rare evidence of a connection linking the different branches of the kin-groups. The Giffards of Longueville and the Giffards of Brimpsfield had different branches of the de Nuers kin-group amongst their tenants. The only evidence of a link between the Tosnys de Conches and the Tosnys of Belvoir other than their toponymic, came from the different branches of the de Clère kin-group that held from them in Normandy and England.

Through the use of social network analysis and by assessing the factor of agency it has been possible to improve on current understanding of the Clare, Giffard and Tosny kin-groups. Anglo-Norman scholars have often ignored individuals such as the younger sons of Ralph IV and Roger III de Tosny who lived with and relied on the patronage of their maternal kin, because they were outwith the Anglo-Norman realm. However, the lives of these younger sons indicate that the Tosnys had wider interests and connections to more

powerful kinsfolk than is generally acknowledged. Similarly the unusual closeness of the Clare kin-group, and the lack of clarity of many of the Giffard's familial ties become more apparent when compared with their peers. The kinship based and lordship based networks of the aristocracy are inextricably linked throughout the eleventh and twelfth centuries, as becomes clear when assessing the probable motivations for particular marriages and when studying the reasons for individuals receiving particular lands or patronising specific religious houses. By inclusion of the majority of the cadet branches and examination of three kin-groups, a broad field of individuals and generations has been studied. While the Clares, Giffards and Tosnys shared common interests and used similar techniques to achieve their goals, Clares and Tosnys also had the advantage of numbers, and of unbroken principal lines into the fourteenth century. It is clear that the Clares and Tosnys had the greater number of bonds, and were more actively invested in those connections than the Giffards. However, their relative success is primarily owed to their ability to develop beneficial networks and maintain those relationships that offered the greatest reward. Through the application of social network analysis the Clares, Giffards and Tosnys can be placed within the broader socio-political patterns and networks of the Anglo-Norman aristocracy, and their position within that body fairly assessed.

These discoveries therefore make it clear that more work has yet to be done to truly place the Anglo-Norman aristocracy within the context of their European peers. In particular the case studies of the Clare, Giffard and Tosny kin-groups indicate a need to re-evaluate the power and authority that the Anglo-Norman king-dukes could exercise over the aristocracy's lands and livelihood. Similarly there remains a great deal to be done to explore the position and role in society of Anglo-Norman tenants as a group rather than as individual examples. Finally, despite the vast historiography that already exists on the subject, and the difficult issue of agency, there is potential for future study into the aristocracy's ability to take a long view on marriage, kinship and the related benefits and problems such bonds created. These avenues, and the continued application of social network analysis on the aristocracy as a whole, will further illuminate the negotiated relationships that form the socio-political base of the Clares, Giffards and Tosnys' position in the Anglo-Norman realm.

Appendix 1:

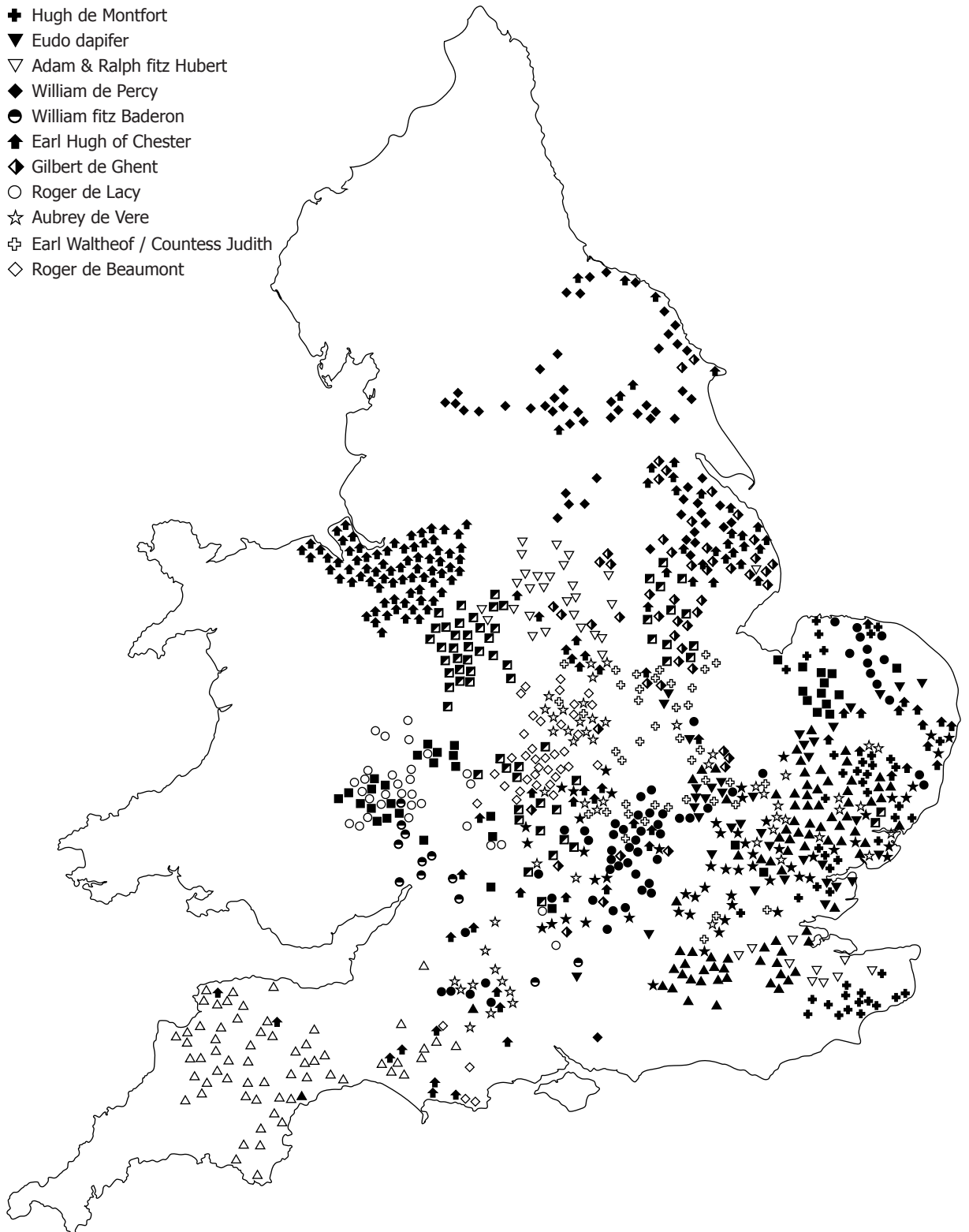
Domesday Maps

These maps and the *Patterns of Domesday Landholding of the Clares, Giffards and Tosnys*, which appeared earlier, are not intended to show every property that the various members of the kin-groups held in 1086 and acquired after the survey. To do so on a map of the English counties and Welsh Marches would have required the symbols used be so small as to be impossible to differentiate one from another. Therefore these maps merely provide an approximation of the key manors and general possessions of the Clares, Giffards and Tosnys as kin-groups and as individuals. Patterns of lordship and landholding, however, can still be identified from these maps as regions where an individual or kin-group had numerous manors or smallholdings are still noticeable, as are areas where they do not have lands. The *Patterns of Domesday Landholding of the Clares, Giffards and Tosnys* allows for the geographical locations of the three kin-groups to be viewed and assessed together. This evidence was useful in speculating on the reasons behind the marriage of Walter fitz Richard and Isabel daughter of Ralph III de Tosny as the lands Walter acquired in the Welsh Marches were close to those Ralph III had received from William fitz Osbern's estate.

The maps in this appendix show each of the kin-groups with their in-laws, but are still based on their possessions as recorded in Domesday Book. Despite these limitations, the landholding patterns indicated by the survey proved to be a useful tool for analysis. The Clares unsurprisingly had the most densely covered map, but where they did not hold lands - Sussex, Hampshire, Cambridgeshire and the south of Lincolnshire - are therefore all the more remarkable. The Giffards had more localised interests, and their map reflects this, as the northern counties and the south coast are largely empty, with the exception of the Warennes in Sussex. Finally, the Tosnys and their affines held lands in two main areas, East Anglia and the Welsh Marches into the western counties. The Tosnys also held the most northerly lands of the three kin-groups or their in-laws, while they have almost no possessions along the south coast, except for those manors held by Richard fitz Gilbert I and Robert de Beaumont and their descendents in Devon and Dorset.

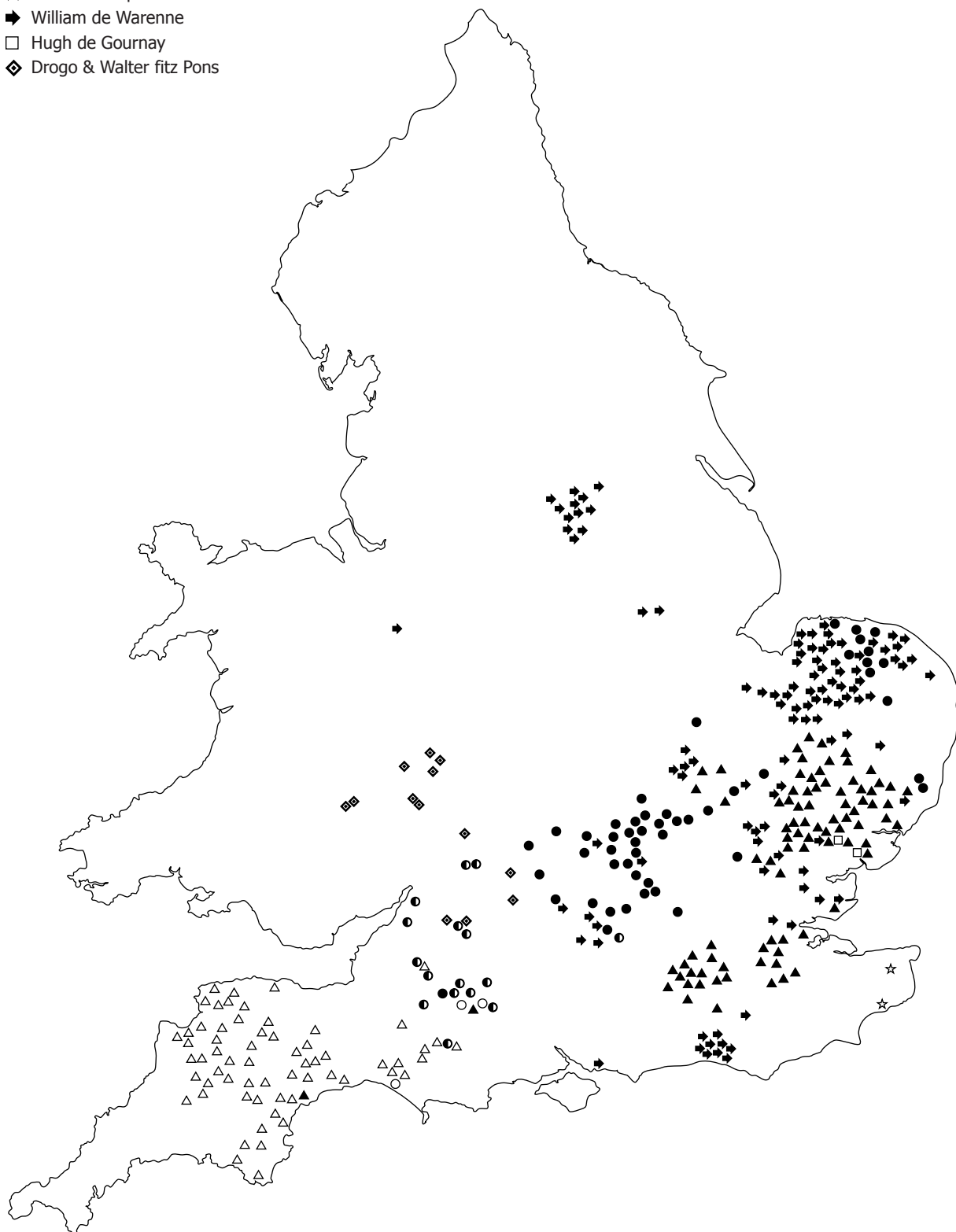
Patterns of Domesday Land Holding for the Clares and their Affines

- ▲ Richard fitz Gilbert I
- △ Baldwin fitz Gilbert I
- Walter Giffard II
- Ralph III de Tosny
- ▣ Robert of Stafford
- ★ Geoffrey de Mandeville
- ✚ Hugh de Montfort
- ▼ Eudo dapifer
- ▽ Adam & Ralph fitz Hubert
- ◆ William de Percy
- William fitz Baderon
- ⬆ Earl Hugh of Chester
- ◊ Gilbert de Ghent
- Roger de Lacy
- ☆ Aubrey de Vere
- ⊕ Earl Waltheof / Countess Judith
- ◇ Roger de Beaumont



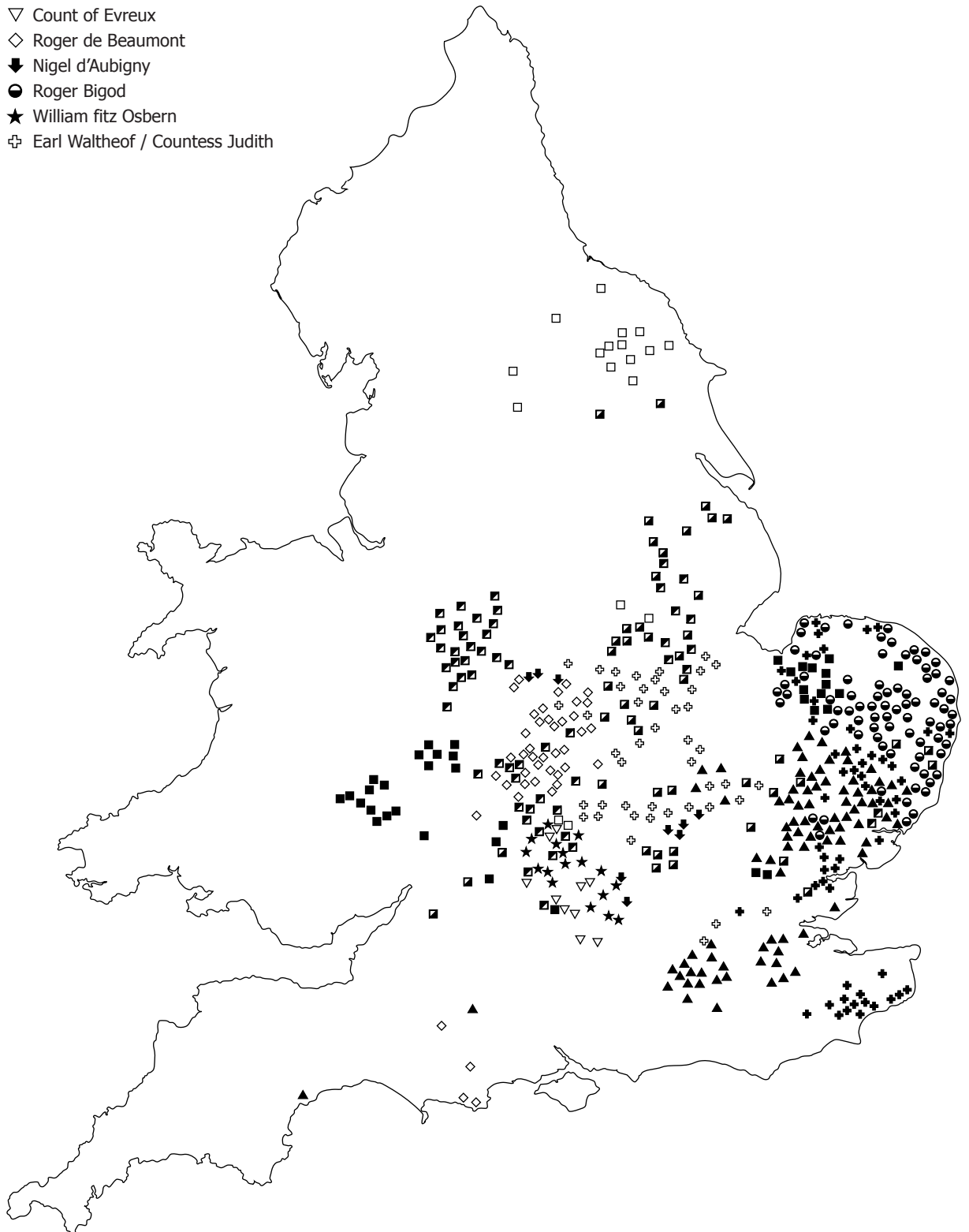
Patterns of Domesday Land Holding for the Giffards and their Affines

- Walter Giffard II
- Osbern Giffard
- Berengar Giffard
- ▲ Richard fitz Gilbert I
- △ Baldwin fitz Gilbert I
- ☆ William d'Arques
- ➡ William de Warenne
- Hugh de Gournay
- ◆ Drogo & Walter fitz Pons



Patterns of Domesday Land Holding for the Tosnys and their Affines

- Ralph III de Tosny
- ▣ Robert of Stafford
- ▤ Robert of Tosny
- Berengar of Tosny
- ▲ Richard fitz Gilbert I
- ✚ Hugh de Montfort
- ▽ Count of Evreux
- ◇ Roger de Beaumont
- ⬇ Nigel d'Aubigny
- Roger Bigod
- ★ William fitz Osbern
- ⊕ Earl Waltheof / Countess Judith



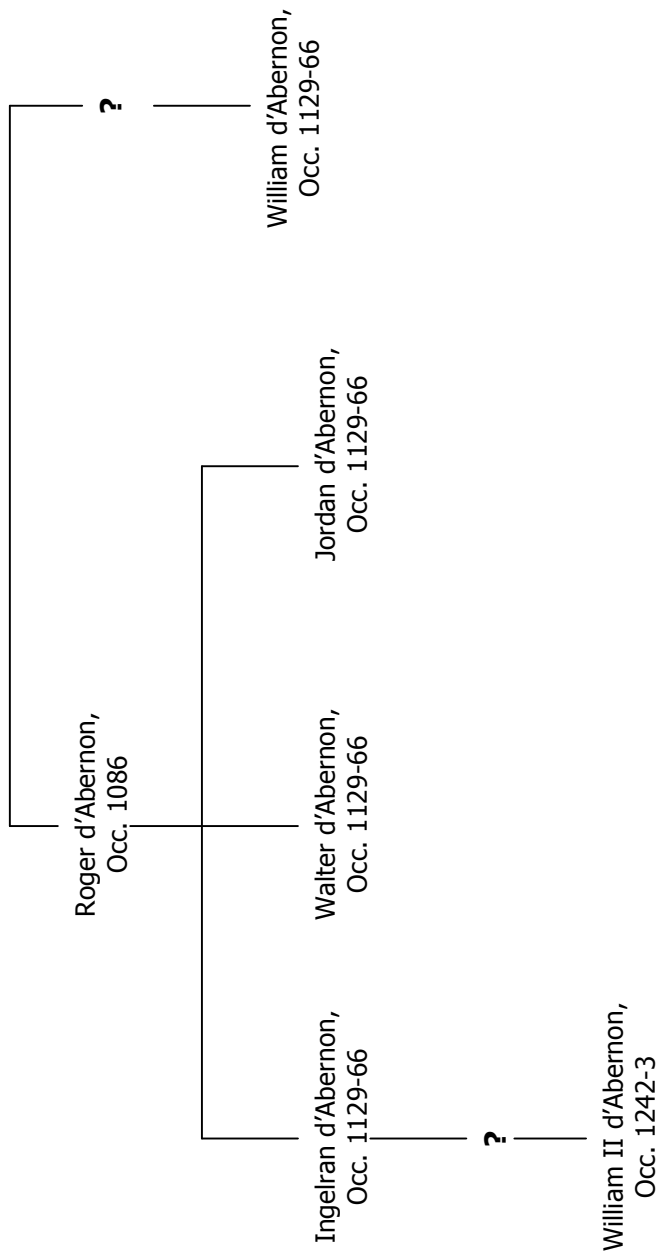
Appendix 2:

Genealogies of the Tenant Kin-groups

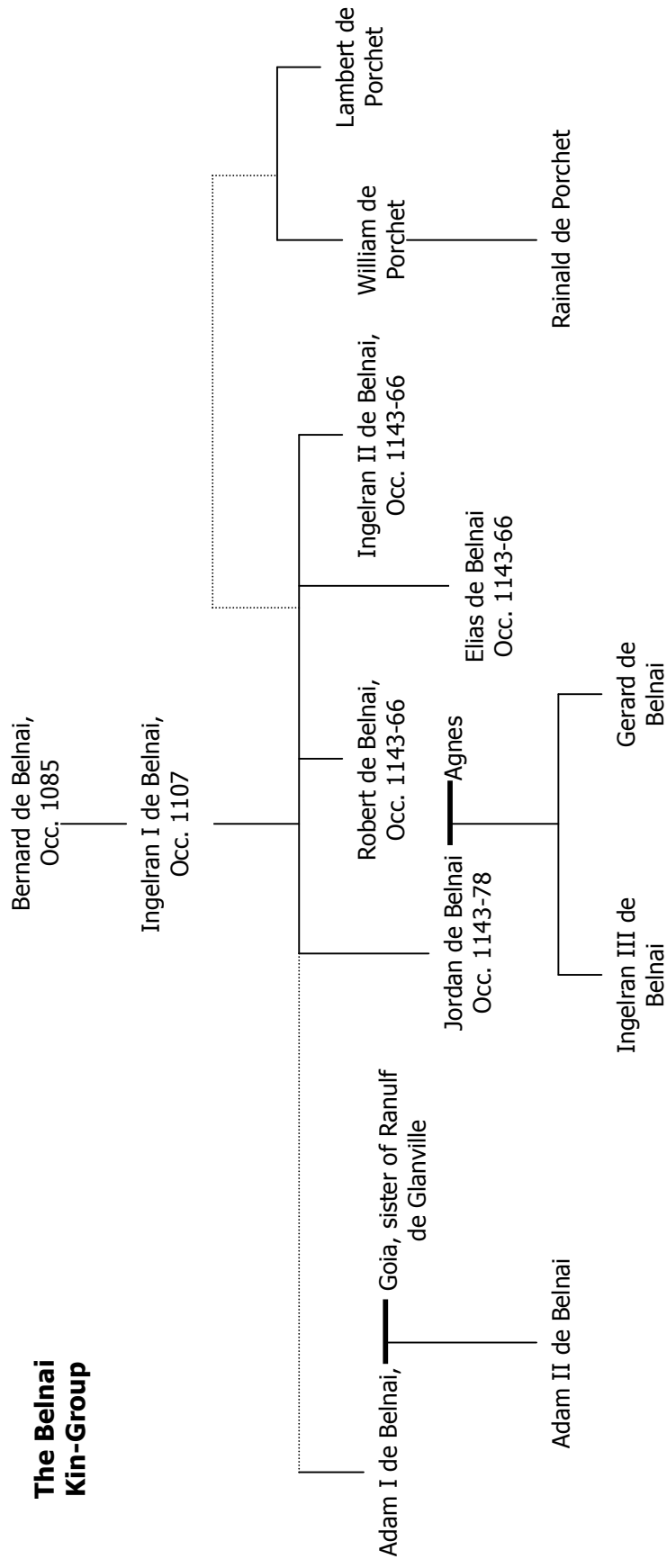
The section on the tenants is a key subsection in Part III of the thesis, as there are several kin-groups examined in connection to each of the principal kin-groups. These genealogies facilitated the examination of the formation and development of relationships and networks amongst the tenants and with their lords, and ensured that the actions of individuals were properly attributed. They were also a useful research exercise as the amount of information about each kin-group, and the individuals within each kin-group, varied widely. For example, the Bures genealogy originated as a study of Baldwin the Steward and his son Geoffrey's situation as a ward of Roger fitz Richard II, earl of Hertford, from their charters it was possible to identify their *antecessors* back to Domesday Book and their successors into the thirteenth century. Examining the charters of Alina, lady of Sampford, which recorded her marriage to the late Richard fitz Richard II of the Clare kin-group, turned the study of a tenant family into an examination of the kinship bond between the Clares and their tenants and what this meant for the Bures kin-group. Meanwhile, despite numerous appearances in charters the Acigneio genealogy is unnecessary as only three individuals were identified, a father, son and grandson.

The lack of definite information about individuals means that the relationships between different branches, or specific members, of a kin-group are not always clear and the genealogies therefore reflect this by including the options that appear to be the most probable based on the source materials. The lack of certainty is often frustrating as without further details about the internal bonds of a kin-group it is impossible to fully evaluate the connections that formed the tenant networks. The evidence also varies in regards to the relationship between members of the Clare, Giffard and Tosny kin-groups and their tenants as kin-groups and individuals.

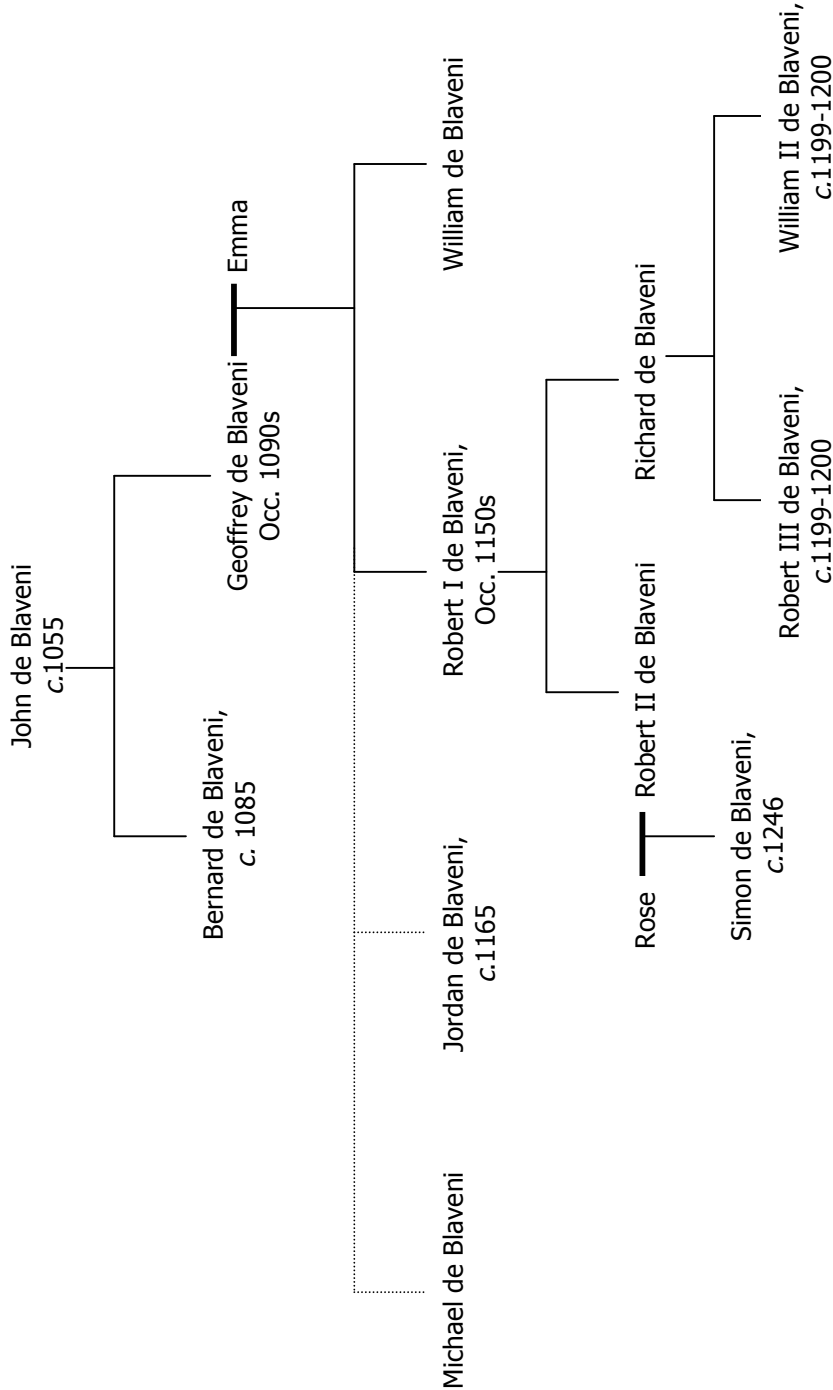
The d'Abernon Kin-Group



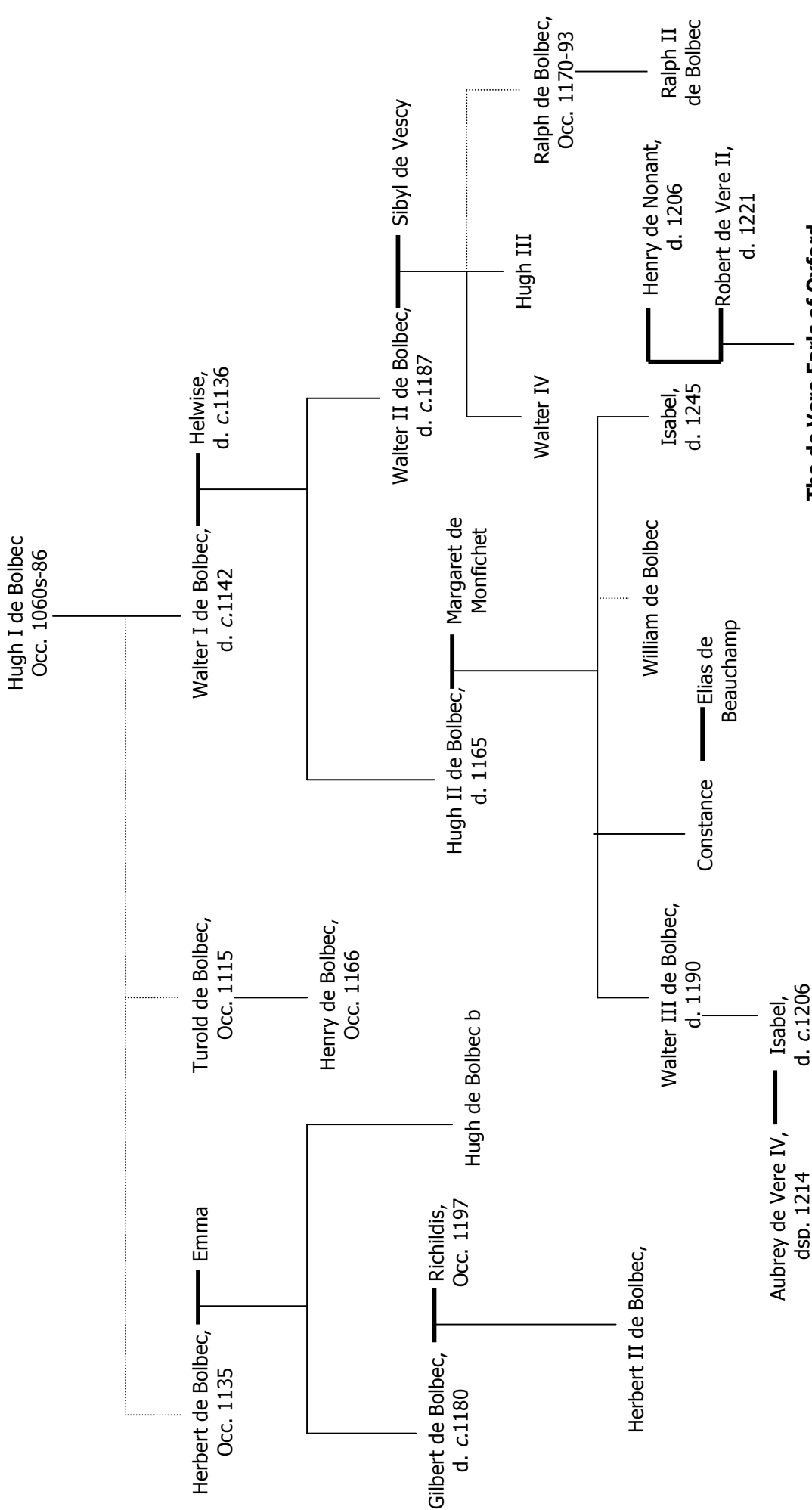
The Belnai Kin-Group



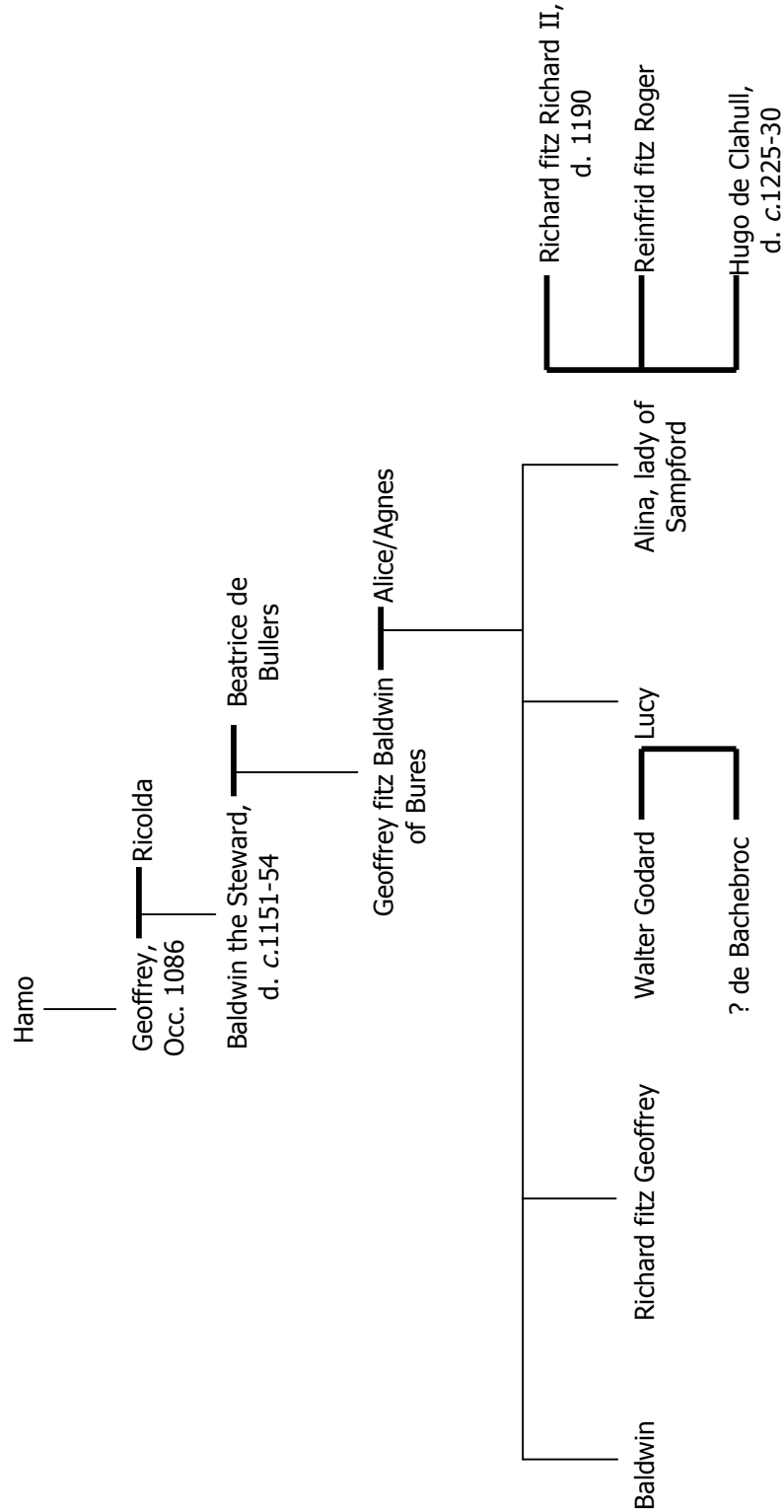
**The Blaveni
Kin-group**



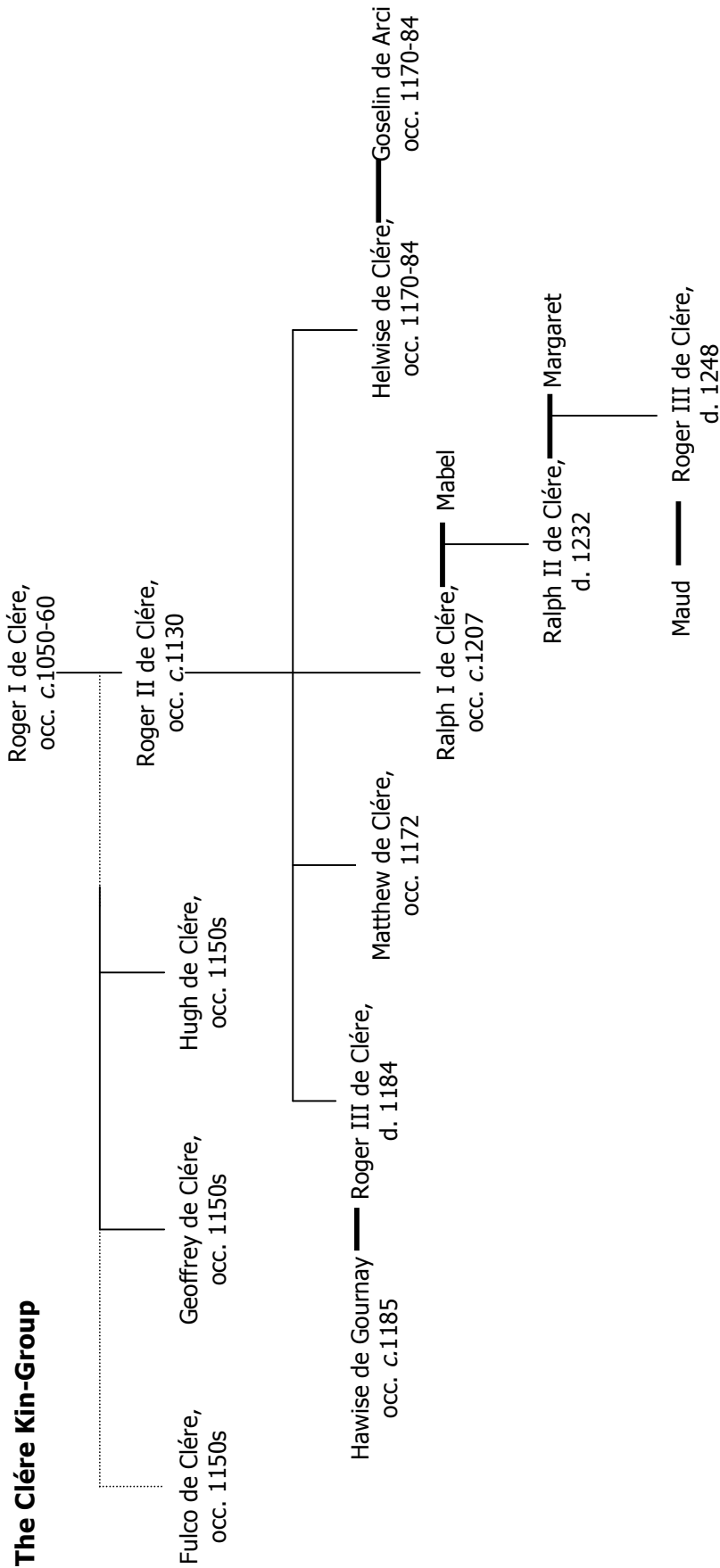
The Bolbec Kin-group



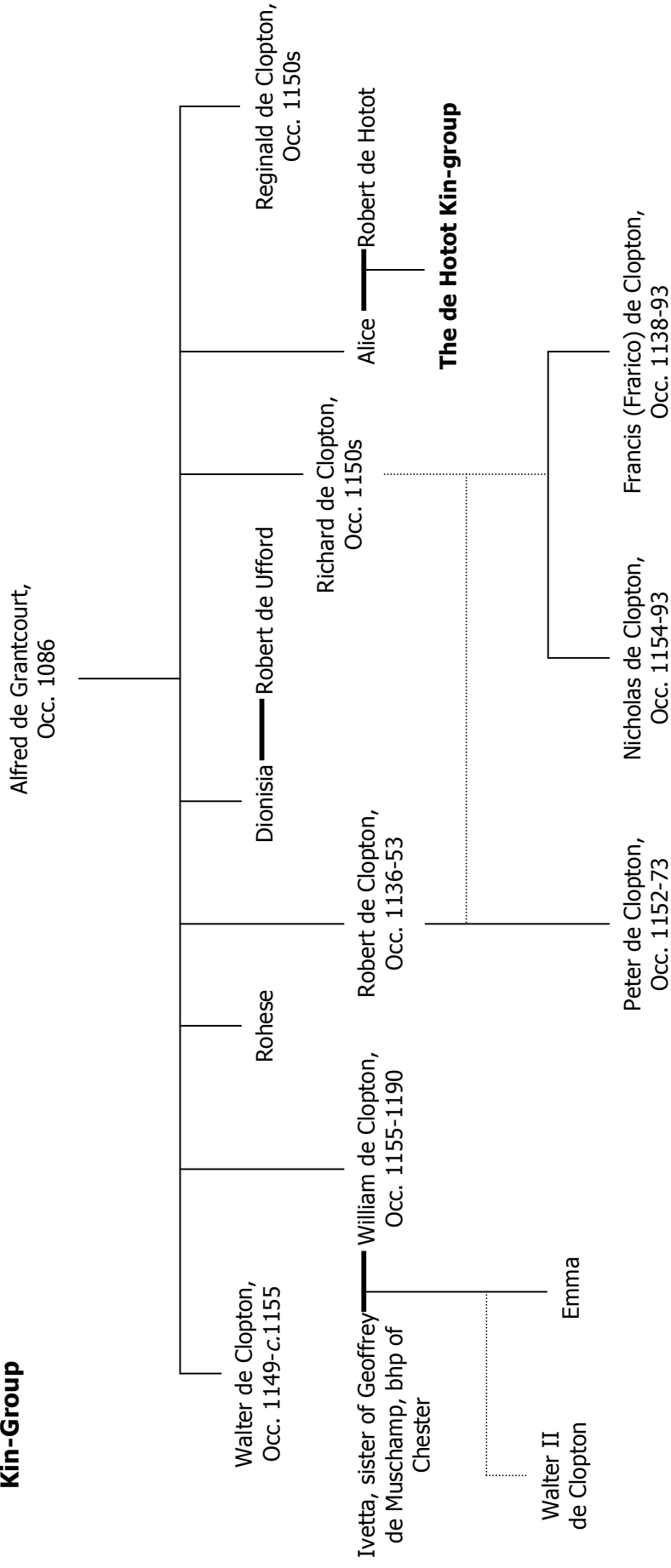
The Bures Genealogy



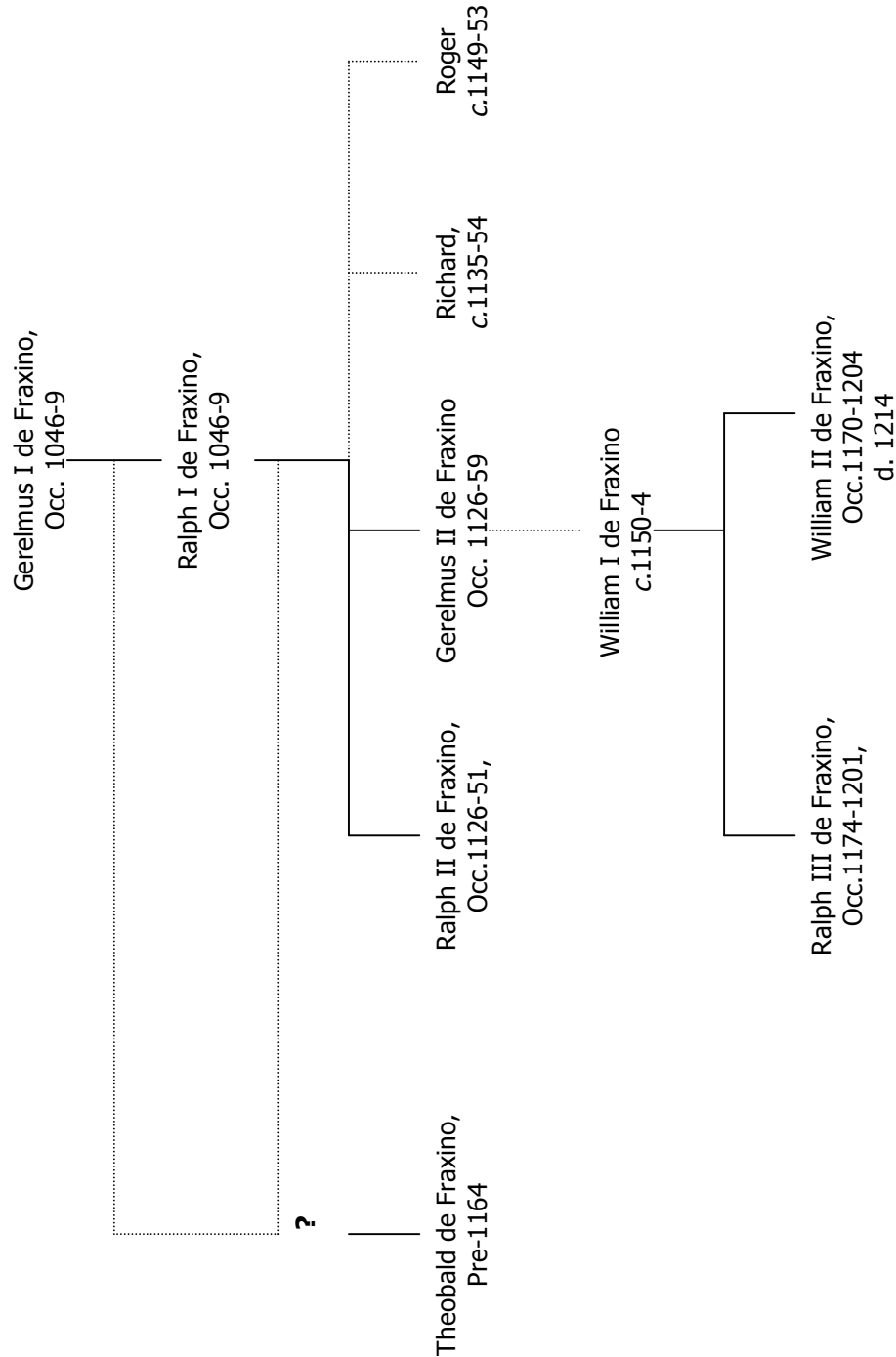
The Clére Kin-Group



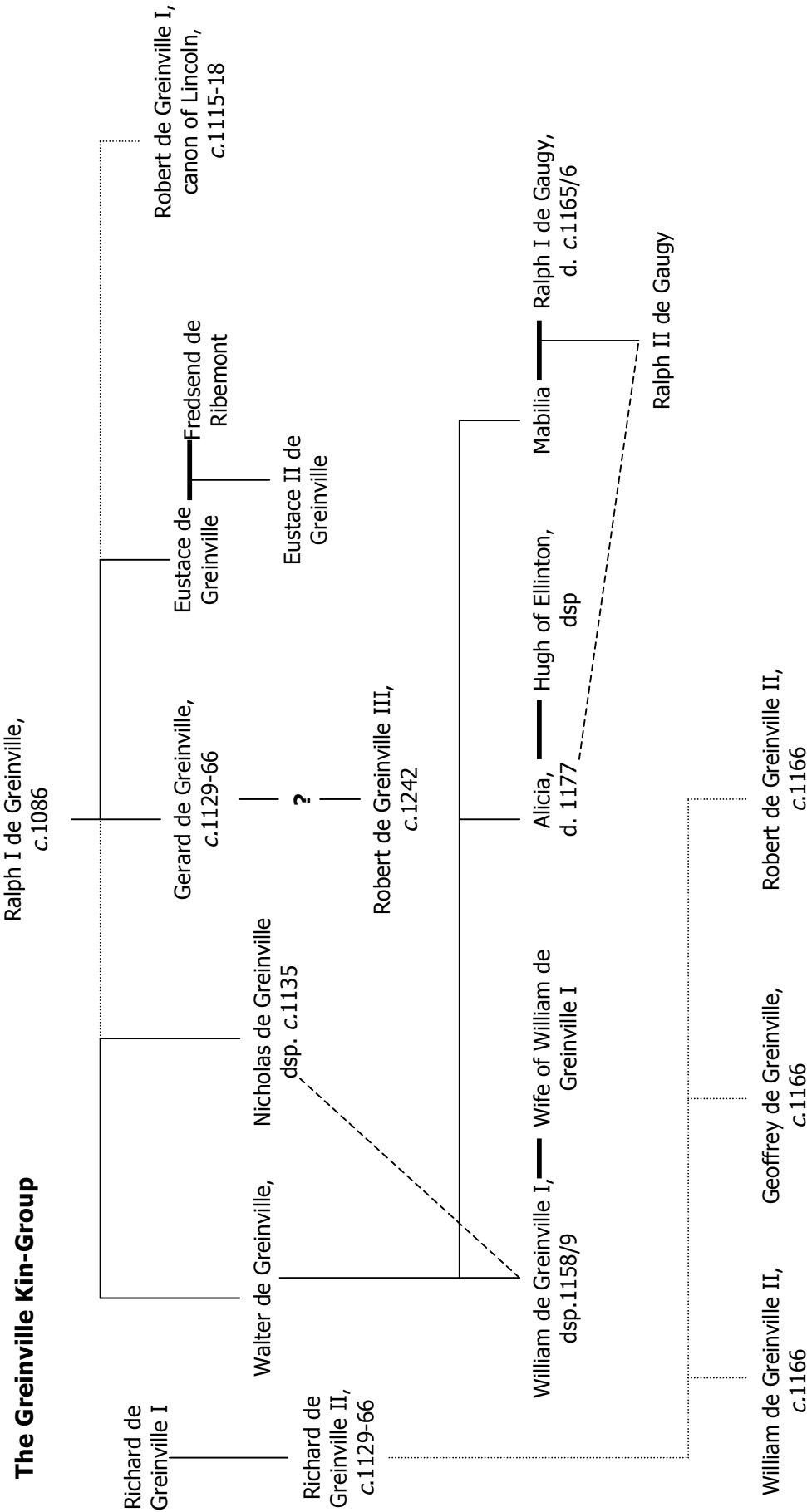
The Clopton Kin-Group



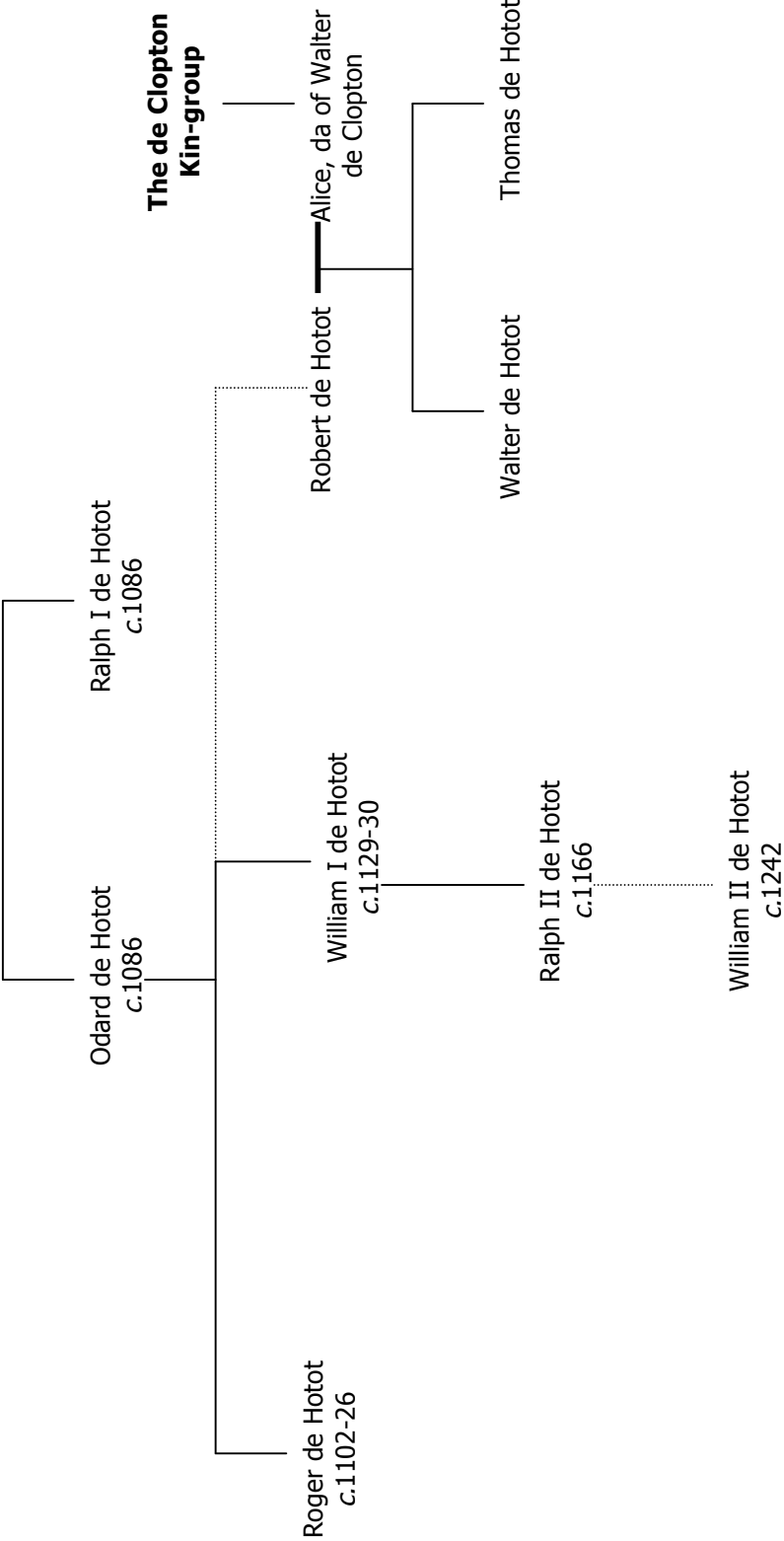
The Fraxino
Kin-Group



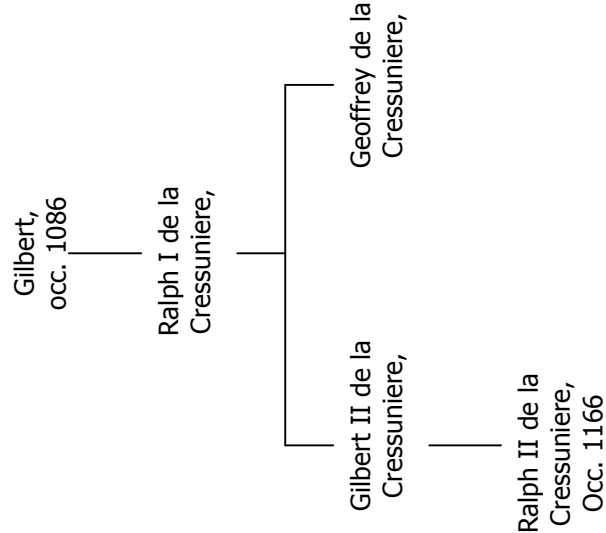
The Greinville Kin-Group



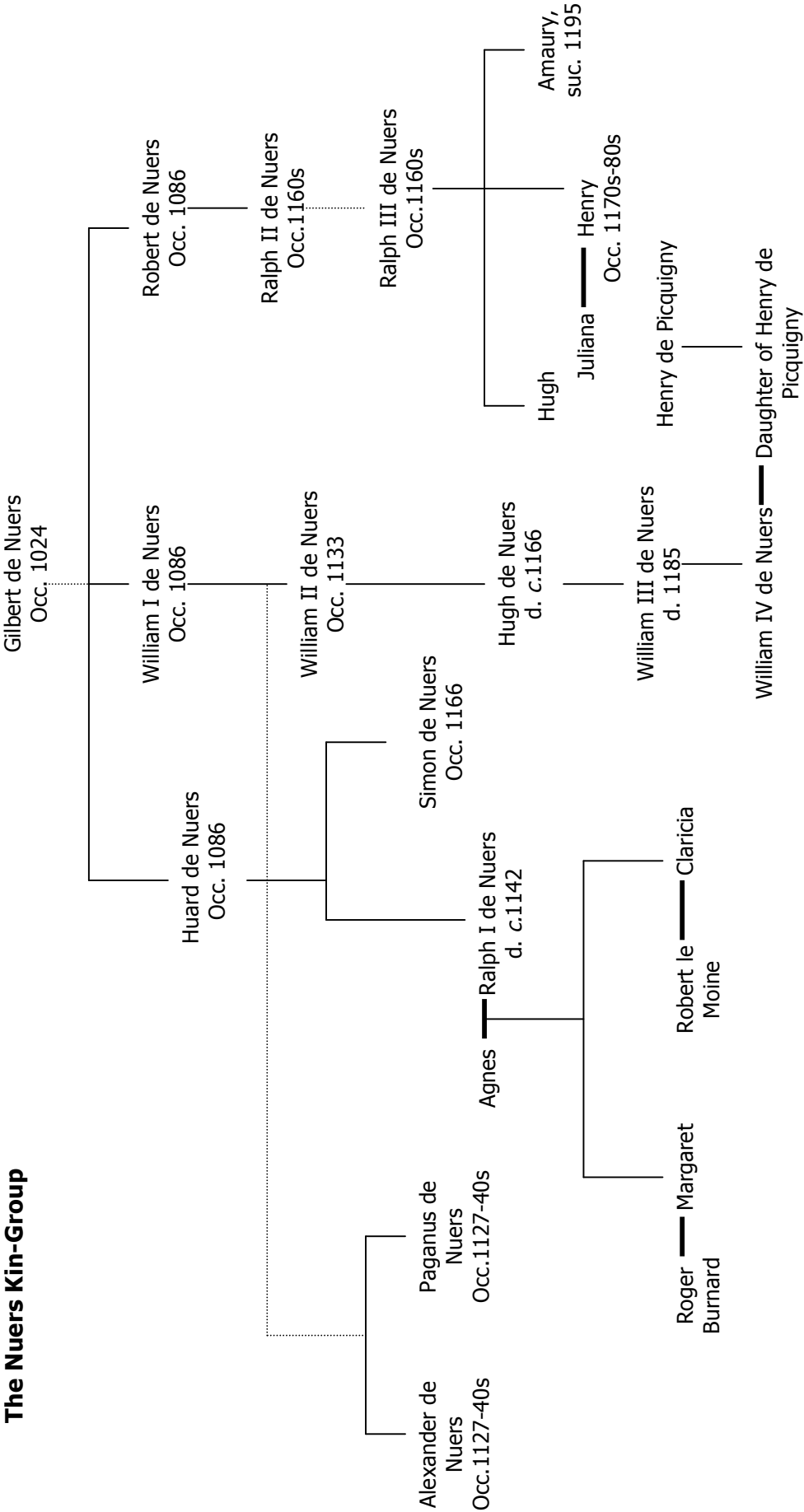
The Hotot Kin-Group



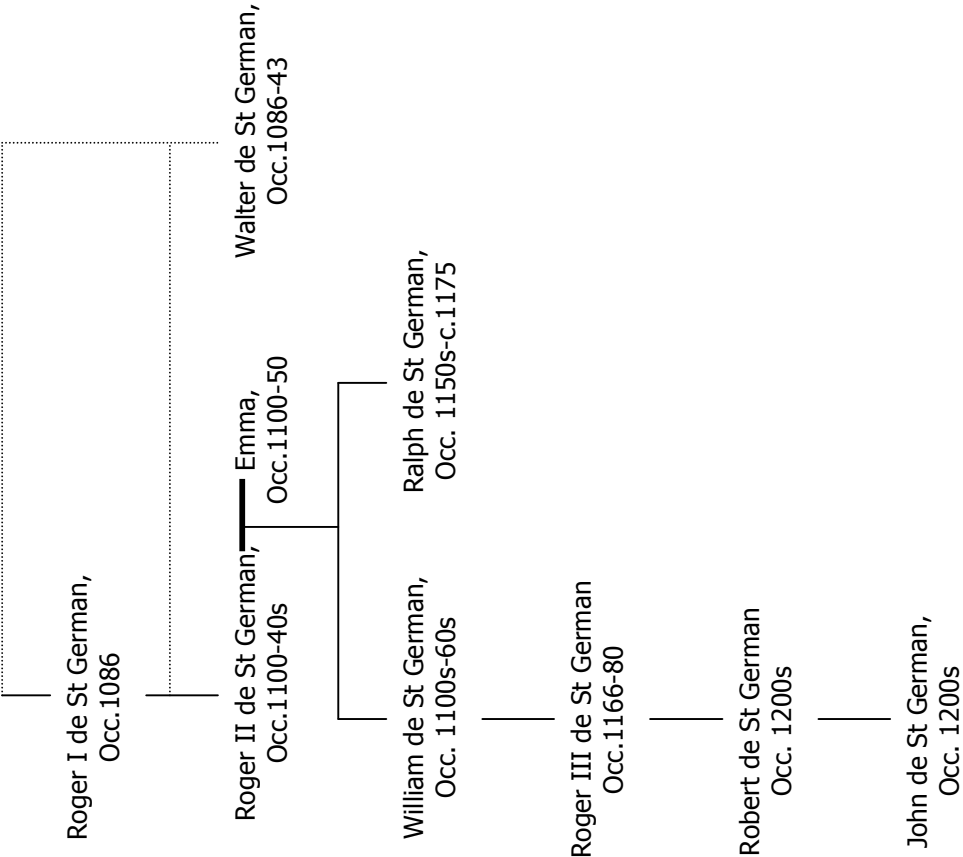
**The de la Cressuniere
Kin-Group**



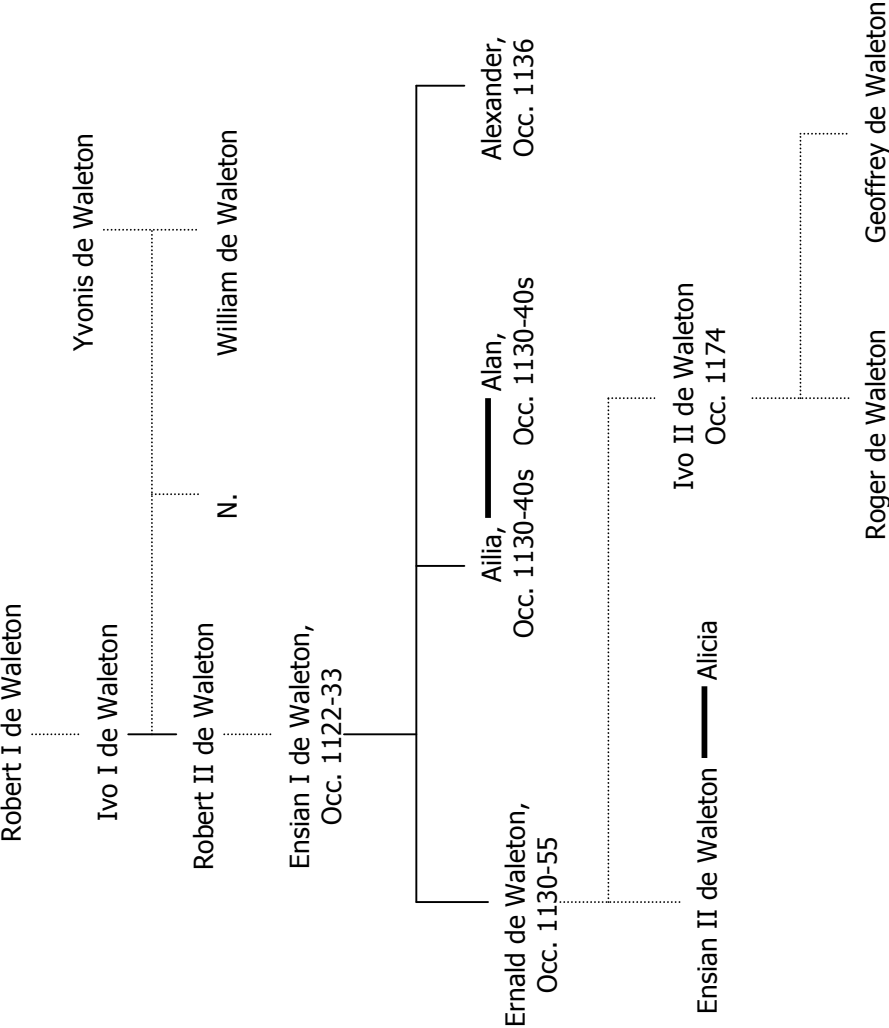
The Nuers Kin-Group



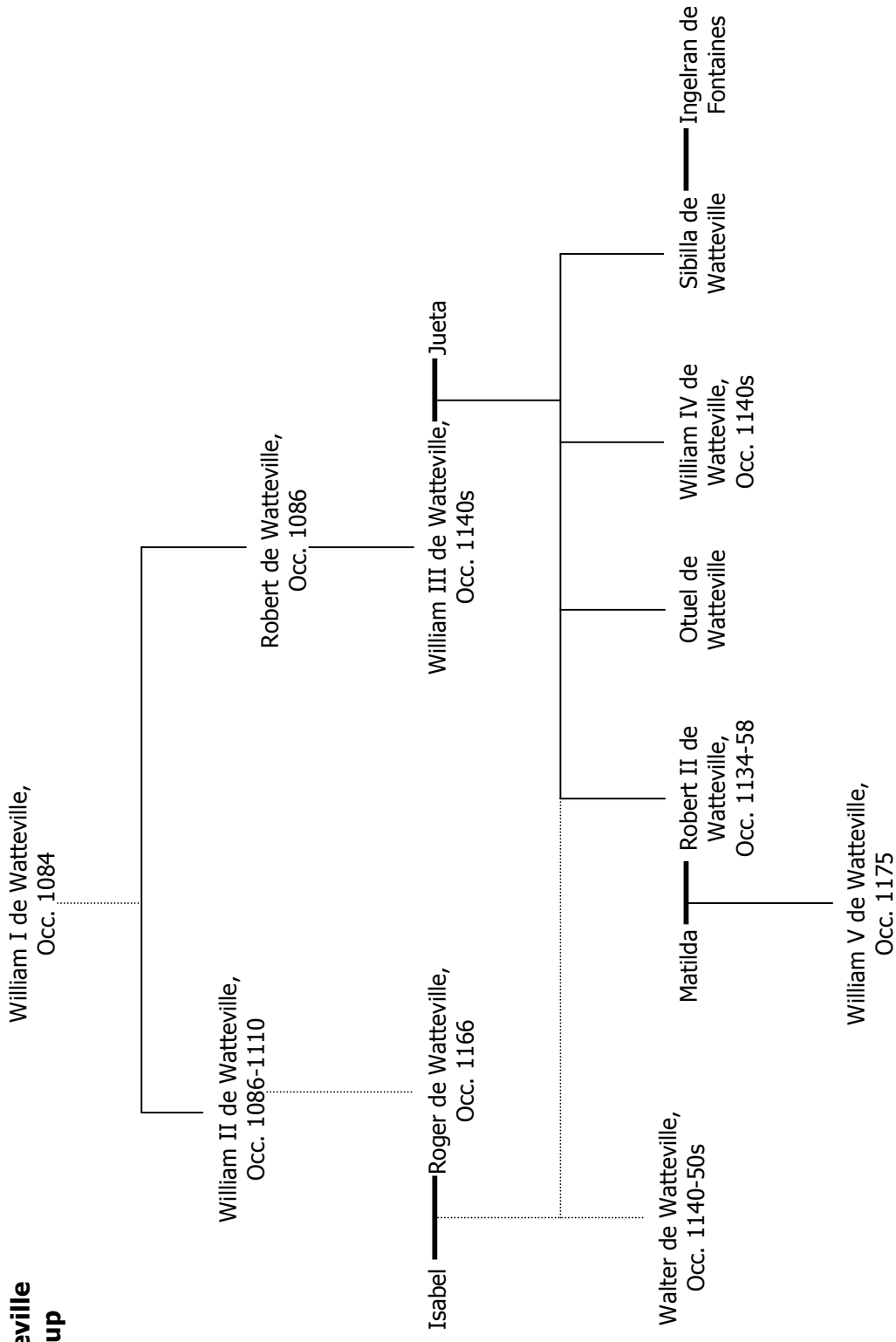
**The St German
Kin-Group**



**The Waleton
Kin-Group**



The Watteville Kin-group



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