

**The Earls of Chester and their Family**  
**in Normandy and England**  
**from the Early Eleventh Century until 1120**

**M. Phil. by Research**  
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## Abstract

This study focuses on an individual family of the Anglo-Norman state, the family of the earls of Chester. This family, notable for their activities and involvement in politics, was one of the most important aristocratic families in this period. This study attempts to understand them as a concrete example of an aristocratic family in the historical context of their own environment and the transformation of the Anglo-Norman state. Firstly, the Introduction sets out the framework of the problems, describing the current theories of the aristocracy in the Anglo-Norman state, and pointing out the importance of individual studies. Chapter I examines the earliest stage of the family's history in Normandy, from their origin to the time of the Norman Conquest. Thurstan the vicomte was the oldest notable figure of this family. Unlike Thurstan, his son Richard vicomte of the Avranchin in the reign of the Duke William II retained a good relationship with William and firmly established the family's position within Norman aristocratic society. From this base, Hugh, Richard's famous son and heir, flourished even more in the decades after the Norman Conquest of England. The career and activities of Hugh d'Avranches, earl of Chester is the theme of Chapters II and III. The first part of Chapter II reconstructs his career chronologically, mainly by using the charter evidence, and demonstrating what was involved in practical terms in being a cross-Channel magnate. The second part of this chapter analyses two specific aspects of his career, namely, his involvement in Wales and with the Welsh and his relationship with the Conqueror's three sons after the Conqueror's death, and in particular analysing how Hugh was able to maintain his cross-Channel estates when the Anglo-Norman state was divided. Chapter III is a structural analysis of Earl Hugh's estates and tenants. After a general overview of

the whole of his estates, the landholding of each of his tenants and their origins are investigated, with reference to their situation and the individuals' relationships with Earl Hugh and with other tenants. Finally, Chapter IV focuses on Earl Richard, Earl Hugh's successor, discussing mainly his relationship with King Henry I. Earl Richard's career in the aristocratic society in the Anglo-Norman state shows how King Henry tried to construct a solid cooperative aristocratic community around him. Finally, the conclusion summarizes the basic features discussed in this study and suggests some future areas of research.

## **Acknowledgements**

This study is the result of my research at the University of Glasgow. Both the life and study I have experienced here are a very influential stage of my life. I wish to express my thanks to the Rotary Foundation for their generous financial assistance which enabled me to come to study in the United Kingdom, and my parents, who have continuously supported me and encouraged me to pursue an academic career. My friends, here and in Japan, have cheered me and kept me happy all the time. All members of staff at the department of Medieval History at the University of Glasgow have helped me greatly through their kindness and friendliness. Above all, I am grateful to my supervisor, Professor David Bates, whose thoughtful suggestions and encouraging advice based on his deep knowledge together with great patience with my troublesome English are the most irreplaceable fortunes I have ever experienced. Although this study is, I am afraid, still filled with errors, omissions and misconceptions for which I am solely responsible, it could never have been completed without his enormous kindness.

26 June, 1997

Atsuko Nakamura

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## Abbreviations

|                               |                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |
|-------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>Abbayes Caennaises</i>     | <i>Les Actes de Guillaume le Conquérant et de la reine Mathilde pour les abbayes caennaises</i> , ed. L. Musset, Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie, 37 (Caen, 1967).                              |
| <i>Anglo-Norman Studies</i>   | <i>Proceedings of the Battle Conference on Anglo-Norman Studies</i> .                                                                                                                                               |
| A.S.C.                        | <i>The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle</i> , ed. and tr. D. Whitelock, D. C. Douglas and S. I. Tucker (London, 1961).                                                                                                         |
| Bates, <i>Regesta</i>         | <i>Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum: The Acta of William I, 1066-1087</i> , ed. D. Bates (Oxford, forthcoming).                                                                                                      |
| B.I.H.R.<br><i>Brenhinedd</i> | <i>The Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research. Brenhinedd y Saesson or The Kings of the Saxons</i> , ed. and tr. T. Jones (Cardiff, 1971).                                                                |
| <i>Brut</i>                   | <i>Brut y Tywysogyon or The Chronicle of the Princes</i> , ed. and tr. T. Jones (Cardiff, 1952).                                                                                                                    |
| B.S.A.N.<br>C.D.F.            | <i>Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie. Calendar of Documents Preserved in France Illustrative of the History of Great Britain and Ireland, I, A.D., 918-1216</i> , ed. J. H. Round (London, 1899). |
| C.E.C.                        | <i>The Charters of the Anglo-Norman Earls of Chester, c. 1071-1237</i> , ed. G. Barraclough, The Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, 126 (1988).                                                             |
| C.P.                          | <i>The Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain and the United Kingdom</i> , ed. C. E. C., 13 vols. (London, 1910-1959).                                                                       |
| E.H.R.<br>E.Y.C.              | <i>English Historical Review. Early Yorkshire Charters</i> , vol. 1-3, ed. W. Farrer (Edinburgh), vol. 4-12, ed. C.T. Clay (Yorkshire Archaeological Society, 1914-65).                                             |
| F.W.                          | <i>Florence of Worcester, Chronicon ex Chronicis</i> , ed. B. Thorpe, 2 vols. (London, 1848, 1849).                                                                                                                 |
| G.N.D.                        | <i>The Gesta Normannorum Ducum of William of Jumièges, Orderic Vitalis, and Robert of Torigni</i> , ed. and tr. E. M. C. van Houts, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1992, 1995).                                                   |
| H.C.Y.                        | <i>Hugh the Chanter, The History of the Church of York 1066-1127</i> , ed. and tr. C. Johnson, rev. M. Brett, C. N. L. Brooke, M. Winterbottom (Oxford,                                                             |



|                                |                                                                                                                                                              |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|                                | 1990).                                                                                                                                                       |
| H.K.F.                         | Farrer, W., <i>Honors and Knights' Fees</i> , 3 vols. (Manchester, 1925).                                                                                    |
| H.H.                           | Henry, Archdeacon of Huntingdon, <i>Historia Anglorum</i> , ed. and tr. D. Greenway (Oxford, 1996).                                                          |
| H.N.                           | Eadmer, <i>Historia Novorum</i> , ed. M. Rule (R.S., 1884).                                                                                                  |
| <i>The History of G. ap C.</i> | <i>The History of Gruffydd ap Cynan</i> , ed. and tr. A. Jones (Manchester, 1910).                                                                           |
| Hyda                           | <i>Liber Monasterii de Hyda</i> , ed. E. Edwards (R.S., 1866).                                                                                               |
| O.V.                           | <i>The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis</i> , ed. and tr. M. Chibnall, 6 vols. (Oxford, 1969-80).                                                   |
| R.A.D.N.                       | <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> , 36 (Caen, 1961). |
| R.H.D.F.E.                     | <i>Revue historique de droit français et étranger</i> .                                                                                                      |
| R.H.F.                         | <i>Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France</i> , ed. M. Bouquet et al., 24 vols. (Paris, 1869-1904).                                               |
| R.R.A.N., I                    | <i>Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum, I. 1066-1100</i> , eds. H. W. C. Davis and R. J. Whitwell (Oxford, 1913).                                                |
| R.R.A.N., II                   | <i>Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum, II. 1100-1135</i> , eds. C. Johnson and H. A. Cronne (Oxford, 1956).                                                     |
| R.S.                           | Rolls Series.                                                                                                                                                |
| <i>St. Werburgh</i>            | <i>The Chartulary or Register of The Abbey of St. Werburgh, Chester</i> , ed. J. Tait, Chetham Society, new ser., 79 (1920) and 82 (1923).                   |
| S.D.                           | Symeon of Durham, <i>Opera Omnia</i> , ed. T. Arnold, 2 vols. (R.S., 1882-5).                                                                                |
| T.R.H.S.                       | <i>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society</i> .                                                                                                        |
| V.C.H.                         | <i>The Victoria History of the Counties of England</i> (London, 1900, in progress).                                                                          |
| W.M., G.R.                     | William of Malmesbury, <i>De Gestis Regum Anglorum libri quinque, historiae novellae libri tres</i> , ed. W. Stubbs, 2 vols. (R.S., 1887-9).                 |
| W.P.                           | William of Poitiers, <i>Guillaume de Poitiers: Histoire de Guillaume le Conquérant</i> , ed. and tr. R. Foreville (Paris, 1952).                             |

Domesday County names

BRK

Berkshire

|     |                  |
|-----|------------------|
| BKM | Buckinghamshire  |
| CHS | Cheshire         |
| DBY | Derbyshire       |
| DEV | Devon            |
| DOR | Dorset           |
| GLS | Gloucestershire  |
| HAM | Hampshire        |
| HUN | Huntingdonshire  |
| LEC | Leicestershire   |
| LIN | Lincolnshire     |
| NFK | Norfolk          |
| NTH | Northamptonshire |
| NTT | Nottinghamshire  |
| OXF | Oxfordshire      |
| RUT | Rutland          |
| SHR | Shropshire       |
| SOM | Somerset         |
| SFK | Suffolk          |
| STS | Staffordshire    |
| WAR | Warwickshire     |
| WIL | Wiltshire        |
| YKS | Yorkshire        |

Entries of individual Domesday landholdings in this text are referred to by the county and the number assigned in *Domesday Book*, ed. J. Morris.



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  - 5.14. Warin fitzBurnwin

## Introduction

The Anglo-Norman state has long been a controversial subject among many medieval scholars. Various opinions have been developed, from the nature of its origin in the duchy of Normandy to the politics of the so-called 'Anarchy' of King Stephen's reign. Above all, Professor John Le Patourel's ideas, published twenty years ago, are still the cause of much discussion.<sup>1</sup> The relationship between England and Normandy during this period is crucial to understanding the structure of the state.<sup>2</sup> His emphasis on the closeness and assimilation between England and Normandy, especially the integration of the governmental structures might need to be modified in light of close examination of the evidence; however, it must be borne in mind that the circumstances brought about by the formation of the Anglo-Norman state inevitably influenced both England and Normandy, both their systems and their people. If the structure of the medieval state appears as an issue, the fundamental system of the government, that is, the characteristics of the ruling group should be clarified.

The ruling group in the Anglo-Norman state was composed of the King/Duke and

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<sup>1</sup>The main arguments are discussed in his *The Norman Empire* (Oxford, 1976), and various relevant articles have been collected in his *Feudal Empires: Norman and Plantagenet* (London, 1984).

<sup>2</sup>Professor Hollister also has attached importance of the Anglo-Norman unity. His main idea is discussed in his collected articles: C. W. Hollister, *Monarchy, Magnates and Institutions in the Anglo-Norman World* (London, 1986). On the other hand, a comprehensive review of Le Patourel's *The Norman Empire* and his view, see D. Bates, 'Normandy and England after 1066', *E.H.R.*, 104 (1989), pp. 851-880, pointing out the importance of diversity of fundamental characteristics of England and Normandy. J. A. Green, 'Unity and Disunity in the Anglo-Norman State', *B.I.H.R.*, 62 (1989), pp. 113-134, also modifies Le Patourel's view of stressing the closeness between England and Normandy, by emphasizing the difference of the administration systems. For a recent general argument, see, B. Golding, *Conquest and Colonisation: the Normans in Britain, 1066-1100* (London, 1994), chap. 8.

the Anglo-Norman aristocracy. Their characteristics and their socio-political relationships are the key to the main problems of Anglo-Norman politics. Although numerous close connections must have existed among the aristocracy in the Anglo-Norman state, it seems an oversimplification to regard all Anglo-Norman aristocrats as a homogeneous group of cross-Channel barons.<sup>1</sup>

A large number of notable studies have already demonstrated various characteristics of the ruling class in the Anglo-Norman state. Above all, as far as the relationship between the King/Duke and the aristocracy is concerned, it is generally accepted that the King/Duke of the Anglo-Norman state exercised relatively strong power compared to other rulers of neighbouring principalities and that this must have been partly derived from the history of political centralization around the dukes of Normandy. The relationship of the Norman dukes and the Norman nobles was, however, not stable. It is therefore important to trace the origin of that relationship in Normandy, and what is still more important, understand both the continuities and the changes.

It can never be a simple matter to understand the structure of the Anglo-Norman aristocrat and the relationships among them, between the King/Duke and the aristocracy in general, or within aristocratic society. It is necessary to undertake detailed investigations of each aristocratic family in their contemporary environment.<sup>2</sup> Could these aristocrats

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<sup>1</sup>While Le Patourel stresses a closely united society of the Anglo-Norman aristocracy, Green, 'Unity and Disunity', pp. 128-133 and Bates, 'Normandy and England after 1066', pp. 854-855 discuss the significance of the individual circumstances of members of the aristocracy. On the problem of the unity of the aristocracy, there is an important article by D. Crouch, 'Normans and Anglo-Normans: A Divided Aristocracy?', in *England and Normandy in the Middle Ages*, eds. D. Bates and A. Curry (London, 1994), pp. 51-67.

<sup>2</sup>There are several important works on individual aristocrats: W. E. Wightman, *The Lacy Family in England and Normandy 1066-1194* (Oxford, 1966); D. Crouch, *The Beaumont Twins* (Cambridge, 1986). Close investigations of each baron in a regional environment have been done by Dr. Judith Green; 'Lords of the Norman Vexin', in *War and Government in the Middle Ages*, eds. J. Gillingham and

and King/Dukes cooperate to manage the state, for example, or were they always competing with one another?

I have chosen one Anglo-Norman noble family and will try to trace them from their origin, by reconstructing their genealogy, their career and estates. The study will show what kind of power they exercised and describe their relationships with the King/Duke and with other magnates. The character of the relationship must have been changed as time passed and, therefore, a reconstruction of the history of an Anglo-Norman aristocratic family offers one approach to understanding the structure of the Anglo-Norman ruling class.

The history examined here is that of the family of the earls of Chester from their origin in the eleventh century to 1120, the death of Earl Richard, who was then succeeded by Ranulf le Meschin, vicomte of the Bessin. The Goz family appeared in early eleventh century Normandy and established themselves as a notable vicecomital family. After the Norman Conquest, with one of their members as earl of Chester, the family maintained prestige as one of the prominent Anglo-Norman magnate families and their activities spread widely. Moreover, they retained their power and their vast estates as the earls of Chester and vicomtes of the Avranchin for generations, while many of the other great magnate families experienced a decline and fall. Because of this characteristic, their career and history can be traced and analysed from a longer perspective and it is possible to

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J. C. Holt (Woodbridge, 1984), pp. 47-61; 'King Henry I and the Aristocracy of Normandy', in *La "France anglaise" au moyen âge* (Paris, 1988), pp. 161-173; 'Aristocratic Loyalties on the Northern Frontier of England, c. 1100-1174', in *England in the Twelfth Century*, ed. D. Williams (Woodbridge, 1990), pp. 83-100. D. J. Power, 'What did the Frontier of Angevin Normandy Comprise?', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 17 (1995), pp. 181-201 also suggests the influence of the local frontier situation on regional barons. K. Thompson, 'Robert of Bellême Reconsidered', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 13 (1991), pp. 263-286 and id., 'William Talvas, Count of Ponthieu, and the Politics of the Anglo-Norman Realm', in *England and Normandy in the Middle Ages*, pp. 169-184 examine individuals in the whole Anglo-Norman state. Recent studies focusing on regions and individuals have also produced many other works.

present them as an example of how an Anglo-Norman family survived and prospered in this society.



## Chapter I.

### The family of Goz in the duchy of Normandy before the Norman Conquest

#### 1. Introduction

This chapter is primarily concerned with the known ancestors of Earl Hugh of Chester, namely Thurstan Goz and Richard vicomte of Avranches, and their relations with the dukes of Normandy and other aristocratic families. The view that the power of the dukes of Normandy was relatively centralized in comparison with the other principalities has been generally accepted, or at least, the fact that duke William II finally achieved great power before the Norman Conquest has been commonly agreed. How they managed to gain such strong power and what kind of base they depended on has been the subject of controversy. The extent of the continuity or discontinuity from the Carolingian period was the subject of disagreement between Professors Michel de Bœtiard and Jean Yver<sup>1</sup>. More recently, Professor David Bates has discussed the considerable surviving Carolingian administrative traditions and stressed the cooperation between the dukes and the aristocracy.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, Professor Eleanor Searle has argued that the basis of ducal power rested on the combined web of kinship, and in her opinion, the Scandinavian heritage they had brought played a great role within the structure of the

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<sup>1</sup>M. de Bœtiard, 'De la Neustrie Carolingienne à la Normandie Féodale: Continuité ou Discontinuité?', *B.I.H.R.*, 28 (1955), pp. 1-14; J. Yver, 'Les premières institutions du duché de Normandie', *I Normanni e la loro espansione in Europa nell'alto medioevo*, Settimane di studio del centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo (Spoleto, 1969), pp. 299-366.

<sup>2</sup>D. Bates, *Normandy before 1066* (London, 1982).

duchy of Normandy.<sup>1</sup> It seems right that the basic administrative structure, such as the *pagus* and the offices of comtes and vicomtes survived inside the duchy.<sup>2</sup> But when it comes to the detailed points of the structure of the society, however, different aspects of the problem suggest different conclusions.

Turning to the relationship between the aristocracy and the duke, Professor David Douglas called the aristocracy who became powerful during the early eleventh century a 'new aristocracy', focusing in particular on the close companions of William the Conqueror. In his opinion, there was a newly risen aristocracy whose ancestors cannot be traced back for more than two or three generations, who acquired power by accumulating estates and acquiring offices during the anarchic period of the young duke William's minority.<sup>3</sup> Professor Lucien Musset has also emphasized the predominance of newly risen group of aristocracy. Their power depended on the dukes, through their offices, and the main parts of their estates basically originated from the duke's demesne; they also had a good relationship with the ducal family. He concluded that there was a notable reorganization of aristocratic society in the tenth and eleventh centuries.<sup>4</sup> The point that most of them had a kin relationship with the ducal family has also been

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<sup>1</sup>E. Searle, *Predatory Kinship and the Creation of Norman Power, 840-1066* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1988).

<sup>2</sup>Bates, *Normandy before 1066*, pp. 2-45; J. -F. Lemarignier, *Recherches sur l'hommage en marche et les frontières féodales* (Lille, 1945) shows how relatively clearly defined the frontier of the duchy of Normandy was.

<sup>3</sup>D. C. Douglas, 'The Earliest Norman Counts', *E.H.R.*, 61 (1946), pp. 129-156; id., *William the Conqueror* (London, 1964), mainly chapter 4.

<sup>4</sup>L. Musset, 'L'Aristocratie normande au XIe siècle', in *La Noblesse au Moyen Age*, ed. P. Contamine (Paris, 1976), pp. 71-96; id., 'Observations sur la classe aristocratique normande au XIe siècle', *R.H.D.F.E.*, 36 (1958), pp. 142-143.

emphasized. Both Douglas and Musset agree for a great reorganization of estate-holding and aristocratic society.<sup>1</sup> Musset also suggests that the Goz family should be included among this newly risen aristocracy.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, Bates understands the 'new aristocracy' during the eleventh century as a new stage in the cooperation between the duke and the aristocracy of Normandy.<sup>3</sup> The issue is how 'newness' is to be defined. It should be identified as being structurally rather than biological. The whole problem also needs to be seen in the broader perspective established by continental scholars, such as Duby, Schmid and Werner.<sup>4</sup> Bates has suggested that the aristocracy in Normandy experienced changes similar to which took place in the other parts of the northern France.<sup>5</sup>

The history of the Goz family as a vicomte in Normandy thus casts light on the extent to which the dukes could or could not exercise their authority over western or south-central Normandy, namely beyond their power base, the region around Rouen. The basic framework of administration of Normandy was the Carolingian inheritance, but, the real context in which the dukes had to deal with individual aristocrats needs to be

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<sup>1</sup>Douglas, *William the Conqueror*, pp. 83-88; id., 'The Earliest Norman Counts', p. 148; L. Musset, 'Aux origines d'une classe dirigeante: les Tosny, grands barons normands du Xe au XIIIe siècle', *Francia*, 5 (1977), pp. 45-80.

<sup>2</sup>Musset, 'L'Aristocratie normande', p. 79.

<sup>3</sup>Bates, *Normandy before 1066*, pp. 175-81. See also, for an established family, obtaining for further lands and office, K. Thompson, 'The Norman Aristocracy before 1066: the Example of the Montgomerys', *B.I.H.R.*, 60 (1987), pp. 251-263, at p. 262.

<sup>4</sup>A useful overview is T. Reuter ed., *The Medieval Nobility- Studies on the ruling classes of France and Germany from the sixth to the twelfth century* (Amsterdam, 1978).

<sup>5</sup>Bates, *Normandy before 1066*, pp. 34-6, 133-4.



examined within its own framework. The position as vicomtes in the western or south-central Normandy on the frontiers of the sphere of the ducal authority may have offered the Goz family a sort of flexibility in their relationship with the dukes, which would become finally cooperative to the authority of Duke William II.

## 2. The ancestors

### 2.1. Genealogy

The reconstruction of the genealogy of an old Norman family is always difficult because of the sparse and vague sources, and the family of earls of Chester is not an exception. The only fundamental work on the ancestors of the family has been done by Professor Lucien Musset, who has examined the evidence for their relationship to the family of Creully. In his several articles, he has reconstructed a genealogy and has suggested outlines for the careers of the members of the Goz-Chester family.<sup>1</sup> Since then, his conclusions have been accepted by scholars usually without particular examination.<sup>2</sup> There would seem, however, still to be a need to re-examine some aspects of the genealogy of the Creully-Goz-Chester family in Normandy. Reviewing Musset's identification is the first task.

According to Musset, from the sources relating to the Creully family, a genealogy of three generations of the family can be reconstructed. Firstly, in the earliest charter of

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<sup>1</sup>See, L. Musset, 'Actes inédits du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle. I: Les plus anciennes chartes du prieuré de Saint-Gabriel (Calvados)', *B.S.A.N.*, 52 (1952-1954), pp. 117-141. The Goz family is also discussed in id., 'Les origines et le patrimoine de l'abbaye de Saint-Sever', in *La Normandie bénédictine au temps de Guillaume le Conquérant (XI<sup>e</sup> siècle)*, ed. J. Daoust (Lille, 1967), pp. 357-367; id., 'Les Goz vicomtes d'Avranches', *Revue de l'Avranchin et du Pays de Granville*, 49 (1972), pp. 306-308.; id., 'Une famille vicomtale: les Goz', in *Documents de l'histoire de la Normandie*, ed. M. de Boüard (Toulouse, 1972), pp. 94-98.

<sup>2</sup>See, however, K. S. B. Keats-Rohan, 'The Prosopography of Post-Conquest England: Four Case Studies', *Medieval Prosopography*, 14 (1993), pp. 1-52, though some information may not be fully convincing (for example, pp. 26-7).

the priory of Saint-Gabriel,<sup>1</sup> which dated from between 1058 and 1066, the founder appears as 'Ricardus de Croilei', and also 'Richardus filius Turstingi'. 'Croilei' is Creully, where he held land and it is very close to the newly founded priory. The three generations of the founder's family appearing in the pancarte are: Thurstan (I) and his wife Turuvisa, their sons Richard, Thurstan (II) and a monk, Vital, and Thurstan (III) who appears as a son of Richard. All of the gifts of the founder's family and their tenants seem concentrated in the area around Creully. This evidence needs to be taken in conjunction with the appearances of a 'Richardus de Croilei' in ducal charters confirmed in 1028-1033 and 1028-1035.<sup>2</sup> In addition, it is known that 'Richardus de Chroliei' abandoned his claim to Toutainville (Eure, cant. Pont-Audemer) and Vienne-en-Bessin (Calvados, cant. Ryes) around 1040.<sup>3</sup> In 1068, moreover, 'Thurstingus de Croillio' granted Tailleville (Calvados, cant. Douvres) to the abbey of Saint-Martin of Troarn.<sup>4</sup> In 1080, William the Conqueror confirmed the agreement relating to the priory of Saint-Gabriel which 'alter pater, alter filius, Ricardus et Turstinus' had founded.<sup>5</sup>

Musset pointed out the coincidences between the genealogy of Richard and

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<sup>1</sup>Musset, 'Saint-Gabriel'. For the discovery of the original pancarte, D. Bates, 'Four recently rediscovered Norman charters', *Annales de Normandie*, 45 (1995), pp. 35-48, at pp. 37-38 and Appendix 1.

<sup>2</sup>*R.A.D.N.*, nos. 65 (1028-1033), 72 (1028-1035), in the reign of Duke Robert I.

<sup>3</sup>Musset, 'Saint-Gabriel', p. 125.

<sup>4</sup>Musset, 'Saint-Gabriel', p. 125; *C.D.F.*, I, no. 463, p. 164; *L'abbaye de Saint-Martin de Troarn*, ed. R. N. Sauvage (Caen, 1911), pp. 350, 356.

<sup>5</sup>Musset, 'Saint-Gabriel', Appendix III; Bates, *Regesta*, no. 257; *R.R.A.N.*, I., no. 127; *C.D.F.*, I, no. 1410, p. 520; *Earldom of Gloucester Charters*, ed. R. B. Patterson (Oxford, 1973), no. 70, with a discussion of the history of the Creully-Gloucester connection.

Thurstan de Creully and that of the Goz family on the grounds that the names Thurstan and Richard appear in both. Moreover, Richard Goz, vicomte of Avranches, appears to have held Rucqueville (Calvados, cant. Creully) and Tailleville, where 'Thurstan son of Richard' also held estates.<sup>1</sup> Since in the Saint-Gabriel pancarte, a tenant of Richard de Creully appears named Richard de Rucqueville, Richard de Creully is likely to have been the lord of Rucqueville. His conclusion is that Thurstan (I) was Thurstan Goz, vicomte of the Hiésmois, under Duke Richard II, Richard de Creully was Richard Goz, vicomte of the Avranchin and Thurstan (III), the brother of Hugh d'Avranches, future earl of Chester and vicomte of the Avranchin. The place of origin of the family is suggested to be Toutainville (Eure, cant. Pont-Audemer).<sup>2</sup>

The history of the Goz family, according to Musset, also appears to fit chronologically. The year of foundation of Saint-Gabriel in around 1058 might have been around ~~after~~ the death of Thurstan Goz, who seems to have been vicomte of the Hiésmois from 1017-1026, then again, from 1031-1046. The pancarte describes Thurstan as already dead. Richard Goz therefore presumably had already succeeded his father and become vicomte of the Avranchin, in 1055 or 1056, just after the exile of William Werlenc, count of Mortain,<sup>3</sup> a nephew of Duke Richard II, who was count of Mortain

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<sup>1</sup>Musset, 'Saint-Gabriel', p. 127; *Abbayes Caennaises*, no. 7: *Ego Ricardus filius Turstini vicecomes Abrincensis...terram juris mei quam habeo in Ruschivilla de feodio Turstini filii Ricardi...*; no. 13: *de eo (Odo) quod tenuit Ricardus Goiz in Ruscavilla*. Moreover, *Ricardus vicecomes Abrincatensis* appears as a co-donor of Tailleville with *Turstinus de Croillio* to the abbey of Saint-Martin of Troarn (Sauvage, *Troarn*, pp. 350, 362).

<sup>2</sup>Musset, 'Saint-Gabriel', p. 128.

<sup>3</sup>Musset, 'Saint-Gabriel', p. 128; id., 'Saint-Sever', p. 358.

until being banished by Duke William II.<sup>1</sup> According to Musset, the disgrace can date around 1055.<sup>2</sup> Based on the foundation document of Saint-Gabriel and Saint-Sever,<sup>3</sup> he also shows the outline of the estates which the Goz-Creully family held in Normandy. The estates traced by him show a rather dispersed pattern of land-holding of this family, but one which locates most of the estates in the Hiésmois, the Avranchin and between Bayeux and Caen.<sup>4</sup>

Thus, to sum up, the genealogical-chronological study of Goz-Creully family established by Musset is as follows. Thurstan, son of Ansfrid, was vicomte of the Hiésmois, probably in 1017-1025/6, and continued to be vicomte in the reign of Duke Robert I. Then, because Roger I de Montgomery appears as vicomte of the Hiésmois in 1033,<sup>5</sup> Thurstan Goz must have been already transferred before 1033. After that, Roger I de Montgomery was exiled, then Thurstan Goz became vicomte of the Hiésmois again until he himself rebelled against Duke William II and was exiled, following the story in the *Gesta Normannorum Ducum*.<sup>6</sup> This probably happened in 1043. Richard son of

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<sup>1</sup>C. Potts, 'The Earliest Norman Counts Revisited: The Lords of Mortain', *The Haskins Society Journal*, 4 (1992), pp. 23-35 is the most recent and detailed study of the identification of the first lords of Mortain.

<sup>2</sup>L. Musset, 'Aux origines de la féodalité normande: l'installation par les ducs de leurs vassaux normands et bretons dans le comté d'Avranches (XI<sup>e</sup> siècle)', *R.H.D.F.E.*, 29 (1951), p. 150.

<sup>3</sup>Musset, 'Saint-Sever'. Musset places the date of the foundation of the abbey of Saint-Sever rather earlier, i.e., 1066-1070, or 1065. This will be discussed later.

<sup>4</sup>Musset, 'Une famille vicomtale: les Goz', p. 97 map.

<sup>5</sup>*R.A.D.N.*, no. 69 (1033): *Signum Rogerii Eximensis vicecomitis*.

<sup>6</sup>*G.N.D.*, II, pp. 102-103.



Thurstan became vicomte of Avranches around 1055-56, after the exile of William Werlenc, count of Mortain. Richard founded the priory of Saint-Gabriel perhaps in 1058, after the death of his father. His son Thurstan appears as 'of Creully', while another son Hugh, who is not mentioned in the Saint-Gabriel pancarte, founded the abbey of Saint-Sever in the Avranchin area in the late 1060's.<sup>1</sup>

Several questions, however, are raised by this reconstruction. Why is not the name of Hugh, the famous son of Richard Goz, vicomte of Avranches, mentioned in the pancarte? Or, why is not there any direct mention of the relationship between Thurstan (III) and Hugh, the sons of Richard? All of the gifts to Saint-Gabriel by Richard de Creully and his family were situated in the vicinity of Creully and Saint-Gabriel, not in the Avranchin area. A 'Richard de Creully' appearing in ducal charters twice is identified as Richard son of Thurstan by Musset.<sup>2</sup> It seems, however, somewhat unusual that a son whose powerful father is still active as a vicomte attests by himself with the toponymic identification, 'of Creully'. If this Richard de Creully is Richard Goz, he must have been very young at this stage, given his later long career. The points which need to be considered are: first, whether 'Richard de Creully' and his son 'Thurstan' were Richard Goz and his son or not: second, if so, how the difficulties mentioned above should be explained: third, if not, what relation there might have been between the Creully family and the Goz family.

It should be firstly noticed that there is no evidence describing 'Richard Goz' as the son of 'Thurstan de Creully', or, 'Richard de Creully' as 'vicomte of the Avranchin'. Nevertheless, it is clear that the Goz family did hold land in the vicinity of Creully since

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<sup>1</sup>Musset, 'Saint-Sever', p. 360.

<sup>2</sup>*R.A.D.N.*, no. 65 (1027-1033): *Richardus de Crolei*; no. 72 (1027-1035): *Richardus de Croilei*.

Richard Goz held Rucqueville from Odo bishop of Bayeux.<sup>1</sup> A son of Richard named Thurstan also held in Rucqueville.<sup>2</sup> There is also William Goz, whose tenant Robert held Eterville (Calvados, cant. Evrecy) and Colomby-sur-Thaon (Calvados, cant. Creully). Earl Hugh of Chester appears as his lord.<sup>3</sup> This is further evidence of the establishment of the Goz family in the area. A different version of the document would seem to suggest an additional branch of the Goz family, and that the aforementioned William was the son of Robert Goz, and that his tenant Robert is son of Thurstan.<sup>4</sup> It has been already mentioned that Richard had a brother named Robert.<sup>5</sup> Robert tenant of William Goz may have been the grandson of the first generation Thurstan. A 'William de Creully' is found in a charter for Bayeux cathedral in 1093.<sup>6</sup> It seems possible that he is William Goz, son of Robert Goz.<sup>7</sup> This additional material on the estates of the Goz family surely confirms

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<sup>1</sup>*Abbayes Caennaises*, no. 13: *de eo (Odo) quod tenuit Ricardus Goiz in Ruscavilla.*

<sup>2</sup>*Abbayes Caennaises*, no. 7: *Ego Ricardus filius Turstini vicecomes Abrincensis...terram juris mei quam habeo in Ruschivilla de feodo Turstini filii Ricardi...*

<sup>3</sup>*Abbayes Caennaises*, no. 7: *Ego Willelmus Goiz...terram quam tenebat de me Robertus medicus in Starvilla et Columbeio, concedentibus fratribus meis et sororibus et domino meo Hugone Cestrensi comite.*

<sup>4</sup>*Abbayes Caennaises*, no. 18: *Ego Willelmus filius Roberti Goiz...terram quam tenebat de me Robertus filius Turstini in Starvilla et Colombeio... pro salute anime mee, patris mei, matris mee, avunculi mei Ricardi vicecomitis, ...concedente domino meo Hugone Cestrensi comite, vicecomite Abrincensi....*

<sup>5</sup>Robert brother of Richard son of Thurstan attests to a ducal charter (*R.A.D.N.*, no. 110).

<sup>6</sup>*Antiquus Cartularius Ecclesiae Baiocensis (Livre Noir)*, ed. V. Bourrienne (Rouen, Paris 1902), t. I, no. XXIII.

<sup>7</sup>A certain *Turstinus, filius Aufridi* is recorded to have held from William king of England and duke of Normandy in the charter of confirmation of the pope (Bourrienne, *Livre Noir*, t. 1, nos. CLIV, CLV). It is not known whether this Thurstan can be identified as Thurstan Goz, though it is possible. If

Musset's argument that the founders of the priory of Saint-Gabriel were the Goz family. Other difficulties need also to be examined.

First, Hugh's absence from the pancarte of Saint-Gabriel is interesting. It is difficult to be confident, but bearing Hugh's long career after the Norman Conquest in mind, Hugh might have been a child at the time of the foundation. All members of the donor's family do not have to appear in the grant. Robert, a brother of Richard Goz is not mentioned there, and another brother Thurstan (II) can not be traced afterwards. Thurstan (III) can reasonably be supposed to be as the elder brother of Hugh. If so, this leads to another problem in the family's history, namely, it was Hugh who succeeded the office of the vicomte, not Thurstan (III). A possible explanation is that Thurstan might have died before, or soon after, his father. However, as will be shown later, the death of Richard vicomte of Avranches is to be dated c. 1080, and Thurstan son of Richard is found in the document confirming the gift to Saint-Etienne of Caen, dated 1080-1082.<sup>1</sup> It looks as if Richard might have allowed the younger son Hugh to establish himself by taking part in the Norman Conquest, while Thurstan (III) remain in Normandy. Hugh's later prominence might have helped him to succeed to the office of the vicomte. There is, however, no definite answer.

Given the family's extensive estates, it is also surprising that Saint-Gabriel's endowment was concentrated exclusively in the vicinity of Creully. This local endowment suggests a strong connection with the region, or a determined drive to establish themselves there. A further aspect of the problem is illuminated by Musset's

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so, it supports the settlement of Richard Goz in the Bessin area and connection with Odo bishop of Bayeux.

<sup>1</sup>*Abbayes Caennaises*, no. 7 (1080-1082).



suggestion that 'seniore meo Rotberto' in the Saint-Gabriel pancarte might have been Robert fitzHamo, lord of Creully.<sup>1</sup> After the Norman Conquest, the members of the Goz family had some relationship with Hamo the sheriff of Kent.<sup>2</sup> This would seem to be an instance where the original relationship between the two families in Normandy was transformed to England. The Goz would appear to have benefitted at an early stage of their career from the patronage of the family of Hamo 'aux Dents'. The expansion of their interests in the Bessin may well have owed a lot to Hamo. It is possible that the foundation of Saint-Gabriel represents a statement of local power in the Bessin by the Goz at a time that Hamo's descendants were under a cloud after his participation in the rebellion defeated at the battle of Val-ès-Dunes. It is worth noting that Hamo's descendants subsequently reasserted themselves, since by the 1120's Saint-Gabriel was under the patronage of Robert, earl of Gloucester.

The remaining problem is 'Richard de Creully's' attestation of two ducal charters in the reign of Duke Robert II, between 1027 and 1033, or 1035.<sup>3</sup> At that time, Richard Goz - if he was alive at all - must have been very young and his father Thurstan Goz appears in other contemporary ducal charters with the title of vicomte.<sup>4</sup> During the first

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<sup>1</sup>Musset, 'Saint-Gabriel', p. 126.

<sup>2</sup>*R.R.A.N.*, II, nos. 1140 (1100-1116), 1141 (1107-1116), 1142 (1100-1116), 1157 (1107-1116) show that Hamo Dapifer intervened in the disagreement between Ralph and Richard Goz and the abbot of St. Augustine's Canterbury. Hamo was the sheriff of Kent. Hamo and Ralf Goz appear in the Domesday Monachorum. See, D. C. Douglas, *The Domesday Monachorum of Christ Church Canterbury* (London, 1944) at pp. 51-52, 105 (the Goz), pp. 55-56 and passim (Hamo). Hamo, lord of Creully, is noted in *Earldom of Gloucester Charters*, no. 70 n.

<sup>3</sup>*R.A.D.N.*, nos. 65 (1027-1033): *Richardus de Crolei*, 72 (1027-1035): *Richardus de Croilei*.

<sup>4</sup>*R.A.D.N.*, nos. 73 (1027-1035): *S. Turstingi vice comitis*, 85 (1031/2-1035): *Signum Turstini vicecomitis*.

decade of the reign of Duke William II, Richard's name is found in a charter with his father and brother.<sup>1</sup> His regular independent appearance in ducal charters seems to have started in c. 1050. Therefore, it would be natural to understand this Richard de Creully in the reign of Duke Robert I as being different from the later Richard Goz. The Richard de Creully of the 1030's may well have been a brother of Thurstan (I), whose estates were subsequently reunited with those of Thurstan (I) by Richard Goz.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>*R.A.D.N.*, no. 110 (1037-1048).

<sup>2</sup>There is another information supplied by Musset that Richard de Creully abandoned the claim of Toutainville and Vienne-en-Bessin c. 1040. It is also impossible to reach a definite conclusion, but it can be speculated that there might have been a relationship between these two Richards, considered from their names and regional proximity.

## 2.2. Chronology and analysis

### 2.2.1. Ansfrid and Thurstan

A Dane called 'Ansfrid' appears as the first known ancestor of the Goz family. According to Orderic Vitalis, interpolating the work of William of Jumièges, he writes: "Thurstan named Goz, the son of a Dane Ansfrid...".<sup>1</sup> The names Ansfrid and Thurstan can naturally indicate Scandinavian origin.<sup>2</sup> There remains no more direct information about Ansfrid. Something, however, may be suggested by working back from the evidence of his son, Thurstan. Since the first appearance of his son Thurstan as a vicomte occurs between 1017 and 1025,<sup>3</sup> it is reasonable to assume that Ansfrid lived in the later tenth century. The uncertainties about his status and the descent of his family are typical of the Norman aristocracy of his time. The important thing is that his son Thurstan held office in a regional position in Duke Richard II's reign, at least during the last years. As shown below, Thurstan's son Richard also held the office of the vicomte succeeding his father. These points probably imply that Ansfrid was a member of an already well-established family of Scandinavian descent in the reign of Duke Richard I. For this reason, it would not be accurate to see the Goz family as 'new aristocracy', newly risen in the reign of Duke Richard II, in the sense defined by Douglas.<sup>4</sup> It is reasonable to assume that they were already prominent at a date earlier than the 1020's

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<sup>1</sup>*G.N.D.*, II, pp. 100-101.

<sup>2</sup>Musset, 'Les Goz, vicomtes d'Avranches', p. 306.

<sup>3</sup>*R.A.D.N.*, no. 31 (1017-25): *Torstingi vi(cecomi)tis*.

<sup>4</sup>Douglas, *William the Conqueror*, chapter 4 discusses the 'new aristocracy' under Duke William II; id., 'The Earliest Norman Counts', pp. 129-156, at mainly pp. 147ff.

and 1030's, although the family's real greatness occurred in the second half of the eleventh century. Ansfrid might have lived and had some prominence under the later reign of Duke Richard I, when Normandy was experiencing relatively good order and starting to settle down.

Much more documentary evidence of Thurstan's activities survives.<sup>1</sup> His name appears in ducal charters and also in Orderic Vitalis and William of Jumièges. Assuming that all references to Thurstan are to the same man, he appears for the first time as a vicomte at a date between 1017 and 1025 as one of the signa to an original charter of Duke Richard II for the abbey of Fécamp.<sup>2</sup> His signa also appears on two diplomas of the year 1025 and another one dating from the last four years of Duke Richard II's reign.<sup>3</sup> All this suggests that he was in office in the last decade of Duke Richard II's rule, and possibly for longer, though it is difficult to draw any clear conclusions from these attestations. One, a diploma for Bernay shows him among an enormous number of witnesses, presumably, at the great court in Fécamp in which Duke Richard II designated his son Richard III as duke.<sup>4</sup> This certainly indicates his important status in the ducal court of Richard II. The later signa of the diplomas show that he was still a vicomte in both dukes Robert I and William II's time,<sup>5</sup> although he also appears in a charter of the

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<sup>1</sup>For a summary of his career, G. Louise, *La seigneurie de Bellême Xe-XIIIe siècles, Le Pays Bas-Normand*, 83 (1990), pp. 145-150.

<sup>2</sup>*R.A.D.N.*, no. 31 (1017-1025).

<sup>3</sup>*R.A.D.N.*, nos. 34 (1025), 35 (1025), 49 (1022-1026), he appears just as *Turstingi vicecomitis*.

<sup>4</sup>*R.A.D.N.*, no. 35 (1025).

<sup>5</sup>Appearing as 'Thurstan vicomte' in *R.A.D.N.*, nos. 85 (1031 or 1032-35), 100 (1035-1043), 104 (1035-1047), 110 (1037-1046).



reign of Duke Richard II as Thurstan Goz, without the title of vicomte.<sup>1</sup>

None of the attestations indicates the location of his vicomté. The only evidence about its location we have comes from William of Jumièges' description of the events of the early 1040's when Thurstan Goz is said to have been vicomte of the Hiésmois: 'Oximensis preses erat'.<sup>2</sup> His tenure of this vicomté is also confirmed by the later evidence of the grants from his grandson, Hugh, to the abbey of Saint-Sever in that region.<sup>3</sup> It is, however, possible that 'Thurstan vicecomes' could not have always been vicomte of the Hiésmois.

After several acts, in which Thurstan appears as 'vicomte' in Duke Richard II's reign, there is a very clear evidence that Roger I de Montgomery was vicomte of the Hiésmois in 1033.<sup>4</sup> For some reason, however, he was replaced after several years.<sup>5</sup> After that, as seen before, it is known from William of Jumièges that Thurstan Goz occupied the office of vicomte of the Hiésmois around 1040, while Duke William II was still a minor. In the *Gesta Normannorum Ducum*, it is said that Thurstan who was vicomte of the Hiésmois noticed the weakness of young duke William and rebelled against him at Falaise, which was the chief stronghold of the Hiésmois, in order to

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<sup>1</sup>*R.A.D.N.*, no. 55 (1025-6): *Tursten Guiz*.

<sup>2</sup>*G.N.D.*, II, pp. 100-101.

<sup>3</sup>Musset, 'Saint-Sever', pp. 363-365.

<sup>4</sup>*R.A.D.N.*, no. 69 (1033): *Signum Rogerii Eximensis vicecomitis*; Thompson, 'The Norman Aristocracy before 1066', p. 256.

<sup>5</sup>Orderic Vitalis writes, interpolating William of Jumièges, that Roger was exiled to Paris because of his perfidy. It might have been around 1040 (*G.N.D.*, II, pp. 94-95, and n. 4). Roger appears as vicomte around that time in *R.A.D.N.*, nos. 94 (1035-1040), 113 (1043-1048).

support the king of France. The rebellion has been dated around 1043.<sup>1</sup> The *Gesta Normannorum Ducum* then continues that the rebellion failed and Thurstan left the country as an exile, and after that, his son, Richard reconciled his father with Duke William II, and Richard got more estates than his father had had.<sup>2</sup> Roger II de Montgomery regained the office of vicomte of the Hiésmois after Thurstan's rebellion and exile, and he kept the title for the remainder of his life.<sup>3</sup>

Professor Musset has therefore suggested that Thurstan was vicomte of the Hiésmois in Duke Richard II's reign, but was moved to the Avranchin some time after 1025, and then returned to the Hiésmois again in the 1040's.<sup>4</sup> It is important to recognize, however, that there is no contemporary evidence to prove this chronology. It is possible to suggest an alternative to the Musset's view that he was removed twice from the vicomté of the Hiésmois, namely, that ~~that~~ he was vicomte of the Avranchin first and was then moved to the Hiésmois after the exile of Roger I de Montgomery. Roger I de Montgomery first appeared in a ducal charter of Richard II dated 1022-1026.<sup>5</sup> His title

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<sup>1</sup>*G.N.D.*, II, p. 101, n. 6; Louise, *La seigneurie de Bellême*, 84 (1991), p. 343. In the early 1040's the power of Henry, the king of France, threatened the border of Normandy and France (Douglas, *William the Conqueror*, pp. 44-52).

<sup>2</sup>*G.N.D.*, II, pp. 100-103.

<sup>3</sup>L. Musset, 'Les fiefs de deux familles vicomtales de l'Hiémois au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle, les Goz et les Montgomery', *R.H.D.F.E.*, 48 (1970), pp. 342-343. The situation of his acquisition of the vicecomital office is not clear. Louise, *La seigneurie de Bellême*, 83, p. 148. Roger II de Montgomery appears with the title of the vicomte in *R.A.D.N.*, no. 140 (1049-1058).

<sup>4</sup>Musset, 'Une famille vicomtale: les Goz', pp. 95-96.

<sup>5</sup>*R.A.D.N.*, no. 48; Louise, *La seigneurie de Bellême*, 83, pp. 146-150. On Roger de Montgomery as vicomte of the Hiésmois, see Thompson, 'The Norman Aristocracy before 1066'; id., 'Family and influence to the south of Normandy in the eleventh century; the lordship of Bellême', *Journal of Medieval History*, 11 (1985), pp. 215-226.

of vicomte of the Hiésmois occurs in an attestation in 1033: 'Rogerii Eximensis vicecomitis'.<sup>1</sup> Dr. Kathleen Thompson has suggested that Roger I de Montgomery had supported the future Robert I duke of Normandy, who was entrusted with the region around Exmes at that time, and wanted to obstruct the expansion of the Bellême family from the south.<sup>2</sup> It can be assumed, therefore, that the Montgomery family had already been well established in the region for Duke Robert I to ask for their support. This possibility casts doubt on the theory that Thurstan Goz was vicomte of the Hiésmois in the reign of Duke Richard II. After the death of Duke Robert I and succession of Duke William II, Roger I de Montgomery opposed the young duke William II and he was replaced with Thurstan Goz.<sup>3</sup> The re-acquisition by Roger II de Montgomery of the vicomté in the reign of Duke William II might have been William's effort to gain a support from powerful family in an important area of Normandy.<sup>4</sup>

It seems therefore reasonable to suggest that the movement of the office of vicomte of the Hiésmois between two families, the Goz and the Montgomery, was as follows: originally, Roger I de Montgomery was vicomte of the Hiésmois, and Thurstan Goz was vicomte of the Avranchin in the reign of Duke Richard II. In the later 1030's, or early 1040's, Roger I de Montgomery was exiled, and Thurstan Goz replaced him as

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<sup>1</sup>*R.A.D.N.*, no. 69 (1033).

<sup>2</sup>Thompson, 'The Lordship of Bellême', p. 216; id., 'The Norman Aristocracy before 1066', p. 256.

<sup>3</sup>*G.N.D.*, II, pp. 94-95, n. 4.

<sup>4</sup>*R.A.D.N.*, no. 113 (1043-1048): *Signum Rogerii Montemgomerii*.

vicomte of the Hiésmois. Then, Thurstan Goz rebelled and was exiled for several years in the 1040's; it is possible that Thurstan's revolt was connected with the difficulties in sustaining his power in a region of traditional Montgomery influence. Sometime after Roger II de Montgomery regained the office, but Thurstan Goz was also reconciled with the duke, and, although there is no evidence, might have been re-installed as vicomte of the Avranchin, to be succeeded by his son, Richard.

At first sight, replacement of vicomtes might be understood as a reflection of strong ducal power in handling the aristocracy, as Musset has suggested.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, Gérard Louise has pointed out the fact that only these two families held the title of vicomte of the Hiésmois during the eleventh century.<sup>2</sup> Given the political situation of the Hiésmois, a part of southern Normandy which the dukes had to work hard to maintain it under their control, and the fact that the dukes do not seem to have exercised their power as much as they wished, and that there is no evidence that Thurstan was vicomte of the Hiésmois when he first appeared, it is less likely that the dukes were able to place and replace vicomtes, as has often been thought. Moreover, given the hypothesis that Thurstan Goz was vicomte of the Avranchin from an early date, and that his office of the Hiésmois was temporary, and was normally held by the Montgomery family, these circumstances would seem to suggest that both of the hereditary vicecomital families might have already been relatively settled in their respective regions. The dukes, rather than being in total control, might have had to utilize these prominent regional families through appointing them as vicomtes to associate them with ducal authority.

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<sup>1</sup>Musset, 'Les fiefs de deux familles vicomtales de l'Hiésmois', pp. 342-343; id., 'L'Aristocratie Normande', p. 76.

<sup>2</sup>Louise, *La seigneurie de Bellême*, 83, pp. 149-150.



### 2.2.2. Richard

Richard appears for the first time in a ducal charter dated between 1037 and 1046 described as the son of Thurstan, along with his father Thurstan the vicomte and his brother Robert.<sup>1</sup> He continued to be one of the more frequent witnesses of the charters of Duke William II.<sup>2</sup> His acquisition of the office of vicomte of the Avranchin is usually dated to 1055-56.<sup>3</sup> He retained the position of vicomte until ~~the~~ death, which is likely to have taken place around 1080. After that, his son Hugh, who had already become the earl of Chester in about 1071, succeeded him as vicomte of the Avranchin. Hugh and his descendants would keep the hereditary status of vicomte of the Avranchin. Aspects of the chronology of Richard's career require a fresh examination.

According to the information of the *Gesta Normannorum Ducum*, as mentioned before, Richard Goz served Duke William II loyally and he was able to acquire more

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<sup>1</sup>R.A.D.N., no. 110 (1037-1046). The attestations to the ducal charters clearly attributed to him are: nos. 155 (1061-1066): *Ricardo Abrincis Turstini filio*, 157 (1063): *Ricardus filius Torestini*, 159 (1063-1066): *Richardus vicecomes Abrincatinus*, 160, 161, 162 (c. 1050-1064): *S. Richardi filii Torestini*, 199 (1051-1066): *S. Richardi vicecomitis Abrinchensis*, 226 (1065-1066): *Ricardo Turstini filio*. There are 8 attestations of 'Richard vicomte' which cannot be definitely identified as Richard Goz (nos. 133, 140, 141, 148, 151, 152, 218, 231).

<sup>2</sup>Orderic mentioned Richard as an attestor of ducal charters (O.V., II., pp. 62-63). After the Norman Conquest, as Richard vicomte of the Avranchin in the charters of William the Conqueror, R.R.A.N., I., nos. 4 (1066), 76 (1074), 105 (1071-7), 117 (1070-9). And as Richard Goz nos. 29 (1069), 75 (1074), 220 (1086).

<sup>3</sup>Musset, 'Une famille vicomtale: les Goz', pp. 94-98; id., 'Saint-Gabriel', p. 127. He appears in ducal charters as *Ricardi vicecomitis*: R.A.D.N., nos. 133 (1054), 140 (1049-1058), though they are not clearly identified as Richard vicomte of the Avranchin. As vicomte of the Avranchin, no. 159 (1063-1066): *Richardus vicecomes Abrincatinus*, no. 199 (1051-1066): *Richardi vicecomitis Abrinchensis*.

estates than his father.<sup>1</sup> It is also usually assumed that he was appointed vicomte of the Avranchin by Duke William II just after the conspiracy and exile of William Werlenc, count of Mortain,<sup>2</sup> since Mortain and the Avranchin were neighbouring regions of western Normandy, where the dukes were seeking to expand their power.<sup>3</sup> William Werlenc, a descent of an illegitimate son of Duke Richard I, it is generally assumed, was appointed as the count of Mortain in around 1020 or 1040.<sup>4</sup> The *Gesta Normannorum Ducum* writes that Robert Bigod, a man of Count William, became friends with Duke William II through his kinsman Richard d'Avranches, then informed the duke about the conspiracy of Count William. William Werlenc was exiled by an angry duke and went to Apulia.<sup>5</sup> Musset has suggested that after William Werlenc's disappearance in c. 1055, Duke William's half-brother Robert became count of Mortain, and around the same time, Richard became vicomte of the Avranchin.<sup>6</sup> However, the date of both the rebellion and

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<sup>1</sup>*G.N.D.*, II, pp. 102-103.

<sup>2</sup>Musset, 'Les Goz, vicomtes d'Avranches', p. 307; id., 'Saint-Sever', p. 358; id., 'Saint-Gabriel', p. 128; id., 'Aux origines de la féodalité normande', p. 150.

<sup>3</sup>Bates, *Normandy before 1066*, pp. 82-83; Duke William's strategy over the West, Searle, *Predatory Kinship*, pp. 224-225.

<sup>4</sup>The origin of William Werlenc is discussed by Potts, 'The Earliest Norman Counts Revisited: The Lords of Mortain'. For varying views on the date of his appointment, see, Musset, 'Aux origines de la féodalité normande', p. 150, who suggests around 1040. For around 1020, see, J. Boussard, 'Le comté de Mortain au XIe siècle', *Le Moyen Age*, 58 (1952), pp. 253-279 at p. 255; B. Golding, 'Robert of Mortain', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 13 (1991), pp. 119-144, at p. 120; Douglas, 'The Earliest Norman Counts', pp. 139-146.

<sup>5</sup>*G.N.D.*, II, pp. 126-127.

<sup>6</sup>Musset, 'Une famille vicomtale: les Goz', p. 96; id., 'Aux origines de la féodalité normande', p. 150; Douglas, *William the Conqueror*, p. 99 agrees.

the replacement is not certain, and it is not necessary to assume that the establishment of the Goz in the Avranchin took place at the same time as the dispossession of William Werlenc. Interestingly, the account of the *Gesta Normannorum Ducum* seems to imply that Richard d'Avranches had already been close to Duke William II, and also that he was already established in the Avranchin. It would then seem that Richard might have become vicomte of the Avranchin before the disgrace of William Werlenc. Since the latest known appearance of Thurstan Goz in the ducal charters is in 1048, Richard could have succeeded to his father in the early 1050's.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, on the basis of his attestations of the ducal charters, William Werlenc could have been in the office at any date between 1050 and 1064.<sup>2</sup> As Count Robert of Mortain had obviously acquired the title in 1063, thus, the exile must have been before that date.<sup>3</sup> It seems therefore the exile of William Werlenc might be dated later in the 1050's or around 1060, and it is very likely that Richard had become vicomte before that.<sup>4</sup> What is known about the location of the lands of the vicomtes of Avranches indicates that they lay in different parts of south-western Normandy from those of the counts of Mortain. This also suggests that the fall of William Werlenc and Richard's appointment were separate events.

It has been suggested that in the time of dukes Richard I and II, ducal power had

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<sup>1</sup>R.A.D.N., nos. 105 (1035-1047/8): *Turstini Goyz*, 115 (1048): *Storingtingus*.

<sup>2</sup>R.A.D.N., no. 162 (c. 1050-1064): *S. Willelmi comitis de Mauritonio*; *S. Willelmi comitis* also appears in nos. 160-161 (c. 1050-1064).

<sup>3</sup>R.A.D.N., no. 156 (1063): *Robertus Moritonii comes*. He appears before without the title, nos. 140 (1049-1058): *Roberti fratris comitis*, 146 (c. 1050-1060): *S. Rodberti, fratris ejus* (Duke William).

<sup>4</sup>Bates, *Normandy before 1066*, p. 82; Searle, *Predatory Kinship*, pp. 222-226 discusses the situation in the West of Normandy and suggests that the event took place after the battle of Varaville in 1057.

not yet expanded in the West.<sup>1</sup> Whether or not this is correct, Duke William II's reign certainly saw a significant expansion of ducal authority into this area. After the exile of William Werlenc, Duke William II was able to appoint his half-brother Robert in the place of the count of Mortain, while Richard Goz, who became a loyal follower of Duke William, had almost certainly regained his father's position in the area at an earlier date. The process also shows that there must have been a change in the relationship between the duke and the family of Goz, with Duke William II being able to acquire the support of a strong family in the western part of Normandy after the turbulence of his minority, and from the side of the aristocracy, the family themselves deciding to support not the king of France or the count of Anjou, as Thurstan Goz and Roger I de Montgomery had done, but the duke of Normandy.

### 2.1.3. Hugh

Hugh was the son and successor of Richard vicomte of Avranches. His career is much better recorded than his ancestors'.<sup>2</sup> There is, however, little evidence of his activities before the Norman Conquest. In addition to that, he is not mentioned in the foundation document of Saint-Gabriel, while Thurstan son of Richard appears. It might be therefore assumed that he was the youngest or younger son of Richard vicomte of the Avranchin. He first comes to notice at the time of the Norman Conquest, providing ships

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<sup>1</sup>Searle, *Predatory Kinship*, p. 123.

<sup>2</sup>It is not possible to identify him in *R.A.D.N.*, however, his name frequently appears in *R.R.A.N.*, I and Bates, *Regesta*, and also in *Abbayes Caennaises*.



for the Conquest.<sup>1</sup> He became the earl of Chester in 1071, and became vicomte of the Avranchin at least after around 1080.<sup>2</sup> Besides his career with the King/Duke, he is known as the founder of the abbey of Saint-Sever.<sup>3</sup> From the list of the estates of Saint-Sever, it is clear that Hugh held several scattered estates in the Bessin area and around Exmes, apart from relatively concentrated estates around Saint-Sever. The great estates he was given in England are well-known from Domesday Book and from the title of Earl itself. He died in 1101, leaving his son Richard as his heir, after Henry, the third son of William the Conqueror, acquired the crown of England in 1100.<sup>4</sup>

Although his activities are recorded mainly after he became the earl of Chester, he must have become established as a close follower of Duke William II by the time of the Conquest. We know that his grandfather Thurstan rebelled against Duke William II when he was a minor, while his father, Richard turned into a loyal supporter of the duke. Hugh seemed to follow his father's policy. His rapid rise also suggests that the period of close, cooperative relation between the duke and his father had been a long one by 1066.

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<sup>1</sup>William of Poitiers wrote in his *Gesta Guillelmi ducis Normannorum et regis Anglorum* that William duke of Normandy consulted his followers at court about his plan to conquer England (W.P., pp. 148-149). Hugh was supposed to be among them. However, Bates and van Houts have pointed that 'Hugo vicecomes' was not Hugh d'Avranches, since he did not become vicomte until after his father's death. On the ship list, E. M. C. van Houts, 'The Ship List of William the Conqueror', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 10 (1988), pp. 159-184.

<sup>2</sup>C. P. Lewis, 'The Formation of the honor of Chester, 1066-1100', in *The Earldom of Chester and its charters*, ed. A. T. Thacker, *Journal of the Chester Archaeological Society*, 71, Chester (1991), p. 40, n. 20.; van Houts, 'The Ship List of the Conqueror', pp. 159-184, at p. 167, n. 40. However, the succession of the title of vicomte will be discussed later in next chapter.

<sup>3</sup>*G.N.D.*, II, pp. 134-135. The date of foundation is suggested in c. 1070 by Musset, 'Saint-Sever', p. 360; Lewis, 'Formation', p. 54. It seems to me rather reasonable to assume the date of the foundation in 1085. This will be argued in due course.

<sup>4</sup>*O.V.*, V, pp. 314-315.



### 3. Conclusion

It can be concluded that the Goz family was already well established one before the time of Duke William II. The vicomtes in Normandy have usually been seen as ducal deputies.<sup>1</sup> However, the careers of Thurstan and Richard Goz seem to suggest that their own regional power made the Norman dukes consider them as cooperators. They could have become enemies of ducal rule as Thurstan Goz or Roger I de Montgomery were for a brief time. The hypothesis that Thurstan might have been vicomte of the Avranchin first would seem to suggest that the duke could have had a vicomte there in the time of Duke Richard II.

The stable relationship between the Goz family and the duke was settled by Richard Goz. Though Douglas has pointed out that many of the 'new aristocracy' who became prominent were relatives of the ducal family,<sup>2</sup> we have no clear evidence that the Goz were descendants of the ducal family. However, it has been sometimes suggested that Richard Goz was married to a woman from the ducal kindred.<sup>3</sup> It is difficult to demonstrate the marriage, but it is not extraordinary to assume that Richard had, or wished to have, some close relationship with Duke William II, like other powerful

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<sup>1</sup>On the office of vicomtes, Yver, 'Les premières Institutions du duché de Normandie', pp. 325-332.

<sup>2</sup>Douglas, 'The Earliest Norman Counts', pp. 153-154; id., *William the Conqueror*, p. 89, stress the prominent Norman families' kinship with the ducal family.

<sup>3</sup>*C.P.*, III, pp. 164-165, followed by Searle, *Predatory Kinship*, p. 202. Douglas rejects the marriage, however (Douglas, *The Domesday Monachorum*, p. 52, n. 8). Hollister has commented that this family may be one of the newly risen aristocracy though this family has no evidence of kinship with the ducal family, accepting Musset's genealogy (C. W. Hollister, 'The Greater Domesday Tenants-in-Chief', in *Domesday Studies*, ed. J. C. Holt (Woodbridge, 1987), pp. 236-237).

Norman nobles who had kinship with the ducal family.<sup>1</sup>

Tracing the estates of the Goz family before the Norman Conquest will certainly help to understand the region over which their influence exercised. However, this can only be done from later evidence, mainly from the Bayeux Inquest of 1133,<sup>2</sup> and the papal bull of confirmation of the property of the abbey of Saint-Sever.<sup>3</sup> Further analysis of the estates of the family, therefore, should be placed in the wider perspective of the later history of the family. This will be attempted later. These transfers of estates and their location have illuminated an aspect of ducal policy and the development of an administrative aristocracy. From the ducal side, this history shows how the duke had improved his authority by gradually constructing a relationship with the influential local aristocratic families in the difficult regions of Normandy, while coping with rebellious magnates and hostile rulers of surrounding principalities.

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<sup>1</sup>The credibility of Robert of Torigni has been examined by E. M. C. van Houts, 'Robert of Torigni as Genealogist', in *Studies in Medieval history presented to R. Allen Brown*, eds. C. Harper-Bill et al. (Woodbridge, 1989), pp. 215-233.

<sup>2</sup>H. Navel, 'L'enquête de 1133 sur les fiefs de l'évêché de Bayeux', *B.S.A.N.*, 12 (1935), pp. 5-81.

<sup>3</sup>Musset, 'Saint-Sever'; *Papsturkunden in Frankreich*, N. F. 2, Normandie, ed. J. Ramackers (Göttingen, 1937), Nr. 99. The bull was confirmed in 1158, but Musset admits that the listed estates and rights originated from Hugh's gifts.

## Chapter II.

### Hugh d'Avranches, earl of Chester

#### 1. Introduction

As one of the most famous Anglo-Norman nobles, Earl Hugh appears in quite a few documents, both narrative and diplomatic. He has naturally received attention from many scholars. Among his notable activities, his campaigns in the Welsh border area in the context of the Welsh history, and the rule of the earldom of Chester have been of particular interest, though he has also always been considered in the general context of Anglo-Norman aristocracy. Strangely, no comprehensive study of Hugh's career has ever been attempted. As a prominent Anglo-Norman magnate, the fact that should be strongly emphasized is that his activity was not limited only to his earldom, or only to England.<sup>1</sup> It is necessary to re-consider his role in terms of the whole Anglo-Norman world.

Hugh acquired the title of the earl of Chester from William the Conqueror just several years after the Norman Conquest, and from then until his death in the year after the coronation of King Henry I, he seems to have remained in the centre of Anglo-Norman aristocratic society. The contemporary documents identify him as one of the most prominent among Anglo-Norman aristocrats.

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<sup>1</sup>Professor G. Barraclough stresses the fact that there was no legalized distinctive points in the administrative structure of the earldom of Chester from the beginning, and the importance of the vast estates widely situated outside of Cheshire, G. Barraclough, *The Earldom and County Palatine of Chester* (Oxford, 1953).

The narrative sources give us a considerable amount of information about him. Among them, Orderic Vitalis mentions Hugh the most often, and describes his career, his personality, his followers and his court society vividly, with an implicit criticism from the Christian moral view of a monk.<sup>1</sup> In addition to that, he appears in relatively numerous ducal and royal charters among the witnesses, and these documents will help us to reconstruct his political life in the Anglo-Norman world. Fortunately, thanks to his long and rich career, it is possible to trace his activity reasonably well and to link it to the transformation of the politics of the Anglo-Norman state.

The most recent and important article about Hugh is 'The Formation of the Honor of Chester, 1066-1100' written by Dr. Christopher Lewis in *The Earldom of Chester and its Charters* (1991) edited by Dr. Thacker, a book which contains other notable studies.<sup>2</sup> In this article, Lewis has reconstructed the estates held by Earl Hugh of Chester in detail, analysed their composition on the basis of their pre-1066 holders, and shown how his under-tenants held them from him. The volume itself, *The Earldom of Chester and its Charters* is dedicated to Professor Geoffrey Barraclough, who edited *The Charters of the Anglo-Norman Earls of Chester, c. 1071-1237*, which was published in 1988.<sup>3</sup> This comprehensive edition of the Chester charters should greatly help to clarify the structure

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<sup>1</sup>For example, O.V., II, pp. 260-263. Orderic was especially well-informed about Hugh, because Arnold, a brother of Robert of Rhuddlan, who was a follower of Earl Hugh, was a monk of Saint-Evrault.

<sup>2</sup>C. P. Lewis, 'The Formation of the Honor of Chester, 1066-1100', in *The Earldom of Chester and its Charters: a tribute to Geoffrey Barraclough*, ed. A. T. Thacker, *Journal of the Chester Archaeological Society*, 71, Chester (1991), pp. 37-68. Other articles in this volume are also relevant to the study of the earldom of Chester and its government.

<sup>3</sup>*The Charters of the Anglo-Norman Earls of Chester, c. 1071-1237*, ed., G. Barraclough, The Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, 126 (1988).



of the rule of the earls of Chester. So far, the study of Cheshire and the earls of Chester has chiefly focused on two main points: the administrative history of Cheshire itself, revising the view of the supposed constitutional peculiarity of the earldom, namely, the characteristics of 'palatine' earldom, from its formation to the end when it was absorbed by the crown in the thirteenth century,<sup>1</sup> and the activity of Ranulf aux Gernons, the earl of Chester during the 'Anarchy' of King Stephen's reign. Nowadays, however, it is necessary to understand the earldom of Chester and its earls not only in the structure of the earldom and a history of a shire, but also in connection with the entire politics of the Anglo-Norman society. For this purpose, this study of Earl Hugh will be discussed basically from two aspects. This chapter will examine his career in chronological way. The next chapter will discuss the structure of his estates and his tenants.

Several points related to Hugh d'Avranches are of interest. As far as the events of his life are concerned, his appointment as the earl of Chester, his succession to the office of vicomte, his activity as a magnate of the Anglo-Norman state, his support for William Rufus during the rebellion of 1088 and during the war against Robert Curthose, and his relationship with Henry, the future king of England, need especially to be examined. In addition to these, because of his place as an earl on the Welsh march, his involvement in the Welsh campaigns in the reigns of William the Conqueror and William Rufus deeply influenced his career. On the other hand, though Hugh always appears with the title of an English earl, his political activity in Normandy is also important, as he held the office of the vicomte of Avranches and estates in Normandy. His participation in William Rufus'

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<sup>1</sup>i.e. the argument about the palatine earldom, which will be reviewed later. Barraclough, *The Earldom and County Palatine of Chester* criticizes the authoritative view of, for example, F. M. Stenton, *The First Century of English Feudalism, 1066-1166* (2nd edn., Oxford, 1961). Recently, the opinion of Barraclough is reviewed and supported by J. W. Alexander, 'New evidence on the Palatine of Chester', *E.H.R.*, 85 (1970), pp. 715-729; 'The Alleged Palatinates of Norman England', *Speculum*, 56 (1981), pp. 17-27.



Vexin campaign, for example, and several attestations in the royal/ducal charters confirmed in Normandy which show his concerns in Normandy should be noted. It is also necessary to analyse what sort of relationship he had with other Norman noble families and the King/Dukes, from William the Conqueror to King Henry I, to understand his place in the Anglo-Norman society.

## **2. Hugh d'Avranches, earl of Chester**

### **2.1. The career of Hugh - chronology -**

To begin with, Hugh's career in general needs to be traced as precisely as possible. Hugh d'Avranches appears in fourteen authentic acts of William the Conqueror, either attesting or witnessing. Although it is quite difficult to reconstruct much of his itinerary from the reign of William the Conqueror through the reign of William Rufus until his death just after the coronation of King Henry I, Hugh's activities in general can be traced by the close examination of the charter attestations and the narrative sources.

The history of Hugh's ancestors examined in the previous chapter does not provide enough evidence about Hugh's career before the Norman Conquest to enable many conclusions to be drawn. It is not certain when Hugh was born. His grandfather, Thurstan Goz, had held the office of vicomte and also Richard Goz, Hugh's father, held the office of vicomte of the Avranchin in the second half of the eleventh century. It can be said, therefore, that the family of Goz had already risen to prominence as a vicecomital family in the time of Richard. Hugh, who was born in this powerful hereditary vicecomital family, seems to have already been promised a certain recognizable future. However, he is not found or identified in any ducal charters before the Norman Conquest,<sup>1</sup> while he suddenly appears as one of the more frequent witnesses of the charters of William the Conqueror after the Norman Conquest,<sup>2</sup> and he continues to be an attestor of the charters of William Rufus as well. Considering this fact and his long

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<sup>1</sup>There are found several unidentifiable 'Hugo' in *R.A.D.N.*, but it is impossible to identify any of them as Hugh d'Avranches, son of Richard vicomte of the Avranchin.

<sup>2</sup>Hugh appears in the charters of the Conqueror several years after the Norman Conquest. The earliest authentic one is Bates, *Regesta*, no. 141 (1070-1077/8).

political career until his death in 1101, it seems reasonable to assume that he was still quite young at the time of the Conquest.<sup>1</sup>

As mentioned before, it was during the Norman Conquest and the successive events that Hugh must have played an active role in the Anglo-Norman politics for the first time. 'The companions of the Conqueror' have been traced by Douglas, but whether Hugh d'Avranches participated in the battle of Hastings itself is uncertain.<sup>2</sup> Though Orderic Vitalis writes that many powerful magnates contributed ships and knights to the Conquest, he does not specially name Hugh.<sup>3</sup> The only document from which Hugh's involvement in the Norman Conquest can be suggested is the so-called the 'Ship List'. This document contains the names of the magnates who offered ships and knights, including Hugh, who is said to have made a considerable contribution of 60 ships.<sup>4</sup> The reliability of this document has been examined by Dr. Elisabeth M. C. van Houts, demonstrating that the original list may have been produced within a decade after the Conquest. While her highly persuasive argument could suggest that Hugh d'Avranches may have taken part in that enterprise from the very beginning, this may not actually be

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<sup>1</sup>As indicated before, Hugh's name is not found in the earliest document from the priory of Saint-Gabriel, which is dated 1058-1066 by Musset (Musset, 'Saint-Gabriel', pp. 132ff).

<sup>2</sup>D. C. Douglas, 'Companions of the Conqueror', *History*, 28 (1943), pp. 129-147, at p. 146, n. 4. The account of Orderic that young knight Robert of Rhuddlan and Hugh d'Avranches crossed to England after the battle of Hastings seems to imply that Hugh was not in England at the time of the battle (O.V., IV, pp. 138-139).

<sup>3</sup>O.V., II, pp. 144-145, and n. 1. William of Poitiers also recorded about the contribution of the magnates (W.P., pp. 150-151).

<sup>4</sup>O.V., II, p. 144 n. There are two articles on the 'Ship List': E. M. C. van Houts, 'The Ship List of William the Conqueror', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 10 (1988), pp. 159-184; C. W. Hollister, 'The Greater Domesday Tenants-in-Chief', in *Domesday Studies*, ed. J. C. Holt (Woodbridge, 1987), pp. 219-248. Dr. van Houts discusses the reliability of this documents, while Professor Hollister's argument points out that the List reveals a relatively 'new aristocracy'.

the case.

Hugh's later impressive career under William the Conqueror and William Rufus means that he is usually thought to have been involved in the very first stage of the Norman Conquest. However, as mentioned above, it is curious that his name is not found in any ducal charters before the Norman Conquest. Hugh's first attestation in a diploma of William the Conqueror with a precise date is from 13 September 1077, confirmed at the dedication of the abbey of Saint-Etienne of Caen.<sup>1</sup> Before that, Hugh appears among the signa of a diploma for Fécamp dating from between 1070-1077/8, which does not mention where it was confirmed.<sup>2</sup> As for his father, Richard vicomte of the Avranchin, he attests in a charter issued on 17 June 1066,<sup>3</sup> and his appearance in several charters and diplomas of William the Conqueror indicates that Richard continued to be a close supporter of William.<sup>4</sup> It is interesting, therefore, that the name of Hugh is found in the 'Ship List', not that of Richard vicomte of the Avranchin. This implies that Hugh, the younger son of Richard, was the Goz family's representative in the Norman Conquest. Moreover, considering that Hugh d'Avranches was given an earldom and large estates in England, while there is no evidence that his father Richard undertook any

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<sup>1</sup>Bates, *Regesta*, no. 46 (13 Sep. 1077); *R.R.A.N.*, I, no. 96.

<sup>2</sup>Bates, *Regesta*, no. 141. The earlier ones in *R.R.A.N.*, I, no. 11 (1067), no. 57 (?1070-1), are considered as spurious.

<sup>3</sup>*R.R.A.N.*, I, no. 4 (17 June 1066); *Abbayes Caennaises*, no. 2 (18 June 1066).

<sup>4</sup>Richard appears in *R.R.A.N.*, I, nos. 4, 76, 105, 117, and as Richard Goz, nos. 29, 75. Douglas has suggested that Richard vicomte of the Avranchin might have crossed over to England with William the Conqueror. On the other hand, he also carefully mentions that the possibility that Richard's participation in the Battle of Hastings does not mean that of his son Hugh, since Hugh must have been very young at that time (Douglas, 'Companions of the Conqueror', p. 146 and n. 4). However, considering the evidence of his involvement of the Conquest, Hugh must have come to England quite soon after the battle of Hastings.



notable activity in the Norman Conquest or in England, this may suggest that the members of the Goz family might have divided their attentions between in England and in Normandy at this stage. Richard the vicomte continued to appear in charters and diplomas as an attestor until the early 1080's, which means that he was still politically active. However, the name of Richard is not found in any documents certainly confirmed in England.<sup>1</sup> Therefore, it can be concluded that while Hugh advanced into England as the representative of the Goz, his father Richard the vicomte remained active exclusively in Normandy.

According to Orderic Vitalis, Hugh d'Avranches was given the county of Chester by William the Conqueror in 1071, succeeding a Fleming named Gerbod.<sup>2</sup> Gerbod has left only a vague career as a lord of Chester. Because of a disturbance in Flanders, he went back there in the late 1070 in order to keep his estates safe soon after he acquired Chester.<sup>3</sup> After his succession, Hugh d'Avranches appears always with the title of 'the earl of Chester' in the charters and diplomas of King/Duke. It is understandable that somebody had to be immediately appointed as the earl of Chester after the disappearance of Gerbod, for Cheshire itself remained unstable and it was urgent to defend this strategic

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<sup>1</sup>Richard appears in Bates, *Regesta*, nos. 26 (30 November 1074), 27 (1074), 48 (1079-1082), 49 (1080/1-1082/1087), 54 (1081-1087), 200 (27 December 1080), 214 (c. 1076).

<sup>2</sup>O.V., II, pp. 260-261, n. 4 and 5, also IV, pp. 138-139.

<sup>3</sup>O.V., II, pp. 260-261 (Hugh was given the county of Chester after Gerbod), IV, pp. 138-139 (suggesting that the county of Chester fought against the Normans); Lewis, 'Formation', pp. 37-39. Taking into consideration Orderic's comment, Lewis associates Gerbod's early return to Flanders to the contemporary disturbance there.



point of the Welsh border.<sup>1</sup> According to Orderic, before acquiring the earldom of Chester, Hugh held the castle of Tutbury in Staffordshire.<sup>2</sup> This might have been while William the Conqueror was campaigning in the south-west and the north, suppressing the revolt of the earls Edwin and Morcar in England in 1068 with the support of the Welsh.<sup>3</sup> This could suggest the participation of Hugh d'Avranches in the Norman Conquest in the North-Midlands of England. In the years 1070-71, William the Conqueror was campaigning in northern England, occupying Chester on his journey south. Probably Hugh played an important role in these campaigns, and he must have become the earl of Chester as a result of them. Defence against the Welsh, who were always liable to ally with the conquered English, was a necessity for the Normans. William the Conqueror therefore strategically left Hugh vast estates around Chester with almost comprehensive rights belonging to them,<sup>4</sup> as he did to Roger de Montgommery as the earl of Shropshire, and William fitzOsbern in Herefordshire. It should be noted that while Cheshire itself was given as a single estate to him, other components of the vast estates of the earldom of

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<sup>1</sup>Orderic says that Gerbod suffered from resistance of English in Chester and the Welsh (O.V., II, pp. 260-261), and also there were many struggles before Hugh obtained the county of Chester (O.V., IV, pp. 138-139).

<sup>2</sup>O.V., II, pp. 264-265. Orderic notes that the castle of Tutbury which had been held by Hugh d'Avranches (it is interesting that Orderic does not say 'earl of Chester' here) was given to Henry de Ferrières by King William.

<sup>3</sup>Lewis, 'Formation ', p. 41.

<sup>4</sup>Scholars have paid attention to what rights the earls of Chester were given and this 'consolidation' has been understood as a palatinate (Barraclough, *The Earldom and County Palatine of Chester*, pp. 16-27).

Chester were scattered in twenty-one shires at the time of the Domesday Book.<sup>1</sup>

When William was in Normandy in 1075, the revolt led by three earls, namely, Ralph de Gael, earl of Norfolk, Roger, earl of Hereford and Earl Waltheof, occurred in England. Whether Earl Hugh was involved in suppressing this rebellion is unknown. Though it should be borne in mind that there are not so many surviving diplomas confirmed by William the Conqueror which can be precisely dated in the 1070's, it is interesting that Earl Hugh does not appear in many acts confirmed in the 1070's. Considering his important status and that he seems to have stayed away from the revolt, Hugh may well have been in England for much of this time in order to concentrate on dealing with managing his estates and containing the Welsh. The fact that his father, Richard the vicomte, appears in two diplomas for Bayeux cathedral confirmed in 1074 at a great assembly of many magnates held at Rouen supports this.<sup>2</sup> According to the *History of Gruffydd ap Cynan*, Earl Hugh and Robert of Rhuddlan advanced into Wales and devastated as far as Lleyn with other marcher Norman lords around 1080,<sup>3</sup> probably a year before William the Conqueror advanced into South Wales.<sup>4</sup> It seems reasonable to assume that Earl Hugh's main field of activity was in England in the 1070's, while his father remained in control of the family's interests in Normandy, and may well also have been its more usual representative at the king's court.

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<sup>1</sup>Hugh's land recorded in Domesday Book is examined by Lewis in detail (Lewis, 'Formation') and will be reviewed here later.

<sup>2</sup>Bates, *Regesta*, nos. 26 (30 November 1074, Rouen), 27 (1074).

<sup>3</sup>*The History of Gruffydd ap Cynan*, ed. and tr. A. Jones (Manchester, 1910), pp. 122-124.

<sup>4</sup>J. E. Lloyd, *A History of Wales* (London, 1911, new impression, 1948), II, p. 395; *Brenhinedd y Saesson or The Kings of the Saxons*, ed. and tr. T. Jones (Cardiff, 1971), p. 81 (1079-1081); A.S.C., E, 1081.

Earl Hugh succeeded to the vicomté of the Avranchin several years later than his acquisition of the title of the earl. Richard Goz still held the office of the vicomte in the 1070's.<sup>1</sup> The earliest known appearance of Earl Hugh with the title of the vicomte in the charters is dated between 1079 and 1082.<sup>2</sup> Richard the vicomte and Earl Hugh appear together in a charter of the abbey of Saint-Etienne of Caen, confirmed probably between 1081 and 1087.<sup>3</sup> However, the attestations of this diploma might have been accumulated over time, and attestations of Richard and Hugh might have been earlier than 1077.<sup>4</sup> On the other hand, Richard the vicomte appears as one of the grantors of the abbey of Saint-Etienne of Caen, in a charter confirmed probably between 1080/1 and 1082.<sup>5</sup> Considering this evidence, therefore, it is reasonable to assume that Earl Hugh became the vicomte of the Avranchin around 1080/1.<sup>6</sup>

In 1080, Earl Hugh's attestation is found in a charter confirmed on 31 January at Boscherville.<sup>7</sup> After this year, the number of Hugh's attestations increases significantly.

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<sup>1</sup>Bates, *Regesta*, nos. 54 (1081-1087), 149 (1070-1079); *R.R.A.N.*, I, nos. 105, 117.

<sup>2</sup>Bates, *Regesta*, no. 48 (1079-1082, possibly 1080-1082); *Abbayes Caennaises*, no. 18 (1079-1087).

<sup>3</sup>Bates, *Regesta*, no. 54 (1081-1087); *Abbayes Caennaises*, no. 4A bis (1081-1087).

<sup>4</sup>van Houts, 'Ship List', p. 167 and n. 40.

<sup>5</sup>Bates, *Regesta*, no. 49, considering the accumulation of the attestation list, the date is also suggested between 1080/1 and 1087; *Abbayes Caennaises*, no. 7.

<sup>6</sup>c. 1080 has been suggested by Lewis ('Formation', p. 40, n. 20) and van Houts ('Ship List', p. 167).

<sup>7</sup>Bates, *Regesta*, no. 266. He appears as 'Hugo consul de Cestra'.

Orderic also mentions his name next to Earl Roger of Shrewsbury in the list of magnates who attended the council held at Rouen in which William the Conqueror took advice about the conflict with his eldest son Robert. This must have happened in 1079.<sup>1</sup> The frequent attestations in the early 1080's mean that Earl Hugh was very close to William the Conqueror during these years, and the comment of Orderic supports the charter evidence for increased prominence.

Among the two diplomas of the year 1081, the one for Bury St. Edmunds has a very long list of attestations including many great magnates, which suggests that the diploma was confirmed at an important crown-wearing at Whitsun.<sup>2</sup> The attestation list of the other one, which confirms grants to Saint-Evroult, is attested mainly by the grantors.<sup>3</sup> Earl Roger of Shrewsbury and his men made grants, also Earl Hugh and his men, including Robert of Rhuddlan, granting part of their English estates. Another diploma dated probably to the same year in Normandy contains a very short attestation list.<sup>4</sup> Among the attestors, only Earl Hugh can be counted as a great magnate. Though he might have had some relation to the grantor, Eudo son of Thurstan, it is still impossible to prove. Then, a record of a plea dating 5 September 1082, confirmed at Oissel, has Earl Hugh as an attestor.<sup>5</sup> Another diploma to the abbey of La Trinité of

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<sup>1</sup>According to Orderic, the council took place after the siege of Gerberoy in January 1079 (O.V., III, pp. 108-111) On the rebellion of Robert Curthose, C. W. David, *Robert Curthose* (Cambridge, 1920), pp. 24-36.

<sup>2</sup>Bates, *Regesta*, no. 39 (31 May, Winchester).

<sup>3</sup>Bates, *Regesta*, no. 255 (1081, Winchester).

<sup>4</sup>Bates, *Regesta*, no. 206 (c. 1070-1083, perhaps c. 1081).

<sup>5</sup>Bates, *Regesta*, no. 264.



Caen, which was probably confirmed in England in the autumn of the same year, also includes Earl Hugh's attestation.<sup>1</sup> Examining these charters, it can be noticed that while there is only one act which has a short attestation list, Earl Hugh's name is usually included in the long attestation lists with other great magnates of William the Conqueror; Earl Hugh was usually among other great magnates, and attended these important assemblies in these years of 1080-1082.

As for the place of confirmation, of the nine of the charters in which Earl Hugh appears as an attestor; three of them can be assigned to England and six to Normandy.<sup>2</sup> It is interesting that he appears in Normandy rather more frequently than in England. Of course, counting attestations alone may hide the real meaning, since the important aspects can be included in the history of the each document itself. At least, however, it may be pointed out that Earl Hugh's activity was never limited only to England, even though he played a great role there, or to Normandy, as would be expected of a great Anglo-Norman magnate. However, Hugh's appearances in Norman charters seem to be connected with his succession to his father's office of vicomte. The Welsh campaign in c. 1080 had also made him stay in England around that time, and his frequent attestations suggest that his itinerary was therefore close to that of William the Conqueror. Earl Hugh became a true Anglo-Norman magnate only after he had succeeded to his father's lands in Normandy.

After these three years, 1080-1082, nevertheless, it suddenly becomes difficult to find Earl Hugh's name in William the Conqueror's charters. His last possible attestation

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<sup>1</sup>Bates, *Regesta*, no. 60 (1082); *R.R.A.N.*, I, no. 149.

<sup>2</sup>Bates, *Regesta*, no. 46 (13 Sep. 1077, Caen), no. 266 (II) (31 Jan. Boscherville, 1080), no. 39 and 255 (31 May 1081, Winchester), no. 206 (c. 1081, Normandy?), no. 50 (1081-82, Normandy), no. 264 (5 Sep. 1082, Oissel), no. 60 (1082, England), no. 279 (1082-83, Normandy).



of the Conqueror's charters is found in a charter to the abbey of Saint-Etienne of Caen, which is dated 1081-1087.<sup>1</sup> There is no direct mention in any narrative sources about his withdrawal from William the Conqueror's entourage. When we consider the arrest of Odo bishop of Bayeux in 1082, however, it might be possible to suggest a reason for his withdrawal.

Odo was arrested and imprisoned by William the Conqueror in late 1082.<sup>2</sup> The sources suggest that Odo was involved in a scheme to become pope,<sup>3</sup> and Orderic mentions Hugh as Odo's supporter.<sup>4</sup> Although the nature of the relationship between Odo bishop of Bayeux and Earl Hugh is difficult to detect, his sudden disappearance from the charters must be because he was to an extent involved in the conspiracy. This is, however, no evidence to suggest that he lost William's favour; it is probable that he simply returned to managing his earldom.

After the death of William the Conqueror, his second surviving son, William Rufus became the king of England, while Robert Curthose, the elder son became the duke of Normandy. According to the *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum*, Earl Hugh appears about nine times in charters of William Rufus,<sup>5</sup> though none of them gives a precise place

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<sup>1</sup>Bates, *Regesta*, no. 54.

<sup>2</sup>A.S.C., E, 1082; O.V., IV, pp. 38-45; *Hyda*, p. 296; W.M., *G.R.*, II, 334. About Odo, D. Bates, 'The Character and Career of Odo, Bishop of Bayeux (1049/50 - 1097)', *Speculum*, 50 (1975), pp. 1-20.

<sup>3</sup>Bates, 'Odo, bishop of Bayeux', pp. 15-18 examines the background of imprisonment.

<sup>4</sup>O.V., IV, pp. 40-41. *Hyda* notes that Odo gained supports of many Anglo-Norman magnates (*Hyda*, p. 296).

<sup>5</sup>*R.R.A.N.*, I, nos. 301, 315, 317a (added in *R.R.A.N.*, II), 318, 319 (forgery), 320, 325, 328, 397.

of confirmation.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, his name is not found in the known charters of Robert Curthose. His career can, however, be reconstructed from the narrative sources.

In 1088, William Rufus had to face a serious rebellion just after his acquisition of the throne. Though many great magnates joined the rebellion, Earl Hugh supported William Rufus; in addition to being mentioned by Orderic,<sup>2</sup> this can be proved from his attestation of a William Rufus' diploma in 1088.<sup>3</sup> Considering the number of his appearance in William Rufus' charters, Earl Hugh seems to have returned to the royal entourage again after his disappearance from the royal/ducal court of William the Conqueror. The fact that his attestations are always among the names of other magnates also indicates his important place in the court of William Rufus. Gaimar describes Earl Hugh as a legendary vigorous magnate at the court of William Rufus.<sup>4</sup>

After suppressing the rebellion, William Rufus kept trying to acquire Normandy from Robert Curthose. In 1091, a significant year in the struggle between two brothers,<sup>5</sup> William Rufus crossed to northern Normandy to try to establish his lordship there, and

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<sup>1</sup>*R.R.A.N.* I, no. 319, dated 1096-7 has a place of issue, Hastings. However, it is likely to be a forgery, discussed in D. Greenway, 'The False *Institutio* of St. Osmund', in *Tradition and Change: essays in honour of Marjorie Chibnall*, ed. D. Greenway et. al. (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 77-101.

<sup>2</sup>*O.V.*, IV, pp. 128-129.

<sup>3</sup>*R.R.A.N.*, I, no. 301 (1088).

<sup>4</sup>Gaimar, *Lestorie des Engles*, ed. and tr. T. D. Hardy and C. T. Martin (R.S., 1888, 1889), lines 5860-6076.

<sup>5</sup>As for the events in 1091, F. Barlow, *William Rufus* (London, 1983), pp. 277-295.

Hugh is likely to have accompanied him.<sup>1</sup> The so-called 'Treaty of Rouen', which gave William a considerable lordship in Normandy, was concluded in this year.<sup>2</sup>

Henry, the last surviving son of William the Conqueror and future king of England, was also a participant in the rivalry among the brothers from 1088 to 1095. Henry was given a large amount of money by his father, and he acquired the Cotentin from Robert Curthose with the money.<sup>3</sup> After William Rufus and Robert made peace in 1091, they attacked Henry and he was besieged at Mont-Saint-Michel. Since Earl Hugh's main Norman estates lay in the western part of Normandy, the relationship with Henry must have become one of Hugh's major concerns. After William Rufus went back to England in summer in 1091, Earl Hugh was given Saint-James-de-Beuvron (Manche, cant. Saint-James) by Henry as a reward for his loyalty.<sup>4</sup> This suggests that Hugh kept on good terms with Henry during the conflict among the brothers. How Hugh survived these quarrels will be discussed later.

Although Earl Hugh is often recorded as active in Normandy, on the other hand, with the help of Anselm, he founded the abbey of St. Werburgh in Chester in 1092.<sup>5</sup> This abbey became a spiritual centre for Hugh's family and their men, and Chester became a focus of patronage and loyalty. Although the frequency of Earl Hugh's

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<sup>1</sup>Barlow, *William Rufus*, p. 278, n. 68. *R.R.A.N.*, II, no. 317a (1091) has only two attestors where Hugh appears with Robert fitzHamo, one of William Rufus' close attendants. Orderic writes about the events in 1091 in considerable detail (*O.V.*, IV, pp. 236-237, pp. 250-256).

<sup>2</sup>Barlow, *William Rufus*, pp. 281ff.

<sup>3</sup>*G.N.D.*, II, pp. 204-205; *O.V.*, IV, pp. 120-121, 220-221.

<sup>4</sup>*G.N.D.*, II, pp. 208-209.

<sup>5</sup>*H.N.*, pp. 27-29; Barlow, *William Rufus*, p. 302; *O.V.*, IV, p. 176, n. 2.

attestations decreases after 1091, it is likely that this is not because he was losing favour from William Rufus, but because the system of producing charters and diplomas changed in these years.<sup>1</sup> In 1094, a rebellion occurred in Wales which continued for several years.<sup>2</sup> In the same year, Henry and Hugh embarked at Cherbourg, summoned by William Rufus.<sup>3</sup> In 1095, another conspiracy against William Rufus occurred in England led by Robert of Mowbray, earl of Northumberland. This time, again, Hugh kept on good terms with William Rufus.<sup>4</sup> In 1096, Robert Curthose made a bargain and left Normandy in the hands of William Rufus to join the First Crusade. Finally William Rufus could, in a sense, reconstruct his father's Anglo-Norman state.

During the second half of William Rufus's reign, Earl Hugh seems to have still been politically active. After acquiring Normandy, William Rufus made energetic efforts to retain it and, moreover, gain more lands by crossing beyond the border area. In 1097, Hugh took part in the Vexin Campaign of William Rufus against Philip, the king of France.<sup>5</sup> In the same year, William Rufus invaded Wales.<sup>6</sup> Hugh took part in the campaigns against Wales with another marcher earl, Hugh of Shrewsbury, the son of Roger de Montgomery, earl of Shrewsbury.

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<sup>1</sup>Barlow, *William Rufus*, p. 280.

<sup>2</sup>A.S.C., E, 1094, 1095, 1096, 1097, 1098.

<sup>3</sup>A.S.C., E, 1094.

<sup>4</sup>Barlow, *William Rufus*, pp. 347f.; A.S.C., E., 1095; O.V., IV, pp. 278-285.

<sup>5</sup>O.V., V, pp. 212ff.; Barlow, *William Rufus*, pp. 378f., p. 393.

<sup>6</sup>A.S.C., E, 1097; Barlow, *William Rufus*, pp. 370f.; Lloyd, *A History of Wales*, II, p. 408.



The reign of William Rufus was ended suddenly by his death in a hunting accident in 1100, and his brother Henry immediately acquired the throne of England. At that time, Earl Hugh is known to have supported Henry, which means that, once more, he chose the winning side.<sup>1</sup> The long and active political career of Hugh finally came to the end soon after the beginning of the reign of King Henry, in 1101. According to Orderic Vitalis, Hugh had been ill in bed and died just after becoming a monk at the abbey of St. Werburgh.<sup>2</sup> After the death of Earl Hugh in July 1101, his son, Richard, who was still only a child at that time, succeeded to both of the titles of earl of Chester and vicomte of the Avranchin.

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<sup>1</sup>O.V., V, pp. 298-299. His attestations of charters of King Henry; *R.R.A.N.*, II, nos. 492 (14 Sept. 1100, Westminster), 497 (c. Oct. 1100, Marlborough), 510 (c. Sept-Dec. 1100?), 532 (Sept.-1. July 1101, Westminster), 533 (July 1100-1).

<sup>2</sup>O.V., V, pp. 314-315. Eadmer recorded the circumstances of the abbey's foundation and Hugh's relationship to Anselm (*H.N.*, pp. 28-30). The documents of St. Werburgh are edited and published by J. Tait. J. Tait, *The Chartulary or Register of The Abbey of St. Werburgh Chester*, Chetham Society, new ser., 79 (1920) and 82 (1923).



## 2.2. Analysis

### 2.2.1. Welsh affairs

One of Earl Hugh's major tasks was to deal with the border area with Wales.<sup>1</sup> Earl Hugh's expansion of his lands into Wales will be discussed in this section. Considering the close relationship between the Welsh and the Irish and Scandinavian influence in the region, the Welsh march had a significant meaning to the Normans. It is known from the narrative sources that there were frequent disturbances in the border area.<sup>2</sup> Defence and control of the frontier was a serious necessity for the Normans during the reign of William the Conqueror. Shortly after Gerbod, who, as Orderic says, was continuously troubled by the English and Welsh, returned to Flanders, Hugh was appointed the earl of Chester in 1071, with his most notable followers, such as Robert of Rhuddlan and Robert of Malpas being installed at around the same time.<sup>3</sup> This occurred just after William the Conqueror built a castle in Chester, suppressing the revolt of Earl Edwin and Earl Morcar.<sup>4</sup> When Hugh was given the county of Cheshire, it must have still been an unsettled area because of the resistance of the Anglo-Saxons, sometimes allied to the

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<sup>1</sup>Most of relevant places are shown on map 'WALES'.

<sup>2</sup>For example, O.V., II, pp. 228-229, 234-237; A.S.C., D, 1067; F.W., II, pp. 1-2 (1067).

<sup>3</sup>O.V., II, pp. 260-263, IV, pp. 138-139. The earliest charter in which Hugh appears as an earl, *R.R.A.N.*, I, no. 57 (?1070-1), is a forgery. He appears as 'Hugonis comitis Cestre' in Bates, *Regesta*, no. 141 (c. 1070-1077/8).

<sup>4</sup>It was probably in 1070 (O.V, II, pp. 236-237).

Welsh.<sup>1</sup> Orderic often calls the rebels who were allied with the Welsh not the English but specifically 'the men of Chester'.

The old town of Chester was an important centre within the Mercian earldom. It had not only been the military base used to deal with the Welsh and Irish, but also the commercial and ecclesiastical centre of the earldom.<sup>2</sup> It is likely that the people of Chester had already formed a close regional community by this time. The words 'the men of Chester' implies their consolidation, and, moreover, show that Chester may have been a notable centre of English resistance of this area. To maintain the security of Chester was certainly essential to William the Conqueror, and he chose Hugh for the task.

At the time of the Norman Conquest, Wales itself was experiencing internal conflicts. After the death of Gruffudd ap Llywelyn in 1063, there was no strong authority inside Wales.<sup>3</sup> The Welsh princes competed against one another,<sup>4</sup> and the Norman Conquest gave the opportunity to the Welsh to ally themselves with the English on the border. It is noted that the Welsh joined the rebellion of Edwin and Morcar in 1068-9,<sup>5</sup> and it was around the same time when Edric the Wild and the men of Chester

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<sup>1</sup>For example, Orderic notes that William the Conqueror had to fight against 'the men of Chester' several times (O.V., II, pp. 228-229, 234-235, IV, pp. 90-91).

<sup>2</sup>N. J. Higham, *The Origins of Cheshire* (Manchester, 1993), pp. 115f.

<sup>3</sup>*Brut y Tywysogyon or The Chronicle of the Princes*, ed. tr. by T. Jones (Cardiff, 1952), (1061-1063); *Brenhinedd*, (1061-1063); the situation in 1063, R. R. Davies, *The Age of Conquest* (Oxford, 1987, pbk. 1991), pp. 24-27.

<sup>4</sup>*Brut* and *Brenhinedd* note the battle among Welsh princes (1068-1069).

<sup>5</sup>O.V., II, pp. 214-218. He writes that Bleddyn of Powys, the Welsh prince, joined the rebels' side.

and the Welsh besieged Shrewsbury.<sup>1</sup> From the Welsh side, repeated invasions by the Norman-French were recorded in the Welsh sources.

Interestingly, King William himself is not found leading the invasions into Wales except on one occasion in 1081. Given that William the Conqueror dealt with these disturbances on the Welsh frontier by appointing powerful magnates,<sup>2</sup> this means that the frequent Norman invasions were not led by the king but by the magnates.<sup>3</sup> William's policy was certainly to let powerful Normans take the initiative to cope with Wales. Naturally he was careful enough to chose faithful supporters as these marcher earls, like Hugh and Roger de Montgommery, and also William fitzOsbern, and to make them powerful by granting them considerable consolidated estates.

From the magnates' perspective, this policy gave them great opportunities to acquire more estates in the border area and inside Wales. Having been helped by the disturbances inside Wales itself, the Norman lords could accumulate their power in the border area relatively easily in the early years.<sup>4</sup> Earl Hugh appears to have executed his responsibilities capably; he carried out several successful military campaigns and expanded his power inside Wales. As Hugh's most significant follower, Robert of Rhuddlan is a good example of these aggressive Norman invaders into Wales; he

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<sup>1</sup>O.V., II, pp. 228-229; A.S.C., D., 1067 (1068).

<sup>2</sup>O.V., II, pp. 260-263.

<sup>3</sup>*Brut*, (from 1070-1072 to 1072-1074); *Brenhinedd*, (from 1070-1072 to 1072-1074); *Annales Cambriae*, 1068, 1071, 1072.

<sup>4</sup>Professor Le Patourel has suggested that these marcher consolidated estates were not for defence but for aggressive expansion; J. Le Patourel, 'The Norman Colonization of Britain after 1066', in *I Normanni e la loro espansione in Europa nell'alto medioevo*, Settimane di studio del centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 16 (Spoleto, 1969), pp. 409-438, at pp. 425-427.

established himself in the castle built at Rhuddlan beyond the border and held land inside Wales.<sup>1</sup> The campaigns against Wales were usually undertaken by Earl Hugh, Robert of Rhuddlan and another earl, Roger de Montgomery, the earl of Shrewsbury. The date of Roger's appointment as earl is not exactly known, though he might have already been the earl in 1071, or even before.<sup>2</sup> In either case, the deployment of the marcher earls on the Welsh border was the countermeasure to the disturbances in that area during the late 1060's.<sup>3</sup> Alongside Earl Roger of Shrewsbury, we can also find William fitzOsbern, who was the earl of Hereford from 1067 until his death in 1071.<sup>4</sup>

Earl Hugh's first actual involvement in Wales during the reign of William the Conqueror seems to have been in 1071; the first Norman campaign in Wales took place after the Welsh had joined Edwin and Morcar's rebellion.<sup>5</sup> Bleddyn ap Cynfyn, who had

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<sup>1</sup>The career of Robert of Rhuddlan, which is described by Orderic Vitalis in some detail, will be analysed later in this study.

<sup>2</sup>1071 has been suggested in J. F. A. Mason, 'Roger de Montgomery and his sons (1067-1102)', *T.R.H.S.*, 5 th ser., 13 (1963), pp. 1-28, at p. 4, while 1067-8 is suggested in C. P. Lewis, 'The Early Earls of Norman England', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 13 (1991), pp. 207-224, at p. 220.

<sup>3</sup>*A.S.C.*, D, 1067; *F.W.*, II, pp. 1-2 (1067) note that Eadric ravaged Hereford with the Welsh, and Orderic writes that many Welsh joined the rebellion of Earl Edwin and Earl Morcar in 1068 (*O.V.*, II, pp. 214-217).

<sup>4</sup>*O.V.*, II, pp. 260-261. Describing the distribution of the land after suppressing the rebellion, Orderic says that 'William the Conqueror made the humblest of the Normans men of wealth'. However, this is not so in the case of those magnates whom Orderic lists following that comment. The power of William fitzOsbern as the earl of Hereford seems to be another disputed topic; W. E. Wightman, 'The Palatine Earldom of William fitzOsbern in Gloucestershire and Worcestershire (1066-1071)', *E.H.R.*, 77 (1962), pp. 6-17. The genealogy of the family of William fitzOsbern, J. Le Patourel, 'Norman Barons', in id., *Feudal Empires: Norman and Plantagenet* (Oxford, 1986), VI, pp. 5-9.

<sup>5</sup>*O.V.*, II, pp. 234-237.



received Powys from Edward the Confessor, also joined the rebellion.<sup>1</sup> It is reasonable to think that Hugh's appointment was the result of his participation in suppressing the revolt. Orderic notes that there were Robert of Rhuddlan and Robert of Malpas, two of Hugh's notable tenants in Cheshire and Wales, with Hugh when he fought against the Welsh this time.<sup>2</sup> At this time, William also had to deal with the Scots led by King Malcolm III of Scotland, with whom William finally made peace at Abernethy in 1072, and also with English rebels in the north. William also spent a relatively long time in Normandy. On the other hand, Earl Hugh appears only once in a charter confirmed in Normandy during this period. The fact that the charter is confirmed at Caen at the dedication of the abbey of Saint-Etienne of Caen on 13 September implies that Hugh may have attended only this very important occasion.<sup>3</sup> Earl Hugh might have been devoting himself to his newly given earldom in these years rather than attending William's court on a regular basis.

In the first part of 1070's, the expansion of the power of Earl Hugh and Robert of Rhuddlan in North Wales can to some extent be traced. The year 1075 was full of events which affected the power struggle in North Wales. In that year, the battles of Gwaet Erw and Bron yr Erw took place between two important Welsh princes, Gruffydd ap Cynan and Trahaearn ap Caradog. Gruffydd ap Cynan was a descendant of the family of the prince of Gwynedd and he was trying to regain Gwynedd from Trahaearn ap Caradog, who ruled there. The conflict in North Wales let the Normans, chiefly Robert of

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<sup>1</sup>O.V., II, pp. 216-217.

<sup>2</sup>O.V., II, pp. 260-261.

<sup>3</sup>Bates, *Regesta*, no. 46 (13 Sep. 1077, Caen); *R.R.A.N.*, I, no. 96.



Rhuddlan, intervene well beyond the Welsh border.<sup>1</sup> The *History of Gruffydd ap Cynan* notes that Gruffydd asked Robert of Rhuddlan for help, and was supported by the men from Tegeingl,<sup>2</sup> while Gruffydd led the army from Anglesey and Arfon in North-West Wales. This certainly means that Robert of Rhuddlan had already established himself firmly in Tegeingl, in which the castle of Rhuddlan was situated; Rhuddlan had been Gruffydd ap Llwelyn's chief stronghold.<sup>3</sup> Also it is notable that it is Robert of Rhuddlan rather than Hugh who is mentioned in the *History of Gruffydd ap Cynan*. This implies that Robert's establishment had been secured independently by 1075. The result of 1075 was the defeat of Gruffydd ap Cynan, and Trahaearn seems to have kept Gwynedd. Trahaearn may have been recognised as the prince of Gwynedd, since *Brut y Tywysogyon* notes in relation to the battle of Pwllgwdig that Trahaearn, 'the king of Gwynedd' won.<sup>4</sup>

The next stage seems to be a notable turning-point in the relationship between Wales and the Norman settlers. The *History of Gruffydd ap Cynan* depicts Hugh's first big campaign into Wales, describing how he led many Norman nobles and his Welsh ally of Powys to Llein deep inside North Wales.<sup>5</sup> The character of the campaign, which

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<sup>1</sup>*History of G. ap C.*, pp. 118-119; *Brut*, (1073-75); *Brenhinedd*, (1073-75); *Annales Cambriae*, 1073.

<sup>2</sup>*History of G. ap C.*, pp. 112-114.

<sup>3</sup>Lloyd, *A History of Wales*, II, p. 382.

<sup>4</sup>*Brut*, (from 1074-76 to 1077-79).

<sup>5</sup>*History of G. ap C.*, pp. 122-124. It says, "This was the first plague and rough advent of the Normans to the land of Gwynedd after coming to England" (p. 125); Lloyd, *A History of Wales*, II, p. 383. *History of G. ap C.* notes that Gruffydd regained Gwynedd after the defeat at the battle of Bron yr Erw, and was then captured by the Danes. Hugh's campaign might have been during this period of

cannot be precisely dated, but which probably took place between 1075 and 1081, shows that Powys had already been taken into Hugh's sphere of influence and that his forces were strong enough to invade deep into Lleyn. In 1081, at the battle of Mynydd Carn, Gruffydd ap Cynan, allying with Rhys ap Tewdwr of Deheubarth fought against Trahaearn ap Caradog and Meilyr ap Rhiwallon. This time, Trahaearn ap Caradog was killed and the battle ended in victory for Gruffydd ap Cynan and Rhys ap Tewdwr.<sup>1</sup> The death of Trahaearn, who had kept Gwynedd, though his authority was insecure, and his replacement by Gruffydd ap Cynan means that Gruffydd would become the next opponent of the Normans. Gruffydd ap Cynan seems subsequently to have been captured by the Normans and kept in Chester. Earl Hugh and Robert of Rhuddlan then built several castles in Gwynedd and Powys, replacing the prince of Gwynedd.<sup>2</sup> At the same time, English narrative sources record that king William invaded Wales in 1081, while Welsh sources note only his pilgrimage to St. Davids in the same year.<sup>3</sup> Though the exact relation between the battle of Mynydd Carn and the Conqueror's campaign is not clear, the episode indicates that William the Conqueror and Norman authority could take

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captivity. The exact year cannot be determined, but a date between 1075 and 1081 can be suggested.

<sup>1</sup>The Battle of Mynydd Carn, *History of G. ap C.*, pp. 124-130; *Brenhinedd*, (1079-81); *Brut*, (1079-81); *Annales Cambriae*, 1079 (probably for 1081); Lloyd, *A History of Wales*, II, pp. 384f.

<sup>2</sup>*History of G. ap C.*, pp. 130-132 records that it was Earl Hugh who captured Gruffydd, and built castles in Anglesey, Arfon, Bangor, Meirionydd; A. D. Carr, *Medieval Wales* (London, 1995), p. 33; Lloyd, *A History of Wales*, II, p. 385. The exact date of the capture of Gruffydd is not sure, though usually it is assumed in 1081, immediately after the battle of Mynydd Carn (*History of G. ap C.*, p. 63).

<sup>3</sup>*A.S.C.*, E, 1081; H.H. pp. 400-401; while *Brut* and *Brenhinedd* write only that William went on a pilgrimage to St. Davids; *Brut* and *Brenhinedd*, (1079-81).

advantage of the confusion and accomplish a deep penetration into mid-south Wales.<sup>1</sup>

The advances achieved by Earl Hugh and his followers in North Wales can be illustrated from Domesday Book and narrative sources. At the time of the Domesday Inquest, the hundreds in Wales, namely, Rhuddlan, Tegeingl, Deeside, Bistre, Maelor Saesneg and Maelor Cymraeg were almost all held by Earl Hugh and his followers.<sup>2</sup> It is notable that Hugh's demesne and the lands held by Robert of Rhuddlan from Hugh occupy the important coastal area,<sup>3</sup> while the inland areas are subinfeudated to other followers.<sup>4</sup> Robert of Rhuddlan was even more well established in Wales. As Domesday Book shows, he himself held North Wales, that is, Gwynedd, including Rhos and Rhufoniog directly from the king. The significant stronghold of Rhuddlan was divided with Earl Hugh. Moreover, he built a castle at Deganwy himself, further inside

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<sup>1</sup>The record of the Norman-French invasion of *Brut* and *Brenhinedd*'s start from 1072-1074, and *Annales Cambriae* notes that Hugh de Montgomery, son of Roger, devastated Ceredigion already in 1072 (for 1074?).

<sup>2</sup>Among them, only Reginald de Bailleul was a powerful tenant of Roger de Montgomery (CHS, 22/1-2).

<sup>3</sup>Most part of the hundreds of Rhuddlan and Tegeingl were held by Hugh directly, (in Rhuddlan: half of Rhuddlan, Bryn, Cwybr, Pentre, Llwerllyd, Dyserth, Bryn Hedydd, Bodeugan, Cilowen, Tremeirchion, Maen-Efa, Bryngwyn, Blorant, 'Widhulde'; in Tegeingl: Axton Whitford, Mertyn, Fulbrook, Gellilyfydy, Calcot, Ysceifiog, Halkyn, Trelyniau, Llystyn Hundydd, Mechlas, Lllys y Coed, 'Ulchenol') or Robert of Rhuddlan from Hugh (in Rhuddlan: Bryn, Cwybr Bach, Rhyd Orddwy, Dyserth, Hiraddug, Trelawnyd, Bryn Hedydd, Llan Elwy, Trefraith, Caerwys, 'Boteuuarul', 'Ciuwen', 'Meincatis', Pengdeslion', Tredveng'; in Tegeingl: Cincloyn, Meliden, Prestatyn, Gronant, Gwaunysgor, Golden Grove, Kelston, Gwesbyr, Picton, Carn-ychan, Gop, Mostyn, Bychton, Whitford, Brynford, Halkyn, 'Danfrond', 'Melchanestone', 'Wenfesne', 'Witestan', Inglecroft') also some part of Deeside hundred as well (Hugh held Radington, Hawarden; Robert of Rhuddlan held Bagillt, Coleshill, leadbrook, Golftyn, Broughton). Sec, CHS, WALES.

<sup>4</sup>The hundreds of Bistre, Maelor Cymraeg, Maelor Saesneg. The main holders are Hugh fizNorman, Hugh fizOsbern and Robert of Malpas. In Bistre, Hugh fizNorman held Hendrebiffa, Bistre, 'Munentone'; Hugh fizOsbern held Allington, Gresford, and Eyton in Maelor Cymraeg; Robert of Malpas held Worthenbury, Iscord, and Bettisfield in Maelor Saesneg (CHS, WALES).

Wales.<sup>1</sup> In addition, he was claiming Arwystli, which was held by Roger de Montgomery at that time, on the basis that it belonged to North Wales. This indicates that Robert considered himself to be formally recognised as the lord of Gwynedd. The *History of Gruffydd ap Cynan* says that after capturing Gruffydd, Earl Hugh built the castles in Anglesey, Arfon, Bangor and Meirionydd.<sup>2</sup> Besides that, Earl Hugh held Iâl from Earl Roger of Shrewsbury.<sup>3</sup> By the end of the reign of William the Conqueror, therefore, Earl Hugh and Robert of Rhuddlan were already dominant in Gwynedd, and had advanced into Powys as well.

In the reign of William Rufus, the situation changed slightly. It seems that there were continuous conflicts in the Welsh march during his reign. In contrast to his father, he himself led campaigns several times. The Welsh border seems to have been relatively quiet after the campaign in the south in 1081, and the capture of Gruffydd, up until 1087, since the narrative sources mention no conflict. Soon after the succession of William Rufus, however, the rebellion of 1088 involved the Welsh forces with the men of Hereford and Shropshire and the joint rebels plundering Worcestershire.<sup>4</sup> Also, according to Orderic, Gruffydd ap Cynan invaded Rhuddlan, while Robert of Rhuddlan

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<sup>1</sup>O.V., IV, pp. 138-139.

<sup>2</sup>*History of G. ap C.*, p. 132.

<sup>3</sup>SHR 4, 2/1.

<sup>4</sup>A.S.C., E, 1088; H.H., pp. 412-413; Florence of Worcester notes that Bernard du Neufmarché, Roger de Lacy and Ralph de Mortemer and the vassals of Roger of Shrewsbury and the Welsh devastated Worcester (F.W., II, pp. 24-26 (1088)); W.M., *G.R.*, II, p. 361.



was involved in the siege of Rochester.<sup>1</sup> These events suggest that when central authority in England displayed weakness, the Welsh were likely to ally themselves with the rebels.<sup>2</sup> The Welsh revolt in 1088 does not, however, seem to have changed the situation fundamentally, since a Norman bishop was settled at Bangor in 1092.

From 1093 until 1098, *Brut y Tywysogyon* and other narrative sources record continuous Norman invasions into Wales, including campaigns led by William Rufus himself in 1094, 1095 and 1097.<sup>3</sup> It is not possible to clarify what exact role Earl Hugh took in these campaigns, since the main surviving Welsh sources, such as *Brut y Tywysogyon*, are relatively well informed only about middle and south Wales. It can nevertheless be speculated that some Welsh revolts affected the North. North Wales and Cheshire were certainly affected by the Welsh reaction to Norman aggression. The *History of Gruffydd ap Cynan* describes how Gruffydd ap Cynan struggled to regain authority over Gwynedd experiencing conflict with the other Welsh princes, the Danes and the Normans. Hugh earl of Chester and Robert of Rhuddlan are described as

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<sup>1</sup>O.V., IV, pp. 136-137. Orderic notes that Gruffydd invaded across the English borders; on the other hand, the account of the attack in *History of G. ap C.* (p. 116) can be dated to 1075 (Lloyd, *A History of Wales*, II, p. 383). When Gruffydd escaped from the prison in Chester is a point of dispute; however, if Orderic's comment is right, he might have been already free in 1088. The *History of Gruffydd ap Cynan* says that he escaped with the help of a young knight, though it sounds legendary. Rather, he might have released on the death of William the Conqueror in 1087, or escaped in the confusion caused by the death of the king.

<sup>2</sup>Also there were conflicts inside Wales. In the same year, there was a battle between Rhys ap Tewdwr of Deheubarth and the sons of Bleddyn of Powys. Rhys finally won, indicating that he could have advanced into Powys, over the part which Earl Hugh and Robert of Rhuddlan exercised some authority. (*Brut*, (1086-88); *Brenhinedd*, 1088; *Annales Cambriae*, 1087; Lloyd, *A History of Wales*, II, p. 398).

<sup>3</sup>*Brut*, (from 1091-93 to 1096-98); *Brenhinedd*, (from 1091-93 to 1096-98); *Annales Cambriae*, 1091 (probably for 1093), 1092 (1094), 1096, 1097; *A.S.C.*, E, from 1094 to 1098; *F.W.*, II, pp. 35 (1094), 39 (1095), 40 (1097), 41-42 (1098); *S.D.*, II, pp. 224, 226.

sometimes independently intervening in Welsh affairs.

In 1093, Rhys ap Tewdwr, who maintained relative peace in South Wales, was killed. In the same year, Robert of Rhuddlan, who had already settled down in North Wales, was killed during a Welsh attack.<sup>1</sup> Earl Hugh may have taken over Robert's lands.<sup>2</sup> In 1094, when Earl Hugh was in Normandy, the Welsh fought against the Normans on a large scale.<sup>3</sup> The chronicle of 'Florence of Worcester' says that the Welsh made frequent raids into Cheshire, Shrewsbury, Hereford and other Welsh march.<sup>4</sup> As far as North Wales is concerned, the *History of Gruffydd ap Cynan* writes about the Welsh attacks on the Norman castles in Gwynedd in 1094.<sup>5</sup>

The situation was not favorable for the Normans; Earl Roger of Shrewsbury had died, Robert of Rhuddlan was killed, and Earl Hugh was away in Normandy. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* describes that Hugh de Montgomery, the second son of Roger de Montgomery, now earl of Shrewsbury, succeeding his father, fought against the Welsh.<sup>6</sup> The campaign led by William Rufus in 1094 and 1095 seems to have been a

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<sup>1</sup>About the death of Robert of Rhuddlan, O.V., IV, pp. 134-147. Also convincingly discussed in O.V., IV, pp. xxxiv-xxxviii.

<sup>2</sup>Gaimar, line 6043; Lloyd, *A History of Wales*, II, pp. 391f.; the grants to St. Werburgh in 1093(?) by Earl Hugh includes Rhos, which was held by Robert of Rhuddlan in 1086 (O.V., IV, p. xxxvii).

<sup>3</sup>A.S.C., E, 1094.

<sup>4</sup>F.W., II, p. 35 (1094).

<sup>5</sup>*History of G. ap C.*, pp. 136-140, and notes in p. 174. However, it does not mention about the attack against Earl Hugh himself but 'the French' and the castles which Robert of Rhuddlan had at the time of Domesday Book.

<sup>6</sup>A.S.C., E, 1094. The account of Welsh disturbance continues in 1095.

reaction against this serious Welsh revolt. The outcome was, however, not a success since, as reported, 'he lost many men and horses'. The campaign of William Rufus in 1097 also ended with little accomplished.

It seems that William Rufus took a different attitude towards Wales from that of his father; he led several major campaigns against Wales himself.<sup>1</sup> He is known to have led as many as four Welsh campaigns, though in which area he led his army cannot be exactly determined.<sup>2</sup> While continuous disturbance between the Welsh and the Normans in Wales and the Welsh march demanded defence against the Welsh, it also gave the opportunity to extend Norman authority further. As the narrative sources agree that England was seriously damaged by them, it was also necessary to cope with the continuous invasion of the Welsh into England from 1093. The political situation in the Welsh march in the time of William Rufus seems to have been very fluid.

William Rufus' campaigns does not seem to have seriously affected Hugh's interests in North Wales. The *History of Gruffydd ap Cynan* does not mention William Rufus's campaigns. On the other hand, Earl Hugh is known to have led a major campaign into Gwynedd in 1098 with Hugh earl of Shrewsbury.<sup>3</sup> Despite the death of Hugh of Shrewsbury, the campaign might not have been a failure: Earl Hugh of Chester

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<sup>1</sup>Professor Barlow suggests that William Rufus could control the border earls less forcefully than his father (*William Rufus*, pp. 318-323).

<sup>2</sup>A.S.C., E, 1095, 1097; *Brut, Brenhinedd*, (1093-95, 1095-97); *Annales Cambriae*, 1092, 1097; F.W., II, pp. 35 (1094), 39 (1095), 40-41 (1097); H.H., pp. 420-421, 444-445; S.D., II, pp. 224, 226, 228.

<sup>3</sup>O.V., V, pp. 222-225, Hugh of Chester and Hugh of Shrewsbury fought against the Norwegians and the Welsh at Anglesey; W.M.,G.R., II, p. 318, 376; *Brut*, (1096-98), *Brenhinedd*, (1096-98), *Annales Cambriae*, 1098; F.W., II, pp. 41-42 (1098) ; A.S.C., E.,1098; S.D., II, p. 228. Roger de Montgomery, earl of Shrewsbury had already died in 1094.

tried to defend power in the North, and succeeded in having Owain ap Edwin agree to do service to him in this year.<sup>1</sup> Welsh sources record that the two Welsh princes, Cadwgan ap Bleddyn and Gruffydd ap Cynan finally made peace with the Normans and received some land from them.<sup>2</sup>

Earl Hugh experienced a demanding time during these years. He was probably in Normandy when the great Welsh revolt in the march area occurred in 1094. Also, he is said to have participated in the Vexin campaign in 1097, the same year of William Rufus's campaign into Wales. Earl Hugh was sometimes able to be away from Cheshire. This suggests that his authority had already been well established in Cheshire by this time; on the other hand, the fact that Hugh himself led the campaign in North Wales shows his continuous concern for his estates in Wales. In 1092, Hugh founded the abbey of St. Werburgh in Chester to which many of his men made gifts of English estates. The grants also include notable estates within Wales.<sup>3</sup> The peace agreed in 1098 implies that Earl Hugh must have established his authority there again; moreover, the narrative sources describe Cadwgan ap Bleddyn and Gruffydd ap Cynan as receiving Powys and Gwynedd. It seems that Earl Hugh became lord of two Welsh princes.

Even though the Welsh had already achieved some sense of Welsh identity at that time, it was a diverse of region with dispersed authorities.<sup>4</sup> Welsh affairs under Earl

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<sup>1</sup>O.V., IV, p. 145 n. 6 ; Lloyd, *A History of Wales*, II, p. 408. *Brut* and *Brenhinedd* say that Owain ap Edwin led the French against the Welsh at first in the battle of 1098 (*Brut* and *Brenhinedd*, 1096-98).

<sup>2</sup>*Brut* and *Brenhinedd*, (1096-98, 1097-99); *Annales Cambriae*, 1098, 1099.

<sup>3</sup>*C.E.C.*, no. 3; *St. Werburgh*, no. 2.

<sup>4</sup>Davis, *The Age of Conquest*, pp. 3-23.



Hugh seem to have been in a different context from that of the Norman colonization following the Norman Conquest of England led by the king. The Normans penetrated into Wales by fighting individual Welsh princes, sometimes taking advantage of conflicts among them. This is also suggested from the fact that Welsh princes made peace and received estates not from the king but Earl Hugh. The Welsh also tried to regain their estates from the Normans and invade England, profiting especially from unstable situation in England. The history of Earl Hugh's involvement in Wales shows how he gradually expanded his authority inside North Wales, sometimes cooperating with Robert of Rhuddlan, who was heavily involved in the Welsh campaigns, sometimes taking the initiative by himself. On the other hand, Earl Hugh's concerns in Normandy often required him to stay away from England. While Robert of Rhuddlan was alive, it seems that Hugh could have left his estates on the Welsh march as he did in the very early years of the 1090's. Then, in 1094, after the death of Robert of Rhuddlan, and while Hugh was away in Normandy, the Welsh led by Gruffydd ravaged North Wales. Earl Hugh immediately led a campaign with Earl Hugh of Shrewsbury after coming back from the Vexin campaign in 1097. Although his concerns for the estates on the Welsh march were serious, his power in Wales were often apparently unsteady. The peace in 1098 made between Earl Hugh and Gruffydd ap Cynan of Gwynedd and Cadwgan ap Cynfyn of Powys marks step in the direction of the stability. In general, however, Hugh's role in Wales was one of an aggressor and a conqueror.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>The Welsh march and the Norman settlement in general, J. G. Edwards, 'The Normans and the Welsh March', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 42 (1956), pp. 155-177; D. Walker, 'The Norman Settlement in Wales', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 1 (1979), pp. 131-143, notes pp. 222-225. Regarding the situation of the Welsh frontier, Professor Davies argues the fragmentation of the society and the importance for politics of individual interests (R. R. Davies, 'Frontier Arrangements in Fragmented Societies: Ireland and Wales' in *Medieval Frontier Societies*, eds. R. Bartlett and A. Mackay (Oxford, 1989), pp. 79-100). He also discusses the strong initiative of each Norman barons in the Welsh march (R. R. Davies, 'Kings, Lords and liberties in the March of Wales, 1066-1272', *T.R.H.S.*, 5th ser., 29

### 2.2.2. Hugh and the Conqueror's sons

Earl Hugh's relationship with his lords is another crucial factor in explaining his activities in the difficult political situation of the 1090's. In this section, the unstable circumstances of 1087 to 1100 will be traced from the view of an Anglo-Norman magnate, Earl Hugh. In general, as seen above, Hugh seems to have been consistently loyal to William the Conqueror, like his father, Richard vicomte of the Avranchin. Although he was not always present in the Conqueror's entourage, his name appears among the magnates gathered at important occasions, such as the council at which Robert Curthose's disobedience was discussed.<sup>1</sup> Even after his withdrawal from the court in around 1083, there is no indication that he was attempting to rebel against William.

After the Conqueror's death in 1087, the situation changed. The Anglo-Norman state was divided with England and Normandy being inherited separately by his two elder sons. The problem of how the magnates who had estates both in England and Normandy reacted to this division has been discussed for decades among scholars. This division brought about considerable disturbances; there were two serious rebellions against William Rufus which attempted to unseat him. The first, in 1088, aimed to make Robert Curthose king of England.<sup>2</sup> The second, which occurred in 1095, is said to have

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(1979), pp. 41-61).

<sup>1</sup>O.V., III, pp. 110-111.

<sup>2</sup>Mainly O.V., IV, pp. 120-135; A.S.C., E, 1088; W.M., *G.R.*, II, pp. 360-363; F.W., II, pp. 21-26 (1088); H.H., pp. 412-415; *G.N.D.*, II, pp. 204-205.

attempted to make Stephen, count of Aumale, the king.<sup>1</sup> Both rebellions included many members of powerful old magnate families; however, both failed in the end and William Rufus punished the rebels severely.<sup>2</sup>

The interesting point is that while many of the other established magnates supported the Conqueror's eldest son, Duke Robert Curthose of Normandy, Earl Hugh stood by William Rufus, the second surviving son of the Conqueror, the new king of England, in both 1088 and 1095;<sup>3</sup> he is specifically named in the narrative sources as a supporter of William Rufus. His attestations to the charters of William Rufus and the acquisition of considerable estates in the Midlands also confirms his good relationship with William Rufus.<sup>4</sup>

The reign of William Rufus, however, finished suddenly with his death in a hunting accident at New Forest in 1100. Immediately after that, Henry, the third surviving son of William the Conqueror, took the English crown. Here again, the magnates who were waiting for the opportunity to support Robert Curthose in his bid for the crown of England, fought against Henry for several years after his succession. Once more, taking the victor's side, Hugh earl of Chester supported new king of England,

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<sup>1</sup>About 1095 conspiracy, O.V., IV, pp. 278-285; A.S.C., E, 1095; F.W., II, pp. 38-39 (1095); G.N.D., II, pp. 214-215; H.H., pp. 420-421; W.M., G.R., II, p. 372.

<sup>2</sup>The two rebellions are examined by Barlow, *William Rufus*, pp. 70-84, 346-59. These rebellions and the treatment by William Rufus is discussed by C. W. Hollister, 'Magnates and 'Curiales' in Early Norman England', in id., *Monarchy, Magnates and Institutions in the Anglo-Norman World*, pp. 97-116.

<sup>3</sup>About 1088, O.V., IV, pp. 128-129. About 1095, O.V., IV, pp. 284-285 suggests that Hugh had been William Rufus's side at this time.

<sup>4</sup>He probably acquired 12 manors in Staffordshire, 11 in Derbyshire and 5 in Leicestershire (H.K.F., II, p. 6).

Henry.<sup>1</sup>

Earl Hugh's choice of allegiance, which seems to have always turned out to be successful, needs to be explained. As mentioned above, the serious rebellion which occurred in 1088 was led by Odo, bishop of Bayeux. This involved great Norman magnates of the Conquest generation, such as Count Robert of Mortain, Geoffrey bishop of Coutances and Earl Roger of Shrewsbury. Despite the participation of these other great magnates, Hugh was not involved in this rebellion, even though his follower Robert of Rhuddlan is said to have been with the rebels.<sup>2</sup> This behaviour seems inconsistent with Orderic's former comment that Hugh had supported Odo in 1082.<sup>3</sup> As mentioned above, examination of Earl Hugh's attestation of the charters of William the Conqueror indicates that Hugh had been affected by the arrest and disgrace of Odo bishop of Bayeux in 1082. It seems, hence, that there was some important connection between Odo and Hugh, but that it was not strong enough to prevent Hugh changing his allegiance and siding with William Rufus.

The relationship between Odo bishop of Bayeux and Earl Hugh needs to be considered. As far as a territorial relationship is concerned, Domesday Book shows that Hugh did not hold any large estates from Odo in England. Odo held large estates mainly in Kent, and in the southern part of England, while Hugh's estates lay in Cheshire and elsewhere, mainly in the Midlands. On the other hand, it is known that the Goz family

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<sup>1</sup>O.V., V, pp. 298-299. Hugh appears as one of Henry's counsellors and supporters.

<sup>2</sup>O.V., IV, pp. 124-125 and n. 2. Barlow suggests that Orderic must have misunderstood (Barlow, *William Rufus*, p. 81, fn. 140), however, considering that Orderic was well-informed about Robert of Rhuddlan, it seems likely to be true.

<sup>3</sup>O.V., IV, pp. 40-41; Bates, 'Odo, bishop of Bayeux', p. 15.



had some estates in the Bessin, Odo's bishopric, and that the family's monastic foundation at Saint-Gabriel was in the Bessin.<sup>1</sup> The confirmation of Odo's grants to the abbey of Saint-Etienne of Caen includes the land of Richard Goz, father of Hugh, who held from Odo, as well.<sup>2</sup> The Bayeux Inquest of 1133 reveals that the earls of Chester held estates there of the bishop of Bayeux.<sup>3</sup> In addition, gifts to the abbey of Saint-Sever, which is Hugh's own foundation, and the abbey of Saint-Martin of Troarn also show the earls of Chester holding considerable estates inside the diocese of Bayeux.<sup>4</sup> Furthermore, Ranulf vicomte of Bayeux, who also held considerable estates from Odo, was married to Hugh's sister, Margaret. Their son Ranulf le Meschin would succeed Earl Richard of Chester, son of Earl Hugh. This evidence indicates Hugh's long family connection with the Bessin area, and Odo.

It is difficult to show any other connection between Hugh and Odo. However, there is a possibility that Richard Goz, the father of Earl Hugh, was married to a kinswoman of William the Conqueror.<sup>5</sup> The genealogy has been examined by Dr. Keats-

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<sup>1</sup>Musset, 'Saint-Gabriel', pp. 129f.

<sup>2</sup>*Abbayes Caennaises*, no. 13, p. 101. Richard Goz held Rucqueville. He also granted the estate of Thurstan son of Richard in Rucqueville to the same abbey. Rucqueville is also mentioned as the land held from Odo in the Bayeux Inquest in 1133.

<sup>3</sup>Navel, 'L'enquête de 1133', p. 17. The earl of Chester held in Brémoy, Mesnil-Auzouf, Fontaines, Louvières, the forest of Allais, Le Fresne-Camilly, Montsecret, Clairefougères. Also *Red Book of the Exchequer*, II (R.S., 1896), p. 645.

<sup>4</sup>Musset, 'Saint-Sever', pp. 361ff.; Sauvage, *Troarn*, pp. 350, 356, 362. Langrune (Calvados, cant. Douvres) and Tailleville, (Calvados, cant. Douvres) which belong to the diocese of Bayeux.

<sup>5</sup>*C.P.*, III, p. 164.

Rohan, who argues that such a marriage seems to have happened.<sup>1</sup> The woman could have been a daughter of Herleva, mother of the Conqueror, also the mother of Odo bishop of Bayeux and Count Robert of Mortain. If it is the case, that means that Hugh might have been a nephew of William the Conqueror, and his brothers, Odo and Robert. It is not likely, naturally, that kinship with Odo alone was the reason for losing favour from William the Conqueror, since he was the kin of the Conqueror himself. However, when it is taken into consideration that Hugh had estates within Odo's bishopric, Odo of Bayeux might have been the closest to Hugh among the family of the King/Duke. Considering that Hugh had succeeded to the office of vicomte in Normandy probably in 1080 or 1081, inheriting his father's Norman estates, Hugh might have become quite ambitious to expand his control in Normandy. Odo bishop of Bayeux could have appeared as a lord who had a long connection with his family and was powerful enough to support and rich source of the patronage, at least at first sight.

Given Hugh's early support for Odo, it is even more impressive that he sided with William Rufus in 1088. One possible explanation is that Earl Hugh's major interests lay in England, so he decided to support the king of England. However, his large estates were paralleled by those of other rebels and may not have been the only consideration. Nevertheless, it can be assumed that his consolidated authority in the earldom of Chester had become crucial as his power base.<sup>2</sup> Similar circumstances may have applied in the

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<sup>1</sup>Keats-Rohan, 'The Prosopography of Post-Conquest England', pp. 39f., 45. Douglas has argued that this marriage is unlikely to have happened, since Earl Richard, a grandson of Richard Goz was able to marry a granddaughter of William the Conqueror, and therefore that they were not in the prohibited degrees (Douglas, *The Domesday Monachorum*, p. 52, n. 8). It is however difficult to assess how far the prohibition was rigidly followed in practical circumstances. Accepting the difficulty of proof, the stress should be rather on the closeness between Hugh's family and the royal/ducal family.

<sup>2</sup>Hugh's power in his earldom will be discussed from the view of the landholding in next chapter.

case of Earl Roger of Shrewsbury, who might have been reluctant to join the rebellion of 1088, and withdrawn from the rebels' side soon, because he had been concentrating on his English estates.<sup>1</sup>

There is another example. Roger Bigod is known to have been another of Odo's tenants in Bessin.<sup>2</sup> He rose socially by acquiring large estates and the office of sheriff in England. Different from Earl Hugh, he is thought to have been involved in the rebellion in 1088.<sup>3</sup> His reason for following Odo is understandable; he was holding considerable estates under Odo in England as well.<sup>4</sup> In spite of joining the rebellion, Roger's frequent attestation of royal charters shows that he must have been restored to favour by William Rufus immediately after the revolt, indicating that he was not thought to be a serious offender.<sup>5</sup> He thus provides an interesting comparison with Hugh. Both Hugh and Roger had a territorial relationship with Odo; Hugh held estates in the Bessin from Odo and Roger in the Bessin and in Norfolk and Suffolk; Hugh was influenced by Odo's arrest, though he does not seem to have suffered any land losses, and he decided not to support Odo in 1088. On the other hand, it is difficult to know whether Roger was affected by Odo's arrest or to what extent. He may have regained favour soon because he

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<sup>1</sup>Thompson, 'Robert of Bellême Reconsidered', pp. 268-9.

<sup>2</sup>Navel, 'L'enquête de 1133', p. 18. Roger's son Hugh held Les Loges and Savenay from the bishop of Bayeux. Also, *Red Book of the Exchequer*, II, p. 646.

<sup>3</sup>A.S.C., E, 1088.

<sup>4</sup>NFK, SFK.

<sup>5</sup>R.R.A.N., I, nos. 289, 290, 291, 295, 302, 306, 318, 319, 320, 361, 371, 386, 397, 400, 401, 426, 431?, 437 (spurious), 449, 450, 454, 455, 456, 466.

appeared as sheriff in Norfolk in 1086.<sup>1</sup> Though he supported Odo in 1088, he soon regained ~~the~~ William Rufus's favour. Both Earl Hugh and Roger regularly assisted William Rufus after the rebellion. Given that Roger's estates in Normandy were moderate, it is understandable that he decided not to stand by Odo any more, who continued to support Robert Curthose after he had lost his English estates.

Nevertheless, it is too simplistic to conclude that Earl Hugh was an 'English' magnate. Earl Hugh was also vicomte of the Avranchin and he held large estates in Normandy like other powerful magnates;<sup>2</sup> he certainly attested several royal/ducal charters confirmed in Normandy, at least during William the Conqueror's reign and probably William Rufus's, as well.<sup>3</sup> In addition to this, it is recorded that Hugh was at times in Normandy, especially when William Rufus invaded Normandy in 1094, and during his Vexin campaign in 1097.<sup>4</sup> His connection with Normandy, then, needs further consideration.

Earl Hugh's Norman lands were situated in the area which the Conqueror's youngest son Henry held from his brother, Duke Robert; namely, the Cotentin and Avranchin. According to Orderic, Henry acquired a large part of western Normandy from Robert in exchange for 3000 pounds of silver, his inheritance from William the

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<sup>1</sup>He may have been the sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk in 1086, or earlier (J. A. Green, *English Sheriffs to 1154* (London, 1990), pp. 60-61, 76-77).

<sup>2</sup>The lands in Normandy are traced in Musset, 'Saint-Sever'. They will be examined again later.

<sup>3</sup>*R.R.A.N.*, II, no. 317a. Barlow suggests that this was confirmed in Normandy in 1091 (Barlow, *William Rufus*, p. 278, n. 68).

<sup>4</sup>*A.S.C.*, E, 1094; *G.N.D.*, II, pp. 208-209. It is reasonable to assume that Hugh was in Normandy on other occasions as well from the accounts of Orderic and Robert of Torigni, describing his relationship with Henry, for example, *O.V.*, IV, pp. 220-221, 250-251.



Conqueror: the area included estates which Hugh held in Normandy.<sup>1</sup> It is reasonable to assume that Hugh had to take into consideration Henry's attitude. It is also known that Hugh held some estates in the Bessin area; Robert of Torigni also mentions that Henry held also Bayeux with the permission of William Rufus.<sup>2</sup> Although it is not likely that Orderic knew where Hugh held estates exactly, he may have had an impression that Hugh's most important estates determined his relationship with Henry.

It is difficult to assess how close Henry and Earl Hugh were. Robert of Torigni certainly suggests a close alliance.<sup>3</sup> At first sight, Henry does not seem to have helped William Rufus positively and is likely to have been in Normandy when the rebellion occurred in 1088,<sup>4</sup> while Hugh was loyal to William Rufus at that time.<sup>5</sup> Nevertheless, this does not indicate that Henry showed any apparent hostility towards Rufus. As mentioned above, it is said that Robert Curthose offered a bargain to Henry to earn money to invade England, and thus Henry gained the Cotentin.<sup>6</sup> Still, this cannot be seen as evidence of Henry's special support to Robert Curthose, since, for Henry, the most important thing was only to acquire lands for himself wherever and whenever. It is

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<sup>1</sup>O.V., IV, pp. 120-121, 220-221; *G.N.D.*, II, pp. 204-205.

<sup>2</sup>*G.N.D.*, II, pp. 210-213.

<sup>3</sup>*G.N.D.*, II, pp. 208-209.

<sup>4</sup>Orderic says that Henry crossed to England when he knew the news of the result of the rebellion, and Robert Curthose got angry and imprisoned him (O.V., IV, pp. 148-149); Barlow, *William Rufus*, pp. 69f.

<sup>5</sup>O.V., IV, pp. 128-129.

<sup>6</sup>O.V., IV, pp. 118-121.

known that Robert Curthose imprisoned Henry because he went to England to make a petition to William Rufus in 1088 after the rebellion was suppressed, but freed him in 1089.<sup>1</sup> Henry was always trying to establish himself by some route or other. According to Orderic, after the pact between William and Robert in 1091, Henry acted against his elder brothers gathering his supporters, the Bretons and the Normans, fortifying Coutances and Avranches.<sup>2</sup>

Interestingly, Orderic also mentions that Hugh earl of Chester and others feared William Rufus, deserted Henry and handed over their castles to Rufus. This comment follows the description of Henry governing the Cotentin and the Avranchin and trying to compete with Robert Curthose and William Rufus; he says that Earl Hugh was assisting Henry at that time.<sup>3</sup> Then, William Rufus and Robert besieged Henry at Mont-Saint-Michel in order to drive him out of Cotentin. Henry was thus forced to leave Normandy for some time before he managed to acquire Domfront in 1092.<sup>4</sup> By that time, William and Robert had become enemies again. Henry had to make efforts to maintain Domfront against threats from the powerful baron of the area, Robert de Bellême. In this difficult situation, Henry might well have sought support from powerful magnates. Robert of Torigni notes that Earl Hugh remained loyal to Henry and was given Saint-James-de-Beuvron; moreover, the passage implies that Hugh had often supported Henry before

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<sup>1</sup>O.V., IV, pp. 162-163.

<sup>2</sup>O.V., IV, pp. 250-251.

<sup>3</sup>O.V., IV, pp. 220-221. Orderic writes that Henry was supported by the barons of the Cotentin.

<sup>4</sup>O.V., IV, pp. 256-259. Other narrative sources also mentioned about besieged Henry at Mont-Saint-Michel, F.W., II, p. 27 (1091); *G.N.D.*, II, pp. 206-207; *W.M., G.R.*, II, pp. 469-470.

that.<sup>1</sup> Although the source gives a rather simple description of the events, it indicates that Henry and Hugh remained on good terms and that their relationship upheld both their interests in western Normandy.

Earl Hugh's aim was probably to keep on good terms with William Rufus and Henry in order to hold his estates both in England and western Normandy peacefully. However, Orderic's comment that Hugh deserted Henry to obey William Rufus indicates that Hugh's basic concern to maintain his estate made him choose the strongest lord. The charter evidence suggests that Hugh was with William Rufus in 1091, crossing to Normandy with him.<sup>2</sup> William Rufus had gradually expanded his authority in Normandy after 1089, with the help of Norman magnates. It seems reasonable to suggest that Hugh carefully observed the circumstances of lordship in Normandy; though Hugh continuously kept on good terms with Henry, his firm support for Henry might well have been finally established after Henry made peace with William Rufus and started to settle his power firmly in the Cotentin in 1092.

After Henry's reconciliation with William Rufus around 1092, Henry seems to have ceased to attend Robert's court.<sup>3</sup> Henry established himself in the Cotentin and Bessin, mentioned by Robert of Torigni, with the consent of William Rufus.<sup>4</sup> Earl Hugh

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<sup>1</sup>*G.N.D.*, II, pp. 208-209. Saint-James-de-Beuvron is a significant stronghold on the border of Brittany (J. Yver, 'Les châteaux forts en Normandie jusqu'au milieu du XIIe siècle. Contribution à l'étude du pouvoir ducal', *B.S.A.N.*, 53 (1957 for 1955-56), pp. 28-115, 604-9, at pp. 58-59).

<sup>2</sup>*R.R.A.N.*, II, 317 a.

<sup>3</sup>Henry does not appear in Robert's charters after 1091.

<sup>4</sup>*G.N.D.*, II, pp. 210-213.

is said to have escorted Henry at the command of William Rufus in 1094;<sup>1</sup> in the campaign of 1097-8 against Philip king of France, led by William Rufus, Hugh took part in the campaign with Henry.<sup>2</sup> In 1095, Henry led his army into Normandy against Robert by order of King William.<sup>3</sup> And presumably this good relationship between William Rufus and Henry allowed Earl Hugh to serve both well. If the comments of Robert of Torigni are credible, besides Hugh's estates in the Cotentin and the Avranchin, those in the Bessin were now under the control of Henry.<sup>4</sup> Gaimar describes Hugh's impressive presence at William Rufus's court,<sup>5</sup> and his attestation of the king's charters shows that he was always among the prominent magnates. Thus, remaining prominent under Rufus, while also maintaining good relations with Henry eventually became possible. Hugh's acceptance of Henry as the new king without hesitation in 1100 is therefore understandable.<sup>6</sup>

In contrast to the Conqueror's younger sons, Robert Curthose never seem to have been an attractive lord to Earl Hugh. When Robert Curthose rebelled against his father in 1077, Hugh acted positively to support William the Conqueror. Hugh does not attest any

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<sup>1</sup>A.S.C., E, 1094.

<sup>2</sup>O.V., V, pp. 214-215.

<sup>3</sup>A.S.C., E, 1095.

<sup>4</sup>G.N.D., II, pp. 210-213.

<sup>5</sup>Gaimar, lines 6065-6075.

<sup>6</sup>O.V., V, pp. 298-299. J. Le Patourel, 'Henri Beauclerc, Comte du Cotentin, 1088', *R.H.D. F.E.*, 4e ser., 53 (1975), pp. 167-168 points out the importance of his career before the acquisition of English crown.



surviving charters of Robert, and there is no indication in any narrative sources that he supported Robert. There is, however, a point which should be examined in the context of the relationship between Hugh and Robert Curthose: Hugh held estates in the Bessin area from Odo, who was a continuous supporter of Robert.<sup>1</sup> Ranulf vicomte of Bayeux, who was a relative to Hugh and also held vast estates under Odo attested a charter of Robert Curthose in 1089.<sup>2</sup> As far as Ranulf's situation is concerned, he does not appear to have held English estates at this stage, and it is not surprising that he attended Robert Curthose's court. It is difficult to know what happened to the estates which Hugh held of Odo while Hugh was supporting William Rufus and Henry. Nevertheless, if, as mentioned above, Robert of Torigni's statement that Henry finally established himself in the Bessin as well in 1096 with the consent of William Rufus, after Odo and Robert Curthose departed on the First Crusade, makes it reasonable to assume that Hugh at least secured his estates there at that time. During the first half of the 1090's, William Rufus and Henry had gradually expanded their authority in Normandy. This also encouraged Hugh to remain loyal to them.

It is not easy to define exactly what influenced Hugh's political behaviour, and it is probably wrong to conclude that only one particular factor influenced him. In one respect, he established himself relatively strongly in England through the administration of his large consolidated estates and his enterprises in Wales. This encouraged Earl Hugh to value his English estates highly, and, therefore, his relationship with William Rufus, the king of England. Besides that, he had a relatively close relationship with Odo, and with Henry. It can be said that, on one hand, he was an Anglo-Norman magnate who

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<sup>1</sup> Bates, 'Odo, bishop of Bayeux', pp. 18-9.

<sup>2</sup> *R.R.A.N.*, I, no. 308.

had rather strong interests in England, on the other hand, he never neglected his lands in Normandy even after the split of 1087. His policy was always to try to keep and expand his estates, as was common among the medieval aristocracy at the time. For these reasons he chose to support from the beginning the sons of the Conqueror who were most likely to protect his estates, and who were strongest in the areas where he held lands, namely, William Rufus and Henry.

### 3. Conclusion

In general, Earl Hugh's field of activity can be called a 'cross-Channel' one. He was one of the most prominent Anglo-Norman magnates whose activities expanded both in England and in Normandy along the lines proposed by Professors Le Patourel and Hollister. As with other magnates, it is essential to investigate what exactly is meant by 'cross-Channel', and, in broader terms, to analyse how each magnate acted according to factors such as his territorial interests, personal relationships, and attachment to particular ecclesiastical institutions. In the case of Hugh earl of Chester, his political concern to keep not only his earldom in England, of which Cheshire was the centre, and also lands in Normandy which were situated chiefly in lower Normandy, strongly influenced the way he acted. A notable point, however, is that his activity cannot always be categorized as literally 'cross-Channel'.

As observed before, Earl Hugh seems to have crossed to the other side of the sea quite as often in the reign of William Rufus as in that of William the Conqueror, even while England and Normandy were ruled separately by William Rufus and Robert Curthose. In Normandy, for example, he is said to have supported Henry, who was trying to establish himself there. While William Rufus ruled both Normandy and England, Hugh participated in the Vexin campaign against the king of France. On the other hand, he acquired new estates from William Rufus in England in the Midlands, close to his chief estates of Cheshire. Notably, he was deeply involved in Welsh affairs, leading major campaigns against the Welsh, and building castles there. These incidents show how Hugh was concerned in the affairs both of England and Normandy. It should be borne in mind that the important thing is to analyse his actions in context. When his

career is traced chronologically, adaptation to cope with the immediate requirements of any given situation can be seen.

He seems to have concentrated on England and mainly on Welsh affairs during the early years of the reign of William the Conqueror in the 1070's. During that time, Hugh and Robert of Rhuddlan advanced into Wales, dealing with the Welsh princes and building castles. This obviously follows from his appointment as the earl of Chester to defend the Welsh border area. It is natural to understand Earl Hugh as endeavouring to secure his newly acquired large estates at this time. Establishing himself firmly in England, it can be assumed that Earl Hugh became more involved in Normandy because of his succession to his father, Richard vicomte of the Avranchin, around 1081. The number of his attestations in Normandy supports his positive activity there. Earl Hugh might have become ambitious to strengthen his connections and power in Normandy. He seems, however, to have fallen from prominence because of his involvement in the disgrace of Odo bishop of Bayeux in 1082. Fortunately, as Domesday Book shows, he retained his large estates and there is no evidence of severe punishment. The foundation of the abbey of Saint-Sever in 1085 suggests a sort of demonstration of his place in Norman aristocratic society.

The major reason why he supported William Rufus and Henry was the location of his estates. While his landed interests focused on Cheshire and the Welsh march in England, in Normandy, his concerns were entered on the western part where he had his office of vicomte and where his main Norman estates lay. After succeeding to the office of vicomte, his Norman estates became another main concern. After the death of William the Conqueror in 1087, Henry, who became lord of Hugh's estate in Normandy, came into Earl Hugh's calculations. For his English estates, he supported William Rufus, and for his Norman estates, he supported Henry in the early 1090's. During the process in



which gradually William Rufus gained power in Normandy and Henry established himself, Earl Hugh's movements need to be understood as continuous reactions to each complicated circumstance.

Robert of Rhuddlan may have cooperated with Hugh's establishment in the Welsh march. Moreover, he might have dealt with the Welsh march during Hugh's absences. His individual intervention in Wales indicates that he could exercise his authority in Wales. The presence of Robert of Rhuddlan in the Welsh march might have allowed Hugh to deal with the troublesome struggle among the Conqueror's sons in Normandy in the early 1090's. After the death of Robert of Rhuddlan, Hugh is noted to have led the army by himself into Wales, while continuing to support William Rufus, and Henry as well, by frequently moving between England and Normandy .

Earl Hugh's own foundation of the abbeys of Saint-Sever, near Avranches, and St. Werburgh in Chester may be another clue to show his concerns in relation to his lands. The foundation of Saint-Sever is likely to have been in 1085, although there is some difference of opinion regarding this date. 1070 is sometimes taken as the foundation date on the basis that Robert of Torigni writes, 'Hugo vero, postea comes Cestrensis',<sup>1</sup> which could indicate that Hugh had not become earl at that time. However, other texts, 'Hugo vicecomes Abrincatensis, postea vero comes Cestrensis',<sup>2</sup> or, 'Hugo de Abrincis vicecomes Abrincatensis, qui postea fuit comes Cestrensis, fecit abbatiam S. Severi, Guillelmo Gemeticensi auctore anno circiter 1085'<sup>3</sup> show no clear evidence that the

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<sup>1</sup>*G.N.D.*, II, p. 134. For example, Hollister, 'Greater Domesday Tenants-in-Chief', p. 244; Lewis, 'Formation', p. 54.

<sup>2</sup>*R.H.F.*, t. XIV, p. 387 a.

<sup>3</sup>*Gallia Christiana*, XI, 913, D.

foundation took place before he became the earl of Chester, since he became vicomte of the Avranchin after being the earl. Furthermore, his generous grants of the estates in Normandy in the Avranchin area to the abbey seem to imply that it was after Hugh inherited his father's Norman estates.

The foundation was made while William the Conqueror was still active and maintaining the whole Anglo-Norman state, and just several years after he became a vicomte; he might have felt a new religious foundation would be necessary both as a response to religious need and manifestation of the security of his estates and power. The abbey of Saint-Sever was Hugh's first religious foundation. It might also have been important that he chose a place quite near Avranches, where he was the vicomte. These grants in Normandy show some parts of his vast estates; his gift also includes estates in Lincolnshire, England.

On the other hand, his re-foundation of the abbey of St. Werburgh in Chester took place in 1092.<sup>1</sup> Eadmer's account seems somewhat embroidered, but at least the reputation of Anselm may have helped to increase the dignity of re-foundation of the abbey. It was in St. Werburgh that he became a monk and was buried, and the later earls of Chester maintained a relationship with the abbey after the death of Earl Hugh. Many of the tenants followed the earl and made gifts to the abbey generously.

These two religious foundations may indicate Earl Hugh's attitude to his estates in England and Normandy. His foundation of these two abbeys in Normandy and England might have been influenced by another prominent earl on the Welsh march, Roger de

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<sup>1</sup>*H.N.*, pp. 27-29; S. Vaughn, *Anselm of Bec and Robert of Meulan* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1987), pp. 123-125.

Montgomery, who founded a new abbey in Shrewsbury as early as in 1083.<sup>1</sup> Dr. Marjorie Chibnall has suggested that the ecclesiastical endowment in England implies the social prominence of the family and that they had already settled down in that territory.<sup>2</sup> Earl Hugh's St. Werburgh in Chester seems to have been a similar case. Considering that the Montgomerys had already established notable abbeys in Normandy at Séez, Troarn and Almenèches, there seem to be clear parallels. Both of them had at least one abbey both in England and Normandy, especially in the land of which they were the earl or the vicomte. Here, it seems that Earl Hugh manifested himself as a prominent Anglo-Norman magnate through these foundation.

As has been observed above, despite some difficulties, Earl Hugh was able to maintain his estates both in England and Normandy. One of the reasons he was able to do so is that he avoided involvement in rebellions. What enabled Hugh to maintain a good relationship with his lords might have been personal friendship with them, as Hugh is sometimes mentioned attending the royal/ducal court. On the other hand, it is possible that the importance of Hugh's power itself might have urged his lords to avoid conflict with him. As has been suggested, William Rufus generously distributed estates to the magnates to keep them loyal to him. Earl Hugh certainly acquired collected estates mainly in the Midlands. Henry's grant of Saint-James-de-Beuvron may have had a similar motivation. And the cooperation was favorable to both Henry and Hugh; the latter wanted to keep his estates safe, the former needed the powerful magnate's support. In his choice of whom to support, Earl Hugh gave priority to whoever was most likely to

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<sup>1</sup>*The Cartulary of Shrewsbury Abbey*, ed. U. Rees (Aberystwyth, 1975), 2 vols, at vol. I, pp. x-xi.

<sup>2</sup>M. Chibnall, 'Ecclesiastical Patronage and the Growth of Feudal Estates at the Time of the Norman Conquest', *Annales de Normandie*, 8 (1958), pp. 103-118.

keep Hugh's estates secure.

It is not the aim of this study to categorize Earl Hugh as a member of a group of magnates, such as, 'curialis', 'new man' and 'established great magnate', or, as 'English' or 'Norman', by imposing a model on his long and complicated career. The important thing is to clarify how he behaved to protect and expand his estates and power in each particular situation. He acted in very practical way to maintain his prominence. His career reveals how one Anglo-Norman magnate could survive the transformations of the actual political situation. His career was indeed a cross-Channel one, but his immediate preoccupations varied as conditions changed.



## Chapter III.

### Hugh d'Avranches, earl of Chester

#### -his estates and tenants-

#### 1. Introduction

Earl Hugh's huge estates were certainly the main source of his long-lasting prominence. In Corbett's famous grouping of the Domesday magnates according to the value of their estates, Earl Hugh is included among the 'greatest magnates' in England.<sup>1</sup> Although it is difficult to know exactly when and how he acquired his estates, it can be assumed that the accumulation originated from three main sources: grants from William the Conqueror as a result of participating in the Norman Conquest, acquisition in the reign of William Rufus and inheritance from his father. In addition to this, Hugh may have been granted some estates by Henry before he became king.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, so far, no evidence has been found which shows that any of his estates were confiscated.<sup>3</sup> Thanks to Domesday Book, it is possible to acquire a relatively clear idea where and how he held estates in England in the last year of the reign of William the Conqueror. Moreover, their distribution recorded in Domesday Book to his tenants reveals his

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<sup>1</sup>W. J. Corbett, 'The Development of the Duchy of Normandy and the Norman Conquest of England', *The Cambridge Medieval History*, 5 (Cambridge, 1926), p. 511.

<sup>2</sup>Saint-James-de-Beuvron (Manche, cant. Saint-James), *G.N.D.*, II, pp. 208-209.

<sup>3</sup>The castle of Tutbury in Derbyshire, which Orderic mentioned that Hugh had held before becoming an earl was likely to have been an exchange rather than a confiscation (*O.V.*, II, pp. 264-265).

strategy in managing these estates. Compared to the English estates, unfortunately, his Norman estates are poorly recorded in the surviving documents, appearing only fragmentarily in the charters of the Norman monasteries, such as the donations to the priory of Saint-Gabriel and to the abbeys of Saint-Sever, Saint-Etienne of Caen and Saint-Martin of Troarn, as well as some lands recorded in the Bayeux Inquest in 1133.<sup>1</sup> In some cases, the location of estates can be inferred by tracing back from later documents, such as later confirmation charters.

In this chapter, the structure of Earl Hugh's estates is examined. Firstly, his vast estates in England and Normandy are described in general terms. Though the importance of the subject of Hugh's Anglo-Saxon predecessors is borne in mind, the chief focus here will be on landholding in the time of Earl Hugh. Next, his important tenants will be researched individually in order to analyse them as the aristocratic group which formed around Earl Hugh and the family of the earls of Chester. Although the sources are limited, their connection to Normandy, that is, their origins and related estates in Normandy, will also be traced. The aim of this chapter is to consider this aristocratic group around Earl Hugh not just from the point-of-view of Cheshire, but across the Anglo-Norman state as a whole.

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<sup>1</sup>There is only one record of a gift to the abbey of Bec, with which Hugh must have had strong connections (*C.E.C.*, no. 4).

## 2. The estates of Earl Hugh

### 2.1. Estates in England and Wales (map 1)

At the time of Domesday survey, Earl Hugh held some 146 manors outside Cheshire and Wales.<sup>1</sup> As Corbett's 'Class A' classification indicates, his lands were very valuable. His estates were dispersed in twenty-one shires in England, from the north part of Yorkshire to the south part of Dorset. This distribution gives the impression of random dispersion. The characteristics of the estates in each shire are not, however, uniform; in some shires, his lands are relatively concentrated estates, whereas in others they are widely dispersed. Apart from Cheshire, which is unique in that he was only the tenant-in-chief except for the bishop of Chester, his lands are notably important in Lincolnshire and Leicestershire. The coastal areas of North Yorkshire and East Anglia also have a considerable concentration. Scattered estates occur in sixteen shires in the Midlands and the south of England; Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, Leicestershire, Rutland, Warwickshire, Northamptonshire, Huntingdonshire, Buckinghamshire, Oxfordshire, Gloucestershire, Berkshire, Wiltshire, Hampshire, Somerset, Dorset and Devon. North Wales has to be considered differently, but it can be also regarded as a place where Earl Hugh's estates dominate among the Norman barons.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>The estates of Earl Hugh in England have been thoroughly examined by Dr. Lewis (Lewis, 'Formation' (apart from that of Cheshire) and *English and Norman government and lordship in the Welsh borders, 1039-1087*, unpublished D. Phil thesis, Oxford, 1985). Domesday Cheshire has already been investigated in detail by Tait (*The Domesday Survey of Cheshire*, ed. J. Tait, Chetham Society, new ser., 75 (1916)). The History of the County of Chester in the series of *Victoria County History, A History of the County of Chester*, 1 (1987), pp. 293-341, and the newly published series of Domesday Book, *The Cheshire Domesday*, ed. A. Williams (Alecto Historical Editions, London, 1991) have also examined Cheshire Domesday.

<sup>2</sup>Another important baron, Robert Rhuddlan was Earl Hugh's tenant, but his inclination to independence can be observed. He will be discussed later in this chapter.

The value of Earl Hugh's estates in each shire varied remarkably.<sup>1</sup> The highest Domesday value of a shire is Cheshire of £226/ 14s. Next, Lincolnshire is valued at £178/ 5s., Suffolk at £105/ 17s. and Oxfordshire at £70. After these particularly highly-valued four shires, then comes Gloucestershire at £49 and Leicestershire at £40. Then, Dorset, Northamptonshire, Norfolk, Buckinghamshire, Berkshire are valued at from £28/ 10s. to £34. Next, there are less-valued Wiltshire, Yorkshire, Somerset and Huntingdonshire at from £9 to £16. The lowest-valued shires include Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, Devon, Hampshire, Shropshire and Warwickshire at less than £5. Cheshire, Lincolnshire, Leicestershire and Suffolk are shires where Hugh's lands are both valuable and concentrated. His lands in Oxfordshire and Gloucestershire are also highly valued though the estates are more scattered than in the shires mentioned above.

He did not keep demesne in all of these shires. The shires in which he held estates himself are Cheshire,<sup>2</sup> Yorkshire,<sup>3</sup> Lincolnshire,<sup>4</sup> Leicestershire,<sup>5</sup> Derbyshire,<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Lewis, 'Formation', p. 42. Earl Hugh's estates are valued at approx. £890 in total.

<sup>2</sup>CHS 1/1-36.

<sup>3</sup>YKS 4N/2.

<sup>4</sup>LIN 13/1-9, 13/26-29, 13/34-37.

<sup>5</sup>LEC 43/1.

<sup>6</sup>DBY 4/1.



Gloucestershire,<sup>1</sup> Suffolk<sup>2</sup> and Devon.<sup>3</sup> All his estates in other shires were subinfeudated. To some extent, the pattern could have depended on the concentration of the estates, since he naturally retained demesne in Cheshire, Lincolnshire, Gloucestershire, Suffolk and Leicestershire, shires in which his estates are highly valued. His demesnes themselves had considerable value. In Lincolnshire, he had £101 of demesne and in Gloucestershire £23.<sup>4</sup> On the contrary, he also held estates himself in Yorkshire and Derbyshire, which had lower value. His demesne in Derbyshire<sup>5</sup> might have been retained because of its closeness to Cheshire. On the other hand, he held some demesne in Yorkshire, though it was waste, and in Suffolk, his demesne was not very highly valued.<sup>6</sup> In spite of their lower value, given the threat of invasion from Scandinavia, the importance of the defence of these coastal areas may have been a serious concern. His demesne can be basically said to have been situated in north-central England. Moreover, it can be observed that he maintained some rights in boroughs of several shires in which he had subinfeudated all of his estates, while he did not have any

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<sup>1</sup>GLS 28/2-6.

<sup>2</sup>SFK 4/17-18, 4/33-34. However the Domesday account is unclear as to the name of holder.

<sup>3</sup>DEV 14/1-4. According to Lewis, they might have been subinfeudated (Lewis, 'Formation', p. 55; id., *English and Norman government*, p. 192).

<sup>4</sup>He also held estates from the archbishop of York (GLS 2/10) worth £12. He held 4 hides (GLS 28/5-6) and maybe held Shipton from William of Eu of value of £2 (GLS 31/9).

<sup>5</sup>DBY 4/1, at £3; *V.C.H., Derby*, I, p. 299. However, Earl Hugh also held jurisdiction over this manor and market rights. This manor is close to the borough of Derby and also Tutbury, which Hugh is said to have held the castle before being the earl of Chester. Therefore, the manor of Markeaton and the three berewicks might have been acquired at that time as well.

<sup>6</sup>Approximately £3/ 4s./ 24 d.

rights in the boroughs of the shires in which he had no estates. Thus, he held in the boroughs of Derbyshire, Leicestershire and Lincolnshire, in which he had demesne,<sup>1</sup> and in the boroughs of Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, Northamptonshire and Oxfordshire in which all his estates were subinfeudated.<sup>2</sup> Having rights in the boroughs brought income to him, and also they might have worked as local centres within his extensive network of estates.

His estates in Wales must have composed an important element of Earl Hugh's estates. Since some parts of Wales were not valued, it is difficult to compare with others in England. However, he seems to have held estates in Wales worth around £17 in demesne.<sup>3</sup> The value of estates in Wales is not usually very high, except for the castle of Rhuddlan, in which Earl Hugh and Robert of Rhuddlan divided the whole revenue of more than £24.<sup>4</sup> The notable point about landholding in Wales is that Robert of Rhuddlan held North Wales, which covered Gwynedd, directly from the king in addition to the estates held from Earl Hugh.<sup>5</sup> Earl Hugh also held Iâl in Wales, which was valued at £2,<sup>6</sup> from Earl Roger of Shrewsbury. It was situated in Powys, close to Cheshire,

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<sup>1</sup>DBY 2 residences, 1 fishery with full jurisdiction ; LEC 17 houses; LIN 1 residence with jurisdiction, 2 with land tribute, also he may have held land outside Lincoln. Earl Hugh's right in City of York were held by William de Percy.

<sup>2</sup>BRK 1 site, 16 d.; BKM 1 burgess, 26 d.; NTH 1 house, 4 d.; OXF 7 dwellings, 5 s./ 8 d.

<sup>3</sup>WALES FD 1/1-2, FD 9/1, FT 1/1-7, FT 2/19-20.

<sup>4</sup>WALES FT 2/20. Earl Hugh had £6/ 10s., Robert £17/ 3s.

<sup>5</sup>Robert of Rhuddlan from the king: WALES G.

<sup>6</sup>SHR 4,2/1.

adjacent to Earl Hugh's Welsh land of Maelor Saesneg. It is thus understandable that he maintained the region as the base of further expansion, and also defence against Wales.<sup>1</sup>

Earl Hugh held few estates from others. Domesday Book records that he wrongfully held 1 hide in Standish in Gloucestershire from the archbishop of York, and that Thomas the archbishop was claiming that land.<sup>2</sup> Only Earl Roger of Shrewsbury was the formal lord of Hugh apart from the king, as mentioned above. In general, Hugh must have enjoyed great independence as having almost no lord other than the king.

After Domesday Book was compiled, Earl Hugh seems to have acquired several estates. It has been suggested that he acquired twelve manors in Staffordshire from William Rufus.<sup>3</sup> In addition, Hugh acquired some estates formerly held by the bishop of Coutances in Northamptonshire.<sup>4</sup> William Rufus might have also granted Hugh eleven manors in Derbyshire and five in Leicestershire, besides which, some manors in Nottinghamshire and Warwickshire might also have been granted to him.<sup>5</sup> It is not

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<sup>1</sup>*V.C.H., Shropshire*, I, pp. 287-289 discusses the Welsh border between Cheshire and Shropshire.

<sup>2</sup>GLS 2/10. The whole estates is valued at £12. As mentioned before, he might have held Shipton of £2 from William of Eu in the same shire (GLS 31/9).

<sup>3</sup>Leek and Rochester in Staffordshire must have been given to Earl Hugh in the early time of William Rufus (*H.K.F.* II, pp. 255ff). Sandon was subinfeudated to William Malbank, soon after Hugh acquired it (*H.K.F.* II, pp. 264ff). William Malbank seems to have held some estates in Pirchill hundred which were king's demesne in 1086.

<sup>4</sup>*H.K.F.*, II, p. 211. Farrer suggests that the estates of the bishop of Coutances in Northamptonshire were mainly divided the Chester and Clare.

<sup>5</sup>*H.K.F.*, II, pp. 5-6, though it is difficult to identify Earl Hugh's later acquisition precisely.

known when he was granted these estates. However, as Dr. Green has suggested,<sup>1</sup> considering that William Rufus's need to obtain the support of powerful magnates, the grant might have happened during the struggle with Robert Curthose, before he departed for the First Crusade in 1096. The estates in Staffordshire previously held by Roger de Montgomery might have been transferred as a result of Earl Roger's involvement of the rebellion in 1088.<sup>2</sup> As mentioned before, after the death of Robert of Rhuddlan in 1093, according to Gaimar, Hugh was granted North Wales, which Robert of Rhuddlan had held directly from the king.<sup>3</sup> The estates acquired in the reign of William Rufus show that Earl Hugh was gradually expanding his power around Leicestershire, thereby helping to strengthen estates which were situated in a rough triangle whose points were Cheshire, Leicestershire and Lincolnshire. The estates inherited from Robert of Rhuddlan in Wales also encouraged him to expand to the west of Cheshire.

Cheshire was undoubtedly the most important area of Earl Hugh's lands. The nature of the 'palatine' earldom of Chester, which has been the subject of controversy, needs to be reviewed. The county of Chester has been understood as a palatinate, that is, as a shire in which the earl has the right of high jurisdiction, where the king's writ does not run and there is no king's demesne. However, Professor Barraclough has pointed out that the basic characteristics of the 'palatinate' earldom of Cheshire did not occur in the Anglo-Norman period, but have been assumed to have existed by tracing back the later history of the palatinate earldom of Cheshire. He has also emphasized the

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<sup>1</sup>J. A. Green, 'William Rufus, Henry I and the Royal Demesne', *History*, 64 (1979), pp. 337-352, chiefly at pp. 345-347.

<sup>2</sup>*H.K.F.*, II, pp. 261-263.

<sup>3</sup>Gaimar, lines 6043-6044.



importance of Earl Hugh's vast estates outside Cheshire. After Barraclough's article 'The Earldom and County Palatine of Chester' published in 1951,<sup>1</sup> his opinion that the county of Chester was not a palatine county at the beginning has been supported elsewhere.<sup>2</sup>

When it is compared to the history of earldoms of Shrewsbury and Hereford, Barraclough's suggestion that the continuous history of the earldom of Chester might have strengthened the original peculiarity of the county is important. It has been suggested that more than half of the hides of Earl Hugh inside Cheshire were composed of those which formerly belonged to Earl Edwin.<sup>3</sup> This suggests that Hugh retained the rights of an Old English earl. The point to be emphasized is that there is no knowing whether Hugh had a formal special status among the earls as being the earl of Chester. Therefore, even though William the Conqueror gave no particular formal right to Hugh when he granted the county of Chester, as earl, he may well have had exceptional authority. In fact, he was the only tenant-in-chief except for the bishop of Chester. Moreover, there was no king's demesne inside Cheshire. Chester itself had had a notable status before the Norman Conquest. It was not only the military base to cope with the Welsh, the Irish and the Scandinavian forces, but also an important trading place.

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<sup>1</sup>G. Barraclough, 'The Earldom and County Palatine of Chester', *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, 103 (1951), reprinted and published from Oxford Basil Blackwell in 1953.

<sup>2</sup>J. W. Alexander, 'New evidence on the Palatinate of Chester', *E.H.R.*, 85 (1970), pp. 715-729; id., 'The Alleged Palatinates of Norman England', *Speculum*, 56 (1981), pp. 17-27.

<sup>3</sup>*V.C.H., Chester*, I, p. 305. Tait has pointed out the rearrangement of landholding inside Cheshire (Tait, *Domesday Survey of Cheshire*, pp. 59ff). On the other hand, Lewis, *English and Norman government*, pp. 62-68 discusses the dominant power of Earl Edwin inside Cheshire, though the royal power was not wholly excluded. The comment on p. 182 also suggests that the earl's dominant status in Cheshire had already been established before the Conquest, and that William the Conqueror followed the situation.

Barracclough has pointed out the importance of the fact that Earl Hugh had vast scattered estates in England, and that the activities of the later earls of Chester were heavily based on estates elsewhere, such as Lincoln. Although his point is important, it can never be concluded that Cheshire was without great significance for Earl Hugh. It was the base from which his Welsh campaigns were launched and its castle was a vital stronghold.<sup>1</sup> He founded the abbey of St. Werburgh, in which he became a monk and was buried there. He gave generous gifts to the abbey of St. Werburgh, and many of his tenants also followed him.<sup>2</sup> Though Cheshire was not formally recognised as the palatinate, it was certainly the centre of Earl Hugh's vast estates. It is important to bear in mind that Hugh's power within Cheshire does look to have been exceptional, even though it had not at the time been legally categorized.

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<sup>1</sup>B. M. C. Husain, *Cheshire under the Norman Earls 1066-1237* (Chester, 1973), pp. 77ff.

<sup>2</sup>The foundation document (no. 3 in *St. Werburgh*) shows how the family of the earls of Chester and their tenants made gifts to the abbey; also *C.E.C.*, no. 3 (1093).

## 2.2. Estates in Normandy (map 2)

Earl Hugh held considerable estates in Normandy.<sup>1</sup> The main study of the estates of the family of the earls of Chester by Professor Lucien Musset is based on the early charters of the priory of Saint-Gabriel and the records of the abbey of Saint-Sever.<sup>2</sup> The identification of the estates of the family of earls of Chester presents problems, since after the death of Richard earl of Chester in 1120, the title and the property were transferred to the family of vicomtes of the Bessin. The estates originally held by the family of vicomtes of the Bessin have been traced by M. Jean -Michel Bouvris, who also discusses the estates of the earls of Chester after 1120.<sup>3</sup> Documents surviving at the abbeys of Saint-Martin of Troarn, Saint-Etienne of Caen also record some of the estates of the family of the earls of Chester. The known estates of the Goz family will be listed firstly.

The list of grants to the priory of Saint-Gabriel is the earliest record of the estates of the Creully-Goz family, future earls of Chester. They seem to have held estates and rights in Fresné-le-Crotteur (Saint-Gabriel: Calvados, cant. Creully), Brécý (Calvados, cant. Creully), Langrune (Calvados, cant. Douvres-la-Délivrande), Rucqueville (Calvados, cant. Creully), Creully (same canton), Condé-sur-Seulles (Calvados, cant. Balleroy), Meuvaines (Calvados, cant. Ryes), Argouges-sur-Aure (Vaux-sur-Aure: same

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<sup>1</sup>Thacker, Introduction, in *The Earldom of Chester and its Charters*, p. 22 is a general guide to the Norman estates of the earls of Chester.

<sup>2</sup>Musset, 'Saint-Gabriel', 'Saint-Sever'.

<sup>3</sup>J. -M. Bouvris, *Les fiefs d'une famille vicomtale à l'époque ducale: les vicomtes du Bessin (XIe-XIIIe siècles)* (Mémoire de Maîtrise, Caen, 1973).

canton) and Sainte-Croix-Grand-Tonne (Calvados, cant. Tilly-sur-Seulles).<sup>1</sup> The notable point is that all of them are located in the vicinity of Saint-Gabriel and Creully. The names of grantors include several who were likely to have held estates from the family.<sup>2</sup> Besides, it is known that Richard de Creully's rejection of the claims of the abbey of Saint-Pierre of Préaux at Toutainville (Eure, cant. Pont-Audemer) and the church of Vienne-en-Bessin (Calvados, cant. Ryes), suggest in the former case that the family also had interests further east.<sup>3</sup>

According to the charters of the two abbeys of Caen, the Goz family gave estates in Rucqueville (Calvados, cant. Creully),<sup>4</sup> Eterville (Calvados, cant. Evrecy) and Colomby-sur-Thaon (Calvados, cant. Creully).<sup>5</sup> To the abbey of Saint-Martin of Troarn, Thurstan de Creully, who is likely to have been the son of Richard de Creully, or Richard Goz, gave some property he held in Tailleville (Calvados, cant. Douvres).<sup>6</sup> The grants to the

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<sup>1</sup>Musset, 'Saint-Gabriel', pp. 132-137. The right on the river Seulle was also granted.

<sup>2</sup>Herbert de Brécý (Brécý; Calvados, cant. Douvres); Robert fizTanchred holding land in Creully; Robert de Rucqueville and Richard de Rucqueville; Robert de la Carbonière. Osmund seneschal of Richard was a man of Richard de Creully. Though William de Colombiers (Colombiers-sur-Seulles, Calvados, cant. Creully) is not clearly mentioned as holding estates from the family, he is known to have granted estates in Langrune and Tailleville (Calvados, cant. Douvres) to the abbey of Saint-Martin of Troarn. The Goz family held estates in both places (Sauvage, *Troarn*, p. 350).

<sup>3</sup>Musset, 'Saint-Gabriel', p. 125.

<sup>4</sup>*Abbayes Caennaises*, no. 7, p. 74; no. 13, p. 101: *de eo (Odo) quod tenuit Ricardus Goiz in Ruscavilla*.

<sup>5</sup> *Abbayes Caennaises*, nos. 7, 18. William Goz holding Eterville and Colomby from Earl Hugh seems to have been a relative of the Goz family; Ade de Presles gifted the tithe held in Colomby with the consent of Earl Hugh (*Abbayes Caennaises*, no. 27).

<sup>6</sup>Sauvage, *Troarn*, p. 350; *C.D.F.*, I, p. 164, no. 463. Richard vicomte of the Avranchin is mentioned as the next donor, but the location is not identified.



priory of Le Désert, a dependency of the abbey of Saint-Martin of Troarn, also include the grants by the Goz family: Earl Richard, son of Earl Hugh, and King Henry gave the church and the tithes of the castle of Vire.<sup>1</sup> Earl Richard also confirmed the gifts of his own tenants. The lands and rights of the Presles family, who were the tenants of the earl of Chester, given to the abbey are Le Désert (Calvados, cant. Vassy), Burcy (same canton), Presles (same canton), Campagnoles (Calvados, cant. Saint-Sever)<sup>2</sup> and Montchamp (Calvados, cant. Vassy).<sup>3</sup> The abbey of Saint-Evroult is known to have acquired grants from Earl Richard in addition to those made by Earl Hugh. Earl Ranulf of Chester's charter confirmed his predecessors gift, namely, the churches at Croisilles (Orne, cant. Gacé),<sup>4</sup> Orgères (same canton),<sup>5</sup> and Touquettes (Orne, cant. La Ferté-Frênel).<sup>6</sup>

The Bayeux Inquest of 1133 examined by M. Henri Navel shows some other estates held by the earl of Chester under the bishop of Bayeux, indicating a strong connection to the bishop.<sup>7</sup> According to the Inquest, the earl of Chester held Brémoy (Calvados, cant. Aunay-sur-Odon), Mesnil-Auzouf (same canton), Fontaines (Calvados,

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<sup>1</sup>Sauvage, *Troarn*, p. 358; *C.E.C.*, no. 9; *R.R.A.N.*, II, nos. 1023, 1023a, 1088b, LXXIX.

<sup>2</sup>Ranulf vicomte of the castle Vire also made grants.

<sup>3</sup>With *Brunelli* (unidentified). Other unidentified estates are *Hulcemanie* and *Avice*.

<sup>4</sup>*C.E.C.*, no. 10.

<sup>5</sup>*C.E.C.*, no. 11.

<sup>6</sup>*C.E.C.*, no. 11.

<sup>7</sup>Navel, 'L'enquête de 1133'.

near Isigny),<sup>1</sup> Louvières (Calvados, cant. Trévières),<sup>2</sup> forest of *Alleya* (not identified, near Brémoy?), Le Fresne-Camilly (Calvados, cant. Creully?), Montsecret (Orne, cant. Tinchebray), Clairefougère (same canton), L'Epinay-Tesson (Cartigny-l'Epinay: Calvados, cant. Isigny) from Odo.<sup>3</sup> The estates listed in this Inquest are scattered in a wider area than the Goz estates mentioned above.

In addition, the document describing the endowment of the abbey of Saint-Sever founded by Earl Hugh probably illustrates very well the location of the family's estates in Normandy. As already indicated, the foundation is likely to have taken place in 1085, after Earl Hugh succeeded his father Richard the vicomte. Since the original foundation charter has been lost, the estates have to be traced in the later confirmation; Musset mainly used the bull of 1158 of Hadrian II.<sup>4</sup> The later confirmation of Earl Hugh II was produced probably in between 1165 and 1173; its contents are almost the same as the bull of 1158.<sup>5</sup> Both Barraclough and Musset have agreed that most of the estates were given by Earl Hugh I.

The Norman estates and rights traced by Musset are in Mesnil-Caussois (Calvados, cant. Saint-Sever), Sept-Frères (same canton), Courson (same canton), Saint-Manvieu-Bocage (same canton), Mesnil-Benoist (same canton), Martilly (Saint-Martin-de-

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<sup>1</sup> In fief of Robert de Fontaines.

<sup>2</sup> In fief of Robert de Fontaines.

<sup>3</sup>Part of this estate was held by Jourdain Tesson from Earl of Chester.

<sup>4</sup>Musset, 'Saint-Gabriel'. *C.D.F.*, I, p. 216, no. 615 cites only a part of the bull. The fullest version is *Papsturkunden in Frankreich*, N. F., II, Normandie, ed. J. Ramackers (Göttingen, 1937), Nr. 99.

<sup>5</sup>*C.E.C.*, no. 181.

Tallevende: Calvados, cant. Vire), Tallevende (same canton),<sup>1</sup>

Saint-Marie-Laumont (Calvados, cant. Bény-Bocage), On (Saint-Martin-Don: same canton), Le Tourneur (same canton), Saint-Denis-Maisoncelles (same canton), Mesnil-Auzouf (Calvados, cant. Aunay-sur-Odon), Les Loges (same canton), Chouvain (Calvados, cant. Balleroy), Vaux-sur-Aure (Calvados, cant. Ryes), Mosles (Calvados, cant. Trévières), Vierville-sur-Mer (same canton), Ranville (Calvados, cant. Troarn), Morigny (Manche, cant. Percy), Montbray (same canton), Chapelle-Cecelin (Manche, cant. Saint-Pois), Saint-James-de-Beuvron (Manche, cant. Saint-James), La Lucerne (Manche, cant. La Haye-Pesnel), Saint-Jean-le-Thomas (Manche, cant. Sartilly), Monteil (same canton, comm. Saint-Pierre-Langers), Bouillon (Manche, cant. Granville),<sup>2</sup> Brectouville (Manche, cant. Torigni), Champaubert (Villebadin: Orne, cant. Exmes), Sainte-Anastacie-de-Briquetière (Ginai: Orne, cant. Exmes), Ginai (same canton), Cisay-Saint-Aubin (Orne, cant. Gacé), and some unlocated estates.<sup>3</sup> It is obvious that a large number of the gifts were situated not only near Saint-Sever, but also around Avranches and some near Exmes.

After the death of Earl Richard in 1120, Ranulf le Meschin, vicomte of the Bessin, succeeded to both the title of earl of Chester and the office of vicomte of the Avranchin. The estates of the earls of Chester were then absorbed those of vicomte of the Bessin,

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<sup>1</sup>Churches of Saint-Martin and Saint-Germain of Tallevende.

<sup>2</sup>Also a fishery at La Thar, north of Bouillon.

<sup>3</sup>*Grosmont, Monramon, Biatre, Molaria, Burceium, Campus Bolri, Ceusillum, la Pommeraie, Desnos, Mons Harengel* have not been identified (Musset, 'Saint-Sever', pp. 361-363). In this article, Musset does not identify 'Burceium', but suggests Boucey (Manche, cant. Pontorson), Burcy (Calvados, cant. Vassy) or Bourey (Manche, cant. Bréhal). Given that one Domesday tenant of Earl Hugh in Cheshire, Nigel de Burcy has been suggested to have come from Burcy (Calvados, cant. Vassy), it seems safe to identify 'Burceium' as this Burcy.

which consisted of consolidated estates in the Bessin.<sup>1</sup>

As mentioned before, it is notable that most of the Norman estates of Earl Hugh and the Goz family were situated in the western Normandy. It is notable that the family held quite considerable estates not only in the Avranchin but also in the Bessin, and around Exmes as well. Their location then can be placed in mainly four areas: in the Avranchin, the Bessin, the Hiésmois, and at Toutainville. The location of each group suggests the manner in which the Goz estates were assembled.

The one remote estate in Toutainville may be explained as an early acquisition because it was in a region of Scandinavian settlement.<sup>2</sup> Several estates situated in the Hiésmois may be the traces of the family's tenure of the office of vicomte of the Hiésmois in the time of Thurstan Goz. It is striking that Earl Richard still appears to have kept estates in that area. Creully seems to have been one of the significant bases of this family, even though, unlike in the Hiésmois and the Avranchin, they do not seem even to have become vicomte in the region. Moreover, the consolidation and closeness of the estates of the families of the earls of Chester and vicomte of the Bessin are impressive. This suggests a close relationship between the two vicecomital families. As already suggested, both of the families of Goz and vicomte of the Bessin seem to have had some connection with Odo bishop of Bayeux. It is interesting that Richard chose to found a religious house in the Bessin rather than in the Avranchin, even though Richard Goz might already

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<sup>1</sup>Barraclough concluded that the grant to the abbey of Montebourg of Earl Hugh II in 1168 seems to have confirmed the grant of Earl Richard (*C.E.C.*, no. 183). It consists of the rights in Trévières (Calvados, cant. Trévières) and the lands and tithes of the Broc family in Gatteville (Manche, cant. Saint-Pierre-Eglise). According to Bouvris, however, the Broc family held the estates in Gatteville from Ranulf vicomte of the Bessin; if so, the grant is likely to have happened after 1120. (J. -M. Bouvris, 'Une famille de vassaux des vicomtes de Bayeux au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle: les Broc', *Revue du département de la Manche*, 19 (1977), pp. 3-45, at pp. 14-17.)

<sup>2</sup>Musset, 'Saint-Gabriel', pp. 125, 128; Musset, 'Les Goz, vicomtes d'Avranches', p. 306.



have become vicomte of the Avranchin at the time of foundation. The family of the earls of Chester therefore seems to have retained a strong attachment to which was probably the region where they first acquired land.

The estates of the family of the earls of Chester were spread widely throughout England and Normandy. A close examination, however, reveals that they were not dispersed throughout all of England and Normandy, but were situated in several notable groups. In England, the main estates were certainly in Cheshire and Lincolnshire and the family's direct interests probably lay in the Midlands rather than in distant estates in the southern shires. In Normandy, as has been pointed out, the concentration in three areas in the West is impressive .

### 3. The tenants of Earl Hugh

Earl Hugh's tenants listed in Domesday Book vary from those who were themselves tenants-in-chief of William the Conqueror to those who are known to us only as names.<sup>1</sup> How Hugh distributed his estates to his followers, their landholdings, origins and relationship with Earl Hugh and other tenants are examined in this section. The tenants of Earl Hugh have been the subject of a considerable amount of research, but most of it has concentrated on the tenants inside Cheshire.<sup>2</sup> It is, however, important to locate these tenants and their holdings within the entirety of Earl Hugh's estates.<sup>3</sup>

A considerable number of Earl Hugh's tenants held estates inside Cheshire, even if their lands were small and far from those they held outside Cheshire.<sup>4</sup> It seems that holding estates inside Cheshire was important to the community of Earl Hugh's tenants; it is significant too that his powerful tenants who held large estates in Cheshire did not hold notable estates from other prominent magnates.<sup>5</sup> This certainly indicates that most of Earl

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<sup>1</sup>Maps of the landholdings of Earl Hugh and his main tenants may be consulted. Map no. is usually shown when necessary. Most of identifiable Norman place names mentioned in the text are on map 2.

<sup>2</sup>*V.C.H., Chester*, I, pp. 302-316; *The Cheshire Domesday*, pp. 16-23; Tait, *Domesday Survey of Cheshire*, Introduction and *passim*.

<sup>3</sup>Lewis, *English and Norman government* mainly chap. 6, and id., 'Formation' have analyzed Earl Hugh's tenants both inside and outside Cheshire. This present study attempts further investigation. Earl Hugh's English estate as a whole, see map 1.

<sup>4</sup>Landholding of the tenants in Cheshire are examined in Lewis, *English and Norman government*, pp. 205-213; *The Cheshire Domesday*, figures in Table 2 in p. 18.

<sup>5</sup>Reginald de Bailleul, who was the great tenant of Earl Roger of Shrewsbury, and the sheriff of Shropshire (Green, *English Sheriffs*, p. 71) held minor estates from Hugh in Cheshire (CHS 22/1-2, valued at £1/ 9s.), and he also might have held from Osbern fitzTezzon (CHS 22/1, *V.C.H., Chester*, I, p.

Hugh's tenants were close only to Earl Hugh. This consolidation of power around the earl was an inheritance from the Anglo-Saxon earl of Mercia.<sup>1</sup> Earl Hugh and his men's domination of this shire is notable, and their close lord-tenant relationship inside Cheshire should also be noted. Earl Hugh was able to rely on his tenants, and this must have strengthened the sense of cohesion of a community constructed by lord-vassal relationships.

There are nearly forty named under-tenants of Earl Hugh in Cheshire Domesday.<sup>2</sup> Of them, sixteen tenants also held estates from Earl Hugh outside Cheshire.<sup>3</sup> Those who held no estates outside Cheshire held only a small amount of land in Cheshire. Among those who held estates only in Cheshire, Richard the butler held the highest-valued estates at £7.<sup>4</sup> Otherwise the most valuable estates were the estates at £2 held by Ilbert de

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314). Walter de Vernon seems to be the only exception. He held estates from Hugh both in Cheshire (CHS 7/1-4) and Oxfordshire (OXF 15/4), with total value of £12, and from the king in Buckinghamshire (BKM 28) valued at £8. William fitzNigel held from Roger the Poitevin (Tait, *Domesday Survey of Cheshire*, p. 49) and William Malbank seems to have held from Earl Roger of Shrewsbury (STS 8/28-30), but the value of both were approx. £2, which is far less than those of they held from Earl Hugh. These estates seem to have been held because of the proximity to those held from Earl Hugh. Robert of Rhuddlan, who held North Wales directly from the king, valued at £ 40, will be discussed later.

<sup>1</sup>Lewis, *English and Norman government*, pp. 61-68.

<sup>2</sup>CHS 1-27; *The Cheshire Domesday*, Table 2, p. 18 shows the list of the names of tenants of Hugh in Cheshire.

<sup>3</sup>*The Cheshire Domesday*, Table 2, p. 18.

<sup>4</sup>CHS 6/1-2.

Roullours<sup>1</sup> (Calvados, cant. Vire) and Nigel de Burcy (Calvados, cant. Vassy).<sup>2</sup> Among other even less wealthy tenants, Hugh Delamere held estates only in Cheshire, valued at £1.<sup>3</sup> He might have been from La Mare (*Mara*, Manvieu: Calvados, cant. Tilly-sur-Seulles), which was held by Ranulf vicomte of Bessin from the bishop of Bayeux.<sup>4</sup> Those who held only inside Cheshire were mainly English survivors and minor Normans, many of whom seem to have served Earl Hugh's own household.<sup>5</sup>

On the other hand, only a few of Earl Hugh's tenants held estates located exclusively outside Cheshire, and usually the value of their estates was not high.<sup>6</sup> Those who held estates outside Cheshire usually held larger estates inside as well. There are, however, several exceptions, namely, Baldric of Lindsey, Joscelin Touchet and Mundret, all of whom held estates valued at only approximately £2 inside Cheshire.<sup>7</sup> Outside Cheshire, Mundret, a relatively prominent Anglo-Saxon survivor, held relatively small

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<sup>1</sup>CHS 23/1-3.

<sup>2</sup>CHS 25/1-3.

<sup>3</sup>CHS 10/1-4.

<sup>4</sup>Navel, 'L'enquête de 1133', pp. 21, 38 (179).

<sup>5</sup>On the offices of the household of the earl, D. Crouch, 'The Administration of the Norman Earldom', in *The Earldom of Chester and its Charters*, ed. Thacker, pp. 69-95.

<sup>6</sup>In Lincolnshire, Brisard (LIN 13/30, at £2), Colswein (LIN 13/26-27, at £1), Rozelin (13/21, at £2). Brisard and Rozelin appear as the grantors of Saint-Evrout (C.E.C., no. 1). In Leicestershire, as Earl Hugh's men, Godric, Hugh, Leofric, Ralph, Roger, and 4 others appear in LEC 43/1-5, 7; *H.K.F.*, II, pp. 55-62, 75-78). Richard in Devon (DEV 14/3-4, at £1), Waleran in Warwickshire (WAR 13/1, at £1/ 10s.), also 2 others in Gloucestershire (GLS 28/7, *H.K.F.*, II, pp. 54-5), Robert de Courson in Suffolk (SFK 4/14, at £1/ 10s.).

<sup>7</sup>Baldric of Lindsey (map. 5.1) LIN 13/22-3, 31-2, 39-40, valued at £8/ 5s.; Joscelin Touchet (map. 5.8) DBY 4/2 at 10s./ 8d.; RUT 6/16 (13/8)(LIN 13/38) at £6.



estates in Suffolk from Hugh valued at £3.<sup>1</sup> Walter de Vernon, who also held only estates valued at £2 in Cheshire, unlike other Cheshire holders, held also from the king land worth £8.<sup>2</sup> Thus, Earl Hugh's own men who held considerable estates certainly had a connection to Cheshire. Considering the fact that among those who held significant estates, only Warin fitzBurnwin held nothing in Cheshire, appearing only in Norfolk and Suffolk,<sup>3</sup> Cheshire appears to have been the core of the network of the relationships between Earl Hugh and his tenants.

The arrangement of landholdings in Cheshire suggests a relatively clear policy of land distribution.<sup>4</sup> It is notable that Earl Hugh himself and four tenants dominated landholding in Cheshire and the border land of Wales both in terms of the value and the number of their estates. They are Robert of Rhuddlan, Robert fitzHugh, William Malbank and William fitzNigel.<sup>5</sup> Their landholdings are notably concentrated: Robert of Rhuddlan held mainly in Wirral hundred, Robert fitzHugh held mainly in Broxton and

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<sup>1</sup>Mundret (map 5.9) holds both in Cheshire (CHS 1/22, 34, 2/13) and in Suffolk (SFK 4/30-31). Total value is nearly £4. He also holds from Earl Roger in Shropshire. He is one of the Anglo-Saxon predecessors of Cheshire. For his importance in pre-Conquest Cheshire and his support to Hugh, Lewis, *English and Norman government*, pp. 203-204.

<sup>2</sup>From Hugh: CHS 7/1-4, at £2/ 1s.; OXF 15/4, at £10. From the king in Buckinghamshire, at £8. (map. 5.13)

<sup>3</sup>NFK 6/4-5, 7, at £5; SFK 4/20-29, at £7/ 6s./ 6d. (map. 5.14)

<sup>4</sup>*V.C.H., Chester*, I, p. 304 has a map of the landholdings of Hugh's major Anglo-Saxon predecessors and of the four major tenants of Earl Hugh.

<sup>5</sup>On Cheshire hundreds, see map 'Cheshire'. Robert of Rhuddlan held CHS 3/1-11, at £6/ 16s., WALES FD2/1-6, at £2/ 4s., FT2/1-20, at £34/ 6s. (including castle Rhuddlan) (map 4.3); Robert fitzHugh CHS 2/1-31, at £22/ 17s. (map 4.2); William Malbank CHS 8/1-45, at £24/ 19s., WALES FD3/1-2, £1 and the right of saltwich (S1/7) (map 4.5); William fitzNigel 9/1-29, at £16/ 5s., WALES FD4/1, at 4s. (map 4.4).

Eddisbury South, William Malbank mainly in Nantwich with some lands in other hundreds and William fitzNigel mainly along the border of the land of Roger the Poitevin, who held South Lancashire, 'between Ribble and Mersey'. On the other hand, Earl Hugh's demesne was situated widely throughout the whole county with something of a concentration in Macclesfield, Northwich, and Eddisbury (North and South) hundreds. Compared to these four major tenants, it is difficult to find any particular concentration of the estates held by lesser tenants, the value of whose estates is in any case quite low. These estates seem to have been situated in the spaces between the concentrated estates of the major barons. The overall impression is that the border area of Cheshire was defended by Earl Hugh and his major four vassals, and that their holdings surrounded the estates of lesser tenants in the middle of the shire. The Welsh border area shows both concentration and diversity. In coastal Welsh border area, namely, Rhuddlan, Tegeingl and Deeside nearly all of the manors were held by Earl Hugh and Robert of Rhuddlan. Maelor Saesneg, which borders Shropshire and is close to Robert fitzHugh's group of estates inside Cheshire was also held by Robert fitzHugh. On the other hand, a number of lesser tenants held estates in Bistre and Maelor Cymraeg, which were situated between the above two groups held by major tenants.

When all the English estates including Cheshire are considered, the pattern of the landholdings of the four major Cheshire vassals, namely, Robert of Rhuddlan, Robert fitzHugh, William Malbank and William fitzNigel, seems to have been replicated elsewhere: like inside Cheshire, their landholdings form recognizable concentrations among Earl Hugh's estates outside Cheshire. All of the four held valuable estates in a small number of shires. Among Hugh's vassals in general, Hugh fitzNorman can be included with the four top-rank vassals, although his estates in Cheshire seem to have

been neither especially valuable nor especially large.<sup>1</sup>

The northern coastal area of Yorkshire is an area where Earl Hugh's estates are densely grouped. There, Hugh fitzNorman (origin unknown) appears as the tenant of the earl's most northerly estates, as well as holding in Buckinghamshire and in Suffolk.<sup>2</sup> It is noticeable that his estates in Yorkshire and Suffolk are situated near the coast and that they were highly valued. William de Percy also held Yorkshire estates from Earl Hugh.<sup>3</sup> In addition to the considerable amount of lands which he held in Lincolnshire as a tenant-in-chief, his estates mainly lay in Yorkshire. It can be assumed that he was interested in accumulating more there. Like Hugh fitzNorman, William's estates were located along the coastal area, with Earl Hugh's demesne lying between the lands of these two tenants. William's Yorkshire manors held of Hugh were worth approximately £8 in 1086, but they could have been worth £140, if they could have been recovered to their value in 1066. He or his descendants appeared in several charters of the earls of Chester.<sup>4</sup> The place of origin of the Percy may have been Percy-en-Auge (Calvados, cant. Mézidon).<sup>5</sup> Even though the opinion that William de Percy was originally Earl Hugh's tenant from

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<sup>1</sup>See map 4.1. His estates in Cheshire and Wales: CHS 11/1-4, 12/5-8, valued at £3 (according to *The Cheshire Domesday*, p. 18); WALES, FT 3/1-2, at £1/ 8s.

<sup>2</sup>YKS 4/N3, 4/E1, at £2/ 10s., value before the Conquest is £64; BKM 13/2-3, at £ 8 (*H.K.F.*, II, pp. 15-16 identifies this tenant Hugh probably as Hugh fitzNorman); SFK 4/1-6, 35-41, approx. £38 (*H.K.F.*, II, pp. 236-237).

<sup>3</sup>See map 3. YKS 4/N1, 4/E2; *E.Y.C.*, II, pp. 193-255; *V.C.H., York*, II, pp. 154f.

<sup>4</sup>*C.E.C.*, nos. 5, 35, 73.

<sup>5</sup>L. C. Loyd, *The Origins of Some Anglo-Norman Families* (Harleian Society, Leeds, 1951, rep. Baltimore, 1985), p. 77.

near the Avranchin has been rejected,<sup>1</sup> the notable value of estates and place may suggest a longstanding connection existed between William de Percy and Hugh.

William Malbank was an important landholders in the southern parts of Earl Hugh's fief. He held estates in Somerset, Dorset, Wiltshire and Buckinghamshire, and might have held some in Suffolk.<sup>2</sup> The concentration of the estates in Dorset valued at £27 is remarkable.<sup>3</sup> All of Hugh's estates in this county except a manor held by Gilbert de Venables were held by him.<sup>4</sup> Hamo de Massey (probably from Macey: Manche, cant. Pontorson) is another vassal whose estates outside Cheshire are located in this area. He held lands in Wiltshire and Hampshire, neighbouring those of William Malbank.<sup>5</sup> Apart from one manor held by Edward of Salisbury, Hamo held Earl Hugh's estates exclusively in Wiltshire and Hampshire.

William fitzNigel, on the other hand, seems to have been prominent in a few shires in the Midlands. He held in Lincolnshire and Oxfordshire with one manor in Berkshire which might have been held by him.<sup>6</sup> However, apart from one important manor in Oxfordshire, his estates mainly lay in Lincolnshire, along the river Humber, an estate

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<sup>1</sup>Lewis, 'Formation', p. 40, n. 23.

<sup>2</sup>SOM 18/1-3, at £5/ 15s. (*H.K.F.*, II, p. 287 identifies this William as William Malbank); DOR 27/2-11, at £27; WIL 22/1, 5, at £5; BKM 13/4, at £9. 'William' held Tetton (SFK 4/19, at £8/ 6s.), and this William can be both William Malbank and William fitzNigel.

<sup>3</sup>*V.C.H., Dorset*, III, p. 50.

<sup>4</sup>See map 5.4. DOR 27/1, at £7.

<sup>5</sup>See map 5.5. WIL 22/2, 4, 6, at £9; HAM 22/1, at £3.

<sup>6</sup>See map 4.4. LIN 13/10-20, at £30 and unknown; OXF 15/2, at £30; BRK 18/1, at £2/ 10s. As mentioned above, whether he or William Malbank held SFK 4/19 can not be decided.



seemingly constructed for defensive purposes. In Lincolnshire, Earl Hugh maintained many estates as demesne with some subinfeudated to several vassals.<sup>1</sup> The vassals there includes slightly lesser figures: Baldric of Lindsey, Osbern fitzTezzon and Hugh fitzOsbern. The estates of Baldric of Lindsey outside Cheshire lay only in Lincolnshire, where he held estates inland of the shire.<sup>2</sup> Osbern fitzTezzon and Hugh fitzOsbern seem to be identical to Baldric, holding only in Lincolnshire and Cheshire.<sup>3</sup> Joscelin Touchet held in Derbyshire and probably in Rutland.<sup>4</sup> There were also several vassals who only held in Lincolnshire: Rozelin, Brisard and Colswein.<sup>5</sup> Brisard and Rozelin appear to have granted their estate in Lincolnshire to Saint-Evrout.<sup>6</sup> Rozelin seems to have been a man of Osbern fitzTezzon as well.<sup>7</sup> Thus, estates in Lincolnshire were held mainly by Hugh and William fitzNigel, and other several lesser vassals of Hugh.

Compared to the above-mentioned two Williams, the estates of Robert of Rhuddlan and Robert fitzHugh were located chiefly in the central Midlands. Robert of Rhuddlan held all Hugh's estates in Northamptonshire, except for that of Joscelin the Breton, a

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<sup>1</sup>See map 1.

<sup>2</sup>See map 5.1. LIN 13/22-23, 31-32, 39-40, at £8/ 5s.

<sup>3</sup>Osbern fitzTezzon LIN 13/24-25, 33, 45, at £12 and unknown (map 5.10); Hugh fitzOsbern, LIN 13/41-43, at £9 (map 5.6).

<sup>4</sup>See map 5.8. DBY 4/2, at 10s./ 8d.; LIN 13/38 is included in RUT 6/16 (13/8), at £6 (*H.K.F.*, II, p. 29 identifies this was held by Joscelin Touchet).

<sup>5</sup>Brisard LIN 13/30, at £2; Rozelin LIN 13/21, at £2; Colswein LIN 13/26-27, at £1.

<sup>6</sup>*C.E.C.*, no. 1.

<sup>7</sup>His gift to Saint-Evrout in Stainton was held by Osbern fitzTezzon in Domesday Book (LIN 13/24).

prominent local figure.<sup>1</sup> Robert of Rhuddlan's other estates were two important manors in Gloucestershire and Buckinghamshire.<sup>2</sup> Robert fitzHugh held on the border of Leicestershire and Nottinghamshire, and in Oxfordshire and Berkshire.<sup>3</sup> Also in the Midlands, Robert fitzHugh's own followers in Cheshire, Fulk de *Baiunvilla* and Humphrey of the Cotentin, appear as Earl Hugh's two tenants in Huntingdonshire, holding one manor each.<sup>4</sup>

In addition to Earl Hugh's own men, one of his tenants, Robert d'Oilly (probably from OUILLY-le-BASSET, west of Falaise)<sup>5</sup> was another important tenant in Oxfordshire.<sup>6</sup> In comparison with other tenants-in-chief who held from Earl Hugh, his estates under Hugh were relatively highly valued.<sup>7</sup> Robert d'Oilly was a powerful tenant-in-chief with estates mainly situated in the Midlands. He was probably the sheriff of Oxfordshire, Berkshire

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<sup>1</sup>Robert of Rhuddlan NTH 22/1-8, at £30/ 18s. (map 4.3); Joscelin the Breton NTH 22/9, at £3 (map 3).

<sup>2</sup>GLS 28/1, at £20; BKM 13/1, at £12.

<sup>3</sup>See map 4.2. LEC 43/6, at £40; NTT 3/1-3, at £3/ 3s.; OXF 15/3, at £17; BRK 18/2, value unknown, 6 hides.

<sup>4</sup>Fulk de *Baiunvilla* HUN 11/1, at £5, CHS 2/19, at 8s. (from Robert fitzHugh) (map 5.3); Humphrey of the Cotentin HUN 11/2, at £4, CHS 2/18, 21, at 9s. (from Robert fitzHugh) (map 5.7). They appear in the foundation charter to St. Werburgh as the witness of Robert fitzHugh (*C.E.C.*, nos. 3, 28).

<sup>5</sup>J. A. Green, 'The Sheriffs of William the Conqueror', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 5 (1983), pp. 129-145, at p. 137.

<sup>6</sup>*V.C.H., Oxfordshire*, I, pp. 380-3 describes Robert d'Oilly's prominence in this shire.

<sup>7</sup>See map 3. OXF 15/1, 5, at £13; *V.C.H., Oxfordshire*, I, pp. 382-383; *H.K.F.*, II, p. 244.

and Warwickshire.<sup>1</sup> In Gloucestershire, in which Earl Hugh held several manors, he was a major tenant-in-chief, too. Nigel d'Oilly, probably his son, attested a charter of Earl Richard in 1106, suggesting that he maintained the estates in Oxfordshire under the earl of Chester.<sup>2</sup> The estates in Oxfordshire thus show a gathering of major barons: Robert fitzHugh, William fitzNigel and Robert d'Oilly, apart from Earl Hugh's urban property in Oxford and that of Walter de Vernon (Vernon: Eure, cant. Vernon), who held one manor in the same area.<sup>3</sup> Walter de Vernon seems to have had slightly exceptional figure in the fact that he held estates in Cheshire, but he was a tenant-in-chief in Buckinghamshire.<sup>4</sup> Richard de Vernon, different from his brother Walter, held only from Earl Hugh: he held estates of moderate value in Cheshire and in Norfolk.<sup>5</sup>

The situation in East Anglia is also complex. A notable tenant-in-chief was again an under-tenant of Earl Hugh there. Roger Bigod, who was the sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk in 1086,<sup>6</sup> held manors both in Norfolk and Suffolk from Hugh, valued at approximately £52.<sup>7</sup> The most notable holding is Flamlingham in Suffolk, valued at £36

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<sup>1</sup>Green, *English Sheriffs*, pp. 26, 69, 83; Green, 'The Sheriffs of William the Conqueror', p.134.

<sup>2</sup>*C.E.C.*, no. 6.

<sup>3</sup>See map 5.13. OXF 15/4, at £10.

<sup>4</sup>BKM 28, at £8.

<sup>5</sup>See map 5.12. CHS 5/1-14, at £7/ 3s.; NFK 6/1, at £4.

<sup>6</sup>Green, *English Sheriffs*, pp. 60, 76.

<sup>7</sup>See map 3. NFK 6/6, at £9; SFK 4/9, 12, 15, 42, (4/16, 17 might have been held by Roger Bigod as well), at £52/ 2s.

or more.<sup>1</sup> Almost all of his estates lay in Norfolk and Suffolk near the coast.<sup>2</sup> Hugh fitzNorman, who held estates along the coast in Yorkshire, held several seaside manors from Earl Hugh in Suffolk as well.<sup>3</sup> Earl Hugh also had estates in demesne in Suffolk in the coastal area. Like the Midlands, there were several lesser under-tenants in Norfolk and Suffolk. Ranulph de Mesnilwarin (probably from Calvados, cant. Saint-Sever) and Richard de Vernon were under-tenants only in Norfolk outside Cheshire.<sup>4</sup> Warin fitzBurnwin (origin unknown) was a tenant of Earl Hugh only in Norfolk and Suffolk, not in Cheshire.<sup>5</sup> His estates were concentrated on the border of these two shires. He does not appear in the foundation charter of St. Werburgh, nor in the record of gifts to Saint-Evrout. Given this, the proximity of his estates to Roger's might imply that his close connection was rather to Roger Bigod than Hugh, though no evidence is known. A minor tenant named Robert de Courson (Courson: Calvados, cant. Saint-Sever) appears to have held from Earl Hugh in Suffolk.<sup>6</sup> Since Earl Hugh is known to have made gift of

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<sup>1</sup>SFK 4/42.

<sup>2</sup>Green, *English Sheriffs*, p. 16.

<sup>3</sup>SFK 4/1-6, 35-41, at £38.

<sup>4</sup>Ranulph de Mesnilwarin CHS 20/1-12, at £4/ 2s., NFK 6/2-3, 66/97 at £10 (map 5.11); Richard de Vernon CHS 5/1-14, at £6/ 13s., NFK 6/1, at £4.

<sup>5</sup>NFK 6/4-5, 7 at £4/ 15s. and unknown. The name 'Warin' in Suffolk is identified as the same person as Warin fitzBurnwin (SFK 4/20-9, at £7/ 6s./ 6d.) by Lewis, 'Formation', p. 60; *H.K.F.*, II, p. 229. See map 5.14.

<sup>6</sup>SFK 4/14, at £1/ 10s.



a church of Courson to Saint-Sever,<sup>1</sup> he might have been one of the tenants of the Goz family in Normandy, too. On the other hand, he held estates from Roger Bigod in Norfolk and Suffolk.<sup>2</sup> Bigod des Loges (Les Loges: Calvados, cant. Aunay-sur-Odon), who held estates in Cheshire and Suffolk from Earl Hugh,<sup>3</sup> may well have been a relative of Roger Bigod, perhaps his father, since Les Loges in Normandy was held by the Bigods from Odo.<sup>4</sup> Roger Bigod's tenancy from Odo in Normandy and in England as well,<sup>5</sup> and the connection between Roger Bigod and Earl Hugh examined in the previous chapter suggests a close relation between them. Moreover, they had at least a few common under-tenants themselves, namely Bigod des Loges and Robert de Courson.

Besides Roger Bigod, Robert d'Oilly also held estates from Odo in Oxfordshire, where Odo was a prominent tenant-in-chief, like he was in East Anglia.<sup>6</sup> The territorial connection at a lesser level between Earl Hugh and Odo existed, even though there was no direct lord-vassal relationship in England between themselves. At a lower level, a

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<sup>1</sup>Musset, 'Saint-Sever', p. 362; *C.E.C.*, no. 181.

<sup>2</sup>NFK 9/29, 31, 100, 178; SFK 7/6-7, 23, 51.

<sup>3</sup>See map 5.2. CHS 14/1-13, 27/1, at £8/ 15s. and unknown; SFK 4/10-11, 13, at £5, though the name of tenants of 4/10 and 4/11 are uncertain.

<sup>4</sup>Lewis, 'Formation', p. 58; Robert Bigod appears in documents relating to the Hiésmois, where the Goz family had been the vicomte; he is said by Orderic to have been a kinsman of Richard Goz (*G.N.D.*, II, pp. 126-127, n. 4-5), as pointed out by Keats-Rohan, 'The Prosopography of Post-Conquest England', p. 24, n. 73; Hugh Bigod held estates in Les Loges (Les Loges, Calvados, cant. Aunay-sur-Odon) and Savenay (Calvados, cant. Villers-Bocage, comm. Courvaudon) from Odo (Navel, 'L'enquête de 1133', p. 18).

<sup>5</sup>Loyd, *Anglo-Norman Families*, pp. 14f.

<sup>6</sup>*V.C.H., Oxfordshire*, I, p. 379.

tenant of Robert d'Oilly in Oxfordshire named Drogo was also a tenant of Robert fitzHugh in Berkshire.<sup>1</sup> Thus it can be seen that the tenants of Earl Hugh's estates in the Midlands appear to have been a mixture of Earl Hugh's own major vassals and men such as Robert d'Oilly. Among them, Robert of Rhuddlan and Robert fitzHugh accompanied by his own followers seem rather to have dominated among Hugh's estates in the Midlands.

All the above tenants appear to have had an important connection with Earl Hugh. On the other hand, there is a group of tenants-in-chief who held only minor estates from Hugh, and who did not hold inside Cheshire, namely, Edward of Salisbury, Erneis de Burun, Joscelin the Breton and Roger de Bully.<sup>2</sup> None held estates of any great value. Roger de Bully held one manor in Leicestershire in the vicinity of his own landholding; the value is not known.<sup>3</sup> Erneis de Burun held Riby in Lincolnshire.<sup>4</sup> Edward of Salisbury held Hartham in Wiltshire, valued at £2.<sup>5</sup> Joscelin held 4 hides in Slapton, Northamptonshire.<sup>6</sup> All of them, despite of their status as notable tenants-in-chief, seem

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<sup>1</sup>Drogo held from Robert d'Oilly from Earl Hugh (OXF 15/5, Ardley), and from Robert fitzHugh from Earl Hugh (BRK 18/2), identified by *H.K.F.*, II, p. 22.

<sup>2</sup>See map 3.

<sup>3</sup>LEC 43/8; *H.K.F.*, II, p. 75.

<sup>4</sup>LIN 13/19-20. Value is not recorded. Lewis has followed *Victoria County History* that this Erneis as Erneis of Burun (Lewis, 'Formation', p. 58; *V.C.H., York*, II, pp. 179-81).

<sup>5</sup>WIL 22/3. Lewis has identified him as Edward of Salisbury, because he held another hide in the same area (Lewis, 'Formation', p. 59). Edward of Salisbury held many estates lay in 10 shires.

<sup>6</sup>NTH 22/9; *H.K.F.*, p. 216 identifies this 'Gozelin' as Gozelin the Breton. Also, Lewis, 'Formation', p. 59.

to have had only minor place among Earl Hugh's tenants. They did not make grants to the abbey of St. Werburgh, and it is difficult to find them or their descendants among the attestors of the charters of the earls of Chester. The point is that all of them held from Earl Hugh in the area contiguous with their own estates. Erneis de Burun was tenant-in-chief in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire. Edward of Salisbury was the sheriff of Wiltshire at the time of Domesday survey.<sup>1</sup> Joscelin was a tenant-in-chief in three shires, Gloucestershire, Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire. Roger de Bully was a tenant-in-chief in Leicestershire and was also a prominent figure in Nottinghamshire.<sup>2</sup> The territorial relationship may need to be explained by local circumstances rather than an original lord-tenant relationship brought from Normandy. Joscelin the Breton, as his name shows, came from Brittany; the followers of Earl Hugh included Bretons because of the closeness of Avranchin to Brittany. Roger de Bully might have been from Bully (Seine-Maritime, cant. Neufchâtel), and had become a relative of the count of Eu.<sup>3</sup> The origins of Erneis and Edward are difficult to ascertain. Though it is not clear how Hugh's initiative worked in these relationships, these tenancies were most probably the result of mutual interests: these prominent figures of each region were interested in accumulating estates there, and for Earl Hugh, it was not inconvenient to draw them to some extent under his influence.

Among Earl Hugh's tenants, Robert of Rhuddlan was undoubtedly the most

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<sup>1</sup>Green, *English Sheriffs*, p. 85.

<sup>2</sup>*V.C.H., Nottingham*, I, pp. 225ff.

<sup>3</sup>Loyd, *Anglo-Norman Families*, p. 21.

remarkable. His land in Cheshire was mainly in the extreme west of Cheshire.<sup>1</sup> However, his distinctiveness lies in his estates in Wales,<sup>2</sup> which were held from the king and which, at £ 40, were much more valuable than those he held inside Cheshire.<sup>3</sup> He held estates only from Earl Hugh and the king. Orderic Vitalis was well-informed about Robert of Rhuddlan through a fellow monk, and described his bellicose life and harsh character.<sup>4</sup> According to Orderic, he was the son of Humphrey de Tilleul, the son of Ansfrid.<sup>5</sup> He married a sister of Hugh de Grandmesnil of the Giroie family, the founder family of Saint-Evrout. Their son Robert crossed to England when he was a child to serve King Edward and was knighted by that king. He had returned to Normandy temporarily before going to England again after the battle of Hastings. This time, Hugh d'Avranches was with him. Orderic continues that during the war in defence of the Welsh border, Robert was appointed to guard the castle of Rhuddlan by William the Conqueror.<sup>6</sup> It implies that Robert was ordered by William the Conqueror directly, and at this point, Robert of Rhuddlan was not under Earl Hugh's command. According to

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<sup>1</sup>CHS 3/1-11, at £6/ 16s. Other estates are; NTH 22/1-8, at £30/ 18s.; BKM 13/1, at £12; GLS 28/1 at £20; *H.K.F.*, II, pp. 13-5, 51f, 211-15, 219-25.

<sup>2</sup>WALES FD2/1-6, FT2/1-20. He held land from Earl Hugh valued at approx. £36 in total.

<sup>3</sup>CHS G/1.

<sup>4</sup>Career and death of Robert of Rhuddlan, chiefly in *O.V.*, IV, pp. 134-145.

<sup>5</sup>*O.V.*, II, pp. 261-2.

<sup>6</sup>*O.V.*, IV, pp. 138-9.



Domesday Book, he was considered to have authority in Gwynedd by the king in 1086.<sup>1</sup> Orderic includes Robert among the rebels against William Rufus in 1088.<sup>2</sup> He was murdered by the Welsh in 1093, and buried at the abbey of St. Werburgh.<sup>3</sup> According to Professor David Crouch, Robert acted as a sort of deputy to Hugh.<sup>4</sup> Robert of Rhuddlan thus occupied an important place in Earl Hugh's administration. One interesting point is that Robert can be seen as a tenant-in-chief in Wales. His activities there seem to have been to an extent undertaken on his own initiative; Robert of Rhuddlan seems to have had a relationship with Earl Hugh, not only as a tenant but also a partner in dealing with Wales.

The gifts to the abbey of Saint-Evrault seems to be another evidence of the close connection between Hugh and Robert of Rhuddlan. Robert was probably from Tilleul-en-Auge (Saint-Georges-en-Auge: Calvados, cant. Saint-Pierre-sur-Dives),<sup>5</sup> close to Le Grand-Mesnil (Calvados, cant. Saint-Pierre-sur-Dives), the place of origin of the

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<sup>1</sup>Carr, *Medieval Wales*, p. 33. Landholding of Robert of Rhuddlan in Wales, WALES FD 2, FT 2, and also he held himself from the King North Wales, WALES G. He is examined in the previous chapter.

<sup>2</sup>This may have been because of his relation with Hugh of Grandmesnil, who joined the rebellion (Lewis, *English and Norman government*, p. 196).

<sup>3</sup>The date of the slaughter was discussed in O.V., IV, Introduction, pp. xxxiv-xxxviii. On the death of Robert of Rhuddlan, O.V., IV, pp. 134-146.

<sup>4</sup>Robert of Rhuddlan was in charge of the castle of Rhuddlan, O.V., IV, pp. 138-9. It seems that he had had no special title in his role in administering Cheshire. O.V., IV, p. xxxviii says that he acted as a sheriff. Crouch has suggested that Robert was a constable which was the chief administrator in the earldom (Crouch, 'The Administration of the Norman Earldom', pp. 74-7).

<sup>5</sup>Loyd, *Anglo-Norman Families*, p. 85.

Grandmesnil, the founder of the abbey.<sup>1</sup> Tilleul-en-Auge and Le Grand-Mesnil are not close to Avranches, but in the vicinity of Exmes, at which the Goz family had been vicomte and still maintained estates. Orderic notes that the relatives of Robert of Rhuddlan had strong connections with the abbey of Saint-Evroult and that he made gifts to the abbey.<sup>2</sup> Earl Hugh himself sent one of his natural sons, Robert, to Saint-Evroult to become a monk and donated land. All these grants appear in a charter confirmed by William the Conqueror in 1081, whose text is given by Orderic.<sup>3</sup>

Besides Robert of Rhuddlan, Rozelin, Osbern fitzTezzon, Baldric, Roger de Mélay, Brisard and Robert Pultrel made gifts to Saint-Evroult. Rozelin, Osbern fitzTezzon and Baldric of Lindsey appear in Domesday Book as under-tenants of Earl Hugh. Robert Pultrel, though not found in Domesday Book, made gifts to both the abbeys of St. Werburgh and Saint-Evroult, and the family of Pultrel were vassals of the earls of Chester. Orderic also records the Norman gifts of Robert of Rhuddlan and his tenant Hamo of Merston; Robert gave the church of Tilleul, Damblainville (Calvados, cant. Falaise), Le Tourneur (Calvados, cant. Bénv-Bocage).<sup>4</sup> These places are not very far from the Goz family's major bases, near Saint-Sever and Exmes. Among those who appear to have been as Robert's followers,<sup>5</sup> Osbern d'Orgères is also named by Orderic

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<sup>1</sup>Loyd, *Anglo-Norman Families*, p. 47.

<sup>2</sup>O.V., IV, pp. 136-137.

<sup>3</sup>O.V., III, pp. 238-9, IV, pp. 136-7.

<sup>4</sup>*C.E.C.*, nos. 1. 11; Loyd, *Anglo-Norman Families*, pp. 60, 85. Loyd identifies the place of origin of the Merston family as Damblainville.

<sup>5</sup>Razo the dean, Hugh de Mélay, William the butler, Roger fitzGiroire, Durand and Burnellus, Osbern d'Orgères and Walter the provost.

as a companion when Robert of Rhuddlan was murdered.<sup>1</sup> He was possibly from Orgères (Orne, cant. Gacé). Moreover, the church of Orgères is included in the gifts of Earl Richard to Saint-Evrault.<sup>2</sup> It is known that a William de Milly made gifts of churches in Milly (Manche, cant. Saint-Hilaire-du-Harcouët), Chaulieu (Manche, cant. Sourdeval-la-Barre) and *Lessardbois* (unidentified) to the abbey of Saint-Martin of Troarn under Earl Richard.<sup>3</sup> It is, therefore, likely that this William de Milly and the Mélay, who are named as Robert's followers, were relatives, who might have been from Milly near Avranches. As Orderic writes that Robert of Rhuddlan was a kinsman of Earl Hugh, then, it is possible that the gift to Saint-Evrault might have been performed through the connection with Robert of Rhuddlan and the Grandmesnil family. The gifts of Earl Hugh and Robert of Rhuddlan with other vassals to the abbey was made in c. 1081, and it was before Earl Hugh's foundation of Saint-Sever. It is interesting that no gift by Earl Hugh's other three major barons to Saint-Evrault; it suggests that Robert and his followers represent a small group among the Chester tenants drawn from the Hiésmois.

Compared to Robert of Rhuddlan, less is known about Hugh's other powerful tenants. Robert fitzHugh of Malpas held land in Cheshire, mainly in Broxton hundred. His other estates under Hugh were situated in Berkshire, Oxfordshire, Leicestershire and Nottinghamshire.<sup>4</sup> Unlike the three other major tenants of Earl Hugh, Robert fitzHugh

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<sup>1</sup>Osbern d'Orgères is a witness to the Robert of Rhuddlan's gift to Saint-Evrault (O.V., IV, pp. 138-9). For his presence when Robert was killed, O.V., IV, pp. 140-1.

<sup>2</sup>*C.E.C.*, no. 11. Earl Richard donated churches at Croisilles (Orne, cant. Gacé), Touquettes (Orne, cant. La Ferté Fresnel) and Orgères.

<sup>3</sup>*C.E.C.*, no. 9 (c. 1120); Sauvage, *Troarn*, pp. 357, 367.

<sup>4</sup>CHS 2/1-31, at £22/ 17s.; BKM 18/2, value unknown ; OXF 15/3, at £17; LEC 43/6, at £40; NTT 3/1-3, at £3/ 3s.; *H.K.F.*, II, pp. 22-5, 45f., 79f., 242-4.

seems to have held no estates from any other lord. Orderic names Robert fitzHugh with Robert of Rhuddlan, saying that both greatly harassed the Welsh.<sup>1</sup> Orderic's testimony indicates that Robert fitzHugh is likely to have been with Hugh and Robert of Rhuddlan in Cheshire from the very beginning. His landholding in Cheshire on the border area was the result of his involvement of the Welsh enterprise.

The place of origin of Robert fitzHugh is not clear. However, two of his own tenants bear toponymic names, that is, Fulk de *Baiunvilla* and Humphrey of the Cotentin. They held from Robert fitzHugh in Cheshire, and also held land directly from Earl Hugh in Huntingdonshire.<sup>2</sup> Humphrey's origins can be located only in the region of the Cotentin. The place name *Baiunvilla* can be found in Normandy in several regions, but it might be possible to identify this place as Banville (Calvados, cant. Ryes) among the Goz estates in the Bessin.

While Robert of Rhuddlan's and Robert fitzHugh's main purpose seems to have been to deal with the Welsh, William Malbank and William fitzNigel seem to have dealt with other neighbouring shires. William Malbank is called lord of Nantwich, since his main interests in Cheshire lay in Nantwich hundred, while he also held in Broxton, Eddisbury (South), Wirral and Northwich hundreds.<sup>3</sup> He also held small estates in

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<sup>1</sup>O.V., II, pp. 260-261.

<sup>2</sup>HUN 11/1, at £5 (Fulk); *H.K.F.*, II, p. 26, identifies this Fulk as Fulk de *Baiunvilla*. A Fulk held from Robert fitzHugh of Malpas in Cheshire (CHS 2/19, at 8s.), who is also likely to be the same person. As for Humphrey, HUN 11/2, at £4 (Humphrey); *H.K.F.*, II, p. 27 identifies this Humphrey as tenant of Robert fitzHugh of Malpas and ancestor of the family of Costentin. He held land from Robert fitzHugh in Cheshire as well (CHS 2/18, 21, at 9s.).

<sup>3</sup>CHS 8/1-45, at £24/ 19s. Also he held the wich, which was at a revenue of £10. (CHS S1/7).



Wales.<sup>1</sup> He held from Earl Roger of Shrewsbury in Staffordshire, which came into the Chester fee later.<sup>2</sup> Reginald de Bailleul, the sheriff of Shrewsbury and one of the prominent tenants of Earl Roger of Shrewsbury, held from Earl Hugh in Cheshire estates valued at £1.<sup>3</sup> William fitzNigel held land in the northern part of Cheshire, mainly in Bucklow (East and West) hundred,<sup>4</sup> and only a small amount of land in Wales.<sup>5</sup> He held some land from Roger the Poitevin neighbouring his own estates in Cheshire. His other main estates in Oxfordshire, Lincolnshire, and others are as described before.<sup>6</sup>

These four major tenants in Cheshire and Hugh fitzNorman were allocated lands across a wide area of England throughout Earl Hugh's scattered estates. Below these top rank under-tenants, some lesser tenants held estates both in Cheshire and outside under Hugh. They usually seem to have held in only one shire other than Cheshire. In Lincolnshire, Baldric of Lindsey, Hugh fitzOsbern and Osbern fitzTezzon appear as this type of tenant. Baldric of Lindsey held estates in Lincolnshire and one manor in

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<sup>1</sup>WALES, FD3/1-2, at £1. His other estates, WIL 22/1,5, at £5; DOR 27/2-11, at £27; BKM 13/4, at £9; SOM 18/1-3, at £5/ 15s.; *H.K.F.*, II, pp. 16-8, 284-8.

<sup>2</sup>STS 8/28-30; *H.K.F.*, II, pp. 261-2.

<sup>3</sup>CHS 22/1-2, at £1/ 9s.

<sup>4</sup>CHS 9/1-29, at £16/ 5s. His estates includes considerable 'waste'.

<sup>5</sup>WALES FD4/1, at 4s.

<sup>6</sup>OXF 15/2, at £30; LIN 13/10-20, at £30; *H.K.F.*, II, pp. 193-5, 201-3, 250-4. Lewis suggests that some unidentifiable William who held Drayton in Berkshire (BRK 18/1, at £2/ 10s.; *H.K.F.*, II, pp. 21f.) might be William fitzNigel, also a William who held Bungay in Suffolk (SFK 4/19, at £8; *H.K.F.*, II, pp. 233-5) might be William Malbank or fitzNigel (Lewis, 'Formation', p. 59).

Eddisbury (South) hundred in Cheshire from Earl Hugh.<sup>1</sup> He also made a gift to Saint-Evrault.<sup>2</sup> Hugh fitzOsbern held lands in Lincolnshire and in Cheshire, in Chester, Broxton, Maelor Cymraeg and Eddisbury hundreds from Earl Hugh and also in Wales.<sup>3</sup> He also attests the foundation charter of St. Werburgh.<sup>4</sup> He attests again with his son Osbern Meschin and brother William in the re-confirmation of these earlier gifts by Earl Richard in 1119.<sup>5</sup> This gift to St. Werburgh was renewed again by Earl Ranulf I.<sup>6</sup> Osbern fitzTezzon held land in Lincolnshire and Cheshire, and also held some in Wales as well.<sup>7</sup> He might have been the father of Hugh fitzOsbern, or, at least they were likely to be relatives.<sup>8</sup> Loyd identified the place of his origin as La Roche-Tesson (Manche, cant. Percy, comm. La Colombe).<sup>9</sup> He appears as Osbern fitzTezzon of Newball in the record

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<sup>1</sup>LIN 13/22-3, 31-2, 39-40 and possibly 4/76 under Odo Bishop of Bayeux. His estates in Lincolnshire are valued at £8/ 5s. *H.K.F.*, II, pp. 117f.; CHS 15, at £2.

<sup>2</sup>*C.E.C.* nos. 1 (cited from O.V.), 11 (later confirmation of Earl Ranulf I of Chester. Baldric of Lindsey donated "Forefort" "Oxtcunde". *C.D.F.*, no. 636) .

<sup>3</sup>See map 5.6. LIN 13/41-3, at £9 and unknown; CHS 12/1-4, at £1/ 6s., 16/1-2, at £1/ 10s. and unknown, WALES FD 5/1-3, at £2/ 15s.; *H.K.F.*, II, pp. 127-9.

<sup>4</sup>*C.E.C.*, no. 3.

<sup>5</sup>*C.E.C.*, no. 8.

<sup>6</sup>*C.E.C.*, no. 3; *St. Werburgh*, no. 3. A reconfirmation version of Earl Richard, *C.E.C.*, no. 8; *St. Werburgh*, no. 5. By Earl Ranulf I, *C.E.C.*, no. 13; *St. Werburgh*, no. 6., *H.K.F.*, II, p. 125.

<sup>7</sup>See map 5.10. LIN 13/24-5, 33, 45, at £12 and unknown; CHS 24/1-9, at £3/ 16s., WALES FD 5/3, 6/1, at £2/ 10s.; *H.K.F.*, II, pp. 175f.

<sup>8</sup>*V.C.H., Chester*, I, pp. 313f.

<sup>9</sup>Loyd, *Anglo-Norman Families*, pp. 101f.

of the gift to Saint-Evrout by Earl Hugh and his men, giving the tithe of Newball.<sup>1</sup> Rozelin, a man of Earl Hugh, also made a gift to Saint-Evrout granting Stainton, which is next to Newball, the gift of Osbern fitzTezzon. Farrer suggests, on the basis of the succession to the estate, that Rozelin was from the Normanville family who had been enfeoffed by Osbern or his successors.<sup>2</sup> Another slightly lesser tenant, Joscelin Touchet, is known to have held lands in Cheshire, Derbyshire and possibly in Rutland.<sup>3</sup> Though his name is only written as Joscelin in Domesday Book, he appears as the grandfather of Henry Touchet in the charter of Earl Ranulf II.<sup>4</sup>

In Oxfordshire, Walter de Vernon and Robert d'Oilly, above-mentioned tenants-in-chief are notable tenants along with William fitzNigel. According to Loyd, the origin the Vernons was Vernon (Eure, cant. Vernon).<sup>5</sup> He made a gift to St. Werburgh with Richard de Vernon.<sup>6</sup>

In East Anglia, besides Roger Bigod, Ranulph de Mesnilwarin, Richard de Vernon, Warin fitzBurnwin, Hugh fitzNorman and Bigod des Loges are tenants of Earl Hugh. In

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<sup>1</sup>*C.E.C.*, no. 1; reconfirmed version by Earl Ranulf I, no. 11; *O.V.*, III, pp. 238-9; IV, pp. 136-137.

<sup>2</sup>*H.K.F.*, II, p. 176. The Normanville family is probably from Normanville (Seine-Maritime cant. Argueil, comm. Le Mesnil-Lieubray) (Loyd, *Anglo-Norman Families*, pp. 73f).

<sup>3</sup>See map 5.8. DBY 4/2; RUT 6/16. *ELc/4* (LIN 13/38); *CHS*, 1/1, 19/1-3, at £1/ 10s; *H.K.F.*, II, pp. 28-32, 254f. Farrer identifies these Joscelin as the member of the family of Tushet or Touchet.

<sup>4</sup>*C.E.C.*, no. 85.

<sup>5</sup>Loyd, *Anglo-Norman Families*, p. 110, though there is no mention about these Richard and Walter brothers.

<sup>6</sup>*C.E.C.*, no. 3; *St. Werburgh*, no. 3., commented at pp. 33, 35.

Domesday Book, Ranulph de Mesnilwarin held lands in Norfolk and in Cheshire, Wirral, Eddisbury, Bucklow (East and West) and Northwich hundreds.<sup>1</sup> His estates in Norfolk were in Weybourne and in Kelling, which were included the gift of Earl Hugh to the abbey of Saint-Sever.<sup>2</sup> Also, Roger de Mesnilwarin, who made Plumley (Cheshire) a gift to the abbey of St. Werburgh might be a son of Ranulph de Mesnilwarin.<sup>3</sup> Richard de Vernon was a brother of the Walter de Vernon mentioned above. Richard de Vernon held land in Norfolk and in Cheshire, mainly in Northwich hundred and in Nantwich, Broxton, Wirral, and Macclesfield hundreds.<sup>4</sup> The land of Bigod des Loges lay in Suffolk and in Cheshire.<sup>5</sup> He was also one of the attestors named in the foundation charter of St. Werburgh.<sup>6</sup>

In Dorset, only Gilbert de Venables is found among the group of those who held both inside and outside Cheshire apart from William Malbank. His estates can be identified laying in Dorset and Cheshire.<sup>7</sup> Tait has suggested that he came from Venables

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<sup>1</sup>NFK 6/2-3, at £10, CHS 20/1-12, at £4/ 2s. and unknown; *H.K.F.*, II, pp. 227-229.

<sup>2</sup>*H.K.F.*, II, p. 227; *C.D.F.*, I, p. 216.

<sup>3</sup>*C.E.C.*, no. 8; *St. Werburgh*, no. 5.

<sup>4</sup>NFK 6/1, at £4; CHS 5/1-14, at £6/ 13s.; *H.K.F.*, II, p. 232

<sup>5</sup>SFK 4/10-11, 13, at £5, CHS 14/1-13, 27/1, at £8/ 15s.; *H.K.F.*, II, p. 238 adds SFK 4/10-12 as his estates.

<sup>6</sup>*C.E.C.*, no. 3.; *St. Werburgh*, no. 3.

<sup>7</sup>DOR 27/1, at £7; CHS 17/1-12, 18/1-6, at £8/ 17s. and unknown; *H.K.F.*, II, p. 286.



(Eure, cant. Gaillon).<sup>1</sup> Gilbert de Venables is known to have donated the church of Astbury (Cheshire) to St. Werburgh.<sup>2</sup>

In contrast to other shires, in Wiltshire Hamo de Massey held estates which were more valuable than those of one of the four main tenants, William Malbank, who held land there worth £5. Hamo held land in Wiltshire and in Cheshire, in Bucklow and Macclesfield hundreds, and also in Wales.<sup>3</sup> The tithes of his holdings in Burcombe, Eilsford and Fissberton (all in Wiltshire) were given to the abbey of Saint-Sever by Earl Hugh.<sup>4</sup> His origin is probably in Macey (Manche, cant. Pontorson).<sup>5</sup> In addition to that, 'Hugh Maci' is found holding some land in Bickton (Hampshire) from Hugh in 1086, which were also given to Saint-Sever by Hugh.<sup>6</sup> This Hugh Maci and Hamo de Massey are the same person.<sup>7</sup> He attests the foundation charter of St. Werburgh, though he does not appear to have made a grant to the abbey.<sup>8</sup>

A possible relative of William Malbank seems to have granted Gouberville

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<sup>1</sup>Tait, *Domesday Survey of Cheshire*, p. 54.

<sup>2</sup>*C.E.C.*, no. 3; *St. Werburgh*, no. 3.

<sup>3</sup>See map 5.5. WIL 22/2, 4, 6, at £9; CHS 13/1-7, at £2/ 10s., WALES FD7/1-2, at 15s.; *H.K.F.*, II, p. 288.

<sup>4</sup>*H.K.F.*, II, p. 289.

<sup>5</sup>Loyd, *Anglo-Norman Families*, pp. 61f.

<sup>6</sup>Bickton is held by "Hugh Mascy" HAM 22/1; *H.K.F.*, II, pp. 288, 292; *C.D.F.*, I, p. 216.

<sup>7</sup>Lewis, 'Formation', p. 60.

<sup>8</sup>*C.E.C.*, no. 3.

(Manche, cant. Saint-Pierre-Eglise) to the abbey of Saint-Martin of Troarn.<sup>1</sup> Also another Maubenc granted Béný-Bocage (Calvados, cant. Béný-Bocage) to the same abbey. Sauvage has identified the Maubenc as lords of Béný.<sup>2</sup> Among William's tenants in Cheshire, Richard de Presles is probably from the Presles (Calvados, cant. Vassy).<sup>3</sup> The family of Presles seems to have had quite a close relationship with the family of earls of Chester; Adam de Presles made gifts to the abbey of St. Werburgh under Hugh.<sup>4</sup> Also it can be considered that Roger de Presles held Colomby-sur-Thaon (Calvados, cant. Creully) from Earl Hugh.<sup>5</sup> Ranulf de Presles made a considerable gifts to the abbey of Saint-Martin of Troarn, granting Le Désert (Calvados, cant. Vassy), Burcy (same canton), Campagnoles (Calvados, cant. Saint-Sever), probably Montchamp (Calvados, cant. Vassy) and some unidentified place.<sup>6</sup> The Presles family in England might have followed William Malbank and settled in Barthomley in Cheshire.<sup>7</sup> This family might have been the tenant both of vicomtes of the Avranchin and the Malbank, who might also have been tenants of Roger de Montgommery in Normandy. Ranulf de Presles was

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<sup>1</sup>"Alvered Malbeuhenc" granted land in Gouberville to the abbey of Saint-Martin of Troarn (Sauvage, *Troarn*, pp. 349, 355, 362, 372, 378).

<sup>2</sup>Sauvage, *Troarn*, p. 159.

<sup>3</sup>Loyd, *Anglo-Norman Families*, p. 83.

<sup>4</sup>*C.E.C.*, no. 8.

<sup>5</sup>*Abbayes Caennaises*, no. 27, p. 139.

<sup>6</sup>Sauvage, *Troarn*, pp. 366f.; *C.E.C.*, no. 9.

<sup>7</sup>Gift to Troarn; *C.E.C.*, no. 9; Richard de Presles attested the gift of Hugh Malbank, *C.E.C.* no. 28. Barthomley was held by William Malbank (CHS 8/30).

succeeded by his nephew, Alured de Combray (Calvados, cant. Thury-Harcourt), who frequently appears in the charters of the earls of Chester, as do his descendants. Considering the place of origin, Hamo de Massey also might have been connected to William Malbank and Earl Hugh. Hamo de Massey and William Malbank were dominant figures in south-western England, and as their estates were neighbouring, it may be possible to assume the relationship between the two.

The refoundation of the abbey of St. Werburgh is described by Eadmer, who was close to St. Anselm, who helped Earl Hugh with the project.<sup>1</sup> The foundation charter of the abbey of St. Werburgh is sometimes called 'Sanctorum prisca' citing its first two words.<sup>2</sup> The charter contains a considerable number of gifts from Earl Hugh and countess Ermentrude first, then, the names of his men follow as witness. The persons who are listed as grantors are William Malbank, Robert fitzHugh of Malpas, Hugh fitzNorman and his brother Ralph, Richard de Vernon, Richard de Roullours, Billeheld, wife of Baldric of Lindsey, Ralph the Hunter, Hugh de Mara, Robert fitzSerlo, Nigel de Burcy, Ralph, son of Ermewine, Robert de Tremons, Wascelinus, nephew of Walter of Vernon, Scirard, Gilbert de Venables, Geoffrey de Sartes, Richard de Mesnilwarin, Robert Pultrel and Walter de Vernon. Many of them appear as Domesday tenants of Earl Hugh and have already been described above.<sup>3</sup> The origins of some of the others can be traced.

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<sup>1</sup>*H.N.*, pp. 27-9; *St. Werburgh*, pp. xxii-xxv.

<sup>2</sup>*C.E.C.*, no. 3. Barraclough concludes that this charter is far from genuine, however, it should be treated as a compilation with information derived from some authentic documents. Also Tait has examined it in detail (*St. Werburgh*, no. 3).

<sup>3</sup>Robert of Rhuddlan had already died and his Domesday estates had been already transferred to Earl Hugh. *O.V.*, IV, p. xxxvi referring to this charter to decide the day of Robert's death.

Richard de Roullours was probably from Roullours (Calvados, cant. Vire).<sup>1</sup> He was the son of Ilbert, a lesser Domesday tenant in Cheshire. Nigel de Burcy (Calvados, cant. Vassy) was the son of Nigel who held estates in Cheshire.<sup>2</sup> Also, Burcy was given by Ranulf de Presles to the abbey of Saint-Martin of Troarn.<sup>3</sup> Hugh de Mara (Delamere), a lesser Domesday tenant in Cheshire,<sup>4</sup> might have been from La Mare (*Mara*, Manvieu: Calvados, cant. Tilly-sur-Seulles), which was held of bishop of Bayeux.<sup>5</sup>

In addition, the possible origins of several persons only known from this charter can be suggested. William de Berneres, who attested the gift of Robert fitzHugh, might have been from Bernières-sur-Mer (Calvados, cant. Douvres).<sup>6</sup> Richard de Briceio, attested the gift of Robert de Tremons (origin unknown), might have been from Brécý (Calvados, cant. Creully), which was included in the gift of the Goz family to the priory of Saint-Gabriel.<sup>7</sup> Geoffrey de Sartes is a donor giving tithes in Wightreston (Cheshire,

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<sup>1</sup>Loyd, *Anglo-Norman Families*, p. 86. Richard de Roullours is also known to have made a gift to Saint-Etienne of Caen at Grainville-sur-Odon (Calvados, cant. Tilly-sur-Seulle), which Hugh de Rosel held from him (*Abbayes Caennaises*, nos, 11, 27).

<sup>2</sup>CHS 25/1-3, at £2/ 5s./ 4d. *St. Werburgh*, p. 34.

<sup>3</sup>Sauvage, *Troarn*, p. 157; *C.E.C.*, no. 9; Loyd, *Anglo-Norman Families*, p. 62.

<sup>4</sup>CHS 10/1-4, at £1/ 7s./ 4d.

<sup>5</sup>Navel, 'L'enquête de 1133', pp. 21, 38 (179).

<sup>6</sup>Loyd, *Anglo-Norman Families*, p. 14; it was also held from Bishop of Bayeux (Navel, 'L'enquête de 1133', p. 17).

<sup>7</sup>*C.E.C.*, no. 3. However the descendants of this family have not been traced so far.



Nantwich hundred) with the witness of William Malbank as his lord.<sup>1</sup>

Some of Earl Hugh's tenants appear to have been Bretons. In her study of the Bretons who came to England after the Norman Conquest, Dr. Katharine Keats-Rohan has suggested that a group of Bretons settled in England under Count Robert of Mortain and Earl Hugh,<sup>2</sup> and that both groups had established themselves in lower Normandy before the Conquest. Orderic also mentions Odo, son of Arnulf of Dol, who was the chaplain to Hugh.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>*C.E.C.*, no. 3., *St. Werburgh*, no. 3, pp. 20, 36. His origin is suggested as being Vienne by Keats-Rohan, 'The Prosopography of Post-Conquest England', p. 24, but no clear evidence mentioned.

<sup>2</sup>K. S. B. Keats-Rohan, 'The Bretons and Normans of England 1066-1154: the family, the fief and the feudal monarchy', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 36 (1992), pp. 42-78, at p. 54.

<sup>3</sup>*O.V.*, III, pp. 118-9. Dol: Ille-et-Villaine, cant. Dol (Loyd, *Anglo-Norman Families*, pp. 37f).

#### 4. Conclusion

Although it is impossible to grasp the whole structure of Earl Hugh's management of his estates and community, as examined in this chapter, several notable features can be pointed out. Earl Hugh's distribution of his estates looks widely varied for the first sight. A strategy, however, existed, which was a result of necessity, the result of managing in the local situation, i.e, competing or compromising with other powerful barons in that area, and defence against the Welsh or pressure from the North. As the concentration of a large portion of his demesne indicates, Earl Hugh's direct concerns seem to have been concentrated in the north Midlands, namely, in Cheshire, Lincolnshire and Leicestershire. Neighbouring shires provided room to expand; William Rufus's grants to Earl Hugh in Staffordshire is an example of this phenomenon.

His policy of distribution was to have his most powerful barons administer specific areas by subinfeudating relatively concentrated and valuable estates. This appears similar to the way in which William the Conqueror organized land grants throughout England. William Malbank, Robert of Rhuddlan, Robert fitzHugh of Malpas and William fitzNigel of Halton held concentrated estates and several notable manors, probably with their own men or related tenants. The very valuable estates held by Hugh fitzNorman were situated in the coastal areas of Yorkshire and Suffolk. This may have been because he was expected to defend these vulnerable regions.

As many followers held land in Cheshire, it was certainly the most important shire for Earl Hugh, and was a centre of the network of Earl Hugh and his vassals. It was not exclusive, however. Robert of Rhuddlan might be considered to have a direct connection with the king as a tenant-in-chief, though the situation in Wales might have been different from that in England. His position in the network of Earl Hugh's tenants therefore seems

to have been different, showing independence in the Welsh affairs and initiative in the gifts to Saint-Evrault. His and Hugh's families were landholders in the Hiésmois; it is likely that collaboration between these two powerful men goes back to a relationship formed in Normandy, and which, in religious terms, was focussed on the abbey of Saint-Evrault. Also the relationship with other powerful tenants-in-chief, namely William de Percy, Roger Bigod and Robert d'Oilly, seems to have been important to Earl Hugh's management of land and power.

The distribution of estates reveals not only connections between Earl Hugh and his tenants but also among the tenants themselves, though no simple pattern can be suggested. While there were some tenants from central or eastern Normandy, where the family of Earl Hugh does not seem to have had many lands, one of the characteristics of the followers of Earl Hugh seems to be that most of Hugh's English tenants were from western Normandy. According to Lewis, the explanation for the fact that a good number of Earl Hugh's tenants were from elsewhere than the Avranchin area might have been because, at the time of the Norman Conquest, Hugh had not become vicomte of the Avranchin and had gathered young cadets who still had not settled somewhere and were seeking estates.<sup>1</sup> However, it should be pointed out that a large number of them are from western Normandy, mainly from the region of Bayeux and the Avranchin. A connection with the region of Exmes is also probable. This indicates that Hugh drew his tenants from throughout the Goz lands in Normandy and that, contrary to Lewis's suggestion, participation in the network under Earl Hugh was influenced by an original relationship in Normandy. The influence of Odo bishop of Bayeux may also be discernible in the cases of Roger Bigod and Robert d'Oilly.

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<sup>1</sup>Lewis, *English and Norman government*, pp. 199f.

The cases of Robert of Rhuddlan and Hamo of Merston suggests that Norman relationships were still maintained in England. In addition to that, Hamo was called 'of Merston', suggesting that he was thought to have settled in England, even though his making a grant in Normandy shows that the connection with the duchy was still active. Even twenty years after the Norman Conquest, it can be assumed from the arrangement of the landholdings that relationships in Normandy influenced the formation of the group of people who held the estates in each particular area. It can be concluded that the main stream of the followers of Earl Hugh had some connection with the Goz family in Normandy. There are people who might have become domiciled in England, but the relation to Normandy still existed. Lewis has also pointed out that the grants to St. Werburgh suggest that Hugh and his tenants in Cheshire were strongly bound together as a group and to the land.<sup>1</sup> The notable thing is that none of Earl Hugh's four powerful barons bear Norman toponymic names. Robert of Rhuddlan and Roger fitzHugh of Malpas were called with the names of their main base. This evidence shows that some of Earl Hugh's tenants had formed strong attachment to England and that some of the families were apparently divided between England and Normandy, even though the evidence also indicates that connections with Normandy still remained.<sup>2</sup> It is not appropriate to say a family from Normandy had totally settled in England and had lost the connection with their origin. The important point is that Earl Hugh and his followers lived in a time of transformation.

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<sup>1</sup>Lewis, 'Formation', p. 55.

<sup>2</sup>J. C., Holt, 'What's in a name? Family nomenclature and the Norman Conquest', The Stenton Lecture 1981 (Reading, 1982) points out the importance of the toponymic names as suggesting the sense of tenure.



## Chapter IV.

### Earl Richard of Chester

#### 1. Introduction

After the death of Earl Hugh of Chester in the summer of 1101, his son Richard succeeded to the earldom of Chester and the vicomté of Avranches. Compared to his father's, Richard's career seems much less important in the history of the Anglo-Norman state. This is certainly because of his relatively short life, which ended in early death in the famous tragic accident of the White Ship in 1120. Richard's career started in 1101, just after Henry, the third surviving son of William the Conqueror, acquired the English Crown, and lasted through the first two decades of King Henry's reign. It might be questionable whether it is logical to say Earl Richard's 'political life' started, since he still must have been a child when he succeeded his father. Despite his youth, however, he attested several royal charters, and as the earl of Chester and vicomte of the Avranchin, a part of his own activity may be traced from the charters, donations and confirmations of the gifts to religious institutions, and also from narrative sources. Earl Richard lived in the time of reconstruction and transformation of the Anglo-Norman state, as it was rebuilt after King Henry's victory at the battle of Tinchebrai in 1106. This in due course was followed by a relatively stable time which saw the steady evolution of the system of government.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>On the government under Henry I in England, J. A. Green, *The Government of England under Henry I* (Cambridge, 1986).

The first part of King Henry's reign is occupied by his efforts to defend his newly acquired kingdom of England from his brother, Robert Curthose. For this imminent purpose, he had to secure the support of the powerful magnates. After the reconstruction of the Anglo-Norman state, the support of magnates still continued to be the crucial concern of King Henry. For him, how to manipulate, or cooperate with the magnates was one of the essential aspects of his successful rule.<sup>1</sup> His relationship with the family of the earls of Chester, therefore, may be taken as an interesting example in this aspect. Because of Earl Richard's immaturity, King Henry's attitude towards him and his position can be clearly discerned, in relation, for example, to his strategy for dealing with North Wales, which is an area through which Henry utilized his influence over the young earl effectively.

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<sup>1</sup>The relationship between King Henry I and the aristocracy has attracted many Anglo-Norman historians. The works of Professor Hollister and Dr. Green should above all be consulted.

## 2. Earl Richard of Chester

Earl Hugh of Chester seems to have had several illegitimate children, but Richard is his only known legitimate heir by his marriage to Ermentrude, daughter of Hugh of Clermont in Beauvaisis.<sup>1</sup> According to *Annales Cestrienses*, when Earl Hugh died in 1101, Richard was only seven years old.<sup>2</sup> Richard was, therefore, probably born in 1094.

Richard's first appearance in King Henry's surviving charters is in 1104, when he was around 10 years old.<sup>3</sup> It is naturally impossible to assume that Richard had already been recognised as an important magnate in a practical sense at so young age. However, it is notable that he was able to appear in a royal charter despite being only a small child. This indicates that Earl Richard might have been sent to the royal court under King Henry, who acted as his guardian. The charter's testimony is confirmed by William of Malmesbury's statement in his account of Count William of Mortain's attack on Earl Richard that Richard was under the guardianship of King Henry at that time.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>At least three illegitimate children are known: Robert, who became a monk at Saint-Evrout (O.V., III, pp. 236-239), Othuer, who seems to have become a tutor of William Aetheling (O.V., IV, pp. 304-305) and Geva, who married to Geoffrey Ridel, who perished in the White Ship wreck (C.E.C., no. 39). Orderic comments that Earl Hugh had many children by his concubines (O.V., II, pp. 262-263).

<sup>2</sup>*Annales Cestrienses*, or, *Chronicle of the Abbey of S. Werburg, at Chester*, ed. R. C. Christie, The Record Society for the publication of original documents relating to Lancashire and Cheshire, 14 (1887), 1101.

<sup>3</sup>*R.R.A.N.*, II, no. 677 (1104). Though the place of confirmation is not identified, as Orderic includes Richard with other powerful magnates who supported Henry in Normandy, he might have followed Henry to Normandy, or already been there (O.V., IV, pp. 36-37).

<sup>4</sup>*Erat ille tunc pro aetate parvulus, et regis fidei tutelaeque accommodatus* (W.M., G.R., II, p. 474).

*Brut y Tywysogyon* notes that after the death of Earl Hugh, 'king (Henry) because of remembrance and love of his father, set him in his father's place'.<sup>1</sup> Earl Richard is described with admiration by Orderic.<sup>2</sup> It might not be appropriate to take this glowing account of Earl Richard's character at the face value, however, because Orderic's description may well be best understood as an idealized image of a powerful young magnate close to King Henry might appear. Orderic's comment therefore confirms that Richard was one of King Henry's favourites.

It has been pointed out that King Henry's nephews, Stephen, Henry and Theobald of Blois, enjoyed King Henry's great favour.<sup>3</sup> Besides Earl Richard himself, his brothers, Othuer and Robert, though they were illegitimate sons of Earl Hugh, also seem to have been patronized by King Henry.<sup>4</sup> Other sons of a powerful magnate, the Beaumont twins, Robert and Waleran, were also Henry's favourites.<sup>5</sup> Like Earl Hugh,

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<sup>1</sup> *Brut*, (1099-1101).

<sup>2</sup> O.V., VI., pp. 304-305.

<sup>3</sup> King Henry's sister Adela's sons. For Stephen before his succession to the English crown, R. H. C. Davis, *King Stephen 1135-1154* (London, 1967), chap. 1; C. A. Newman, *The Anglo-Norman Nobility in the Reign of Henry I - The Second Generation* - (Philadelphia, 1988), p. 54 notes the closeness between Adela and Henry, and pp. 55, 133 suggests Henry's concern for 'the next generation'. *G.N.D.*, II, pp. 262-263 shows King Henry's promotion of his nephews.

<sup>4</sup> Othuer was the tutor of William king's son (O.V., VI, pp. 394-395) and Robert was promoted by King Henry from being a monk of Saint-Evroult to be abbot of Bury St. Edmunds, but he was soon deposed (O.V., V, pp. 296-299).

<sup>5</sup> King Henry's treatment of the sons of Robert of Meulan is studied by D. Crouch, *The Beaumont Twins* (Cambridge, 1984), pp. 3-13, where it is pointed out that King Henry's special concern was because of the importance of the Beaumont estates. Also the account that Robert and Waleran disputed with the cardinals at the court implies that they were carefully observed by King Henry (W.M., *G.R.*, II, p. 482).



their father Count Robert of Meulan had been the consistent supporter of King Henry.<sup>1</sup> These sons of powerful magnates were thus gathered at the royal court and closely taken care of by King Henry. As Charlotte Newman has pointed out, King Henry undoubtedly recognised the importance of the 'next generation', who might grow up to be his loyal supporters as their fathers had been.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, the importance of controlling these youths must also have been recognised, given the possibility that these young magnates might become as rebellious as Robert Curthose and his friends were against William the Conqueror.<sup>3</sup>

Earl Richard's second attestation to the royal charters is found in 1107, when he was 13 years old.<sup>4</sup> Undoubtedly because of his immaturity, Richard is not known to have been present at the battle of Tinchebrai in 1106.<sup>5</sup> Earl Richard's appearances in the royal charters become more frequent from 1113.<sup>6</sup> Now 19 years old, it is reasonable to assume that he was knighted at around this time. King Henry had stayed in Normandy

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<sup>1</sup>W.M., *G.R.*, II, p. 471. He took the side of Henry in 1101, when Duke Robert Curthose claimed England. Also at the council discussing the war against Normandy, Count Robert of Meulan appears as the first supporter of King Henry's will (O.V., VI, pp. 64-65).

<sup>2</sup>Newman, *The Anglo-Norman Nobility*, p. 55.

<sup>3</sup>Georges Duby has discussed the function of these young knights in the society, 'Youth in aristocratic society - Northwestern France in the twelfth century', in G. Duby, *The Chivalrous Society*, tr. by C. Postan (London, 1977), pp. 112-122.

<sup>4</sup>*R.R.A.N.*, II, no. 828 (1107, Aug. 1), probably at London.

<sup>5</sup>The battle of Tinchebrai is described mainly in O.V., VI, pp. 82ff.; *A.S.C.*, 1106; F.W., II, p. 55 (1106); H.H., pp. 452-455; *Hyda*, p. 307; W.M., *G.R.*, II, p. 475; *G.N.D.*, II, pp. 221-223.

<sup>6</sup>*R.R.A.N.*, II, nos. 1014 (1113, Feb. 11?), 1015 (1113, March 2, Avranches), 1015a (1113), 1019 (1113, March-June, Rouen Castle), 1023 (1113?). No. 1023 is King Henry's gift to Saint-Martin of Troarn and its cell or priory of Le Désert, to which Earl Richard also made gift in another version of charter. About this gift, *C.E.C.* no. 9 gives the date later than 1115, considering the dedication in 1115.

until late summer in this year. Orderic recounts in detail his visit to the abbey of Saint-Evrout in February of this year. In his account of Henry's confirmation of the abbey's charter, Earl Richard is named as one of the subscribers appearing next to Robert, count of Meulan, Henry's trusted adviser, suggesting an important position at court.<sup>1</sup> King Henry also seems to have visited to Avranches in this year; Earl Richard was with him.<sup>2</sup> 1113 was the year of the final settlement of the trouble in Normandy with which King Henry had been bothered since 1111.<sup>3</sup> He finally made peace with Louis VI of France and Count Fulk of Anjou, arranging the betrothal of William Aetheling and a daughter of Fulk.<sup>4</sup> Richard's frequent appearances in the royal charters in 1113 seem to suggest that he followed King Henry's itinerary relatively closely in this year.<sup>5</sup> Richard is likely to have been with Henry at Saint-Evrout and Le Bec in February, then Avranches, and after that, at Rouen in late spring. Richard's coming of age and the important situation which King Henry was confronting in Normandy suggest that Richard seems to have been gradually getting involved in the real court society, and ready for being one of Henry's strong supporters.

In 1114, Earl Richard appears in only one surviving royal charter, not as attestor

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<sup>1</sup>O.V., VI, pp. 174-175. The charter corresponding to this confirmation, *R.R.A.N.*, II, no. 1019 (1113, Rouen Castle).

<sup>2</sup>*R.R.A.N.*, II, no. 1015.

<sup>3</sup>*A.S.C.*, E, 1111.

<sup>4</sup>O.V., VI, pp. 180-181.

<sup>5</sup>According to the calculation by Newman, the number of Richard's attestation (5 times) in this year is exceeded by only two Henry's important officers, Hamo Dapifer (10 times) and Ranulf chancellor (7 times) (Newman, *The Anglo-Norman Nobility*, p. 185).

but as an addressee.<sup>1</sup> He is known to have been involved in King Henry's campaign in North Wales in the midsummer of that year.<sup>2</sup> It may be possible to assume that he felt threatened by the gradual expansion of Welsh princes, and had to deal with it. Richard again appears in several royal charters confirmed in 1115.<sup>3</sup> The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* records that this year Henry stayed in Normandy until July, and that during it he gathered his chief men in Normandy and had them do homage to his son William.<sup>4</sup> The dedication of a cell or priory of Le Désert, a dependency of Saint-Martin of Troarn, took place in this year, and King Henry and Earl Richard made a joint gift to it.<sup>5</sup> Barraclough has suggested that Henry and Richard might have been present at the dedication.<sup>6</sup> Le Désert is in the vicinity of Presles, close to the earl's area of influence. Another two attestations of royal charters in this year show that Earl Richard followed King Henry to England, and that he was present at the great council at Westminster in September.<sup>7</sup>

Earl Richard's marriage to the king's niece Matilda also shows King Henry's serious concern to advance the young earl. *Annales Cestrienses* dates the marriage to

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<sup>1</sup>*R.R.A.N.*, II, no. 1063 (1114, Sept. 13, Westbourne).

<sup>2</sup>*The History of G. ap C.*, pp. 150-151; *Brut*, (1111-1114); *A.S.C.*, E, 1114.

<sup>3</sup>*R.R.A.N.*, II, nos. 1088a (1115, dedication of the cell of Saint-Martin of Troarn, related to no. 1023), 1091 (1115, Sept. 16, Westminster), 1102 (1115, Dec. 28, St. Albans).

<sup>4</sup>*A.S.C.*, E, 1115.

<sup>5</sup>*C.E.C.*, no. 9; *R.R.A.N.*, II, no. 1088a.

<sup>6</sup>*C.E.C.*, no. 9.

<sup>7</sup>*R.R.A.N.*, II, nos. 1091 (1115, Sept. 16, Westminster), 1102 (1115, Dec. 28, St. Albans).

1115.<sup>1</sup> This seems to have followed soon after Earl Richard's coming of age, as mentioned above. Matilda was the sister of Theobald and Stephen of Blois, and the daughter of Stephen count of Blois and King Henry's sister, Adela.<sup>2</sup> As Henry took care of Adela's sons very well, Matilda's marriage would have been a part of Henry's intention further to strengthen the network. The marriage linked Richard into the very highest level of northern French aristocratic society. Unfortunately, though, Matilda died young with Earl Richard in the White Ship, without a heir.

Several important events which would decide the future of the Anglo-Norman state were occurred during these years after the suppression of the disturbances in Normandy: the formal designation of the heir of the kingdom in Normandy and in England,<sup>3</sup> the marriage of Matilda to Henry V of Germany,<sup>4</sup> and also of William Aetheling to the daughter of Fulk of Anjou.<sup>5</sup> As far as the situation around Earl Richard was concerned, the relationship with North Wales was established in a sense after the campaign in 1114, the situation of western Normandy had been settled after the battle of Tinchebrai and Earl Richard's adulthood started with a marriage which further cemented this relations with the ruling family. Richard was probably nine years older than William Aetheling and four years younger than Robert of Gloucester;<sup>6</sup> the brothers of Stephen of Blois, Theobald and

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<sup>1</sup>*Annales Cestrienses*, 1115.

<sup>2</sup>O.V., VI, pp. 314-315.

<sup>3</sup>A.S.C., E, 1115 ; F.W., II, p. 69 (1116).

<sup>4</sup>F.W., II, p. 67 (1114). She had already been in Germany for several years.

<sup>5</sup>O.V., VI, pp. 180-181.

<sup>6</sup>C.P., XI, App. D, p. 106.



Henry also belonged to similar age group. Henry presumably intended to bring up these youths to form a group of supporters of his own son William.

King Henry's influence over Earl Richard continued throughout Richard's life, even after his coming of age. Royal favour naturally consisted not only of friendship, but also of political support. King Henry would have expected to exercise influence over the administration of the earldom as the guardian of the earl. It is not always clear how King Henry exercised his guardianship inside the earldom. However, a charter might be an example.

A knight Drogo of Ardley fell ill and retired to the church of Abingdon, then made a gift to that church of a hide at South Weston, Oxfordshire, and also quittance of Roger son of Ralph of all service from the land.<sup>1</sup> Earl Hugh himself is also known to have sold Shippon in Berkshire in the reign of William Rufus to the same abbey.<sup>2</sup> Drogo held that land from Nigel d'Oilly, who held it from the earl of Chester. Nigel was the son of Robert d'Oilly, who was Earl Hugh's Domesday tenant in Oxfordshire. The interesting point is that the gift seems to have been confirmed by Nigel and king Henry in 1105, and Earl Richard and his mother in 1106.<sup>3</sup> It was when Earl Richard had not yet been knighted, and his mother Ermentrude was involved in the confirmation. In the royal charter, Earl Richard's confirmation is not mentioned, but those of Nigel, the direct lord, and King Henry are. It seems that the royal confirmation of the gift was important for the

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<sup>1</sup>On this land and the descendants of Drogo, *H.K.F.*, II, pp. 244-248.

<sup>2</sup>*H.K.F.*, II, p. 22; BRK 7/7 ; *Chronicon Monasterii de Abingdon* , ed. J. Stevenson, 2 vols. (R.S., 1858), II, pp. 19-20, 285; D. Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England* (Cambridge, 2nd. edn, 1963), p. 476, n. 5.

<sup>3</sup>*C.E.C.*, no. 6 (Abingdon, 13 May, 1106); *R.R.A.N.*, II, nos. 693 (Oct.? 1105, Aylesbury), 758 (1106, May 13- July 31, Romsey).

receiving side, at this stage, as well as the earl's as the future lord.<sup>1</sup>

The estates Earl Richard inherited from Earl Hugh were in two strategically important areas for the maintenance of King Henry's authority over the whole Anglo-Norman state, that is, western Normandy and the Welsh march. Henry's guardianship of the earl was therefore politically important for reasons beyond securing his influence over an important magnate. A suggestive event which emphasizes the situation in western Normandy is mentioned by William of Malmesbury. According to his *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, Count William of Mortain attacked the castles held by Earl Richard in the Avranchin. Count William's attack is mentioned in several sources, from which can be concluded that it perhaps took place in 1105.<sup>2</sup> According to William of Malmesbury, William of Mortain had rebelled because King Henry refused his claim to the earldom of Kent, which his uncle, Odo bishop of Bayeux, had once held.<sup>3</sup> William of Mortain was deprived of all of his English estates.<sup>4</sup> He became one of the most consistent supporters of Robert Curthose until he was finally defeated and captured at the battle of Tinchebrai. Since his possessions were close to both Avranches and Domfront, Earl Richard's estates and castles were very important to Henry, who visited Domfront and other his fortresses

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<sup>1</sup>*Chronicon Monasterii de Abingdon*, II, pp. 67-69, 109-111 contains the record of confirmation of the gift of Weston.

<sup>2</sup>W.M., *G.R.*, II, pp. 473-474; O.V., VI, pp. 58-59; A.S.C., E, 1104; H.H., pp. 453-454; F.W., II, p. 54 (1105). Only William of Malmesbury specifically notes the name of Earl Richard.

<sup>3</sup>W.M., *G.R.*, II, p. 476.

<sup>4</sup>A.S.C., E, 1104; F.W., II, p. 53 (1104). Both sources also mention William of Mortain's attack on King Henry in Normandy in 1105; A.S.C., E, 1105; F.W., II, p. 54 (1105).

in Normandy in 1104.<sup>1</sup> These circumstances probably explain Orderic's statement that King Henry was welcomed by Earl Richard and other magnates in Normandy, even though Richard was still a child.<sup>2</sup> It was when both Robert de Bellême and Count William of Mortain had become hostile to King Henry. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* notes that in 1105, Henry secured Caen and Bayeux, and other chief castles except those near the lands of William of Mortain.<sup>3</sup> As the guardian of Earl Richard, King Henry was able to utilize Earl Richard's estates in Normandy to defend and expand his power in Normandy. The troublesome situation in Normandy was usually caused by the intervention of neighbouring princes into the conflicts among magnates. Henry's reaction to these disturbances therefore heavily relied on securing powerful Norman magnates' support.<sup>4</sup>

Richard appears less frequently than his father had done in Welsh sources. There were two major campaigns against Wales in the reign of King Henry, in 1114, and, just after Richard's death, in 1121. The situation of the Welsh march is important in terms of the relationship between the earldom of Chester and King Henry. Since the Welsh could ally with rebels, the security of Wales and the Welsh march was necessary in order to

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<sup>1</sup>O.V., VI, pp. 56-57. However, the visit to Normandy in this year is somewhat uncertain. The charter confirmation indicates Henry seems to have stayed in England for rather long time (Stephanie Moores Christelow, 'A Moveable Feast? Itineration and the Centralization of Government Under Henry I', *Albion*, 28 (1996), pp. 187-228, at pp. 214f).

<sup>2</sup>O.V., VI, pp. 56-57.

<sup>3</sup>A.S.C., E, 1105.

<sup>4</sup>The seriousness of the Norman situation is demonstrated in Green, 'King Henry I and the Aristocracy of Normandy'; 'Lords of the Norman Vexin'.

keep England safe.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, the situation on the Welsh march seems to have still been politically fluid and to have been subject to further expansion by the Norman magnates. When Henry gained the English crown in 1100, the Welsh seem to have made no particular positive objection. This is probably because Henry's acquisition of the English crown was relatively smoothly accepted by the magnates in England at that time. In the reign of King Henry, the situation in North Wales should be examined separately from South Wales, where the Normans had already penetrated deeply.<sup>2</sup> In North Wales, on the other hand, direct Norman control did not exist to the same extent. As mentioned before, the Welsh princes, Gruffydd ap Cynan of Gwynedd and Cadwgn ap Bleddyn of Powys made peace with Earl Hugh of Chester as a result of 1098 campaign.<sup>3</sup>

Becoming guardian of young Earl Richard gave King Henry the chance to take the initiative in Welsh affairs himself.<sup>4</sup> It seems a meaningful coincidence that in 1102, just one year after the death of Earl Hugh, Robert de Bellême, earl of Shrewsbury, another prominent marcher earl and neighbour of the earldom of Chester, was removed from his earldom and charged with treason.<sup>5</sup> The sources imply that Henry persecuted Robert,

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<sup>1</sup>The situation in Wales in the view of the relationship with the Anglo-Norman state during the reign of Henry I has been examined generally by Professor R. R. Davies, 'Henry I and Wales', in *Studies in Medieval History presented to R. H. C. Davis*, eds. H. Mayr-Harting and R. I. Moore (London, 1985), pp. 133-147.

<sup>2</sup>Davies, 'Henry I and Wales', pp. 142-143.

<sup>3</sup>Examined in previous chapter. *The History of G. ap C*, pp. 142-149

<sup>4</sup>Davies, *The Age of Conquest*, p. 40.

<sup>5</sup>Robert de Bellême's rebellion in 1102 is described in detail in, O.V., VI, pp. 20-35. Dr. Thompson has suggested a new analysis of the career of Robert de Bellême, Thompson, 'Robert of Bellême Reconsidered'.



thus suggesting that the king intended to remove a strong magnate from the border area. The two campaigns in 1114 and 1121 were led by King Henry himself, and directed against North Wales, and presumably used Cheshire as their base.<sup>1</sup> Earl Richard took part in the campaign in 1114.<sup>2</sup> The campaign aimed to suppress Gwynedd and Powys. *Brut y Tywysogyon* mentions that Earl Richard accused Gruffydd ap Cynan and Goronwy ab Owain of encroaching on his lands. The description of the campaign in 1114 implies that Henry was trying to establish his personal superiority over North Wales.<sup>3</sup> Although Earl Richard is especially noticed as one of the leaders of the campaign, the result of 1114 campaign described in *Brut y Tywysogyon* may be regarded a settlement between King Henry and the Welsh princes. The significant point is that, in contrast to the earlier campaigns of Earl Hugh or Robert of Rhuddlan, it was King Henry who made peace with Welsh princes in the form of the king's peace, not Earl Richard.<sup>4</sup> The *History of Gruffydd ap Cynan* also gives a similar story of 1114.<sup>5</sup> In it, Earl Richard felt offended because Gruffydd ap Cynan increased his power gaining land and people without the earl's permission, then King Henry led the army into Gwynedd for the sake of Earl Richard's cause. The description in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* of

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<sup>1</sup>C. P. Lewis, 'Gruffudd ap Cynan and the Normans', in *Gruffudd ap Cynan: A Collaborative Biography*, ed. K. L. Maund (Woodbridge, 1996), pp. 61-77, at p. 66.

<sup>2</sup>A.S.C., 1114; *Brut*, (1111-1114); *Annales Cambriae*, 1114; *The History of G. ap C.*, pp. 150-153.

<sup>3</sup>*Brut* (1111-1114) says that Henry gathered the army from 'Cornwall and Deheubarth and French and Saxons from Dyfed', which implies his influence over South Wales.

<sup>4</sup>*Brut*, (1111-1114).

<sup>5</sup>*The History of G. ap C.*, pp. 150-153.

these events is very short but shows Henry's predominance: King Henry had castles built in Wales, and the Welsh kings became his vassals, swearing to ally him.<sup>1</sup>

The situation thus seems to have changed in Earl Richard's time. For the Welsh princes, Earl Richard was not the person to make peace with, although he may already have been knighted. King Henry took the initiative. In contrast to his father, or, the Norman nobles of his father's generation, it is not known whether Earl Richard himself was interested in taking the initiative in expanding his authority further into Wales.

While the Welsh sometimes cooperate with the Normans, the 'French' often mentioned in the Welsh narrative sources show the involvement of the Normans in the Welsh march in the internal politics of Wales. Among them, *Brut y Tywysogyon* particularly notes that the 'French' from Chester were asked to join the conflict between Hywel ap Ithel and sons of Owain ab Edwin ap Goronwy.<sup>2</sup> This occurred when King Henry was facing very difficult times in Normandy in 1118,<sup>3</sup> and when Earl Richard may have been in Normandy to assist him.<sup>4</sup> As in William Rufus's reign, serious Welsh disturbances occurred while the earl of Chester was away in Normandy. While this shows that Welsh internal conflicts had an impact on the Normans, it also suggests the importance of the earl's personal presence in his earldom.

Unlike his father and King Henry, it is difficult to discern Earl Richard's policies from the sources. In general, he seems to have followed his father's behaviour and

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<sup>1</sup>A.S.C., E, H, 1114.

<sup>2</sup>*Brut*, (1115-1118); *Annales Cambriae* also notes the conflict, *Annales Cambriae*, 1118.

<sup>3</sup>King Henry's itinerary has been re-examined by Moores Christlelow, 'A Moveable Feast?', at pp. 220-221.

<sup>4</sup>*R.R.A.N.*, II, no. 1183 (Oct., Arganchy)

therefore to have supported King Henry. Earl Richard's gifts to religious institutions show a similar pattern to those of Earl Hugh. While only four of his charters survive,<sup>1</sup> several of his gifts to the religious institutions can be traced from later evidence. Like his father and his successors, Earl Richard made grants to the abbey of St. Werburgh, the family foundation.<sup>2</sup> It is unlikely that Earl Richard ignored his father's Norman foundation, the abbey of Saint-Sever. Although no record of Earl Richard's own gifts to the abbey survives,<sup>3</sup> the abbots of Saint-Sever sometimes appear in the comital charters in later generations,<sup>4</sup> and the earls of Chester seem to have continued to make gifts to the abbey and to have kept up connection.<sup>5</sup>

Earl Richard's gift to Saint-Martin of Troarn was made on the occasion of the dedication of a priory of Le Désert, a dependency of Saint-Martin of Troarn, probably between 1115, the dedication of Le Désert and 1120.<sup>6</sup> In this confirmation, he and King Henry granted the church and tithes of the castle of Vire to the priory.<sup>7</sup> It seems

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<sup>1</sup>*C.E.C.*, nos. 6-9. No. 8 can be spurious.

<sup>2</sup>*C.E.C.*, no. 8 (Greetham, 1119), though Barraclough notes that it is possible to be spurious. It is, however, highly likely that Earl Richard made his own gifts and confirmed the gifts of his father, his barons and those of his father's.

<sup>3</sup>The only surviving charter of the earl of Chester is *C.E.C.*, no. 181 (1165-1173). As for the foundation of Earl Hugh, Musset, 'Saint-Sever', the confirmation of its possession, *C.D.F.*, I, no. 615.

<sup>4</sup>*C.E.C.*, nos. 92 (Donington, 1149-1151), 319 (1200).

<sup>5</sup>*H.K.F.*, II, pp. 102-103.

<sup>6</sup>Le Désert (Calvados, cant. Vassy). *C.E.C.*, no. 9 (c. 1120); Sauvage, *Troarn*, pp. 366-367; *R.R.A.N.*, II, pp. 327-329; *C.D.F.*, I, no. 477; they contain several different versions.

<sup>7</sup>Vire (Calvados, cant. Vire).

interesting that although these gifts were located very near to the abbey of Saint-Sever, another new religious institution was founded in the area. Richard, like his father, was also a benefactor of the abbey of Saint-Evrout.<sup>1</sup> His gifts included the churches of Byfield in England, Croisilles, Orgères and Touquettes, near Exmes in Normandy, not very far from Saint-Evrout.<sup>2</sup> Earl Richard's confirmation of his tenants' gifts to the newly established abbey of Savigny, not very far from Avranches, also survives.<sup>3</sup> There is also King Henry's confirmation charter of a gift to Vitalis, the founder of the abbey of Savigny in 1113, at Avranches, in which Richard appears as an attestor.<sup>4</sup> Richard may have followed King Henry's concern with the abbey. He may also have been supported a new, cistercian foundation which had developed close to his lands. It is curious that Earl Richard, like Earl Hugh, does not seem to have made any grants to the priory of Saint-Gabriel, though no obvious reason can be suggested. Generally speaking, Earl Richard seems to have retained the estates inherited from his father.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>*C.E.C.*, nos. 10 (1121-1125), 11 (1123-1128). His gifts were confirmed by Ranulf le Meschin later.

<sup>2</sup>*C.E.C.*, no. 11. Byfield (NTH), Croisilles, Orgères (Orne, cant. Gacé), Touquettes (Orne, cant. La Ferté-Frênel). The date of gift is not known, though it is possible that he followed Henry who made gift in 1113.

<sup>3</sup>Vengeons (Manche, cant. Sourdeval-la-Barre). *C.D.F.*, I, nos. 797, 824, 841; *R.R.A.N.*, II, no. 1973; *C.E.C.*, p. 18; Sauvage, *Troarn*, pp. 351, 381 (gift to Troarn). This seems somewhat complicated since several tenants appear to have held Vengeons from Earl Richard: Robert son of Martin and his wife, Ralf Guz and his nephew Robert Guz, and the Presles family. Also Vengeons appears to have been the place of the gift to Saint-Martin of Troarn.

<sup>4</sup>*R.R.A.N.*, II, no. 1015; *C.D.F.*, I, no. 792. On the establishment of the abbey of Savigny, Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England*, pp. 200-202.

<sup>5</sup>The evidence of surveys carried out in the reign of King Henry shows how the estates of the earl of Chester were kept under Earl Richard; *V.C.H., Northampton*, I (1902), pp. 357-392; *V.C.H., Leicester*, I (1907), pp. 339-354; *The Lincolnshire Domesday and the Lindsey Survey*, eds. C. W. Foster and T. Longley, Lincoln Record Society, 19 (1924) show that the estates recorded as held by Earl Richard



Though Earl Richard's later career appears even less clear, his involvement to royal affairs can be traced. The number of Richard's attestations of royal charters seems to show that Norman affairs were serious concerns to Earl Richard; there is a concentration of attestations in the years from 1113 to 1115.<sup>1</sup> However, the surviving charters confirmed in the years from 1116 to 1120 are less numerous.<sup>2</sup> Though he does not appear in surviving royal charters in 1116-1117 and 1119, during the second major period of disturbances in Normandy,<sup>3</sup> and Orderic does not especially mention Earl Richard's name among those who fought in the battle of Brémule in 1119,<sup>4</sup> Earl Richard is said by Orderic to have been loyal to King Henry with Ranulf vicomte of the Bessin, the future earl of Chester, during this troublesome time.<sup>5</sup>

In 1119, King Henry finally managed to settle the conflict with the count of Anjou by arranging the marriage between his heir William Aetheling and Matilda, the daughter of

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are well matched with those held by Earl Hugh in the Domesday Book, though some unidentified ones exist.

<sup>1</sup>Twelve of Richard's attestation to royal charters are known, and five in Normandy, and four in England.

<sup>2</sup>Mooers Christelow, 'A Moveable Feast?', Table A, pp. 194-195.

<sup>3</sup>The disturbances in Normandy after 1106, chiefly in 1111-1114, 1118-19, and 1123-24, have been examined by S. B. Hicks, 'The impact of William Clito upon the continental policies of Henry I of England', *Viator*, 10 (1979), pp. 1-21; Green, 'King Henry I and the Aristocracy of Normandy', pp. 161-173.

<sup>4</sup>O.V., VI, pp. 226-243.

<sup>5</sup>O.V., VI, pp. 222-223. Earl Richard's name is written first among the supporters as King Henry's liege magnate.

Count Fulk of Anjou.<sup>1</sup> Immediately after the disturbances in Normandy coming to an end in November 1120, Earl Richard was killed in the wreck of the White Ship, in which King Henry's son and heir William also lost his life.<sup>2</sup> Among the people who died in the same wreck, there were Earl Richard's wife Matilda, and Othuer, Earl Hugh's natural son and Geoffrey Ridel, who had married to Geva, an illegitimate daughter of Earl Hugh. Othuer may have been another of King Henry's favourites, since he is said to have been the tutor and guardian of William the king's son.<sup>3</sup> There are naturally many contemporary accounts about the White Ship disaster. In the accounts of this accident of the narrative sources, the name of Richard earl of Chester almost always comes first among the victims, after those William Aetheling and king's relatives.<sup>4</sup> This again highlights that Richard, the earl of Chester, was regarded as being especially close to the king. Moreover, it is possible that he and his brother were close friends of William Aetheling, future lord of the Anglo-Norman state. The accident must have deprived the realm not only of its heir, but also the likely close future supporters of the king.

Since Earl Richard had no heir, the earldom of Chester and vicomté of the Avranchin passed to Ranulf le Meschin, vicomte of the Bessin. As the son of Ranulf

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<sup>1</sup>O.V., VI, pp. 224-225.

<sup>2</sup>*R.R.A.N.*, II, no. 1233 (Nov. 21, 1120, Barfleur) shows the attestations of Earl Richard and Ranulf of Bayeux just before embarkation.

<sup>3</sup>O.V., VI, pp. 303-304; *W.M., G.R.*, II, p. 497.

<sup>4</sup>Orderic Vitalis describes the accident in detail, O.V., VI, pp. 294-307; *F.W.*, II, p. 74 (1120); *H.H.*, pp. 466-467; *G.N.D.*, II, pp. 218-219; *W.M., G.R.*, II, pp. 496-498; *A.S.C.*, E, 1120; *H.C.Y.*, pp. 164-165, and others.

vicomte of Bayeux and Earl Hugh's sister, he was Earl Richard's first cousin.<sup>1</sup> Ranulf appears to have been a loyal supporter of King Henry.<sup>2</sup> He abandoned the estates of his wife in England in exchange for the county of Chester.<sup>3</sup> Given the territorial closeness of the estates of the vicomte of Bayeux and Avranches in Normandy, it might have been understood as an intensification of Henry's influence over western Normandy. On the other hand, for King Henry, this succession may have strengthened Ranulf's power too much. Before the succession, he had already held vast English estates of Carlisle, and those in Lincolnshire because of his marriage to Lucy.<sup>4</sup> These estates in northern part of England were greatly enlarged when they absorbed the vast estates of the earldom of Chester. The estates held by Ranulf le Meschin and his brother William covered Cumberland.<sup>5</sup> Roger the Poitevin, a brother of Robert de Bellême, had held land in Lancashire but this had been confiscated in 1102.<sup>6</sup> The estates were then granted to a

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<sup>1</sup>O.V., VI, pp. 308-309. For this succession, J. C. Holt, 'Politics and Property in Early Medieval England', *Past and Present*, 57 (1972), pp. 3-52, chiefly pp. 51-2. The history and landholding of the family of vicomte of the Bessin has been examined by J. -M. Bouvris. (J. -M. Bouvris, *Les fiefs d'une famille vicomtale à l'époque ducale: Les vicomtes du Bessin (XIe - XIIe siècles)*, (Mémoire de Maîtrise (Caen, 1973), pp. 137-139 discusses the chronology of the family and the succession 1120.

<sup>2</sup>Support Henry at the battle of Tinchebrai, O.V., VI, pp. 84-85; support Henry in Normandy with Earl Richard, O.V., VI, pp. 222-223.

<sup>3</sup>O.V., VI, pp. 332-333. They were Liddel Strength, Irthington and Bolingbroke.

<sup>4</sup>H. A., Cronne, 'Ranulf de Gernons, Earl of Chester, 1129-1153', *T.R.H.S.*, 4th ser., 20 (1937), pp. 103-134, at 105-107.

<sup>5</sup>G. W. S. Barrow, 'The pattern of lordship and feudal settlement in Cumbria', *Journal of Medieval History*, 1 (1975), pp. 117-138, at 121-124.

<sup>6</sup>O.V., VI, pp. 32-33.

King Henry's favorite, Stephen of Blois, probably in or around 1113.<sup>1</sup> Besides submission of the control of Countess Lucy's estates, Ranulf le Meschin had to pay a considerable amount of money to succeed to the earldom.<sup>2</sup> Though it has been pointed out that the aristocratic families enjoyed relatively secure inheritance under King Henry I if they were loyal,<sup>3</sup> as Cronne has suggested, King Henry may have been aware of the possible danger of a large network running through in northern-middle part of England from east to west.<sup>4</sup> The newly formed large estates were neighbouring those of Stephen of Blois. While Henry did not refuse the succession which might expand his power both in Normandy and England, he exercised his authority to order Ranulf to hand over some of the estates in England which might have made room for King Henry.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Barrow, 'Cumbria', p. 122; J. A. Green, 'Earl Ranulf II and Lancashire', in *The Earldom of Chester and its Charters*, pp. 97-108, at pp. 99, 103-104.

<sup>2</sup>Green, *Government*, pp. 84-85; *The Pipe Roll of 31 Henry I*, ed. J. Hunter (London, 1833, rep. 1929), p. 110.

<sup>3</sup>R. DeAragon, 'The growth of secure inheritance in Anglo-Norman England', *Journal of Medieval History*, 8 (1982), pp. 381-391.

<sup>4</sup>Cronne, 'Ranulf de Gernons', pp. 106-107.

<sup>5</sup>The result of this succession gave a significant motivation to Ranulf aux Gernons and William de Roumare in the Anarchy of King Stephen's reign. As an recent study, P. Dalton, 'Aiming at the impossible: Ranulf II Earl of Chester and Lincolnshire in the Reign of King Stephen', in *The Earldom of Chester and its Charters*, pp. 109-134.



### 3. Conclusion

The life of Earl Richard was short and there is no notable activity taken on his own initiative. However, if it is examined from a general perspective, his career casts light on an important aspect of the government of King Henry and his relationship with the aristocracy. In general, quite apart from the royal guardianship, King Henry's attitude to Earl Richard seems to have been similar to his attitude to other prominent young magnates, like Stephen of Blois. However, the security of the earldom of Chester and the vicomté of the Avranchin was significant to King Henry. The bond built by Henry and Earl Hugh was definitely maintained. On the other hand, Henry did not overlook the opportunity to expand his power over these areas, not as before, through a powerful magnate like Earl Hugh, but by taking the initiative directly. Henry certainly tried to make his realm as strong as possible and create the conditions in which Richard would most likely have become a close supporter of his son William. The relationship constructed by King Henry with Earl Richard seems to have been strong enough to continue being influential after Earl Richard's coming of age, and it certainly contributed to King Henry's efforts to maintain the security of the Anglo-Norman state.

## Conclusion

The history of the Normans from the eleventh century in Normandy, through the Norman Conquest, to the period after the reconstruction of the Anglo-Norman state by King Henry is neither a steady evolution nor a simple expansion. It experienced a number of crises, disturbances, reconciliations and settlements, both inside and on the frontier areas of the state; all of these helped transform the Anglo-Norman state in various ways. During this complicated process, as has been examined, the family of the earl of Chester managed to maintain their prominence in the Anglo-Norman state, surviving the difficulties, such as the rebellion and exile of Thurstan, and the separation of England and Normandy. To maintain their position, their careful adjustment of the relationship with their lords - sometimes the duke, the king or King/Duke - must have played an important role. This can be seen, for example, in Normandy before the Conquest, when Thurstan rebelled and Richard was reconciled with the duke. This event also illustrates the process of the establishment of the power of Duke William, in that the duke utilized prominent local figures, while magnates, such as Richard Goz, also took advantage of supporting William.

The members of the family, chiefly Hugh, seem to have had quite clear reasons for their political decisions, namely, pursuing the direction which would best secure their estates and allow them to acquire more. This confirms what some previous studies have observed about the nature of the aristocrats of this period. Indeed the history of this family shows this characteristic in detail, with examples of their concerns with regional interests, such as expansion into Wales and their original estates in western Normandy,

which were of great interest to Hugh.

Though the earls of Chester bore the title of an English earl, and it dignified them, their relationship with the duchy of Normandy continued to exist, from its origin to long after the Norman Conquest. The situation obviously changed as time proceeded. While Professor Le Patourel has argued for the significance of understanding medieval English history from a much wider perspective, there is also room for further investigation of the history of Normandy as a principality in northern France and its relationships with neighbouring regions, as Professor Bates has discussed.<sup>1</sup> It seems that the situation in Normandy might have been more flexible and diverse. When considered in terms of the relations with England, the aristocracy in the Anglo-Norman state proves more diverse than the usual generalizations have suggested. Professor Crouch has discussed Norman colonisation focusing on local communities and considering more minor tenants, from the time of the Conquest to the reign of Henry I and pointed out that real cross-Channel magnates in the sense that Le Patourel suggested were rather a minority. As time proceeded, they settled in local English situations, behaving as local élites.<sup>2</sup> The significant point seems to me to be that the activity and concerns of the nobles in the Anglo-Norman state must have been defined not only by the frame of England and Normandy, but more strongly by local, or regional interests, no matter how they were situated in England or Normandy alone, or in both. The origins of the tenants of Earl Hugh suggest that their relationships in Normandy led to the creation of a network in England, but that it originated mostly from their relations with the Goz, and it was

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<sup>1</sup>D. Bates, 'The Rise and Fall of Normandy, c. 911-1204', is a helpful review on the study of Normandy and the Normans in that period, in *England and Normandy in the Middle Ages*, pp. 19-35.

<sup>2</sup>Crouch, 'Normans and Anglo-Normans', pp. 59-64.

regional. Earl Richard's position in the state was that of an already established magnate, and not of a member of the administrative aristocracy in the reign of King Henry I. His career shows how King Henry made use of the position of a strong magnate, a point demonstrated to especial effect in the Welsh march and the Avranchin. This seems to have been another example in which the local situation had a strong impact.



## Maps

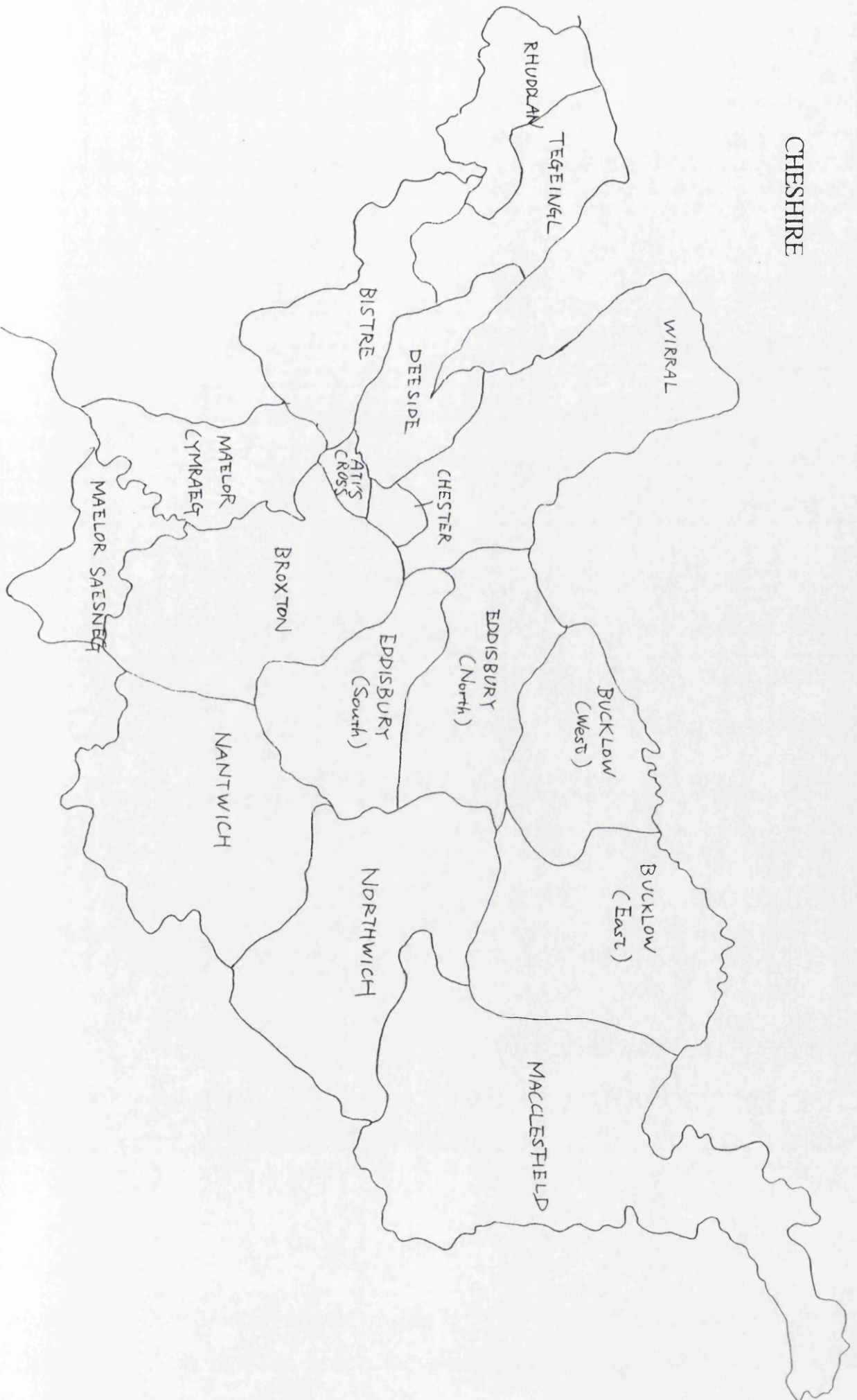
WALES



battle of Pwllgwdig: place not known

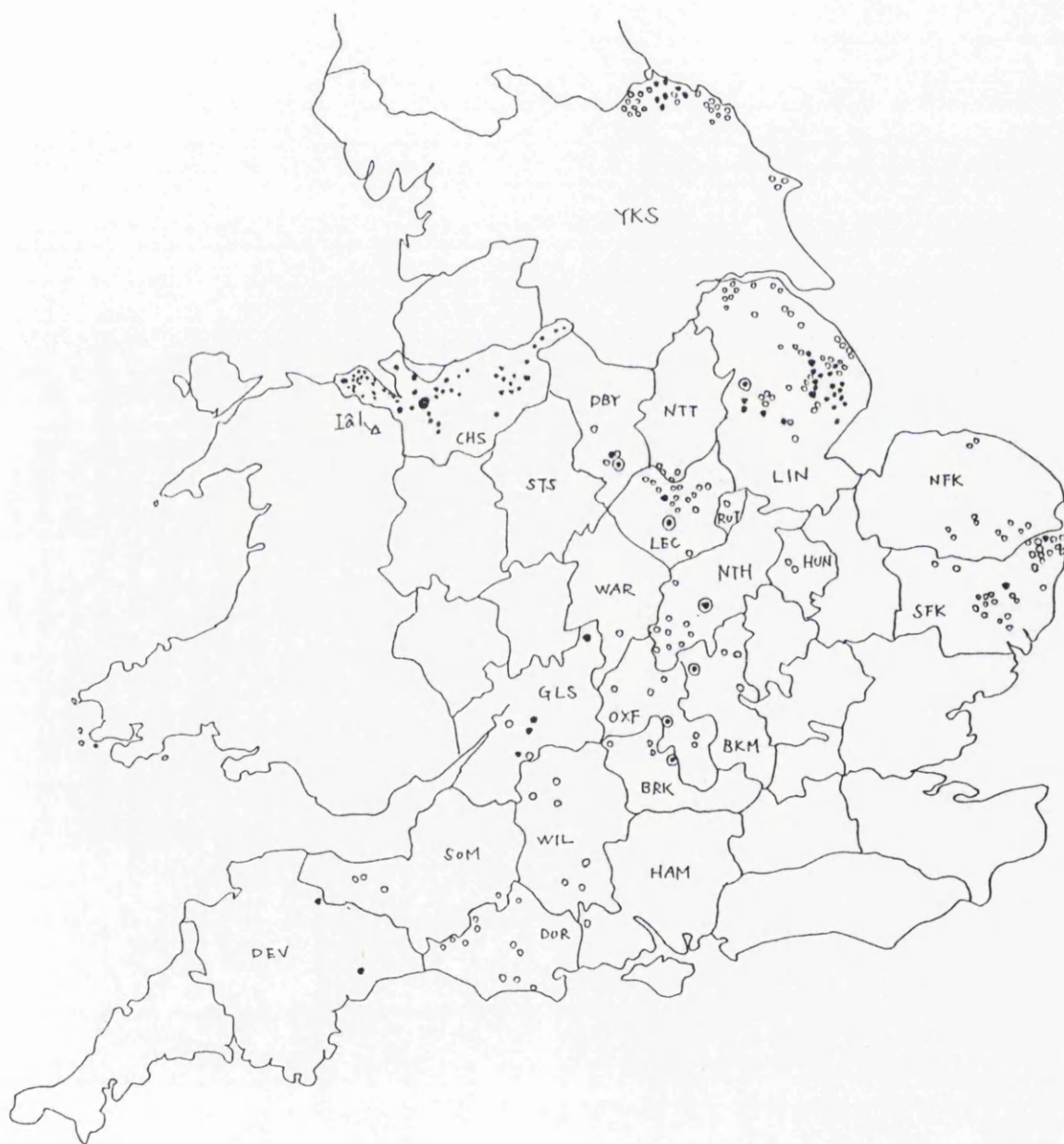
battle of Gwaet Erw: probably in Meirionydd

# CHESHIRE



# 1. Domesday Estates of Earl Hugh

- demesne
- subinfeudated
- ⊙ urban property





## 2. Normandy map keys

estates of the Goz family

source:

G: Saint-Gabriel pancarte S: Saint-Sever property 1133: Bayeux Inquest

possible places of origin of the tenants

other related place-names

### Calvados

- 1; Argouges-sur-Aure (Vaux-sur-Aure: Ryes = no. 50) G
- 2; Banville (Ryes)
- 3; Bény (Bény-Bocage)
- 4; Bernières-sur-Mer (Douvres)
- 5; Brécý (Creully) G
- 6; Brémoy (Aunay-sur-Odon) 1133
- 7; Burcy (Vassy) S
- 8; Campagnoles (Saint-Sever)
- 9; Chouvain (Balleroy) S
- 10; Colomby-sur-Thaon (Creully)
- 11; Combray (Thury-Harcourt)
- 12; Condé-sur-Seulles (Balleroy) G
- 13; Courson (Saint-Sever) S
- 14; Creully (Creully) G
- 15; Damblainville (Falaise)
- 16; Le Désert (Vassy)
- 17; L'Épinay-Tesson (Cartigny-l'Épinay: Isigny-sur-Mer) 1133
- 18; Eterville (Evrecy)
- 19; Fontaines (Isigny) 1133
- 20; Le Fresne-Camilly (Creully?) 1133
- 21; Fresné-le-Crotteur (Saint-Gabriel: Creully) G
- 22; Le Grand-Mesnil (Saint-Pierre-sur-Dives)
- 23; Langrune (Douvres) G
- 24; Les Loges (Aunay-sur-Odon) S
- 25; Louvières (Trévières) 1133
- 26; La Mare (Manvieu: Tilly-sur-Seulles)
- 27; Martilly (Saint-Martin-de-Tallevende: Vire) S
- 28; Mesnil-Auzouf (Aunay-sur-Odon) S, 1133
- 29; Mesnil-Benoist (Saint-Sever) S
- 30; Mesnil-Caussois (Saint-Sever) S
- 31; Mesnilwarin (Saint-Sever?)
- 32; Meuvaines (Ryes) G
- 33; Montchamp (Vassy)
- 34; Mosles (Trévières) S
- 35; On (Saint-Martin-Don: Bény-Bocage) S
- 36; Ouilly-le-Basset (west of Falaise)
- 37; Presles (Vassy)

- 38; Ranville (Troarn) S
- 39; Roullours (Vire)
- 40; Rucqueville (Creully) G
- 41; Saint-Denis-Maisoncelles (Bény-Bocage) S
- 42; Saint-Manvieu-Bocage (Saint-Sever) S
- 43; Sainte-Croix-Grand-Tonne (Tilly-sur-Seulles) G
- 44; Saint-Marie-Laumont (Bény-Bocage) S
- 45; Sept-Frères (Saint-Sever) S
- 46; Tailleville (Douvres)
- 47; Tallevende (Vire) S
- 48; Tilleul-en-Auge (Saint-Georges-en-Auge: Saint-Pierre-sur-Dives)
- 49; Le Tourneur (Bény-Bocage) S
- 50; Vaux-sur-Aure (Ryes) S
- 51; Vienne-en-Bessin (Ryes)
- 52; Vierville-sur-Mer (Trévières) S
- 53; Vire (Vire)
- 54; Percy-en-Auge (Mézidon)

## **Manche**

- 1; Bouillon (Granville) S
- 2; Brectouville (Torigni) S
- 3; Chapelle-Cecelin (Saint-Pois) S
- 4; Chaulieu (Sourdeval-la-Barre)
- 5; Gatteville (Gatteville-le-Phare: Saint-Pierre-Eglise)
- 6; Gouberville (Saint-Pierre-Eglise)
- 7; La Lucerne (La Haye-Pesnel) S
- 8; Macey (Pontorson)
- 9; Milly (Saint-Hilaire-du-Harcouët)
- 10; Monteil (Saint-Pierre-Langers: Sartilly) S
- 11; Montbray (Percy) S
- 12; Morigny (Percy) S
  
- 14; La Roche-Tesson (La Colombe: Percy)
- 15; Saint-James-de-Beuvron (Saint-James) S
- 16; Saint-Jean-le-Thomas (Sartilly) S
- 17; Vengeons (Sourdeval)

## **Orne**

- 1; Champaubert (Villebadin: Exmes) S
- 2; Cisay-Saint-Aubin (Gacé) S
- 3; Clairefougère (Tinchebray) 1133
- 4; Croisilles (Gacé)
- 5; Ginai (Exmes) S

- 6; Montsecret (Tinchebray) 1133
- 7; Orgères (Gacé)
- 8; Sainte-Anastacie-de-Briquetière (Ginai: Exmes=5) S
- 9; Touquettes (La Ferté-Frênel)

## **Eure**

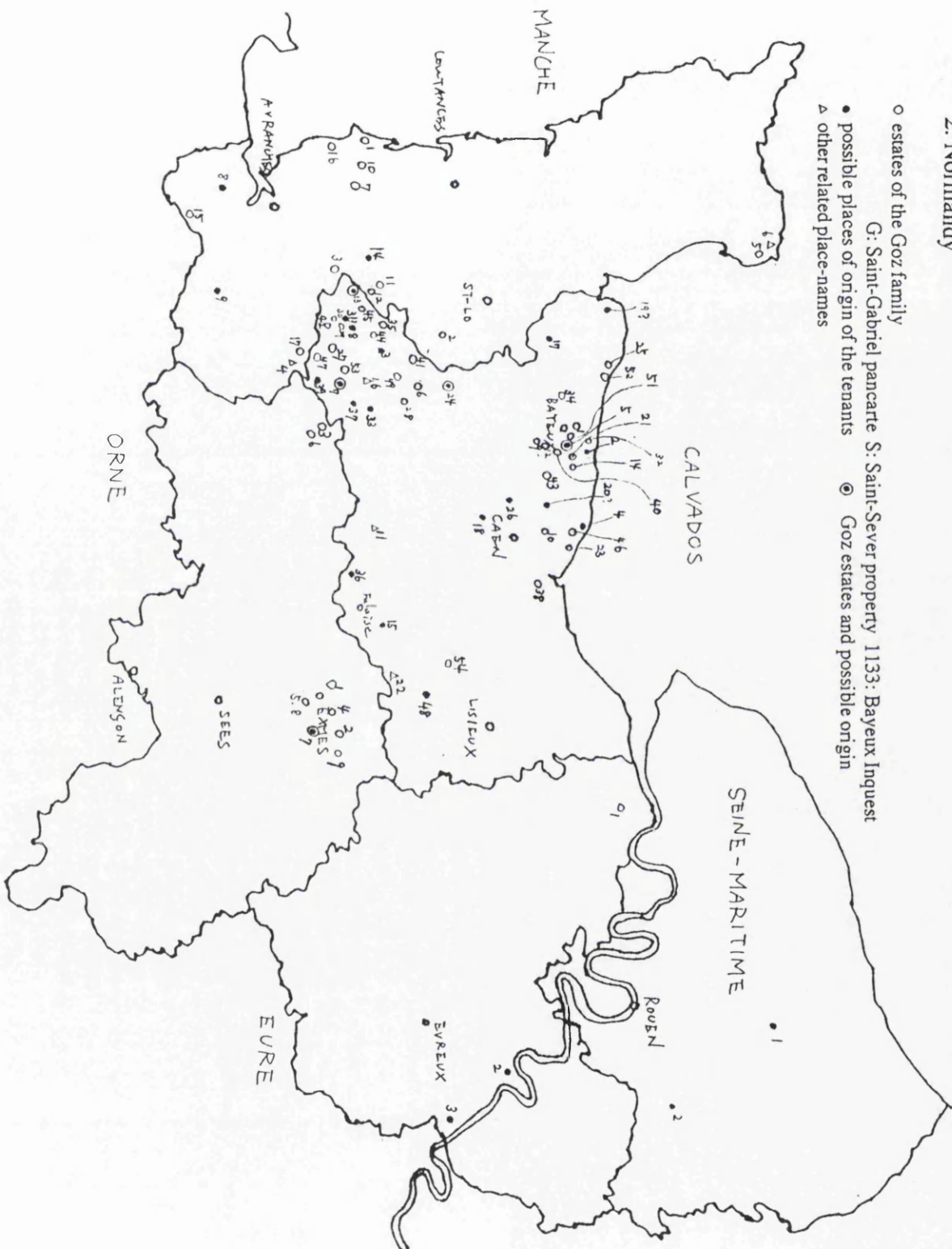
- 1; Venables (Gaillon)
- 2; Vernon (Vernon)
- 3; Toutainville (Pont-Audemer)

## **Seine-Maritime**

- 1; Bully (Neufchâtel)
- 2; Normanville (Le Mesnil-Lieubray: Argueil)

## 2. Normandy

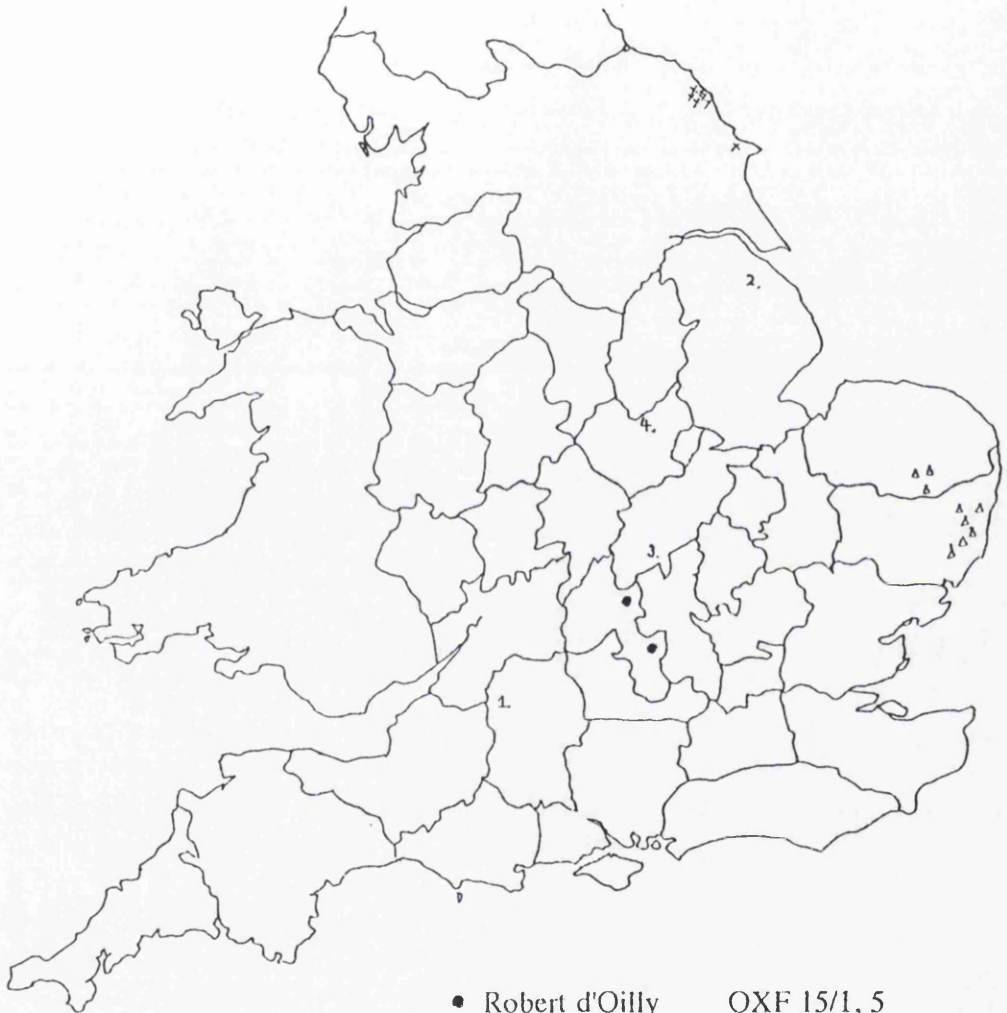
- o estates of the Goz family
- G: Saint-Gabriel pancarte S: Saint-Sever property 1133: Bayeux Inquest
- possible places of origin of the tenants    © Goz estates and possible origin
- △ other related place-names





### 3. Tenants-in-chief holding from Earl Hugh

- |                        |               |
|------------------------|---------------|
| 1. Edward of Salisbury | WIL 22/3      |
| 2. Erneis de Burun     | LIN 13/19- 20 |
| 3. Joscelin the Breton | NTH 22/9      |
| 4. Roger de Bully      | LEC 43/8      |



- |                    |                        |
|--------------------|------------------------|
| • Robert d'Oilly   | OXF 15/1, 5            |
| △ Roger Bigod      | NFK 6/6                |
|                    | SFK 4/9, 12, 15-17, 42 |
| × William de Percy | YKS 4/N1, 4/E2         |

4.1. Hugh fitzNorman

CHS 11/1-4, 12/5-8  
WALES FT 3/1-2

BKM13/2-3  
SFK 4/1-6, 35-41  
YKS4/N3, 4/E1



4.2. Robert fitzHugh of Malpas

CHS 2/1-31

BRK18/2

OXF15/3

LEC43/6

NTT3/1-3



#### 4.3. Robert of Rhuddlan

CHS 3/1-11

WALES FD 2/1-6, FT2/1-20

G/1-3

BKM13/1

GLS 28/1

NTH22/1-8





4.4. William fitzNigel of Halton

CHS 9/1-29  
WALES FD 4/1

OXF15/2  
LIN 13/10-20  
BRK18/1  
SFK 4/19(?)



#### 4.5. William Malbank

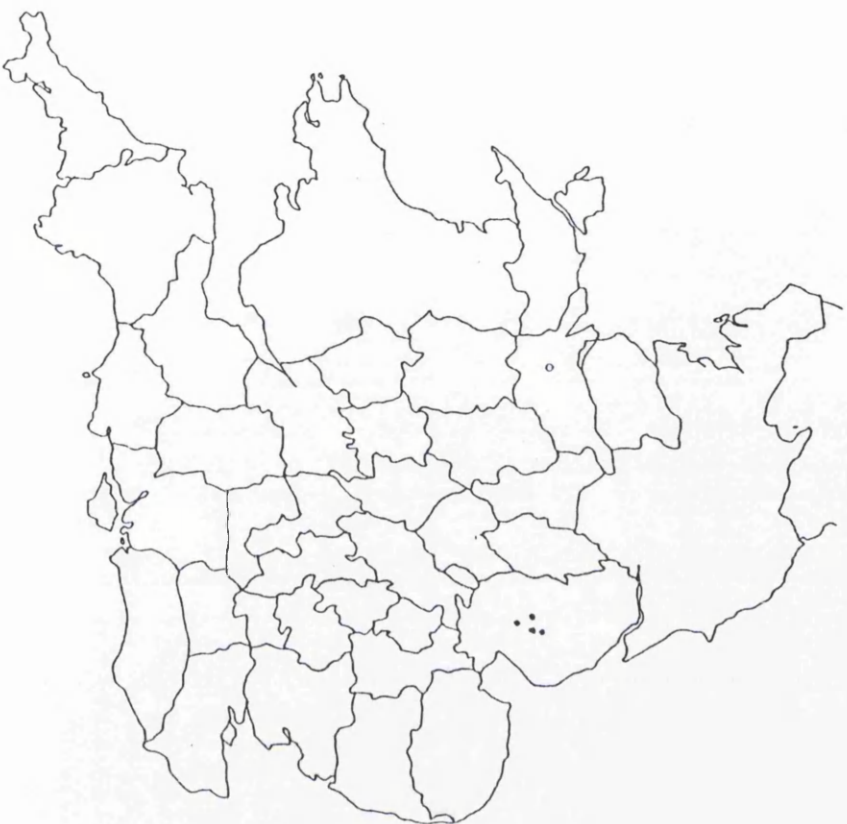
CHS 8/1-45, S1/7  
WALES FD 3/1-2

BKM13/4  
DOR27/2-11  
SFK 4/19 (?)  
SOM18/1-3  
WIL22/1, 5



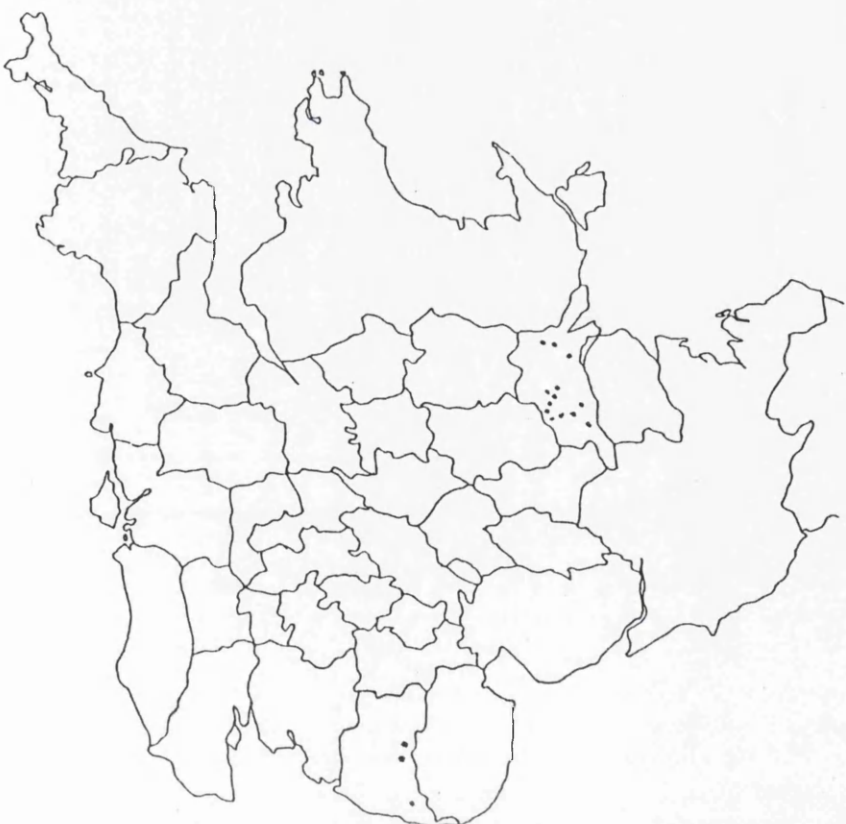
5.1. Baldic of Lindsey

CHS 15/1  
(unidentified in Eddisbury South)  
LIN 13/22-3, 31-2, 39-40



5.2. Bigod des Loges

CHS 14/1-13, 27/1  
SFK 4/10-11, 13



5.3. Fulk de Baiunvilla

CHS (from Robert FitzHugh) 2/19  
HUN 11/1



5.4. Gilbert de Venables

CHS 17/1-12, 18/1-6  
DOR 27/1





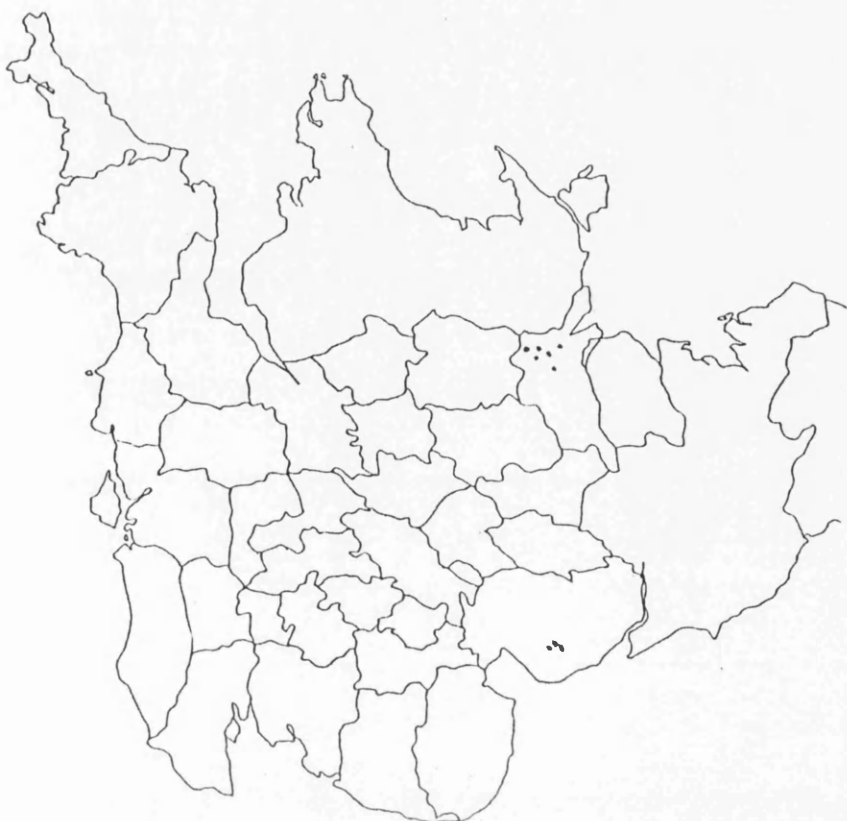
5.5. Hamo de Massey

CHS 13/1-7  
WALES FD7/1-2  
HAM22/1  
WIL 22/2, 4, 6



5.6. Hugh FitzOsbern

CHS 12/1-4, 16/1-2  
WALES FD 5/1-3  
LIN 13/4/1-3



5.7. Humphrey of the Colenitun

CHS (from Robert fitzHugh) 2/18, 21  
HUN 11/2



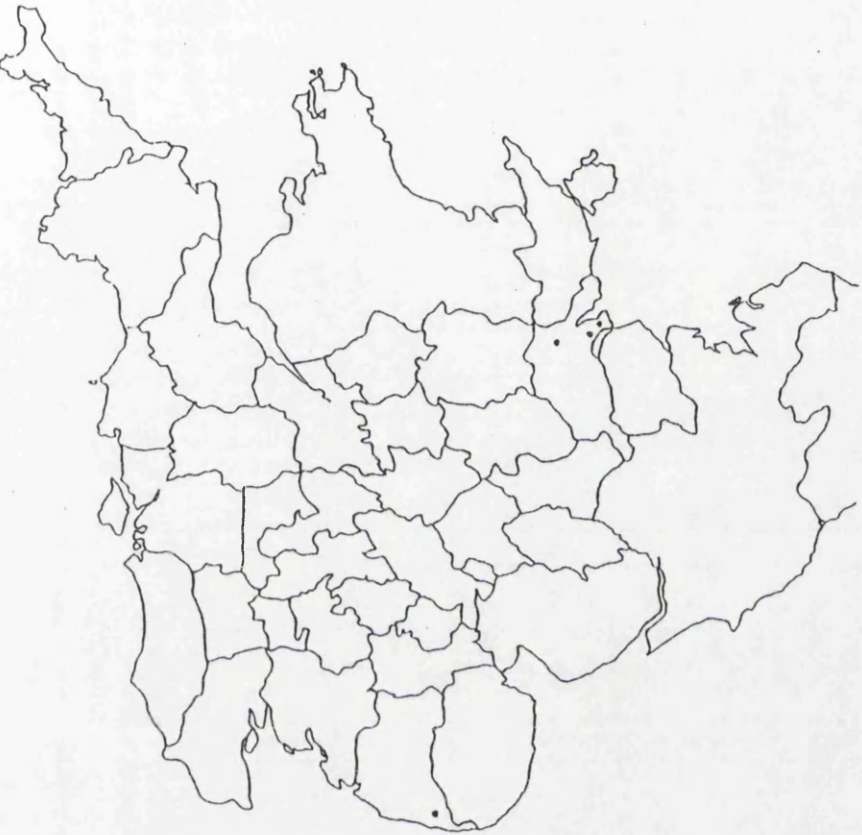
5.8. Joscelin Touchet

CHS 1/1, 19/1-3  
DBY 4/2  
(LIN 13/38)  
= RUT 6/16 (13/8)



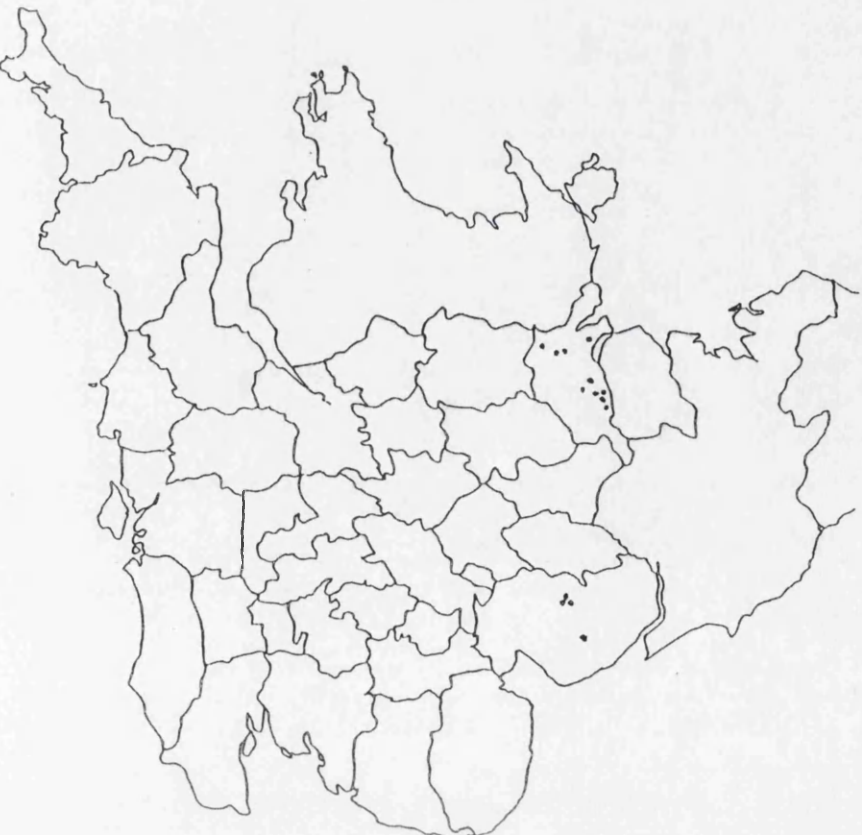
5.9. Mundret

CHS 1/22, 34, 2/13(from Robert fitzHugh)  
SFK 4/30-1



5.10. Osbern fitzTezton

CHS 24/1-9  
WALES FD 5/3, 6/1  
LIN 13/24-5, 33, 45



5.11. Ranulph de Mesnilwarin  
CHS 20/1-12  
NFK 6/2-3 (66/97)



5.12. Richard de Vernon  
CHS 5/1-14  
NFK 6/1

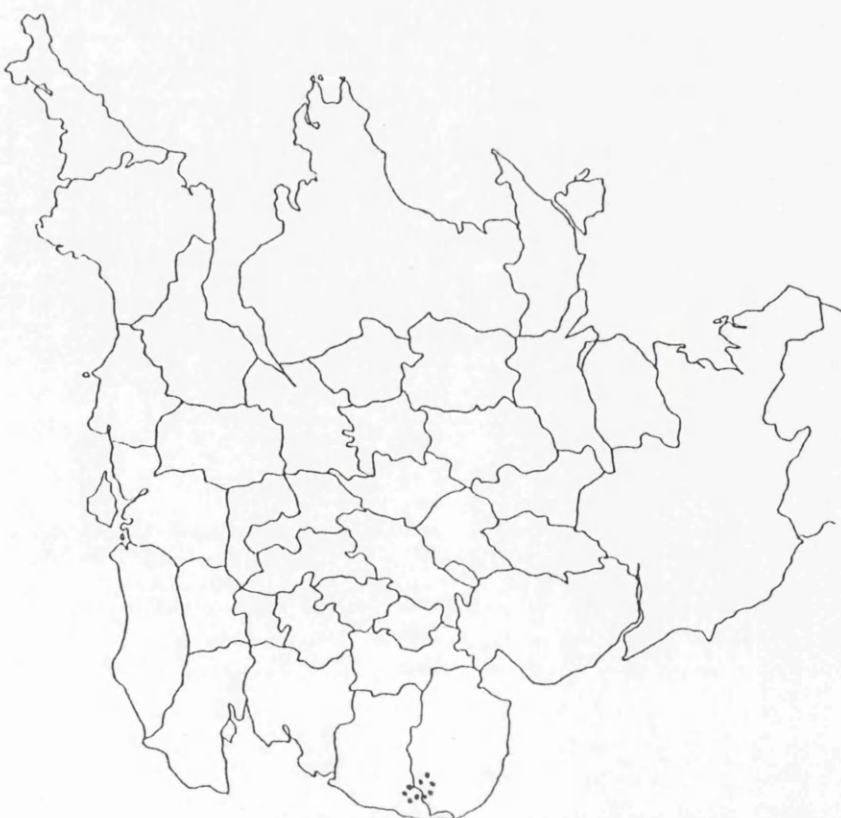




5.13. Walter de Vernon  
CHS 7/1.4  
OXF 15/4  
(tenant-in-chief in BKM)



5.14. Warin fitzBurwin  
NFK 6/4.5.7  
SFK 4/20-9



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