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To my family

CONQUEST, COLONIZATION AND CULTURAL CHANGE IN

EASTERN SUFFOLK, 1066-1166

The Institute of Economics and Social Sciences
of
Bilkent University

by

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ABSTRACT

In the period between the eleventh and the thirteenth centuries migrations from the Frankish heartland into different parts of Europe created a situation in which we see the "Europeanization of Europe". In the course of time, in terms of tenurial structure, landholding, ecclesiastical and military systems as well as onomastics, different regions of Europe implemented similar patterns. This thesis examines this process through a local study of eastern Suffolk in England between 1066 and 1166.

In the first place, the identity, landholdings and tenants of the post-Conquest lords in eastern Suffolk are examined, looking at the origin of the lords, their relationship with the king and the date at which they acquired their lands. Secondly, the thesis deals with the administrative and landholding system and addresses the questions: how much they changed and how far this can be related to 'feudalism'. Finally, military and ecclesiastical changes are discussed.

The conclusion of the thesis is that, although "Europeanization" helps explain some of the changes, some things did not change, while others changed not so much through the spread of European practices as through the circumstances of post-Conquest England and eastern Suffolk.

ÖZET

Onbir ve onüçüncü yüzyıllar arasında gerçekleşen Frank göçleri sonucunda Avrupa'nın Avrupalaşma sürecine girdiğini görüyoruz. Bu zaman süreci içerisinde Avrupanın çeşitli bölgelerinde toprak sistemi başta olmak üzere, din ve askeri sistemlerinde birbirine çok yakın yapılanmalar görülmüştür. Bu tezde 1066 ve 1166 yılları arasında doğu Suffolk'ın Avrupalaşma süreci analiz edilmiştir.

Tezin ilk bölümünde doğu Suffolk'taki 1066 sonrası toprak ağalarının orijinleri, kralla olan ilişkileri, otoriteleri altındaki adamları ve onların toprakları, ayrıca tam olarak hangi tarihte topraklarını elde ettiklerinden bahsedilmiştir. Bunun yanı sıra, yönetim ve toprağın elde edilişindeki değişimler ve bu değişimlerin feodalite ile ne kadar ilgili olduğu açıklanmıştır. Tezin son bölümünde ise askeri ve dini sistemdeki değişiklikler analiz edilmiştir.

Tezin sonucunda görüyoruz ki Avrupalaşma diye tanımladığımız süreç, dogu Suffolk'taki bazı değişimleri açıklamamıza yardımcı oluyor. Fakat, bu zaman dilimi içinde Suffolk'ın bazı özellilklerini fazla kaybetmediğini, bazı özelliklerinin ise Avrupalaşma prosesinin dışında gerçekleştiğini görüyoruz.

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INTRODUCTION

In this thesis I am going to look at changes in the eastern part of the county of Suffolk in the century after the battle of Hastings. The period has been determined, not only by the convenience of looking at a complete century, but by the date of the Norman Conquest and the date of the *Cartae Baronum*, a document that provides some useful points of comparison with the evidence from the Domesday Book of 1086. I want to examine how far these changes form part of, and reflect, a much wider set of changes involving all Europe and beyond. The area I shall examine in detail consists of the hundreds of Plomesgate, Blything, Loes, Wilford, Bishop's, and the half hundred of Parham (see Maps 1-2, pages 20-21). This introductory chapter will concern itself with the scope of my enquiry, defining more closely the changes I shall be looking at. It will also discuss the choice of region and finally it will look at the primary sources I have used. First of all, however, I want to examine the wider context for the changes in England and in Suffolk and particularly that suggested by Robert Bartlett's book, *The Making of Europe*. In this stimulating book, Bartlett argues that between 950 and 1350 similar ideas, values and systems spread from a Frankish heartland to other parts of Europe and beyond — in other words, producing a cultural homogenisation, primarily in the areas we regard as Europe. He also argues that "Frankish" aristocratic migration played a very considerable role in this, and that the Norman Conquest was part of this process.

Of course, historians have long recognized the importance of the changes that occurred in Europe between the tenth and the thirteenth centuries, and the

central place of the eleventh century in many of those changes.[1] For England and indeed Britain as a whole, arguments have revolved around the role of the Norman Conquest of 1066. Robert Bartlett sees the Norman Conquest as a part of the wider process of his *Making of Europe*. This was the set of developments by which Carolingian culture was spread to new areas, and so led to a degree of cultural homogenisation in large areas of Europe and to a limited extent beyond. By Carolingian culture Bartlett means the culture of the area – France, northern Italy and Germany west of the Elbe – that comprised Charlemagne's Frankish Empire. In accordance with the spread of this culture, parts of Europe underwent a cultural and social transformation. It is this Carolingian culture therefore that Bartlett sees as spreading to eastern Germany, southern Italy, Sicily, Spain and even Syria, but also to the British Isles, to England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland. According to Bartlett, in the period between the tenth and the fourteenth centuries, linguistic, military, socio-economic and ecclesiastical changes took place and spread into all parts of Europe, and it was Frankish or Carolingian influence that in the course of time led to the creation of similar patterns in what had been very different parts of Europe. Bartlett refers to this process as the "Europeanization of Europe".

The kind of changes that Bartlett is concerned with include: the Frankish aristocratic diaspora; onomastic changes; changes in landholding and inheritance; the development and spread of the fief; changes in military techniques and organization, the bureaucratization of government and the spread of certain documentary forms; the spread of Carolingian-style coinage; the expansion of Latin Christendom itself by conversion or crusade, and the implementation of Church reform within it.[2]

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[1] See for example, Davis, *Constantine to St Louis*, pp. 228-9, 247-8, 251, 267, 284; Nicholas, *Medieval World*, pp. 184-95, 250-1, 286-91, 367-9; Koenigsberger, *Medieval Europe*, pp. 136-44, 148-50, 164-8; Hollister, *Medieval Europe*, pp. 153-6, 163-8, 174-5, 180-91, 197-202, 215-24.
[2] Bartlett, *Making of Europe*, pp. 1-3, 269-70 and *passim*.

Since this thesis is a local study, I cannot examine all the topics that Bartlett examines. Therefore, I will scrutinise the changes in the landholding classes that took place through the migration that accompanied the Norman Conquest and its aftermath, onomastic developments and the administrative and tenurial system. I will also examine military and ecclesiastical changes.

Aristocratic migration plays an important role in Bartlett's thesis. This migration took place mainly in the period between the tenth and the thirteenth centuries. Franks and Normans, but also Lombards, Flemings, Bretons, Picards, Poitevins, Provençals and others, migrated to new areas:

> The original homes of these immigrants lay mainly in the areas of the former Carolingian empire. Men of Norman descent became lords in England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, in Southern Italy, and Sicily, in Spain and Syria. Lotharingian knights came to Palestine, Burgundian knights to Castile, Saxon knights came to Poland, Prussia, and Livonia. Flemings, Picards, Poitevins, Provençals and Lombards took to the road or to the sea and, if they survived, could enjoy new power in unfamiliar and exotic countries.[3]

What lay behind this aristocratic expansion, which Bartlett characterizes as essentially a Frankish expansion? One well-known Frankish noble family, the Joinvilles of Champagne, was

> a perfect example of that adventurous, acquisitive and pious aristocracy on which the expansionary movements of the High Middle Ages were based. Though they left their bones in Syria, Apulia and Ireland, these men were deeply rooted in the rich countryside of Champagne, and agricultural profits were the indispensable foundation for both their local position and their far-flung ventures.[4]

As this suggests, there were reasons for the aristocrats to migrate, but they were complex.

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[3] Ibid., p. 24.
[4] Ibid., p. 27.

Bartlett would argue that political fragmentation in the homelands was a factor in some cases, but not a simple explanation. Although political fragmentation was very obvious in France, which provided so many of the migrants, there were other parts of Europe where we can observe the same kind of fragmentation without large-scale migration. Bartlett suggests Italy as an example of this, though one wonders whether it is such a good one. We know that Italian merchants did migrate increasingly to the Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean, and in some areas in Italy, it is difficult to draw a clear line between the merchants and aristocrats. The Levantine minority in the Eastern Mediterranean in the first decades of the twentieth century in part, at least, traced its roots back to this medieval migration.[5]

The growing application of primogeniture in Frankish lands amongst the aristocratic and military classes by the eleventh century, with its implications for landholding or the lack of it, was certainly one important contributory factor to the migration:

> A single male descent, excluding, as far as possible, younger siblings, cousins, and women, came to dominate at the expense of the wider, more amorphous kindred of the earlier period. If this picture is credible, it is possible that the expansionism of the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries was one result. The decline in opportunities for some members of the military aristocracy — notoriously, of course, younger sons — may have been the impetus to immigration.[6]

Lack of land might be a factor behind the migration of lesser members of the aristocratic class.[7] However, the phenomenon of aristocratic migration cannot be explained by the lack of land of the leaders of migratory expeditions; most of the leading families were well established in their homelands. These leaders had also strict authority over their men. Men such as William the Conqueror had enough

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[5] Milas, *Göç*, p. 29.
[6] Bartlett, *Making of Europe,* p. 49.
[7] Ibid., pp. 47-8.

authoritative power to divert their men's ability and military might towards their own goals. They also had enough economic resources to make their fortunes in the new lands. Perhaps it would not be wrong to assume that in this respect there is a similarity between the duchy of Normandy and the small principality of the Ottomans. Initially, both of these principalities were not very significant. In the course of time however, by using their economic resources and power, their leaders systematically acquired new lands. Consequently, a combination of economic wealth, manpower and authority allowed these leaders to acquire new lands:

> Even before the conquest of England his (William the Conqueror's) power and authority in Normandy had been scarcely less than royal…however, their (Norman's) most conspicuous advantage was their wealth. The conditions created by the raiding and settlement, and the fighting that went on in and around Normandy during the first half of the tenth century enabled Rollo and his early successors to possess themselves of an enormous accumulation of land and treasure.[8]

One of the important questions here with regard to Bartlett's thesis is how Frankish were the Picards, Poitevins and Lombards, and most importantly how Frankish were the Normans? We cannot consider eleventh-century Europe by today's understanding. First of all, there were great difficulties of communication among and between societies. There were no railways, not even proper roads.[9] Rulers could not be omnipresent; other means of communication had to be found. Minting money, for instance, was one way for new rulers to make themselves known in the society. In Eastern Europe, in the Byzantine Empire, the situation was the same. It had far-flung lands and in different parts of the empire there were regional differences, even though the language of the elite, religion, basic system of land tenure, and legal system — the core elements of the society — were the same.

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[8] Le Patourel, *Norman Empire*, pp. 280-5.
[9] Davis, *Constantine to St Louis*, p. 4.

Almost all the population, except for some minority groups, belonged to the Greek Orthodox Church, and the administrative system from the seventh to the twelfth century was based on the Θέμα throughout.[10] The Carolingian Empire had left a similar, if less sophisticated set of structures. And to some extent, Picards, Poitevins and Normans shared some common values and implemented similar systems. In this sense, they were all Frankish.

In all parts of the old Carolingian Empire the nobles had tended to base their power on descent from prominent ancestors.[11] In the eastern Carolingian Empire, in Germany though not there uniquely, both maternal (*cognatio*) and paternal (*agnatio*) ties were highly important. Through intermarriages therefore, German aristocrats had tried to create powerful families. Timothy Reuter agrees with this, arguing that the members of the significant regional aristocracies, such as Swabia, Franconia, Bavaria and Lotharingia very much tended to marry among themselves.[12] However, during the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries there were changes in the structure of the German aristocracy. In these centuries we see the development of dynasties that were created by the conversion of the *Grossfamilien* into smaller units.[13]

It must be kept in mind that, before 1066 in different parts of France too, small principalities tried to strengthen their power. That is why there was competition among them. They tried to create a sphere of influence over others. For instance, the duke of Normandy and the count of Anjou were two rivals who tried to obtain the control of the *comté* of Maine. Their aim was to establish control in the

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[10] See for example, Vasiliev, *Byzantine Empire,* pp. 175-6, 226-9, 681; Ostrogorsky, *Byzantine Empire*, pp. 80, 149, 96-8, 311-13, 332.
[11] Leyser, *Medieval Germany*, p. 198.
[12] Reuter, *Germany*, p. 222.
[13] Leyser, *Medieval Germany*, p. 169.

region by controlling the significant men in the area. Le Patourel defines this competition as the universal competition of the proto-feudal world.[14]

Migration of aristocrats was also seen within Germany. We can say that this phenomenon led to the creation of a new power structure. There were Frankish aristocrats from Bavaria, Swabia, and Saxony who migrated to the Rhine, later on becoming counts and even dukes. After their migration, in conjunction with the king's will, they created new territorial lordships.[15] In Bartlett's terms, this is almost a reverse migration — from the edge (Saxony and Bavaria) towards the old Frankish heartlands. Aristocratic expansion was not simply a movement outwards from the heart of Francia.

One aspect of the broadly Frankish cultural influence that spread along with the aristocratic diaspora can be seen in onomastics. By the eleventh century we recognise the spread of some names from one region to other regions as well as some changes in naming patterns amongst the migrants themselves.

> Among aristocrats it is even possible sometimes to make a good guess at the family, so distinct and particular are the naming patterns. Those who moved permanently from one linguistic or cultural world to another could feel the pressure to adopt a new name, as a tactic designed to avoid outlandishness.[16]

The reverse was true too. The emigrant names influenced the naming practices of the areas they moved into.[17] It is known for instance that after marrying with German and Danish aristocrats, the names of two Bohemian princess, Swatawa and Markéta, became Liutgard and Dagmar. [18] Similarly, among Slav aristocrats it was very common to adopt Germanic names, such as Hedwig and Henry.[19]

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[14] Le Patourel, *Norman Empire*, p. 288.
[15] Leyser, *Medieval Germany*, pp. 80-1.
[16] Bartlett, *Making of Europe*, p. 270.
[17] Wilson, *Means of Naming*, p. 90.
[18] Bartlett, *Making of Europe*, p. 271.
[19] Ibid., p. 277.

Ecclesiastical personnel, just as much as townsmen and nobles, often adopted the names of the immigrant aristocracy or ecclesiastical names popular amongst the immigrants.[20] For example when the Czechs Radian and Milic were appointed to the bishoprics of Gniezno (in 1000) and Prague (in 1197), they changed their names to Gaudentius and Daniel. Similarly, when the bishop of Olomouc (Olmütz) was consecrated in 1126:

> 'Zdik was ordained and, as he was ordained, put off his barbarous name and was called Henry.' Here the new name is not biblical, though it might be argued that it is a saint's name; what is apparent, however, is that a 'barbarous name' was exchanged for a German one.[21]

In terms of changes in landholding systems, Bartlett deals with the increasing incidence and spread of fiefs. He argues that, from being unknown, the fief, as well as becoming more common in Western Europe, spread to regions such as Greece, Palestine, the Baltic, Andalusia, and southern Italy. Fiefs were given by the leaders to their warriors or followers after their participation in conquests. In return for this gift, warriors had to give some services, especially military service, to their leaders. For Bartlett therefore, the fiefs and the new colonial aristocracies were created simultaneously. Of course there were various kinds of fiefs, especially in terms of their value, but they were one of the significant parts of the process of colonisation.[22]

> The Chronicle of Morea, for example, a thirteenth-century account of the establishment of Frankish power in Greece, describes the subinfeudation of the Morea: Walter de Rosières received 24 fiefs, Hugh de Bruyères 22, Otho de Tournay 12, Hugh de Lille 8, etc.[23]

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[20] Wilson, *Means of Naming*, pp. 94-6.
[21] Bartlett, *Making of Europe*, p. 278.
[22] Ibid., pp. 50-2.
[23] Ibid., p. 52.

Susan Reynolds would point out that the relationship between fief and military service in the eleventh century, before the great aristocratic migrations, was not very clear.[24] Between 900 and 1100 nobles' military obligations were not generally related to the restriction of their property rights, in some special form of landholding called a 'fief', but to the political power of rulers. Armies were raised through the aristocracy, but the aristocracy held full property rights in their land. The origin of the restrictions on alienation that were later applied to fiefs also seems less clear than it did. The meaning of fief started to develop in the course of time, especially by the twelfth century when record keeping was much increased and when the legal rules that concerned the different types of property developed.[25] In fact this process is intimately bound up with the development of more lineal inheritance and more dynastic lordship that I discussed above. Reynolds also explicitly links the development of the apparently clear-cut structure of the English hierarchy of property with the aftermath of the Norman Conquest.[26]

Le Patourel links the spread of feudal structures to conquest and migration as well as the more general aristocratic competition in the proto-feudal world. Both in Normandy and the rest of western Europe, the members of the higher aristocracy tended to reflect their ties with the old Carolingian Empire. In other words, they could use the old Carolingian administration to justify their activities. New aristocratic families therefore had to compete with this existing higher aristocracy. As a consequence many of the migrants belonged to the lesser aristocracy or those trying to break into the aristocracy. According to Le Patourel, as the ties of Normans with Scandinavia loosened in the eleventh century, they developed a feudal aristocracy in their new French territories and beyond.

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[24] Reynolds, *Fiefs and Vassals*, pp. 68-9.

> The competitiveness of the duke and neighbouring rulers was
> reproduced in the lower levels of what was rapidly becoming a
> feudal hierarchy. As each baronial dynasty built up its estates it
> began to form its own clientage in competition with its
> neighbours, since some form of 'subinfeudation' was often the
> only practicable method of exploiting extensive lands; and under
> the conditions of the eleventh century a body of military vassals
> was a necessary to a baron at his level as it was to the duke at
> his.[27]

Bartlett assumes a strong connection between the fief and the new military system of knights, bows and castles that developed in Europe.[28] One of the most important characteristics of the western medieval aristocracy was, or came to be, its military nature. Wherever they conquered, they carried this notion to their new lands. Not only this, but also their new military equipment, and their methods of war were adopted in the conquered lands. According to Bartlett, between the tenth and fourteenth centuries there were basically three military developments in north-western Europe. These were

> the dominant position of heavy cavalry, the ever-expanding role of
> the archers — especially crossbowmen, and the development of a
> particular kind of fortification, — the castle — along with the
> countervailing siegecraft. Knights, bowmen and castles.[29]

The development of heavy cavalry started by the tenth century. It was the heavy cavalry that came to dominate during the wars.[30] First of all, this heavy cavalry, these knights — *armati* and *loricati* in Latin sources — were completely armoured. Having this kind of knight however, required economic wealth. Bartlett describes them thus:

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[25] Ibid., pp. 73-4, 168.
[26] Ibid., pp. 342-6, 394-5.
[27] Le Patourel, *Norman Empire*, pp. 289-90.
[28] Bartlett, *Making of Europe*, p. 51.
[29] Ibid., p. 60.
[30] Morillo, *Warfare*, pp. 150-60. For a contrary view that bowmen of one sort or another were rather more important and armoured cavalry rather less important, see Gillingham, "Age of Expansion", pp. 77-8.

defensive armament consisted in a conical helmet, a coat of mail (the byrnie or *lorica*) and a large shield; offensive arms included spear, sword and perhaps a mace or club; indispensable for offensive action was the heavy war-horse, or destrier. These men were *heavy* cavalry because they were fully armed and, in particular, because they had expensive mail coat.[31]

When we think about the importance of these mounted men, we have to take into consideration both their social and military features. In a social sense, in the course of time, the meaning of *milites* changed. Initially, *milites* could be any kind of soldier, then all soldiers with horses were regarded as *milite*s; in later periods, the word *miles* gained an honorific sense. By the eleventh century to some extent, and especially by the thirteenth century, knights had become a new class that was close to being part of the aristocracy. In the military sense, on the other hand, their impact did not change between the tenth and the thirteenth centuries[32]:

It is important to be clear, however, that these big changes, which resulted in a new self-description for the aristocracy and, in some part, a new culture and new ideas, had little effect on the technology of cavalry warfare.[33]

Another military development that spread from northern France was crossbows. There were basically three kinds of bow in medieval Europe; the shortbow, the longbow and the crossbow. It was in the tenth century that crossbows were recorded in France for the first time; in other parts of Europe, and in the east they were not then known. When we compare it with the other bows, the crossbow was slow but highly effective. By the first half of the thirteenth century the crossbow was used in many parts of Europe, including Germany and England.[34]

The development of castles had political as well as military effects in Europe. The most important characteristic of the simplest motte, or motte and

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[31] Bartlett, *Making of Europe*, p. 61.
[32] Strickland, *War and Chivalry*, p. 19.
[33] Bartlett, *Making of Europe*, p. 62.
[34] Ibid., p. 63.

bailey, castles was that they were high, yet small and relatively easy and cheap to erect. Before the Norman Conquest there were very few castles in England. But from 1066 onwards, the building of castles was seen in all parts of England. The development of castle building in England quickly began even in the first phase of the Conquest. Le Patourel would argue that there were two basic phases of the Conquest, the military and the colonizing phases, and that castle building began as part of the military phase.[35] The first castles were built in Sussex, then in Dover, Exeter, Warwick, Nottingham, York, Lincoln, Huntingdon and Cambridge.[36]

When we look at the religious life of medieval Europe, it is not difficult to find the Frankish impact. From the middle of the eighth century onwards, sometimes more sometimes less, there was an alliance between the Frankish kingdom and the papacy. To some extent this alliance extended below the monarchy to the aristocracy and to townspeople, especially during the period of Gregorian Reform movements:

> The correspondence of Gregory VII can also be used to give us a picture of the geographical vistas of the reformed papacy. Over 400 of his letters survived, and Table 3 shows the distribution of their recipients. The vast majority, about 65 per cent, went to the bishops and other prelates of France, Italy and Germany; this is not surprising. But a fairly large number were addressed to those secular magnates we have already discussed, the dukes and counts of the post-Carolingian world.[37]

Lotharingia played an important role in the church reform movement of this time. Firstly, it is known that the origin of some members of the reform papacy of the eleventh century was Italy or Lotharingia.[38] Furthermore, the Lotharingian

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[35] Le Patourel, *Norman Empire*, p. 28.
[36] Ibid., p. 306.
[37] Bartlett, *Making of Europe*, pp. 245, 247.
[38] Ibid., p. 248.

customs were taken as the basis for church reform in Normandy, since after the Vikings, the religious life of Normandy had been interrupted.[39]

Although Bartlett's *Making of Europe* very much includes the Norman Conquest, it is not the only context in which the Norman Conquest can be seen. In 911, the duchy of *Northmannia* or *Normannia* came into existence when part of Neustria was granted to a Viking leader, Rollo, by the Frankish king Charles the Simple, in return for protection from other Scandinavians and a conversion to Christianity. It is known that from the eighth century onwards, Scandinavian raids and invasions had affected many different regions of Europe. To Normandy, the Scandinavians brought their own ideas and values. Considerable connections may have remained between Normandy and Scandinavia until the eleventh century. It has been suggested that the application of Scandinavian suffixes to place-names arguably created after the initial settlement proves the survival of Scandinavian identity, for example the suffix *Buth* (booth), as in Elbeuf.[40] However, it seems questionable that a place-name suffix that may have entered the local language would necessarily say much about identity or connections with Scandinavia.

In one sense then, the conquests and migrations of Normans that affected England, southern Italy and even Syria in the eleventh century were a continuation of a Viking rather than a Frankish diaspora. Not that the Norman Conquest was the first Scandinavian impact on England. Viking invasions of the ninth, tenth and early eleventh century had already deeply affected England. Consequently, we may see some of the changes that occurred in England from the eleventh century onwards as the outcome of different waves of Scandinavian expansion. This would seem to place

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[39] Le Patourel, *Norman Empire*, p. 299.
[40] Davis, *Normans and their Myth*, p. 21.

the Norman Conquest in a rather different context from that in which Bartlett would put it.

Another way of looking at the Norman Conquest of England, adopted by historians such as R. Allen Brown and David Bates is to see it, not so much part of a generalised Scandinavian expansion, but as part of an expansion specifically originating in Normandy itself. It was, after all, from Normandy that the Norman states in southern Italy, Sicily and Syria, as well as in England, originated. For Bates,

> Norman identity was not extinguished; it simply changed over time and it is still very much with us. This continuum of identity and self-identity becomes important once we consider the problem, not of how the Normans came to be assimilated in England, southern Italy and elsewhere, but of how Normandy became, and then ceased to be, the center of a movement of conquest, colonization and domination.[41]

Brown sees the source of Norman conquests and migration in a specific Norman culture and character.[42]

Yet in some respects, as emphasised by Le Patourel and Davis, the Norman Conquest of England was unique and must be seen separately from other Norman conquests and migrations. Le Patourel argues that there was a basic difference between the activities of Normans in the Mediterranean region and in the northwest of Europe. That is to say, unlike in England, there was no political and integral political direction of the movement in Italy.[43] Davis agrees with Le Patourel that, as the Norman Conquest of England took place in very special circumstances, it was unique in character. For him, after a single battle, the whole story of England suddenly changed: "Apparently as a result of one day's fight (14 October 1066), England received a new royal dynasty, a new aristocracy, a virtually new Church, a

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[41] Bates, *Rise and Fall of Normandy*, p. 20.
[42] Brown, *Normans*, pp. 8-11.
[43] Le Patourel, *Norman Empire*, p. 279.

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new art, a new architecture and a new language."[44] Davis stresses that we cannot think of Normans as Scandinavians. In the course of time, the Normans had adopted a different culture, largely a Frankish or French one. Initially, certainly, they were the Northmen, Scandinavian pirates. But when they settled down in Normandy, they were strongly affected by French culture.[45] They converted to Christianity and were assimilated:

> In 1066 the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle describes two famous battles.
> In the first, which was the Battle of Stamford Bridge, it said that
> the English king Harold defeated the *Normen*. In the second,
> which was at Hastings, it said that the same king Harold was
> defeated by the French (*frecscan*).[46]

Furthermore, in documents, Normans in England only infrequently saw themselves as Normans, but most often as French. Kings in England after 1066 preferred to call their public English and French, not English and Norman. Davis would argue that it was only after the Norman Conquest of England that a 'Norman' identity (and even then more specific to Normandy than Scandinavian) was constructed by 'Norman' historians living in England and Normandy.[47]

Davis's 'Frenchness' of the Norman invaders of England brings us back nicely to Bartlett and his expansion, but it is R. R. Davies who has recently looked at the history of the British Isles through the lens of Bartlett's 'Europeanization'. Davies sees the progressive, though ultimately not completely successful Anglicization of the British Isles explicitly as an offshoot of Bartlett's Europeanization.[48] If this Anglicization is a part of Bartlett's Europeanization, it

[44] Davis, *Normans and their Myth*, p. 103.
[45] Davis, *From Constantine to St Louis*, p. 168.
[46] Davis, *Normans and their Myth*, p. 12.
[47] Ibid., pp. 27-8.
[48] Davies, *First English Empire*, p. 170.

means that southern and eastern England, and to some extent southern Scotland, had been already influenced by Frankish culture.[49]

My reasons for choosing this area are, first of all, its geographical location. Southern England was the first area to be affected by the Norman Conquest. Secondly, there is the convenient size of the region, and the availability of the sources. Finally East Anglia has some interesting features both in terms of its history and population. That is why in this thesis I am going to look at eastern Suffolk to examine some aspects of the process of the Europeanization of English identity.

It will be useful to discuss briefly the geography, political and physical of East Anglia, and especially the five and a half hundreds of eastern Suffolk that are the focus of this thesis. In this way, I can better explain my reason for choosing this area to examine. To the west East Anglia was neighboured by Mercia, though also to some extent separated from it by the Fens. To the south lay Essex and beyond it Wessex and Kent. To the east, there was the North Sea, not so much a barrier as a means of access. Thus, we can say that East Anglia was not an isolated place and from the point of view of the kingdom of England was a frontier always likely to face seaborn invasion. Thanks to the river estuaries it was also an attractive place for traders and along these rivers it was easy to access other areas of England.[50]

An Anglian kingdom of East Anglia had come into being by around the mid-sixth century though it was frequently dominated by Mercia or other kingdoms. Conquered by the Vikings in the ninth century it was in turn conquered by the resurgent Wessex kingdom in the early tenth century.[51] The later Anglo-Saxon earldom of East Anglia was largely a continuation of the older kingdom.[52] In 1066

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[49] Ibid., pp. 116, 162-3, 192.
[50] Warner, *Origins of Suffolk*, pp. 4-9.
[51] Kirby, *Earliest English Kings*, p. 15; Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 50, 248, 328-9.
[52] Lewis, "Early Earls", p. 209.

the earl of East Anglia was Gyrth, King Harold's brother, but he died at Hastings. Soon after, King William appointed Ralph "the Staller" as earl. Ralph, as his name suggests, was an important figure at Edward the Confessor's court and a significant East Anglian landholder. He was also a pre-Conquest immigrant from Brittany, holding the lordship of Gael there. Around 1069 he was succeeded in the earldom by his son Ralph de Gael. However, he lost his lands and title after his involvement in the rebellion of 1075.[53] The earldom was eventually revived, with the title of earl of Norfolk, for Hugh Bigod *ca.*1140-1.[54] Until the reign of Elizabeth I, the counties of Suffolk and Norfolk, were very often treated as a double sheriffdom in which to some extent the old identity of East Anglia was retained.

Like other eastern counties, in 1086, when Domesday Book was compiled, Suffolk was divided into administrative units called hundreds:

> The exact meaning of term is lost in antiquity, but it is generally accepted by scholars that the term relates to one hundred hides, or a hundred variable units of land each sufficient to support an extended family unit, the *terra unius familia* of Bede.[55]

For this thesis my concern is the hundreds of eastern Suffolk, namely Bishop's (also known as Hoxne), Blything, Loes, Plomesgate, Wilford, and the half hundred of Parham (see Map 2, p. 21). In this region there were some important rivers. In the north there is the River Blyth in Blything Hundred. The River Alde runs through the central part of eastern Suffolk, on the borders of Plomesgate Hundred and the detached part of Bishop's Hundred. The River Deben marks the southern boundary of Wilford Hundred and the region.[56] Although eastern Suffolk is a completely flat region, almost all of it is below two hundred feet, with extensive marshlands along the coast and in the river valleys. The region is very lightly

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[53] Ibid., pp. 215, 218, 221; Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 425-6, 610-12.
[54] Davis, *King Stephen*, p. 138.
[55] Warner, *Origins of Suffolk*, p. 144.

wooded, except in the north-west. Parts of Blything and Plomesgate hundreds had the biggest share of Domesday plough-teams. As well as arable farming, there was some sheep rearing in the region, but the main centres of this were in western Suffolk. There were notable fisheries situated along the coast as well as renders expressed in herrings in Blything Hundred. The population was more densely settled in the south-western part of the region and, like much of Suffolk, notable for the high percentage of freemen in 1086 (41 %).[57] The region does not seem to have been heavily urbanised. Only one borough was recorded at Dunwich in Blything Hundred. Only three market places were recorded in Domesday Book: Blythburgh in Blything Hundred, Kelsale in Plomesgate Hundred, and Hoxne in Bishop's Hundred.[58]

The primary sources used in this study are Domesday Book, the *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum*, the Norwich Episcopal *Acta*, the cartularies and charters of Blythburgh Priory, Sibton Abbey and Eye Priory; the early Pipe Rolls and the *Cartae Baronum*.[59]

Domesday Book is my most essential primary source. Twenty years after the Conquest, in 1086, the Conqueror ordered his men to record a wealth of detail about landholdings, rights and revenues. The basic reasons behind this inquiry were related to politics, taxation and military circumstances. England was recently conquered and the new ruler had to establish and strengthen his authority. The inquiry was organized in circuits and the seventh circuit referred to the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex. This formed a separate volume called Little Domesday Book that

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[56] Ibid., p. 9.
[57] Darby, *Eastern England*, pp. 167-9, 173, 180, 186, 201.
[58] Ibid., p. 192.
[59] *Domesday Book*; *Regesta* (Bates); *Regesta*, i-iii; *Norwich Episcopal Acta*; *Blythburgh Cartulary*; *Sibton Cartularies*; *Eye Cartulary*; *English Lawsuits*; *PR 31 Henry I*; *PR 2-4 Henry II*; *PR 8 Henry II*; *Red Book*, i, pp. 186-445.

remained unincorporated in the main Domesday Book and preserves rather more detailed results of the inquiry.[60]

By analysing Little Domesday Book, first of all I can find the tenants-in-chiefs in 1086, as well as some of the landholders in 1066. From this I can understand the change in the landholding classes in eastern Suffolk. Furthermore, Little Domesday Book can give us important clues about the changes in tenurial patterns. From my other primary sources, for example from the Pipe Rolls and the *Cartae Baronum*, it is possible to get some idea of the many changes over the subsequent century. As well as sometimes containing information on landholdings, the monastic and episcopal documents can help to illuminate changes in the ecclesiastical structure of the region.

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[60] *Domesday Book Suffolk*, Introduction; Galbraith, *Making of Domesday Book*, pp. 4-10.

MAP 1

The Wash

Icknield Way

NORFOLK

R. Little Ouse

R. Waveney

Fens

Devil's Dyke

SUFFOLK

R. Stour

ESSEX
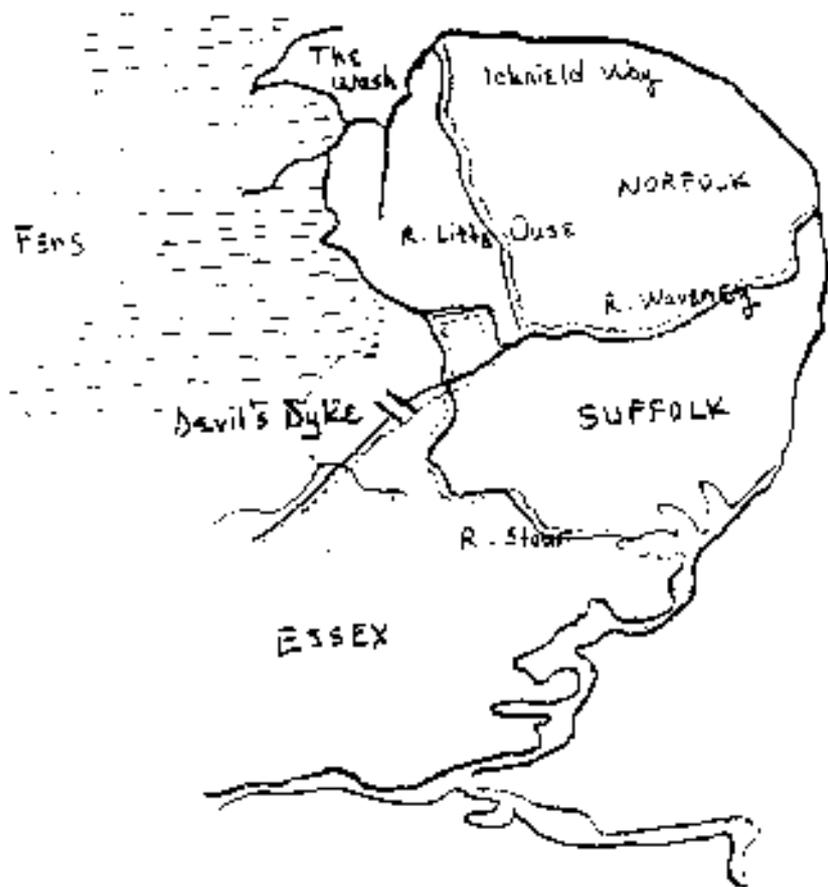
SUFFOLK AND SURROUNDING COUNTIES

MAP 2
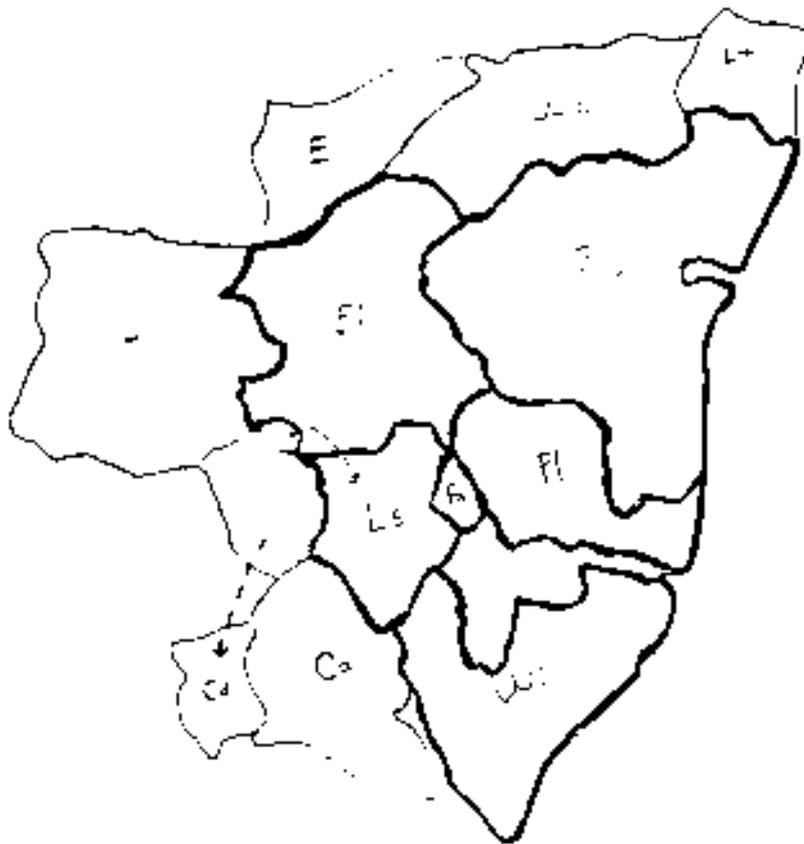
THE HUNDREDS OF EASTERN SUFFOLK
WITH SURROUNDING HUNDREDS

CHAPTER 1

MIGRANTS, NATIVES AND NAMES

In this chapter my primary concern is to examine the changes in the identity of landholders in eastern Suffolk that resulted from the migration associated with the Norman Conquest, bearing in mind the more general "Frankish" aristocratic diaspora which, according to Bartlett, led to the Europeanization of Europe. First, I will look at the origins and identities of the 1086 tenants-in-chiefs and, as far as possible, their subtenants. Then I will look, as far as the sources allow, at the identities of the 1066 landholders. Not only do I want to examine the change in the ethnic origin of the landholders, but also their relationships with the king. Finally, I will also discuss how complete the change in the landholding classes was.

First of all, it is useful to look at the economic wealth of the king and the tenants-in-chief in eastern Suffolk in 1086. In Table 1, the value of their lands is given, together with the number of carucates and acres where these are available. The table starts with the wealthiest landholder in 1086 in the area and continues in descending order. However, it must be noted that in some of the Domesday Book entries the exact values of lands were not recorded. Thus, the numerical values in Table 1 reflect only the recorded values of the lands. The table also gives the origins of the 1086 tenants-in-chief. Tables 2-7 show the 1086 valuations for the individual hundreds. Some of these tenants-in-chief had lands in all hundreds and others held the bulk of their lands in only a few of them, or even had land in only one hundred. Looked at on this very local scale, the relative importance of the landholders sometimes changes.

Table 1: 1086 tenants-in-chief in eastern Suffolk.

Name	Origin	Value in 1086	Tax valuation/area Carucates/acres
Robert Malet	Norman-English	£229 12s 5d	73½c. 5930a.
Count Alan	Breton	£106 4s 9d	37c. 1232a.
Roger Bigod	Norman	£66 17s 4d	19½c. 200a.
Earl Hugh	Norman	£43 11s 6d	20c. 1550a.
King William	Norman	£38 4s 6d	8c. 235a.
William de Beaufour, bishop of Thetford	Norman	£28 18s 0d	273a.
Simeon abbot of Ely	Norman	£27 16s 10d	16½c. 195a.
William of Warenne	Norman	£23 19s 2d	466a.
Ralph Bainard	Norman	£22 3s 8d	12½c. 627a.
Gilbert bishop of Evreux	Norman	£22 0s 0d	3½c. 78a.
Baldwin abbot of St. Edmunds	French	£16 17s 0d	3c. 193a.
Hugh de Montfort	Norman	£15 15s 0d	
Hervey *Bituricensis*	Breton?	£9 18s 8d	563a.
Robert de Tosny	Norman	£6 0s 0d	10½ c. 108a.
Geoffrey de Mandeville	Norman	£5 18s 2d	273a.
Odo bishop of Bayeux	Norman	£4 8s 0d	164½ a.
Roger the Poitevin	Norman	£4 8s 0d	1c. 169a.
Humphrey the Chamberlain	Norman?	£3 1s 0d	149a.
William d'Arques	Norman	£3 0s 0d	140a.
Walter Giffard	Norman	£2 1s 8d	1c. 60a.
Drogo de la Beuvriere	Fleming	£2 2s 0d	55a.
Gilbert the Crossbowman	Norman	£1 18s 0d	2c. 80a.
Ralph de Limesy	Norman	£1 15s 0d	178a.
Ralph de Beaufour	Norman	£1 10s 0d	1c. 60a.
Judicael the Priest	Breton	£1 3s 10d	
Robert Blund	Norman	£0 4s 0d	

Adelaide countess of Aumale	Norman	£0 3s 2d	20½ a.
Berengar	Norman	£0 3s 0d	18a.
Ranulf Peverel	Norman	£0 3s 0d	15a.
King's Free Men		£0 3s 0d	
Roger de Raimes	Norman	£0 2s 3d	11a.
Robert De Courson	Norman	£0 2s 0d	12a.
Godric the Steward	English	£0 1s 0d	4a.
William d'Ecouis	Norman	£0 0s 7½d	19½c. 627a.
Total Value		£687 4s 12½d	

Table-2: Bishop's Hundred.

Names of tenants-in-chiefs	Value of land in 1086
Robert Malet	£55 12s 2d
Roger Bigod	£34 16s 0d
William de Beaufour, bishop of Thetford	£ 28 18s 0d
Baldwin abbot of St. Edmunds	£12 19s 0d
Hugh de Montfort	£6 15s 0d.
Simeon abbot of Ely	£5 5s 0d
Roger the Poitevin	£1 4s 0d
Judicael the Priest	£1 3s 10d
Ralph de Limesy	£1 0s 0d
King William	£0 6s 0d
King's Free Men	£0 3s 0d
Godric the Steward	£0 1s 0d
Earl Hugh	Not recorded.
Total Value	£148 3s 0d

Table-3: Blything Hundred.

Names of tenants-in-chiefs	Value of land in1086
Robert Malet	£69 18s 2d
Count Alan	£60 5s 3d
King William	£27 18s 6d
William of Warenne	£23 15s 0d.
Ralph Bainard	£22 3s 8d
Roger Bigod	£22 3s 4d
Robert de Tosny	£6 0s 0d
Earl Hugh	£5 5s 0d
Simeon abbot of Ely	£5 3s 0d.
Geoffrey de Mandeville	£4 8s 0d.
Drogo de la Beuvriere	£2 2s 0d.
Gilbert the Crossbowman	£1 18s 0d.
Robert Blund	£0 4s 0d
Berengar	£0 3s 0d
Robert de Courson	£0 2s 0d
William d'Ecouis	£0 0s 7½d
Total Value	£251 9s 6½d

Table-4: Loes Hundred.

Names of tenants-in-chiefs	Value of land in1086
Earl Hugh	£38 2s 6d
Count Alan	£37 6s 4d
Robert Malet	£16 16s 11d
Hugh de Montfort	£9 0s 0d
Hervey *Bituricensis*	£6 16s 0d
Simeon abbot of Ely	£5 9s 2d
Odo the Bishop of Bayeux	£4 3s 0d.
Baldwin abbot of St. Edmunds	£3 18s 0d
Humphrey the Chamberlain	£3 1s 0d
William d'Arques	£3 0s 0d
Roger the Poitevin	£2 15s 0d
Roger Bigod	£2 13s 0d
Geoffrey de Mandeville	£1 3s 0d
Ralph de Limesy	£0 15s 0d
Roger de Raimes	£0 2s 3d.
Total Value	£135 1s 2d

Table-5: Plomesgate Hundred.

Names of tenants-in-chiefs	Value of land in1086
Robert Malet	£51 0s 0d
Count Alan	£6 12s 8d
Roger Bigod	£5 8s 10d.
Simeon abbot of Ely	£2 7s 0d
Walter Giffard	£2 7s 0d
Roger the Poitevin	£0 1s 0d

Total Value	£67 16s 6d

Table-6: Wilford Hundred.

Names of tenants-in-chiefs	Value of land in1086
Robert Malet	£29 18s 7d
Gilbert bishop of Evreux	£22 0s 0d
Simeon abbot of Ely	£9 6s 4d
Ralph de Beaufour	£1 10s 0d
Roger Bigod	£0 10s 0d
Geoffrey de Mandeville	£0 7s 2d
Odo bishop of Bayeux	£0 5s 0d
William of Warenne	£0 4s 2d
Countess of Aumale	£0 3s 2d
Ranulf Peverel	£0 3s 0d
Count Alan	Not recorded
Total Value	£64 7s 5d

Table-7: Parham Half Hundred.

Names of tenants-in-chiefs	Value of land in1086
King William	£10 0s 0d
Robert Malet	£6 6s 5d
Roger Bigod	£1 6s 2d
Count Alan	£1 4s 6d
Hervey *Bituricensis*	£0 10s 4d
Roger the Poitevin	£0 8s 0d
Simeon abbot of Ely	£0 6s 4d
Earl Hugh	£0 4s 0d
Walter Giffard	£0 1s 8d

Total Value	£21 5s 9d

The replacement of Anglo-Saxons by migrants started immediately after the Conquest but continued in the reigns of William the Conqueror's sons.[61] The new tenants-in-chiefs of England were in general people who had a close relationship with the Conqueror in Normandy. Furthermore, some of them were his relatives, most notably his half-brothers, Odo bishop of Bayeux and Robert count of Mortain. When we consider the wealth in Normandy of these new tenants-in-chief in England, the Conquest made them richer. Even their followers became wealthier. The total number of lay tenants-in-chief in England in 1086 was not very large — a hundred and ninety.[62] However, although nearly all of these were immigrants, this does not exhaust the total number of the immigrants. Some at least of the subtenants of these tenants-in-chief were also immigrants.[63]

Although we refer to the Norman Conquest, not all of the immigrants were Norman. There were also Bretons, Flemings and Frenchmen from outside of Normandy. This is true for eastern Suffolk as well. Of the 30 lay tenants-in-chief (including the rather special cases of the bishop of Bayeux and Judicael the Priest), only 23 were Norman, as well as one, Robert Malet, who was part-Norman part-English. Humphrey the Chamberlain was either Norman or English or a mixture of the two. Count Alan was Breton, and possibly Judicael the Priest and Hervey *Bituricensis* were also Breton, while Drogo de la Beuvriere was Flemish. Godric the Steward was English. [64]

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[61] Golding, *Conquest and Colonization*, p. 68.
[62] Corbett, "Development of Duchy of Normandy and Norman Conquest", pp. 497-8.
[63] Golding, *Conquest and Colonization*, p. 62
[64] See for example, Green, *Aristocracy*, pp. 7, 8, 39, 44, 53, 59, 60, 65, 113, 123-4, 261, 271, 280, 304, 352, 359 and *passim*; Williams, *English and the Norman Conquest*, pp. 9, 47n, 86-9, 108, 131n, 137, 158, 161; Galbraith, *Making of Domesday Book*, pp.110, 111, 129, 153-5, 157, 183, 197, 203;

Of the ecclesiastics by 1086, the bishop of Thetford, William de Beaufour, Simeon the abbot of Ely and Gilbert bishop of Evreux were Norman. Baldwin the abbot of St Edmunds was French from outside of Normandy, but he had been appointed by Edward the Confessor in 1065.[65] The holdings of the Odo Bishop of Bayeux in eastern Suffolk were, in effect, a lay tenancy-in-chief, held personally by Odo, unconnected with his Norman bishopric. The lands of the bishop of Thetford were recorded in two different parts in Domesday Book. This land division reflects the distinction between the lands of the bishop and the lands of the church of the bishopric. These distinctions were quite common. Sometimes lands were set aside for the abbots of monasteries as well.[66] In eastern Suffolk the lands held by laymen were about fourteen times larger than the ecclesiastical lands. The royal demesne in eastern Suffolk was modest, valued at £38 4s 6d (see Table 1). There were also some unnamed freemen of the king holding three shillings' worth of land.

In Domesday Book as a whole, about 15% of the land was royal demesne and about 26% belonged to the bishoprics and monasteries. However, in eastern Suffolk, the royal demesne accounted for only around 6% of the total and the ecclesiastical lands amounted to only around 14%. Relatively speaking therefore, the lay tenants-in-chief held a much greater proportion of land than in the country as a whole (see Table 1).[67] It may be that an area containing many scattered freemen and relatively few large, compact manors had been less attractive for ecclesiastical institutions or for the retention of royal demesne. It is worth noting that most of the

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Douglas, *William*, pp. 15, 119-132, 136, 144, 200, 207, 212, 216, 223, 243-5, 269, 290, 294-9, 307-9, 383, 412, 413; Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People*.

[65] Knowles, Brooke & London, *Heads of Religious Houses*, i, pp.45, 80; *Norwich Episcopal Acta*, pp.xxviii-xxxi.

[66] Burton, *Monastic and Religious Orders*, pp. 230-1.

[67] For the figures for England as a whole, see Corbett, "Development", p. 508.

king's lands were contained in just two manors, Blythburgh and Parham.[68] The lands in eastern Suffolk were not equally distributed among the tenants-in-chief. It is clear from Table 1 that more than 80% of the land was held by the king and seven tenants-in-chief, namely Robert Malet, Count Alan, Roger Bigod, Earl Hugh, William bishop of Thetford, Simeon abbot of Ely, William of Warenne. Despite the relatively low proportion of ecclesiastical land, it is notable that two of the four ecclesiastical landholders of the region were among the wealthiest tenants-in-chief.

It is worth noting that the hundreds of eastern Suffolk differed greatly in value, from the more than £250 worth of land in Blything Hundred (really a double hundred of Blything and Dunwich) to the just over £64's worth in Wilford Hundred and the even smaller Parham Half-Hundred. If we look at the distribution of the lands in individual hundreds, it is clear that certain of the tenants-in-chief held far more land than others. In Bishop's Hundred more than a third of the land was held by Robert Malet (see Table 2). The lands of Roger Bigod and William bishop of Thetford made up another third. In Blything Hundred half of the land was held by Robert Malet and Count Alan (see Table 3). In Loes Hundred the biggest share, one half, had been granted to Earl Hugh, Count Alan, Robert Malet and Hugh the Montfort. In Plomesgate Hundred, Robert Malet held almost all the lands, since the total value was around £68 and the value of Malet's lands was £51. In Wilford Hundred, just two tenants-in-chief, Robert Malet and Gilbert bishop of Evreux, held most of the land. In Parham Half Hundred King William had nearly half the lands in this small area.

In general many lands in the south-eastern part of the country, including my area of eastern Suffolk, were distributed by King William to new tenants-in-chief

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[68] *Domesday Book Suffolk*, fos. 282a, 285ab.

soon after the Conquest of 1066. However, even in the south-east some important pre-Conquest landholders retained their lands in these early days. An important example of this, especially for East Anglia, was Ralph the Staller, subsequently earl of East Anglia, whom I have mentioned above. Ralph's lands are difficult to reconstruct completely, but although his lands do not seem particularly extensive in eastern Suffolk, he did hold two manors, Wissett in Blything Hundred and Parham in Parham Half Hundred as well as scattered freemen, jurisdictions and commendations throughout the region. Count Alan, who acquired Wissett, seems to have had a general claim to the lands forfeited by Ralph's son, Ralph de Gael in 1075, though Alan does not seem to have succeeded in acquiring all of the lands and rights.[69] So, even in eastern Suffolk the picture of landholdings presented by Domesday Book for 1086 was more recently formed than the immediate post-Conquest settlement.

It will be useful now to look more closely at the identities of the 1086 tenants-in-chief and of the king himself. William the Conqueror was from Falaise in Normandy. He was the illegitimate child of Robert I (d. 1035), the sixth duke of Normandy. William was therefore descended through five generations from Rollo the Viking, who had been recognized as the legitimate ruler of "Neustria" by Charles the Simple in 911.[70]

One of the important points here is whether, due to his kinship with Rollo I, we can consider William the Conqueror as Scandinavian or Viking? Certainly, we cannot say that he was Scandinavian. More than a century and a half had passed since Rollo's settlement in Normandy. William's female ancestors consisted of two Frankish women, two Breton women, the daughter of forester and the daughter of a

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[69] Ibid., fos. 285b, 286b, 290b, 293a, 294a, 297b, 299a, 380b, 333b, 344a, 411b, 449a.

tanner, none of which may have been Scandinavian.[71] William was certainly more French in the widest sense than Scandinavian. Of William and his followers from Normandy, it can be said that "they adopted the French language, French legal ideas, and French social customs, and had practically become merged with the Frankish or Gallic population among whom they lived." [72]

Starting with the lay tenants-in-chief, the largest landholder in eastern Suffolk was Robert Malet. His father William was part-Norman part-English. His base in Normandy was near Le Havre, at Graville-Sainte-Honorine.[73] William already possessed lands in 1066 in Lincolnshire.[74] William Malet's other son, Durand, had lands in Lincolnshire in 1086.[75] William Malet became sheriff of Yorkshire and held the first castle in York, holding various lands in Yorkshire, including much of Holderness until his capture by the Danes in 1069.[76] William Malet died in 1071 and we can see Robert Malet's mother holding land from her son, presumably as a widow's dower in eastern Suffolk. William Malet had also been the founder of the castle town of Eye in Suffolk.[77] This would suggest that William had some of the honour of Eye before Robert Malet. Before the Conquest, Eye, like many of Robert Malet's lands, had belonged to Edric of Laxfield.[78] During William I's reign, Robert was one of the sheriffs of Suffolk.[79] He was also a royal

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[70] Davis, *Normans and their Myth*, pp. 19, 27.

[71] Ibid., p. 27.

[72] Corbett, "Development of Duchy of Normandy and Norman Conquest", p. 484.

[73] Douglas, *William,* p. 269; Green, *Aristocracy*, p. 84; for the *caput* of Malet family in Normandy see Loyd, *Some Anglo-Norman Families*, p. 56.

[74] *Domesday Book Lincolnshire*, fo. 350c.

[75] Ibid., fo. 365ab.

[76] *Domesday Book Yorkshire*, fos. 373abc, 374ab; Dalton, *Conquest*, pp. 10-11.

[77] Green, *Aristocracy*, p. 84; Williams, *English and the Norman Conquest*, pp. 26, 31 and n.; Warner, *Origins of Suffolk*, p. 176; For Robert Malet's mother, see for example *Domesday Book Suffolk*, fo. 326a. For the descent of the barony of Eye, see Sanders, *English Baronies*, p. 43.

[78] *Domesday Book Suffolk*, fos. 319b, 320a; Clarke, *English Nobility*, p. 95.

[79] Douglas, *William*, p. 297; for more information on Robert Malet see, Loyd, *Some Anglo-Norman Families*, pp. 29-32, 40, 56, 87.

steward and may have been a chamberlain as well.[80] The latter's tenants in England mainly came from areas such as Émalleville, Colleville, Conteville, and Claville that were close to Graville-Sainte-Honorine.[81]

The Malet family had ties with some prominent families of their time. William Malet's English mother was probably related to the Countess Godiva, wife of Earl Leofric of Mercia, mother of Earl Aelfgar and grandmother of the earls Edwin and Morcar. William Malet's daughter married Turold who was sheriff of Lincoln by the 1070s and was the mother of the Countess Lucy.[82] According to W. J. Corbett's classification of 1086 tenants-in-chief, Robert Malet was at the top of Class B (land valued at between £650 and £400).[83] As we have seen, at least a third of that was in eastern Suffolk. Most of the rest of his lands were either elsewhere in Suffolk or other neighbouring eastern counties.[84]

In William I's reign, Robert Malet was addressed as sheriff (in one case, probably as sheriff) in two of the king's charters, one to Bury St Edmunds and the other to the bishopric of Rochester, concerning a manor in Suffolk. In another charters he was recorded as holding soke in the five and a half hundreds that belonged to the abbey of Ely. Another recorded a grant by Robert of a mill in Normandy to the abbey of Bec. Robert also witnessed two charters.[85]

Count Alan "Rufus" was the son of Eudo, the younger brother of Alan III, duke of Brittany.[86] It is known that Count Alan "Rufus" was given more than four

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[80] Green, *Aristocracy*, p. 309; Barlow, *William Rufus*, p. 151.
[81] Douglas, *William*, p. 270.
[82] Keats-Rohan, "Antecessor Noster: The Parentage of Countess Lucy Made Plain"; Williams, *English and the Norman Conquest*, p. 27; Green, *Aristocracy*, p. 91.
[83] Corbett, "Development of Duchy of Normandy and Norman Conquest", pp. 510-11.
[84] Green, A*ristocracy*, p. 84.
[85] *Regesta* (Bates), nos. 41, 117, 145, 166, 226, 253, 341.
[86] Everard, *Brittany*, pp. xv, 12. Apart from a grant to Count Alan in and near York, Count Alan occurs frequently as a witness to William I's charters: *Regesta* (Bates), nos. 8, 30, 39, 46, 54, 150, 220, 253, 290, 305, 318-19.

hundred manors in eleven different shires.[87] As the total amount of his lands was worth more than £1000, he was in Corbett's Class A of landholders.[88]

> The core of the honor consisted of a compact block in the North Riding of Yorkshire, subsequently called Richmondshire, but the honor had valuable lands scattered across eastern England, particularly in Lincolnshire, Cambridgeshire, Norfolk and Suffolk.[89]

It is know that he brought many of followers with him.[90] His land was not, however, all acquired quickly after 1066. His estates in Yorkshire centred on Richmond were probably not acquired until after around 1073 and, as we have seen, some of his Suffolk lands were only obtained after the forfeiture of Ralph de Gael in 1075.[91]

Roger Bigod was Norman. He came from Calvados in Lower Normandy, east of the Cotentin.[92] It is assumed that the name Bigod was derived from 'le vigot' or Visigoth (perhaps some sort of nickname). We know little about his origin except that he was the son of a knight who had a close relationship with Duke William. By 1069 Roger Bigod had become sheriff of Norfolk, and then at some time before 1086 twice sheriff of Suffolk as well. Later on he became a *dapifer* or steward of William Rufus.[93] Besides this, Roger consolidated his position as one of the prominent members of the Norman aristocracy by marrying the daughter of Hugh de Grandmenisle, Adelicia de Tosny, who inherited the honour of Belvoir from her father.[94]

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[87] Douglas, *William*, p. 268. For a time, Alan's brother Brian acquired most of Cornwall: Ibid., p. 267.
[88] Corbett, "Development of Duchy of Normandy and Norman Conquest", p. 510; Green, *Aristocracy*, p. 94.
[89] Thomas, Richmon*d*, p. 399; see also, Sanders, *English Baronies*, p. 140.
[90] Thomas, Richmond, p. 399.
[91] Dalton, *Conquest*, p. 71.
[92] For more information on Bigod, see Loyd, *Some Anglo-Norman Families*, pp. 14-5.
[93] Warner, *Origins of Suffolk,* p. 188; Green, *Aristocracy*, pp. 38, 83-4.
[94] Ibid., pp. 374-5.

In England, like Count Alan, he acquired his lands step by step. When we compare his lands in Normandy and England, it is obvious that he held more lands in England. Whereas Roger Bigod held only a half knight's fief in Normandy, he eventually acquired huge lands in England that were valued about £500 a year, making him a prominent tenant-in-chief of his time. As well as his many lands in Suffolk he was the most important tenant-in-chief in eastern Norfolk.[95] His honour became centred on Framlingham in Loes Hundred, Suffolk.[96] Judith Green describes him as multimillionaire of his time.

> The Conquest itself had thus elevated some men to unaccustomed wealth and power, and in a broader sense too there were growing opportunities for men to rise in the king's service, the powerful royal ministry, men 'raised from the dust' to use Orderic Vitalis's phrase.[97]

Earl Hugh (Hugh Lupus or Hugh d'Avranches) was the son of Richard *vicomte* of Avranches.[98] Hugh was very young and his father was still alive when the lordship of Chester was given to him in the early 1070s. So at that time he did not himself have any lands in Normandy. Probably during the reign of William Rufus, Hugh married the daughter of Hugh count of Clermont-en-Beauvaisis.[99] In Corbett's categorization, Hugh was one of the Class A landholders.[100] Besides being lord of all land in Cheshire except the bishop's, it is known that Hugh was charged with protecting the northern part of Yorkshire against possible threat from

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[95] Ibid., p. 85.
[96] Sanders, *English Baronies*, pp. 46-7.
[97] Davis, *Normans and their Myth*, p. 114; Green, *Aristocracy*, pp. 8-9. Roger Bigod is addressed as sheriff in a charter to Bury St Edmunds and probably frequently as Roger the Sheriff or R. the Sheriff in many other charters: *Regesta* (Bates), no. 40; he is a frequent witness: ibid., nos. 30, 50, 60, 110, 122, 146, 150, 175 (II), 176, 264, 266 (II), 267 (II), 301, 306, 312, 316, 318, 319, 331, 332.
[98] Green, *Aristocracy*, p. 342; Douglas, *William*, p. 186. Earl Hugh's lands in Normandy appear in *Regesta* (Bates), nos. 48, 49, 206; he was addressed in a charter to the abbey of Coventry: ibid., no. 104; his grants in England to St Evroult were confirmed: ibid., no. 255; his constable in Devon's donations to Wesminster Abbey were confirmed: ibid., no. 324. He was also a very frequent witness in Normandy and England: ibid., nos. 22, 39, 46, 48, 49, 50, 53, 54, 59 (I) and (II), 60, 111, 115, 141, 141 (A), 150, 208, 220, 242, 264, 266 (II), 267 (II), 279, 290, 305, 306, 318, 319, 327.
[99] Sanders, *English Baronies*, p. 32; Green, *Aristocracy*, p. 353.

Scandinavia or Scotland.[101] In addition to his lands in Cheshire and Yorkshire, he also held lands in Staffordshire, Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, Berkshire and other counties including Suffolk.[102] In Suffolk for example, Framlingham, which later became the *caput* of the Bigod family, was held by Earl Hugh in 1086. There may have been a connection between Roger Bigod and Earl Hugh going back to Normandy before 1066.[103]

William of Warenne was probably a younger son of Rodulf lord of Varenne in Normandy. Before the Conquest there was already a relationship between William of Warenne and the Conqueror. He gave military support to Duke William in Normandy and received lands in reward. He married a sister of Gherbod, King William's first appointment as lord of Chester after the rebellion of Edwin and Morcar.[104] The total value of his estates in England was more than £750 around 1086.[105] According to Orderic Vitalis, the value of his estates in 1101 was £1000 in silver.[106] A large part of his lands were in Sussex and his lands in eastern Suffolk were an insignificant part of his lands in England, but in western Norfolk he was the most important tenant-in-chief.[107] He had strong connections with some prominent people. Odo of Champagne, for example, was his brother-in-law. Later on, in 1088 as a result of his loyal service he became the earl of Surrey.[108] When he died, his son William II de Warenne inherited this earldom.[109]

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[100] Corbett, "Development of Duchy of Normandy and Norman Conquest", p. 511.

[101] Green, *Aristocracy*, p. 51.

[102] Ibid., pp. 74-5, 86-7, 91, 115, 161, 277.

[103] Ibid., pp. 84 & 84n, 193, 153.

[104] Green, *Aristocracy*, pp. 31, 352. William de Warenne's grants to Lewes Priory were confirmed by William I: *Regesta* (Bates), no. 176. His lands were involved in a suit of the abbey of Ely, 1071-5: ibid., no. 117. He witnessed a few of William I's charters: ibid., nos. 54, 221.

[105] Clarke, *English Nobility*, p. 162.

[106] Wareham, "Feudal Revolution", p. 318.

[107] Sanders, *English Baronies*, pp. 128-9; Green, *Aristocracy*, p. 85.

[108] Ibid., p. 277; Barlow, *William Rufus*, p. 167.

[109] Ibid., p. 93. For information on the honour of Warenne family see, Loyd, *Some Anglo-Norman Families*, pp. 19, 35, 48; for the *caput* of Warenne family in Normandy see ibid., 56.

Ralph Bainard came from Saint-Leger-des-Rôtes, Eure, in Upper Normandy. Sometime after 1072 he became sheriff of Essex and London, giving his name to Baynard's Castle where he was castellan. Most of his lands were in Essex forming the later barony of Little Dunmow. In Corbett's categorization he was a Class B landholder (£400-£650). His antecessor in Norfolk was a woman called Aethelgyth. He had married someone from the Beorhtnoth family.[110] Like Geoffrey de Mandeville, he probably did not join the Battle of Hastings. He received his lands in Essex around 1067. Bainard also held some important estates in some strategically important places.

> The needs of coastal defence seem to have played a part in shaping the settlement, for the major local landholders held important manors in demesne near the Thames estuary or the coast: West Ham (Robert Gernon and Ranulf Peverel), East Ham (Robert Gernon), West Thurrock (William Peverel), West Tilbury (Suein), Fobbing (Count Eustace), then a group of estates held by Suein; Burnham (Ralph Bainard), Dawn Hall (Ranulf Peverel).[111]

At this point it must be kept in mind that royal castellans did not have to hold castles in their honours. Similarly, although Ralph Bainard was royal castellan in London, his honour was centred in Essex, where probably he held no castle.[112]

Hugh II de Montfort was lord of Montfort-sur-Risle in Normandy.[113] He joined the 1066 expedition. He had a close relationship with the Conqueror and was one of his constables. In 1067, when the king went to Normandy for a victory tour, Hugh de Montfort, like William FitzOsbern, Odo Bishop of Bayeux, William de Warenne, and Hugh de Grandmesnil, was given an administrative role in the

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[110] Green, *Aristocracy*, p. 37-8, 82-3; Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People*, p. 327; Sanders, *English Baronies*, p. 129.
[111] Green, *Aristocracy*, p. 82.
[112] Ibid., p. 181. He is addressed in some of William I's charters concerning Essex and London, probably as sheriff: *Regesta* (Bates), nos. 128, 182, 313. His violence as sheriff of Essex is mentioned: ibid., no. 324. He also appears as a witness: ibid., nos. 82, 150.
[113] Douglas, *William*, p. 88.

conquered country. Together with Odo, Hugh de Montfort was charged with defending Dover Castle. He acquired a compact lordship around the borough of Hythe in Kent where he built a castle, but also had important estates in Suffolk centred on Haughley in Stow Hundred in central Suffolk.[114] According to Corbett's calculation, Hugh de Montfort was in the Class C landholder group (£200-£400).[115]

Hervey (Herueus) *Bituricensis* may have been Breton. Some of his tenants seem to have come from the Brittany-Normandy border area. Although his surname *Bituricensis* could mean "of Bourges", or "of Berry", there is no indication that shows that he was from Bourges. It is however possible that he or his family originally was. The surname may even have been simply a nickname, meaning "wren". He acquired his lands after 1075 from Ely Abbey. He married Judith, who was possibly one of the sisters of Robert Malet.[116]

Robert de Tosny came from Tosny, Eure, in Normandy. In 1086, Robert became the lord of Belvoir in Lincolnshire. With his wife Adelais of Belvoir, he founded the Priory of Belvoir. After his death in 1093, his son Berengar inherited his lands.[117] It is believed that Robert was the first castellan of Rockingham.[118] One of his daughters, Alice de Tosny, was the second wife of Roger Bigod. Later on, Alice inherited the honour of Belvoir from her father but her son, Hugh Bigod could not inherit this honour. Instead the honour passed to Alice's daughter, Cecily and

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[114] Green, *Aristocracy*, pp. 55-6; Sanders, *English Baronies*, pp. 120-1. He is included in the address to two of William I's charters concerning Kent: *Regesta* (Bates), nos. 72, 87. He was one of a number of people involved in a dispute with Ely Abbey: ibid., no. 119. He also witnessed many charters: ibid., nos. 30, 39, 53, 54, 141, 150, 220, 252, 290, 293, 305, 319.
[115] Green, *Aristocracy*, p.28.
[116] Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People*, pp. 253-4. He was one of a number of people involved in a dispute with Ely Abbey: *Regesta* (Bates), no. 119.
[117] Ibid., p. 380.
[118] Green, *Aristocracy*, pp. 86-7.

through her to her husband, William d'Albini Brito. However, Hugh Bigod did inherit the lands of Berengar de Tosny in Yorkshire.[119]

Robert de Tosny had lands in many counties. As Green states, he had a compact lordship:

> Bottesford in Leicestershire, on which estate the castle of Belvoir was built, consisted of four estates in Domesday Book, three held jointly by four thegns, Oswulf, Osmund, Rolf and Leofric and the fourth by Leofric alone…Robert must have received this land before about 1076 when the priory of Belvoir was founded. Like the honour of Dudley, Belvoir was a compact lordship extended into three counties, Northamptonshire, Leicestershire, and Lincolnshire, and, like Dudley, was probably created at a relatively early date after 1066.

Besides demesne manors situated in Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Hertfordshire, Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, and Northamptonshire, the Tosny family held lands in Guerny and Vesly in Eure.[120]

Geoffrey de Mandeville was Norman and was from a place called Magneville in Upper Normandy.[121] After the Conquest he became the sheriff of Middlesex.[122]

> Geoffrey de Mandeville was probably put in charge of the defences in the south-east corner of the city wall of London (later the Tower) in the early weeks of 1067, and may well have been granted the lands of Ansger the Staller at the same time.[123]

In accordance with Corbett's categorization, in 1086 he was one by the Class A tenants-in-chief in England. The total value of his estates was around £791. Out of the £791, £540 consisted of his demesne lands. Besides lands in Suffolk, he held

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[119] Ibid., pp. 374-5; Sanders, *English Baronies*, p. 12.
[120] Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People*, p. 380; for more information on Tosny (Todeni) family, see Loyd, *Some Anglo-Norman Families*, pp. 2, 18, 29, 104, 107.
[121] Green, *Aristocracy*, p. 37.
[122] Douglas, *William*, p. 297.
[123] Green, *Aristocracy*, p. 37. See also Hollister, "Misfortunes of the Mandevilles", pp. 18-19.

lands in Cambridgeshire, Essex, Hertfordshire and Middlesex, and also in Berkshire and Warwickshire.[124]

Odo Bishop of Bayeux was the half-brother of William the Conqueror, of the same mother, Herleve, but with Odo's father being Herluin, vicomte of Conteville. Odo was nineteen years old when he became the bishop of Bayeux in 1049.[125] Besides William the Conqueror, Odo had one more brother, who was Robert, count of Mortain, who received very extensive lands, but no earldom in England. Like his brother, Odo played a prominent role in ducal Normandy as well as in conquered England.[126] Odo became the earl of Kent in 1067. In the same year, besides Kent, the castle of Dover was also entrusted to him and Hugh de Montfort.[127] In England Odo did not hold his lands as part of his bishopric, but as a secular lordship. According to Domesday Book, after William the Conqueror and Robert count of Mortain, Odo was the tenant-in-chief with the most extensive lands in England, though at the time of Domesday Book, the lands were in royal hands.

Roger the Poitevin was a younger son of Roger de Montgomery, who became earl of Shrewsbury in England and was one of the Conqueror's closest associates before and after the Conquest. Like the rest of the family, Roger the Poitevin originated from the Normandy-Maine border region where their lordship of Belleme was. He married the heiress to the county of la Marche, which explains his cognomen "the Poitevin".[128] Besides extensive lands in Suffolk, which he seems to have acquired late, though mostly in the west and centre, Roger Poitevin had lands

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[124] Green, *Aristocracy*, pp. 38, 148; Sanders, *English Baronies*, p. 71.
[125] Douglas, *William*, p. 15.
[126] Ibid., p. 136.
[127] For more information on Odo the bishop of Bayeux, see ibid., pp. 119-132, 243-5, 294-6; Green, *Aristocracy*, pp. 8, 39, 44, 49, 51, 55, 56, 65, 84, 162; Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 599, 612, 614, 616, 623, 625, 630, 637 n, 649, 651, 682; Le Patourel, *Norman Empire*, pp. 29-30 n, 32-5, 44 n, 47, 141-2, 144 n, 291, 311 n, 335-6; Chibnall, *Anglo-Norman England*, pp. 12, 14, 36, 61, 126, 193; Loyn, *Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 332-3, 389. For Odo as earl of Kent, see Lewis, "Early Earls", pp. 217-18.

in many other counties, including Cravenshire in Yorkshire which was exchanged after the date of Domesday Book for the area which was to become Lancashire.[129]

We have very limited information about Humphrey the Chamberlain. The name sounds Norman, but his brother was Aiulf the Chamberlain who was described as sheriff, possibly of Somerset; Aiulf is probably not a name from Normandy. Humphrey had extensive lands in many southern counties and may also have been a sheriff at some time in William Rufus's reign in Norfolk.[130]

William d'Arques (de Arcis) was a prominent member of the Norman aristocracy in England. His father, Godfrey, was the *vicomté* (or *comte*) of Arques, on the borders of Upper Normandy. It is known that initially the Arques family was granted the *vicomté* of Arques. Perhaps due to William d'Arques's close relationship with Duke Richard II, the *vicomté* of Arques turned into a *comté*. However, by the reign of Duke Robert I the *comté* of Arques had been again transformed into a *vicomté*. Corbett argues that this was due to Duke Robert I's interest in acquiring land and influence in the area. It is known that Folkestone in Kent, which before the Conquest was an endowment of a religious house, was afterwards turned into a coastal town that was established by William d'Arques.[131] His lands in Suffolk, however, were not very large. Green suggests that some great men were established in Suffolk after the revolt of 1075 to strengthen royal authority.[132]

Walter Giffard was also Norman and he was from Longueville-sur-Scie.[133] He was the lord of both Montivillier and Longueville in Normandy.[134] According to

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[128] Barlow, *William Rufus*, p. 91; Green, *Aristocracy*, pp. 115, 352.
[129] Ibid., pp. 168, 176; Sanders, *English Baronies*, p. 126. Roger's land in Cravenshire was perhaps only obtained in the 1080s: Dalton, *Conquest*, p. 70.
[130] Barlow, *William Rufus*, pp. 151, 189, 447.
[131] Green, *Aristocracy*, p. 56; Sanders, *English Baronies*, p. 45.
[132] Green, *Aristocracy*, p. 85.
[133] Douglas, *William*, p.269.
[134] Green, *Aristocracy*, p. 45; Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People*, p. 456.

Corbett, Walter Giffard was a Class A landholder (over £750) in England. In 1088, his son was given by William Rufus the title of earl of Buckingham.[135] The *caput* of the Giffard honour was at Long Crendon.[136] In this place however, probably as a result of not staying there constantly, he had no castle. Perhaps he preferred Normandy.[137]

Drogo de la Beuvriere was a Fleming. His relationship with the Conqueror perhaps originated in William's marriage to the daughter of the count of Flanders. Drogo himself also married one of William's cousins, Melsa. After the Conquest, probably in the 1070s, Drogo was granted Holderness in Yorkshire, a sign of the king's trust considering the threat to the north-east from Scandinavia. He held others lands, too, as in Suffolk for example, though it is uncertain when he acquired these. In Corbett's categorization, he was a Class D (£100-£200) landholder. However, Drogo's wife died mysteriously and he abandoned Holderness and his other lands, around the time of Domesday Book.[138]

Gilbert the Crossbowman (Arbalistarius) was a Norman and held lands both in Suffolk and Norfolk.[139]

Ralph I Limesy was from Limésy, Seine-Maritime near Rouen in Normandy. He was the lord of Cavendish in Suffolk. After his death in 1093, his son, Ralph II inherited this lordship.[140] Perhaps there was a relationship between Ralph and Robert de Limesy, the bishop of Chester. Although he was still alive in 1086, some

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[135] Barlow, *William Rufus*, p. 93.
[136] Sanders, *English Baronies*, p. 62.
[137] Green, *Aristocracy*, p. 182.
[138] Ibid., pp. 42, 51, 106, 343; Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People*, p. 179; Clarke, *English Nobility*, p.131; Dalton, *Conquest*, pp. 66-7.
[139] Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People*, p. 208.
[140] Sanders, *English Baronies*, pp. 29-30; Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People*, p. 334.

of the lands of Ralph were subsequently given to William of Eu most probably after the compilation of Domesday Book.[141]

Ralph of Beaufour (Bellofago) was from Beaufour, Calvados, in Normandy. He was the lord of Hockering in Norfolk. He was a Class D (£100-£200) landholder. Besides, he was the sheriff of Suffolk in the period between 1091 and 1102 and of Norfolk in the early part of Henry I's reign. His brother or a relative was the bishop of Thetford, William de Beaufour. He married Agnes, who was the daughter of Robert de Tosny. Despite having two sons, Richard and Ralph, after his death, Hockering went to Agnes's second husband, Hubert I de Ryes and his descendants.[142]

As Judicael the Priest does not seem to be holding his land as the property of a particular church, it seems best to treat him as a 'lay' tenant-in-chief. However, apart from his apparently Breton name, nothing can be found out about him.

Robert Blund (Blunt) was tenant-in-chief in Suffolk, was well as in Wiltshire. He was the lord of Ashfield in Claydon Hundred in Suffolk. Before 1086 he was the sheriff of Norfolk. He inherited some of his lands from his brother, Ralph. By 1166, his lands were held by William son of Gilbert Blund.[143]

Adelaide, the countess of Aumale was sister or half-sister of the Conqueror. She married three times, first to Engueran count of Ponthieu, second to Lambert count of Lens, and third to Odo count of Champagne. Odo succeeded Drogo de la

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[141] Green, *Aristocracy*, p. 65.
[142] Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People*, p. 330; Green, *Aristocracy*, p. 343; Sanders, *English Baronies*, p.53; *Norwich Episcopal Acta*, p. xxviii.
[143] Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People*, p. 370; Sanders, *English Baronies*, pp. 3-4; *Red Book*, i, pp. 408-9.

Beuvriere in the lordship of Holderness. Her son, Stephen of Aumale, would be the focus of rebellion against William Rufus in 1095.[144]

Most probably, Berengar in Domesday Suffolk was a Berengar from Le Sap, Orne, in Normandy. He was one of the benefactors of Roger Bigod's priory of Thetford. In eastern Suffolk, all he had were two freemen whom he had annexed. He held some lands of Bury St Edmunds and by 1166 these lands, an enfeoffment of two knights, were held by William de Houe.[145]

Ranulf Peverel came from Vengeos, Manche, in western Normandy.[146] He was the lord of honour of Peverel of London. After his death around 1092, this honour was held by his successor, William. After William's death however, it was under royal control.[147] Besides modest lands in Suffolk, mostly outside eastern Suffolk, he was a major tenant-in-chief in Essex.[148] His wife, Athelida, was a member of the confraternity of St Albans; she was also the mistress of the Conqueror.[149]

Roger de Raimes was from Rames, Seine-Maritime in Normandy. He was lord of Rayne in Essex in 1086, where the bulk of his lands were.[150]

Robert de Courson was from Courson, Calvados, in Normandy. As well as having seized some land from Count Alan's manor of Wissett in Blything Hundred, he was an under-tenant of Roger Bigod.[151]

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[144] Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People*, p. 124; Sanders, *English Baronies*, p. 24; Green, *Aristocracy*, p. 155.

[145] Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People*, p. 164; *Domesday Book Suffolk*, fo. 449a; *Red Book*, i, p. 393.

[146] Green, *Aristocracy*, p. 45; Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People*, pp. 355-6.

[147] Sanders, *English Baronies*, p. 120.

[148] Green, *Aristocracy*, p. 84; For Ranulf Peverel's lands in Essex see *Domesday Book Essex*, fos. 71b-76a; for his lands in Suffolk see, ibid., fos. 393b, 417a; for his predecessor see also *Domesday Book Suffolk*, fos. 337b, 338a, 375ab, 417a.

[149] Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People*, p. 355.

[150] Ibid., p. 406; Sanders, *English Baronies*, p. 139.

[151] Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People*, p. 375; *Domesday Book Suffolk*, fos. 331b, 333b, 336a, 449a.

Godric, who was English, had been the Steward of Earl Ralph de Gael. There is a possibility that Godric was related to Earl Ralph's English mother. Godric's wife Ingreda was the daughter of a wealthy pre-Conquest English thegn, Edwin. Possibly, during the reign of William Rufus, Godric was sheriff or under-sheriff of both Suffolk and Norfolk. After the rebellion of Earl Ralph de Gael, Godric was given the custody of Ralph's lands that were in the king's hands.[152]

William d'Ecouis (Scohies) was from Écouis in Normandy. Besides Suffolk, he also held land in Norfolk. It is known that he granted some lands in Norfolk to St Mary's York and to Saint-Etienne de Caen.[153]

In addition to the lay tenants-in-chief in eastern Suffolk, there were four ecclesiastical tenants-in-chief. In 1086 William de Beaufour (Bellofago) was appointed to the bishopric of Thetford after the death of Herfast, who was the first Norman bishop of East Anglia. Like his probable brother, Ralph of Beaufour, he was from Beaufour, Calvados, in Normandy. William may be the same man as William Belfou, the holder of the church on the royal demesne in Blewbury, Berkshire in 1086. He seems to have died by 1090.[154]

In 1082 Simeon, probably a Norman, became abbot of Ely. He was also prior of Winchester Cathedral Priory. His brother was Walchelin, bishop of Winchester. Simeon died in 1093.[155]

Gilbert bishop of Evreux (*Gislebert Episcopus Ebroicensis*) was Norman. He was the son of Alice de Tosny and William fitz Osbern de Breteuil. Initially, he became archdeacon, then the canon of Lisieux Cathedral. In 1066, it is known that

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[152] Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People*, p. 219, Green, *Aristocracy*, pp. 96-7; Williams, *English and the Norman Conquest*, pp. 108-9.
[153] Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People*, p. 479.
[154] *Norwich Episcopal Acta*, p. xxviii; Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People*, p. 330; *Domesday Book Berkshire*, fo. 56d.

he visited Pope Alexander II on behalf of the Conqueror. Five years later, in 1071 he became the bishop of Evreux.[156]

Baldwin, abbot of Bury St Edmunds, was from the area near Chartres. Initially he was a monk in Saint-Denis in Paris. He went to England in 1065. In the same year, he was appointed as abbot of Bury St Edmunds and also became doctor of King Edward the Confessor. In the Norman period, until his death in 1097/8, he continued to have a close relationship with the kings of England.[157] Most of Bury St Edmund's lands were in the western part of Suffolk.

When we come to look at the subtenants of the 1086 tenants-in-chief, we are presented with a problem. It is a relatively simple matter to list subtenants recorded in Domesday Book in a form such as *Galterus de Risboil tenet de Roberto* (Malet)[158] However, many English freemen, sometimes recorded as holding in 1066, sometimes in 1086, sometimes possibly in both or succeeded by their children by 1086, were also in a sense subtenants, whether of the tenant-in-chief himself or of one of his immediate subtenants. For example, in Sutton in Wilford Hundred, eastern Suffolk a freeman held under the patronage of Edric before 1066. By 1086 Edric's three sons lived there, with a freeman under them. Together with another freeman, who had also been under Edric's patronage, the whole was held by Ralph from Robert Malet.[159] In Thorpe in Blything Hundred Wulfmer had been a freeman in 1066 under patronage of Robert Malet's predecessor and William Malet had had possession. By 1086 Roger Bigod held what was, presumably, still the freeman or

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[155] Knowles, Brooke & London, *Heads of Religious Houses*, i, pp. 45, 80; Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People*, p. 420.
[156] Ibid., *Domesday People*, p. 212.
[157] Knowles, Brooke & London, *Heads of Religious Houses*, i, p. 32; Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People*, p. 161.
[158] Domesday Book *Suffolk*, fo. 306a.
[159] Ibid., fo. 319a.

the freeman's heir.[160] So the question is not so much whether such freemen were, at one level or another, tenants, but what the terms of the tenure was and how it compared with the status of tenants who were *tenet de* a tenant-in-chief. Although the "Ralph holds of Robert" kind of subtenant may be expressed differently, it tells us little about the different nature of the tenancy.

As most freemen are unnamed, we can only assume that they were mostly English (or Anglo-Scandinavian). So we must bear this in mind when we look at the "holds of" kind of subtenant. Having said this, I will now look at this kind of subtenant in eastern Suffolk in 1086 (see Table 8).

Table 8: 1086 subtenants in eastern Suffolk.

Tenants-in-chief	Subtenants ("Holds of")
Robert Malet	Durand, Edric, Fulcred, Gilbert, Gilbert Blunt, Gilbert of Coleville, Gilbert of Wissant, Hubert, Hubert of Mont-Canisy, Humphrey, Humphrey son of R., Leornic, Norman, Norman the Sheriff, Ranulf, Robert Claville, Walter son of Aubrey, Walter, Robert, Robert son of Fulcred, Robert of Glanville, Robert of Vaux, Robert Malet's mother, Tigier, Walter of Caen, Walter the Crossbowman, Walter son of Richere, Walter son of Grip, Walter de Risbou, William, William of Émalleville, William Goulafre.
Count Alan	Hamo of Valognes, Maynard
Roger Bigot	Aitard, Akile, Ansketel, Cus, Godric the Steward, Godwin, Hugh of Corbon, Norman, Ralph, Ranulf son of Walter, Robert of Blythburgh, Robert of Courson, Robert Malet, Robert of Vaux, Robert son of Walter, Thurstan son of Guy, William of Bosc
William of Beaufour bishop of Thetford	Robert Malet.
Earl Hugh	Bigot of Loges, Robert of Courson, Roger Bigot.

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[160] Ibid., fo. 333a.

Simeon abbot of Ely	Hervey *Bituricensis*, Robert Malet, Roger Bigot.
William of Warenne	Geoffrey of Pierrepont, Robert of Pierrepont, William son of Reginald.
Ralph Bainard	Anbold, Ralph, Ranulf, Robert of Blythburgh, William Baynard.
Baldwin abbot of St Edmunds	Durand, Frodo.
Hugh de Montfort	Roger of Condos.
Hervey of *Bituricensis*	Bernard of Alençon, Odo.
Robert of Tosny	Ralph of Lanquetot.
Geoffrey de Mandeville	William of Bouville, William son of Saxwolo.
Odo bishop of Bayeux	Farman, Hervey *Bituricensis*, Marculf, Ralph, Roger Bigot, Robert of Glanville, Robert Malet, Ralph of Savenay, Simeon abbot of Ely.
Humphrey the Chamberlain	Amund.
Walter Giffard	Ralph of Languetot.

(Tenants-in-chief with no recorded subtenants are not included.)

It is clear that many of the immigrants came from Normandy. However, even these came from every part of Normandy: from Arques in the north-east of Normandy, from Eure, south of Rouen — Ralph Baynard and Robert de Tosny— from Calvados — Roger Bigod, Ralph de Beaufour, Robert de Courcun and William de Beaufour — and from Avranches in the south-west. Similarly, although most of the subtenants of these tenants-in-chiefs were from Normandy, like their lords, they were also drawn from many parts of Normandy.

Though most of the subtenants are clearly of continental origin, it is worth noting that a few of them are English or, like Norman (or Norman the sheriff), at least pre-1066 inhabitants. If we had enough space, it would be interesting and possible to look at the identity of these subtenants in more detail through Domesday

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Book and through Katharine Keats-Rohan's *Domesday People*. Some points however can be made. Of the around seventy subtenants, six of them were tenants-in-chief in eastern Suffolk (Robert Malet, Roger Bigod, Simeon abbot of Ely, Hervey Bituricensis, Robert de Courson, Godric the Steward) and five of them were relatives of these tenants-in-chief (Robert Malet's mother, Bigot of Loges, Frodo brother of the abbot of St Edmunds, William Baynard, Gilbert son of Robert Blunt). Three more were tenants-in-chief elsewhere in Suffolk (Hubert of Mont-Canisy, Norman, Frodo the abbot of St Edmund's brother). Robert Malet and Roger Bigod were both subtenants of three other tenants-in-chief. It seems that to some extent subinfeudation took place amongst a set of interconnected people and that individuals did not occupy only one level of the tenurial hierarchy. When we look at the number of subtenants, bearing in mind the amount of land that these tenants-in-chief held, there was considerable variation. There could be two reasons. First, the variation could be real. Second, some subtenants may not be recorded.

Finding information about the most important landholders in 1066 in eastern Suffolk is more difficult than investigating their successors. Identification is often difficult because even important people were sometimes just recorded by their first name. Nevertheless, the importance of some landholders in the region in 1086 is clear. In the post-Conquest period, we see that the lands of major ecclesiastical institutions continued to be held by the same institutions as before the Conquest. On the other hand, the Anglo-Saxon practice of commendation led to many men who had been commended to these institutions falling under the lordship of the new tenants-in-chief after 1066. For example, in Charsfield in Loes Hundred, Roger Bigod's subtenant, Thurston son of Guy held in 1086 a freeman called Brictmer who

had been commended to the abbey of Ely before 1066.[161] In Sutton in Wilford

Hundred, Robert Malet held 22 freemen. Twenty of these had been commended to

Edric (probably of Laxfield), Robert's normal antecessor. However, the other two

freemen had been commended to the abbey of Ely.[162] Another complication often

involving the ecclesiastical institutions was the complex matters of "soke" and of

hundredal jurisdictions which I will discuss in the next chapter.

Edric of Laxfield was the most significant lay landholder before 1066 in

eastern Suffolk. It is no surprise therefore that he was the principal antecessor of

Robert Malet, though some of his lands and commended freemen in eastern Suffolk

went to Count Alan, Walter Giffard, Hugh de Montfort, Judicael the Priest, Hervey

Bituricensis, Odo bishop of Bayeux, Simeon abbot of Ely and Roger of Poitevin. In

one of the entries in Domesday Book, his name was recorded as *Edric filius Ingoldi*,

Eadric son of Ingold.[163] Before 1066 in East Anglia as a whole, apart from the earls,

he had the most valuable of all the lay estates that can be reconstructed. As well as

demesne lands he had very numerous commended freemen. In Dunwich and

Blything hundreds of Suffolk, he was given the administrative authority in the

period between 1051 and 1066.[164] Before the Conquest, Eye belonged to Edric of

Laxfield.[165] After 1066 it was given to Robert Malet. Edric's relationship with the

Crown had been sometimes problematic. It is known that he was sent into exile and,

his lands were confiscated by the Crown, but then in 1051 he turned back and his

lands were given back to him.[166]

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[161] Ibid., fo. 343b; Stenton,

[162] Ibid., fo. 317a.

[163] *Domesday Book Suffolk*, fo. 299ab.

[164] Wareham, "Feudal Revolution", p. 316; Clarke, *English Nobility*, p. 115.

[165] *Domesday Book Suffolk*, fos. 319b, 320a.

[166] Clarke, *English Nobility*, pp. 2, 60. For more information about the honour of Eye see, Sanders, *English Baronies*, pp. 143-4.

Guthmund was one of the antecessors of Hugh de Monfort. He was one of King Edward's thegns. Guthmund had married a wealthy women.

> The *Liber Eliensis* states that the daughter of one of the *proceres* (those who held more than 40 hides) could only marry another of the same class. This is mentioned when Guthmund was forced to acquire land by lease before being allowed to marry the daughter of a certain wealthy man.[167]

Guthmund's brother was Wulfric of Teversham, who became the abbot of Ely in 1044.[168] The lands that Hugh (de Montfort) got from Guthmund were formerly held by Wulfric. Guthmund's lands in Suffolk were not very significant.[169]

Haldein was one of the antecessors of Geoffrey de Mandeville, though in Suffolk the total value of Haldein's lands was only ten pounds. Perhaps Haldein was an under-tenant of Asgar the Staller, the most important antecessor of Geoffrey de Mandeville elsewhere. In the Domesday entry for the manor of Thorington in Blything Hundred, in which Geoffrey de Mandeville succeeded Haldein, it makes the point that *non est de honore Ansgari*.[170]

King Harold at times appears in Domesday Book as Earl Harold, reflecting the situation before he was king. He had been an earl in East Anglia around 1045.[171] In eastern Suffolk, he was an antecessor of Drogo de la Beuvriere, Hervey *Bituricensis*, Gilbert the Crossbowman and Geoffrey de Mandeville.

Manni Sward was one of the antecessors of Count Alan and Robert de Tosny in eastern Suffolk. He was one of the thegns of the Confessor. Before the Conquest his son Ulf, was also a landholder in East Anglia. After 1066, Ulf's land in the Blything Hundred was given to Robert Malet's mother by Robert.[172]

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[167] Clarke, *English Nobility*, p. 119.
[168] Ibid., p. 120.
[169] For Guthmund's lands in Suffolk see *Domesday Book Suffolk*, fos. 406ab, 408ab, 410b, 444a.
[170] Clarke, *English Nobility*, pp. 154-5; *Domesday Book Suffolk*; fos. 411ab, 412ab, 413a.
[171] Brown, *Normans and the Norman Conquest*, p. 70.
[172] *Domesday Book Suffolk*, fos. 292b, 314a.

Ralph the Staller was an antecessor of Count Alan and Geoffrey de Mandeville as has been mentioned above. Although a Breton, his wife, Eadgifu the Fair, was English. It is known that Ralph died sometime in the period 1067-9, shortly after the Norman Conquest and shortly after becoming King William's first earl in East Anglia. He held many lands in Norfolk and Lincolnshire as well as lands in Suffolk. Count Alan also received £150's worth of land in Lincolnshire that had been Ralph's. He also had one manor in Cornwall, perhaps used on his visits to Brittany. [173]

Edric Grim was one of the thegns of Edward the Confessor. He was an antecessor of Robert Malet, Count Alan, Walter Giffard, Judicael the Priest, Hervey *Bituricensis*, Odo bishop of Bayeux, Simeon abbot of Ely and Roger of Poitevin. In one of the entries of Domesday Book it was recorded that Edric gave his commendation to both Edric of Laxfield and to the abbey of Bury St Edmunds.[174] Clarke saw this situation — giving commendation to more than one lord — as peculiar to East Anglia.[175]

Edwin, the brother of Ketel, an important landholder in Essex and to some extent Suffolk, was one of the thegns of Edward the Confessor in East Anglia. He was the antecessor of Godric the Steward in eastern Suffolk. Godric was one of Edwin's nephews. In accordance with the will of Edwin and his wife, Wulfgyth, Godric the Steward and his wife Ingreda gave Little Melton to the abbey of St Benet in Holme as a bequest. In total, Godric held 32 carucates of land in England. Out of these 32, 25 carucates were given to Godric by Edwin.[176]

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[173] Lewis, "Early Earls", pp. 215, 218; Douglas, *William*, p. 231; Barlow, *William Rufus*, p. 165; Clarke, *English Nobility*, pp. 37, 44. However, he did not die in 1057 as in ibid., p. 143.
[174] *Domesday Book Suffolk*, fo. 293.
[175] Clarke, *English Nobility*, pp. 95, 137.
[176] Williams, *English and the Norman Conquest*, p. 108; Green, *Aristocracy*, pp. 99, 108-9; Clarke, *English Nobility*, pp. 91, 147, 318.

Toki was the antecessor of Roger Bigod in eastern Suffolk and of William Warenne elsewhere in Suffolk. We know little about him. He was one of the thegns of King Edward. Toki leased two manors from the abbey of Ely, which were in the hands of William de Warenne in 1086. The total value of his land was £102. Some of the lands of his son, Godwin, were given to Roger Bigod in Blything. By 1086, Godwin had become a subtenant of Roger Bigod.[177]

Ulf was one of the ancestors of Robert de Tosny, Baldwin bishop of Thetford and Roger Bigod in eastern Suffolk. Perhaps his full name was Ulf Fenisc, or Fensic. Probably he was of Scandinavian origin, and came to England during the reign of Cnut. He held a great amount of land in Lincolnshire valued at around £190. Besides Lincolnshire, he also held a considerable amount of land in Nottinghamshire. The total value of his estates was around £482. Like Edric of Laxfield, he was one of the greatest landholders in 1066 who were not earls. After the Conquest, his lands in general were granted to Gilbert de Gant, who was one of the nephews of King William.[178]

The general problems of dealing with Domesday Book personal names are well known.[179] I do not intend to deal with them in any great detail here. Nevertheless, the Domesday Book for eastern Suffolk does clearly show some changes in naming practices introduced with the immigrants. A great many of the landholders before 1066 were recorded just by their first names. Sometimes people were identified by their father or by other relations, such as Edwin brother of Ketel and Godwin son of Toki. Toponymics such as in Edric of Laxfield are very rare. Another possible toponymic was Ulf Fenisc which might mean either from Fjon in

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[177] Clarke, *English Nobility*, pp. 5, 71; *Domesday Book Suffolk*, fo. 398b. For Toki's lands in Suffolk, see ibid., fos, 340a, 333b, 335b, 398a, 393a, 398ab, 399a, 418b. For Godwin, see ibid., fo. 335b.
[178] Clarke, *English Nobility*, p. 135.
[179] Dodgson, "Place Names and Personal Names", p. 123; Holt, "Family Nomenclature", p. 180.

Denmark or "from the Fens".[180] Sometimes thegns are identified as such, and others are identified as earl or by some office such as *constabularius* (staller), notably Ralph the Staller. Occasionally nicknames are given, such as Edric Grim and Manni Sward.

When we come to look at the 1086 tenants-in-chief it is clear that the usage of toponymic names among them was much more popular (Mandeville, Warenne, Montfort, Tosny, Limesy, Ecouis, Rames, Courson, Beaufour, Arques, La Beuvriere). Even amongst the 1086 subtenants toponymic names were common (Vaux, Coleville, Wissant, Mont-Canisy, Glaville, Risbou, Émalleville, Valognes, Corbon, Bosc, Loges, Pierrepont, Condos, Alençon, Lanquetot, Bouville, Saveney). We even find one, and only one, example of an English toponymic in Robert of Blythburgh. As J. C. Holt has said more generally, "the preponderance of French toponymics is remarkable."[181] There were still official or occupational names, such as Gilbert the Crossbowman, Godric the Steward (*dapifer*) and Humphrey the Chamberlain. Among the subtenants there is Norman the Sheriff, and Roger Bigod is sometimes called Roger the Sheriff. There are still some comital titles: Count Alan, Earl Hugh and the Countess Aumale. There are also more obscure bynames which may be nicknames in origin: Robert Malet, Roger Bigot, Ralph Bainard, Walter Giffard and Ranulf Peverel. There seems to be no post-Conquest equivalent to the description, either indicating status or official position, of thegn.

If we look at the tenants-in-chief and their subtenants in the *Cartae Baronum* of 1166 for the honours in Suffolk, the mixture in general is similar to that of Domesday Book in 1086, except for one notable difference. By 1166, English toponymics were a great deal more common though French toponymics are still

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[180] Clarke, *English Nobility*, p. 34.

common too. The first names are almost exclusively Continental. The *Cartae Baronum* only reveals the top two levels of the tenurial hierarchy, but it would be wrong to assume that all of these people had a continental background. Soon after the Conquest, men and women of English background began to take on continental first names.[182] It is also worth noting that when we look at the single Pipe Roll of Henry I's reign and the early Pipe Rolls of Henry II for Norfolk and Suffolk, which reach sometimes lower in society, that there are still English and Scandinavian names scattered there.[183]

In accordance with Bartlett's idea of a broadly Frankish aristocratic diaspora, we can see the aristocratic migration from the Continent in eastern Suffolk. It had begun before the Norman Conquest. Robert Malet's father, for example, was already in England though not in East Anglia before 1066, and was half-English. Similarly, Ralph the Staller was also in England and in East Anglia before the Conquest. For a time Robert Malet, Ralph the Staller and his son Ralph de Gael were the biggest landholders in eastern Suffolk. The Norman Conquest undoubtedly accelerated the aristocratic migration. Most migrants were from Normandy, but Count Alan, who became one of the greatest landholders in eastern Suffolk, especially after the fall of Ralph de Gael, was Breton.

Although at first sight it seems that the leading 1066 landholders suddenly disappeared, this was only true for most of the highest level of landholders. Apart from Ralph the Staller at the top level, some of the lesser landholders did survive though they had migrant tenants-in-chief and sometimes subtenants placed above them. Most of the ordinary freemen did survive, but found themselves placed under new continental lords. The relationship with these new lords that was to replace the

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[181] Holt, "Family Nomenclature", p. 193.

freemen's commendation to pre-1066 notables was not as yet clear, at least from Domesday Book, and perhaps in 1086 was still to be completely determined.

Immediately after the Conquest it seems that French naming practices and French toponymics were brought by the migrants. A hundred years later however, these French naming practices were being applied with many English toponymics as well. Perhaps this is a sign of the assimilation of the continentals into English society just as the adoption of French names by the English was a sign of their assimilation to the Conquest.

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[182] Wilson, *Means of Naming*, pp. 90-1.
[183] *PR 31 Henry I*, pp. 91-4, 96, 98; *PR 2-4 Henry II*, pp. 6, 9, 76, 130-1; *PR 8 Henry II*, p. 63.

CHAPTER 2

FEUDALISM AND THE GOVERNING OF THE LAND

What I want to write about in this chapter is the change in the way eastern Suffolk was administered and the alteration in the tenurial system. This will mean discussing the pre- and post-Conquest earldom of East Anglia and its end, at least for 65 years, in 1075, as well as developments in the sheriffdom of Suffolk. It will also mean dealing with the heated question of the introduction of feudalism into England, with reference to eastern Suffolk.

In the late Anglo-Saxon period, earls were representatives of royal authority. They led the military forces of their shire or shires; they were the chief secular representatives of the king in the shire court. In return for this they received some benefits, for example, a third of the profits of justice in the shire court and often in borough courts. They also sometimes received lands attached to their office in addition to their personal lands. Their great power in late Anglo-Saxon England came from the great extent of their lands, personal or official, the number of their commended men and sometimes their official position in a number of shires.[184]

Before the Conquest the earl of East Anglia (Norfolk and Suffolk), and perhaps a couple of other shires, had been Gyrth, the brother of King Harold. Gyrth was killed at Hastings, but soon after the Conquest, William I filled the vacant office of earl in East Anglia with Ralph the Staller.[185] Since Ralph the Staller was a pre-Conquest lord in England, married to an English woman and succeeding to an earldom of a pre-Conquest type, in reality the appointment of Ralph the Staller in

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[184] Lewis, "Early Earls", pp. 209-10; Latimer, "Earls in Henry II's Reign", pp. 19-21.
[185] Williams, *English and the Norman Conquest*, p. 10.

East Anglia was not a dramatic change. In 1075, Ralph de Gael, son of Ralph the Staller, lost his lands and position as earl in East Anglia, because of his revolt.[186] After that, until 1141, no new earl was appointed to East Anglia.[187] Understandably, William I was perhaps unhappy with his experience of continued or revived Anglo-Saxon earldoms after the revolt of Edwin and Morcar, and the revolt or disloyalty of men like Ralph de Gael and Earl Waltheof in 1075.[188] Perhaps too the Conqueror thought that he already had loyal, powerful men in the region, such as Roger Bigod and Robert Malet. This is in turn may have something to do with the developing office of sheriff.

The office of sheriff (shire-reeve) in the pre-Conquest period was that of an executive agent of the king in the shire, chiefly in respect of the king's property and rights, though the sheriff also sometimes led the military forces of a shire. In the shire court they were less important than earls and bishops.[189] The role of Norman *vicomté* was similar enough to that of the English sheriff for the Norman conquerors to use the word *vicecomes* as the Latin equivalent for sheriff.[190] Similarities between the Continent and England in terms of sheriffs and *vicomtes* were already apparent long before the Norman Conquest. In England in the post-Conquest period, the sheriff became more important than before. By the end of William I's reign the sheriff was the main royal representative in most of the shires. In 1087 there were earls only in three shires (Cheshire, Shropshire, Northumberland).[191] Also, as ecclesiastical courts began to be separate, the power of bishop in the shire court

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[186] Douglas, *William*, pp. 232-3.
[187] Davis, *King Stephen*, pp. 138-9.
[188] For the earls Edwin and Morcar, see Douglas, *William*, p. 222; for Earl Waltheof, see ibid., pp. 218 (revolt in 1069), 232-3 (disloyalty in 1075 and execution in 1076).
[189] Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 548-50; Loyn, *Governance of Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 138-40.
[190] Bates, *Normandy Before 1066*, pp. 157-8.
[191] Lewis, "Early Earls", p. 215.

gradually began to diminish.[192] Finally, the appointment as sheriff of more important men, or of men who, in the circumstances of the Conquest, were making themselves more important, was raising the status of the office. We can see this in Suffolk. At first there was no change. Norman the Sheriff, who held the office before the Conquest, continued to hold it until 1069. After that, Roger Bigod was sheriff more than once and Robert Malet also served as sheriff. Perhaps during the reign of William Rufus sheriffs were chosen from among rather lesser lords. Ralph of Beaufour and Godric the Steward were both sheriffs of Suffolk in Rufus's reign.[193]

The main territorial subdivision of the shire was the hundred. Their courts maintained local law and order, dealing with minor crimes and disputes and were responsible for organising the tithing system, though there come to be many exceptions to that. The profits of the hundred courts could be shared, for example, between the king and the earl. There could also be private hundreds that were under the authority of ecclesiastical institutions or even lay lords. There were also borough courts that we can describe as a specialized type of hundred court. Although the hundred may have referred to an area of a hundred hides, by the time of Domesday Book there were some hundreds that consisted of many more than a hundred hides and some of many less than a hundred hides.[194]

In eastern Suffolk, in Blything Hundred, the earl and the king shared the profit of the hundred court. The abbey of Ely, as part of its liberty of five and a half hundreds, had three and a half private hundreds in eastern Suffolk — Loes, Plomesgate, Wilford and Parham half hundred. The other two of Ely's hundreds

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[192] Douglas, *William*, pp. 331; Chibnall, *Anglo-Norman England*, pp. 193-4.
[193] Warner, *Origins of Suffolk*, pp. 188-92; Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People*, pp. 219, 330.
[194] Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 298-301, 501; Loyn, *Governance of Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 140-2.

were Carlford and Colneis. Bishop's Hundred was a private hundred of the bishop of Thetford. The ecclesiastical hundredal liberties had a long life after the conquest.[195]

Soc in Domesday Book, at least for East Anglia, meant having jurisdiction over certain people in the kind of cases and issues that would be dealt with in a hundred court. It seems to be the same as what is meant in the charters by sac and soc, literarily 'cause' and 'suit'. If the owner of the soc also possessed the hundred court, the two would merge into one. When this was not the case, there were various possibilities. The man under the soc might have to go to a court held by the owner of the soc, instead of the hundred court, or perhaps the owner of the soc might receive some of the profits that would normally go to hundred court, or even in some respects the man might be answerable to two courts.[196]

Peter Sawyer tends to regard sokes as concealing something like a post-Conquest tenant-in-chief together with his subtenants.[197] It is true that if **A** grants land over which he has the soc to **B**, **A** is likely, on whatever terms the grant was made, to retain the soc over **B**'s land. However, while what Sawyer suggests may be true in some cases, it is clearly not always or even usually true. Not all soc over the land of others originated in grants of land by the soc holder. For example, the abbot of Ely's extensive soc in his private hundreds in eastern Suffolk clearly reflects something different from widespread tenancies.[198]

Commendation before 1066 was a kind of homage, where the freeman who is commending himself promises loyalty and support to the lord, which might

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[195] Warner, *Origins of Suffolk*, pp. 145-6; Cam, *Hundred and the Hundred Rolls*, pp. 279-80.
[196] Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 517-8; Loyn, *Governance of Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 129, 162-3, 171; for a pre-Conquest royal grant with *sac* and *soc*, ibid., p. 114; for post-Conquest charters with *sac* and *soc* in East Anglia, see for example *Regesta*, i, no. 385; ibid., ii. no. 656; ibid., iii. no. 618.
[197] Sawyer, "1066-1086: A Tenurial Revolution?", p. 81.
[198] For a broader criticism of Sawyer's arguments for the continuity of lordships over the Norman Conquest, see Fleming, "Domesday Book and the Tenurial Revolution", pp. 87-101.

include military support, together with a small annual payment, and where the lord promises protection and support to the man. A lord who had the commendation of a freeman did not necessarily hold the *soc* over him. This could and did generate dispute after the Conquest. The possibility that the holder of the *soc* could be different from the holder of the commendation seems to have confused the Normans, who in deciding on the extent of lordships, seem to have followed commendation patterns more than *soc*. Giving commendation to a lord was a free act and a man's commendation could change. The peculiarity of East Anglia in this case seems to have been that only there could a man commend himself to more than one lord.[199]

This complex relationship between hundreds, *soc* and commendation can be observed by looking in detail at Parham Half Hundred in eastern Suffolk (see Table 9). Before 1066 there could be at least three possibilities concerning freemen in this half hundred that belonged to the abbot of Ely. One possibility was that Ely held the manor, *soc* and commendation. A second possibility was that the manor was held by someone else, but that the abbot still had *soc* and commendation over freemen. A third possibility was that Ely held only the *soc*. Things could get even more complicated when the commendation or the *soc* was shared. One can see also signs of disputes and the settlement of disputes.

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[199] Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 490-2, 518; Clarke, *English Nobility*, p. 161.

Table 9: *Soc* and commendation in Parham Half a Hundred.

Manor	Landholders	Commendation and Soke
Beversham	1066 Aelfric, a freeman held 60 acres + 3 acres of meadow as a manor valued £1 0s 0d. 1066 2 freemen held 10 acres valued £0 2s 0d 1086 land of Hervey *Bituricensis*. 1086 Warner holds of Hervey. 1086 value: £0 7s 0d	1066 Aelfric in soke and commendation of the abbot of Ely. 1066 the 2 other freemen commended to Aelfric. 1086 Hervey has come to an agreement with the abbot about the manor.
Blaxhall 1	1 free man, 2 acres. 1086 land of Count Alan. 1086 Hamo de Valognes holds of Count Alan. 1086 value £0 0s 4d	
Blaxhall 2	1066 Brother, a freeman held 12 acres 1086 land of Count Alan (demesne). 1066 Edric Grim, a freeman held 20 acres. 1086 land of Count Alan. 1086 Hamo (de Valognes) holds from Count Alan 1086 value £0 3s 4d.	1086 Brother is in the soke of the abbot of Ely. 1066 Edric Grim was half under the commendation of Edric of Laxfield and half under the abbot of Ely
Blaxhall 3	Wulfric, a freeman with 4 acres. 1086 land of Count Alan (demesne). 1086 value: £0 0s 8d.	1086 Wulfric is in the soke of the abbot of Ely.
Blaxhall 4	6 freemen with 61 acres 1086 land of Robert Malet. 1086 Gilbert holds (of Robert Malet) 1086 value: £0 10s 0d 3 freemen with 30 acres + meadow of 2 acres. 1086 land of Robert Malet. 1086 value £0 5s 0d	Commended (to ?); in the soke of the abbot of Ely. 1086 in the soke of the abbot of Ely.
Blaxhall 5	2 freemen with 14 acres. 1086 land of Robert Malet. 1086 William de Emalleville holds of Robert Malet. 1086 value: £0 2s 4d	1066 1½ freemen under the subcommendation of the abbot of Ely; ½ freeman under the subcommendation of Edric of Laxfield.

	1066 1 freeman with 3 acres 1086 land of Robert Malet. 1086 William de Emalleville holds of Robert Malet. 1086 value: £0 0s 6d.	1066 under the subcommendation of Edric (of Laxfield) 1086 in the soke of the abbot of Ely.
Blaxhall 6	1066 1 freeman with 10 acres. 1086 land of Robert Malet 1086 Gilbert holds of Robert Malet 1086 value: £0 3s 0d	1066 under the subcommendation of Edric (of Laxfield) 1086 the soke is the abbot of Ely's.
	1066 1 freeman with 12 acres. 1086 land of Robert Malet. 1086 Gilbert holds of Robert Malet.	1066 half under the subcommendation of Edric of Laxfield, half under the subcommendation of the abbot of Ely. Because of this half, he has been acquired by the abbot (1086)
	1066 1 commended (to ?) freeman with 1 acre. 1086 land of Robert Malet. 1086 value: £0 0s 2d.	
	1066 2 freemen with 8 acres. 1086 land of Robert Malet. 1086 Gilbert holds of Robert Malet. 1086 value: £0 0s 4d.	1½ freemen under the subcommendation of Edric (of Laxfield); ½ freeman under the subcommendation of the abbot of Ely.
Blaxhall 7	1066 3 freemen with 6 acres. 1086 land of Robert Malet. 1086 Gilbert holds of Robert Malet. 1086 value: £0 1s 0d.	1066 under the subcommendation of Edric (of Laxfield). 1086 the soke is the abbot of Ely's.
Blaxhall 8	1066 Huna, a freeman with 12 acres. 1086 land of Robert Malet. 1086 Ranulf holds of Robert Malet.	1066 under the subcommendation of Edric (of Laxfield). 1086 the soke is the abbot of Ely's.
Blaxhall 9	16 acres of the lordship of *Cheletuna.* 1086 land of Robert Malet. 1086 value: £0 1s 1d.	1086 the soke is the abbot of Ely's.
Blaxhall 10	1066 8 freemen with 66 acres + 4 acres in meadow. 1066 value: £1 0s 0d. 1086 land of Roger Bigod. 1086 value: £1 5s 0d. Half a freemen with 3 acres.	5 freemen commended to Norman; 2 freemen commended to the abbot of Ely; 1, Alwin, commended to Edric of Laxfield. 1086 the soke is the abbot of Ely's.

	1086 land of Roger Bigod. 1086 value: £0 0s 6d. 1 slave. 1086 land of Roger Bigod. 1086 Norman holds of Roger Bigod. 1086 value: £0 0s 8d. 1066 1 freeman, Ulf, with 10 acres. 1086 land of Roger Bigod. 1086 Norman holds of Roger Bigod.	1066 commended to Norman. 1086 the soke is the abbot of Ely's.
Blaxhall 11	1 freeman with 10 acres. 1086 land of Roger the Poitevin (demesne). 1086 value: £0 8s 0d.	In the soke and commendation of the abbot of Ely.
Blaxhall 12	5 freemen with 26 acres. 1086 land of the abbey of Ely. 1086 value: £0 4s 0d.	In the soke and commendation of the abbot of Ely.
Blaxhall 13	1066 1 freeman, Godric, with 10 acres. 1086 land of Walter Giffard. 1086 Ralph the Lanquetot holds of Walter Giffard. 1086 value: £0 1s 8d.	1066 ½ under the subcommendation of Edric of Laxfield and ½ under the subcommendation of abbot of Ely. 1086 in the soke of the abbot of Ely.
Brutge 1	1066 Edric of Laxfield held 40 acres as a manor + 3 acres of meadow + the fourth part of a church, 6 acres. 1066 value: £0 14s 8d. 1086 land of Robert Malet. Walter de Risboil holds of Robert Malet. 1086 5 freemen have been added. 1086 land of Robert Malet. 1086 Walter de Risboil holds of Robert Malet.	The soke is the abbot of Ely's. With commendation in the soke of the abbot of Ely. The wife of one was commended to Norman.

Brutge 2	1066 Edric with 128 as a manor + 4 acres of meadow + a fourth part of a church, 6 acres. 1066 value: £2 0s 0d. 1086 land of Hervey *Bituricensis*. 1086 Warner holds of Hervey. 1086 8 freemen with 20 acres were added. 1086 land of Hervey *Bituricensis*. 1086 value: £0 3s 4 d.	Edric was commended to Edric of Laxfield. The soke is the abbot of Ely's. Concerning half this land, Hervey came to an agreement with the abbot; later he held it from the king.
Parham 1	1066 Thormod held 2 carucates as a manor + 6 freemen with 24 acres. (6 freemen in Marlesford, Loes Hundred, with 25 acres and 3 freemen in Hacheston, Loes Hundred with 19 acres). 1066 value: £5 0s 0d. 1086 royal demesne. 1086 value: £11 0s 0d.	1066 Thormod had the soke of the manor and of 3 freemen; the abbot of Ely had the soke of 3 freemen. (Commended to Thormod of Parham).
Parham 2	1066 Aelfric, a king's thegn, held 1 carucate as a manor. 1066 value: £1 0s 0d. 1086 land of Count Alan. 1086 Hamo (de Valognes) holds of Count Alan.	
Parham 3	1086 3 freemen with 16 acres. 1086 land of Count Alan. 1086 value: £0 2s 8d.	
Parham 4	1066 4 freemen with 20 acres. 1086 land of Earl Hugh. 1086 Roger Bigod holds of Earl Hugh. 1086 value £0 4s 0d.	4 freemen commended to the predecessor of Earl Hugh.
Parham 5	40 acres of the lordship of *Niuetuna*. 1086 land of Robert Malet. 1086 value: £0 6s 8d. 2 freemen with 12 acres. 1086 land of Robert Malet. 1086 value: £0 2s 0d. 1066 Alnoth, a freeman, with carucate as a manor + 3 acres of meadow + church with 24 acres	 In the soke of the abbot of Ely. Commended to Edric (of Laxfield).

Parham 5 (cont.)	of free land. 1066 value: £1 10s 0d. 1086 land of Robert Malet. 1086 Walter son of Aubrey holds of Robert Malet. 1086 value: £1 10s 0d. 1066 Blackson, a freeman, with 40 acres as 1 manor. 1066 value: £0 6s 8d. 1086 land of Robert Malet. 1086 Walter son of Aubrey holds of Robert Malet. 1066 Ernwulf, a freeman, with 40 acres as 1 manor + 1 acres of meadow. 1086 land of Robert Malet. 1086 value: £0 7s 0d. Alnoth, a freeman, with 30 acres. 1086 land of Robert Malet. 1086 value: £0 5s 0d. 2 freemen with 40 acres + 1 acres of meadow. 1086 land of Robert Malet. 1086 Walter son of Aubrey holds of Robert Malet. 1086 value: £0 7s 0d.	Commended (to ?). Commended (to ?). Commended (to ?). Commended (to ?). The soke is the abbot of Ely.
Parham 6	1 freeman with 12 acres. 1086 land of Robert Malet. 1086 Gilbert holds of Robert Malet.	Commended (to ?). The jurisdiction is the abbot of Ely's.
Tunstall	1066 Godric, a freeman, with 4 acres. 1086 land of Robert Malet. 1086 Gilbert holds of Robert Malet. 1086 value: £0 0s 8d.	1066 half subcommended to Edric, half subcommeded to the abbot of Ely.

Wantisden 1	1066 16 freemen with 60 acres. 1086 land of Count Alan (demesne). 1086 value £0 10s 0d. Edwin, a freeman, with 14 acres. 1086 land of Count Alan (demesne). 1086 value: £0 2s 8d.	8 freemen subcommended to Edric of Laxfield. 8 subcommended to the abbot of Ely. All in the soke of the abbot of Ely.
Wantisden 2	1066 Oslac, a freeman, with 3 acres. 1086 land of Count Alan (demesne). 1086 value: £0 0s 6d. Edhild, a freeman, with 8 acres. 1086 land of Count Alan (demesne). 1086 value: £0 1s 4d.	
Wantisden 3	22 freemen with 20 acres of free land + 121 acres. 1086 land of Robert Malet. 1086 Hubert holds 5½, Gilbert holds 4½, Gilbert of Wissant holds 7, William of Émallville 5, all of Robert Malet. 16 acres of the lordship of Staverton. 1086 value: £1 10s 0d.	Commended (to ?). In the soke of the abbot of Ely.
Wantisden 4	1066 2 freemen, Alwin and Aelfled, with 7 acres + the fourth part of a church with 10 acres. 1086 land of Robert Malet. 1086 value: £0 1s 2d.	
Wantisden 5	1066 Aelfric, a freeman, with 4 acres. 1086 land of Robert Malet. 1086 Gilbert holds of Robert Malet. 1086 value: £0 0s 8d.	
Wantisden 6	1066 Aelfric, Brictric and Edhild, freemen, with 11 acres. 1066 a man held a fourth part of a church with 10 acres.	Subcommended to Roger Bigod's predecessor. In the soke of the abbot of Ely. Commended to Norman.

	1086 land of Roger Bigod. 1086 Norman holds of Roger Bigod.	
Wantisden 7	14 freemen with 40 acres. 1086 land of Roger the Poitevin. (demesne) (Value in Blaxhall).	In the soke and commendation of the abbot of Ely.
Wantisden 8	12 acres of the lordship of Sudbourne. 1086 land of the abbot of Ely. 1086 value: £0 2s 0d. 1066 Morewin, a freeman, with 2 acres. 1086 land of the abbot of Ely. 1086 Morwin holds of the abbot. 1086 value: £0 0s 4d.	

Now we need to discuss the much-debated question of the introduction of feudalism into England, or to be more precise, the introduction of knight-service or feudal tenure, and its relationship to the pre-Conquest situation. For a considerable part of the twentieth century the ideas of J. H. Round were widely accepted. For Round, a new system of military tenure — knight-service — was introduced in England quickly after the Conquest by William I. The new system he described was basically one of land granted in return for the service of a quota of knights.[200]

It has become clear that this view is in need of modification at least. John Gillingham has argued that, although the five-hide system may have been one of the bases of Anglo-Saxon military service, together with the retinues of the earls and leading thegns, in practice this became a system of quotas. This would mean that quotas were not new after 1066, though of course the specific quotas for new

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[200] Round, *Feudal England* pp. 197- 208.

tenancies-in-chief were new.[201] Alternatively, J. C. Holt has tried to rescue Round's basic idea by stressing that post-Conquest quotas were not enforced strictly and that they could only be described approximately as a "system", but that they were a practical response to the circumstances of conquest.[202] Reynolds too sees quotas, in so far as they existed, as a response to the situation after 1066 and not as any introduction of continental feudal ideas.[203] Judith Green, the latest contributor to this debate, agrees to some extent with Gillingham about pre-existing quotas and also emphasises that quotas in existence in the twelfth century must have come into being gradually. On the other hand, she does see the quota arrangements for castle guard as originating soon after the Conquest.[204]

If we look at the *Cartae Baronum* of 1166, the two basic forms of the individual entries are firstly, a name followed by a number of knights and secondly, a name followed by *feodum* of a number of knights.[205] However, the actual purpose of the *Cartae Baronum* was to function as a tax assessment, in the first place for an aid connected with marriage of king's daughter. It is true that the assessment was also used in relation to scutages which were theoretically a commutation of military service. It is perhaps doubtful that the system for military service was ever as precise as the taxation system. Scutage and other taxation according to a number of knights was a twelfth-century phenomenon and primarily one of the second half of the twelfth-century.[206] It is therefore dangerous to read backwards from this situation

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[201] Gillingham, "Introduction of Knight Service into England", pp. 201-6.
[202] Holt, "Introduction of Knight Service in England", pp. 100-1.
[203] Reynolds, *Fiefs and Vassals*, pp. 350-2.
[204] Green, *Aristocracy*, pp. 222-7.
[205] See for example, the *cartae* concerning Suffolk, *Red Book*, i, pp. 403-12.
[206] Warren, *Henry II*, pp. 275-81.

into the eleventh century. It is noticeable that this is what Round did.[207] When we look back to Domesday Book, we find nothing of all this.

There is a wider question of continuity concerning the Norman Conquest. This is the question of the continuity of tenurial structures. I have already mentioned something of Sawyer's views, arguing for a great degree of continuity, in connection with the subject of *soc*. Sawyer suggests that there was a double continuity: first, the 1086 tenancies-in-chief reflected the former holdings of the highest levels of Anglo-Saxon aristocracy, and secondly that subtenancies broadly of the 1086 type were common before the Conquest.[208] Robin Fleming, however, thinks that, although there are some examples of continuity of tenancies-in-chief from before the Conquest, these are atypical. On the subject of the place of subtenancies as part of continuing tenancies-in-chief, Fleming argues that the fact that Anglo-Saxons could have more than one lord, though perhaps in different respects, worked against continuity.[209] In addition to this, although there are some examples in Domesday Book of 1066 landholders 'holding of' other landholders, and although Sawyer is undoubtedly right that more such cases went unrecorded, that is no reason to see them everywhere.[210]

In order to examine all these questions, it will be useful to look at a particular 1086 tenant-in-chief and a particular 1086 subtenant in eastern Suffolk. For this purpose, I have chosen Ralph Baynard and Walter de Caen for reasons that will become clear in the next chapter.

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[207] Even worse, he sometimes reads backwards from the early thirteenth century: Round, *Feudal England*, pp, 232-3.
[208] Sawyer, "1066-1086: A Tenurial Revolution?", pp. 73-8.
[209] Fleming, "Domesday Book", pp. 88-9, 93.
[210] Sawyer, "1066-1086: A Tenurial Revolution?", pp. 76-8.

Table 10: The lands of Ralph Bainard in eastern Suffolk.

Place	Hundred	Selected Details	Value	1066 Holders
Reydon	Blyth.	Demesne manor and 32 freemen, 5 *villani*, 16 bordars, 1 slave, 2 ploughs in demesne, 7 ploughs of the men. 2 churches, 8 ca. Over 30 freemen, Thored had the commendation and the *soc*. King and earl have *soc* over 2 freemen.	£13 10s 0d.	Thored.
Brampton	Blyth.	12 freemen, 3 *villani*, 25 bordars, 10 ploughs, 1 church, 4 ca. 11 of the freemen commended. King and earl have the *soc*.	£3 11s 4d.	(Thored).
Frostendon	Blyth.	Demesne manor and 3 freemen, 10 *villani*, 20 bordars, 2 ploughs in demesne, 9 ploughs of the men, 2 churches, 3 ca. King and earl have the 6 forfeitures over the manor. King and earl have the *soc* over the freemen.	£4 17s 0d.	Thored.
Wangford	Blyth.	Anbold holds of Ralph Bainard. 8 *villani*, 21 bordars, 2 ploughs in demesne, 7 ploughs of the men, 2 ca. King and earl have 6 forfeitures.	£4 0s 0d.	Thored.
Henham	Blyth.	Robert of Blythburgh holds of Ralph Bainard. 1 freeman, 4 *villani*, 14 bordars, 2 ploughs in demesne, 3 ploughs of the men, 1 ca. King and earl have *soc*. This by exchange.	£2 0s 0d.	(Alwin, under commendation, probably of Thored).
Ubbeston	Blyth.	William Bainard holds of Ralph Bainard (his uncle). 3 freemen, 3 *villani*, 20 bordars, 1 slave, 3 ploughs in demesne, 11 ploughs of the men, 1 church, 3 ca.	£5 8s 3d.	Thored
Cratfield	Blyth.	William Bainard holds of Ralph Bainard (his uncle). 8 freemen, 5 *villani*, 34 bordars, 2 men, 1 slave, 2 ploughs in demesne, 12 ploughs of the men.	£5 11s 8d.	Thored.

In general, all the lands that Ralph Bainard was given (see Map 3, p. 79) were probably Thored's holdings or, in the case of Alwin, of Thored's commended man. Thus, in this case we see that there was some continuity in this tenurial structure between pre- and post-Conquest periods. Ralph Bainard's subtenants, on the other hand, do not show the same continuity. Robert of Blythburgh's subtenancy in Henham had been the land of Alwin, who was probably a commended man of Thored, but the other subtenants in 1086, Anbold and William Bainard do not have any equivalent before the Conquest.

Unlike Ralph Bainard's land, the subtenancy Walter de Caen held of Robert Malet in 1086 (see Map 4, p. 80) provides us with a strong example of discontinuity.

Table 11: The lands Walter of Caen holds of Robert Malet in eastern Suffolk in1086.

Place	Hundred	Selected Details	Value	1066 Holders
Sibton 1	Blyth.	4 *villani*, 18 bordars, 3 churches, 5½ ploughs in demesne, 2½ ploughs of the men, 1 ca.	£3 17s 0d.	6½ freemen, Edric, Aelfric.
Sibton 2	Blyth.	2 freemen, 3 bordars, 2 ploughs in demesne.	£0 14s 0d.	Blackman, who was the man of Edric who had the commen-dation. Blackman's wife was Bishop Stigand's man. He had the commen-dation.
Strickland	Blyth.	1½ commended freemen, 2 bordars, 1 plough of the men. King and earl have the *soc*.	£0 10s 8d.	Stanwin (probably a man of Earl Harold, before he was king).

Warebetuna	Blyth.	2 commended freemen. King and earl have *soc*.	£0 1s 6d.	
Peasenhall	Blyth.	1 commended freeman.	£0 0s 8d.	
Sudbourne	Plom.	1 freeman commended to Edric (1066), 1 bordar, 1 plough.	£0 12s 0d.	1 freeman commended to Edric.
Alderton	Wilf.	2 freemen commended to Edric (1066), 1 plough.	£0 10s 0d.	2 freemen commended to Edric.
Sutton	Wilf.	A half freeman, Godwin, commended to Edric (1066), 9 freemen under him, 1 freeman commended to Haldane (1066), ½ bordar, 1½ ploughs.	£0 7s 0d.	½ freeman, Godwin, commended to Edric, 1 freeman commended to Haldane.
Bromeswell	Wilf.	1½ freemen commended to Godwin (1066), ½ plough.	£0 1s 4d.	1½ freemen commended to Godwin.
Bredfield	Wilf.	4¾ freemen, ½ plough. Maynard claims that Earl Ralph was in possession of this Godwin of Sutton 1 year before he forfeited; the hundred testifies that Robert Malet was in possession of him.	£0 6s 2d.	
Sutton	Wilf.	2 freemen were commended to Edric (1066), under 1 of these freemen, 5 freemen. 2 ploughs, 1 church.	£0 15s 0d.	2 freemen commended to Edric.
Bing	Wilf.	1 freeman Godric commended to Edric (1066), under him 2 freemen, 1 bordar, 1½ ploughs.	£0 9s 0d.	1 freeman Godric commended to Edric.
Loudham	Wilf.	1 freeman, Morewin, ½ commended to abbey of Ely, ½ to Edric (1066). Under him 14 freemen, 2 Ploughs.	£1 0s 0d.	1 freeman Godric commended to Edric.
Framling-ham	Loes	1 freewoman, Ieva, commended to Edric (1066), 1 freeman, Thorkell, commended to Edric (1066), 1 *villanus*, 4 bordars, 1 plough in demesne, 1 plough of men.	£0 15s 4d.	1 freewoman, Ieva, commended to Edric, 1 freeman, Thorkell, commended to Edric.
Dallinghoo	Loes	1 freeman, ½ commended to Edric, ½ to the abbey of Ely (1066). ½ bordar.	£0 2s 8d.	1 freeman, ½ commended to Edric, ½ to the abbey of Ely.
Horham	Bishop's	3 commended freemen, 2 bordars, 1 plough.	£0 12s 0d.	

Although some or many of the Edrics who possessed the commendation of holders were probably Edric of Laxfield, Robert Malet's main predecessor, many other important pre-Conquest men are present too — Bishop Stigand (who had previously been bishop of East Anglia),[211] Earl Harold (who had for a time been earl in East Anglia),[212] Ralph the Staller or Ralph de Gael (earls of East Anglia), the abbot of Ely and Haldane. In Blything Hundred the *soc* belonged to the king and the earl (before 1075); in Wilford Hundred the abbot of Ely had most of the *soc*.

If we look back to Table 9 concerning Parham Half Hundred, there are elements of continuity, for example the commended men of Edric of Laxfield frequently going to Robert Malet or the commended men of Norman going to Roger Bigod. On the other hand, many commended men go to the "wrong" 1086 tenant-in-chief. Also, the *soc* and commendation frequently do not match. Nor is there any apparent continuity in the structure of subtenancies.

One may look at the changes in land administration as well as the tenurial system in East Anglia and wonder whether or not these were the outcome of influences from Bartlett's "Frankish" heartland, and whether, as part of these influences, they were introduced by the Norman Conquest or not. It is true that the positions of earls and sheriffs changed significantly, at least after 1075. It would not be wrong to assume that the responsibilities of earls in eastern Anglia in large part passed to the sheriffs after 1075 and perhaps to some extent even before that. We cannot however regard these changes as the result of influence from *Francia*, brought by the aristocratic migration. It would be more true to say that the

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[211] Clarke, *English Nobility*, p. 48.
[212] Ibid., p. 23.

conquerors from *Francia* had to make new arrangements to supply the needs that were the outcome of new circumstances — the governing of a conquered country.

After the Conquest, one of the problematic issues that the Normans faced was the system of *soc* and commendation. There was no necessary correlation between these two before 1066. Therefore, the new tenancies-in-chief were created more often than not in accordance with commendation alone, in spite of the fact this threatened the rights of existing *soc*-holders. In terms of the structures of tenure, the advocates of continuity over 1066 and the advocates of dramatic change after 1066 can both find examples to support themselves. The truth is somewhere inbetween.

The belief that almost immediately after 1066 we see the creation of a feudal tenurial system in England cannot be justified from the entries in Domesday Book, where there is no sign of such a creation; we cannot even find the word *miles* in eastern Suffolk. Although in the *Cartae Baronum* of 1166 we see lists of the *milites* of tenants-in-chief, there is still no indication whether they rendered particular amounts of military service or not. Given the fact that we cannot convincingly demonstrate a pre-existing general system of fiefs with fixed military service in Normandy before 1066, and that the development of such a system in England perhaps had more to do with taxation than with soldiers, we cannot see feudalism being brought to England from the Continent, by the Norman Conquest or otherwise.

MAP 3

Brampton

Frostinad

Wangford

Henham

Keysar

Cratfield

Ubbeston

LANDS OF RALPH BAINARD IN
BLYTHING HUNDRED

MAP 4
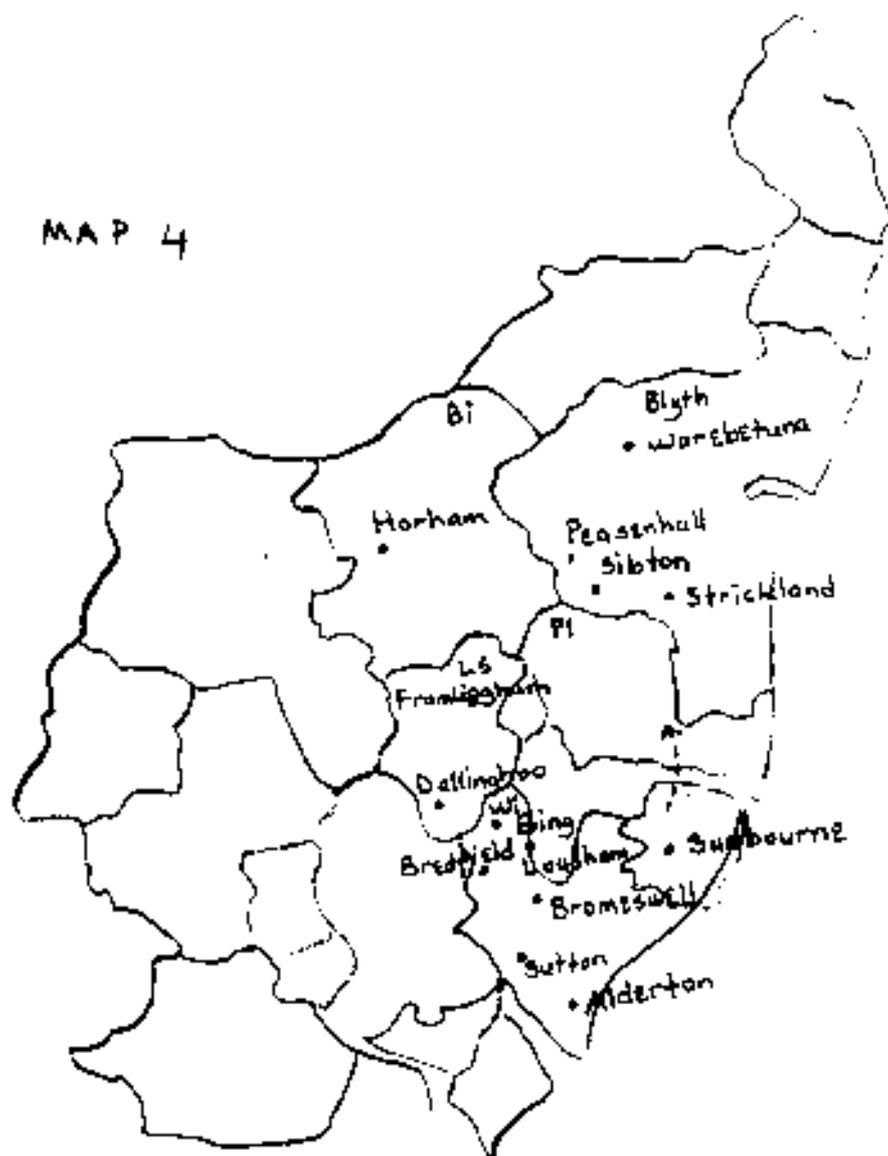
LANDS OF WALTER DE CAEN (CHESNEY)
IN EASTERN SUFFOLK

CHAPTER 3

KNIGHTS, CASTLES AND CHURCHES

For Bartlett, as the Frankish aristocracy was characteristically militaristic, knights, archers (and crossbowmen) and castles were important elements of the impact of Frankish culture, carrying to their new lands new military ideas and implementing new military techniques. Similarly, migration from a *Francia* closely connected to the Roman papacy influenced the ideals and structures of religious life in the newly conquered lands.[213] Did the phenomena that Bartlett describes affect eastern Suffolk in the period between 1066 and 1166? In this chapter, I will examine what changes in the military and religious spheres took place in the century after the Conquest of 1066 and whether or not they were the consequence of migration from the Continent.

John Gillingham defines a knight as, "a well-armed soldier, a man who possessed horse, hauberk, sword and helmet."[214] Some historians might want to require the knight to fight on horseback, but as men who everyone would agree were knights often fought on foot, perhaps Gillingham's definition is the best.[215] Not that fighting was the only function either of *milites* or *cnihts*. They were both "retainer(s) in the personal service of a nobleman, providing escort, hunting and similar duties."[216] If the spread of knights was part of the spread of Frankish culture, then we would expect that knights were introduced from the Frankish heartlands and this

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[213] Bartlett, *Making of Europe*, pp. 18-21, 60.
[214] Gillingham, "Introduction of Knight Service into England", p. 187.
[215] Davis, *Constantine to St Louis*, pp. 117-18, Douglas, *William*, p. 97; Green, *Aristocracy*, p. 10 n. 27.
[216] Coss, *Knight*, p. 12.

raises the question whether knights were introduced into England by the Norman Conquest.

No recent historian seems prepared to defend this proposition.[217] Before 1066, there were some men in England referred to as *cniht* and they seem to represent a similar range of people to those described on the Continent as *miles*. To those who protest that *cnihts* are not found described as soldiers in pre-Conquest English sources, Gillingham argues: "The Anglo-Saxon *cniht* was a retainer attached to the personal service of a nobleman, that his service might well require him to fight by his lord's side, mounted and otherwise equipped for war."[218] If someone was identified as *chivaler* he was necessarily being associated with his horse, but these too can hardly be described as a distinct group.[219] This does not mean that before 1066 there could not have been influence from *Francia*, but before 1066 *milites* did not constitute a well-defined group. In the course of time, the status of the knight in society gradually changed and became better defined, but it was perhaps not until the beginning of the thirteenth century that knights emerged as a distinct social group.[220]

Dealing with the question of knights in a local context such as eastern Suffolk in the period 1066-1166 is somewhat problematic. In Domesday Book for eastern Suffolk, not even a single *miles* or *cniht* was recorded. In Suffolk as a whole there was one *miles*, designated a *miles Sancti Edmundi*. His name was Wulfwy and in 1066 he held the manor of Ingham (worth £4 in 1066, £8 in 1086) in Bradmere Hundred.[221] Of course that does not mean that there were no more knights in

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[217] Though see Stenton, *First Century*, pp. 132-6.
[218] Gillingham, "Thegns and Knights", p. 171.
[219] Golding, *Conquest and Colonisation*, pp. 141-3; Coss, *Knight*, pp. 11-13; Gillingham, "Thegns and Knights", pp. 169-72.
[220] Coss, *Knight*, pp. 5-9, 43, 50-1, 67-9, 72.
[221] *Domesday Book Suffolk*, fo. 364a.

Suffolk, but either they were not landholders or the designation *miles* was not added to their names. Initially many knights lived in their lord's household.[222]

In the *Cartae Baronum* of 1166, however, there are knights everywhere. The document, however, is not concerned with identifying individuals as knights, but with the service owed, assessed according to a number of knights. When these numbers are fractional, the service done must surely have been purely financial. Among the tenants-in-chief submitting *cartae* for Suffolk, we see many descendants of the tenants-in-chief of 1086, for example, Gilbert Blund, grandson of the Domesday Robert Blund. We also see descendants, amongst those owing service, of the subtenants of 1086, such as Hugo de Langetuit, presumably a descendant of the Domesday Ralph de Langetot, then a subtenant of Robert de Tosny.[223] In the sources that I used, *milites* as physical knights in action do not appear. For these, we would have to turn to narrative sources. In 1141, for example, we can see Hugh Bigod, son of the Domesday Roger Bigod, as part of an army made up of *non inerti militum copia*, although unfortunately in Lincolnshire.[224]

In fact there were considerably more crossbowmen or perhaps crossbow-makers in Domesday Suffolk than knights. There are five mentioned (Berner, Gilbert, Ralph, Robert and Walter), one of which was a tenant-in-chief in eastern Suffolk. It is interesting that all had Norman or continental names. Perhaps they are a better example of Bartlett's ideas than knights are. Besides knights and crossbowmen, there was always the possibility of using existing English military

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[222] Coss, *Knight*, pp. 18-20; Hollister, *Making of England*, p. 113.
[223] *Red Book*, i, pp. 403-412 and especially p. 408.
[224] *Historia Novella*, p. 84; *Henry of Huntingdon*, p. 736.

obligations for defence.[225] The numerous Suffolk freemen could presumably still be asked to fulfil their military obligations.

As D. J. Cathcart King states, it is not easy to define what a castle is. It was a "fortified habitation", but not all fortified habitations were castles. Walled towns, villages with defensive earthworks or fortified churches were not castles. A castle was something more than or different from a fortified manor house.[226] All these the Anglo-Saxons already had. In spite of the association between continental immigrants and the early examples of motte and bailey castles, it is possible that the simple, wooden, motte and bailey castle was a style first adopted in England around the period of the Norman Conquest and not really a continental import.[227] Simple castles undoubtedly played an important role in the conquest and subjection of England in 1066 and shortly after.[228]

Besides their military usage, some castles came to have also administrative and judicial functions, and became the *capita* of landholders' honours. Some of the castles could even contain market places, making the castle a socio-economic and political centre.[229] Even in the late eleventh century some royal castles and even baronial castles were being built in stone.[230]

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[225] Green, *Aristocracy*, pp. 223-5; Golding, *Conquest and Colonisation*, p. 145; Douglas, *William*, p. 215.
[226] Cathcart King, *Castle in England and Wales*, pp. 1-3.
[227] I owe this suggestion to Dr Julian Bennet, though unfortunately I have been unable to follow up this idea at this time. There were a few castles built by immigrants in Edward the Confessor's reign: Davis, *Normans and their Myth*, pp. 110-111; Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 562 n. 1.
[228] Golding, *Conquest and Colonisation*, p. 128.
[229] Ibid., pp. 129-30.
[230] Cathcart King, *Castle in England and Wales*, p, 62.

Table 12: Castles in Suffolk 1066-1166.

Name and Hundred	Builder	Date
Eye (Hartismere)	William Malet	Before 1071
Clare (Risbridge)	Richard fitz Gilbert	1090
Haughley (Stow)	Hugh de Montfort	Before 1100
Framlingham (Loes)	Roger Bigod	1100-07
Bungay (Wangford)	Roger Bigod	1100-07
Lidgate (Risbridge)	King Stephen	1143
Walton (Colneis)	(Hugh) Bigod	Before 1154
Orford (Plomesgate)	King Henry II	1165-73

There are some castles constructed in the period 1066-1166 in Suffolk that we can date at least approximately (see Table 12 and Map 5, p. 95). Five other mottes have been identified but are difficult to date (Burgh Castle — refortified Roman fort [Lothingland], Denham near Bury [Risbridge], Great Ashfield [Blackbourne and Bradmere], Lindsey [Cosford], Milden [Babergh]).[231]

Apart from Eye castle, none of the other datable castles were built immediately after the Conquest. Thus, it seems that these castles were not built to secure the Conquest itself. Only Lidgate dealt with a specific military problem in King Stephen's reign, but even that seems to have lasted much longer than the immediate crisis.[232] So, while these castles certainly had a defensive character, this military function cannot have been their sole function.

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[231] Pettifer, *English Castles*, pp. 232-9; Brown, "List of Castles", pp. 261-80.
[232] Pettifer, *English Castles*, p. 236.

Table 13: Baronial *capita* in Suffolk.[233]

Name	Hundred	First Holder
(Great) Ashfield	Blackbourne & Bradmere	Robert Blunt
Blythburgh	Blything	William fitz Walter (1157-8)
Cavendish	Babergh	Ralph de Limesy
Clare	Risbridge	Richard fitz Gilbert
Eye	Hartismere	William Malet
Framlingham	Loes	Roger Bigod
Great Bealings	Carlford	Hervey *Bituricensis*
Haughley	Stow	Hugh de Montfort
Kentwell	Babergh	Frodo br. of abb. St Edm.

Some of the castles were built at what became the *caput* of a baronial honour (see Table 13). However, it is clear that not all baronial *capita* developed castles. Bungey functioned much like a *caput* being at the centre of an important group of Bigod estates. Walton may have been built to control the entrance to the rivers near Felixstowe, though perhaps as much to exploit commercial traffic as defence. Orford was the only castle built as a royal castle and very late in our period.

A century after the Norman Conquest, around 1166, the military system of England had been affected by influences from the Continent. However, we cannot regard all of the elements of the post-Conquest military arrangements as the result of migration from Normandy and elsewhere, or even of the Norman Conquest itself.

Both in the pre- and post-Conquest periods there were some knights in England. Under whatever name — *cniht*, *miles* or *chivaler* — they functioned in much the same way. Perhaps though, the spread of French as the language of

aristocratic society did have the effect of spreading to England of continental chivalric ideas.[234] Crossbowmen, on the other hand, seem to have been an instant import into England after the Conquest. The style of fortification certainly changed after 1066, when we see an increased construction of motte and bailey castles, and the examples of that kind of castle before 1066 were all built by immigrants. However, the style of castle perhaps was not a very essential matter. Although post-Conquest castles sometimes functioned as baronial *capita*, not all of them did, nor did all baronial *capita* apparently require a castle. Again perhaps here the style of fortification was not crucial.

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In *The Making of Europe* Bartlett associates the church reform and the expansion of the culture of the Frankish heartlands that in alliance with the papacy.[235] Bartlett is right to assume that the origins of church reform lie in Lotharingia, Flanders and Burgundy, later taken up by the papacy in the middle of the eleventh century.[236] Monastic reforms in England had already started in England by the tenth century.[237] The implementation of church reforms continued in the reign of Edward the Confessor by his ecclesiastical appointments from Lotharingia and Normandy, especially Robert of Jumièges as archbishop of Canterbury.[238] It was however, the expulsion of Robert and his replacement with Stigand, not accepted by the papacy, that gave William the Conqueror ecclesiastical legitimisation for his conquest.[239]   Duke William had indeed helped reform the Church in Normandy generally in cooperation with the papacy though always in his own favour as well.

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[233] Sanders, *English Baronies*, *passim*.
[234] Gillingham, "Introduction of Chivalry", pp. 209-31.
[235] Bartlett, *Making of Europe*, pp. 18-21.
[236] Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism*, pp. 86-91; Hollister, *Medieval Europe*, pp. 215-21.
[237] Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism*, pp. 104-8.
[238] Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 464-5; Loyn, *Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 247.

Therefore it was not implausible for him to present himself as a champion of church reform in 1066.[240]

Let us now examine the church in Suffolk in the century after 1066, starting with the changes in personnel at the leading pre-Conquest ecclesiastical institutions. In 1066 the bishopric of East Anglia, then centred at North Elmham, was held by Aethelmar, the brother of Archbishop Stigand. Aethelmar was deposed by papal legates in 1070 and replaced by the Norman, Herfast. At the time of Domesday Book, as we have seen, Herfast had been succeeded by William de Beaufour, who in turn was succeeded in 1091 by another Norman, Herbert Losinga.[241] At Bury St Edmunds, the Frenchman, Baldwin, who had already been abbot since 1065, remained so until his death in 1097/8 when he was replaced by Norman, one of the sons of Earl Hugh of Chester. At Ely, the abbots were English, Thurstan and Theodwine, until 1075/6. Then after a long vacancy, the Norman Simeon was appointed and was abbot from 1082-93.[242] Despite the fact that there was a replacement of the heads of ecclesiastical institutions, many of the lesser members, clergy and monks, probably continued to be English.

After 1066 some ecclesiastics who came from the Continent were not given office in England, but were given lands, for example, Gilbert bishop of Evreux, Judicael the Priest (if he really was a priest) and Odo bishop of Bayeux. Some Norman monasteries acquired newly founded, dependent monasteries in England, such as Eye Priory, which was founded around 1080 as dependent on the Norman abbey of Bernay, and Stoke by Clare Priory that was founded around 1090 as dependent on the Norman abbey of Bec Hellouin. After 1100, there is only one,

[239] Douglas, *William*, p. 170.
[240] Bates, *Normandy Before 1066*, pp. 198-208; Douglas, *William*, pp. 105-6.
[241] *Norwich Episcopal Acta*, pp. xxvi-xxix.
[242] Knowles, Brooke & London, *Heads of Religious Houses*, i, pp. 32, 45.

perhaps exceptional example of this — Great Bricett, an Augustinian priory cell founded from St Leonard, Limoges.[243] A migration of Norman ecclesiastics and colonisation by Norman ecclesiastical institutions did not automatically lead to complete church reform. Churches in Domesday Book Suffolk appear as held by lay landholders as a source of revenue. The revenue of churches could even be divided among a number of laymen.[244] Suffolk had a considerable number of churches in 1086, 364 recorded and some clearly unrecorded, apparently more churches per person than anywhere else.[245]

The period between 1066 and 1166 has been described as:

a golden age for monasticism. Not only were hundreds of new monasteries and priories founded but many of the established Old English houses were able to consolidate their substantial estates, acquire new lands and privileges and expand their substantial communities to levels hitherto unknown in England.[246]

Before 1066, in England in general, all of the monasteries were Benedictine. In Suffolk, these were, Bury St Edmunds, Ely and Rumburgh, at the Conquest a dependent cell of St Benet of Holme in Norfolk. Besides the Benedictines, there were at least three colleges of secular priests, namely Hoxne, Clare and Glemsford. By 1166, we see many more Benedictine foundations, like Eye Priory (ca. 1080), Dunwich (after 1080), a cell of Eye, Stoke by Clare (ca. 1090), Felixstowe (ca. 1105), a priory cell of Rochester Cathedral Priory, Edwardstone (1114-15), a priory cell of Abingdon Abbey, Sudbury (ca. 1115), a priory cell of Westminster Abbey, Redlingfield, a house of Benedictine nuns (1120), Wickham Skeyth (after 1135), a

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[243] Knowles & Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses*, pp. 66, 92, 181, *Cartulary of Blythburgh Priory*, i, p. 1.
[244] See, for instance, the two fourth parts of a church at *Brutge* in Parham Half Hundred: *Domesday Book Suffolk*, fos. 306a, 441a.
[245] *VCH Suffolk*, ii, pp. 9-10.
[246] Cownie, *Religious Patronage*, p. 1.

priory dependent on Colchester Priory and, Snape (1155), dependent on Colchester Abbey.[247]

After the Conquest, in addition to more Benedictine institutions, we see the introduction of new religious orders, like Cluniacs, Cistercians, Augustinian Canons and the Hospitallers in England. The first Augustinian Priory Cell was Great Bricett.[248] It was founded in the period between 1114-19 and was dependent on St Leonard, Limoges. The Augustinian priory of Blythburgh was founded from St Osyth, Essex before 1135. In this period, two Cluniac Houses were founded: Mendham was founded before 1155, and Wangford was founded before 1159. Besides these houses there were also one Cistercian and one Hospitaller house. The Battisford Hospitallers were established around 1154 and the Cistercian abbey of Sibton was founded in 1156.[249]

After the Normans we do not see any new foundation of colleges for secular priests. Moreover, all except one of the other existing pre-Conquest secular colleges were transformed into monastic houses. The collegiate church at Hoxne, for example, was granted as a cell to the monks of the new monastic cathedral chapter of Norwich in 1101. Similarly, the college of secular priests at Clare was converted into a Benedictine priory dependent on Bec Hellouin by Gilbert de Clare in 1090, before being moved to Stoke by Clare. Glemsford collegiate church, in existence before 1066, seems to have survived until 1272.[250]

Relatively, there were not very many monastic institutions in eastern Suffolk before or after the Conquest. Rumburgh, which was only a cell of St Benet's Holme in Norfolk, was the only monastic institution in 1066. Otherwise, there was only the

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[247] Knowles & Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses*, pp. 61, 64-6, 68, 74, 76-7, 80, 87, 92, 264, 423, 425, 427.
[248] *Cartulary of Blythburgh Priory*, i, p. 1.
[249] Knowles & Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses*, pp. 100, 103, 125, 148, 181, 301, 392.

secular collegiate church of Hoxne. By 1166, Rumburgh was a cell St Mary's York, there were two more Benedictine cells at Dunwich and Snape, and the only substantial religious houses in the area were Blythburgh and Sibton, though it is worth pointing out that both of these belonged to new orders, the Augustinians and the Cistercians.

The years from 1066 to 1166 were important ones for the bishopric of East Anglia, starting with its cathedral at North Elmham, moving to Thetford and then finally to Norwich. The bishopric, which of course included Suffolk, inevitably had many contacts with the new tenants-in-chief and even the subtenants after the Conquest. Between 1135 and 1141 Bishop Everard of Norwich confirmed the gifts of Roger Bigod and his son to Thetford Priory.[251] Between 1136 and 1145 the bishop confirmed the grant by Alan earl of Richmond, successor to Domesday Count Alan, of the subjection of the cell of Rumburgh to St Mary's York.[252] Between 1146 and 1174, William bishop of Norwich confirmed the possessions of Eye Priory.[253]

There were numerous reasons for the nobility to be donors to monastic houses: such as piety, locality, family, and most probably for political reasons.[254] Some of the main religious houses which benefited from the donations of prominent 1086 tenants-in-chief in eastern Suffolk were outside of eastern Suffolk. Just as Roger Bigod was the founder and patron of Thetford Priory, Robert Malet was the founder and patron of Eye Priory. In the foundation charter granted by Robert Malet, it was written:

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[250] Ibid., pp. 68, 83, 425.
[251] *Norwich Episcopal Acta*, no. 48.
[252] Ibid., no. 51.
[253] Ibid., nos. 89-93.
[254] Cownie, *Religious Patronage*, pp. 15-6.

> Et quia Dei misericordiam per opus simile spero me posse adipisci, ego Robertus Malet assensu domini mei Willemi regis Anglie pro anima ipsius et uxoris eius Matildis regine pro memetipso et pro animabus patris mei Willemi Malet et matris mee Hesilie et pro animabus omnibus antecessorum et parentum meorum ad usus monachorum aput Eyam monasterium construo, et monachorum conventum in eo pono.[255]

Robert Malet was associating himself and his new monastery with the Conqueror, and stating that he had the consent of the king. The spiritual benefits of the monastery were extended beyond Robert and his ancestors to the king and his wife. Robert also strongly encouraged his "*viris, militibus, sokemannis*" to make grants to his foundation. The charter itself contains confirmations of various grants by Robert's subtenants, such as Walter son of Grip and William Goulafre, as well as a small grant of tithes from Count Alan.[256]

Turning to eastern Suffolk itself, the origins of Blythburgh Priory seem to lie in the grant by Henry I of Blythburgh church, then part of the royal demesne as in Domesday Book Suffolk, to the early house of Augustinian canons at St Osyth in Essex from which the first canons probably came. For a long time Blythburgh remained dependent on St Osyth.[257] In 1157/8 Blythburgh was granted to William fitz Walter (actually, William fitz Robert fitz Walter), also known as William de Chesney, from his wife's name, William of Norwich and also sometimes William the Sheriff. His grandfather Walter was the 1086 subtenant of Robert Malet, Walter de Caen.[258] Perhaps because Blythburgh Priory was not his own foundation William de Chesney does not seem to have been generous to Blythburgh, though as well as

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[255] *Eye Priory Cartulary*, no. 1.
[256] Ibid.
[257] Christopher Harper-Bill suggests Blythburgh may have been a collegiate church: *Cartulary of Blythburgh Priory*, pp. 1-2.
[258] Sanders, *English Baronies*, p. 16. *Cartulary of Blythburgh Priory*, pp. 7-9; *Sibton Abbey Cartularies*, iii, nos. 470, 479; the name Chesney originates from Le Quesnay in Normandy: Loyd, *Some Anglo-Norman Families*, pp. 27-8.

certain small grants he conceded "*libertates quas ego dominus possum conferre*". His men, however, also seem to have given to the priory.[259] There are also various grants by his daughter and heiress, Margaret de Chesney.[260] Hugh Bigod, son of Roger Bigod, granted the canons freedom from toll and customs after 1141. Before 1159, the canons had acquired property in Dunwich, confirmed by a later lord of the honour of Eye, William of Blois, count of Mortain and Boulogne.[261]

The grandson of Walter de Caen, William de Chesney was the founder of the Sibton Abbey. He was noticeably more generous than at Blythburgh, granting all his lands and rights in Sibton, Wrabton (in Yoxford), Peasenhall and Stikingland (in Yoxford) as well as some lands in Dunwich. Also he confirmed gifts of his men and allowed them to take up the religious life.[262]

One cannot say that the Norman Conquest started the process of church reform in England. One can, however, say that church reform in England, both before and after the Conquest, was influenced from the Continent and often through immigrants from the Continent. In that sense, the spread of church reform fits quite well with Bartlett's ideas. After 1066, through the monastic policy pursued by the Conqueror and his associates — as if they tried to demonstrate their church reform credentials and the fact of conquest itself — the process of reform was undoubtedly accelerated. The often quick conversion of collegiate churches into monasteries was probably a consequence of the Conquest. There are a few examples of the replacement of English ecclesiastics by Normans during the reign of Edward the Confessor. By 1066, however, such replacements became very common among the leadership of many important religious institutions. Other religious personnel,

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[259] *Cartulary of Blythburgh Priory*, i, no. 42.
[260] Ibid., nos. 35, 38, 43, 87.
[261] Ibid., no. 209; ii, no. 257.

monks and members of the lesser clergy, on the other hand, were not replaced in large numbers by the Normans. In the *Norwich Episcopal Acta* we can see the quickly increasing activity and role of the bishop of East Anglia in his diocese.

In the period between 1066 and 1166, Suffolk like the rest of England witnessed a great increase in the number of monastic institutions, at first often offshoots of Norman houses, but later spreading from other monasteries already established in England. As the new religious orders, such as Cluniacs, Cistercians, Augustinian Canons and Hospitallers, are really a phenomenon of the early twelfth century, it is difficult to attribute them to the conquest as such, though again they show the spread of continental trends.

Although in Domesday Book, ordinary churches might be seen as a source of income, the reason for monastic foundations like Thetford, Eye and Sibton seems more to create a personal and family monument, at the same time attempting to create a common focus for the men of the area and the tenancy-in-chief of the founder. In this way, such founders could enhance their influence in the area.

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[262] *Sibton Abbey Cartularies*, iii, p. 1; *Norwich Episcopal Acta*, pp. 225-6; Sanders, *English Baronies*, p. 16.

MAP 5

NORFOLK

HUNDREDS AND HALF-HUNDREDS
OF EASTERN SUFFOLK

■ Castle   ⊞ Caput
⊙ Mint   † Monastic institution

CONCLUSION

In this thesis, I looked at whether the process Robert Bartlett described as the "Europeanization of Europe" can be legitimately taken to include England. In particular, I looked at the period between 1066 and 1166, looking at this question from a local perspective — eastern Suffolk.

There is clearly some truth in Bartlett's ideas and their application to England as a whole and to eastern Suffolk. From the eleventh to the thirteenth century, the so-called process of "Europeanization of Europe" in some respects can be applied to eastern Suffolk. By the end of the twelfth century, this region in some respects more resembled other parts of western Europe than at the beginning of the eleventh century. Europe was more homogenised.

Given the period I was looking at, two more questions became important. How much was the Norman Conquest of 1066 part of the general process of Europeanization, and what role did it play in it? The Norman Conquest, while it had its own particular circumstances, was one of a series of conquests and migrations that took place in different parts of the Continent and beyond in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. 1066 brought many people from the Continent, who carried some ideas and ways of doing things with them from north western *Francia*.

Migration from Normandy and other parts of the Frankish heartland had already started before 1066. There was, however, a basic difference between the migrations of the tenth and the eleventh centuries. Unlike in the tenth and early eleventh century, after 1066 we witness a migration of aristocrats and their followers in relatively large numbers. People at the top of society are always more influential than the ordinary people of the community and they hold the power of command in

their hands. In some senses they may implement what they want. Because of the numbers and position of the immigrants, the pace of change after 1066 was accelerated.

Soon after the Conquest, having French first names became increasingly popular among the English, and the immigrants continued to use the French names they brought with them. In the period I was dealing with, they did not adopt English first names. The relatively recent fashion of attaching first names to toponymics among the Normans also came to be adopted by the native people. On the other hand, these toponymics, among immigrants as well as English, were increasingly of English place names. We saw some examples of this from Suffolk.

The idea that the Frankish aristocratic migration into eastern Suffolk led to a complete change in the landholding system as well as the administration of land is not valid. Two of the most significant migrant landholders of eastern Suffolk immediately after 1066, Ralph the Staller and Robert Malet, already had strong connections with England and, in Ralph the Staller's case, with eastern Suffolk. Ralph the Staller and Robert Malet's father were already in England before 1066. It seems that after 1075 there were some alterations in the administration of shires and hundreds. The role and responsibilities of the earl were given to sheriffs. In this respect, it is clear that Normans did not carry a Carolingian system into England, since in some ways England and eastern Suffolk were more Carolingian than anything the Normans knew. In this sense, the system of local government was already Europeanised, though perhaps in its own peculiar way. The Normans had problems in coming to terms with the English system of *soc* and commendation. They made changes, but these alterations were not in line with any well-established

system in Normandy. They were changes to meet the immediate needs that the Normans encountered in the region.

The introduction of feudalism has been one of the most important debates surrounding the Norman Conquest. If we define feudalism in this context as a system in which land grants were made in return for military service, there is no clear evidence of the existence of such a system anywhere in Europe at any time. The Normans certainly did not bring such a system with them. It is true, on the other hand, that in the course of time noble and sometimes other free property came to be described in terms of fiefs, in England as elsewhere in Europe. In England, the specific services that became attached to fiefs were perhaps more related to tax arrangements, such as scutage or aids assessed on knights' fees, than to the military system of the country.

Except for a few military elements — the usage of crossbows, the import of crossbowmen and the new type of fortification, motte and bailey castles — the Normans did not bring such great changes from the Continent. In the past it was believed that knights were introduced into England by the Normans, but it seems that there were already some military personnel who functioned in the same way. On the other hand, perhaps the Norman Conquest did help the spread of continental chivalric ideas and ideals.

We do see a process of Europeanization in the religious life of Suffolk both before and after the Conquest. Church reforms had already started in England in the tenth century. In the eleventh century, before the Conquest, there were again some ecclesiastical migrants from the Continent, who were involved in church reforms. Nevertheless, the Conquest again hastened the flow of immigrants and quickened the speed of reform, in spite of the fact that many of the Norman ecclesiastics and

ecclesiastical institutions were interested in exploiting the wealth of England alongside whatever higher motives they had. After 1066, as on the Continent, monasteries and monks became more numerous and the monastic life of England was given more importance. New monastic orders were introduced into England. However, it was a phenomenon of the early twelfth century and may have happened anyway without the Norman Conquest, though not perhaps without immigration from the Continent. Eastern Suffolk provided us with examples of all these changes.

If we were to imagine that there was no Norman Conquest of England in 1066, would this mean that we would see no Europeanization process at all in England or, indeed, in eastern Suffolk? Certainly not. As I have shown, there was such a process already under way before the Conquest. On the other hand, some of the changes that took place after the Conquest were just practical solutions to allow the newcomers to cope with a conquered England. England was already part of the Europeanization process, and sooner or later, England, with or without the Normans, would to some extent have developed a common culture with the Continent. Conquest was not the only way for cultural homogenisation to take place. What the Normans did was to accelerate the process of the "Making of Europe".

Yet perhaps one problem with Bartlett's thesis is the differing nature of the countries to which his "European" culture spread. While England was an island, with many special features of its own, it was, in terms of European or Carolingian culture, an old country. In local administration and at least in some respects in military organisation, as we saw in eastern Suffolk, the Normans found a country, as sophisticated if not more so, than their own. This would not be the case in all the areas to which Bartlett's European expansion spread.

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