WALTER OF GLOUCESTER

Tenant in chief in Herefordshire and Gloucestershire; hereditary sheriff of Gloucestershire and king’s constable

MILES OF GLOUCESTER

Walter’s son, succeeded to his father’s estates and offices in 1126; created earl of Hereford by the empress in 1141

The antecedents of Walter of Gloucester, or Walter fitz Roger, are established by entries in Domesday Book. In 1086 the fee of Walter fitz Roger in Gloucestershire comprised [Great] Barrington and [South] Cerney. Domesday records that South Cerney ‘is claimed for St Mary’s church at Abingdon, but all the county testified that Archbishop Stigand had held it for ten years during King Edward’s lifetime. Earl W. gave this manor to Roger the sheriff, Walter’s father’ (DB, i. 169a; Glos § 56. 1–2). Earl W. was William fitz Osbern, earl of Hereford, who died in Flanders in February 1071 (Complete Peerage, vi. 448). In Standish (Glos), Archbishop Thomas (of York) claimed three hides held by Durand the sheriff, which Earl W(illiam) had given to Roger, Durand’s

1 The lands held in 1086 by Durand and his nephew Walter, distributed across Gloucestershire, Wiltshire, Hampshire, and Herefordshire, are catalogued by Walker, ‘Honours’, 176–8.
brother (DB, i. 164d; Glos § 2. 10). Durand is referred to both as Durand the sheriff and Durand of Gloucester in the Gloucester pages of Domesday (DB, i. 168d; Glos § 53). It appears that Durand succeeded to the shrievalty of Gloucester after the death of Roger.

A letter of Gilbert Foliot, bishop of London, to Roger, bishop of Worcester, written in 1164 × 1179, mentions the brothers and provides a surname. In an attempt to resolve a dispute over burial rights between Gloucester abbey and Lanthony Secunda priory, near Gloucester, Foliot stated that Roger de Pîtres (‘Pistri’), who had been first custodian of Gloucester castle after the Conquest, and all his household, and his brother Durand de Pîtres, who also had custody of the castle, had been buried in Gloucester abbey (Gilbert Foliot, Ep. 372).  

Roger de Pîtres (‘Pistri’) was addressed in a writ of William I concerning the customs of the abbey of Abingdon, in 1071 × 1083 ‘probably soon after 1071’ (W1/4). As Abingdon held lands in Gloucestershire, it is probable that Pîtres was addressed as sheriff of Gloucester. Urse, Durand and Walter, sheriffs of Worcestershire, Gloucestershire and Warwickshire, were addressed by a writ of Bishop Odo dated by Bates to 1078 × 1083, possibly 1078 × 1081 (W1/135).

A writ of William II (W2/000, Regesta 387), datable 1095, requiring the tenants of the bishop of Worcester to pay a relief, includes the names of Walter of Gloucester (£20) and Roger son of Durand (£10, but quit by the king’s writ). Round identified Walter of Gloucester with Domesday Walter son of Roger, and Roger as his first cousin, son of Durand the sheriff, and suggested that the remission of his relief might be explained if Roger had held the shrievalty in succession to his father. Round further suggested that Roger son of Durand was the Roger of Gloucester killed in Normandy in 1105 (Round, Feudal England, 312–13). A list of tenants in Gloucester, datable 1097 × 1101, has Walter of

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2 Gilbert’s interest in the matter was doubtless increased by the fact that he was a relation. The exact nature of his connexion to the Pîtres brothers is unclear, but it has been suggested that he was a great-grandson of Roger de Pîtres, and first cousin once removed of Roger’s grandson Miles of Gloucester (A. Morey and C. N. L. Brooke, Gilbert Foliot and his Letters (Cambridge, 1965), 35–7, 51).

3 He was also presumably the Roger of Gloucester who in 1101 is said in the Donationes of Gloucester abbey to have given Westwood in Archenfield (Herts) for the souls of his father and mother and his brother Herbert (CIL Gloucester, i. 118–19; for background, see 000 for Gloucester, Regesta 678). He may perhaps be intended by ‘Roger de Pistris’, the last witness to a forged diploma for Tewkesbury in the name of Henry I dated 1107 (000, Regesta 847).
Gloucester holding fifteen burgesses in the city: in 1086 Durand had four dwellings there (Ellis, ‘Landholders of Gloucestershire’, 91).

A writ-charter for Troarn, datable 1093 × 1098, concerning property in Gloucestershire, is addressed to Walter sheriff of Gloucester (W2/000, Regesta 411); a similar instrument for Bishop Hervey (of Ely), datable to November 1097, is similarly addressed. A writ-charter for Rochester of doubtful authenticity, datable 1095 × 1098, is addressed to Walter the sheriff and the king’s men of the county of Gloucestershire (W2/000, Regesta 400). Walter apparently continued as sheriff continuously until his retirement to Lanthony.

Walter’s mother was named Adeliza, as is shown by a spurious confirmation for Gloucester abbey in the name of Henry I, which includes ‘terras quas habet in Gloucestria ex dono Adelaise uicecomitisse teste Waltero filio suo’ (0000, Regesta 1041, where the calendar has ‘Alice wife of Roger de Pîtres the sheriff’, which is inaccurate and misleading). A charter of Henry II confirms to Gloucester abbey ‘totum burgagium quod Athelays uicecomitissa habebat in Gloucestria, ex dono ipsius et concessu Walteri filii eius’ (H2/1173; Ctl. Gloucester, ii. 129); the Donations of the abbey says that ‘Adeliza uicecomitissa, mater Walteri de Gloucestria’ gave fourteen lands as enumerated in her deed in 1125, in the time of Abbot William (Ctl. Gloucester, i. 81, 188). Little is known of Walter’s wife Bertha. His confirmation of various gifts to Gloucester abbey was made ‘assensu Milonis filii mei et Berthe uxoris mee’ (Ctl. Gloucester, i. 246).

Foliot’s letter mentioned above shows that Walter retired to Lanthony priory, where he was buried (‘in episcopatu Meneuensi habitum suscepit canonici et ibi sepultus est’). The Lanthony chronicle also mentions his becoming a canon there (Monasticon, vi. 131a). The succession of Walter’s son Miles to the lands and constableship is datable to 1126. Walter’s last known attestation to an act of Henry is found in a charter for Marcigny, given in Rouen, datable 1126, before 11 September (0000, Regesta 1599a). Miles of Gloucester had presumably succeeded when he attested Henry’s confirmation to Lanthony, given at Hereford, datable 11 September 1126 × 15 August 1127 (0000, not in Regesta). 0000, Regesta 1552 below, confirming Miles’s succession, was given in Normandy, and so before the king’s return to England on 11 September 1126. The agreement between Robert earl of Gloucester and Urban bishop of Landaff, dated 1126 at Woodstock in the presence of the king, and attested by Miles of Gloucester, is further evidence that he succeeded in or by that year (0000 for Llandaff, Regesta 1466). At the
time of the audit of the Exchequer in 1130, Miles accounted for two years as sheriff of Gloucestershire and Staffordshire (PR 31 Henry I, 72, 76).

The career of Miles of Gloucester, created earl of Hereford by the empress in 1141, has been comprehensively investigated by David G. Walker, and it is unnecessary to repeat the details here. He first appears in an act of Henry I as a beneficiary, when he was given the marriage of Sybil, daughter of Bernard de Neufmarché (below, 000, Regesta 1280). None of his many attestations to the king’s acts can be shown to have been made before his succession to the hereditary constableship and shrievalty in 1126. He is addressed in his capacity as sheriff in an act concerning land in Gloucestershire (000 for Roger of Berkeley, Regesta 1496).

Seven acts for Walter and Miles survive, all as originals. Five are among the duchy of Lancaster charters: the two that entered Sir Robert Cotton’s collection of originals now in the British Library were doubtless taken from the duchy collection. The merging of the duchy of Lancaster and the earldom of Hereford had its origins in the marriage of Henry Bolingbroke, eldest son of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, to Mary de Bohun, younger of the two daughters and coheirs of Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford and Essex and earl of Northampton. Bolingbroke was assigned the fees of the earldoms of Hereford and Northampton in December 1394 (Complete Peerage, vi. 473–7). During Bolingbroke’s reign as Henry IV the earldom of Hereford was administered by duchy officials under the duchy seal. The formal incorporation of the earldom of Hereford into the duchy of Lancaster was not effected until an act of parliament of 19 November 1414 (Somerville, Duchy of Lancaster, i. 177–8), after the accession to the throne of Henry’s son Henry V.

On 9 July 1421 it was agreed between the representatives of the king and those of Anne, countess of Stafford, heir to the other moiety of the Bohun lands, that the muniments concerning certain estates which were to be divided between them would be viewed and separated (Proceedings of the Privy Council, ii. 294). Somerville, Duchy of Lancaster, i. 157n, citing DL 28/4/11 (receiver general’s accounts for the duchy of Lancaster 1419–23), fol. 31v, tells us that ‘a box with these records was brought from St Katherine’s hospital near the Tower . . . they were separated and placed in a large chest and three “coffins”’. Whether these contained all the documents concerning the earldom of
Hereford which passed to the duchy of Lancaster has not been established.

The muniments of the earls of Hereford transferred to the duchy of Lancaster archive included five charters of King Stephen and four of the Empress Matilda for Miles of Gloucester, among them her grant of the earldom of Hereford (Ste/386–90; EM/391–94). There were also charters of Stephen, and Roger bishop of Salisbury on the king’s behalf, for Roger, Miles’s son, and a charter of Stephen for Walter, a younger son (Ste/312–14). It also seems that the archive included letters patent of Henry, duke of Normandy, for Roger earl of Hereford, and perhaps the original of Henry’s restoration, given after he succeeded as Henry II, of the estate of Earl Miles to Earl Roger known from an inspeximus of King John (H2/1269, citing A. Vincent, A Discouerie of Errors in the first edition of the Catalogue of Nobility published by Raphe Brooke Yorke Herald, 1619 (London, 1622), 239).


**WALTER OF GLOUCESTER**

1 Writ-charter giving the land belonging to the canons of St Oswald outside the castle at Gloucester to Walter, sheriff of Gloucester, and ordering Walter to give a suitable exchange from the king’s land. 27 May × July 1108 or June 1109 × August 1111

**ORIGINAL:** Duchy of Lancaster, Royal Charters, PRO DL 10/2 (Bishop 407), 150 mm × 50 mm, with sealing-tongue 15 mm wide, no trace of wrapping-tie; hand identified by Bishop as scribe vi [A].

**SEAL:** large section remaining 30 mm × 50 mm.
H(enricus) rex Angl(orum) Thomę Eboracensi archiepiscopo et Samsoni episcopo et omnibus baronibus et fidelibus suis francis et anglis de Gloecestra scira salutem. Sciatis me dedisse Waltero de Gloecestra terram canonicerorum sancti Oswaldi que est ante castellum de Glocecestra. Et tibi Walt(ero) precipio ut eis des inde escambium de mea terra scilicet de meo quia nolo ut canonici perdant. T(este) R(ogero) episco po Salesb(erie). Apud Bruhella(m).

Henry king of the English to Thomas archbishop of York and Bishop Samson and all his barons and sworn men French and English of Glouccestershire greeting. Know that I have given to Walter of Gloucester the land of the canons of St Oswald which is in front of the castle of Gloucester. And I command you Walter that you shall give them an exchange therefor from my land, that is from mine because I do not will that the canons shall suffer loss. Witness Roger bishop of Salisbury. At Brill.

DATE: After the nomination of Archbishop Thomas, 27 May 1108; before the death of Bishop Samson, 5 May 1112. King Henry was in Normandy from July 1108 to the start of June 1109, and from August 1111 until after Samson’s death.
ADDRESS: The archbishop of York and the shire court of Gloucester. The archbishop was not normally addressed in Glouccestershire and did not preside with the bishop of Worcester over the shire court; he is addressed here in recognition that St Oswald’s was under his jurisdiction (VCH Glos, ii. 84).
WITNESS: Roger bishop of Salisbury.
PLACE: Brill (Bucks), where there was a royal hunting-lodge.
CONTEXT: Building works were undertaken at Gloucester castle when Walter of Gloucester was sheriff and constable (Walker, ‘Charters of the Earldom of Hereford’, 2–3). As compensation for the losses of the canons was to come from royal lands rather than from Walter it is clear that the land was needed for such work. Another act, 0000 for Gloucester abbey, Regesta 706, gives an exchange for the monks’ garden ‘where my tower stands’.

2 Writ granting to Walter of Gloucester right of warren in in all his land and also in the royal demesne in Glouccestershire. c. 1115 × 1123

Henry king of the English to all his barons and officials of Gloucestershire greeting. I grant to Walter of Gloucester all his land and my demesne of Gloucestershire in warren. And no one shall hunt in it except through him, upon £10 of forfeit. Witness Pain fitz John. At Winchester.

DATE: After Pain fitz John became active at court, first attested c. 1115–16; before Walter of Gloucester’s retirement in 1126, and so before the king’s departure from England in June 1123.
ADDRESS: To the barons and officials of Gloucestershire. The address is a slightly adapted form of the usual address for grants of warren, to the sheriff, barons and officials of the shire or shires in question. The sheriff of Gloucester is not addressed here because Walter of Gloucester, sheriff, was the beneficiary.
WITNESS: Pain fitz John.
PLACE: Winchester.
CONTEXT: The grant of warren in the king’s demesne as well as the beneficiary’s own lands is unusual.

3 Charter confirming the gift by Richard, bishop of Hereford, to Walter of Gloucester of Little Hereford (Glos) and Ullingswick (Herefs) for the service of two knights. 7 January 1121 × 1122, probably c. Easter 1121
ENDORSEMENT: ‘Carta regis Henrici de Heref(or)d Parua concessa Waltero de Glou(estrie)’.
ANTiquarian transcript: Oxford, Exeter College, MS 137 (a collection of miscellaneous transcripts, s. xvii), fol. 92r, noting the ‘greate seale in white wax’, from which the lost text has been restored [B, from A].
CaLendar: Farrer 251; Regesta 1268.

H(enricus) rex Angl(orum)a archiepiscopis episcopis et baronibus totius Anglie salutem. Sciatis quia [[Ric(ardus)]] | episcopus Herefordie dedit et concessit Waltero de Gloec’ et heredibus suis Hereford[[iam Paruam et]] | Vlingewicamb in seruitio II militum. Et ego ei donum illud concedo. [[T(estibus) episcopo Sar(esberie) et Ran(nulfo)]] | cancellario et G(aufrido) de Glintona et Ric(ardo) filio Poncii. Apud Cheddreholam.

a Anglie B b Villingwicam B

Henry king of the English to archbishops bishops and barons of all England greeting. Know that Richard bishop of Hereford gave and granted to Walter of Gloucester and his heirs Little Hereford and Ullingswick for the service of two knights. And I grant this gift to him. Witness the bishop of Salisbury Ranulf the chancellor and Geoffrey de Clinton and Richard fitz Pons. At Cheddar Hole.

DATE: While Ranulf was chancellor, from early 1107 until New Year 1123. A more precise first term depends on the name of the bishop of Hereford, which has now entirely faded away. Birch and Round could read only ‘R.’: but there is certainly space enough for the expanded name. Round, Ancient Charters, 19n, deduced that the bishop was Reinhelm, who died 27 October 1115, but his chain of reasoning is long and involves an infant attestation. J. S. Barrow, EEA vii Hereford 1079–1234, 13 (no. 12) says only that it is ‘quite possible’ that the bishop was Richard de Capella. But the unidentified seventeenth-century antiquary who made copy B copied two other acts of Henry competently and correctly, apparently on the same occasion (000, Regesta 1552 below; 000 for Binham, Regesta 875), and there is no reason to doubt his transcription of the name as ‘Ric(ardus)’. The editors of Regesta report that an unidentified ‘MS. catalogue in the B.M. which completes the description of the lands’ also gives Richard. The bishop, then, was Richard de Capella, and the terminus a quo is after his nomination on 7 January 1121. As is discussed in Context, this land became the dower of Miles of Gloucester’s wife Matilda: Henry confirmed the arrangements for the marriage 10 April × 29 May 1121 (000, Regesta 1280 below), so a date before this act is probable. A writ-charter for Hereford cathedral given at Easter, 10 April 1121, at Berkeley in south-west Gloucestershire, was witnessed by Walter of Gloucester and all
those attesting the present confirmation except Richard fitz Pons (000, Regesta 1265). A date in close proximity is likely.

ADDRESS: General address.

WITNESS: Roger bishop of Salisbury; Ranulf as chancellor; Geoffrey de Clinton; Richard fitz Pons, whose wife Matilda was the daughter of Walter of Gloucester (see Context).

PLACE: Cheddar (Somerset).

CONTEXT: In 1086 the ‘church of Hereford’ had seven hides in Little Hereford and six hides in Ullingswick (DB, i. 181d, 182c; §§ 2, 18, 51). Walter of Gloucester gave Little Hereford to his nepos William de Mare for the service of two knights, noting that he and Miles his son had previously given it in dower to Sybil, Miles’s wife, to whom they had later given Berdesleia (Barnsley, Glos) in exchange (Round, Ancient Charters, 19; VCH Glos, vii. 15). In 1242–3 Reginald de Mare held two knights’ fees of old feoffment in Little Hereford of the earl of Hereford, who held of the bishop of Hereford (Fees, 810, 813). Richard fitz Pons gave Leach (Glos) to his wife Matilda in exchange for her original marriage portion of Ullingswick, which Richard gave to Helias Giffard in marriage with his daughter Bertha, by grant of the same Matilda. From this Round deduced that Matilda was a previously unknown daughter of Walter of Gloucester, noting also that Walter’s wife was called Bertha (Round, Ancient Charters, 20–22). The Donationes of St Peter’s, Gloucester, records that Helias Giffard junior and Bertha his mother gave Ullingswick to the abbey in 1167 (CIL Gloucester, iii. 117).

4 Writ-charter giving to Walter of Gloucester in fee the land that had belonged to Edric fitz Ketel. Late May or early June 1123

ORIGINAL: Duchy of Lancaster, Royal Charters, PRO DL 10/5 (Bishop 410), 190 mm × 50 mm, bottom of document trimmed, leaving what appears to be a slight trace of sealing-tongue, torn away, no trace of wrapping-tie, hand identified by Bishop as scribe x [A].

ENDORSEMENT: ‘Carta r(egis) H(enrici) pro Waltero de Glouc(estra)’.

FACSIMILE: Bishop, Scriptores Regis, pl. IV (a).

PRINTED: Round, Ancient Charters, 18 (no. 10) [from A]; Richard C. Maclaurin, On the nature and evidence of title to realty (London, 1901), 34 [from Round].

CALENDAR: Farrer 497; Regesta 1395.

H(enricus) rex Angl(orum) T(eoldo) Wigorn(ie) episcopo et R(oberto) comiti Gloec(estrie) et omnibus baronibus et fidelibus suis de | Gloec(estra)scira salutem. Sciatis me dedisse et concessisse Waltero de Gloec(estra) in feodum et in | hereditatem totam terram Edrici filii Chetelli. Et uolo et firmiter precipio ut bene et honofrifice et quieta et libere teneat
cum omnibus consuetudinibus suis sicut predictus Edricus uel Chetell(us) | pater eius unquam melius et honorabilius et quietius et liberius tenuerunt. T(estibus) Pag(ano) filio Iohannis et Willelmo de | de (sic) Pirou et Hug(one) Bigoto et Waltero de Bellocampo. Apud Portesmudam in transfretatione | mea.

Henry king of the English to Theulf bishop of Worcester and Robert earl of Gloucester and all his barons and sworn men of Gloucestershire greeting. Know that I have given and granted to Walter of Gloucester in fee and inheritance all the land of Edric fitz Ketel. And I will and firmly command that he shall hold as well and honourably and quietly and freely with all his customs just as the foresaid Edric or Ketel his father ever well and honourably and quietly and freely held. Witness Pain fitz John and William de Pirou and Hugh Bigod and Walter de Beauchamp. At Portsmouth at my crossing.

DATE: After Robert was made earl of Gloucester, 1122; before the retirement of Walter of Gloucester, 1126. Within this period, Henry made only one crossing of the Channel, on 11 June 1123, from Portsmouth. This writ is therefore to be dated shortly before that crossing, for the king spent the Whitsun week (3–10 June) at Portsmouth (ASChr) and could have been there for some time before.

ADDRESS: Shire court of Gloucestershire. Walter of Gloucester himself was sheriff but was not addressed because he was the beneficiary of the act.

WITNESS: Pain fitz John, William de Pirou, Hugh Bigod, Walter de Beauchamp.

PLACE: Portsmouth, i.e. Portchester.

CONTEXT: Edric fitz Ketel held two manors in Gloucestershire as a king’s thegn in 1086, Baunton in Cirencester hundred and Alkerton in Blacklow hundred (DB, i. 170v; §§ 78. 5, 16). They amounted to a virgate short of eight hides. In 1136 × 1137 King Stephen confirmed the land of Edric fitz Ketel to Miles of Gloucester, ‘sicut rex H(enricus) eam dedit Waltero patri eiusdem Milon(is) et carta sua confirmavit’ (S/389). Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford, held Baunton (‘Baudyngton’) and Alkerton (‘Alkrynton’) at his death in 1373 (CallIPM, xiii. 141, no. 167).

MILES OF GLOUCESTER

5 Charter giving Sybil daughter of Bernard de Neufmarché in marriage to Miles of Gloucester, with the land of her father and mother after their deaths, or before if they wish, with a specified marriage portion. 10 April × 29 May 1121
H(enricus) rex Angl(orum) archiepiscopis episcopis abbatibus comitibus uicecomitibus et omnibus baronibus suis francis et anglis et fidelibus suis totius Anglię et Walię salutem. Sciatis me dedisse et firmiter concessisse Miloni de Gloec(estra) Sibiliam filiam Beornardi de Nouo Mercato cum tota terra Beorn(ardi) patris sui et matris suę post mortem eorum uel prius si uoluerint, scilicet in uita eorum cum hoc maritagio, scilicet Talgart et foresta de Stradewi et castello de Haia Taillata et tota terra de Bren’ usque ad diuias terrę Ric(ardi) filii Pontii scilicet usque Canterbochan, et Coura quandam uillam in Anglia, et feodum et seruitium Rogeri de Bascheruulla et feodum et seruitium Willelmi Reuelli et feodum et seruitium Roberti de Turb(er)tuulla et feodum et seruitium Picardi. Et uolo et precipio quod omnes tenentes de predicto maritagio faciant ei hominagium ligium in mea salua fidelitate sicut domino suo. Et omnes tenentes totius terrę predicti Beorn(ardi) similiter faciant ei hominagium ligium sicut domino suo in mea salua fidelitate et Beorn(ardo) quandiu terram tenere uoluerit. Et hoc ei dono et concedo sicut emptionem Beorn(ardi) quam mihi reddidit et hoc requisitione ipsius Beorn(ardi) et uxoris suę et baronum suorum. Et uolo et firmiter precipio ut ita bene et honorifice teneat et quiete et
libere sicut Beorn(ardus) unquam melius et honorificentius tenuit. T(estibus) Rogero episcopo Sar’ et Rob(erto) episcoopo Linc(olie) et Ran(ulfo) cancell(ario) et Rob(erto) filio regis et Willelmo de Tanc(ar)uilla et Nig(ello) de Albin(eio) et Pag(ano) filio Ioh(ann)is et Gaufr(ido) filio Pag(ani) et Gaufr(ido) de Glint(ona) et Rad(ulfo) Basset et Willelmo de Albin(eio) Brit(one). Apud Wintoniam eodem anno inter pascha et pentecost’ quo rex duxit in uxorem filiam ducis de Luuain.

Henry king of the English to archbishops bishops abbots earls sheriffs and all his barons French and English and his sworn men of all England and Wales greeting. Know that I have given and firmly granted to Miles of Gloucester Sybil the daughter of Bernard de Neufmarché with all the land of Bernard her father and her mother after their deaths or before if they wish, with this marriage-portion during their lives, that is Talgarth and the forest of Ystrad Yw and the castle of Haia Taillata (Hay) and the whole land of Brecknock as far as the bounds of the land of Richard fitz Pons, that is as far as Cantref Bychan, and Coura (Much Cowarne, Herefs), a vill in England, and the fee and service of Roger de Baskerville, and the fee and service of William Revel, and the fee and service of Robert de Turberville, and the fee and service of Picard. And I will and command that all tenants of the said marriage-portion shall do liege homage to him saving fealty to me as their lord. And all tenants of all of the land of the foresaid Bernard similarly shall do liege homage just as to their lord saving fealty to me and to Bernard as long as he wants to hold the land. And this I give and grant to him just as Bernard’s purchase which he rendered to me, and this by the request of the said Bernard and his wife and his barons. And I will and firmly command that he shall hold as well and honourably and quietly and freely just as Bernard ever well and honourably held. Witness Roger bishop of Salisbury and Robert bishop of Lincoln and Ranulf the chancellor and Robert the king’s son and William de Tancarville and Nigel d’Aubigny and Pain fitz John and Geoffrey fitz Pain and Geoffrey de Clinton and Ralph Basset and William d’Aubigné Brito. At Winchester. In the same year between Easter and Pentecost in which the king took as wife the daughter of the duke of Louvain.

DATE: Dated in the text between Easter (10 April) and Pentecost (29 May) in 1121, the year in which Henry took Adeliza of Louvain as wife.
ADDRESS: General address.
WITNESS: Roger bishop of Salisbury; Robert bishop of Lincoln; Ranulf the chancellor; Robert the king’s son, subsequently earl of Gloucester; William de Tancarville; Nigel d’Aubigny; Pain fitz John; Geoffrey fitz Pain; Geoffrey de Clinton; Ralph Basset; William d’Aubigné Brito.
PLACE: Winchester.
CONTEXT: The king is consenting to Bernard de Neufmarché’s giving a large proportion of his estate to his son-in-law, who thereby became an important force in the Welsh marches. Both Walter of Gloucester and Bernard were nearing the end of their careers,
so King Henry was here creating a powerful lordship that would come into existence within a few years. For details of the lands of Bernard de Neufmarché and his wife Agnes, see Walker, ‘Honours of the earls of Hereford’, 183–5.

Orderic says that Bernard de Neufmarché was a benefactor of Notre-Dame d’Auffay, a cell of Saint-Évroul, and that he witnessed a gift in Auffay in 1079 (Orderic VI, ed. Chibnall, iii. 248–51). He seems to have been in England by 1086, when he was apparently witness to a plea held before the king at Laycock (Wils) concerning the abbey of Fécamp (W1/146), but he is not mentioned in Domesday. With Osbern fitz Richard Scrob, he was among those who attacked Worcester during the rebellion against William II in 1088 (John of Worcester, ii. 52–3; Orderic VIII, ed. Chibnall, iv. 124–5). According to the Donations of Gloucester abbey, he gave Glasbury (Brecknockshire and Radnorshire) and the church of Much Cowarne (Herefs) to Gloucester Abbey in 1088 (Ct. Gloucester, i. 80, 88). Orderic calls him son-in-law of Osbern fitz Richard Scrob in his account of the rebellion of 1088; Bernard’s foundation charter for Brecon, mentioned below, names his wife as Agnes. Gerald of Wales calls her Nest, a daughter of Nest, daughter of Gruffudd ap Llywelyn, and says that the English changed her name and called her Agnes (‘Anneis’). He goes on to tell an unpleasant and doubtful tale of how she deprived her son Mahel of his inheritance by swearing before the whole court of Henry I that he was not Bernard’s child. Henry thereupon gave the combined inheritance to Miles of Gloucester in marriage with Bernard’s daughter (Giraldus Cambrensis, Itinerarium Cambriae, I 2, ed. Dimock, vi. 28–9; transl. in Gerald of Wales, The Journey through Wales and The Description of Wales, trans. L. Thorpe, Penguin Classics (1978), 88–9). The ancestry of Agnes is confirmed in part by a deed of Hugh fitz Osbern for Worcester in which he names his mother as Nest (Ct. Worcester, 83, no. 148), and by Bernard’s foundation charter for Brecon which includes confirmation of his wife Agnes’s gift of the manor of Berrington, which had been held in 1086 by Osbern fitz Richard Scrob (Monasticon, iii. 264; DB, i. 176c; Worcs § 19. 1). Bernard is not named in the Brut y Tywysogyon or the Annales Cambriae in their accounts of the struggles for control of Brycheiniog (i.e. Brecknockshire) in the 1090s, but Gerald of Wales says he was the first Norman to gain possession of it from the Welsh (Giraldus Cambrensis, Itinerarium Cambriae, I 2, ed. Dimock, vi. 28). Orderic tells how he fought courageously under three kings of England, and served as a knight until he grew old. ‘At length in the time of William Rufus he fought against Rhys, a Welsh king; and after killing him built a castle at Brecon, and for many years held the kingdom of the Welsh whose capital is called Talgarth. He also built a church in honour of St John the Evangelist in his fortified town (i.e. Brecon), and placed monks in it, granting them the tithes of all his possessions’ (Orderic VI, ed. Chibnall, iii. 254–5). Bernard was among the despoilers of the diocese of Llandaff in 1119, but he is absent from the list of 1128, when his place was taken by Miles of Gloucester (JL 6754, 7308; Book of Llan Dâv, 37–8, 93–4).

Of of the four men named whose fee and service was transferred to Miles, Picard and Roger de Baskerville made gifts alongside Bernard de Neufmarché at his foundation of Brecon (Monasticon, iii. 264). Richard fitz Pons’s grant to his wife Maud, given in 1121 × 1126, i.e. after the present charter and before the retirement of Walter of Gloucester, was attested by Walter of Gloucester and Miles his son followed by Robert de Turberville, Picard and Roger de Baskerville (Round, Ancient Charters, 23–24, no. 13). For the Baskerville family, who apparently descended from Robert, a Domesday tenant of Roger de Lacy in Herefordshire, see B. Coplestone-Crow, ‘The
Baskervilles of Herefordshire, 1086–1300’, *Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists’ Field Club* 43 (1979–81), 18–39; B. Holden, *Lords of the Central Marches: English Aristocracy and Frontier Society* 1087–1265 (Oxford, 2008), 93–7, 253; for Picard and his descendants, see Holden, 102–4. William Revell’s gift of ‘Hamtona’, by grant of Bernard de Neufmarché, was included in a spurious royal confirmation to Gloucester dated 1114 (0000, *Regesta* 1041). Nothing is known of Robert de Turberville. Coplestone-Crow (op. cit., 19) contends that ‘William Revel, Robert de Turbeville and Picard held lands that were probably already organised into the sub-lordships of Hay, Crughywel [Crickhowell] and Tretwr [Tretower], the last two of which were later held of the lords of Brecon by knight’s service’.

6 Charter granting to Miles of Gloucester succession to his father’s lands and to his father’s office of constable of the king’s court. 1126, before 11 September

ORIGINAL: BL Cotton Charter xvi. 33 (Bishop 357), approx 260 mm (wide) × 150 mm, very poor condition, eaten away, remains now mounted on parchment, sealing arrangements obscure; hand identified by Bishop as scribe xi [A].

ANTIQUARIAN TRANSCRIPTS: BL MS Lansdowne 229, fol. 124r (Glover’s Miscellanies I, mistakenly ascribed to William Camden in the 1819 catalogue), abbreviated [from A]; Bodl. MS Dugdale 18, fol. 20v [from Glover]; Oxford, Exeter College, MS 137 (a collection of miscellaneous transcripts, s. xvii), fol. 92r, noting ‘The great seal in yellow wax’ [B, from A], now the best witness and the source of the restored readings.


CALENDAR: Farrer 578; *Regesta* 1552.

[[H(enricus) rex]] Angl(orum) arc[[hiepiscopis episcopis abbat]]ibus comitibus baronibus uicecomitibus et omnibus fidelibus | [[suis]] francis et anglis [[totius]] Anglie et Walie salutem. Sciatis me reddidisse et concessisse Miloni | [[filio]] Walteri Gloec(estrie) cones[[tabularii mei]] totam terram patris sui quam tenuit de me in capite et de | [[quocumque tenuisset et conest]]abulariam curie mee quam pater suus habuit. Et uolo et firmiter | [[precipio ut ita bene et in pace et hon]orifice et [[quiete]] teneat cum socha et sacha et tol [[et]] tem et | infangenet[eof] infra [[burgum et]] extra in [[bosco]] et plano in piscariis in pasturis [[in uiis]] et | [[semi]]tis in aqua et extra et omnibus aliis [[locis et]] cum omnibus aliis consuetudinibus [[et quie]]tationibus | [[suis cum quibus]]
pater suus umquam [[melius et honorificent]ius et quietius tenuit terras [[et min]]isterium | [[cone]]tabularie. T(estibus) A(lexandro) episcopo Linc(olnie) et Io[[hanne episcopo Lux]]ou(iensi) et G(aufrido) cancell(ario) et Willelmo de Tanc’ camerario | [[et Willelmo]] de Albi[[nni pinc]]erna et Willelmo filio [[Odonis]] et G(aufrido) de Glint(ona) et Roberto de Oilli et b[[. . . | . . . b Henrico]] de Ponte[[reda et]] Willelmo de Ponte [[Arccharum] et Vmfr(ido)] de Bohun. | [[Apud Rothomagum.]]

b-b Orauo sero Marmion B, corrupt, for Roger Marmion? Johnson reads the first word as David (?)

Henry king of the English to archbishops bishops abbots earls barons sheriffs and all his sworn men French and English of all England and Wales greeting. Know that I have restored and granted to Miles son of Walter of Gloucester my constable all his father’s land which he held of me in chief or of whomsoever he held it and the constableship of my court which his father had. And I will and firmly command that he shall hold as well and in peace and honourably and quietly with soke and sake and toll and team and infangthief, within borough and without, in wood and field, in fisheries, in pastures, in ways and paths, in water and out, and all other places and with all other customs and acquittances with which his father ever well and honourably and quietly held the land and the office of constable. Witness Alexander bishop of Lincoln and John bishop of Lisieux and Geoffrey the chancellor and William de Tancarville chamberlain and William d‘Aubigny butler and William fitz Odo and Geoffrey de Clinton and Robert d‘Oilly and [[. . .]] and Henry de Pomeroy and William de Pont de l‘Arche and Humfrey de Bohun. At Rouen.

DATE: While Geoffrey was chancellor, spring 1123 to May 1133; after the nomination of Alexander to Lincoln in spring 1123; before the death of William de Tancarville in 1129. The king was in Normandy from 11 June 1123 until 11 September 1126, and again from 26 August 1127 until 15 July 1129. A date of 1126, before 11 September, is implied by the date of Walter’s retirement.
ADDRESS: General address.
WITNESS: The witnesses are largely drawn from the officers of the king’s household, emphasising Miles’s office of constable.
PLACE: Rouen.
CONTEXT: The charter does not define the estates which are here confirmed to Walter’s son Miles. They were very extensive, and comprised the Domesday lands of Walter fitz Roger and Durand the sheriff which lay in Gloucestershire, Wiltshire, Hampshire and Herefordshire, together with whatever Walter had acquired during his service to William I, William II and Henry I. The wording ‘conestabularia curie mee’, shows that Walter of Gloucester was a constable of Henry I, and not ‘only constable of Gloucester castle’, which had been in doubt before the discovery of this charter (Complete

7 Charter giving to Miles of Gloucester, his constable, the land of Bicknor which was Wulfric of Dean’s. 1126 × 1133

ORIGINAL: Duchy of Lancaster, Royal Charters, PRO DL 10/7 (Bishop 412), 225 mm × 100 mm; 50 mm wide short central seal tag, 10 mm wide wrapping tie adjoining; the hand identified by Bishop as scribe xiii [A].
ENDORSEMENT: ‘Carta H. regis magni facta Miloni Glouc(estrie) de manerio de Biche(enouero)’.
SEAL: Fourth seal, white wax, edges chipped.
FACSIMILE: (in part) Bishop, Scriptores Regis, pl. V (a)
CALENDAR: Regesta 1723.

H(enricus) rex Angl(orum) episcopo Heref(ordensi) et iustic(iis) et uic(ecomitibus) et omnibus baronibus et fidelibus suis francis et anglis de Gloecestrescira et Herefortscira salutem. Sciatis me dedisse et concessisse Milon(i) Gloec(estrie) conestabulo meo in feodum et hereditatem terram de Bichenouero que fuit Vlurici de Dena. Quare uolo et firmiter precipio quod ipse eam teneat iure hereditario in bosco et plano in omnibus rebus cum soca et saca et tol et team et infangeneteof et cum omnibus consuetudinibus et libertatibus et quietationibus cum quibus ipse melius et quietius et honorabilius et liberius tenet aliud feodum suum. T(estibus) G(alfrido) canc(ellario) et R(oberto) de Sigillo et P(agano) filio Ioh(annis) et E(ustachio) filio Ioh(annis) et Willelmo filio Ioh(annis) et Willelmo de Alb(ineio) Brit(one). Apud Cantebr(igiam).

Henry king of the English to the bishop of Hereford and justices and sheriffs and all his barons and sworn men French and English of Gloucestershire and Herefordshire greeting. Know that I have given and granted to Miles of Gloucester my constable in fee and inheritance the land of Bicknor that was Wulfric of Dean’s. Wherefore I will
and firmly command that he shall hold it by hereditary right in wood and field in all things with soke and sake and toll and team and infangthief and with all customs and liberties and quitances with which he well and quietly and honourably and freely holds his other fee. Witness Geoffrey the chancellor and Robert de Sigillo and Pain fitz John and Eustace fitz John and William fitz John and William d’Aubigny Brito. At Cambridge.

DATE: While Geoffrey was chancellor, so Spring 1123 to May 1133; after the retirement of Walter of Gloucester in 1126.
ADDRESS: Shire courts of Gloucestershire and Herefordshire.
WITNESS: Geoffrey the chancellor; Robert de Sigillo; Pain fitz John; Eustace fitz John; William fitz John; William d’Aubigné Brito.
PLACE: Cambridge.
CONTEXT: ‘Bichenouero’ has been identified as English Bicknor, in Gloucestershire, situated about a mile south-east of the river Wye which forms the boundary with Herefordshire. This may be correct, but it is difficult to reconcile the present act with what is known of the tenurial history of either English Bicknor or Welsh Bicknor. No earldom of Hereford interest can be detected in Welsh Bicknor, for which see J. H. Matthews, *Collections towards the history and antiquities of the county of Hereford in continuation of Duncumb’s history: Hundred of Wormald: lower division, part 1* (Hereford, 1913), 98–102. In 1086 William fitz Norman had ½ hide in [English] Bicknor (‘Bicanofre’) which had been held before 1066 by Morganwy. William also held land in [Mitchel]dean nearby, which had been assigned exempt from tax in return for guarding the forest [of Dean] (*DB*, i. 167c; Glos §§ 37.2, 3). Hugh fitz William fitz Norman rendered account for £13 for the ‘census’ of the forest of Dene and the hays of Hereford in the pipe roll of 1130 (*PR 31 Henry I*, 77). In 1190 Ralph Avenel accounted for 140 marks for having the land of Bicknor (‘Bikenoura’) and to marry whom he wished (*PR 2 Richard I*, 57). In 1218 Peter de Maulay was ordered to take into the king’s hand all the land of John of Monmouth in his bailiwick, because John was unwilling to surrender Bicknor castle, formerly of Ralph Avenel (*FineR Henry III*, 2/126), and in 1223 William Avenel fined with the king for 40 marks for having the land formerly of Ralph Avenel, his father, which he ought to hold of the king in chief and which fell to him by hereditary right, with the bailiwick and castle of Bicknor (ibid. 8/32). John Maclean postulated that the castle had been built by Miles of Gloucester during Stephen’s reign (*Maclean, ‘Earthworks in English Bicknor’, 310*). Wulfric of Dean may be the man named in Duke Henry’s charter to Flaxley abbey given in 1153 × 1154, which confirms, amongst other gifts, ‘totam terram illam que dicitur Wastaden que fuit Wulfrici’ and ‘terram illam quam adquietavit ipse comes Herefordie de Gaufrido filio predicti Wulfrici’ (*Ste/321*).