

Domesday Book and the Malets: patrimony and the private histories of public lives

Established on ducal demesne lands at Gravelle-Sainte-Honorine in the Pays de Caux by the beginning of the eleventh century, the 'grand lignage' of Malet is one of the most inadequately discussed of all the great Norman houses to enjoy large landholdings in England after 1066. An account of the formation of their Norman honour, much of which was held not directly of the duke but of the Giffard family, has been given in recent years by J. Le Maho.¹ They also held land near the ducal centre at Caen,² a connexion that frequently recurs in consideration of their family and tenurial relationships. These are matters fundamental to a study of Malet, but also essential to an understanding of the family's career in the eleventh century is the examination of its association with England. The Malets were the only Norman family of any significance to have had associations with both Normandy and England throughout the century, something that both entitles them to a special status as the 'Anglo-Norman' family par excellence and merits a fresh study.

The present study takes as its focal point the career of the Domesday landholder Robert I Malet. The most serious difficulty concerns the period 1087-1100. During this time his Honour of Eye is known to have been held by a powerful favourite of William Rufus, Roger the Poitevin, while he himself apparently completely disappeared from all English and Norman documents. The fact that Robert's lands passed to Roger was the discovery of C.P. Lewis, who subjected the early history of Eye to detailed scrutiny in 1989.³ A few years previously C. Warren Hollister had paid some attention to Robert Malet himself during the brief but significant years when he was an intimate of Henry I, i.e. from 1100 until his death or retirement c.1105-6.⁴ The thrust of both papers was directed, in different ways, towards the interpretation of royal policies vis-à-vis magnates and curiales. In each case the personal circumstances of the man himself and the context in which he operated were neglected. Robert's triumphant reappearance in association with Henry I, whose chamberlain he was until 1105/6, only deepens the mystery of what happened to him in the intervening years, since it hardly points to the association with Robert Curthose, duke of Normandy that has always seemed to explain his loss of influence in Rufus's England. It is imperative, therefore, that some attempt is made to deal with Robert as a man, rather than as an element in some notional 'royal policy'.

An investigation into the lands and tenants of Robert Malet can be conducted on exceptionally firm ground. Robert is well-evidenced as the son of William I Malet, lord of Gravelle-Ste-Honorine, near Le Havre in the Norman Pays-de-Caux. William died around 1070/1 during the Fenland revolt,⁵ and he left a large family, some of whom were still young when they were captured by the Danes at York in 1069.⁶ His widow survived to become their son's most important tenant, holding dower lands in the Suffolk heartland of his honour of Eye. She was Esilia, daughter of Gilbert I Crispin, castellan of Tillières in the Norman Vexin. Fortunately, the bulk of Robert's land lay in Suffolk and so was recorded not in Great but in the unabbreviated Little Domesday Book. Analysis by toponym shows that his tenants formed four groups coming from the Pays-de-Caux, the Caennais, the Vexin, home of the Crispins, and the Pays-d'Auge, home of Robert's wife. 50% of Robert's tenants can be identified from the information in the Suffolk Domesday alone.⁷

So why be interested in this honour? The investigation of undertenants can shed much light even on a well-known tenant-in-chief, particularly with

regard to kinship structures. The process will lead eventually to a set of interlinked investigations of a number of honours. Since some of them will be far less well documented than others, the process is bound to be illuminating, though apparently intractable problems may well remain. A study of Eye turns out to illustrate this particularly well.

Apart from the place from which he came, the most vital element in the study of a tenant-in-chief is the study of his family. One of the problems faced by those who concern themselves with the important questions surrounding Robert Malet is the lack of a coherent Malet genealogy. We know the identity of his parents -William I Malet and Esilia Crispin⁸- and we also have the important information that his father's mother was an Englishwoman.⁹ We can conjecture therefore that his unknown grandfather was one of the men who accompanied Emma of Normandy to England in 1002 for her marriage with Aethelred.

David Douglas suggested that the descendants of Emma's knights might have continued to hold land in England until 1066, or been available for recruitment to England by Edward the Confessor after 1042.¹⁰ Especially interesting in this connexion is the evidence of the Bedfordshire Domesday, where the largest single landholder was Hugh de Beauchamps, from the area around Caen, who had married the daughter and heiress of Ralph Taillebois, brother of Ivo. Also there in 1086 were William Peverel's tenant Malet (whether Robert or Durand),¹¹ Malet's relative Alfred of Lincoln,¹² William de Cairon (a tenant of Rémy de Fécamp, bishop of Lincoln), whose father had held the land before 1066,¹³ and Osbern, son of another pre-Conquest landholder, Richard Scrope, whose tenant Hugh Hubalt was conceivably the Hugh fitz Hubald de Pacy whom we shall shortly meet as a benefactor of Saint-Taurin, Evreux.¹⁴

Norman eleventh-century evidence for the Malets is scarce until the turn of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The available evidence for the period c. 1050 to 1087 shows a William-Robert succession at Graville and in the Pays d'Auge. Given what we know of William's origins and marriage, and the geographical origins of Robert's tenants in 1086, we can fairly safely assume that these William-Roberts were the same as those holding land in England. In the light of our knowledge that William was the father of a large family, the sudden proliferation of Malets c.1100 is perhaps best taken to indicate that all of them were the descendants of either William or Robert. A William Malet attested a gift made c.1050-66 by one Adeloia of land in her inheritance at Beaumont (a now lost place, comm. Vattetot-sous-Beaumont, cant. Goderville, Seine Maritime), to the abbey of Montivilliers. In the same period gifts were made to Montivilliers of land in Vitreville by Roger de Montgomery and a certain Ralph of land there belonging to Ralph's brother Geoffrey; these were probably the sons of Grip¹⁵ - holders of land in Vinnermerville, Martel lords of Bacqueville-en-Caux,¹⁶ and tenants of Robert Malet in England. In 1060 a certain Ralph from the Pays-de-Caux was summoned to Préaux abbey by William of Normandy and William Malet. He gave land at Butot-en-Caux to the abbey, of which he became a monk. His grant was later confirmed by Robert Malet at Préaux after the death of his father William Malet.¹⁷ Some time between 1060 and 1066 William Malet and his son Robert attested a ducal confirmation for the abbey of Jumièges.¹⁸

Robert's successors, the brothers William II and Robert II, were certainly the descendants of his father and were probably his own sons. Amongst the benefactions made to the abbey of St-Taurin, Evreux, in the late eleventh century were grants of land in Pinterville (arr. Louviers, Eure)

given by Robert Malet, his wife Emmelina and one Gilbert de Nuille (Neuilly, comm. cant Breuil, Eure) with the assent of William de Breteuil and Richard fitz Herluin the seneschal. To this gift they added land that could provide pasture for two cows each year for two monks, viz. Robert's son Hugh and Gilbert's son Nicholas.¹⁹ For Robert and Emmelina to have had a son available for monkhood almost certainly means that they -or he- had other, older, sons. The names of William II and Robert II Malet add to the likelihood that they were Robert I's sons. The gift preceding Robert's in the charter was also of land in Pinterville made by one Hugh fitz Hubald of Pacy.²⁰ Given the name of Robert's son, this might provide a clue to his wife's parentage, were it not for the numerous indications that she was, like the wife of William de Breteuil, who consented to Robert and Emmelina's gift, a daughter of Hugh II de Montfort, with whose lands and tenants, English and Norman, the Malets were often involved.

Positing such a relationship certainly helps us to make sense of our information about the Malets. Hugh II de Montfort was the grandson of Thurstan of Bastembourg,²¹ father of Hugh I de Montfort, William Bertram I of Briquebec, and of a daughter Gisla who married William of Echauffour.²² William of Echauffour was a member of the FitzGiroie family and lord of the Goulafré family, one of whom occurs as a tenant of Robert Malet in Suffolk.²³ The Echauffour family were benefactors of the abbeys of Montivilliers, in the Pays de Caux, and Préaux, in the Lieuvin.²⁴ They were related by marriage to the Grandmesnil family, to the counts of Evreux and to the Conqueror himself.²⁵ Some of their lands were subject to the extra-Norman lords of Bellême,²⁶ whose lands were acquired c.1050 by Roger II de Montgomery, father, by the Bellême heiress Mabel, of Roger the Poitevin, who held Robert's lands between 1087 and 1100. One of Hugh II de Montfort's two wives was a daughter of Richard de Beaufour,²⁷ a descendant of William I of Normandy. Hugh held Dover Castle in 1067, and after his retirement in 1088 the castellany passed to his son. One of Hugh's daughters married William of Breteuil, son of William fitz Osbern and Adelize de Tosny and great-grandson of the duchess Gunnor's brother Herfast. The eldest of his daughters, Alice, married a Flemish noble settled in England, Gilbert de Ghent, a neighbour of the Malets in Lincolnshire.²⁸ In her issue Alice was the eventual heiress of Hugh II de Montfort.

Robert I Malet named both his parents in his foundation charter for Eye. Unfortunately, the text of the charter - the only indisputable act of his we have- does not survive in its original form.²⁹ It is a summary of the gifts made to the priory by Robert and others between the date of its foundation and 1105, the year that Robert left England for the last time. The intention to found the priory had the permission of William I, according to the charter, but the date at which it was built and endowed is likely to have been between 1100 and 1105.³⁰ In Domesday Book the only holdings in Suffolk of the abbey of Bernay, mother-house of the eventual priory, had been granted to it by the king.³¹ Bernay had been founded by Judith, the Conqueror's grandmother, and so it had strong connexions with the dukes, who even so allowed it to be plundered by their Montgomery favourites, among others. Among the few surviving eleventh-century grants to the abbey is one by Walter Giffard, who was the Malet overlord in Normandy.³² It was the Malets' link to Giffard and their service to the duke that probably explains Robert's choice of a mother-house for his priory.³³ The link was clearly a strong one for when the Malets came to found a priory at Graville-Sainte-Honorine, in 1206, it too was subjected to Bernay. Robert's preamble

mentions the intended spiritual benefits for the king, the queen (dead in 1086), himself, his parents, and all his relatives living and dead. It is impossible to know on this evidence alone who was alive or dead when the charter was first given. Since the charter may have been written in its present form as late as 1120, some ten years after the disgrace of Robert's successor William (II), it is especially striking that it makes no mention of his wife or of any issue. There is some evidence that, before 1086, he had a wife named Matilda, who was probably a close relative of his tenant Hubert de Montcanisy.³⁴ The Saint-Taurin evidence is difficult to date exactly, but belongs to the period 1071 to 1102 (when William of Breteuil died), and probably to the years just before 1100. Because we have no other evidence of a separate Robert active before 1100 we may suppose that by 1100 Robert Malet had, by two wives, at least three legitimate sons, one of whom was old enough to attest the king's charters from c.1100/01 onwards.³⁵ Robert Malet's first marriage to Matilda probably occurred some time before the death, in 1071, of his father. His second marriage to Emmelina, if she were indeed the daughter of Hugh de Montfort, had occurred by the date of the Domesday survey (1085).

Robert's intended foundation of Eye priory received a charter of assent from his sister Beatrice, who mentioned also their brother Gilbert. A later precept of Henry I in respect of Beatrice Malet's charter furnishes the additional information that she was the wife of Robert's Suffolk tenant William of Arques. He was the Domesday lord of Folkestone in Kent,³⁶ where the dominant landholder had been Odo of Bayeux, the Conqueror's disgraced half-brother. It is immediately striking that one of those who attested Beatrice's charter was Ansgod of Canterbury, but other Kent connexions can be demonstrated for the other witnesses. Ralph of Bellicia named from the unidentified manor of Belice in Hayne Hundred.³⁷ was doubtless one of the Ralphs who held land in Kent from Hugh de Montfort, probably Ralph de Courbépine. Alfred de Combia³⁸ was probably the steward Alfred who was one of William d'Arques tenants in 1086.³⁹ Main of Saint-Clair was doubtless another Kentish landholder, tenant of Hugh de Montfort.⁴⁰ The Saint-Clair from which Main took his name was probably the same as that mentioned in connexion with the abbey of Préaux, to which it had been willed by Richard Croc and his wife Benceline c.1035-45. It subsequently had to be restored to Préaux by Robert [of Mortain], brother of Odo of Bayeux and half-brother of the Conqueror.⁴¹

In 1121 Henry I confirmed the gift of Conteville (Eure) to the abbey of Bec -specially cherished by the Crispin family -made by William II Malet.⁴² The gift was first made in 1117, according to the Chronicon Beccense which recorded that a grant of land at Mesnil-Joscelin and Conteville was made by William (III): 'et hanc donationem ratam habuit et sua auctoritate confirmavit Henricus primus rex Anglie anno MCXVII et Willelmus pater prefati Willelmi'.⁴³ In the same year William (II) granted to the abbey: 'pro filio suo qui factus est monachus Becci...pro salute anima suae et coniugis et liberorum suorum et pro anima patris et matris sui et fratris sui Roberti...in episcopatu Ebroicensis, iuxta Carentonum fluuium, terra que uocatur Maisnillo Gosselini'.⁴⁴ It has recently been stated that William (II)'s grant demonstrates that he was the successor of his brother Robert Malet in Normandy,⁴⁵ but this idea must be firmly rejected. All the evidence for this William belongs to the period 1100 to c.1121,⁴⁶ whereas the evidence for Robert shows that he was of age by 1066 and that he died or retired between 1105 and 1106. Clearly, therefore, Robert belonged to the previous

generation.

An earlier gift to Bec, confirmed by the Conqueror late in his reign, was that of Robert Malet, who gave 'consensu eiusdem Gilberti [Crispini] sedem unius molendini in Maisnillo Goscelini et acram terram unam et uiam ad molendinum'; following this we read: 'pascua huius molendini dedit Geroius de Scalfou [Echauffour] in ripam et unum et dimidiam acram terram quam Herfredus de Rolvilla [Réville] tenebat'.⁴⁷ A subsequent confirmation by Henry II enables us to identify the location of this land as La Roussière, Eure, arr. Bernay, cant. Beaumesnil, close to La Trinité-de-Réville, la Goulafrière and Montreuil-l'Argillé.⁴⁸ William de Rovile/Rouville/Rovillis, a benefactor named in the Eye foundation charter, probably came from La Trinité-de Réville.

In another copy of the Bec charters Robert's gift is recorded as follows: 'Robertus Malet consensu eiusdem Gilberti sedem unius molendini in Maisnillo Goscelini et alia nonnulla'. Immediately following this item in the confirmation charter this copy records the gift of Emma de Condé in Tiliolo (Le Theil) of the church and tithe of the land of Ralph de Liuet and her son Peter gave land in Le Theil.⁴⁹ We now recall the statement of the Miraculum de nobili genere Crispini that Gilbert I Crispin's daughter Emma was the mother of Peter de Condé. In the same sentence the Miraculum stated that another of Gilbert's daughters was Esilia, 'matrem Willelmi Malet, qui miles strenuus in senectutus factus est monachus Becci', where after a few years quiet retirement he made a fitting end.⁵⁰ The author of this work was Miles Crispin, a monk of Bec in the 1120s and 1130s. The same tradition is recorded in the Chronicon Beccense: 'Guillelmus Malet, miles strenuus et praeses castrensis sub Guillelmo Notho, aliquot annis honorifice transactis in obseruantia coenobiali, bono fine quieuit',⁵¹ which also notes that Esilia's brother, 'egregius uir saepefactus Willelmus Crispinus ad extremum ueniens', became a monk in 1076.⁵² Despite this tradition there is no documentary trace of a William Malet in ducal service between 1071 and 1100.

It is commonly agreed that at least one of the Miraculum's statements is an error: William Malet was not the son of Esilia Crispin but her husband. Its statement that William Malet ended his days as a monk of Bec therefore sits oddly with the testimony of Domesday Book, which clearly indicates that William went on campaign in the Fens sometime c.1071 and met his death there. The author confused the father with the son with respect to Esilia's marriage, perhaps because he was a contemporary at Bec of William I Malet's great-grandson William son of William II Malet, who must have entered the abbey as an adolescent or young man.⁵³

The possibility emerges that in both parts of his statement Miles Crispin was referring to Esilia Crispin and William Malet's son, Robert I Malet, who served William the Bastard (in 1075 for example, as a vigorous knight and commander of troops -i.e. in the familia regis) and later became a monk of Bec where he lived out his extreme old age. This would have made a fitting coda to Robert's life, which otherwise ends abruptly on the eve of his departure to Normandy with Henry I in 1105.

We are already moving in the direction of an increased understanding of the tenurial composition not only of the honour of Eye, but also of other honours. Further progress requires a fuller investigation of the Malet kindred, and this in turn involves a change of tack, because it brings us up against what must be called the original - because pre-Conquest - Malet

'honour' in Lincolnshire. As was perceptively observed by Vivien Brown: 'the key to the genealogy of the Malet family, if it is to be found, will be discovered in Lincolnshire rather than in Suffolk'.⁵⁴ Nothing in Domesday Book indicates that William Malet had held anything other than a small estate in Lincolnshire before 1066,⁵⁵ but it is likely that he did and that his Lincolnshire estates were the lands regarded by his descendants as ancestral lands. They held land there for at least the next two centuries, in stark contrast to the Suffolk lands, which they held only until 1110 at the latest.

Probably at least half of the lands held in Lincolnshire before 1066 by William Malet had passed by 1086 to the husbands or issue of his daughters. Turning to the evidence for the extended Malet family brings us immediately to the question of Countess Lucy of Chester, who was claimed as a niece of Robert Malet and Alan of Lincoln in 1154. Her mother has been identified as Beatrice Malet, but this identification is impossible.⁵⁶ Beatrice's husband William of Arques died c. 1090 and she survived him by several years. Both Turolde and his wife were dead by the end of 1085. A lot of ink has flowed on the subject, but there can be no doubt that the 'mysterious' Countess Lucy of Chester was William Malet's thrice-married granddaughter, the daughter of Robert Malet's sister and Turolde the Sheriff of Lincoln (dead by 1079).⁵⁷ The suggestion was first made by R. Kirk in 1888.⁵⁸ As N. Sumner has more recently observed: "This account has the merit of explaining why the lordship of Spalding and other places in Lincolnshire were held after Ivo's death not by Beatrice, his direct heir and the daughter of his marriage to Lucy,⁵⁹ but by the later husbands of Lucy, Roger fitz Gerold and Ranulph Meschines."⁶⁰ It is clear from her charters that Lucy was an heiress; as was to be expected, her estates passed to the sons of her second and third marriages. Kirk's work was based upon conjecture, and contained a number of errors. The question of Lucy's parentage has therefore remained open. Nevertheless, there is proof that Kirk was right.

A spurious charter of Crowland Abbey made Turolde of Bucknall (the Sheriff) the founder of the priory of Spalding as a cell of Crowland. It also called Turolde brother of Godiva countess of Mercia, but subsequently described Godiva's son Earl Algar as Turolde's cognatus (cousin).⁶¹ A genealogia fundatoris of Coventry Abbey made Lucy a daughter of Earl Algar and sister and heiress of earls Edwin and Morcar.⁶² The Peterborough Chronicle and the Pseudo-Ingulf's Chronicle of Crowland both made Lucy the daughter of Algar and niece or great-niece of Turolde.⁶³ We know that William Malet was half-English, so these traditions probably boil down to a relationship between Countess Godiva and William's English mother.

Turolde is evidenced in Domesday Book as a benefactor of Crowland Abbey, to which he gave a parcel of land at Bucknall.⁶⁴ The abbey also held land at Spalding that had probably been granted to it by Earl Algar and there is evidence to suggest that Turolde the Sheriff gave further land there to the abbey of St Nicholas, Angers, before 1079.⁶⁵ Lucy and her first husband Ivo Taillebois subsequently founded, or perhaps re-founded, a priory at Spalding subject to St Nicholas, Angers. A revealing phrase from the Register of Spalding Priory reads: 'mortuo quia dicto Thoraldo relicta sibi herede Lucia predicta' [at his death Turolde left an heir, the aforesaid Lucy].⁶⁶ The word heres, 'heir', was often used of the child who was to inherit his/her father's property. Lucy later confirmed the gifts of all three of her husbands: 'pro redemptione anime patris mei et matris mee et dominorum meorum et parentum meorum' [for the souls of my father and mother,

my husbands and my (other) relatives].⁶⁷ The association of the priory with such a small group of people and the description of Lucy as heres of Turolde strongly hint at Lucy's parentage. But we can go further still.

In their initial benefaction, given before the end of 1085, at a time when both Lucy's parents were dead, Ivo and Lucy acted 'pro animabus antecessorum suorum'⁶⁸, Turolde scilicet uxorisque eius requie'.⁶⁹ The reference to Turolde's wife indicates that some part of his landholding had come to him through his wife, something also indicated by the occurrence of William Malet amongst those who had held the Domesday lands of Lucy's first husband Ivo Taillebois before him.⁷⁰ The apparently vague Latin words antecessor and predecessor can both be used to mean something like 'predecessor'. Each of them conveys a range of very precise meanings in different circumstances. The description of Turolde and his wife as antecessores of Ivo and Lucy may be compared to the usage in a charter in the cartulary of Mont-Saint-Michel by which the Angevins Hugh Chalibot and his wife confirmed the grants of her father, who was described as antecessor noster.⁷¹ Other examples of this phrase show clearly that it was used by a married man to describe the parent from whom his wife had inherited the property she brought to the marriage. Acting on her own account (normally after her husband's death), the heiress will often describe herself as the daughter of the parent her husband described as antecessor noster. More rarely, the phrase was used to indicate the couple's immediate predecessor, not her father but her brother.⁷² In Lucy and Ivo's case the plurality of their antecessores, Turolde and his wife, puts the matter beyond doubt. Lucy's parents were indeed Turolde the Sheriff and a daughter of William Malet.

In the Lincolnshire Domesday [see Table 1] Ivo Taillebois, Robert Malet, Durand Malet, Kolswein and Alfred of Lincoln are found as tenants-in-chief. Ivo's predecessor⁷³ in Alkborough was William Malet;⁷⁴ in Ludford his predecessor was Turolde,⁷⁵ and in Spalding, Earl Algar.⁷⁶ Other holders of Ivo's lands T.R.E. were Grimbald, Grimketill, Siward, Esbjorn and Godwin.⁷⁷ Alfred's lands were held T.R.E. by, among others, Morcar, Siward, Thorketill, Rothulfr, Grimketill and William.⁷⁸ Siward may have been the brother of Robert Malet's predecessor Azor;⁷⁹ Siward was the name of a predecessor of Ivo Taillebois,⁸⁰ who also had a predecessor Azor.⁸¹ William and Grimketill had held Alfred's portions of Linwood and Rothwell before him. Other portions of these manors were held in 1086 by Durand Malet, whose predecessor Rothulfr was probably the Rothulfr son of Skjaldvor named as having held sake and soke and toll and team in Lincolnshire.⁸² Both fees were held by the successors of Alfred and Durand at the time of the Lindsey Survey (1115-18).⁸³ Picot son of Kolswein was among the benefactors of Spalding.⁸⁴ One of those who held Kolswein's lands T.R.E. was one Turulf whose lands were held from Kolswein by an Alfred, probably Alfred de Canci;⁸⁵ others were Thorketill, Godwin, Godric, Esbjorn and Aethelstan, brother of Alsige and Aelfric.⁸⁶ The fact that Alfred de Canci's main holdings in 1086 were from the fief of Guy of Craon entitles us to see in this Aethelstan the thegn Aethelstan son of Godram who was Guy of Craon's antecessor in Lincolnshire, including Spalding.⁸⁷ Other holders T.R.E. of Guy's lands were Aelfric and Offram.⁸⁸ Offram was among the holders T.R.E. of Alfred of Lincoln's land and his tenant in Kirkby Underwood.⁸⁹

Robert Malet's antecessor Azor⁹⁰ is not named in his chapter, but his tenants were Ivo (Taillebois) and Godric; a Godric occurs once among the predecessors of Ivo.⁹¹ Godric and Siward were the holders T.R.E. of the manor

of South Cadeby held in 1086 by Roger of Poitou.⁹² In the Lindsey Survey this occurs as the manors of Grimblethorpe and South Cadeby held by Ralph Malet from Geoffrey fitz Payn.⁹³ Durand Malet's predecessor was Rothulfr and the holders of his lands T.R.E. included Edwin and Siward.⁹⁴ One of his tenants, in Scawby and Sturton, was Alfred, identifiable from the Lindsey Survey as Alfred de Canci.⁹⁵ Other parts of Scawby and Sturton were held by Ivo, Kolswein, Ralph Paynel, Osbern of Arques and Odo balistarius. Ivo's entry gives no information;⁹⁶ Kolswein's names the holder T.R.E. as Turulf and his tenant as Alfred;⁹⁷ Ralph Paynel's names the holder T.R.E. as Grimketill;⁹⁸ Osbern's names the holders T.R.E. as X (name blank) and Grimbald and his tenant as Alfred.⁹⁹ An entry in the fief of Odo balistarius gives him a manor in Scawby where the holders T.R.E. were Esbjorn and Grimbald and his tenant was Alfred.¹⁰⁰

All the lands referred to above passed to the successors of these tenants-in-chief. The apparent relationship of their lands, before and after 1066, suggested by their association T.R.E. with men of the same name is only one of the connexions between them. Durand Malet was clearly a relative of William and Robert. In view of the links between Durand's lands and those of Alfred of Lincoln, discussed below, it is most probable that Durand was a younger brother of Robert. The relationship of Kolswein to Lucy's family is suggested both by charter evidence and the disposition of lands and predecessors in Domesday. It probably arose through Turolf himself rather than his Malet wife, but is too complex a question to investigate here. In a charter of Henry, duke of Normandy Ranulf II, earl of Chester was promised inter alia the lands of his mother Lucy's uncles Robert Malet and Alan of Lincoln.¹⁰¹ In both cases the phrase used was auunculus matris eius; which means that, stricto sensu, we are dealing with brothers of Lucy's mother, who was a daughter of William I Malet. Robert Malet poses no problem in this respect. Alan of Lincoln is, however, a problem, because he was active from c.1094 to 1129 and must therefore have been a generation younger than Robert and his sister, the mother of Lucy. He could only have been their brother in the sense of brother-in-law; even so it is very difficult to believe that his wife can have been even the youngest of William and Esilia's daughters. The relationship must have been formed in the previous generation, when another of Robert's sisters married the father of Alan of Lincoln. We can then suppose that Lucy's 'uncle' Alan was the result of a confusion by a scribe who, in search of rhetorical balance, referred to both Robert Malet and Alan of Lincoln as uncles of Lucy, whereas the truth was that Robert was uncle to both Lucy and Alan of Lincoln,¹⁰² the link in each case being lands inherited through William Malet.

This view can be justified to some extent by the fact that two of the manors that descended from Alfred to Alan of Lincoln had been held before 1066 by a William. Other parts of both manors were held by Durand Malet in 1086, and each of them gave their names -Linwood and Rothwell- to later branches of the Malet family in Lincolnshire. It is extremely likely, therefore, that this William was William Malet and that Alfred held these manors by marriage to one of William's daughters. Alfred's portion of Rothwell was held from him by his most important tenant, one Glai whose descendants took their name from the place. Glai was succeeded by his son Alan, whose name could indicate that he married into Alfred's family. Certainly the name occurs elsewhere in Alfred's family; his successor Alan of Lincoln had a cousin Alan, mentioned in the Lindsey Survey.¹⁰³ Robert Malet gave the churches of his principal fees in Lincolnshire, at Barrowby

and Welbourne to Eye Priory. Welbourne church was confirmed to the priory by Hugh of Bayeux, grandson and successor of Alan of Lincoln, c.1150. By 1158 there was a stone-walled castle at Welbourn, which appears to have been the honorial castle of the Bayeux fee.¹⁰⁴

But if Alan was certainly Alfred's successor in the Lincolnshire fief later known as the honour of Thoresway, what was his relationship to Alfred? There are no certain indications, but the probability is that he was his son. Since Domesday Book provides the information that Alfred of Lincoln had held his land since at least 1070/5 and Alan does not occur before 1094, it is unlikely that Alan was his brother. The existence of an Alfred of Lincoln as late as 1130 is a further indication that the Domesday Alfred was the father of two sons, Alfred and Alan. It appears that Alfred files was able to benefit from Alfred père's relationship with the Malets by acquiring as wife the extremely wealthy widow of Dorset's former sheriff Hugh fitz Grip, brother of Walter fitz Grip, one of Robert Malet's Suffolk tenants. Quite possibly the wife of Alfred files was not Havise de Bacqueville, known to have been the wife of Hugh fitz Grip c. 1070, who would have been much older than Alfred, by whom she had issue; she might have been either a second, younger wife of Hugh or the daughter and heiress of Hugh and Havise. Certainly, when Ivo Taillebois made a gift for the soul of William I, some time between 1087 and his own death in 1093, Alfred files signed the charter as Alfred of Wareham, the caput of his wife's Dorset honour.¹⁰⁵ By 1100 he was preferring the designation 'of Lincoln', a name all his descendants retained though it had clearly lost any locative significance by 1100 at the latest.

It could be that the younger Alfred called himself 'de Wareham' early in the reign of William II because his father, the senior Alfred of Lincoln, was still living. This in turn would help to explain the relatively late occurrence in royal (or indeed, any other) documents of Alan de Lincoln. The Domesday text thickens the plot at this point. It gives as the holder of the fee in Lincoln from which the family apparently took its name as Alfred nepos Turoldi.¹⁰⁶ The word nepos relates Alfred and Turold to a common ancestor, but it is notoriously difficult to translate. The known relationship between the Lincoln family and Lucy's indicate that this Turold was the Sheriff and not Turold de Greetwell, a tenant of Roger de Busli mentioned in the same part of the text. A linguistically satisfactory translation would make Alfred files the grandson of Turold, but this idea meets considerable difficulties in considering the descent of Turold's lands. The simplest explanation is that the younger Alfred held a single Lincolnshire manor in 1086 (but not thereafter) and was described as nepos Turoldi to distinguish him from his father. Son of Turold's wife's sister, the word nepos makes him nephew of Turold in the legal sense by which William Malet was the common ancestor through whom both Alfred and Turold derived title to some of their holdings.

Turold the Sheriff was probably a Norman. On the basis of the names Alfred and Alan, the de Lincoln family are normally assumed to have been Breton. J.H. Round bolstered his Breton theory of this family with the observation that the occurrence of a Juhel de Lincoln who died in 1051, followed by an Alfred of Lincoln in 1086, can be compared with Judhael of Totnes son of Alfred, whom he also assumed to have been a Breton.¹⁰⁷ The problem is that the form of 'Juhel of Lincoln's' name, written as Joel, probably does not indicate the name Juhel or Judhael. It could represent the Breton name Hoel, or it could simply be the name of the Old Testament

prophet. Since Joel of Lincoln died as a monk of Ramsey the latter alternative is a distinct possibility, since Old Testament names were occasionally borne by English monks. The lands that Joel gave to Ramsey cannot be connected in any way with Alfred's family,¹⁰⁸ though there are recurring connexions with the fee and descendants of two Domesday landholders. One was Geoffrey Alselin, who was also a tenant of Ivo Taillebois, and the other was Oger the Breton, who acquired the lands of Hereward the Wake, probably by marriage.¹⁰⁹ Against the Old Testament prophet theory is the fact that the name Joel continued to be found amongst Lincolnshire laymen, albeit laymen with a strong connexion with the bishop of Lincoln. Alan fitz Joel occurs together with Joel of Ellesham in 1130.¹¹⁰ The likelihood is therefore that the first Joel became a monk at the end of his life and that he had descendants. Even so, they cannot be attached to the de Lincoln family.

If we return to Domesday Book we find there at most two or three separate Alfreds in Lincolnshire, three if we assume that Alfred nepos Turolde was indeed Alfred junior of Lincoln, as seems most likely. Apart from Alfred de Lincoln and his son, we find Alfred de Canci, also known as Alfred of Laughton, from the manor he held from Guy de Craon. We have already mentioned his extensive connexions with the Lincolnshire Malet network, including his tenure from Durand Malet and from Kolswein of Lincoln, but his major holdings were from Guy de Craon. Guy was a Breton, son of Robert de Vitré and Bertha of Craon (in Anjou).¹¹¹ His brother André, a landholder in Cornwall, married the count of Mortain's daughter. Alfred de Canci was probably also a Breton, from Chancé (comm. cant. Bais, Ille-et-Vilaine), near Rennes.¹¹² Guy de Craon married a Norman, the daughter of Hugh fitz Baldric.¹¹³ Hugh's origin, like some of the Malet affinity's and possibly even Turolde the Sheriff's, probably lay in the Pays d'Auge. Interestingly, Guy married his daughter (?Emma) to Roger of Huntingfield, son of Robert Malet's Suffolk tenant Walter de Caen.¹¹⁴ Alfred de Canci himself married a Norman, in the heiress of Odo balistarius, another a Lincolnshire tenant-in-chief.

In the case of Alfred's Lincolnshire tenants only one, Glai, bore a Breton name. Alfred of Lincoln seems to be of those cases where we can make little progress in identifying tenants because we apparently know nothing for certain about the tenant-in-chief's origins and therefore have very little to go on. If we analyze Alfred's tenants in terms of the value of the lands they held from him we find that Glai was the most important, with lands worth £6/10s, Jocelyn's were worth £5/5s, Ralph's £4, Bernard's £3/14s, Dodin's £2/10s, Ranulf and Walfrid's £2, while the native Siward and Osrarn's lands were worth a mere 10s. It may be significant that Alfred's leading tenant was one with a Breton name. The most telling indication that Alfred was a Breton is the fact that he claimed the Lincolnshire manor of Quadring from Count Alan, who had acquired it after the forfeiture of the Breton Ralph of Gael, earl of Norfolk, who rebelled in 1075; the jurors supported his claim because Alfred had held it himself in the time of Earl Ralph.¹¹⁵ Such a claim by a tenant-in-chief, involving no reference to predecessors, whether Ralph himself or Englishmen, is unique, though it can be compared with another claim in which the predecessor of Guy de Craon bore witness that both he and Guy had held the contested manor in the time of Ralph the Staller.¹¹⁶ Domesday contains numerous examples of men associated with Ralph of Gael who supported his revolt and suffered forfeiture or worse as a result. It also contains numerous hints that several Bretons tenants-in-

chief in Lincolnshire, Norfolk and Suffolk had come to England in or around 1066 with Ralph of Gael but had remained loyal to the king during Ralph's revolt in 1075.¹¹⁷ It could be that the links between the Malets and Alfred and Guy arose out of the fact that both the father of Ralph of Gael and William Malet were members of pre-Conquest English society.

Robert Malet did not hold in 1086 all the lands or men held by his father William at the time of his death c.1070-1. The reason for this is not immediately apparent, but it appears that in every case occurring in his Suffolk and Norfolk fief the commendatio¹¹⁸ of men and their land in question had previously been held by William and Robert's English predecessors Edric of Laxfield and Leofric of Thorndon.¹¹⁹ Although the Normans sometimes chose to view such commendatio as conferring permanent rights to land, it did not in itself carry any such rights. Edric had incurred some forfeiture in Edward the Confessor's reign, but had been restored to grace, though with the proviso that those of his men who wanted to transfer themselves to other lords could do so.¹²⁰ It appears from some of the entries in the Suffolk Domesday that Robert Malet had several recognized predecessors for his lands, of whom the most important was Edric of Laxfield.¹²¹ Another was Leofric of Thorndon, who had held the lands held from Robert by his mother in 1086. Robert's mother was then in dispute about manors of Leofric,¹²² but Robert's right to his father's holdings, as distinct from Edric's, is implicitly recognized in some entries about disputes in which only Robert was involved.¹²³ Robert does not appear to have contested the loss of those lands of Edric held by commendatio, which reinforces the view that Robert did not suffer any diminution of the Suffolk lands once held by his father. Quite simply, his father did not have a recognized legal right to pass on to his heirs the commendatio of the men and land in question.

Robert also held a Yorkshire fief in 1086, the county of which his father had been sheriff until 1069/70.¹²⁴ Robert failed to retain other lands in the county that had been held by his father. Many of them passed to Nigel Fossard or to Osbern of Arques. The major reorganization of Yorkshire that was to follow the 'harrying of the North' in 1069/70 may be sufficient explanation for the loss of some of the Malet lands by Robert, or perhaps they had all been associated with an office held by William but not by Robert. Although many of the inquests sworn about the lands lost in Yorkshire indicate that the jurors believed these lands should have passed to Robert, it is clear that in other cases they were uncertain about William Malet's rights.¹²⁵

The commendationes of Edric of Laxfield that had once been associated with the Malet holdings were regranted to other tenants-in-chief, among whom were Count Alan,¹²⁶ lord of Richmond and half-brother of the Ribald who married Ivo Taillebois's daughter, Roger Bigot¹²⁷ from western Normandy, and Hervé Bituricensis;¹²⁸ in one case the commendatio passed to Roger of Poitou.¹²⁹ The commendatio of most of Hervé's lands were explicitly mentioned as having been formerly held by Edric of Laxfield, a number of them having been held by William Malet.¹³⁰

The commendatio of men and land once held by Leofric and then by William Malet largely passed to Roger Bigot.¹³¹ It is perhaps significant that a major predecessor, and also a 1086 tenant, of Roger Bigot, sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk in 1086, was Norman the Sheriff, who occurs as such, or as Norman or as Norman a thegn.¹³² An Englishman who was the predecessor of

Robert Malet and Roger Bigot as sheriff of Suffolk after the Conquest, Norman was a tenant of Robert Malet in 1086.¹³³ In the Bigot fief he was several times associated with the Malet predecessors Edric of Laxfield and Leofric and with lands formerly held by William Malet, himself perhaps a former sheriff of Suffolk.¹³⁴

Among the men who were named in or who attested Robert Malet's foundation charter for his priory at Eye were many who can be identified as his Domesday tenants in Suffolk.¹³⁵ This is as we should expect. There were several others named who cannot be seen as Robert's tenants, whether because their names were omitted from Domesday Book or because they were sub-tenants. Some of them may have been settled in the honour during the tenure of Roger of Poitou or by Robert himself after he recovered it. Considering the re-allocation of some of Edric of Laxfield's lands, it is possible that some of the men who appear in this charter might provide help in identifying the Domesday tenants of some of the new holders of these lands. In the following list the asterisks indicate the men who can be identified with Domesday tenancies under Robert Malet; the symbol + refers to men associated in the charter with lands held by Robert's mother in 1086, which might mean that they were her sub-tenants.

Named in the foundation charter were: Osbert de Conteville+ (Eure), Oin Campayn(+), Richard Hovel*, William Goulafré* (La Goulafrière, Eure), Oger+ (? from Puchay, near Etrepagny in the Crispin lands), Ernald fitz Roger, Ralph Grossus*, Hugh de Avillers* (perhaps Auwilliers, Seine-Maritime), Odo de Cairon+ (near Caen), Godard of Cailly+ (near Clères, in the Tosny lands), W[illiam] Bole+, Ralph Grossus*; it was attested by Hubert of Montcanisy* (Tourgeville-en-Auge, Calvados), Robert fitz Walter of Huntingfield (i.e son of Walter of Caen*), William de Rovilla/is (probably La Trinité-de Réville, Eure) William Goulafré, Robert fitz Walter (son of Walter de Caen*), Robert fitz Erefrid (possibly a son of Herfrid of Réville), Odo de Cairon+, Hervé de Glanville* (Eure), Osbert de Conteville+, Judicael capellanus, Geoffrey fitz Urselli, Arnulf de Vitreville,¹³⁶ Walter de Canouville* (Seine-Maritime), Egger prepositus (= Oger),¹³⁷ Fulcred de Peasenhall*, Hubert Malus nepos*, Robert Rotator, Godbert de Wissant* (Pas de Calais), Walter balistarius*.

The Bernard of Alençon who held from Hervé Bituricensis was undoubtedly the same man who occurs as Bernard Lundonie as a tenant of Robert Malet.¹³⁸ Bernard Londons attested a charter given by tenants of the founder of La Ferté-Bernard c.1050-61, attested also by Walter Rufus of Bellême;¹³⁹ a charter of 1067 for the church of St-Martin-de-Vieux-Bellême was attested by Bernard Loridone among others.¹⁴⁰ The Montgomery-Bellême family, of which Roger of Poitou was a member, were lords of Alençon. In 1166 Herbert of Alenton was named among the tenants of the honour of Eye.¹⁴¹ Londonia was the name of a prévôté at Alençon.¹⁴² The fee of Hervé Bituricensis is especially interesting for the high level of association of its lands and men with William Malet or his predecessor Edric, already mentioned. Other parts of 23 of the 33 manors held by Hervé were held by Robert Malet in 1086. In 16 of them William Malet and/or Edric of Laxfield were named as Hervé's predecessor. In one case the land had been held by Robert Malet in succession to his father William; in another, Robert Malet claimed a man held by Hervé.¹⁴³ Very many of Hervé's manors were also mentioned in connexion with the past or present jurisdiction of Ely Abbey.¹⁴⁴ In one case it was recorded that the land had been held by W. son of Gorhan.¹⁴⁵ In fact it is clear from a suit brought by the abbey between 1072

and 1075 that most if not all of Hervé's land had been previously held by William son of Gorhan - a Breton who fell in 1075 - who had usurped it from the abbey.¹⁴⁶ Much of Hervé's land passed to a daughter Esilia, wife of William Pecche and bearer of the same name as Robert's mother. The simplest explanation for the composition of much of Hervé's fief is that his wife was another of Robert's sisters. Her name occurs in a Bury St Edmund's charter as Ieuita, doubtless a corrupt form of Judith comparable with the hypocoristic form Jueta.¹⁴⁷

One of Robert Malet's tenants in Suffolk was Walter fitz Grip,¹⁴⁸ a brother of Hugh fitz Grip. The charter of Hadvise wife of Hugh fitz Grip, future wife of Alfred of Lincoln, for Montivilliers Abbey was attested by Geoffrey Martel,¹⁴⁹ brother of Hugh fitz Grip and a tenant of Geoffrey de Mandeville in Essex.¹⁵⁰ Gravelle-Ste-Honorine, Angerville-la-Martel, Colmesnil-Manneville and Montivilliers are all in the Pays-de-Caux.¹⁵¹ Bacqueville is in the Norman Vexin, the home of the Crispin family. In the Dorset Domesday the abbey of Montivilliers holds the manor of Waddon as the gift of Hugh fitz Grip.¹⁵² Hadvise's Montivilliers charter tells us that she was the daughter of Nicholas de Bacqueville, who, according to Orderic Vitalis, was one of the six sons of Baudri the German by a niece of Gilbert of Brionne.¹⁵³ Among Baudry's other sons were Fulk of Aunou and Robert of Courcy. The Miraculum gives the wife of Gilbert I Crispin as Gunnor, sister of Fulk senior of Aunou. Robert of Torigny says in his interpolations of William of Jumièges that Nicholas de Bacqueville married a niece of the duchess Gunnor, ex cuius posteritate natus est et Willelmus Martel et Walterius de St. Martino.¹⁵⁴ Robert was in error here since William Martel was the son of Geoffrey Martel,¹⁵⁵ who was the brother of Hugh fitz Grip, Hadvise of Bacqueville's first husband.¹⁵⁶ The Martels are known to have held the fee of Bacqueville-en-Caux.¹⁵⁷ These accounts of Nicholas' family are best reconciled by assuming his mother to have been a niece of Gunnor, with his own wife possibly having been a niece of Gilbert de Brionne.¹⁵⁸

The family of Hugh fitz Grip, former sheriff of Dorset, dead by 1085-6, can be associated with Robert Malet through the latter's Suffolk tenant Walter fitz Grip, Hugh's brother.¹⁵⁹ A confirmation for Jumièges issued by William the Conqueror between 1060 and 1066 ends with the gifts of two parts of a tithe in Vuinemeruilla by Ralph and Geoffrey sons of Grip, with the consent of Roberti militis ad quem pertinet.¹⁶⁰ The place can be identified as Vinnemerville, a commune near Angerville-la-Martel; the knight may have been Robert Malet. In Geoffrey fitz Grip we have Geoffrey Martel, brother of Hugh fitz Grip. Reginald Martel was a monk of Spalding when Picot fitz Kolswein made a gift to Spalding.¹⁶¹ William Martel, son of Geoffrey and Albreda, gave land in Little Blenford to Clerkenwell priory attested by one Robert de Vilers.¹⁶² A certain Gerald Martel witnessed a charter of Amaury I Crispin of Champtoceaux, a descendant of Gilbert I Crispin of Tillières.¹⁶³

Immensely complex as is the information so far presented, we can pick out a number of salient features. In the first place it is clear that the grand lignage of Malet was operational from both sides of the English Channel from c.1002 onwards. Secondly, it is a notable feature both of Norman politics and the English settlement that many of the greatest men came from or held land in the Pays de Caux, home of the Malets of Gravelle, or its eastern neighbour, the Pays de Talou. The families of these great men form three separate strata. In the first were the comital descendants of the dukes, the counts of Eu,¹⁶⁴ Evreux, Brionne (de Clare), Aumale and Mortain;

in the second were the seigneurial families Giffard, Beaumont, Warenne, and Montgomery, all of whom provided earls in England. In the third were the Malets, the vicomtes of Arques and the descendants of Baldric the German. In Normandy the Malets were to some extent overshadowed, even dominated, by the Giffards of Bolbec and Longueville, from whom they held much of their honour. The family of the vicomtes of Arques, into which Beatrice Malet married, descended from a sister of Walter I Giffard.

The association of the Pays de Caux with Normandy's premier families is a natural consequence of the fact that it was in the most ancient heartland of the Norman duchy. There was a ducal palace at Fécamp, and a large area of ducal demesne from which these families acquired land. In addition, the first-rank families were those alleged to descend from the marriages of the sisters and nieces of Richard I's wife Gunnor, including the Breteuil and Ivry descendants of her brother Herfast.

The subject of the Gunnorides is a constantly recurring theme among historians interested in Normandy, because the families so linked provided the most powerful and loyal supporters of William the Conqueror. Despite some difficulties of detail, the genealogies of Robert of Torigny and Orderic provide a credible back-drop to Norman affairs in the eleventh century. Added to the comital families who descended from younger or illegitimate sons of the dukes, one can see in the Gunnorides the emergence of a recognizable 'aristocracy' from the background of an average nobility settled on ducal lands around Rouen during the years between the second half of Richard I's reign to the end of the Conqueror's. Building on the foundations laid by their tenth-century ancestors, these families aggressively founded the normally extra-Cauchois honours with which they are associated in the first half of the eleventh century. The process was uneven. Two of the most spectacular success stories were those of Montgomery, who added the extra-Norman lands of Bellême to their holdings between Troarn, near Caen, and Alençon in the Hiëmois c.1050, and Beaumont, who added the extra-Norman county of Meulan to their holdings at a similar date. Of these families that of Montgomery in particular played an important part in the story of Malet.

Also attached to the Gunnorides by the genealogists were a group of families of the Norman Vexin which descended from the sons and daughters of Baldric, called Teuton by Orderic Vitalis.¹⁶⁵ In the male line these families were those of Bacqueville-en-Vexin, Boquencé, Courcy, Névillè, Aunou-le-Faucon; in the female line, those of Crispin (of Tillières), Bonneval and Taisson (of Fontenay-le-Marmion). Gilbert Crispin's wife, the sister of the elder Fulk of Aunou, was named, strikingly, Gunnor. Her sister Havise married into the Taisson family, immigrants from Anjou who subsequently married into the ducal kin when Ralph II married a niece of Herlève. Orderic is the only evidence we have that these families had a common origin, but their frequent association in charters and their grants to the same monasteries make it safe to assume that in this respect he gave us accurate information. These families are all evidenced from the 1030s onwards.

Although there were other routes to success for a Norman knight, including participation in the conquest of England, clearly a marriage alliance with the ducal family was of some consequence. No genealogist suggests that the Malets were part of the Gunnoride kindred, but they married into it in two successive generations when first William Malet married Esilia Crispin, and then their son Robert married Emmelina de Montfort and their daughter Beatrice married William of Arques; in addition,

Robert's nephew married (a daughter of) Hadvise of Bacqueville (-en-Vexin). It is possible to view these marriages not only as a bid for reflected glory, but as a way of making up for ground lost when William Malet's father accompanied Emma to England in 1002.

Le Maho's analyses of landholding in the Pays-de-Caux show that the formation of the honours held there by Giffard, Malet and others, was a process already mature by the early eleventh century. The process indicates considerable aggression on the part of the Giffards, who expanded from a limited base at Bolbec to the point where they could transfer to the greater possibilities afforded by Longueville-sur-Scie, acquired when the count of Arques was disgraced, c.1055.

The Malets might have been victims of this Giffard expansionism. Le Maho points to the fact that at Canouville the Malets had a castle which early had a neighbour in another castle, held by their vassals surnamed de Canouville. The early emergence of this vassal family, c.1025/6, he attributes to the protection of Malet,¹⁶⁶ though it is possible that it was either designed for the protection of Malet, or created in their despite. The Canouville were also vassals of Giffard by 1080. Despite the undoubted importance of the Malet honour in the Caux in the early eleventh century, the facts remain that we have no idea who William Malet's father was and that the Malet holdings in Normandy did not significantly increase during the century. By contrast, the ancestors of their Gunnoride neighbours were at least discussed by the genealogists, and all of them had something to show for their kinship with the duke.

To link the Montgomerys with a discussion of the Malets and the Pays de Caux might seem surprising, though they undoubtedly belong to a discussion of Malet and the honour of Eye. The Montgomerys are no exception to the general rule of some association between the Gunnoride families and the Pays-de-Caux. In the early years of William II of Normandy they were associated with the grant of land in Vitreville to the abbey of Montivilliers. A grant was made for his daughter by one Ralph of land in Vitreville, to which was added the further grant of his brother Geoffrey's land there by Roger II of Montgomery.¹⁶⁷ These brothers were probably the sons of Grip who made a gift of land in Vinnermerville to Jumièges. Geoffrey was also known as Geoffrey Martel, and was mentioned in Hadvise, wife of Hugh fitz Grip's, charter for Montivilliers as her husband's brother. His son William Martel was lord of Bacqueville-en-Caux in the early twelfth century. This is the only known holding of the Montgomerys in the Pays-de-Caux, but they also held land near Rouen. Roger's grandfather Hugh married a niece of Gunnor, daughter of the forester of Saint-Vaast-d'Equiqueville, in the Pays de Talou. This suggests that, as in the case of other Gunnoride families, the more easterly holdings of the Montgomerys were their original holdings, with their great honour in the Hièmois and its vicinity being formed later.¹⁶⁸

The Montgomerys stood out among the ducal kin in the mid-eleventh century because of the exceptional closeness between Roger II and William the Conqueror. Among other marks of ducal favour was Roger's marriage to Mabel de Bellême, who brought him an extensive and exceptionally important honour within and without the Norman borders. Mabel's ancestors had become involved with the Normans from the time of William I de Bellême and Richard II of Normandy (996-1027). William's vassal Giroie of Courcerault was introduced to the Normans shortly afterwards and had greatly profited by the ducal grant of Echauffour and Montreuil-l'Argillé. His sons refounded Saint-

Evroul in association with their Grandmesnil cousins. According to Orderic, Giroie was the son of Arnold Grossus of Courcerault, son of Ebbo Brito, member of a distinguished family of Brittany and France. Courcerault is near Nocé in the Perche and lies between Bellême and Nogent-le-Rotrou, then one of the holdings of the vicomtes of Châteaudun, counts of Mortagne or Perche and relatives by marriage of the Bellême family.¹⁶⁹ The Malets were associated with this family by the marriage of Giroie to a daughter of the Montfort ancestor Turstin de Bastembourg. One of Robert Malet's English tenants, Roger Gulafre, was also a vassal of Giroie's Montreuil successors.

These are the great Norman families who are the focus of attention in any consideration of the crises of the age. One such occurred upon the death of the Conqueror in 1087, leaving his eldest son as duke of Normandy and a younger son as king of England. A short-lived revolt in England in 1088 was mostly the work of Robert Curthose's supporter Odo of Bayeux and it led to very little change in the Domesday structure of English landholders. Odo had already been deprived of his English estates by William I and the dominant position in the defence of Kent had been taken by his co-castellans at Dover, Hugh II and III de Montfort, who were loyal to Rufus throughout his reign.

On the grounds that his honour of Eye was certainly in the possession of Roger of Poitou by 1094, and probably earlier, Robert Malet has been seen as a victim of these events. Lewis believed that Durand Malet also lost the overlordship of his fief to Roger of Poitou, who continued to hold them into the reign of Henry I, but V. Brown has recently given good reason to doubt this.¹⁷⁰ At the time of the Lindsey Survey Ralph Malet held one fee formerly held by Roger of Poitou in 1086. A Ralph Malet attested a charter of William count of Evreux (d. 1118) for Saint-Taurin, together with Turstin fitz Rolf (died or dispossessed 1086-88), among others.¹⁷¹ Durand's fief was among the smallest of the tenancies-in-chief recorded in Domesday. Most or all of such tenancies were subsequently 'rationalized' by absorption into larger fees during the reigns of William II and Henry I; Durand's was incorporated into the honour of Skipton, granted to Ranulf of Bayeux's brother William le Meschin by Henry I.

There are problems with any date later than 1088 for Robert Malet's loss of his English lands because, in the war between William II and Curthose that began in 1089 and ended with the treaty of 1091, Walter Giffard was a known supporter of Rufus who fortified his castles against Curthose.¹⁷² One of Walter's most important tenants in Normandy was Robert Malet, whose brother-in-law was one of Walter's relatives. Walter was probably in Normandy when the Conqueror died and he apparently maintained a neutral position until 1089. Robert Malet occurs in the record of a judgement made at Fécamp by the Conqueror in 1085.¹⁷³ He too was probably in Normandy in 1087, having lost or resigned his position in the English administration of Suffolk.

It is the undeniable conclusion of C.P. Lewis's work that Robert Malet did not hold his English lands during much or all of Rufus's reign. The question of when, how or why he lost them remains unanswered, though Lewis's hypothesis that he was involved in the events of 1088, both losing Eye and gaining an enemy in Roger of Poitou in consequence, is not unreasonable. In the light of what has been established about Robert Malet's background so far the question becomes at once more urgent and more difficult to answer.

The fact is that Robert Malet was not only very wealthy in 1086, he was also extremely well-connected. When Esilia married William Malet, the

Crispins were a castellan family of moderate importance; that had changed and was still changing into a greater importance by 1086. Beatrice Malet had married into a cadet branch of the Giffard family, and her niece Lucy was married by 1086 to a favourite of Rufus, who remarried her after Ivo's death to another favourite. Robert's own (probable) second marriage to Emmelina de Montfort had related him and his issue more closely to the Gunnorides and other top-league Norman families such as Tosny and Evreux. Robert Malet, in other words, was not a man to be ignored, and yet he was ignored by all the chroniclers, apart from Orderic's lapse into another of his errors, and no English or Norman document contained any trace of him for thirteen years.

The chronicler Orderic Vitalis's range of interests was in some respects as wide as it was narrow. The general intention of relating his information to the history of his church of Saint-Evroul and its benefactors surprisingly failed to help the cause of Malet, who were associated with the abbey of Bec, from which Saint-Evroul had been detached in 1050.¹⁷⁴ Orderic's sole mention of Robert Malet has been shown to have been an error, but it must be said that his record for unreliability is at least the equal as his record for reliability. He tells us the names of some of the rebels who supported Curthose in 1101 against Henry I and suffered the loss of their English lands as a result. These included Roger of Poitou, Robert de Lacy of Pontefract (an error) and Ivo de Grandmesnil, of whom Ivo was a lifelong friend of Curthose who had not lost English lands under Rufus. In a subsequent passage Orderic refers to the same events and speaks of the forfeitures incurred by Robert Malet, Robert of Pontefract and Ivo de Grandmesnil.¹⁷⁵ Warren Hollister showed this to have been an error and suggested that Orderic confused Henry I's chamberlain with his son William II Malet, who later opposed Henry, suffering forfeiture and exile in 1110.¹⁷⁶

To have confused a son with his father of a different name is interesting in its own right. In the light of Lewis' investigations the matter becomes all the more interesting for the possibility that Orderic erroneously substituted the name of Robert Malet for that of Roger of Poitou in the earlier passage, knowing that Robert's lands had been held by Roger. All the more tragic, then, is the possibility that Orderic also knew the reason why Roger and not Robert held the Malet lands before 1100, though he never bothered to tell us. Roger of Poitou was after all one of those in whom Orderic was potentially most closely interested, belonging as he did to the Montgomery family which Orderic knew so well and so heartily disliked.

Roger of Poitou was a younger son of Roger II of Montgomery and Mabel of Bellême who had had to make his own way in the world. He was powerfully helped by the fact that his sister Mathilde had married the Conqueror's half-brother Robert of Mortain and that by 1080 their daughter had become the wife of William IV count of Toulouse, brother of the Crusader Raymond of St-Gilles. William was the son of Count Pons and Almodis of La Marche, subsequently countess of Barcelona. Almodis was probably the mother of Robert of Mortain's second wife, and certainly the aunt of the Almodis whom Roger of Poitou had married by 1086.¹⁷⁷ Somewhat unexpectedly, between 1091 and 1098, Almodis succeeded her brothers as countess of La Marche, leaving Roger, after his forfeiture in 1102, as a still wealthy count-consort.

The relationships between the Norman ducal family and those of Toulouse, Barcelona, Poitou and La Marche continued up to and beyond the marriage of Eleanor of Aquitaine and Henry II. All these families were also related to the dukes and counts of Burgundy, both of whom provided second-wave Crusaders in 1101, as well as the wife of Roger of Poitou's nephew

William Talvas of Bellême. The Burgundian dukes were also heavily involved in the Spanish crusades by the end of the eleventh century. More significant for our present purposes were the numerous connexions between these areas and some Norman families, thought to have begun with Roger of Tosny 'the Spaniard'.¹⁷⁸

Other Normans who fought in Spain were Giroie's grandson William of Montreuil (-l'Argillé), Baldric fitz Nicholas of Bacqueville,¹⁷⁹ and Walter II Giffard, called by Gaimar 'the Poitevin, of Barbastre', a reference to the siege of Barbastro in 1064 in which William of Montreuil, Robert Crispin and William VIII of Aquitaine were also participants.¹⁸⁰ From a family holding land near Alençon, in the fief of Montgomery-Bellême, William of Montreuil was a grandson of Giroie and Gisla de Montfort and hence a kinsman of Robert Malet's wife. He also occurs as an adventurer in Apulia, where he married the daughter of Richard of Capua. The simultaneous association of Robert Malet's overlord Walter Giffard with Poitou and Spain is especially striking.

The question of the greater Crusades in the East is of some interest for the fact that many of the participants of the First Crusade were either Normans from Sicily, or Normans who accompanied Robert Curthose, who pawned his duchy to William Rufus to finance the venture. It is known that many of the participating families were already related, or subsequently formed relationships or either blood or friendship. Among those who accompanied Robert Curthose to the East were William de Percy, a landholder from Yorkshire, and William le Meschin, younger son of Ranulf vicomte of Bayeux and a sister of Hugh earl of Chester.¹⁸¹

There is no evidence that either of these men went on Crusade in order to avoid problems at home. William le Meschin acquired lands in England during the reign of Henry I. At the time of his death on Crusade William de Percy still held the large Yorkshire honour written into Domesday Book, part of which were lands formerly held by William Malet. He was the founder of the priory of Whitby in Yorkshire. One of the charters of his son and successor Alan de Percy was attested by one Peter fitz Durand, who may have been a son of Durand Malet. Among the subsequent benefactors of Whitby were men surnamed Malet, who also occur as benefactors of the Gilbertine houses that sprung from the vision of Gilbert of Sempringham, the son of the Domesday Lincolnshire landholder Jocelyn, tenant of Alfred of Lincoln.¹⁸² These descendants of Durand Malet retained the land ascribed to Durand in Domesday Book well into the thirteenth century, though by 1115-18, at the time of the Lindsey Survey, they occur as tenants of William le Meschin, to whom the overlordship of the fief had been given to as part of his honour of Skipton.

The link between Percy, William le Meschin and the Malets by 1100 could well have been the result of the camaraderie of the First Crusade. Roger the Poitevin's younger brother Philip the Grammarian died on the Crusade at Antioch.¹⁸³ It is even possible that Durand Malet was one of the participants. Striking, certainly, is the appearance of a Peter Malet among the documents of the Hospital of St Josaphat in Jerusalem. On both occasions Peter Malet occurs among the brothers of the Order who attested charters of Count Hugh of Jaffa, otherwise known as Hugh de Puiset, nephew of Roger the Poitevin's step-mother.¹⁸⁴ An earlier appearance of a Peter Malet, together with a Walter Malet, comes in a charter for Saint-Etienne de Limoges, an Aquitanian house situated in the county of La Marche.¹⁸⁵

Although Robert Malet certainly failed to retain his English lands

during the reign of Rufus, there is no suggestion that he lost those in Normandy. Apart from Gravelle-Sainte-Honorine his Norman lands were themselves surely among those put by their overlord Walter II Giffard at the disposal of Rufus against Curthose. None of Curthose's acta were ever attested by Robert Malet or show any direct connexion with him. Nevertheless some of those with whom Robert was closely involved were active in Curthose's support in 1087-8, including the three captains William, count of Evreux, William of Breteuil and Ralph de Tosny. Geoffrey Martel may have been a supporter of Robert, as was the lord of Tancarville and Robert de Montfort. Soon afterwards, in 1091-2, William of Evreux and Ralph de Tosny fought a private war initiated by the rivalry of their wives. Both men held land in England and were therefore also vassals of William Rufus, but it was Ralph de Tosny who summoned the aid of his English overlord, then campaigning with Robert Curthose against their brother Henry. During the Vexin wars of 1097-8 William of Evreux was in the army of William Rufus.

Given Robert Malet's wealth and his connexions, the failure of the chroniclers to mention the cause of his downfall in England is extraordinary. We therefore have to explore the possibility that there was no downfall, no disgrace, but that Robert Malet voluntarily resigned the English lands he had held in 1086, perhaps in order to pursue some interest in the county with which both his Norman overlord (Walter Giffard) and his successor in England (Roger the Poitevin) had connexions, i.e. Poitou.

The choice of Roger to succeed Robert Malet in Eye is perhaps more noteworthy than it has seemed hitherto. Roger of Poitou was a favourite of William II and was viewed with some warmth even by Henry I, who had to disseize him of his English lands for political reasons. The most obvious reason for the grant of the Malet lands to Roger is probably also the most obvious reason why they should not have been granted to him. The Malet lands all lay in areas where Roger either had held land or still held it. Of all the counties in which Eye lands lay only in Surrey was Roger of Poitou not a tenant-in-chief according to Domesday, though his father Earl Roger was. Although Roger may not have still held all the lands he nominally held in 1086 at the time he was given Eye, he did retain land landholdings in some of the areas where the Malet lands lay. So striking is the correspondence between the Domesday record of Robert and Roger's lands that one might easily see in Roger a custos of Robert's lands during some period of voluntary absence.

This possibility is a real one, despite Lewis's demonstration that the grant of the lands to Roger with sake and soke means that they were held in fee and not at farm, which could mean that they had indeed been alienated from Robert to Roger. An indication that this regrant was not one likely to indicate any friendship between the two is the fact that this information comes from the charter by which Roger alienated to the Poitevin abbey of Charroux -the most important abbey in the county of La Marche- some of the lands designated for the priory of Eye by Robert Malet in his foundation charter.¹⁸⁶ Also alienated from Eye were grants to the Sées cell of Lancaster by Roger in 1094. Both alienations were matters that had to be redressed by Henry I when he restored Robert to Eye and disseized Roger of his other English lands.

All this has been taken as an indication of a rivalry or enmity between Roger and Robert, who finally came face to face in the time of a friend of both, Henry I. It is known that Robert's foundation charter for Eye is a pancarte put together after the time the foundation was decided

upon, sometime before the Conqueror's death in 1087, and that the development of Eye cannot be securely demonstrated before the time of Henry I. It is significant that the foundation charter, at whatever date it was put together, which may have been as late as 1120, contains information the vast majority of which can be demonstrated to have applied to the situation in 1086 recorded by Domesday. So too is the appearance of Bernard of Alençon among the tenants of both Robert Malet and Hervé Bituricensis as well as the association of both Malet and Montgomery with the fitzGiroie.

The idea that Robert might have voluntarily resigned his English lands is more acceptable than the idea that he might have lost them because of some totally unrecorded disgrace, but it is perhaps surprising in view of the antiquity of the Malets' association with England. Although some of the Suffolk lands may have been acquired before the Conquest, it seems that the bulk of the lands that can be securely attached to the notion of an English Malet inheritance lay in Lincolnshire. In 1086 the majority of such lands had already passed to Lucy, William Malet's granddaughter; some had passed with another of William's daughters to her husband Alfred of Lincoln, and some had passed to Durand Malet, whose descendants retained them under the honour of Skipton. Only a few manors remained to Robert Malet, from whom they passed to Roger of Poitou; some of them were given to the priory of Eye, which retained them. Sentimental attachment to family lands had not been betrayed by Robert. Most of them stayed with descendants of William I Malet, thus making it easier to accept the notion that Robert might have voluntarily given up his lands, rather than having been obliged to do so. It is likely that, because of his acquisition of the enormous Eye lands centred on Suffolk after 1066, William I Malet decided that henceforth his family should focus on Eye as the stronghold of their new wealth, while the original, pre-Conquest lands in Lincolnshire were divided among his children. The process possibly stopped with his death, or was always intended to exclude his youngest children, since neither Beatrice nor Gilbert Malet apparently had interests in Lincolnshire. Very probably the intention to found a priory of Eye was Robert Malet's way of continuing this family policy.

Taking all this together we have a possible explanation for what happened to Robert Malet between 1087 and 1100 that meets all the difficulties we have examined, the most serious of which is his total disappearance from any English or Norman documentary source, apart from the Saint-Taurin charter which may show that Robert was in Normandy shortly before 1100. We could suppose that before 1087 Robert had formed some connexion with the county of Poitou, part of the duchy of Aquitaine in which lay La Marche, and an area with which both his Norman overlord and his successor in England had some connexion; that, despite his known involvement in Normandy in 1085, for some reason, whether another marriage, a pilgrimage, a quest for adventure, or perhaps the unattractive complications in Norman politics attendant upon the death of William I, he decided to pursue some interest in Aquitaine which rendered the retention of both the English and the Norman lands impracticable, and so he surrendered his English lands; that his interests in Aquitaine were not incompatible with those of Roger of Poitou, with whom his relationship may have been more one of friendship than of enmity, even making it possible that he did not disapprove of the alienations from a priory he had abandoned.

There are other reasons for taking these possibilities seriously. Shortly before 1079 Baldwin count of Guînes and his friend Enguerran de

Lillers went on a pilgrimage to Santiago di Compostella.¹⁸⁷ On the way they stayed at the abbey of Charroux and both decided to endow it with some of their own lands.¹⁸⁸ The result was the founding of the cell of St Médard at Andres in Guînes. Baldwin's heir Manasses ratified these gifts before his father's death in 1091; he subsequently had them confirmed, before 1106, in a charter attested by his wife Emma and their young daughter Rose.¹⁸⁹ Emma was the younger of Beatrice Malet's daughters by William d'Arques, a Suffolk tenant of Robert Malet. Her ancestry was deeply muddled by Lambert of Ardres, who regarded the marriage as a consequence of Manasses's frequent visits to William II in England after Baldwin's death.¹⁹⁰ The marriage occurred after the death of her first husband Nigel de Muneville, probably in 1103, and was arranged by Henry I.

Nigel and Emma founded the priory of Folkestone in 1095,¹⁹¹ to which her widowed mother gave a portion of tithe in her dower at Newington.¹⁹² As count of Guînes Manasses's lands included the port of Wissant,¹⁹³ a place that had provided Robert Malet with another of his Suffolk tenants;¹⁹⁴ it was also the place where William Rufus spent Christmas 1095. Manasses was associated in acts of the counts of Flanders with the distinguished Crusader Anselm of Ribemont,¹⁹⁵ whose sister Agnes married Walter II Giffard ('the Poitevin'), cousin of William d'Arques,¹⁹⁶ before the Conqueror's death.

Directly related to the foundation of the Flemish cell of Charroux was the refoundation in 1087 of the abbey of Bardney, Lincolnshire, by Gilbert de Ghent, Robert Malet's brother-in-law and the man who had shared his father William's experiences in York in 1069. The monks that Gilbert had chosen by 1096 to repopulate the rebuilt abbey were brought from Charroux.¹⁹⁷ At a similar date other houses were built in England that were dependent on Aquitanian abbeys visited by the founders in the course of pilgrimages. The priory of Burwell in Lincolnshire, was founded by one Ansgot as a dependency of the abbey of La-Sauve-Majeure in Bordeaux during the 1090s. Other benefactors of this house were Hugh and Arnulf, sons of Roger de Montgomery and brothers of Roger the Poitevin.

The most famous daughter-house of the abbey of Sainte-Foi-de-Conques-en-Rouergue was the Norman monastery of Conches founded by Roger I de Tosny and his wife Godehildis. The priory of Horsham St. Faith, in Norfolk, was founded as a dependency of Saint-Foi-de-Conques by Robert fitz Walter de Caen, a tenant of Robert Malet's honour of Eye in 1105.¹⁹⁸ Subsequent benefactors of Horsham St. Faith were Walter III Giffard and his mother Agnes de Ribemont, whose grant of Taverham in Norfolk to the priory was made at the mother house in the Rouergue.¹⁹⁹ The Giffards also founded priories of Sainte-Foi at Longueville-sur-Scie and at Newington, Berkshire. The cartulary of Conques-en-Rouergue also contains a charter given by Sancho Ramirez on the eve of Barbastro, the campaign in which Walter II Giffard fought in 1064.²⁰⁰ At the very least it is clear that Robert Malet belonged to a circle -which included the Montgomerys- in which pilgrimages to Aquitaine or to Spain were either highly fashionable or deeply meaningful.

Probably by 1099 at the latest, Robert Malet had either tired of his adventure or completed his business and re-entered the arena of Norman politics on the side of the youngest of the Conqueror's sons, Henry. His attestation of Henry's coronation charter, three days after Rufus's death, is unlikely to mean a dash across the Channel on hearing the news. It indicates rather that Robert had been attached to Henry for some time and that he was in England in Henry's retinue during the last few months of Rufus's reign. Henry himself had been with Rufus for some time. The problem

of Curthose had been temporarily resolved by his participation in the First Crusade, but neither Rufus nor Henry had any reason to welcome his return. The association of Robert Malet with Henry in these circumstances is perhaps a further indication that he had never supported Curthose and had never opposed Rufus.

The lands resigned by Robert after the Conqueror's death were given back to him when politics demanded that Roger of Poitou share the fate of his brothers, if not before. Having re-entered Norman politics on the side of Henry and regained Eye in consequence, Robert Malet was now in a position seriously to undertake the foundation of a priory at Eye he had projected as far back as 1086. In the delicate matter of the lands earmarked for Eye and alienated by Roger to Charroux, Robert and Roger had the cooperation of a mutual friend, the king. Henry valued friendship: his co-operation is perhaps best understood as an indication of friendship, rather than enmity, between Roger and Robert. Robert may not have been given back Eye in inheritance. Lewis has given grounds to believe it unlikely that Robert's son William II Malet inherited Eye, though he apparently did inherit the Norman lands.²⁰¹ On the other hand, as Hollister observed: 'if Robert Malet's lands had indeed been taken into royal hands in 1105 or 1106 it is hard to understand how William Malet might have acquired English lands of sufficient value to have caught the Anglo-Saxon chronicler's attention in 1110.'. In short, we simply do not know the status of the honour held by Roger of Poitou and then repossessed by Robert Malet. The clearest indication that Robert's repossession was thought of as an hereditary affair is his execution of his intention to found the priory at Eye. The irony was that the priory was meant to focus the family on its new post-1066 wealth, but even so it was the original home of the English Malets, in Lincolnshire, rather than Suffolk, where Malet presence was to be unbroken from the early eleventh century to the end of the Middle Ages.

There are no easy answers to the greatest of the problems surrounding Robert I Malet. Probably no incontrovertible answer will ever be found. Nevertheless, the attempt to examine the personal circumstances of Robert Malet, notably with regard to his family and tenurial relationships, has yielded a great deal of information and helped to clarify numerous points concerning people with whom he was associated. Despite the numerous difficulties with the preceding hypothesis, it should at least be clear that the problem of Robert's disappearance between 1087-1100 has not been adequately explored before and that when it is it is seen to be a problem more complex and more important than previously suspected, and that there are some surprisingly likely possible explanations, radically different from those proposed to date.

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Notes

1. J. Le Maho, 'L'apparition des seigneuries châtelains dans le Grand-Caux à l'époque ducale', Archéologie Médiévale 6 (1976), 5-148.
2. Le Maho, 47; Turstin Malet was a witness to a charter given by Humphrey d'Adeville, vassal of William d'Aubigné, for St. Stephen's, Caen, in the early twelfth century (Actes caennaises, ed. L. Musset, Caen, 1961, no. 27). William's nephew Humphrey d'Aubigné married one of the daughters of Alan of Lincoln (Pipe Roll 31 Henry I, 111). Turstin Malet witnessed a grant to Sainte-Trinité de Caen made by Papillon before 1082 (BN lat. 5650, fol 31v); his son Turolde Papillon attested a charter of William II with Alan of Lincoln in 1094 (RRAN i, 349), and a document from Bury St Edmunds relating to Peter miles (de Valognes) (D.C. Douglas, Feudal Documents of the Abbey of Bury St Edmunds, Oxford, 1921, 180, no. 168); for Hervé and the Malets see below p. 000 and note 145.
3. C.P. Lewis, 'The King and Eye', E.H.R. 103 (1989), 569-87.
4. C. Warren Hollister, 'Henry I and Robert Malet', History 58 (1973), 18-28, reprinted in *id.*, Monarchy, Magnates and Institutions in the Norman World (1986), 129-37. The Malets noted in *id.* note 19 were from a different family.
5. See E.Searle, 'Women and the legitimisation of succession at the Norman Conquest', Anglo-Norman Studies 3 (1980), 159-170, here 164 and note 24; cf. E.A.Freeman, The History of the Norman Conquest of England, (6 vols., Oxford 1867-79), iv, 473; J.H.Round, 'The death of William Malet', Academy (26 August 1884), disagreed.
6. Symeon of Durham, Opera Omnia, ed. T. Arnold, (Rolls Series, London 1882-5), ii. 188.
7. From the Pays de Caux were: William d'Emalleville (arr. Le Havre, cant. Goderville, comm. Saint-Sauveur-d'Emalleville), Robert de Clasville (cant. Cany-Barville), Gilbert de Colleville (arr. Yvetot, cant. Valmont), William d'Arques (-la-Bataille, arr. Dieppe), Walter fitz Grip of Vinnermerville (cant. Valmont), Hugh d'Auvilliers (comm., cant., near Neufchâtel-en-Bray); from the region of Caen were Walter of Caen and his sons Robert and Roger, Walter fitz Burnin, Ivo Taillebois (Robert's tenant in Lincolnshire), Bernard d'Alençon (Orne); from the Pays d'Auge and the Vexin were Robert and Ranulf de Glanville (arr. Pont-L'Évêque, cant. Dozulé, Calvados), Hubert of Mont-Canisy (near Tourgéville-en-Auge, cant. Deauville, Calvados), Richard Hovel, Roger Goulafré of la Goulafrière, near Montreuil-l'Argille, Eure.
8. Miraculum de nobili genere Crispinorum (Quo Beata Maria subuenit Guillelmo Crispino Seniori, ubi de nobilis Crispinorum genere agitur), [hereafter Miraculum] Patrologia Latina, ed. J.-P. Migne, cl, col. 737, which gives Gilbert Crispin and his wife Gunnor, sister of Fulk d'Aunou, three sons and two daughters, 'Emmam, Petri de Condeto genitricem, atque Esiliam matrem Willelmi Malet'. The error in respect of the Malets is discussed below (p.000). Emma and her son Peter occur in a confirmation for Bec given by William I in 1082, in the company of William Crispin, Robert Malet and Fulk of Aunou, all of them relatives or descendants of Gilbert and Gunnor (BN lat. 12884, p.157). Both parents were named in Eye Priory Cartulary and Charters, ed. V. Brown (2 vols., Woodbridge, 1992-4), 1, no. i.
9. The Carmen de Hastingae proelio of Guy bishop of Amiens, ed. C. Morton and H. Munz, (Oxford, 1972), 38 and note.
10. So D.C. Douglas, William the Conqueror (1964), 167, following R. L. G. Ritchie, Normans in England before Edward the Confessor (Exeter 1948).

11. DB Bedfordshire 22.2. Reference throughout is to the Philimore edition of Domesday Book, general editor John Morris (40 vols, Chichester 1974-86).
12. ibid. 31. In both Bedfordshire and Rutland the lands of Robert Malet and Alfred of Lincoln lay close together, no more than 5km apart.
13. DB Beds 4.2;6-8; Ivo Taillebois, who like William came from the Caennais, was the bishop's tenant in Goldington, 4.5; cf. Odo de Cairon, a tenant of Robert Malet in Suffolk, discussed below.
14. ibid., 44.1-4. Hugh Hubald was a tenant of Gilbert fitz Turolde, a follower of William fitz Osbern, in Cambridgeshire (DB Cambs. 24.1 and note).
15. Marie Fauroux ed., Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie (911-1066), Société des Antiquaires de Normandie t. 36, Caen, 1961, no. 16, c.1015, Richard II confirms the gift of Tissey by Robert of Mortain to Mont-Saint-Michel, attested by one Griphus.
16. William Martel son of Geoffrey Martel fitz Grip was lord of Bacqueville-en-Caux in the early 12th century. Wace refers to the Martel of Bacqueville as among the Conqueror's army. This family and their lordship have occasioned confusion, beginning with Robert of Torigni, because of their relationship with Havise daughter of Nicholas of Bacqueville-en-Vexin who married Hugh fitz Grip, brother of Geoffrey Martel. Geoffrey Martel and Walter fitz Grip were tenants of Robert Malet in Suffolk DB. See further below.
17. J.H. Round, Calendar of Documents in France, Illustrative of the History of Great Britain and Ireland, ed. J.H. Round, (London 1899) [hereafter CDF], no. 319.
18. Fauroux, no. 89.
19. Arch. dépt. de l'Eure, H 793, 57v, is an inspeximus by Richard I, printed as Round, CDF, no. 316. On folio 72v is a confirmation by Osbern fitz Hugh of Longueville of grants of land held of him in Pinterville made by Hugh fitz Hubald of Pacy, when dying, and by Robert Malet and Gilbert de Neuilly. Gilbert and his brother Haimundo attested the charter. Among the signatories was a Ralph fitz Gerald, perhaps a brother of Robert and Roger.
20. Arch. dépt. de l'Eure H 793, 57v; cf. 72v. Perhaps the Hugh fitz Hubald found as a tenant of Osbern fitz Richard in DB Bedfordshire 44.1-4. Osbern's father Richard Scrope had held land in England before the Conquest, as had William Malet.
21. For his descendants see D.C. Douglas, The Domesday Monachorum of Christ Church Canterbury (London 1944), 65-7.
22. Orderic Vitalis, Ecclesiastical History, ed. M. Chibnall (6 vols, Oxford 1969-81), ii, 22.
23. Ord. Vit. ii, 34; DB Suffolk 6.10-11;14;25;65-6;138-41;206;271;293.
24. Havise, daughter of Giroie and wife of Robert de Grandmesnil, became a nun at Montivilliers, as did (two?) of her daughters: J-M. Bouvris, 'La renaissance de l'abbaye de Montivilliers et son développement jusqu'à la fin du XI^e siècle', in L'Abbaye de Montivilliers à travers les âges. Actes du colloque organisé à Montivilliers le 8 mars 1986; Recueil de l'Association des Amis du Vieux Havre, no. 48 (1988), 70 and 79, nos. 5 and 24; pancarte of Saint-Léger, in Arturo du Monstier, Neustria Pia (Rouen 1663), 521.
25. Ord. Vit. ii, 30-32.
26. Ord. Vit. 26-8.
27. She was the mother of William of Breteuil's wife, and probably of Robert

Malet's. Richard of Beaufour had married a daughter of Count Rodulf of Ivry. Ralph of Beaufour (Calvados) was a tenant-in-chief in Suffolk (DB, 11); he occurs in acts relating to the priory of Eye early in the twelfth century (Eye Cart. nos.8-10). Ralph married the daughter of Hubert de Ryes, from the family of Eudo dapifer, custodian of Préaux. Robert of Ryes gave land at Ranville, Calvados, for a niece who became a nun of Saint-Lèger, Préaux, Neustria Pia, 523.

28. See R.M. Sherman, 'The continental origins of the Ghent family of Lincolnshire, Nottingham Medieval Studies, 22 (1978), 23-35. Douglas believed Alice to have been the daughter of Hugh's first wife, N de Beaufour.

29. Eye Cart. I, no. 1.

30. cf. Brown, Eye Cart. II, 12-15.

31. DB Suffolk, 23 (fol. 389a); the abbey's lands were Creeting St. Peter, a grant by the king from Harduin's land (probably the brother of Ralph of Gael), Creeting St. Mary and Old Newton, both of them formerly held by Aelfric, Creeting and Olden. Cf. the foundation charter wherein Robert gave Aelfric de Fen and all his land.

32. Neustria Pia, 401-2.

33. The question was raised by V. Brown in Eye Cart. II, 15-16.

34. Somewhat dubious evidence in its present form, but apparently genuine in substance: see Brown, Eye Cart. II, 10.

35. Or to be the subject of them; see RRAN ii, nos. 522, 547-8, 601, 639, 834. William (II) may have been aged about 30 by 1100; his son William (III) was probably born around that date.

36. DB Kent 5. 128.

37. ibid. 9.18-30, 5.130; the Ralps were Ralph fitz Richard (?of Beaufour) and Ralph of Courbépine.

38. Ibid. 5.128.

39. DB Kent 5.128.

40. DB Kent 9.3-4;6.

41. Noted by Fauroux, Recueil, 33-4, found in the cartulary of Saint-Pierre, Préaux, Arch. dépt. de l'Eure, H 711, fols. 101v, 144v. Some of the lands held by Robert of Mortain's father Herluin of Conteville seem to have passed to Hugh de Montfort; see D. Bates and V. Gazeau, 'L'abbaye de Grestain et la famille d'Herluin de Conteville', Annales de Normandie 40 (1990), 5-29.

42. RRAN ii, 1303.

43. BN lat. 12884, fol. 165r

44. BN lat 13905, f. 12v, copy of charter of Bec, cited by A. Porée, Histoire de l'abbaye du Bec, (2 vols, Evreux 1901), i, 334, n.4.

45. Brown, Eye Cart. II, 10.

46. His earliest appearances are in RRAN ii, 522, 547-8

47. BN lat. 13905 p.202 (fol. 115v), printed in full in Porée, Bec, i, 645-9. Another copy of Robert's grant in BN lat 12884 (p. 155) reads: Robertus Malet consensu eiusdem Gilberti sedem unius molendini in Maisnillo Goscelini et alia nonnulla'. The same charter tends to confirm the identification of Robert Malet of Eye with the Robert of the Saint-Taurin charter by showing that his relative William Crispin was a tenant of William of Breteuil and that he had property in Pacey (Porée, i, 647).

48. Recueil des actes de Henri II, roi d'Angleterre et duc de Normandie, concernant les provinces françaises et les affaires de France, ed. L. Deslisle and E. Berger, (4 vols, Paris 1906-27), ii, 377, no 744.

49. BN lat. 12884, p.155.
50. Miraculum, col.736-7
51. BN lat. 12884, p. 150.
52. Ibid., p. 46.
53. If William (III) was the eldest son whom nature had not equipped to succeed his father it would explain not only why he became a monk but also the succession to William II by Mathieu de Graville, presumably his son and certainly the brother of a Robert, but the only member of the family never to use the name Malet, though all his descendants did.
54. Cart. Eye II, 5.
55. Though DB Lincs 14.29 strongly suggests it.
56. So E. Searle, 'Women and the legitimization', 21. Beatrice was the wife of William of Arques, who died c. 1090; c. 1091 his daughter Emma took Folkestone to her second husband Manasses of Guisnes; her daughter and eventual heiress by her first husband married Rualon of Avranches early in the reign of Henry I, the time when Lucy was producing children by her third husband. On Folkestone see T. Stapleton, 'Observations upon the Succession to the Barony of William of Arques, in the county of Kent', Archaeologia 31 (1846), 216-37.
57. See J. H. Round, Feudal England, (1895, reset London 1964), 255-6; G.E. Cockayne, Complete Peerage, 13 vols., (1910-59) vol. vii, 743-6 App. J.
58. R.E.G. Kirk, 'The Countess Lucy: Singular or Plural?', Genealogist, n.s. 5, 60-75, 131-44, 153-73.
59. Beatrice (who bore the name of Robert Malet's sister) married Ribald, half-brother of Count Alan; Monasticon Anglicanum, ed. W.Dugdale, new edition, 6 vols. (1817-30), iii, 553, no. xx. For their descendants see Rev.H.C. Fitz Herbert, 'An original pedigree of Tailbois and Neville', The Genealogist, n.s. iii, 31. Clay thought Beatrice was probably illegitimate (see Early Yorkshire Charters, 5, 291).
60. N. Sumner, 'The Countess Lucy's Priory? The Early History of Spalding Priory and its Estates', Reading Medieval Studies 13 (1988), 81-103, here, 84.
61. Monasticon Anglicanum ii, 118-19.
62. ibid., ii, 192.
63. See Complete Peerage, vii, 745 and note.
64. DB Lincs. 11.9.
65. Ibid., 11.2; see N. Sumner, 'The Countess Lucy's priory?', 83-4 and n.12. A William of Spalding was prior of St. Nicholas's cell at Assé-le-Riboul c.1150 (Cartulaire d'Assé-le-Riboul, ed. Cte. Bertrand de Broussillon, Archives historiques du Maine 3 (Le Mans, 1903), no. xi, 16-7.
66. BL Add. 35296, fol. 2r.
67. Ibid., fol. 9r.
68. suorum, 'their' in the Register would have been nostrorum, 'our', in the original charter.
69. The text of Lucy and Ivo's grant to St Nicholas survives as a confirmation by William I dated 1085 at Gloucester (calendared in RRAN i, 288a, cf. Mon. Ang. ii, 210). In his forthcoming Regesta Regis Willelmi Primi, David Bates will suggest that this confirmation was part of the king's business at his 1085 Christmas court at Gloucester. I am grateful to Professor Bates for a copy of the Regesta.
70. DB Lincs., 14.29.
71. Bibliothèque de la Ville d'Avranches, ms 210, fol. 104^{r-v}. I am

preparing an edition of this cartulary.

72. Red Book of the Exchequer, ed. H. Hall, 3 vols (Rolls Series, 1896), i, 368.
73. Some of the men listed here as holders T.R.E. will have been tenants of a principal predecessor or predecessors; the primary predecessor was the antecessor from whom a tenant-in-chief derived title, usually by virtue of his sokeright TRE. On this question see Peter Sawyer, '1066-1086: A Tenurial Revolution?', in, Domesday Book: A Reassessment ed. P. Sawyer (1985), 71-85; R. Fleming, 'Domesday Book and the Tenurial Revolution', Anglo-Norman Studies, 9 (1986), 87-102; and especially, D. Roffe, 'From Thegnage to Barony: Sake and Soke, Title, and Tenants-in-Chief', Anglo-Norman Studies 12 (1989), 157-76.
74. DB Lincs., 14.29.
75. ibid., 14.62 (fol. 351a).
76. ibid., 14.97 (fol. 351d).
77. cf. ibid., 14.3;5;6;8;9;11;12-14;15;30;34 (fol. 350a-c).
78. ibid., 27.1;2;3;5;7;10;14;15;19;20;33;42;47-8;51;57. For Alfred of Lincoln, see M. Jones, 'Notes sur quelques familles bretonnes en Angleterre après la conquête normande', in id., The Creation of Brittany (1988), 71, 88, 91.
79. DB Lincs. 51.12 (fee of Godfrey of Cambrai); cf. ibid. CK 35.
80. DB Lincs CS 27.
81. Ibid. CK 23.
82. DB Lincs. 44.10-11, T5.
83. The Lincolnshire Domesday and the Lindsey Survey, ed. C.W. Foster and T. Longley (Lincolnshire Record Society 19, 1924), 245, 7 § 7, 247, 7 § 16.
84. Mon.Ang. ii, 218 no. xii.
85. DB Lincs. 26.17; this entry possibly refers to the Alfred nepos of Torold whose lands in the city of Lincoln were entered after those of Kolswein, ibid., C23.
86. ibid. 26.3;5;10;40;45.
87. DB Lincs. 57.10;13-4;19;22;22;27-8;30;36-7;44;48;50;54-6, CK 66.
88. DB Lincs. 57.15;18;29;33 and 57.12;41;45;57.
89. DB Lincs. 27.55-6.
90. DB Lincs, CK 35
91. DB Lincs. 58.1;4;6; cf. id. 14.9.
92. DB Lincs. 16.36-38.
93. Lindsey Survey, 18 § 8, 259. The Malets held this manor until the thirteenth century; see below. Part of Grimblethorp passed to Ralph fitz Hacon with his wife Albreda, daughter of Hugh Malet, before 1160 (Kirkstead Cartulary, BL Cotton Vespasian E xviii, fol. 84r).
94. DB Lincs. 44.1;2;5;11;16 etc..
95. Alfred occurs in DB Lincs. 44.2. holding part of Scawby and Sturton ; in the Lindsey Survey (238, 1 § 19) Alfred of Laughton, i.e. Alfred de Canci, who held Laughton from Guy of Craon in 1086, holds 1 carucate in Scawby from William Meschin, Durand's successor.
96. DB Lincs. 14.28.
97. DB Lincs. 26.17.
98. DB Lincs. 35.16.
99. DB Lincs. 41.1.
100. DB Lincs. 48.2.
101. RRAN iii, no.180.

102. The possibility that the reference is to Alan, son of Wigod, of Lincoln, who occurs in the time of Henry I, seems to be so unlikely as to command no attention.

103. Lindsey Survey, 260, § 19 no.8.

104. See Eye Cart. 1, nos. 1 and 33. 'Survey of the Barony of Bayeux, 1288', ed. W. O. Massingberd, Lincolnshire Notes and Queries 8, Lincoln, 1904, 59-60; I owe this reference to David Roffe, who has kindly provided with the text of his 'Earthworks Survey: S4 Welbourn: SMV SK 963536 Castle SK 965535'.

105. Mon. Ang. iii, 210, Spalding v and viii.

106. DB Lincs. C 23. The honorial court seems to have met in what became know as Beaumont Fee in Lincoln, apparently the early caput of the honour of Alfred of Lincoln (J. W. F. Hill, Medieval Lincoln, Cambridge, 1948, 50) and hence, probably, his toponym. I owe this point to David Roffe.

107. Round, Feudal England, 254-5.

108. DB Lincs., 10; Ramsey Cartulary, i. 280, ii, 74, iii, 167. David Roffe points out that the DB account of the Ramsey lands is defective; it makes no reference to Mareham-on-the-Hill (held in 1086 by Robert dispenser of Abetot, a known despoiler of monasteries, DB Lincs 38.3), and it calls Cranwell Dunsby, the name of the hundred in which it was situated; see Roffe, 'Introduction to the Lincolnshire Domesday', 8-10. Edward the Confessor's confirmation of this grant was attested by one Wigod of Lincoln. During the reign of Henry I a Wigod of Lincoln was sheriff of Lincolnshire from 1115 to 1121, and he occurs in several documents with his son Alan of Lincoln; RRAN 11, 1752, Pipe Roll 31 Henry I, 110, Early Yorkshire Charters, ed. W. Farrer (Edinburgh 1914), i, 274-5, iii, 1370, Winchester Survey, ed. M. Biddle, 55, no. 154.

109. As demonstrated by D. Roffe, 'Hereward "the Wake" and the Barony of Bourne: A Reassessment of a Fenland Legend', Lincolnshire History and Archaeology 29 (1994), 7-10.

110. Pipe Roll 31 Henry I, 111, 112, 114. In id. 116 Joel de Ailesham occurs in a noua placita. The large manor of Elsham was held in 1086 by Ernui from Roger of Poitou and by William before him (DB Lincs 16. 33-4).

111. H.Morice, Mémoires pour servir de preuves à l'histoire ecclésiastique et civile de Bretagne 3 vols (Paris, 1742), i, col. 413. Another possibility is that Guy came from Crun in the Avranchin, comm. Champcey. However, Guy had a son called Lisinus or Lisius, variants of the name Lisois, characteristic of the Craon family that married into the Vitré family; Mon. Ang. iv, 125, Liber Vitae of Thorney Abbey, BL Add. 40,000, fol. 3r.

112. Other possibilities are Chancé lieu-dit in the commune of Romagny, canton of Mortain, Champcey in the Avranchin or Canchy in the Caennais. The fact that Guy was a tenant of Ralph the Staller before 1069 (see below and note 114) strongly suggests that an origin in Brittany is to be preferred for his own most important tenant.

113. Cf. DB Lincs. 25.19;25, DB Hampshire 44.4. The evidence of the Liber Vita of Thorney Abbey, fol. 3r, suggests that Guy's wife was called Isabel.

114. RRAN iii, no. 413. Another daughter married William fitz Hacun, tenant of Alan de Percy and Robert d'Arcy at the Lindsey Survey (Lindsey, 247, 258, 256); Ralph fitz Hacun, presumably his brother, married Albreda, sister of Hugh Malet of Grimblethorp (see n. 93).

115. DB Lincs., CK 68.

116. Ibid., CK 66. The reference to Ralph the Staller probably means that

Aethelstan had held the manor under Ralph before 1066 and Guy before Ralph's death in 1069. The Lincolnshire Domesday possibly distinguishes between Ralph the Staller, earl between 1066 and 1069, and his son Ralph de Gael, earl between 1069 and his disgrace in 1075, by describing only the latter as Earl Ralph (cf. *ib.*, T5).

117. This view is discussed thoroughly in K.S.B. Keats-Rohan, 'Le rôle des Bretons dans la politique de la colonisation normande d'Angleterre, c.1042-1135', Mémoires de la Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Bretagne 74 (1996), 181-215.

118. Technical term relating to surety in public courts. The problem of commendatio was noted by D.R. Roffe in 'Lincolnshire Domesday', 12-15, and will be fully discussed in *id.*, 'Brought to Book: Lordship and Land in Anglo-Saxon England' forthcoming.

119. Edric is named as the predecessor of both William and Robert in DB Suffolk, 26.13.

120. Ibid. 6.79.

121. The commendatio of one of Edric's men, previously held by William Malet, passed to Hugh de Montfort (DB Suffolk 31.60). A portion of this manor (Creetingham) was claimed by William of Arques. It was held from Hugh by Roger de Chandos, whose son Robert married the daughter and heiress of Alfred of Epaignes. A similar conjunction of the Malet affinity occurs in a case brought by the abbot of Bury St Edmunds against Bishop Herfast of Thetford, when Bury called to witness Hugh de Montfort, Richard de Clare, Roger Bigod, Turolde of Lincoln and Alfred of Epaignes (Memorials of St Edmund's Abbey, ed.T. Arnold, Rolls ser., 1890-6, 60-7). In 1166 William Malet held 2 fees of the honour of Clare in Surrey (RBE 406); the de Clare were also major tenants of the honour of Eye at the same date (RBE 411).

122. DB Suffolk, 75.4, 77.

123. Cf. DB Suffolk, 75.4, where the land and commendatio had been Bishop Aelmer's, DB Norfolk, 66.60-62, where it had been that of King Edward or of Ailsi. Another predecessor was Durand liber homo (*ib.* 39.12), who was Robert's tenant at Cransford (*ib.* 6.128). He was doubtless the Durand of Offton, also a predecessor of Hervé Bituricensis (*ib.* 67.12;17-18), most of whose lands were recorded in Domesday as having been held by William Malet or Edric of Laxfield (see below). It appears to be purely co-incidental that this man bore the same name as Durand Malet.

124. DB Yorkshire, 11.

125. DB Yorkshire, CE.13;15;29, CW.27-32. See R. Fleming, Kings and Lords in Conquest England (Cambridge, 1992), 159-60.

126. See DB Suffolk, 3.39;40;94-5;98-102.

127. Ibid. 7.15;17;26;36.131.138-40;143-4;146.

128. Ibid. 67.2;3;4;510;12;15;16;19-21;28;29-31;32.

129. Ibid. 8.42.

130. Explicitly associated with William Malet were *ibid.* 67.2;4;15-16;19-21;28-31, associated with his predecessor were 67.2-5;10;15-16;19-20;28-31.

131. See *ibid.* 7.15;56;77;80;139; Bigot also had a predecessor Leofric Hobbesson, *id.* 7.59.

132. Ibid. 7.3;10;18;32;76-98;114-121;138-43. He occurs in *ib.* 67 holding two burgesses in Ipswich from the king.

133. Ibid. 6.28;84;91;135;258;290, where 6.91 is the commendatio of a freewoman claimed back by Roger Bigot.

134. Ibid. 7.30;36;38;79;136;138-40;143.

135. Eye Cartulary 1, 12-16.
136. Vitreville, cant. Criquetot-l'Esneval, comm. Saint-Jouin-Bruneval, Seine-Maritime. The charter refers to the land of Ernald fitz Roger in Hasketon, part of which, formerly in the commendatio of Edric, was held by Roger fitz Ernolf from Roger of Poitou (DB Suffolk 8.8). Thistleton and Burgh were held by Ærnold and Ernolf.
137. This man is doubtless the same as the Oger named in the text of the charter. Orger the reeve of Abbot Baldwin of Bury St Edmunds occurs in DB Suffolk 14.152.
138. Ibid., 67.15;29 (predecessor William Malet); cf. 6.110.
139. Cartulaire de Marmoutiers pour le Dunois, ed. Mabile, (Châteaudun, 1874) no. cxiii, pp. 106-7 (1050-61). The descendants of Robert's tenant Ernald fitz Roger were surnamed Ruffus; cf. Eye Cart. 144.
140. Cartulaire de Marmoutier pour le Perche, ed. l'Abbé Barret (Mortagne, 1894), no. 6 (1067).
141. Red Book, 403.
142. I owe this point to Vincent Moss.
143. Cf. note 126 above; DB Suffolk 67.2;27.
144. ib. 67.3-6;9;11-12;15;22;29-30.
145. ib. 67.7.
146. Printed in Inquisitio Comitatus Cantabrigiensis, ed. N. Hamilton (1876), 193.
147. Feudal Documents of Bury St Edmunds, ed. D. C. Douglas, 159, no. 179; cf the variants Iuetta, Juditta for the name of Baldwin II of Jerusalem's youngest daughter Joveta, abbess of Bethany. Esilia was perhaps not Hervé's only child. A Walter fitz Hervé attested a Bury document of c.1115 (ib. p. 156): Peter Bituricensis, clericus, probably Hervé's brother, and his nepos Walter were Bury tenants in 1086 (ib. 20; cf. 66, no. 39, 68, no. 34, 105-6) A Hervé fitz Hervé sought land against Esilia's son Hamo Peche in 1129, Pipe Roll 31 Henry I, 97. In an age when noble families were starting to name their issue after members of the ducal family, rather than their own ancestors (cf. Michael Mitterauer, Ahnen und Heilige. Namengebung in der europäischen Geschichte, Munich 1993, 293-330), it is interesting to note that the founder of the abbey of Bernay, the mother-house of Eye priory, was the Duchess Judith; the name of Robert's sister Beatrice was also found in the ducal family. Hervé's surname Bituricensis normally refers to Berry or its capital Bourges; though Hervé and Peter may have had ancestral connexions with that region, it is highly improbable that they came from there to England.
148. DB Suffolk, 6.328;317-9.
149. Edited in J-M. Bouvris, 'La renaissance de l'abbaye de Montivilliers', App. no.29 (1066-76), 82-3, 'Ego Hadvidis filia Nicolai de Baschelvilla, uxor Hugonis de Varhan...annuente magno rege Guillelmo, coram baronibus suis, videlicet...et Gaufrido Martello, fratre supradicti Hugonis...'. Eye Cart. I, no. 24, is a grant of the land of Osbert de Conteville in Occold by William Martel, steward of King Stephen and son of Geoffrey Martel; he also confirmed the gift made by his uncle Walter fitz Grip in Fressingfield.
150. DB Essex, 30.3;24;31;35.
151. Also there, south of Bolbec, is St-Ouen-des-Champs, whence came Germund of St-Ouen, a tenant of Geoffrey de Mandeville and Walter Giffard. Geoffrey's tenants Saswalo and William de Bouville probably came from Bouville, S.E. of Yvetot.

152. DB Dorset 23.
153. Ord. Vit. ii, 81. The basic work in reconstructing this family has been done by J. Green in the course of an important study, 'The lords of the Norman Vexin', in Gillingham and Holt ed., War and Government in the Middle Ages: Essays in Honour of J. Prestwich (Woodbridge 1984), 46-62.
154. The Gesta Normannorum Ducum of William of Jumièges, Orderic Vitalis, and Robert of Torigny, ed. E. M. C. van Houts (2 vols, Oxford 1992-5), ii, 272-4. Nicholas de Bacqueville occurs with Ralph Crispin in Fauroux no. 187 (c.1042-66, St-Amand-de-Rouen); his wife Gertrude occurs in id. no.153 (1047-63, St-Wandrille).
155. Westminster Abbey Charters 1066-c.1214, ed. E.Mason et al. (London Rec. Soc. Publ., vol xxv, 1988), no. 436, where William fitz Martel occurs in a charter of Geoffrey I de Mandeville. Geoffrey Martel was another of the judges at Fécamp in 1085 (CDF 116).
156. Other Bacqueville's occur in England in 1086. Roger of Bacqueville held from Ralph of Tosny in Essex (DB Essex, 51.1-2) and Robert of Bacqueville held from Roger de Lacy in Herefordshire (DB Heref. 10.46).
157. Dictionnaire des noms de lieux de Seine-Maritime, s.v. Martel. cf. Wace, Roman de Rou, ed. Andresen, l. 8545 'De Bacqueville i fu Martels'.
158. Nicholas was discussed by E. van Houts, 'Robert of Torigny as Genealogist', Studies in Medieval History Presented to R. Allen Brown, ed. C. Harper-Bill et al (Woodbridge, 1989), 227-8, who sees him as lord of Bacqueville-en-Caux. Green (see n. 145) ignores Nicholas's daughter Hawise, but her account of his family is convincing. A good case for identifying Nicholas of Bacqueville (en Vexin) with the Nicholas associated with the Pays de Caux was made by E. Zack Tabuteau, 'Definitions of Feudal Military Obligations in Eleventh-Century Normandy', in Essays in Honour of Samuel Thorne, 49-50 note 110, though she confused the testimony of Orderic and Robert of Torigny. It is likely that Nicholas was married twice, since on any reconstruction of his family his daughter Hadvise was apparently much younger than his sons. Even so, she was probably too old to have remarried Alfred of Lincoln c. 1086, whose wife was perhaps her daughter (see above p. 000).
159. The relationship of the fitzGrip brothers emerges from Havise's Montivilliers charter and an Eye charter given by William Martel (Eye Cart. no. 24).
160. Fauroux, no. 220.
161. Mon.Ang., iii, Spalding no. 12, 218.
162. Cartulary of St. Mary Clerkenwell, ed. W. O. Hassall (Camden Third Series 71, London 1949), 27, no. 35
163. CARTULARIUM BEATAE MARIAE CARITATIS ANDEGAUENSIS, ed. P. Marchegay, Archives d'Anjou t.3, (Angers 1854), no. 113, 84-5.
164. The Mandeville tenants of the counts of Eu were of little account in Normandy, but eclipsed the counts as landholders in England.
165. Ord. Vit. ii, 82.
166. Le Maho 42, 83-4.
167. Bouvris, 'Montivilliers', §§ 16-7.
168. See K. Thompson, 'The Norman aristocracy before 1066: the Example of the Montgomerys', Historical Research 40 (1987), 251-63.
169. I have established the early Bellême genealogy in 'Politique et parentèle: les comtes, vicomtes et évêques du Mans c.950-1050', forthcoming

in *Francia* 26.1 (1996).

170. Brown, *Eye Cart.* II, 8, note 33.

171. Arch. dépt. de l'Eure H 793 f. 71r. The Richard fitz Herluin who attested this charter may have been the man involved in Robert and Emmelina's charter.

172. Ord. Vit. iv. 182.

173. *C.D.F.* 116.

174. Fauroux 122.

175. Ord. Vit. v 308, vi 12.

176. Hollister, 130-4, where he also shows that Robert de Lacy's disgrace belonged to 1112, not 1102.

177. Discussed in K.S.B. Keats-Rohan, 'The Prosopography of Post-Conquest England: Four Case Studies (Geoffrey de Mandeville, Walter II Giffard, Hugh of Avranches, Robert of Mortain)', *Medieval Prosopography* 14(1), 1993, 1-52.

178. Orderic's Interpolation in William of Jumièges (van Houts 2, 94) says that Roger of Conches fought briefly in Spain c. 1035. This may have been a separate incident to the prolonged stay in Spain of a Roger, usually identified as de Tosny, mentioned in the chronicles of Adhemar and Clarius of Sens (Adhemar de Chabannes, *Chronique*, ed. J.Chavanon (Paris, 1897), pp.178-9; Clarius de Sens, *Annales de Saint-Pierre-le-Vif*, ed. Dune, *Bibl.historiques de l'Yonne*, vol. 2 (1863), 501) as having spent some time in Spain, where he married the daughter of Ramon Berenguer I of Barcelona (then dead) c.1018. In his *Ecclesiastical History* 2, 68, Orderic once refers to a Roger 'the Spaniard' and he may do so to distinguish him from the Roger de Tosny, founder of Conches, he mentions elsewhere (*ib.*, 10, 40, 140). The younger Roger was perhaps the nephew of the elder. To suppose that there were two Rogers resolves a problem unsatisfactorily discussed in L. Musset, 'Aux origines d'une classe dirigeante: les Tosny, grands barons normands du X^e au XIII^e siècle', *Francia* 5 (1978), 52, M. Aurell, *Les noces du comte. Marriage et pouvoir en Catalogne (785-1213)*, Paris 1995, 56-8, and Keats-Rohan, 'The prosopography of post-Conquest England', 35. The elder Roger was possibly the father of Robert de Tosny, lord of Belvoir in Lincolnshire, father of a Berengar and brother of Berengar *Hispana*. On this view Roger of Conches is absolved of the charge of bigamy, since Stephanie of Barcelona was alive during the time of Roger's marriage with the French or Norman Godehildis, subsequently the wife of Richard count of Evreux. Both Rogers died around the same time, Roger II soon after his return to Normandy, c. 1040, and Roger I by 1038 when Stephanie married her second husband Garcia of Navarre.

179. Ord. Vit. iv. 100

180. Amatus de Montecassino, *Storia de 'Normanni' di Amato de Montecassino volgarizata in antico francesco, a curia di V. de Bartholomaeis*, *Fonti per la storia d'Italia* 36, Rome 1935, 13-16. Robert went on to Byzantium (15-7), where Ursello of Bailleul was another adventurer (17ff and note p. 17).

181. Baldric of Dol, *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades. Historiens Occidentaux* (5 vols., Paris, 1844-95), iv, 33.

182. *Charters of the Gilbertines*, ed. F.M. Stenton, *Lincs. Rec. Soc.* 1922, 18-20.

183. Ord. Vit. iv, 302.

184. *Cartulaire général de l'ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem (1100-1310)*, ed. J. Delaville Le Roulx (4 vols, Paris 1894-1906), i, 71, no. 74, January 17 1126.

185. CARTULAIRE DE L'ÉGLISE DE SAINT-ETIENNE DE LIMOGES, ed. J. de Font-Réaulx, (BULLETIN DE LA SOCIÉTÉ ARCHÉOLOGIQUE ET HISTORIQUE DU LIMOUSIN 69, Limoges 1922), no. 120, 137-8, c.1095.
186. Chartes et documents pour servir à l'histoire de l'abbaye de Charroux, ed. P. de Monsabert, Archives historiques du Poitou 39, Poitiers 1910, 112-3, no. 15. Roger gave the grant as count of La Marche. His wife succeeded her brothers sometime between 1091 and 1098.
187. A common pilgrimage at this time; it was also undertaken c.1100 by the Lincolnshire landholder Ansgot (CDF 1239). He accepted the hospitality of the abbey of La Sauve Majeure in Bordeaux, a house patronized also by Hugh and Arnald de Montgomery in the late 1090s (CDF 1234-5).
188. Cart. Charroux, vi, 96-8.
189. Cart. Charroux x, 100-3 and notes.
190. Lambert of Ardre, Chronique de Guines et d'Ardre, ed. and tr. G. Ménilglaise, Société des antiquaires de la Morinie, Paris 1855, 85-7, where Emma, described as widow of Odo of Folkstone, is made daughter of Robert of Tancarville, the ancestor of his sister's husband.
191. Mon. Ang. iv, 673-4.
192. In the fee of Hugh de Montfort, DB Kent 5. 204, 9.37-8.
193. A. Du Chesne, Histoire genealogique de Guines, d'Ardres, de Gand, et de Coucy (Paris, 1631), 3.
194. Manasse de Wissant held a half fee from William of Avranches in 1166, RBE 192.
195. Actes des comtes de Flandres 21, pp.64-5, 1096; . Anselm died on the Crusade in 1099.
196. Walter III was a minor at his father's death in 1102 , having been born 15 years after his parent's marriage (Ord. Vit. vi. 40), which dates the marriage to the Conqueror's reign. Orderic (vi, 38) made Agnes famous for an infatuation with Robert Curthose. Another sister, Fresendis, married one of Walter's vassals, becoming the mother of Eustache de Grainville (Le Maho, 45).
197. G. Beech, 'Aquitainians and Flemings in the Refoundation of Bardney Abbey (Lincolnshire) in the Later Eleventh Century', Journal of the Haskins Society, 2 (19), 73-90.
198. G. Desjardins, Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Conques-en-Rouergue (801-1225) (Paris 1879), nos. 519-22, Mon. Ang. iii, 635-7.
199. Cart. Conques no. 497.
200. Gall. Christ. i, inst. 54; cf. Cart. Conques, no. 466. Another monastery in the Rouergue is associated with one Alboinus, allegedly the son of Harold I of England in Gall. Christ i, inst. 49.
201. Lewis, 579-80; the argument is not entirely convincing. Malets remained settled on lands in Suffolk throughout the twelfth century. Some or all will have descended from William I or Robert I, possibly through women. A Robert Malet attested charters of Abbot Anselm of Bury St Edmunds c. 1120-1148 (Feudal Book, 115, 120), and numerous charters of King Stephen, lord of Eye, during the same period (RRAN ii, nos. 88, 274, 594, 749, 944); he was perhaps the Robert Malet who acquired the honour of Curry Malet in Somerset, dying c. 1155 (Sanders, Baronies, 38-9).