Summary

This thesis explores the personal, territorial/economic and spiritual networks of the Cantilupes and the Corbets, two families from different levels of the thirteenth century gentry. The Cantilupes were *curiales*; the Corbets were established Marchers who did not enter the king's court.

The study shows that each had a strong command of their respective power centres, yet the main branch of administrative Cantilupes deliberately pushed towards the Welsh March from King John's reign onwards, while the Corbets, who were without the same networks of power and the consequent resources of these royal stewards, were also pushing for expansion within their own territory. This comparison illuminates the differences between these two families, neither of them great magnates *per se*, but both with strong links to the upper echelons of the aristocracy, and both with acquisitional and expansionist ambitions.

The thesis identifies patterns of patronage and land-holding, and analyses their networks of relationships. Interaction between the two families is also considered, and the means by which family power and identity was represented and expressed are explored.

The thesis concludes by identifying the common threads of a family strategy that, potentially, was followed by many thirteenth century gentry families of varying levels of social status. It considers the impact of the Welsh March on such strategies, and questions the 'peripheral' nature of such borderlands to those without Marcher territories.

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Abbreviations

Ann. Mon. Annales Monastici, 5 vols., ed. Henry Richard

Luard, (London, 1825-91)

BCM Berkeley Castle Muniments

BL British Library

Cal. Anc. Corr. Calendar of Ancient Correspondence Concerning

Wales

Cal. Docs. France Calendar of Documents Preserved in France,

Illustrative of the History of Great Britain and

Ireland, A.D. 908-1206, ed. J. Horace Round,

(London, 1899)

CCR Calendar of Close Rolls

CChA Canterbury Cathedral Archives

CChR Calendar of Charter Rolls

Chron. Maj. Matthaei Parisiensis: Monachi Santi Albani,

Chronica Majora, 7 vols, ed. Henry Richard

Luard, (London, 1872-83)

CIPM Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem

CPR Calendar of Patent Rolls

CR Close Rolls

CSPS Cartulary of St Peter's Abbey, Shrewbury

Cur. Reg. Curia Regis Rolls

ECL Exeter Cathedral Library

Exc. Rot. Fin. Excerpta e Rotulis Finium in Turri Londinensi

Asservati

HRO Herefordshire Record Office

LRO Lancashire Record Office

NLW National Library of Wales

NRO Northamptonshire Record Office

OED Oxford English Dictionary

PAS Portable Antiquities Scheme

PASE Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon England

PRO Public Record Office

PRS Pipe Roll Society

Register of Thomas Cantilupe Registrum Thome de Cantilupo, Episcopi

Herefordensis, A. D. 1275-1282, The Canterbury

and York Society, 2 vols., (1906)

Rot. Hund. Rotuli Hundredorum

Rot. Lit. Claus. Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum in Turri Londinensi

Asservati

Rot. Lit. Pat. Rotuli Litterarum Patentium in Turri Londinensi

Asservati

SA Shropshire Archives

SCLA Shakespeare Centre Library and Archive

SPL Shrewsbury Public Library

SRO Shropshire Record Office

TRHS Transactions of the Royal Historical Society

TSAS Transactions of the Shropshire Archaeological

Society

VCH Victoria County History

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INTRODUCTION

Not Another Medieval Case Study

Peter Burke has discussed the history of comparative studies and the relationship between social history and social theory in his influential work, History and Social Theory. He noted that within social history, two camps were emerging – the macrostudies and the micro-studies – while, in fact, a great number of the fundamental debates of models and methods remain common to both approaches.² Similarly, albeit from a purely Social Science perspective, Robert K. Yin has noted that '[a]s a research endeavour, the case study contributes uniquely to our knowledge of individual, organizational, social and political phenomena'. This particular case study seeks, in a sense, to straddle these two camps, as family studies which trace several generations, without geographical limitations, can inform macro-studies of the time and place with details 'that would otherwise not be known to us', as Robert Bartlett has argued in The Hanged Man.⁴ Far from being the preserve of the Social Sciences, historians have long known the benefits of such studies. Aside from such support, the sentiments of which are echoed throughout this study, biographical case studies are nothing new in Marcher, Family or Gentry Studies; indeed, it is almost impossible to make a contribution to the literature without them. The reason for this is because case studies rely on analytical rather than statistical generalisation.⁵ Since the documentary evidence is often not sufficient to provide a statistical approach to such studies, a case study is often the only option. Since microcosmic studies can, as Yin and Bartlett have argued, be generalised to theory, they may become a vehicle for examining other cases and similar questions in

¹ Peter Burke, *History and Social Theory*, (Cornell University Press, 2nd edn. 2005), p. 19.

² Burke, *History and Social Theory*, p. 20.

³ Robert K. Yin, Case Study Research: Design and Methods, (Sage, 1984) p. 14.

⁴ Robert Bartlett, The Hanged Man: A Story of Miracle, Memory and Colonialism in the Middle Ages, (Oxford, 2004), p. 5.

⁵ Robert K. Yin, Case Study Research, p. 39.

differing contexts.⁶ William Marshal, to name an obvious example, has proved fruitful ground for studies on chivalry, knighthood and the Angevin courtly and administrative machine, a giant personality straddling several worlds.⁷ Other families and individuals have not been so extensively studied. The de Verduns, for example, although covered by Mark Hagger, have not enjoyed such prolific exposure – and more examples will be mentioned below.⁸

With this in mind, there is a great deal to recommend a case study approach to both Family and Marcher studies, which is why a great deal of them have been produced. This study aims to build upon the findings and theories of its predecessors, examining family power and strategy from two different levels. It is the context of the March, however, which provides the background and setting in each case.

The comparison will encompass three generations of each family, beginning in the first year of John's reign, as it is from this point that the Cantilupes rise to prominence, and ending c.1300 with Peter Corbet (I)'s death. William (IV) de Cantilupe died in 1308, but 1300 is a more convenient cut-off point since the comparison will encompass a one hundred year period. A grander family such as the de Bohuns, Marshals or de Clares would have been too great for a comparison, as their landed interests and accumulative revenue were too vast to be fairly compared to a newly emerging administrative group, and the scope of their power and influence would complicate the nature of their Marcher activity. Besides, much has been done on these

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ A brief and by no means comprehensive bibliography of William Marshal may include the following: J. R. Crosland, *William the Marshal: The Last Great Feudal Baron*, (London, 1962); David Crouch, *William Marshal: Knighthood, War and Chivalry, 1147-1219*, (London, 2002); Georges Duby, *William Marshal: The Flower of Chivalry*, (London, 1986); Edward Hubbard, *Knight at Tancarville: William Marshal, the Landless Years*, (Lewes, 1997); Sidney Painter, *William Marshal: Knight-Errant, Baron and Regent of England*, (Toronto, 1982).

⁸ Mark Hagger, *The Fortunes of a Norman Family: the de Verduns in England, Ireland and Wales, 1066-1316*, (Dublin, 2001); the historiography of Marcher family studies will be discussed in more detail below, pp. 17-25.

already, and this study seeks to add something new to the biographical corpus as much as to the historiography of Marcher Studies. A less prominent kin group would be more beneficial, particularly as these 'middle men' have not been fully examined as yet, meaning that there is a whole social spectrum still to be discussed in more depth in the historiography. Therefore, for a family with Anglo-centric concerns, the thesis focuses on the Cantilupes, men of the administrative rank; extensive landholders, occupying significant positions within the king's household and government, and who were exercising local judicial powers in their shrieval roles.

As *curiales*, the Cantilupes are ideal candidates. Not only did they occupy all the secular positions listed above, they also produced two bishops within two generations and so offer an insight into the world of the 'secular Church', itself inextricably linked to the political world of its day. Not only this, but while both Cantilupe bishops have been studied extensively in regards to their political involvement and ecclesiastic duties, there is surprisingly very little on either of them as men who influenced, and were influenced by, other members of their family, or the extent to which this was the case. Equally, despite the Cantilupes being a highly successful administrative family, closely connected to the king and his court, very little has been done on the secular members of this family specifically or as a kin group.

⁹ The career of Bishop Walter is discussed specifically in Philippa Hoskin, The Bishops of Worcester and their Acta, 1218-1268, unpublished PhD thesis, (University of Oxford, 1995); English Episcopal Acta 13, Worcester 1218-1268, ed. Philippa Hoskin, (Oxford, 1997); Philippa Hoskin, 'Diocesan Politics in the See of Worcester, 1218-1266', Journal of Ecclesiastic History, 54:3, 422-440; and Joseph Goering and Daniel S. Taylor, 'The Summulae of bishops Walter de Cantilupe (1240) and Peter Quinel (1287)', Speculum: A Journal of Medieval Studies, 67:3, 576-594. Walter's influence and activities during the Barons' War and his Montfortian sympathies are documented in nearly every work on this period, most recently Sophie Ambler, 'The Montfortian Bishops and the Justification of Conciliar Government in 1264', Historical Research, 85:228 (2012), 193-209, but also appearing in the major works on the subject of Baronial Reform, from W. H. Blaauw, The Barons' War: Including the battles of Lewes and Evesham, (London, 1871) to Adrian Jobson, The First English Revolution: Simon de Montfort, Henry III and the Barons' War, (London, 2012), encompassing a great deal of works in between such as R. F. Treharne, The Baronial Plan of Reform, 1258-1263, (Manchester, 1971), and various biographies of Simon de Montfort. Thomas de Cantilupe, as a saint, has also attracted a great deal of attention. Many essays encompassing a great deal of his life have been collected into one volume by Meryl Jancey in St Thomas Cantilupe, Bishop of Hereford: Essays in His Honour, (Hereford, 1982).

The Cantilupes gained their land and power through their professional and marital achievements, which meant that their initial contact with the borderlands and beyond was political and military in nature. It was also limited to family members with sufficient political and legal acumen to negotiate the minefield of what might loosely be termed, for convenience, as 'Anglo-Welsh' relations. The family had lands in Wiltshire as early as the twelfth century, the royal manor of Calne passing from Fulk de Cantilupe to his nephew William (II), whose son William (III) married Eva de Braose, a co-heir to the Marshal inheritance through her mother. She brought the substantial Honor of Abergavenny to the family as her inheritance, and appears to have remained at Abergavenny Castle where her son George was born. Why the March should loom large in the interests of this family will be considered, and family strategy will be identified and examined.

The chief members of the study are the three Williams, William (I) d. 1239, William (II) d. 1251, and William (III) d. 1254. Difficulties arise because in the lifetime of William (I), he was referred to as *seniorem*, and William (II) as *juniorem*. However, at some point towards the end of his life and after his death, these titles passed down to the next generation of administratively active Williams, so that William (II) became known as *seniorem* instead, and his son became *juniorem*. One wonders if even the scribes knew which William they were actually referring to. All of this does not become a problem for the historian until they begin to unpick the complicated knots and tangles of marital alliances and territorial acquisitions. ¹²

The three generations of the Cantilupes will begin with William (I) d. 1239 and his siblings. The siblings will be briefly touched upon in order to clarify the progression

¹⁰ PRS Pipe Roll 1200, pp. 156, 161; CR 1227-1231, p. 561; CPR 1247-1258, p. 8.

¹¹ CIPM, ii, Edward I, (London, 1906), p. 21.

¹² See Methodology below, pp. 35-41.

of inheritance and to contextualise the family's beginnings. It will follow the line down through his son William (II) 'the elder', d. 1251, and his son William (III), 'the younger', d. 1254. The male line of this patriarchal branch died with William (III)'s son George in 1272. The lands were divided between George's sisters and their husbands, but the line continued through his cousin, William (IV). William (IV) gained livery of his father's lands in 1283, and died in 1308.

The second family, established Marchers with an eye for expansion, is one which has already been in the spotlight. Rees Davies has argued that Shropshire is an ideal example of the ways in which the March originated; a crucible of liberties and power stratagems, social, racial and spacial friction, it is therefore an ideal microcosm for case study. The Corbets offer themselves as prime candidates for consideration. Unlike the de Cantilupes, the Corbets were established in Shropshire by 1086, vassals of Earl Roger de Montgomery. Their Welsh lands were over the Severn in the Gorddwr, but due to the aggressive expansionist policies of Llywelyn they lost control of Gwyddgrug Castle, which was razed and never rebuilt. As sprawling and complex in their branches as the de Cantilupe tree, the Corbets were far more geographically concentrated than their more auspicious contemporaries. They were also of lesser stock, not having the opportunities afforded their administrative counterparts to work their way up to greater prominence. Their focus was on the defence of the border and their territory, and their immediate circle was largely comprised of like-minded individuals similarly placed on the periphery of the royal court and central government. However,

¹³ The Complete Peerage, iii, pp. 111-2

¹⁴ The Complete Peerage, iii, p. 112

¹⁵ R. R. Davies, Lordship and Society in the March of Wales: 1282-1400, (Oxford, 1978), p. 20.

¹⁶ *Domesday Book 35 Shropshire*, (Phillimore, 1986), ed. Frank and Caroline Thorn from a draft translation prepared by Celia Parker, 255c-256a.

¹⁷ C. J. Spurgeon, 'Gwyddgrug Castle (Forden) and the Gorddwr Dispute in the Thirteenth Century', *Montgomeryshire Collections*, 57 (1963 for 1961-2), 125-36.

as will be shown, the Corbets had aspirations beyond the frontier zone on both sides of the border. They did not simply attempt to consolidate but to expand, gaining additional lands in England and allies in Wales as well as cementing their holdings and building alliances with their neighbours.

While the generations of Cantilupes prove difficult to identify, so the Corbets have several tangled branches. This study will focus solely upon the Corbets of Caus, specifically Robert Corbet (d. 1222), who was the son of Simon of Pontesbury, his son Thomas (d. 1274) and grandson Peter (d. 1300). Mention will be made of Thomas's siblings, in particular Margaret, wife of Gwenwynwyn ab Owain Cyfeiliog, but the Corbets of Moreton, Hadley and Tasley will be largely ignored.

The difficulty with these branches of the Corbets is that firstly, it is difficult to ascertain how they are all connected – the Corbets of Moreton are, I suspect, either cousins or nephews of Robert Corbet of Caus, being descended from a Corbet of Wattlesborough and marrying into the Torets, thus gaining Moreton. They acquired Hadley and Tasley in similar marital manner, and unfortunately seem to have honoured their Caus relations with a continuation of naming patterns, so that there are two Thomas Corbets concurrently active in Shropshire in the mid-thirteenth century.

After the Historiography and Methodology have been discussed, Chapter One will look at concepts of power, and at ideas of *perceived* and *actual* power within a Marcher context. This chapter will deal with personal networks of power, taking a chronological approach to each family and exploring the connections they made with

¹⁸ The cadet branch of the Corbets inherited Moreton from the Torets, passing to a 'Richard Corbet' who died *c*.1239. O. J. Weaver, 'Moreton Corbet Castle (SJ 562232)', *Archaeological Journal*, 138 for 1981 (1982), 44-46, p. 44.

¹⁹ Eyton, Antiquities of Shropshire, iii, p. 89.

their superiors, peers and vassals. It will seek to show how their networks overlapped, and the differences in the scope of relationships between the 'old' and 'new' men of the March, given their respective places in the social strata to which they belonged. The extent to which they used their networks of friends, relations, associates and even enemies will be considered, in order to examine how their connections helped them to consolidate their hold over their holdings, and to expand their power and influence further. It will also consider how these connections influenced the individual family members to act in certain ways, and whether the termination of relationships could also be seen as strategic.

Building on the context of the positive and negative personal associations, Chapter Two will discuss the territorial networks that were both underpinning and underpinned by the web of relationships. Chapter Two will consider how the personal networks influenced the consolidation and directions of expansion in order to demonstrate patterns of land holding and identify power centres for the two families concerned. This chapter will also be considered chronologically by family in order to show the accumulation of territories over time from c.1199 - c.1300. Into this discussion will enter the issue of trade and economic networks, as a source of revenue and a reason why the particular holdings were desirable; however, as the families were not themselves engaged in trade and commercial activities in a direct manner, as merchants or farmers, the specifics of the economic life of the manors will not form the basis of the discussion.

Chapter Three will use the patterns identified in the previous two chapters to examine the issues of family piety, and what will be termed 'spiritual investment' in the lands they held. This chapter will look at the advowsons held by the families, and consider whether patterns of donations and patronage can be seen in the light of the

findings of the previous chapters. It will consider the most consistent recipients of family donations, as well as the foundations of the families. Chapter Three will also consider the churchmen produced by the Cantilupes and Corbets respectively, and the impact that these men had on their 'secular' family members. Unlike the previous chapters, this chapter will be subdivided by geographical location rather than dealing with them chronologically, exploring these questions according to the previously identified centres and satellites of Cantilupe and Corbet power and authority.

Finally, Chapter Four will consider the visual expressions and representations of power that the Cantilupes and Corbets used. This chapter will begin with heraldry and sigillographic designs, and how the arms and seals evolved and developed over time in both cases, both for the secular and the ecclesiastic family members. It will then look at the physical buildings which would have transmitted and displayed these visual symbols and contained the household, looking at their impact on the landscape as status symbols as well as functional military structures. This chapter will end by considering the composition of the *familiae* of the heads of the secular members of the family, as the means of transmitting family authority through the carrying of shields and displaying of banners. The *familiae* will also be considered in terms of composition, linking back to the personal, territorial and spiritual networks explored in Chapters One, Two and Three.

Before these questions can be properly explored, however, this study must be placed within the historiography.

Marcher Scholarship: An Overview

It is important to address the historiography of Marcher Studies, including but not limited to other family case studies. It will chart the history of interest in this area, looking at the progression of this field and the ways in which the Welsh March has been portrayed and brought into the public and 'national' consciousness, and considering what further light may be left to shed. It will then review the sources used in this particular thesis, culminating in a brief methodological discussion.

Firstly, it must be noted that the origins of Marcher Studies are bound up in family histories. Indeed, in the earliest days of historical interest, the two were largely synonymous. Early Modern antiquarians with an interest in the field were largely interested for their own sake, researching the origins of their own lineage for posterity and with a distinct bias, such as Humphrey Llwyd's *Cronica Walliae, now called Wales*. Such patriotism and genealogical concerns continued to pervade the writings of antiquaries like Sir Edward Stradling, whose treatise on the Norman conquest of Glamorgan (his home county) was included in the *Historie of Cambria* by Dr David Powell (1584). In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the work of these antiquaries was continued, with similar bias and intentions. Sir John Wynn of Gwydir in Caernarfonshire, for example, wrote his family history using original document sources with the object of glorifying his family. 22

A more general interest in Wales and the March slowly began to spread across the border, and the first printed text of the Welsh laws appeared in 1730, the work of an English clergyman, William Wooton. The ecclesiastic life of Wales proved a more profitable and fruitful area, and Wooton's contemporary, the Buckinghamshire MP

²⁰ Humphrey Llwyd, *Cronica Walliae*, ed. Ieuan M. Williams, (Cardiff, 2002)

Evan David Jones, 'The Stradling Family (Glam.)', Welsh Biography Online, online resource, http://wbo.llgc.org.uk/en/s-STRA-MOR-1275.html, accessed 01.01.13

http://wbo.llgc.org.uk/en/s-STRA-MOR-1275.html, accessed 01.01.13

²² Sir John Wynn, *The History of the Gwydir Family and Memoirs*, Welsh Classics Series 4, ed. J. G. Jones, (Llandusul, 1990); the book covers the period 1050-1650 and is cited in A. D. Carr, *Medieval Wales*, p. 9

Browne Willis, already known in 1705 as being a diligent antiquarian of English history, produced historical surveys on four Welsh cathedrals (1717-1721).²³

Other works, mainly based on Powel's *The Historie of Cambria*, continued to appear into the nineteenth and early twentieth century based on an 'increasing national awareness', which consolidated the great divides between the Welsh and Norman peoples.²⁴ Great figures at this time emerged from the University of Wales such as T. F. Tout, J. G. Edwards, and Sir John Edward Lloyd, in many ways the father of modern academic scholarship of Welsh history. Their work collectively provided an academic framework which pulled away from Powel's work but at the same time imbued the historiography with what Patrick J. Geary has described as the 'toxic waste' of nineteenth-century ethnic nationalism.²⁵ The significant contribution of Lloyd in particular to the study of Wales and the March has been the subject of Huw Pryce's biographical work, *J. E. Lloyd and the Creation of Welsh History: Renewing a Nation's Past.*²⁶

With such clear lines of demarcation drawn between the Welsh and their conquerors, it is hardly surprising that the twentieth century found breaking free of these trends of thought something of a struggle, while at the same time producing ground breaking studies which showed more accurately the complexities of the period.

²³ The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1690-1715, eds. E. Cruickshanks, D. Hayton and S. Handley. (Boydell and Brewer. 2002). online resource. http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1690-1715/member/willis-browne-1682-1760 accessed 01.01.13; A Survey of the Cathedral Church of St. David's was published in 1717; it was followed by a survey of Llandaff in 1719, a survey of St. Asaph's in 1720, and a survey of Bangor in 1721. These surveys are cited in Carr's Medieval Wales, p.8. Of these surveys only St. David's provoked consistent response; Ivor Atkins produced the article 'The authorship of the 16th century description of St. Davids printed in Browne Willis's Survey (1717)', National Library of Wales Journal, 4:3-4, (1946), 115-22; John Gilbert Jenkins wrote an account of Willis' life and works in 1953 entitled The Dragon of Whaddon, and most recently David Stoker published 'Surveying the decrepit Welsh Cathedrals, the Publication of Browne Willis accounts of St. David's and Llandaff' in Y Llyfr yng Nghymru, 3, (2000), 7-

²⁴ Carr, Medieval Wales, p.8

²⁵ Patrick J. Geary, *The Myth of Nations: The Medieval Origins of Europe*, (Princeton, N. J., 2003), p. 15 Huw Pryce, *J. E. Lloyd and the Creation of Welsh History: Renewing a Nation's Past*, (Cardiff, 2011).

Aside from J. E. Lloyd, the early part of the century was dominated by the work of T. Jones Pierce, whose work included studies of Pwllheli and Caernarvonshire, ²⁷ and Glyn Roberts, whose work included Anglo-Welsh relations. ²⁸

Historians like Jean Le Patourel and W. L. Warren followed on in Roberts' wake, looking at Wales in the context of the 'Anglo-Norman' polity, still (whether consciously or unconsciously) making much of the factors which separated the conquerors from the conquered, and focusing their discussions upon the nature of subjugation. In doing so, they emphasised the divisions and differences between the groups, rather than the points of contact and integration.

Nevertheless, when it comes to Marcher studies and recent scholarship, one might naturally think of the output of R. R. Davies, and the extensive nature of the issues he addressed. Even Davies' studies were largely Anglocentric, but his work illuminated the frontiers with greater clarity and understanding than previously; his studies were considerably more balanced than previous writings. ²⁹ Much of his work tends to be broad and sweeping. One of his earlier works, *Lordship and Society in the March of Wales* (1978), provided the basis of his later studies. It was embellished, expanded upon and further contextualised in his later works, such as *Conquest, Coexistence and Change*, later reprinted as *The Age of Conquest: Wales 1063-1415*. ³⁰ The scope of this later work is ambitious and impressive. However, in dealing with broad themes such as the impact of the March and its imported lords upon Welsh

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²⁷ See, T. Jones Pierce, 'A Caernarvonshire manorial borough. Studies in the mediaeval history of Pwllheli', *Transactions of the Caernarvonshire Historical Society*, (1943 for 1942-3), 35-50

²⁸ See, Glyn Roberts, 'Wales and England: antipathy and sympathy, 1282-1485', Welsh History Review, 1:4, (1963), 375-96

²⁹ R. R. Davies' work has been well received; his *Age of Conquest* was considered to be the 'standard' work of medieval Wales from its publication in 1987, and his other works, such as *The Revolt of Owain Glyn Dwr*, have been praised for the analysis of the extant sources. See, Paul V. Walsh, 'Review: Untitled' of *The Revolt of Owain Glyn Dwr*, R. R. Davies, *The Journal of Military History*, 61:4, (Oct., 1997), 799-801

³⁰ R. R. Davies, Lordship and Society in the March of Wales: 1282-1400, (Oxford, 1978); Conquest, Coexistence and Change: Wales 1063-1415, (Oxford, 1987) reprinted as Age of Conquest: Wales 1063-1415, (Oxford, 1991)

kingdoms and their ecclesiastical affiliations, patronage and practices for a five hundred year period, it opens avenues of exploration for others. Another major work, *The First English Empire*, approaches the same subject but from a different perspective. First English Empire deals with a wide variety of issues, such as orbits of power, high kingship, political heartlands and backwaters, and the ebb tide of the 'English Empire'. Although Davies was painting with a very broad brush, it provides a helpful context for those wishing to engage with these questions and their subsidiary issues. However, as Sean Duffy has pointed out, despite his 'keen eye for nuance', Davies' arguments often underestimate the significance of the various sources for local loyalties – and this is an issue which family case studies such as this are best placed to address. ³²

David Walker's *Medieval Wales* (1990), and A. D. Carr's *Medieval Wales* (1995) both consider Marcher lordships, but again only in very general terms.³³ Walker puts more emphasis on the colonial perspective, and notes a clear succession of families rising to prominence in South Wales. He also dealt briefly with the question of custom and liberties, although mainly to expound rather than expand on trends of thought and conclusions. Carr took a different approach, devoting the first chapter to historiography, then proceeded to discuss the impact of the Normans upon the socio-political and ecclesiastical landscape.

Less general in scope and concentrating upon rebellion, assimilation and the urban experience in Wales is Ralph A. Griffiths' *Conquerors and Conquered in Medieval Wales*. ³⁴ Griffiths' focus is on the Welsh rulers, their rebellions and the impact of conquest upon major population centres in Wales. Geographically he concentrates on

³¹ R. R. Davies, *The First English Empire: Power and Identities in the British Isles 1093-1343*, (Oxford, 2000)

³² Sean Duffy, 'Review of *The First English Empire: Power and Identities in the British Isles, 1093-1343*, by R. R. Davies', *English Historical Review*, 118:475, (Feb., 2003), 132-134

³³ David Walker, *Medieval Wales*, (Cambridge, 1990); A. D. Carr, *Medieval Wales*, (London, 1995)

³⁴ Ralph A. Griffiths, *Conquerors and Conquered in Medieval Wales*, (New York, 1994)

native-ruled Wales, or *Pura Wallia*, as opposed to the borderlands where my own research is largely based.

In terms of twenty-first century scholarship, there are a few which focus upon the areas in this study. Brock Holden's *Lords of the Central Marches: English Aristocracy and Frontier Society, 1087-1265*, is one such work, an expansion of the research begun in the article in the *Welsh History Review*. 35

William de Cantilupe was added into the Middle March during this time period, but Holden does not elaborate greatly on his presence there, focusing largely on the de Braose, Baskerville and Devereaux families. Again, more will be said of such individual family studies below.

One of the most recent works on the March of Wales is Max Lieberman's *The Medieval March of Wales: the Creation and Perception of a Frontier, 1066-1283*, (Cambridge, 2010), essentially an expansion of his earlier publication, *The March of Wales 1067-1300: A Borderland of Medieval Britain*, (Cardiff, 2008). Lieberman understandably picks up many of the threads and themes explored by R. R. Davies, and indeed, relies heavily on Davies's works. *The Medieval March of Wales* focuses upon the Shropshire barons (including the Corbets) as typical Marchers, expanding upon Davies's opinion that Shropshire provided the paradigm for the March and that these border lands are the ideal microcosm for the historian to discover trends and patterns of lordship which can be more widely applied. While the focus on the Corbets here in my own study is partly a continuation of such Shropshire-centric research, the intention here is to examine the Corbets in their capacity as a powerful family of middling status set against the more powerful (but still not quite 'magnate' stature) Cantilupes.

³⁵ Brock Holden, *Lords of the Central Marches: English Aristocracy and Frontier Society, 1087-1265*, (Oxford, 2008); Holden, 'The Making of the Middle March of Wales, 1066-1250', *Welsh History Review*, 20:2 (2000), 207-226.

Similarly, Brock Holden's work, *Lords of the Central Marches* is focused upon the greater magnates and the 'Hereford affinity' in particular, making it an excellent contextual work in terms of this present study on 'old' and 'new' men living in what was still a 'frontier zone' at the start of the thirteenth century.

The term 'frontier' appears repeatedly in Marcher scholarship. As such, the March is considered a legitimate and important part of frontier studies, which means that the historiographical concept of a 'frontier' must be taken into consideration.

Frontiers were first properly considered by American historians and pioneered by F. J. Turner, whose research coined the term 'Turnerism'. 36 Of course, a 'frontier' can mean many different things depending on the perspective. In the American sense, frontiers are not necessarily expanding, but recognised as 'zones of transition between a settled and an unsettled area, or by extension, between civilisations'. The question of differentiation now comes into focus. Lord Curzon distinguished between 'frontiers of separation' and 'frontiers of contact', while Giles Constable has noted that often there is no such distinction; what acted as a 'divider' on one level could also draw people together on another.³⁸ Daniel Power has noted that a number of German historians have also posited the need to recognise differentiation. They have distinguished between 'frontiers (Trennungsgrenzen) of separation' and 'converging frontiers',

³⁶ See, F. J. Turner, *The Frontier in American History*, (New York, 1962); for the debate it has engendered, see also George Wilson Pierson, 'The Frontier and American Institutions: a Criticism of the Turner Theory', *New England Quarterly*, 15:2, (Jun., 1942), 224-255; Allan G. Bogue, 'Frederick Jackson Turner Reconsidered', *The History Teacher*, 27:2, (Feb., 1994), 195-221; Patricia Nelson Limerick, *The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West*, (New York, 1987), and Richard C. Wade, *The Urban Frontier: The Rise of Western Cities*, 1790-1830, (University of Illinois Press, 1996)

³⁷ Daniel Power, *The Norman Frontier in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*, (Cambridge, 2004), p. 2 ³⁸ Ibid. n. 3; Giles Constable, 'Frontiers in the Middle Ages', *Frontiers in the Middle Ages: Proceedings of the Third European Congress of Medieval Studies*, ed. O. Merisalo with the collaboration of P. Pahta, (Louvain-la-Neuve, 2006), 3-28, p. 6

(Zusammenwachsgrenzen), which implies a merging of boundary zones.³⁹ This goes

further even than Constable's idea of points of contact, leaning more into Eduardo

Manzano Moreno's suggestions of 'unstable' and 'enclosing', which are very much

European phenomenon and emerge from his work on Medieval Adalusia. 40

Power warns that the term 'frontier', in its current usage, evokes a variety of

concepts which are not necessarily helpful when considering the regions in question. It

implies 'zones of strong contrasts, usually located at the limits of colonisation and

settlement', either literally or metaphorically. This is something which is hardly

accurate for the Welsh March throughout the entire period in question, as during this

period the lordships were firmly rooted in many respects, pushing the 'frontier' further

and further into mid and upland Wales. Since this is very much a human study not an

abstract concept, the notion of 'frontiers' in this case must be set against the specific

background of particular people in particular regions.

A survey of family studies and the contribution they have made to the field

would therefore be beneficial.

Family Studies: An Overview

There is a large Family Studies historiography, and many thirteenth century

family studies have forged the way in terms of the questions and perspectives that

should be considered. They have explored how such micro-studies relate to and inform

macro-studies, exploring how local society was perceived and how this informs our

understanding of their world. The intent here is to marry the family case study to

³⁹ Daniel Power, *The Norman Frontier*, p. 2, n. 3

⁴⁰ Eduardo Manzano Moreno, 'Las fuentes árabes sobre la conquista de al-Andalus: una nueva interpretación', Hispania, 59:2:202 (1999), 389-432.

⁴¹ Daniel Power, *The Norman Frontier*, p. 5.

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Marcher historiography, in order for the one to illuminate the other. In order to view the Welsh March through the lens of the families it attracted and sustained, or the families through the lens of the Welsh March, objectivity must be sustained.

Peter Novick has stated that '[w]hatever patterns exist in history are "found", not "made", and this has informed and inspired critical debates about objectivity in history since the late 1980s. 42 While the family case studies listed here are not all necessarily concerned with the discovery of patterns, but are also concerned with the constructed, deconstructed and reconstructed narratives of family history, in this context the "found" patterns under discussion are more vehicles for wider hypotheses and their objective applications. 43

Antiquarians and family historians paved the way for studies into the medieval past by tracing their families' ascent to nobility and justifying their claims to land and titles. Family Studies have greatly evolved through the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, due not least to the evolution and development of social theory and understanding of what a family is, and its place in the study of culture and anthropology. The work of Frédéric Le Play, one of the most misunderstood and neglected fathers of sociology according to George Bekker, sought to establish an applied 'science of society' which is particularly relevant for historians of Family Studies. Le Play's 1871 work, L'Organisation de la Famille, selon le Vrai Modèle signalè par l'Histoire de Toutes les Races et de tous les Temps, is self-consciously wide-ranging in scope and application, and has remained hugely influential in the

⁴² Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream*, (Cambridge University Press, 1988), p. 1.

⁴³ For more on the debates surrounding historical objectivity, see: Martin Bunzl, *Real History: Reflections on Historical Practice*, (Taylor & Francis, 1998), and Peter Burke, *History and Social Theory*, (Cornell University Press, 2005).

⁴⁴ For example, Sir John Wynn wrote his family history with the object of glorifying his family: see, Sir John Wynn, *The History of the Gwydir Family and Memoirs*, Welsh Classics Series 4, ed. J. G. Jones, (Llandusul, 1990).

⁴⁵ George Bekker, 'Review: *Frédéric Le Play: On Family, Work and Social Change*, ed. Caroline Boddard Silver', *Contemporary Sociology*, 12:6 (Nov. 1983), 684-5, p. 684.

development of sociological constructs of the family, applied to various points in history.⁴⁶

While Le Play looked to England for his famille-souche, or stem-family, the study of lineage has been more the preserve of Franco-German historiography.⁴⁷ Georges Duby is a key figure here, and his dissertation La Société aux XIe et XIIe Siècles dans la Région Mâconnaise remains the most influential of his works. 48 As Marcus Bull points out, one of the 'most striking' lessons to emerge from Duby's pioneering work was that 'it is impossible to frame conclusions that apply consistently across both space and time'. 49 Bull's application of this lesson to the French aristocracy of the eleventh and twelfth centuries demonstrated that while some general regional patterns are possible to identify, numerous subtle but significant differences exist in various contexts across France for this two hundred year period. 50 Jean Flori, Jean-Pierre Poly and Eric Bournazel have all discussed regional studies, and their work contains useful synopses of these findings.⁵¹ With the emphasis on England for the later period of 1199-1300, the same is true. Although lineage has not been greatly discussed as such for the English context, there still exist some important local and regional case studies which draw upon the family as a means of illuminating wider concerns. What has been discussed more thoroughly for England by British and American historians, rather than lineage, is prosopography, with the Michigan-based journal Medieval

⁴⁶ Frédéric Le Play, L'Organisation de la Famille, selon le Vrai Modèle signalè par l'Histoire de Toutes les Races et de tous les Temps, (Paris, 1871), especially Ch. 1.

⁴⁷ David Crouch, 'The Historian, Lineage and Heraldry', *Heraldry, Pageantry and Social Display in Medieval England*, eds. Peter R. Coss and Maurice Keen, (Woodbridge, 2002), 17-38, p. 26.

⁴⁸ Georges Duby, La Sociátá aux YLa et YLa Siècles dans la Pácion Mâconnaire, (Paris, 1953, 2nd od.

⁴⁸ Georges Duby, *La Société aux XIe et XIIe Siècles dans la Région Mâconnaise*, (Paris, 1953, 2nd edn. 1971)

⁴⁹ Marcus Bull, 'The French Aristocracy and the Future, *c*.1000-*c*.1200', *Medieval Futures: Attitudes to the Future in the Middle Ages*, eds. J. A. Burrow and Ian P. Wei, (Woodbridge, 2000), 83-100, p. 86. ⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ See: Jean Flori, *L'Essor de la Chevalerie XIe-XIIe siècles*, Travaux d'Histoire Éthico-Politique, 46 (Geneva, 1986) pp. 20-35, 119-41; Jean-Pierre Poly and Eric Bournazel, *The Feudal Transformation 900-1200*, trans. Caroline Higgitt, (New York, 1991), pp. 9-45, 87-118, cited in Bull, 'The French Aristocracy and the Future, *c.* 1000-*c.* 1200', *Medieval Futures*, p. 86 fn. 9.

Prosopography being founded in 1980.⁵²

Of course, it should be noted that Family Studies are not limited to the study of the gentry, royalty and aristocracy, but also has a considerably important role in the peasant studies, where prosopography and demographic studies play a key role. Zvi Ravi and Richard M. Smith in particular are among those who have produced important work in the demographic area, particularly for the fourteenth century, but again, the Marcher-specific studies are far fewer in number, as are thirteenth century family studies.⁵³

The differences in the economic, political and socio-cultural identities of the English counties throughout the turbulence of the thirteenth century make any wideranging geographical study challenging, even for a study of the gentry. Yet the families who had interests in multiple counties therefore had a broad and complex web of networks to draw upon – personal, territorial, economic and spiritual. While case studies of individual geographic regions can reveal a great deal about an area, as has been shown in the regional studies listed above in the survey of Marcher scholarship, to gain a broader understanding of the ways in which individuals impacted these regions, one must consider the context of these individuals. This is where Family Studies as a discipline comes into its own: Michael Burtscher, for example, has written a study on the FitzAlans, a family with a strong Marcher heritage, demonstrating the importance of using family perspectives to shed light on 'national' events.⁵⁴ In a similar way, this thesis intends to shed light on attitudes towards the March of Wales from two different

⁵² Medieval Prosopography, eds. Bernard S. Bachrach, George T. Beech, Amy Livingstone and Joel T. Rosenthal, was founded in 1980, combining the methodologies of social science and social history.

⁵³ See, Zvi Ravi, Life, Marriage and Death in a Medieval Parish: Economy, Society and Demography in

Halesowen, 1270-1400, (Cambridge, 1980); Richard Smith has written several articles on manorial courts, tenants and marriage processes, with a focus on the English peasantry – again, these tend to be focused on the later part of the thirteenth century and early to mid fourteenth. See for example, L. R. Poos, Richard M. Smith and Zvi Ravi, 'The Population History of English Medieval Villages: a debate on the use of Manorial Court Records', Medieval Society and the Manor Court, eds. Zvi Ravi and Richard Smith, (Oxford, 1996), 298-368.

⁵⁴ Michael Burtscher, Earls of Arundel and Surrey, Lords of the Welsh Marches (1267-1415), (Logaston Press, 2008).

perspectives – the *curiales* and the Marcher lords – and to consider its impact on family strategy in relation to such wider happenings.

Power through personal networks – the first aspect to be discussed below, in Chapter One – is something which many European historians have sought to understand, taking various approaches. Historians such as Luigi Provero have looked at the witness lists of legal disputes, arguing that the choice of witnesses give evidence of client and kinship networks and can therefore be used to explore the dynamics of local power. 55 Case studies, such as Cristina Pèrez-Alfaro's work on the Velascos of Castile, discuss the connections between nobility and patronage, while other historians, such as Nathaniel Taylor and John B. Freed, have considered the dynasty from within, attempting to reconstruct and deconstruct the self-image of a kin group from the corpus of their codices and extant wills.⁵⁶ Deconstruction of self-representation has been done in a similar way by John Jenkins, whose forthcoming essay on Bishop John Grandisson's careful reimagining of his own success and status for posterity reveals the dangers of taking such self-representation for granted as reality, particularly in a dynastic context.⁵⁷ In a similar way in Chapter One, witness lists and legal cases will be used to discover the kin networks and associations of the families, as well as wardship rights and marital alliances.

'Territory' and 'Economy' tend to go hand-in-hand to a large extent, and the comparative revenue of a particular region, not to mention the access to local and

⁵⁵ Luigi Provero, 'Chi sono i testimoni del signore? Conflitti di potere e azione contadina, tra tattica giudiziaria e sistemi clientelari (secolo XIII)', *Hispania*, 70:2:235 (2010) 391-408.

giudiziaria e sistemi clientelari (secolo XIII), *Hispania*, 70:2:235 (2010) 391-408.

⁵⁶ Cristina Pèrez-Alfaro, 'Nobility and Patronage: the Velascos, a Case-Study', *Land, Power and Society in Medieval Castile: A Study of Behetría Lordship*, eds. Cristina Pèrez-Alfaro and Carlos Estepa Dìez, The Medieval Countryside, 3, (Turnhout, 2009), 177-127; Nathaniel L. Taylor, 'Inheritance of Power in the house of Guifred the Hairy: Contemporary Perspectives on the Formation of a Dynasty', *The Experience of Power in Medieval Europe*, 950-1350, eds. Robert F. Berkhofer III, Alan Cooper and Adam J. Kosto, (Ashgate, 2005), 129-151; John B. Freed, 'The Creation of the *Codex Falkensteinensis* (1166): Self-Representation and Reality', *Representations of Power in Medieval Germany*, 800-1500, eds. Björn Weiler and Simon MacLean, International Medieval Research, 16, (Turnhout, 2006), 189-210.

⁵⁷ John Jenkins, ''Despite the Prohibition of the Lord Bishop…', John Grandisson and the Illusion of Episcopal Power', unpublished paper given at '*In the Hands of God's Servants*': *The Power of the Bishop in Western Europe 1000-1400*, Cardiff University, 23 May 2013, transactions forthcoming.

regional trade networks, is what made certain manors more desirable than others. In Chapter Two, these aspects will therefore be considered together. Historiographically, territorial expansion and the socio-political means of territorial control have been discussed by historians such as Pierre Bauduin, Daniel Power, and Philippe Maurice.⁵⁸ Work has been done by these historians on the correlation of property, the networks of a family's holdings and the impact that these interests had on the nature of that family's power, all of which are aspects that this study will also seek to address in Chapter Two. In terms of dowry and dower, the contribution of women as agents and, indeed, possessors or wielders of power in a dynastic context have been discussed by many social, gender and family historians, but this study is specifically narrowed to cover the patrilineal lines of the two families under discussion.⁵⁹ This is because the Cantilupe and Corbet wives, widows and daughters would require a separate study in order to view the marital alliances and socio-political, spiritual and economic aspects of family life from their perspectives. Certainly in terms of the Cantilupe women, there is enough material for a separate study of this kind, but this will not be attempted here.

Few studies of the woman's role in the frontier lands of the Welsh March exist,

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⁵⁸ See for example, Pierre Bauduin, 'Une Famille Châtelaine sur les confins Normanno-Manceaux: les Géré (Xe-XIIIe s.)', *Archéologie Médiévale*, 22 (1992) 309-356; Daniel Power, 'Between the Angevin and Capetian courts: John de Bouvray and the knights of the Pays de Bray, 1180-1225', *Family Trees and the Roots of Politics: The Prosopography of Britain and France from the Tenth to the Twelfth Century*, ed. Katherine S. B. Keats-Rohan, (Woodbridge, 1997), 361-384; Power, "*Terra regis Anglie et terra Normannorum sibi invicem adversantur*": Les Héritages Anglo-Normands entre 1204 et 1244', *La Normandie et l'Angleterre au Moyen Age. Colloque de Cerisy-la-Salle (4-7 octobre 2001). Actes*, eds. Pierre Bouet and Véronique Gazeau, (Caen, 2003), 189-209; Philippe Maurice, 'Les limites de l'autorité paternelle face aux droits patrimoniaux dans le Gévaudan médiéval (fin XIIIe-fin XVe siècles)', *Cahiers de recherches médiévales (XIIIe-XVe siècles)*, 4 (1997) 31-40.

See: Elizabeth Haluska-Rausch, 'Transformations in the Powers of Wives and Widows near Montpellier, 985-1213', *The Experience of Power in Medieval Europe*, eds. Berkhofer III, Cooper and Kosto, 153-168; Emma Cavell, 'Aristocratic Widows and the Medieval Welsh Frontier: the Shropshire Evidence', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th ser., 17 (2007), 57-82; Cavell, 'The Burial of Noblewomen in Thirteenth-Century Shropshire' in Janet Burton, Phillipp Schofield, Karen Stöber and Björn Weiler (eds), *Thirteenth-Century England XI. Proceedings of the Gregynog Conference 2005* (2007), 174-92; Pauline Stafford, 'La Mutation Familiale: A Suitable Case for Caution', *The Community, the Family and the Saint: Patterns of Power in Early Medieval Europe. Selected Proceedings of the International Medieval Congress, University of Leeds, 4-7 July 1994, 10-13 July 1995*, eds. Joyce Hill and Mary Swan, (Turnhout, 1998), 103-125; Jo Ann Macnamara and Suzanne F. Wemple, 'The Power of Women through the Family in Medieval Europe 500-1100', *Women and Power in the Middle Ages*, eds. Mary Erler and Maryanne Kowaleski, (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1988), 83-101.

even within the discipline of Gender Studies. More generally, however, the roles of women in law, marriage and positions of power have been considered extensively. ⁶⁰

Emma Cavell's work also builds upon the work of R. R. Davies, the contextual springboard for her own research. She assesses the effect of the militarized sociopolitical landscape of the March on the women who were to manage and govern lands and castles in the region. She notes that the dower of such widows usually always comprised of lands a significant distance from the border where skirmishes and raids were an ever-present threat, and never taken from the family's principle power centres, which would undermine their military and defensive integrity. The importance of power centres and choice of lands is an aspect which will be considered in Chapter Two, where the pattern of territorial networks will be analysed.

Chapter Three will be looking at the connection between the families and their religious donations and patterns of patronage. This too is a theme which fits broadly into the current historiographical trends, but which relies upon the previous chapters to give it context. Once again, the role of patronage and family strategy or family power has been discussed on an international scale. Jonathon Rotundo-McCord, for example, has written on the Rhenish Count Palatine Ezzo and his family, re-examining the premise that the foundation of monasteries on family lands was to provide the family with burial sites as an expression of familial solidarity. Claudia Bolgia has also discussed the idea of Roman families using their family chapels to establish social status, and this connection between religious activity and family power has been

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⁶⁰ See, for a few examples: Elisabeth van Houts, 'Inter-marriage in eleventh century England', *Normandy and its Neighbours 900-1200: Essays for David Bates*, eds. David Crouch and Kathleen Thompson, Medieval Texts and Cultures of Europe 14, (Turnhout, 2011), 237-270; van Houts, 'Gender and Authority of oral witnesses in Europe (800-1300)', *TRHS* ser. 6, 9 (1999), 201-220; Sue Sheridan Walker, 'The Feudal Family and the Common Law Courts: the pleas protecting the rights of Wardship and Marriage, c.1225-1375', *Journal of Medieval History*, 14:1, (1988), 13-31.

⁶¹ Emma Cavell, 'Aristocratic widows and the medieval Welsh frontier: The Shropshire evidence', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th ser., 17 (2007) 57-82, p. 81

⁶² Jonathon Rotundo-McCord, 'Locum sepulturae meae...elegi: property, graves, and sacral power in eleventh-century Germany', Viator: Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 26 (1995), 77-106.

discussed further in Emilia Jamroziak and Janet Burton's collection of essays, *Religious and Laity in Western Europe 1000-1400*.⁶³ In this collection, Kim Esmark discussed religious patronage and family consciousness in relation to Sorø Abbey, while in the same volume Karen Stöber has considered similar questions to those raised by Rotundo-McCord, but in relation to the March of Wales.⁶⁴ Emma Cavell has also discussed family associations to particular foundations in the Welsh March in her article 'Kinship, Piety and Locality: the Mussons of Uppington and the Priory of Wombridge in Thirteenth Century Shropshire'.⁶⁵ Burtscher, in his family study of the FitzAlans, similarly argues that where a family chooses to be buried indicates shifts of interests from one area to another, and that interests may also swing back and forth with marriages and inheritances.⁶⁶ The correlation between centres of family power and their patterns of donations, foundations and advowsons will be examined further here in Chapter Three.

Chapter Four considers the visual representations and expressions of power, and while the historiography of heraldry, sigillography and castle archaeology will be briefly considered in the introduction of the chapter, the third section concerns the demography of the respective *familiae*, as opposed to the nucleated family structure. Many studies on this structure have already been produced, and J. C. Holt's influential 1972 study of Anglo-Norman successions remains one of the most thought-provoking

⁶³ Claudia Bolgia, 'Ostentation, power and family competition in late-medieval Rome: the earliest chapels at S. Maria in Aracoeli', *Aspects of Power and Authority in the Middle Ages*, eds. Brenda Bolton and Christine Meek, International Medieval Research, 14, (Turnhout, 2007), 73-106.

⁶⁴ Karen Stöber, 'Bequests and burials: changing attitudes of the laity as patrons of English and Welsh monasteries' *Religious and Laity in Western Europe 1000-1400: Interaction, Negotiation and Power*, eds. Emilia Jamroziak and Janet Burton, (Turnhout, 2006), 131-146; Kim Esmark, 'Religious patronage and family consciousness: Sorø Abbey and the "Hvide family c. 1150-1250', *Religious and Laity in Western Europe 1000-1400*, 93-110.

⁶⁵ Cavell, 'Kinship, Piety and Locality: the Mussons of Uppington and the Priory of Wombridge in Thirteenth-Century Shropshire' in Janet Burton and Karen Stöber (eds), *The Regular Canons in the Medieval British Isles*, Medieval Church Studies 19 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), pp. 355-75.

⁶⁶ Burtscher, Earls of Arundel and Surry, p. 146.

and relevant to the reconstruction of the eleventh and twelfth century family. 67

Beyond considerations of succession and the problems of multiple sons and divisive cadet branches, all of which were issues which plagued the Cantilupes and Corbets throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, there is the issue of family composition and kinship, what (or rather, who) composed the family unit, and, from a Gender Studies perspective, the relationships between male and female kin. Most recently general studies such as Peter Fleming's Family and Household in Medieval England, Constance Rousseau and Joel Rosenthal's essay collection, Women, Marriage and Family in Medieval Christendom, and Cathy Jorgensson Itnyre's essay collection, Medieval Family Roles: A Book of Essays, have all recently sought to address the questions of Medieval family life in a variety of ways, with the emphasis on the nucleation of the married couple and their children.⁶⁸ However, these studies tend to paint with a broad brush, looking at how medieval families operated, and exploring family and social norms across the period. Fleming's book, in particular, is a summary of recent research on the family and household from 1066-c1520, and in it he discusses marriage patterns, and the networks of relationships between kin as well as the relationships between the 'nuclear' family members, such as spouses, and parents and children.⁶⁹ While the book contains a useful bibliography and summarizes the historiographical trends and debates, it is not in itself an attempt to examine the family in new or original ways, but is intended more as an overview of the topic in general terms. It does not, for example, discuss the household economy, focusing rather on marriage and the consequent relationship between husband and wife as the pivotal point around which the family and household revolved. On the other hand, essay collections

⁶⁷ J. C. Holt, 'Politics and Property in Early Medieval England', *Past and Present*, 57 (1972), 3-52.

⁶⁸ See: Peter Fleming, *Family and Household in Medieval England*, (Palgrave Macmillan, 2001); Constance Rousseau and Joel T. Rosenthal eds., *Women, Family and Marriage in Medieval Christendom*, (Kalamazoo, 1998); C. Jorgensson Itnyre, *Medieval Family Roles: A Book of Essays*, (New York, 1996).

⁶⁹ Miriam C. Davis, 'Review: Peter Fleming, Family and Household in Medieval England', Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies, 34:2 (2002), 269-271.

such as Harlaxton Symposium's *Family and Dynasty* have highlighted several areas of interest and raised interesting questions for the furtherance of the discipline. David Herlihy's article, 'The Making of the Medieval Family: Symmetry, Structure, and Sentiment', also goes some way to discussing the kinds of households and relationships that the medieval family displayed, and essentially argues that it is possible to talk of 'the medieval family', since, from the Carolingian period, it was possible to see the same kind of household forming up and down the social scale, with a more distinctive structure for the elite forming from the twelfth century onwards. Herlihy's arguments imply that the Cantilupe and Corbet households, despite their differences in context and social standing, even geographical location, would also be very similar in composition and cohesion. This will be something that will be picked up on in Chapter Four, but in brief – to discuss every aspect of 'what makes a family' during this period would be to embark on a far wider and far lengthier study than this present discussion allows.

Many other specific family studies exist, which have attempted to shed light on various aspects of medieval life through the lens of a particular kinship group. Among the lesser known gentry families of England who have received individual treatment are the de Langelys, the Malyns, the Bodrugans, the Trillowes, the Seagraves, and the Multons; some given fuller academic consideration than others.⁷² The Trillowe study, for example, is a self-published research endeavour by Howard Trillo, presumably a descendent, while the Seagraves and Malyns have only been considered in unpublished

⁷⁰ Richard Eales and Shaun Tyas, eds., *Family and Dynasty in Late Medieval England: proceedings of the* 1997 Harlaxton Symposium, (Donnington, 2003).

⁷¹ David Herlihy, 'The Making of the Medieval Family: Symmetry, Structure and Sentiment', *Journal of Family History*, 8 (June, 1983), 116-130.

⁷² Beryl Schumer, *The de Langley Family: Medieval Foresters*, (Wychwoods Local History Society, 1995); John E. Titterton, *The Malyns Family: Medieval Manorial Lords*, unpublished PhD thesis, (University of Oxford, 1985); James Whetter, *The Bodrugans: A Study of a Cornish Medieval Knightly Family*, (Gorran, St Austell, 1995); Howard Trillo, *The Trillowes of Chastleton: A Medieval Oxfordshire Family*, (Ellesmere Howard Trillo, rev. ed. 2011, originally published through the Oxfordshire Family History Society, 1984); Samantha Letters, *The Seagrave Family c.1160-1295*, with an edition of the Seagrave Cartulary, unpublished PhD thesis, King's College London, (University of London, 1997); Peter R. Coss, *The Foundations of Gentry Life: The Multons of Frampton and Their World 1270-1370*, (Oxford, 2010).

PhD theses. By contrast, the Multons of Frampton have been placed in the wider context of the gentry studies undertaken by Peter R. Coss, and the Bodrugans have been discussed in an academic biographical study in the same vein as Michael Altschul's study of the de Clares, Mark Hagger's study of the de Verduns, or Michael Burtscher's study of the FitzAlans.⁷³

This historiographical context provides the background for a deeper survey of the two families under consideration here, set in the context of Marcher Studies (discussed above).

As far as families of the March are concerned, several studies have been produced, but none so far on the Corbets except Janet Meisel's work and Augusta E. Corbet's two volume family history (1914-18), which will be examined later, and none solely focused on the Cantilupes that I have been able to find. As already mentioned above, Mark Hagger has produced a study on the de Verduns, charting their fortunes in England, Ireland and Wales.⁷⁴ Ultimately, according to Burtscher, an aristocrat's main aim was the preservation of the inheritance and the ability to pass it down the chain to the next generation, at least intact and preferably increased.⁷⁵ The 'success' of other families can therefore be measured against the same rod, and indeed have been.

As a family, the Mortimers have also received consistent attention; academic interest in the Mortimers of Wigmore goes back as far as 1939, although such interest has been mainly confined to articles.⁷⁶ Charles Hopkinson and Martin Speight published

Wales, (Dublin, 2001); Michael Burtscher, Earls of Arundel and Surrey, Lords of the Welsh Marches (1267-1415), (Logaston Press, 2008).

74 Mark S. Hagger, The Fortunes of a Norman Family: the de Verduns in England, Ireland and Wales,

⁷³ Michael Altschul, A Baronial Family in Medieval England: the de Clares 1217-1314, (Baltimore, 1965); Mark S. Hagger, The Fortunes of a Norman Family: the de Verduns in England, Ireland and Wales. (Dublin, 2001): Michael Burtscher, Earls of Arundel and Surrey, Lords of the Welsh Marches

⁷⁴ Mark S. Hagger, *The Fortunes of a Norman Family: the de Verduns in England, Ireland and Wales* (Dublin, 2001).
⁷⁵ Ibid. p. 147.

⁷⁶ L. C. Perfect, 'The Mortimers of Wigmore', *Transactions of the Radnorshire Society*, 9 (1939) 4-18; the most recent studies include: Charles Hopkinson, 'The Mortimers of Wigmore 1214-1282', *Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club*, 41:1 (1991) 28-46; Charles Hopkinson, 'The

a somewhat comprehensive book on the family in 2002.⁷⁷ While Peter Corbet (d. 1300) took Joan Mortimer as his first wife, who became the mother of his heir Peter (d. 1322), the Corbets have still received little vicarious attention by Mortimer scholars.

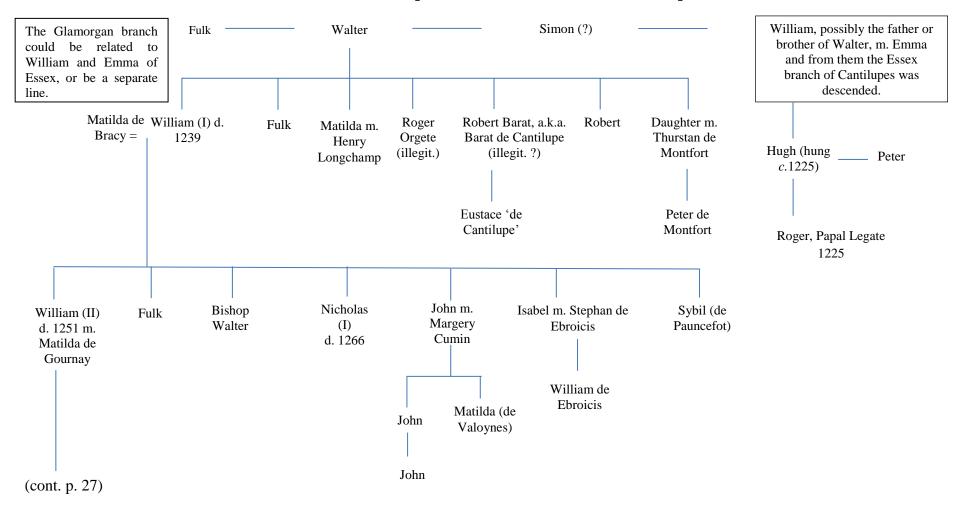
The individual historiography of the Cantilupe and the Corbets will now be discussed in more detail, with genealogical tables prefacing each section.

Mortimers of Wigmore 1282-1330', TWNFC, 48:2 (1995) 303-34; Christopher Given-Wilson, 'Chronicles of the Mortimer Family c. 1250-1450', Family and Dynasty in Late Medieval England: proceedings of the 1997 Harlaxton Symposium, eds. Richard Eales and Shaun Tyas, (Donnington, 2003), 67-86; Paul Remfry, 'The Early Mortimers of Wigmore, 1066-1181', Foundations: Newsletter of the

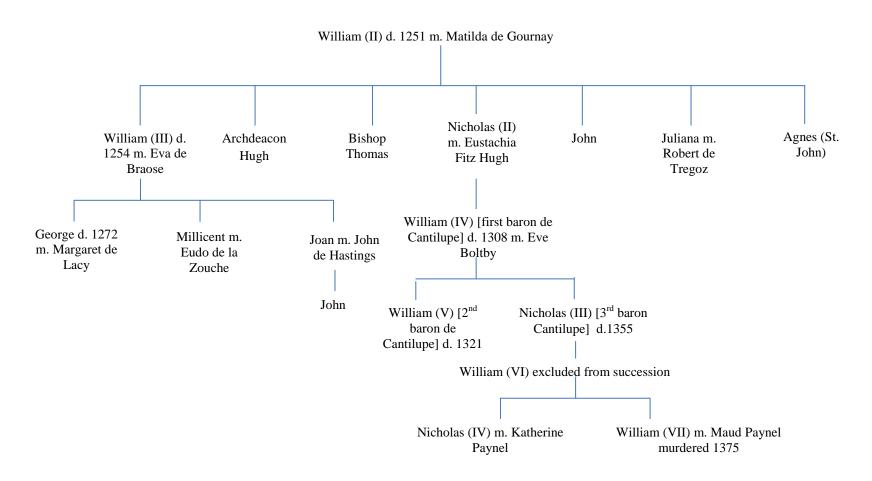
Foundation for Medieval Genealogy, 3:5 (2011) 404-8.

⁷⁷ Charles Hopkinson and Martin Speight, *The Mortimers, Lords of the March*, (Logaston Press, 2002).

CANTILUPES [AND EXTENDED BRANCHES]



CANTILUPES [CONT.]



The Cantilupes

Where the Cantilupes are concerned the historiography is far sparser than for the other families listed above. The Irish tangle of the Cantilupe cadets, established in the west of Kerry and Clare from 1180 or 1195, have been discussed in Miss Hickson's article 'Old Place Names and Surnames (Continued)', in *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries Ireland*, 1892.⁷⁸ This branch of the family will not be discussed here, simply because they will detract from the three generations under consideration. Similarly, the Glamorgan branch who held the castle of Candleston, a corruption of 'Cantlowston', will be considered in relation to their impact on the family strategy of their more prominent kin, but are not in themselves prominent enough in the records to warrant a good comparison with the Corbets.

Despite the lack of general attention, some of the individual family members have received more consistent interest. Bishop Thomas de Cantilupe is undoubtedly the best documented of all his family members. The majority of historians have written on Thomas the saint, rather than Thomas the Bishop or Thomas the man.⁷⁹ He was one of Hereford's more litigious incumbents, yet his legal actions have also been largely passed over. *St. Thomas de Cantilupe Bishop of Hereford: Essays in His Honour* covers his political and academic careers respectively, allowing a single chapter for each, while the rest of the book focuses once more on such topics such as the canonisation process, saint cults and miracles.⁸⁰ Despite Thomas being so proud of his lineage, and Roger of

⁷⁸ Miss Hickson, 'Old Place Names and Surnames (continued)', *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, Fifth Series, 2:4 (Dec., 1892), pp. 389-397.

⁷⁹ The most recent of the articles regarding St. Thomas de Cantilupe is R. C. Finucane, 'Authorising the Supernatural: An Examination of some English Manors around 1318', *Aspects of Power and Authority in the Middle Ages*, eds. Brenda Bolton and Christine Meek, (Turnhout: Brepolis, 2007), pp. 289-303; see also R. Bartlett, *The Hanged Man: A Story of Miracle, Memory and Colonialism in the Middle Ages*, (Princeton, 2004).

⁸⁰ See: Meryl Jancey, ed., *St. Thomas de Cantilupe Bishop of Hereford: Essays in His Honour*, (Hereford, 1982); David A. Carpenter contributed with 'St Thomas de Cantilupe: His Political Career', pp. 57-72, and Jeremy Catto contributed with 'The Academic Career of Thomas Cantilupe', pp. 45-55

Wendover's assertion that the Cantilupe were among the 'evil councillors' of King John, the only other member of the family to receive consistent attention (and that meagre) was Walter, Thomas's uncle, who was Bishop of Worcester. 81 Joseph Goering and Daniel S. Taylor co-authored an article on the latter, purporting to have discovered the 'lost' treatise Omnias Etas of Walter. 82 Walter's ecclesiastical career was also the subject of Philippa Hoskin's article 'Diocesan Politics in the See of Worcester 1218-1266' in the Journal of Ecclesiastical History. 83 Hoskin compares the failure of William of Blois with the success of Walter de Cantilupe, arguing that the differences in approach were actually minimal despite their differences in attitude, and that Walter's success was more to do with the shift in the politics of the day as the minority drew to a close.⁸⁴ However, even among the administrative and judicial literature, it is hard to find more than a passing mention. Ralph V. Turner's work, Men Raised From The Dust: Administrative Service and Upward Mobility in Angevin England, is one such example. Turner focuses narrowly upon a selection of administrators including Stephen de Seagrave, but the king's seneschal is overlooked in favour of his contemporaries.⁸⁵ Nevertheless, Turner's snapshot insights into the careers of such men are of great importance for any similar study, and so are the methods and conclusions of other family studies of this sort.

Indeed, the only serious and lengthy consideration of the family's administrative career to my knowledge can be found in David Bruce Carr's unpublished 1975 thesis,

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⁸¹ English Episcopal Acta 35: Hereford 1234-1275, ed. Julia Barrow, (Oxford, 2009), p. xlviii

⁸² Joseph Goering and Daniel S. Taylor, 'The *Summulae* of Bishops Walter de Cantilupe (1240) and Peter Quinel (1287)', *Speculum: A Journal of Medieval Studies*, 67:3 (1992) 576-594.

⁸³ Philippa Hoskin, 'Diocesan Politics in the See of Worcester 1218-1266', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 54:3, (2003) 422-440.

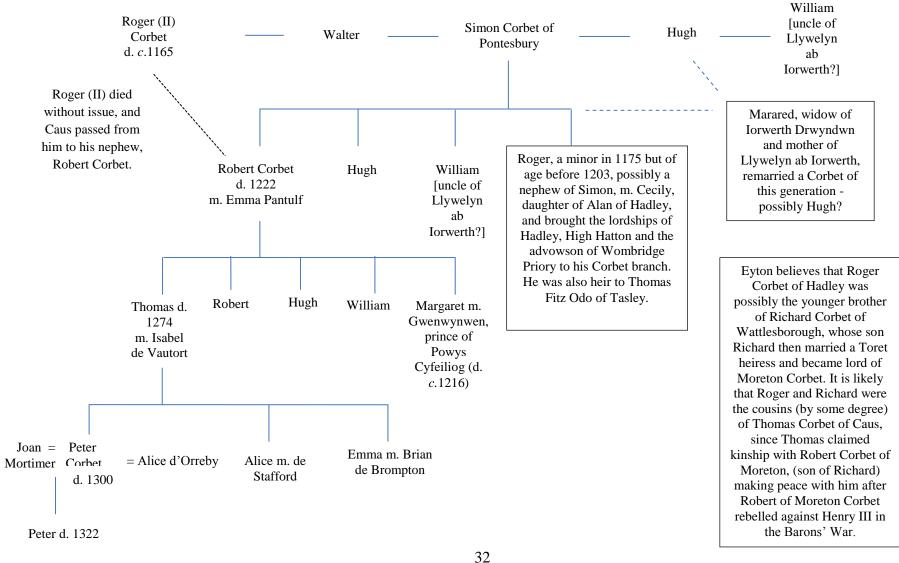
⁸⁵ Ralph V. Turner, Men Raised from the Dust: Administrative Service and Upward Mobility in Angevin England, (Philidelphia, 1988).

Amici Regis: Administrative Personnel under Henry III of England, 1216-1258. 6 Carr includes the de Cantilupe in his sample of administrative families, comparing their career with others in his sample such as the Seagraves, setting it into socio-political context and evaluating the impact their careers had on their acquisitional and marital successes. However, Carr dealt with a large sample of families, so it was not possible for him to adequately explore every facet of their lives and barely touches upon their Marcher status or its impact on their power and family strategy. There is so little specific secondary literature, in fact, that where it comes to the Cantilupe there will necessarily be a great deal more primary than historiographical material used in the chapters concerning them.

Given the importance of William (I) and William (II) de Cantilupe in terms of their political and judicial careers, it is surprising that so little has been done. Not only would a Cantilupe-centric study reveal a great deal about the nature of power and contribute to a more comprehensive, cross-generational view of the Angevin court, but would also materially contribute to an area of Marcher studies also overlooked. Considerations of the 'new men' of the March in the thirteenth century have largely been limited to the greater men – and consequently this study will be examining this section of society from a lesser-considered angle.

⁸⁶ David Bruce Carr, *Amici Regis: Administrative Personnel under Henry III of England 1216-1258*, unpublished thesis (1975), authorised facsimile produced 1979 by University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor, Michigan, USA.

CORBETS OF CAUS [AND EXTENDED BRANCHES]



The Corbets

Where it comes to scholarship focusing on the Corbets, aside from Augusta Corbet's family history, which often reports unsubstantiated family myths as fact, there are only two main works which deal with this family to any great extent. Janet Meisel and Max Lieberman have both focused on the Corbets in their studies of Marcher life and power, but have come to remarkably different conclusions regarding them. Meisel, who compares the Corbets to the Pantulfs and FitzWarins in her book Barons of the Welsh Frontier, concludes that Thomas Corbet (d. 1274) successfully claimed and maintained exemptions from royal authority which should not have been possible in the thirteenth century.⁸⁷ The Corbets take up two chapters of her book, one on the family itself which paints a broad but helpful picture of the sprawling web of relationships, the other detailing the territorial gains of the family from 1066 to 1272. She views the family as being one of the more powerful in terms of influence regardless of their relative obscurity, whereas Lieberman's article paints them as marginalised and unsuccessful in the wielding of Marcher power and privilege. While Meisel comes to some rather exaggerated views of their importance, giving the Marcher lords as a group (including the lesser barons of whom little is known) a far more prominent place on the stage of high politics than is justified, her research into their lands and scope of their authority is the first comprehensive study of the family since their patchy and mainly descriptive appearances in Eyton's Antiquities of Shropshire.

Lieberman, by contrast, leans in the opposite direction when assessing the Corbets' political importance. According to Lieberman's argument, the Corbets *failed* to secure the privileges and liberties grasped by other families because of their

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⁸⁷ Janet Meisel, *Barons of the Welsh Frontier: The Corbet, Pantulfs and FitzWarin Families 1066-1272*, (London, 1980), p. 22.

geographical location (their primary manor of Caus was sandwiched between two royal castles) and the fact that Thomas Corbet drew royal attention to himself and his activities by his persistent usage of the royal courts.⁸⁸ He points out that in 'stark contrast' to Clun and Oswestry, the lords of Caus were made to surrender lands and pay amercements in court, and that Caus was fully considered to be subject to investigation during Henry III's inquest into royal rights and Edward I's quo warranto inquiry.⁸⁹ Thomas Corbet's actions were essentially an attempt to secure Marcher liberties within his own lordship. That two polarised views exist based on the same body of evidence reveals the contentiousness of Marcher liberties and power. The clerks of the royal chancery characterised these liberties by declaring a Marcher lord was to exercise 'all royal rights, prerogatives and customs belonging to royal lordships, and all royal courts and other jurisdictions, ... an authentic seal for commissions, writs and warrants, and power of appointing justices to hold sessions in eyre and other sessions and courts'. 90 These were the powers the Corbets strove for and actively attempted to get away with wielding, and the powers the Cantilupes coveted. However, 'power' is not merely a legal definition; it is also propagated through perception of its legality, regardless of its actual legality, and maintained by the lack of an adequate challenge to its exercise. With this in mind, while he rightly assesses the limitations of the Corbet lordship, Lieberman's work does not fully explore the nature of horizontal and vertical axes of power which have a bearing on the understanding of liberties, nor does he take the whole gamut of evidence into account.

Similarly, while A. Compton Reeves noted Meisel's emphasis on the Welsh connection as being of primary importance in determining Marcher power and

⁸⁸ Max Lieberman, 'Striving for Marcher Liberties: The Corbets of Caus in the Thirteenth Century', *Liberties and Identities in Later Medieval Britain*, (Woodbridge, 2008), 141-54.

⁸⁹ Lieberman, 'Striving for Marcher Liberties', p. 144.

⁹⁰ R. R. Davies, 'Kings, Lords and Liberties in the March of Wales, 1066-1272', *TRHS* 29 (1979), 41-61, p. 41.

influence, it is argued that her thesis should be tested by further studies. ⁹¹ Yet the thesis of the Welsh connection's primary importance should perhaps be re-examined also where the Corbets are concerned in the light of the opposing conclusions drawn by two Marcher historians. Robert B. Patterson also notes that Meisel's study has some limitations, including the area of baronial affiliations, and this is something that this thesis seeks to address. ⁹²

Historiographically the Corbets are among the more obscure of the Marcher families, despite the relative wealth of primary material concerning their activities from the reign of John onwards. Barbara Coulton's article, 'Moreton Corbet Castle: A House and its Family', concerns the cadet branch of the family, as does O. J. Weaver's article on the same subject. ⁹³ Coulton only takes one page to consider the medieval aspect of the family, and isn't clear on the exact connection between the branches. Elain Harwood, writing in the *English Heritage Historical Review*, also takes Moreton Corbet Castle as her subject. Harwood states that the Corbet dynasty was 'large and complicated'; she adds that Moreton Corbet became the principle seat of the elder branch of the family after Robert Corbet 'the Pilgrim' surrendered Caus to his younger brother and joined the crusades. ⁹⁴ This is an unfortunate adherence to the unsubstantiated family myth that a certain 'Robert Corbet son of Robert Corbet of Caus' was one of the knights at Acre in 1191. ⁹⁵ As Meisel points out, this cannot be true, since Robert son of Robert could not have been old enough and perhaps not even born by this year and she later names Robert's father as Simon, not Robert. Consequently, Harwood

⁹¹ A. Compton Reeves, 'Review: Barons of the Welsh Frontier: The Corbet, Pantulf and FitzWarin Families, 1066-1272 by Janet Meisel, The American Historical Review, 86:4 (Oct., 1981), 824-825.

⁹² Robert B. Patterson, 'Review: *Barons of the Welsh Frontier: The Corbet, Pantulf, and FitzWarin Families, 1066-1272* by Janet Meisel', *Speculum, 57:1* (Jan., 1982), 153-155.

⁹³ Barbara, Coulton, 'Moreton, Corbet, Corbet,

⁹³ Barbara Coulton, 'Moreton Corbet Castle: A House and its Family', *Shropshire History and Archaeology: Transactions of the Shropshire Archaeological and Historical Society*, 70 (1995), 184-190; see also O. J. Weaver, 'Moreton Corbet Castle (SJ 562232)', *Archaeological Journal*, 138 for 1981 (1982), 44-46.

⁹⁴ Elain Harwood, 'Moreton Corbet Castle', *English Heritage Historical Review*, Vol. I, (2006), 37-45.

⁹⁵ Meisel, Barons of the Welsh Frontier, p. 10.

and Coulton's articles are of limited use in the plotting of family history and genealogy, and do not touch on family strategy or power to any significant extent except to note that the existing thirteenth-century architecture reveals that the Moreton Corbets were of some importance in their shire. Weaver adds a little more genealogical information in the first paragraph of his brief archaeological sketch of the castle. Without referencing his sources, he states that Moreton Corbet was originally Moreton Toret, and came to the Corbets via the marriage of 'a Corbet of Wattlesborough' to a Toret heiress. Thus it passed to 'Richard Corbet III' who died c. 1239. Weaver notes that the principle Corbet castle was at Caus, and that in the twelfth-century they still possessed Wattlesborough castle, similar in function and design to Moreton Corbet. ⁹⁶ Aside from the architectural survey and archaeological focus, this is all the information that such articles provide. For other such archaeological discussions regarding the antiquities of Shropshire, $Transactions\ of\ the\ Shropshire\ Historical\ and\ Archaeological\ Society\ is\ a\ good\ source$ for recent developments in archaeological digs around the county.

The only other significant consideration of the Corbet holdings that I can find are two papers centred upon the Gorddwr, the Corbet land across the Severn, although they expanded their Welsh holdings throughout the course of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Both of these appear in the *Montgomeryshire Collections*, the first a discussion of the Gorddwr dispute in the thirteenth-century and of Gwyddgrug castle by C. J. Spurgeon, and the second a discussion of Trewern in Gorddwr, charting its progression from Domesday manor to knight's fief in the period 1086-1311.⁹⁷ These geographically-focused treatises are set in the context of the Welsh occupation of the

⁹⁶ O. J. Weaver, 'Moreton Corbet Castle (SJ 562232)', *Archaeological Journal*, 138 for 1981 (1982), 44-46, p. 44.

⁹⁷ C. J. Spurgeon, 'Gwyddgrug Castle (Forden) and the Gorddwr Dispute in the Thirteenth Century', *Montgomeryshire Collections*, 57 (1963 for 1961-2), 125-36; Richard Morgan, 'Trewern in Gorddwr: Domesday Manor and Knight's Fief, 1086-1311', *Montgomeryshire Collections*, 64 (1976) 121-132.

Gorddwr and as such offer only a narrow view of the Corbet family's socio-political position in the March.

Finally, aside from the brief mention of Alice d'Orreby in Cavell's article, the only other Corbet woman to have received any scholarly attention is Sybil Corbet. Gwenn Meredith considered Sybil in her article 'Henry I's Concubines', examining the political role of the women with whom Henry I had a personal relationship, but unfortunately her life and times lie outside the scope of my particular interest (roughly encompassing the thirteenth century in its entirety). Therefore, aside from Lieberman and Meisel, no recent academic attention has been paid to the Corbets of Caus in their own right as a Marcher family despite their prolific litigious and military activity. They have certainly never been compared with a more prominent, important and politically successful family such as the Cantilupes, and likewise I can find no study which assesses the impact of the March upon opposite ends of the socio-political spectrum (and *vice versa*) side-by-side. In conjunction with the recognised limitations of the studies already conducted upon them, this would suggest that there is scope for the Corbets to be used as a case study one more time.

Methodology and Source Material

Due to the vast amount of material, printed sources have been used where possible, particularly volumes with indices for ease of research. However, in the case of the Cantilupes, whose name boasts of a multitude of spellings, volumes often had to be searched multiple times. The Cantilupes are to be found in the records as, variously, Cant', Cantalupo, Cantel', Cantelupo, Cantilupo, Cantelo, Cantlow, Cantlowe, Cauntelo, Chantelo, Chantilu, Chantilupo, Chantilupo, Kantalupo, Kantelo, Kantelupo,

⁹⁸ Gwenn Meredith, 'Henry I's Concubines', Essays in Medieval Studies, 19 (2002) 14-28

and *Kantilupo*. For the sake of consistency, this thesis will use 'Cantilupe', which is the usual agreed spelling for the later sources and removes the genitive ending 'o', restoring it to the probable nominative form. Similarly, while it is also possible to find 'Corbet' rendered (only very occasionally) in the source material as *Corbeth*, *Corebeth*, *Corebeth* and, later, *Corbett*, only the former spelling will be used.

It may be necessary to pause here and briefly consider how each family will be classified within this study. Throughout this thesis the use of 'national' terms such as 'English' has largely been avoided when referring to the family in ethnographic terms, since the Cantilupes hailed more recently from Normandy and married into families of Norman or Anglo-Norman origin, identifying more strongly with the English possessions after 1204. Geographical association would therefore make them more 'English' after this date, but that does not necessarily account for the primary locus of their cultural, social and linguistic associations and preferences. Such terms are always problematic, and can complicate context when used as they are always imbued with multiple layers of meaning. Conversely, however, 'Welsh' is used in the context of 'native Welsh rulers', not to imply a 'national' cohesion but to emphasise ethnic, socio-political, cultural and linguistic differences between rulers such as Gwenwynwen and Llywelyn ab Iorwerth and the Marcher lords.

The term 'Marcher' is also consistently used, as it is partly the aim of this thesis to discover whether holding land in the March affected concepts of power and identity. These are issues which challenge the concept of whether or not the Marcher lords had a common mentality and sense of identity, regardless of their divisions and differences. It is not so much a term which (erroneously) implies a picture of a homogenous group, but a term which psychologically and geographically encompasses the spectrum of status,

means, landholdings, relative power and authority within and beyond their immediate sphere/caput of their barony, among other considerations.

The corpus of source material is vast and varied. As prominent administrators the Cantilupes naturally have accumulated a great deal more than the Corbets, being found on innumerable witness lists of free warren grants, appearing in or on the court of the king's bench as defendants, prosecutors, attorneys and as justices, and gracing the pages of contemporary chronicles. Not every source will be discussed here, as not every appearance of a Cantilupe name is relevant to the study. Similarly, where the Corbets can be found in several places apparently doing the same kinds of things, not every incident will be examined.

Although the inaccuracies of the Pipe Rolls and the mislabelling of the Liberate Rolls has been noted by Mark Hagger, Nicholas Vincent and David Carpenter, for the sake of convenience such issues will not be given too much consideration in this thesis, unless the inaccuracies of the labelling of a source affect the information within it.⁹⁹ Naturally where necessary the nature of the source has been critiqued, but where potential inaccuracies or obvious contradictions have occurred the information within the chapters have been drawn from a variety of different material. For example, the *Chronica Majora* has been used in conjunction with government sources, to gain a more personal insight into the dynamics of the Cantilupe family. In this case, the *Chronica* passage intimates that Roger de Cantilupe's father was a traitor and hung for his

⁹⁹ See: Mark Hagger, 'Theory and Practice in the Making of the Twelfth Century Pipe Rolls', *Records, Administration and Aristocratic Society in the Anglo-Norman Realm*, ed. Nicholas Vincent, (Boydell Press: Woodbridge, 2009), 45-74; Nicholas Vincent, 'Introduction: The Record of 1204', *Records, Administration and Aristocratic Society*, xiii-xx and D. A. Carpenter, 'In Testimonium Factorum Brevium': The Beginnings of the English Chancery Rolls', *Records, Administration and Aristocratic Society*, 1-28.

treason. The government sources demonstrate the administrative and political impact upon the family, but the *Chronica* reveals a little more of the attitudes to the family from the ecclesiastic quarter. Roger de Cantilupe was the *legistam* for the king at a meeting with his bishops; the bishops were being reprimanded for their closeness to the earl Marshal. Bishop Alexander responded vehemently in their defence, and pointed out the king's own legal representative was himself the son of a traitor who had been hung for his felony. While the *Ann. Mon.* names him as another Roger, only a Hugh de Cantilupe appears in the Close and Patent Rolls for a similar offence, being hung for the murder of John de Goldingham, and that in the 1220s.

The treatment of the secondary material has been similarly weighed against primary evidence, as misunderstandings can often arise regarding Cantilupe landholding patterns and confusion over the three generations of Williams. The *Victoria County History of Bedfordshire* epitomises this in its erroneous account of the history of Eaton Bray:

It is interesting to note that William de Cantlowe married firstly Mascelin daughter of Aldulf de Braci, who held Eaton at farm from 1173 onwards (q.v.), and secondly Millicent daughter of Hugh de Gurnay (*ut infra*) ... William de Cantlowe held Eaton till his death in 1254, when he was succeeded by an heir, described as 'a boy named George, not quite three ',102

The issue here is that firstly, William (I) was *not* married to Millicent de Gournay – she was in fact the wife of his son William (II), and mother of several children including

¹⁰⁰ 'Eodem anno Rogerus de Cantilupo, miles nobilis de Esexsia, accusatus est de pace regis infracta; et duello convictus, et tandem suspensus. Et filii ejus exhaeredati et utlagati.' *Ann. Mon.* iii. p. 95; *Rot. Lit. Claus.*, ii. p. 38.

¹⁰¹ Chron. Maj. iii. p. 268.

¹⁰² VCH Bedford, iii, pp. 369-375, online resource, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=42448&strquery=Cantlowe, accessed 03.05.2013.

William (III), Hugh archdeacon of Gloucester, Thomas bishop of Hereford, Nicholas, John, and Juliana lady of Ewyas. Secondly, it is fairly obvious that the William who died in 1254 leaving behind his three year old son could not possibly be the same man. This is in fact his grandson, William (III). 104

This is but one example of confusion in the sources. I have endeavoured to clarify the generations as far as possible, and to concentrate my focus upon the Williams in question, although in some chapters it is also necessary to include the siblings of each generation in order to contextualise their policies and actions.

In view of said confusion and the various connections between the families, I have attempted a prosopographical survey of their multiple associations, marital and otherwise, in an attempt to show (a) the geopolitical scope of their influence and (b) the impact this may have had on the formulation of their policies. To do this I listed the families and the individuals with whom they are most frequently to be seen on witness lists or at court, and in what capacity. I was then able to map the webs of influence and plot the patterns of connections to see whether their networks of friends, allies, in-laws and even foes or rivals impacted their strategies and patterns of land holding and/or territorial acquisition.

Thus I hope to clarify and untangle some of the tangled networks of relations and associations, but only as far as the scope of this thesis will allow. There is clearly a

William (I) and Matilda/Mascilia/Maud are found in the court rolls: *Cur. Reg.*, iii, pp. 14-15, and later Maud is to be found as *uxor fuit Willelmi de Cantilupo* after 1239 and while William (II) is still living, indicating that this is William (II)'s mother and wife of William (I): *CPR 1247-58*, p. 129; See also: Nona S. Martin, 'The Life of Saint Thomas of Hereford', *Thomas Cantilupe*, ed. Meryl Jancey, 15-19, p. 15; B. W. Holden, 'Cantilupe [Cantelupe], William (II) de (*d.* 1251), *baron and administrator*', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, online resource, <a href="http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4573/4573?back=

¹⁰⁴ Chron. Maj. v, p. 463; Robert Stacey, 'Cantilupe, William (III) de (d. 1254), baron', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, (Oxford University Press, 2004), online resource, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4574?docPos=10 accessed 19.11.12.

great deal more to be learned from a more detailed analysis of such a survey, and this may well form the basis of future research.

The sources themselves also provide the historian with problems, as they are incomplete. One of the reasons that the study begins in King John's reign is because it is from this time that the Charter, Close and Patent rolls are kept, and the Curia Regis rolls (in their various guises) are compiled. Thus it is much easier to track an administrative and a 'peripheral' family through the sources, as centralised records were being kept regarding their activities, when personal copies of orders and charters are very rarely extant. Such government records are the cornerstone of this study, but they do have significant drawbacks which need to be recognised and considered.

Also missing are the administrative documents for Caus and Abergavenny castle, leaving behind a patchy collection dispersed across various Record Offices. This, no doubt, is the reason for Janet Meisel's own lack of concentration upon baronial administration in her study of the Corbets, Pantulfs and FitzWarins. However, from the remaining sources available, it is possible to construct some idea of the Cantilupe and Corbet occupations of the manors. This will be discussed further in the respective chapters.

The Charter Rolls cannot be used to fully contextualise all pre-1199 grants and gifts, as they begin in this regnal year. Additionally, several years are missing – King John's third, eighth, eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth years are not extant, and similarly the early years of Henry III's minority are patchy. The picture is far clearer with the records across the board from 1220 onwards, and following the expulsion of the French army from England the government records begin to take on a far more reliable and consistent form. For King John's reign, the Close and Patent rolls are also incomplete,

and there seems to be issues of enrolment in addition to the missing years. 105
Consequently, in addition to such administrative and government records, chronicle sources, correspondence, eyre rolls, canonisation proceedings, episcopal registers, gifts and grants, extents, inquisitions *post mortem* and fines have been examined. There is a wealth of documentary evidence that can be used to fill in the gaps and substantiate, illuminate and even undermine the official records. Naturally, the biased, fragmentary and assumptive nature of some this material poses its own difficulties, and must be taken into account. Added to this is the visual and physical evidence that can be found – the architecture and position of the castles held by the families, their heraldry and seals, effigies and stained glass representations. Given the importance of a holistic approach to the study, all of this must also be used in conjunction with written records to provide a more complete picture of the families and the individuals within them than would otherwise be possible.

Having outlined the study, the families themselves, the historiography and methodology, it is now time to move on to the real questions of the study, beginning with the concepts of 'power'.

¹⁰⁵ For further commentary on the fragmentary nature of source material 1199-1216, see James H. Jenkins, *King John and the Cistercians in Wales*, unpublished PhD Thesis, Cardiff University (2012), p. 30.

CHAPTER 1: PERSONAL NETWORKS

Introduction

'A king is like a fire – if you are too close, you burn; if you are too far away, you freeze.' ¹⁰⁶ So writes Robert Bartlett, quoting Petrus Alfonsi. At a time when politics was intensely personal, this pithy generalisation is aptly applied. The benefits of being near to the king could include rewards of varying natures; estates and their appurtenances, liberties and privileges, grants, gifts, and positions of power both within the king's household and in their own counties. ¹⁰⁷ Such rewards would have been a great incentive to attract the king's notice for a man of ambition or acquisitive bent, but what of the men who could not frequent the court? For those on the 'periphery' of high politics, metaphorically and geographically, meteoric rises were unlikely to happen. Yet the March was not necessarily the 'political backwater' it is so often considered, and could yield its own harvest of benefits. ¹⁰⁸

This chapter intends to explore the personal networks of the two families and consider them individually and relative to one another. In doing so, several issues need to be carefully considered. First, in order to discuss family *power* and strategy, the question of *what is power* must be addressed. The nature of *power* in medieval society,

¹⁰⁶ Petrus Alfonsi, *Disciplina Clericalis* 26, eds. A. Hilka and W. Soderhjelm, *Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae* 38/iv, (Helsinki, 1911), p. 36, cited in Robert Bartlett, *England under the Norman and Angevin Kings* 1075-1225, (Oxford, 2000), p. 28.

This is attested by the rise of men within the king's household, such as William (I) de Cantilupe, steward of John and Henry III. His heir, William (II) de Cantilupe, inherited far more than his father had done, since most of the lands passing to the younger William had been acquired in his father's lifetime through his service to the king. To chart the career of William (I) through the letters patent, see: *Rot. Lit. Pat. 1201-1216*, ed. Thomas Duffy Hardy (London, 1835), pp. 29, 42, 45, 46, 48, 50, 53, 55, 59, 60, 73, 85, 93, 100, 103, 104, 106, 107, 109, 110, 113, 126, 131, 133, 139, 142, 143, 145, 150, 153, 164, 167, 177, 188, 192, 193, 194; for a summary of the Cantilupes' career as a family, see also David Bruce Carr, *Amici Regis: Administrative Personnel under Henry III of England, 1216-1258*, unpublished thesis, (Case Western Reserve University, 1975), authorised facsimile produced by University Microfilms International, (London,1979), pp. 65-69.

¹⁰⁸ For a discussion political heartlands and backwaters in relation to the Welsh March, see R. R. Davies, *The First English Empire*, (Oxford, 2000), Ch. 4.

specifically its development throughout the thirteenth century, is a question which would require a significant study of its own in order to tackle properly. Even to discuss the various meanings, usages and implications of the word *potens*, used by Matthew Paris to describe William (II) de Cantilupe upon his death in 1251, would require far more time and space than is available here.¹⁰⁹

Consequently, some broad ideas will be considered, and power will be taken to mean, '[c]ontrol or authority over others; dominion, rule; government, command, sway', the basic OED definition. Theodore Evergates, in his discussion of the language of nobility in twelfth century France, argues that the 'nobility' were a readily recognised group of wealthy, *powerful* and elite people, whose status was known and understood even if the term *nobilitas* was rarely employed to describe them. In fact, the men and women of this social group occupied, not the sphere of the *nobilitas*, but the gentry, albeit different social levels within that developing community. As part of this society, both the Cantilupes and the Corbets embody the sense of the gentry being a divided and manifold entity, and Peter Coss's view that society in this period 'was characterised by insecurity and competition for power and resources' is supported by the narrative of their respective careers.

Here then, the notion of *powerful* men implied that those who had the means to exercise control and authority over those below them, and might also use their influence on their peers or those above to their own advantage. In context of the Cantilupes and

¹⁰⁹ Chron. Maj., v., p. 224.

¹¹⁰Oxford English Dictionary, [OED] third edn., (1996), online resource, http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/149167?rskey=7CubW0&result=1#eid, accessed 19.10.2013.

Theodore Evergates, 'Nobles and Knights in Twelfth-Century France', in *Cultures of Power: Lordship, Status and Process in Twelfth-Century Europe*, ed. Thomas N. Bisson, (Harvard University Press, 1995), 11-35, p. 13.

¹¹² For a fuller discussion on the origins and transformation of the gentry during this period, see: Peter R. Coss, *The Origins of the English Gentry*, (Cambridge, 2003); *The Knight in Medieval England 1000-1400*, (Stroud, 1993); *The Lady in Medieval England 1000-1500*, (Sutton, 1998); Kathryn Faulkner, 'The Transformation of Knighthood in Early Thirteenth Century England', *EHR* (1996) CXI (440): 1-23. ¹¹³ Peter R. Coss, *The Origins of the English Gentry*, pp. 109-10.

Corbets, power such as this can be seen to be relative. Neither family can be said to have begun as *nobilitas* in the eleventh century, when they both first begin to appear in the records. That is not a term which appears in relation to either kin group, and even though the Cantilupes rose far higher than the Corbets, were not made earls.

In both cases, the families were comprised of strong individuals who were able to exercise authority over men judicially, administratively and militarily. Initially, they were *em*powered to collect and distribute revenue, summon men to defend and attack when the need arose, and to project their own perceptions of their power through means of visual symbols, physical objects and buildings. They also achieved this through their permeation of their locality's spiritual life, and the physical presence of themselves or their representatives in certain areas. The *em*powering of certain family members by the king, or by the families' lord, was merely the starting point. After the investment of their power came consolidation, and the building of their reputations. It is arguably reputation which enables the success of empowerment; without reputation, and the transmission of said reputation through personal networks of relationships, there could be no control or acceptance of authority.

This personal approach enters Foucauldian realms, finding its justification in his insistence that 'power is a network of relations between people, which is negotiated with each encounter'. Therefore, this chapter will consider those personal networks as both a means and an end; both the vehicle by which concepts of their authority were understood and transmitted, and the roots of that authority itself. Even in the thirteenth century, the old adage, *it's not what you know, it's who you know*, held true – of course, it also helped to know what you were doing, and how to take advantage of the *who*. This is where the question of 'strategy' arises. In addition to the ideas of *power* (which, for

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¹¹⁴ Sara Mills, 'Gender, Geography and Power', in Jeremy W. Crampton and Stuart Elden, eds., *Space, Knowledge and Power: Foucault and Geography*, (Ashgate, 2007), 49-51, p. 49.

the purposes of this study will be considered synonymous with *authority*), this study will also consider *why* these networks took on the shape they did, how their reactions to events affected their networks, and how their networks affected their reactions to events.

Underpinning all of this lies the March of Wales. The Welsh March is an enigmatic dichotomy, offering both the potential for increased power and scope to claim far more authority than a lord might do over his lands in England, and at the same time checking the power of its lords by its very frontier nature. Power there had to be carefully managed, balanced and counterbalanced, with the expansionism of one prince or Marcher tempered by defensive strategies of another, and vacuums of power ruthlessly exploited wherever they occurred. When the Marcher lords were not fighting the Welsh princes they were just as likely to fight one another, and private war, violent raids and long, protracted law suits either in response to or complicated by the latter two factors were accepted facts of Marcher life throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The Corbets of Caus had struggled to maintain, consolidate and expand their own authority against this backdrop since the Conquest, while the Cantilupes stepped into this world far later.

Since *perceived* and *actual* power within the Welsh March brought with it different ideas and expectations of liberties and limitations, it is important to look at this through the medium of successful and unsuccessful actions undertaken within the March to determine what this might have meant.

Often, 'successful actions' were connected to the loyal service that the Marchers provided the Crown. Evidence that loyalty was a key part of Marcher-Crown relations

¹¹⁵ R. R. Davies, *Lordship and Society*, p. 101.

For example, the dynastic struggle between Llywelyn ab Iorwerth and Gwenwynwen ab Owain Cyfeiliog, described in Kari Maund, *The Welsh Kings: Warriors, Warlords and Princes*, (Tempus: Gloucestershire, 2006), pp. 187-8.

can be found in the Anglo-Norman romance *Fouke le Fitz Waryn*, a prose tale based upon a lost thirteenth-century romance in verse, relates the factual and fictitious exploits of the FitzWarins, several of whom were called Fouke or Fulk. While the poem confuses several of these Fulk FitzWarins and attributes deeds of one to another, it is still a valuable source for its insights into the Marcher mentality and the attitude of the Crown to those Marchers. To explain why the FitzWarins are present in the borderlands, the poem states:

... Le roy / fust mout sages, e pensa qu'il dorreit les terres de la marche / as plus vaylauntz chevalers de tut le ost pur ce qu'il devereynt / defendre la marche de la prince a lur profit e al honour lur / seignour le roy. 118

King William I wisely put 'very valiant knights' along the Welsh border 'so that they might defend the March from the prince for the profit and honour of their lord the king'. The 'prince' in question is referred to in the poem as *Ywein Goynez*, Owain Gwynedd, 'who was the prince of the Welsh'. According to the poem, the placing of 'valiant knights' in the region was a reaction to Owain laying claim to all of the March (*tote la marche*) and laying waste (*guasté*) to it. Regardless of accuracy, the poem reveals the opinion of its composer and/or of the poem's intended audience. It implies that the purpose of the Marcher lords was twofold; first, to defend the English border from the marauding Welsh, and second to 'profit and honour' their king and overlord. This was the context for the Corbets as much as for the FitzWarins, who were the Corbets' neighbours and vassals. It still held true for the Cantilupes, whose acquisition of the

¹¹⁷ Fouke le Fitz Waryn, Anglo-Norman Text Society XXVI-XXVIII (for 1968-70), eds. E. J. Hathaway, P. T. Ricketts, C. A. Robson and A. D. Wilshere, (Oxford, 1975), p. ix.

¹¹⁸ Fouke le Fitz Waryn, p. 3, lines 22-26 (my translation in the text above).

¹¹⁹ Fouke le Fitz Waryn, p. 3, lines 20 and 16.

Honour of Abergavenny was hardly at a time when the lords and princes of Upland Gwent, neighbouring Powys and expansionist Gwynedd were even relatively tamed.

Of course, the poem fails to mention that the Marchers had installed themselves along the border long before the twelfth-century activities of Owain Gwynedd, and neither was this particular prince the only Welsh leader wreaking havoc at the time; contemporaneously, Cadwgan ap Bleddyn was prosecuting his campaigns of resistance in mid-Wales, while the ever-active Gruffudd ap Cynan was biding his time in the north. It is also worth noting that the Marcher lords probably did not think about 'profiting and honouring' their king every time they encountered Welsh hostility. Whenever they attacked and defended, it was usually to enlarge or consolidate their own territories on which the Crown had but a tenuous grip. The Corbets, present in the March since at least 1086, certainly believed that their position afforded them liberties which by the thirteenth century were being complained about in the county eyres and challenged in the *quo warranto* proceedings. 121

Nevertheless, this was the perception of the author of *Fouke*, so regardless of the actual mentalities of the border barons it can be assumed that these were the motivations it was politic to promote. Theoretically then, at least in the imagination of the poet and his audience, the Marcher lords were performing a service to the Crown for which the Crown was grateful and bestowed upon them its trust and support. The Patent Rolls indicate that this was still the case during the later part of the period. A mandate dated May 10 1257 reads:

Mandate to Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford and Essex, Humphrey de Bohun his son, Reynold son of Peter, Roger de Mortuo Mari, William de Ebroicis, Walter de Clifford, William de [Stutville],

¹²⁰ Kari Maund, *The Welsh Kings*, p. 156.

¹²¹ See below, pp. 132-146.

Griffin son of Wenunewen, Thomas Corbet, John Lestrange, John son of Alan, Fulk son of Warin, Griffin son of Maddoc and Ralph le Botiller, to be of counsel and aid to John de Grey, appointed by Edward the king's son to keep the march of Wales between the county of Chester and South Wales and to be captain of his army for the defence of those parts against the Welsh. 122

Gruffudd ap Gwenwynwen had been involved in a bitter and violent dispute with his uncle Thomas Corbet, which by 1257 still had not been resolved. Thus, regardless of the private wars prosecuted by both the Welsh princes who had done homage to the king of England and the Marcher lords themselves, the king might overrule such divisions and hostilities in the name of a unifying cause. The need to defend the realm transcended the personal contentions of the men mandated to defend it, at least from the Crown's point of view.

However, the relationship between the Crown and the Marchers was often far from idyllic regardless of the policies and personalities of individual lords or their kings, for the simple reason that the very nature of their status frequently proved problematic. R. R. Davies developed his arguments of overlordship and high kingship of the British Isles in his works *The Age of Conquest* and *The First English Empire*, stating that the power of English overlordship intensified in Wales throughout the 1240s and early 1250s, in line with the growing baronial discontent in England. High kingship was achieved by the kings of England with varying degrees of success until the Edwardian conquest of Wales, but all aspiring high kings were content to permit other

¹²² CPR 1247-1258, (London, 1908), p. 553.

¹²³ See the *CPR 1247-1258* p. 438: 1255, July 5, Geddington: 'Commission to Henry de Mara, Geoffrey de Langele and William de Wilton to proceed to execute the provision lately made at Westminster before the king and council for the amending of injuries and excesses in the March, and especially for the hearing of the contentions between Thomas Corbet and Griffith son of Wenonewen'.

¹²⁴ R. R. Davies, *The First English Empire*, p. 25.

kings and princes to retain their places within their sphere of control providing they both knew and acknowledged those places within it. 125 Marcher lords may not have been royalty by birth or title, but it has been noted that their lands in Wales were essentially Welsh kingships in Anglo-Norman hands, and that the laws of England did not apply within their fluid bounds. 126 In order to control the Welsh population and their native rulers effectively, it was necessary for them to have a military force of their own and to collect revenues to maintain these men. The dangers of this situation made themselves evident by the number of rebellions against the Crown facilitated by these 'trusted' men. The Welsh chronicles are full of ravaging and protection-seeking by native Welsh and 'Normans', 'French' and 'Saxons' alike, the aforementioned three obviously not ethnically synonymous but rather considered to be on the same side or part of the same group. 127 This complicated network of alliances created additional dimensions to the Crown-Marcher relationship which needed to be negotiated and manipulated depending on the circumstances. Legitimacy was key to medieval authority, and in the March, authority and power were difficult to maintain. 128 Relationships might break down at any time for a variety of reasons, and the Corbets were not always conducive to harmony. Similarly, the flagrant disregard for authority beyond the border was perfectly demonstrated by William (III) de Cantilupe in his throwing down of John de Monmouth's castle in 1248, an act which resulted in incurring the king's displeasure. 129

In the face of the increasing intrusions of royal authority, both established and new Marcher lords were exploring the *actual* scope of their power and struggling to

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¹²⁵ R. R. Davies, *The First English Empire*, p. 21.

¹²⁶ Carr, Medieval Wales, p. 37.

The Brut and Brenhinedd refer to Normannyeit, Ffreinc and Saesson in opposition to Brytannyeit frequently throughout both chronicles.

Susan Reynolds, 'Secular Power and Authority in the Middle Ages', *Power and identity in the Middle Ages: Essays in Memory of Rees Davies*, eds. Huw Pryce and John Watts, (Oxford, 2007), 11-22, p. 11. ¹²⁹ *Chron. Maj.* v., p. 224.

define it in law. The struggle lay in the grey area in which the Crown might successfully intervene and curb Marcher authority, while John FitzAlan's famous statement also held true: 'in the parts of the March of Wales where [FitzAlan] now resided, he was not bound to do anything by the king's mandate, and nothing would he do.' Marcher protestations regarding royal intervention became more vociferous in the thirteenth century, and so this period provides perhaps one of the most interesting and well documented glimpses into Marcher attitudes to power. The study of the two families is therefore set against a mutual desire to increase the scope of their authority, and how this was aided and hindered by the Welsh March's very nature.

Finally, the question of what is meant by *strategy* should also be addressed. Strategy is a far more fluid and subjective thing to quantify than *power*, as the recognition of a set of events and actions as a 'family strategy' could simply be the happy aligning of outcomes achieved by ambitious individuals for their own gain, but which happen to run along similar lines. It might also be that opportunism creates its own set of misleading patterns, so that, with hindsight, it would seem that the paths the families took were begun deliberately. The actions of cadet lines are also questionable, and this gives rise to clarification regarding what is understood by the term 'family'. It should be noted that in this instance, the concept of 'strategy' is markedly different in both cases, and this shall be explored with reference to the Welsh March and the respective contexts of the two families concerned.

¹³⁰ Excerpta e Rot. Finium, ii (1269), 486.

THE CANTILUPES

The Cantilupes' Early Years: Family Background

The Cantilupes were not present in the court of Henry II, but were instead to be found rising to prominence in the comitial years of King John. Where they originated is a matter of debate. Since the locative surname literally means 'singing wolf', or 'wolf song', and wolves roamed across the majority of Normandy, several places bore this name. The most likely suggestions are either a village near Evreux in Eure, or a village in La Manche. A William de Cantilupe, possibly Walter's own father or his brother, appears in 1155, in a confirmation by Henry II of a gift of a tithe of a fee granted by him to the Cluniac priory of Longueville, Calvados, making neighbouring La Manche the most likely point of origin. This William's wife, Emma, appears chiefly in Essex until the early 1200s, and appears to have been the origin of the Essex branch of Cantilupes who will be discussed further below, and especially in Chapter Four. A branch had also settled in Glamorgan some time in the twelfth century, for whom no great amount of early documentation survives. They held the castle of Candleston, a bastardisation of Cantlowston, in Merthyr Mawr, but it is unclear what relationship they bear exactly to the main branch. 133

The Calvados connection suggests a prior link with England via Roger de Courseulles, as an Alexander de Cantilupe and his son Ranulf appear in Somerset in 1146, Alexander having inherited this land from his father. This would mean that a Cantilupe would have been seized of Bruton in the late 1000s, yet, in 1086, Bruton was

¹³¹ Register of Thomas Cantilupe, i, p. i. ¹³² Cal. Docs. France, p. 77 No. 225.

¹³³ See p. 62, below.

¹³⁴ Cal. Docs. France, pp. 172-3, No. 486; this was confirmed by the Bishop of Bath in the same year, p. 173, and by the Archbishop of Canterbury, Theobald, [1150-61], p. 174. Eyton has tentatively calendared the charter under the year 1165 (*Antiquities*, iii, p. 85), and it appears reprinted in *PRS Cartae Antiquae*, NS 17, (1939), 302:142-3.

held by Roger de Courseulles, from Calvados, whose subtenant was simply recorded as 'Erneis'. Erneis may well be Erneis or Ernaldus/Arnold *de Cantilupe*, 'Arnold' being a name that is transmitted in the twelfth century and appears briefly in the Pipe Rolls for Surrey. Given that a William de Cantilupe, possibly the grandfather or great-uncle of William (I) had given a tithe to Longueville Priory, the de Courseulles connection has some weight. Roger de Courseulles held lands in Somerset and Shropshire, later replacing William de Courseulles as tenant-in-chief in lands in Dorset and Wiltshire as well. As shown in Chapter Two, the Cantilupes were to have consistent interests in these counties from 1199 onwards.

Apart from the speculative de Courseulles connection, the Cantilupes began their careers in England through one of two connections; the Paynels, with whom they remained associated until Maud Paynel murdered her husband William (VII) de Cantilupe in 1375, and William de Roumare, earl of Lincoln. 138

A Robert de Cantilupe appears as a man of William Paynel (Paginellus) in a recital of an agreement between the abbot of Mont St Michel and William Paynel, c.1070-1081. William Paynel, like Roger de Courseulles, had been granted lands in England, it is increasingly likely the Cantilupes first gained cross-channel interests

The Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon England Database [PASE Database], online resource, http://domesday.pase.ac.uk/?Text1=Bruton&qr=1&SearchField1=Vill&col=c3&pag=0, accessed 21.10.2013.

¹³⁶ Ernaldus de Cantilupe appears in 1200, in Surrey; PRS Pipe Roll 1200, p. 218.

David Bates, ed., Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum, (Oxford, 1998), p. 867.

¹³⁸ See, Frederik Pedersen, 'Murder, Mayhem and a Very Small Penis', unpublished Institute of Historical Research seminar paper, (Senate House, London, 09.11.2012,), full text online at http://www.academia.edu/187393/Murder_Mayhem_and_a_very_small_Penis, accessed 10.09.2013.

^{139 &#}x27;If William [Paynel] has to fight for the land which the king of the English gave him with his wife, the agreement is that Hugh de Bricavilla shall do him, for 40 days, service of ward or custody, with 6 other horsemen of his own cost. And Hugh's nephew shall do likewise if he shall hold that land 'in parage' according to what he holds. Again if William shall summon that Hugh, he shall have him, with 2 knights in his company (*familia*), at his own cost, or his son, if he shall be free from the abbot's summons. Nor shall the abbot always prevent William from having this. And he shall so have in his company Hugh's nephew and Robert de Cantilupe and William Becheth and the man who shall hold the honour of Scollant.' *Calendar of Documents Preserved in France*, 255:714.

through more than one of their lords, and evident that they ultimately gained the bulk of their holdings through their personal relationship with King John. 140

Domesday shows that several lands were in the hands of William's son Ralph Paynel by 1086, and included the vill of Culkerton in Gloucestershire, Lincolnshire, Devonshire and Yorkshire. 141 As this branch of the Cantilupes began their careers in Lincolnshire, later establishing their heartlands in Warwickshire and Leicestershire, it is likely that kin of the Robert de Cantilupe named in the Paynel document came from Normandy with the Paynels as their knights, although they are not to be found by name in the Domesday Book.

Additionally, Walter (I) de Cantilupe, patriarch of the branch under present consideration, is found owing service to Earl William de Roumare of Lincoln in a letter dated c.1198. 142 Walter (I) was therefore a member of the knightly class, albeit a minor member. The Norman Pipe Roll of 1180 records a Baldwin de Cantilupe in the service of Roumare, along with his servant, Roger Pauper, but no Walter is mentioned. 143 If 'Pauper' and 'le Poer' were variations of the same name, then these families remained linked well into the thirteenth century. Baldwin was evidently wealthy; he was a pledge of Hugh Longchamp for no less than £14 5s, while his servant Roger owed ten shillings pro stultiloguio. 144 The family were to maintain their relationships with the

¹⁴⁰ It is known that Round's documentation is unreliable, and so very little will be made of these charters or their translations, except to indicate where the Cantilupes may have come from and to generally point in their direction in conjunction with other sources available. The Cantilupes certainly held Lincolnshire lands 1199-1215: See, PRS Feet of Fines: Lincolnshire, pp. 162-3.

Lincolnshire vills held by Ralph Paynel: Broughton (the land held previously by both Grimkel and Mærle-Sveinn), Scawby, Sturton in Scawby, Snarford, Dunholme, Swinstead, Osgodby near West Rasen, Witham on the Hill, Ashby de la Launde, Irnham, Rasen Middle or West, North Willingham, Tealby, Lincoln, Winterton, Roxby, and Burton-le-Coggles. See, The PASE Domesday Database, online resource, http://domesday.pase.ac.uk/?Text 1=Paynel&gr=1&SearchField 1=byNameNormalised&SearchField 2 <u>=normalisedName</u>, accessed 06.02.13. 142 TNA: DL 25/2371

¹⁴³ PRS Norman Roll 1180, p. 58.

¹⁴⁴ PRS Norman Roll 1180, p. 58.

Longchamps in particular, whose lands in Herefordshire drew the family into the Welsh March from an early stage. 145

The Longchamp connection was especially important. The Longchamps were typical of the 'new men' recruited by Henry II into his service. William de Longchamp (d. 1197), a courtly administrator and bishop of Ely, had suffered the severe criticism of Hugh de Nonant. Hugh accused him of being the grandson of a peasant, 'who being of servile condition in the district of Beauvais, had for his occupation to guide the plough and whip up the oxen; and who at length to gain his liberty fled to the Norman territory'. 146 Exaggeration or not, this did not alter the fact that William Longchamp's office and associations made him and his family a very desirable network for other ambitious curiales, and as Fulk and William (I) entered King John's service, one of their sisters, Matilda, was married off to Henry Longchamp. 147 Matilda's sister, whose name is not recorded, was married to Thurstan de Montfort (d. 1216). While no relation to the Earl of Leicester's family, Thurstan's father had been the second greatest tenant of the earl of Warwick. 148 These de Montforts had their seat at Beaudesart, and were near neighbours to Aston Cantlow, which the Cantilupes had gained in 1205 from the Corbizuns. They were drawn into the orbit of the greater de Montfort family through the personal connections of their Cantilupe relations and the ties of neighbourhood. Thurstan's son Peter became William (I)'s ward following his father's death, and

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 $^{^{145}}$ William (I)'s sister Matilda was married to Henry Longchamp, and was widowed in 1211 - PRS Pipe Roll 1211, p. 251. William (I) is found responding for the debts of William Longchamp in Herefordshire from 1205 onwards – PRS Pipe Roll 1205, p. 273.

¹⁴⁶ Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Hovedene, ed. W. Stubbs, 3.142; cited in Ralph V. Turner, 'Longchamp, William de (d. 1197)', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, (Oxford University Press, 2004); online edn, May 2007, online resource, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/16980, accessed 21.10.2013 ¹⁴⁷ PRS Pipe Roll 1211, p. 251.

¹⁴⁸ D. A. Carpenter, 'Montfort, Peter de (*c*.1205–1265)', rev. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford University Press, 2004), online edn, Jan 2008, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/37845, accessed 27.09.2013

developed a strong, lifelong friendship with his cousin Walter, who was to become the bishop of Worcester. 149

Thus, prior to 1199 the Cantilupes were building their connections in England and attempting to consolidate their relationships among the more influential families there, in regions which roughly corresponded to those held by the Paynels. Even the cadet lines succeeded in making good marriages; in the mid-twelfth century, Euphemia de Cantilupe married Aubrey de Vere, earl of Oxford, a kinship tie of which the thirteenth century Essex-based cadet line took frequent advantage. ¹⁵⁰

Not only did this generation of Cantilupes make good marriages, they also came to King John's notice with experience. Around 1155, a Gilbert de Cantilupe was named as the seneschal of Robert Fitz Gerald, whose charter granting the church of Clive to the monks of St Mary of Bec was ratified by Earl William de Roumare. This adds more weight to the idea that the Cantilupes were used to high positions within the *familia* of great households, and so it is no surprise to find them in the comitial household of Prince John. William is mentioned as Prince John's seneschal in 1197, and so had perhaps learned his administrative skills from Gilbert, who may have been his uncle. In the comitial *Acta* of John, Walter (I) and Fulk de Cantilupe, the brothers rather than the father and son, are to be found witnessing John's grants and charters from 1189, alongside William (I), who appears as 'senescallus' once in 1198 following his

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¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

¹⁵⁰ G. E. Cokayne, *Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain and the United Kingdom*, V. Gibbs and H. A. Doubleday (eds.), x, p. 205 fn. d.; Simon de Canteloup witnesses charters of the earls of Oxford between 1150 and 1180, and Robert, probably his son, between 1180 and c. 1214 (*Cartularium Prioratus de Colne*, pp. 18–56 passim; TNA: DL 36/2/249; British Library Additional Charters 28354); cited in Tony Moore, 'A Medieval Murder Mystery, or the Crime of the Canteloups', *Henry III Fine Rolls Project, Fine of the Month* (April, 2006), online resource, http://www.finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/month/fm-04-2006.html, accessed 25.11.13.

¹⁵¹ Cal. Docs. France, p. 127, No. 376, ratified No. 377.

¹⁵² Confirmation by John, Count of Mortain, of a charter to Robert de Berners, TNA: E40/6686.

predecessor William de Cahagnes.¹⁵³ Fulk witnessed twenty-seven of these *acta* to Walter's seven and William (I)'s six, an indication that William (I)'s uncle was the more influential of the Cantilupes at this point. Other names appearing as witnesses in England, France and Normandy around the same time were men such as Robert Mortimer, Richard de Vernon, several Turbervilles, Walter de Dunstanville, Gilbert Basset, William Brewer, John de Grey, Hubert de Burgh, Hugh de Lacy, John de Neville, and of course, William Marshall, all of whom the Cantilupes sustained connections with throughout the thirteenth century, as will be elaborated upon below.¹⁵⁴

The Cantilupes *c*.1199-1239

Walter (I) de Cantilupe had several sons, both legitimate and illegitimate. The eldest legitimate son was named William, presumably after Walter's father or brother. He also had a son, Robert Barat, who may have been illegitimate, but whose own son Eustace took the de Cantilupe family name. Barat, also known as Baratus de Cantilupe, married well – he wed the widow of Thomas de Ria, improving his economic status in this manner, as did Henry de Longchamp who married William (I)'s sister, Matilda. Robert Barat had another brother, or half-brother, Roger Orgete, possibly also another illegitimate offspring of Walter's, who was introduced into King John's household in 1209 by his 'brother' William (I) de Cantilupe.

¹⁵³ Nicholas Vincent, 'Jean, Comte de Mortain: Le Futur Roi et ses Domaines en Normandie 1183-1199', 1204 La Normandie entre Plantagenêts et Capétiens, eds. Anne-Marie Flambard Héricher and Véronique Gazeau, (Caen, 2007), 37-59, p. 57.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid. pp. 57-9.

Robert Barat can also found in the *Rot. Lit. Claus*. as 'Baretus de Cantilupe', *Rot. Lit. Claus*. i., p. 94; see also, *PRS Pipe Roll 1201*, pp. 81-2, 195, 294, 201; *PRS Pipe Roll 1202*, p. 5; *PRS Pipe Roll 17 John and Praestita Roll*, pp. 14-18, and *Praestita Roll 1212*, p. 90 as 'Robert Barate'. He is also mentioned in Stephen Church, *The Household Knights of King John*, (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 23, 27.

¹⁵⁶ PRS Pipe Roll 10 John, p. 89; PRS Pipe Roll 13 John, pp. 253-4.

¹⁵⁷ Church, Household Knights, p. 27.

By 1205, the map of the Cantilupes' personal and territorial networks was centred firmly on England rather than on Normandy. The family were still closely connected to the Longchamps, as noted above, and were cultivating their associations with others in King John's household. William became the seneschal of the royal household when John ascended the throne, putting him in a prime position to increase the standing of his family. William (I) had evidently proven himself when in John's comitial household – many of the king's knights branched into non-fighting activities, but of all of these, only twelve by Stephen Church's reckoning were top-ranking royal familiares. William (I) could count himself among the most trusted of King John's servants, and therefore his family were able to benefit greatly by extension.

As the king's steward he was responsible for administrative and judicial duties, as well as domestic arrangements. ¹⁶⁰ Jan Rogozinski, although discussing the context of Beaucaire and Nîmes, has argued that the thirteenth century seneschal's duties necessitated cooperation with the aristocracy and local landholders in areas where he was required to exercise his authority. ¹⁶¹ As such, William travelled extensively, both with the king and on the king's behalf, throughout England, Wales, Normandy and the Marches. He accrued a great deal of territory through his marriage to Mascelin, or Mazra, de Bracy and as a reward for his royal service. ¹⁶²

Court rolls are useful sources for the exploration of personal networks. The *Curia Regis* rolls are also useful in revealing the networks of relationships which William (I) cultivated during these early years of John's reign. He seems to have been

¹⁵⁸ TNA: E 40/6686; TNA: E 368/85; Rot. Lit. Claus. i., p. 481.

¹⁵⁹ Church, *Household Knights*, p. 73.

OED, online resource, http://oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/seneschal, accessed

Jan Rogozinski, 'The Counsellors of the Seneschals of Beaucaire and Nîmes, 1250-1350', *Speculum*, 44:3 (1969) 421-439, p. 421.

Feet of F. Beds. Trin. 10 John; *VCH Bedford*, iii, (1912), online resource, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=42448&strquery=Cantilupe#n14, accessed 28.06.2013.

making and strengthening his local associations in the counties where he held lands, and it is possible to tell the men with whom he most closely associated and trusted through the names of those he attorned, and for whom he was a pledge.

The court rolls also reveal a great deal about the nature of the other Cantilupes' personal associations at this time. Arnold or Ernulf appears in 1186 in Surrey, versus Hugh of Aulton, for which the details are missing from the roll. However, the Pipe Roll for that year records him paying a mark to have the case of a false oath [sacramento falso] heard before the king's bench. Meanwhile, Emma Cantilupe, who was the wife of another William, possibly Walter's brother, appears in Suffolk in a case against Adam Cokerell and in another with her sister Margery regarding lands their father had left them in Suffolk and Essex. Emma and Arnold seem to be associating with lower or middling knights of their localities, rather than the greater men with whom William and his brothers were associating. As the family increased in stature throughout the century, however, such minor squabbles tended to have greater men involved as pledges, attorneys, plaintiffs or defendants.

William (I) had been engaged in a long-running land dispute with Lambert de Scoteny which began in 1200.¹⁶⁵ To deal with this case, William attorned Ralph or Rannulf de Neville (or Ralph Fitz Nigel as two of the later entries have it; another two refer to him more ambiguously as Ralph Neel or Neil, making Fitz Nigel more likely).¹⁶⁶ The last entry explains that the case is concerning land to the value of £10

¹⁶³ Cur. Reg. i., p. 41; PRS 1199, p. 228.

¹⁶⁴ Pleas Before the King and His Justices 1198-1202, i., ed. D. M. Stenton, Selden Society 67 (1948), pp. 365-66; Cur. Reg. i., p. 156; in dispute with her sister Margery over lands inherited from their father, p. 157; PRS Pipe Roll 1199, p. 104.

¹⁶⁵ Cur. Reg. i., p. 254.

¹⁶⁶ Cur. Reg., i., pp. 254, 261-2, 269, 275, 379, 415.

which was Ralph de Criul's, by no means a small amount. William was increasing in affluence and means, so he was cultivating his relationships accordingly. 167

Maintaining the family's ties to Lincolnshire also involved maintaining relationships with the Earls of Lincoln, and their relatives, vassals and associates. The man to court was Ranulf de Blundeville, sixth earl of Chester and first earl of Lincoln (1170-1232), the elder son of Hugh, earl of Chester, and Bertrada de Montfort. Ranulf received royal acceptance of his claim to the Lincolnshire barony of Bolingbroke in 1198, on the death of his cousin William de Roumare. Cantilupe associations with Ranulf went back as far as their associations with King John; they are to be found witnessing charters together even in John's comitial years.

The *Curia Regis* rolls reveal that the connections to Warwickshire went back at least as far as the start of John's reign, with one entry dated 1200. In that year, Peter Corbezun was found taking William to court over meadowland in Studley. He appointed in his place the prior of Studley, or Simon de Cotton, or Richard 'of Antioch'. Four years later, William received the Corbizun manor of Aston which became known as Aston Cantlow, and also took on the Corbizun foundation of Studley Priory, but this demonstrates that their relationship with the Corbizuns predated their

¹⁶⁷ William appears again in 1203, once more in Lincolnshire, and once more in relation to Lambert de Scoteny – this time including his heir Sybil, the wife of Nicholas of 'Basing'', where they produced a chirograph to prove their case; *Cur. Reg.*, ii., p. 154.

Richard Eales, 'Ranulf (III), sixth earl of Chester and first earl of Lincoln (1170–1232)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford University Press, 2004), online edn., Oct 2008, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/2716, accessed 27.09.2013.

¹⁷⁰ Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale ms. Y52 fos.64v, 66r, s.xiii.

¹⁷¹ Cur. Reg. Rolls, i., p. 116. Warwickshire seemed to be a place with strong Crusader associations; William (I) was later to be found recording amounts for the county with a certain Radulf Arabicus in 1221, although the Cantilupes did not go to the Holy Land themselves. PRS Pipe Roll 1221, p. 215.

acquisition of their lands, showing that they had developed connections in this county prior to 1205.¹⁷²

Even in local cases, the family were able to take advantage of their relationships in court. Mazra de Bracy, William (I)'s wife, was able to attorn her husband, his brother Robert, William de Hardredshull and Godfrey de Roinges in a case against Stephen of Welton and his son in Somerset. 173 She and William later used Robert and Godfrey de Roinges again in 1203, in a different case in Kent, but this is the last time he is attorned. 174

Out of a total of thirty-five entries across the family for 1199-1205, these are the only times they attorned. (For a full list of Cantilupe cases head in the king's courts, please see Appendix 3). While they often used other family members, it is evident that they are also using their courtly connections. Whether the correct name is Ralph Fitz Nigel or Ralph de Neville, either man fits into the group of courtly administrators along with de Roinges and de Hardredshull. Of these thirty-five cases, most were local and feature the family in disputes with one another or with minor/middling landowners in their various localities.

In 1205, John had given his daughter Joan in marriage to Llywelyn ab Iorwerth, prince of Gwynedd, in an attempt to secure Llywelyn's loyalty and as a counterweight to the power of the earl of Chester, with whom William (I) was also closely associated. 175 John's focus was being drawn towards Wales and Ireland increasingly in this part of his reign, visiting Wales or the March every year from 1204-1211,

pp.

^{(1908),} Warwick, history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=36502, accessed 14.09.2013. 173 *Cur. Reg.* ii., p. 29.

¹⁷² Rot. Lit. Claus. i., p. 9; William Page (ed.), 'Houses of Austin Canons: Priory of Studley', VCH: 94-97, http://www.britishonline resource,

¹⁷⁴ Cur. Reg. iii., pp. 14-15.

David Carpenter, The Struggle for Mastery: The Penguin History of Britain 1066-1284, (London, 2003), p. 283.

concentrating upon the consolidation of his royal authority there following the loss of Normandy. William was moving in the same circles as prominent Marcher lords in John's court – the Marshals, earls of Pembroke, and the de Braoses, who had concentrated their energies on their Welsh and Irish holdings but were rapidly falling from grace. In October 1208 William (I) was a witness to King John's treaty with Gwenwynwen at Shrewsbury, along with other leading Marchers including Robert Corbet of Caus, Hugh Pantulf and John Lestrange.

The decline in the de Braose fortunes were not William's first introduction to the benefits of the March. The Cantilupes already had a foothold in Glamorgan, as lords of Merthyr Mawr and the original tenants of Candlestone Castle. ¹⁷⁹ If the Cantilupes had been present in England since 1086, as Chapter Two will argue in more detail, this Glamorgan branch were the ideal bridge for the main branch of *curiales* to also secure a foothold in Wales. While there is no documentary evidence to suggest that the Cantilupes were settled in Glamorgan or any other part of Wales in the twelfth century, the area does take its name from them, occurring as *Cantelowestowne* in 1596 and *Cantloston c*.1635. ¹⁸⁰ There must have been a branch present there previously, however, as a Thomas Cantilupe appears as a monk of Margam in the early part of the thirteenth century, and a William Cantilupe, possibly William (I) of the main branch, but also possibly a near kinsman of the same name, appears as justice for Glamorgan briefly in 1210, demonstrating John's trust in him in the light of the drama unfolding between the

¹⁷⁶ Ibidem.

Ralph V. Turner, 'Briouze, William (III) de (d. 1211)', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, (Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Oct 2006), online resource, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/3283, accessed 19.09.13.

¹⁷⁸ Foedera, Conventiones, Litterae, et Cujuscunque Generis Acta Publica inter Reges Angliae, ed. Thomas Rymer, i., (London, 1704), pp. 150-1.

¹⁷⁹ An Inventory of the Ancient Monuments of Glamorgan, Vol. 3, Part 1b, (Royal Commission of the Ancient and Historical Monuments in Wales, 2000), p. 408. ¹⁸⁰ Ibid.

king and de Braose. 181 The Glamorgan fee was the possession of the St Quintin family, but the associations with the king may have influenced the St Quintins to subenfeoff Candleston to the Cantilupes. 182 King John had obtained Glamorgan through his first marriage in 1189, and retained it, despite his divorce, until 1214. Therefore, through his relationship with the king, William (I) was able to gain access to royal holdings and interests. With Llywelyn's expansionism and Gwenwynwen's activities, it made sense for the king's valued household steward to be placed for a time in the trouble spot, especially when the de Braoses and their own personal networks were becoming more and more hostile to King John. The Glamorgan Cantilupes were certainly well connected, with another William de Cantilupe attesting a Turberville grant to Ewenny Priory 1210x19, and a de Londres grant, also to Ewenny, in 1223. 184 Based on the seal evidence, it would seem that this is a different William – see Chapter Four, below, for the differentiation. Fortunately, this branch of the family then transmit the name 'Robert' down through their generations of firstborn sons from the mid-thirteenth century into the fourteenth, which makes the differentiation of Cantilupes in the documentary evidence far easier than another branch of Williams. 185

Whether the William de Cantilupe who is found as justice of Glamorgan in 1210 was William (I) the king's seneschal or not, it is important to remember that Wales and the March was never considered independently of the rest of England. Even as the family were establishing themselves in the king's court as well as the March, William (I) was consolidating his holdings in the midlands, particularly their *caput* in Warwickshire and the family's original possessions held from the earls of Lincoln. He was named in the eyre rolls as the sheriff of Worcestershire in 1208, with Walter le Poer

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¹⁸¹ Hugh Pryce ed., *Acts of the Welsh Rulers 1120-1283*, (Cardiff, 2010), pp. 304-6; *Cur. Reg.*, vi., p. 32.

¹⁸² An Inventory of the Ancient Monuments of Glamorgan, 3:1b, p. 408.

¹⁸³ David Carpenter, *The Struggle for Mastery*, p. 282.

¹⁸⁴ An Inventory of the Ancient Monuments of Glamorgan, 3:1b, p. 408.

¹⁸⁵ An Inventory of the Ancient Monuments of Glamorgan, 3:1b, p. 408.

as under-sheriff.¹⁸⁶ Presumably because of these strong Worcestershire links, in the same year he was also given the custody of the see of Worcester.¹⁸⁷ It is no wonder that his son Walter was elected bishop of the see in 1236, before William (I) died; evidence, perhaps, that William (I) still had a great deal of influence in both the shire and the diocese, through his relationships with men of those regions.

He can be found in the Lincolnshire county court in 1210, which adds weight to the suspicion it is his kinsman who was the justice of Glamorgan that same year, and returned to Lincolnshire again two years later, where he is found taking homage from Thomas de Scoteny. Evidently his relations with the de Scotenys were still a little strained, and his associations with them were still being affected and defined by legal action. Also in 1212 he is listed as a justice in the court convening in Nottinghamshire. His various circuits indicate that he was equally as useful in England as well as in the Marcher territories. It is very likely that he had contact with the Glamorgan branch, since as the royal seneschal he was to be found with King John as the king travelled around the border counties, particularly when treating with Llywelyn and the Welsh princes.

The associations with Worcestershire, Warwickshire, Leicestershire and Lincolnshire as the original locus of Cantilupe power are further demonstrated in the kinds of relationships that William (I) cultivated.

William's duties proceeded to gather momentum in the latter years of John's reign. His purpose in county court attendance had shifted from petitioner and defendant to royal justice, and he now began to enjoy judicial status in the shires as well. The *Curia Regis* rolls record no entries for William for the years 1216-19, years covering the

¹⁸⁶ PRS Memorandum Roll 10 John, N.S. 31, p. 32.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid

¹⁸⁸ Cur. Reg., vi., pp. 103, 286

¹⁸⁹ Cur. Reg., vi., pp. 203-04

aftermath of the baronial rebellion against King John and the troubling succession of a minor to the throne. Having already been named by Roger of Wendover as one of king John's 'evil councillors' along with his son William (II) and his brother Fulk, he found a place in the minority household and was among those laying siege to the castles of Mountsorel and Lincoln in 1217, presumably one of the reasons why personal litigation was put on hold. He was sheriff of the dual shrievality, Warwickshire and Leicestershire, and an itinerant justice along with magnates such as William Marshal, and career administrators like Simon de Pateshull. Adding to his impressive list of titles and duties, William was named as a baron of the Exchequer in 1217.

When William (II) was taken under his father's wing and trained up to follow in his administrative path, the political situation had shifted yet again, and the Cantilupes found themselves in the midst of a web of 'great men' with strong Marcher interests and influences. Nine-year old Henry III had succeeded his father in 1217 at a time of civil war and at the height of the French invasion, throwing England into the turmoil and confusion of minority rule in the midst of military crisis. The natural choice for the regent was the septuagenarian Flower of Chivalry himself, William Marshal. He led

¹⁹⁰ Roger of Wendover, Flowers of History, (London, 1849), pp. 256, 389, 392

¹⁹¹ PRS Receipt Rolls 1220-1222, 3871:135; William is found witnessing John's charter to Simplingham along with William Marshal and others in 1199, so his association with the Marshal began at least as early as John's later comital years, since William Marshal is also found as a witness to some of John's comital Acta including his grant to the men of Devon, which was witnessed by the Marshal alongside Fulk and William (I) de Cantilupe; Exeter Cathedral Library ms. 2514. William's first circuit with Simon de Pateshull: PRS Pipe Roll 5 John 1203; PRS Pipe Roll 6 John 1204; PRS Pipe Roll 7 John 1205; William (I) with William le Poer, PRS Pipe Roll 9 John 1207, p. 197; PRS Pipe Roll 10 John 1208; PRS Pipe Roll 12 John 1210; PRS Pipe Roll 13 John 1211; PRS Pipe Roll 14 John 1212; Walter le Poer was the undersheriff of Worcestershire when William (I) was the sheriff, in 1208; PRS Memorandum Roll 10 John, p. 32; William with Adam de Wich, PRS Pipe Roll 13 John 1211, p. 251; William with Geoffrey de Roinges, PRS Pipe Roll 14 John 1212, p. 60; William and Philip de Kinton, PRS Pipe Roll 16 John 1214, p. 107; PRS Pipe Roll 17 John and Praestita 14-18, PRS Pipe Roll 1215, p. 27; William with G. de Mandeville, PRS Pipe Roll 17 John and Praestita 14-18, Scutage Roll 1214, p. 107.

¹⁹² Carpenter, *Minority of Henry III*, p, 65 n.9.

¹⁹³ David Carpenter, *The Struggle for Mastery*, pp. 300-302.

¹⁹⁴ Georges Duby, William Marshal: The Flower of Chivalry, trans. Richard Howard, (London, 1986), p.3. David Crouch, in his biography of the Marshal, has discussed the scope of his power in the March and Ireland in a nuanced manner, demonstrating the difficulties of administering Leinster and the benefits of the lordship of Striguil [Chepstow]. Pembroke remained in the king's hands for a decade after 1189, and so Crouch presents him as a great man in his own right, 'but by no means as great a magnate as Sidney Painter believed.' See, David Crouch, William Marshal: Knighthood, War and Chivalry, 1147-

the small council of other great men – including Hubert de Burgh and Ranulf, earl of Chester. It was now impossible to move in courtly circles *without* cultivating relationships with those who held interests in Wales or the borders. As men primarily of the midlands, the Cantilupes were both at a socio-geographical advantage and disadvantage. Further cultivations were necessary to secure the family's status when the shaky political ground began to open up beneath them, the factions dividing the court between Hubert de Burgh and Peter des Roches, bishop of Winchester, on whose side the Cantilupes can be found during and following de Burgh's fall from grace. ¹⁹⁵

Also in 1217, William (I) and his son William (II), known at this time as *seniorem* and *juniorem* respectively, are explicitly numbered among the barons on the side of young Henry III against 'the excommunicated French' at the siege of Lincoln castle. The two Williams are listed below William d'Albiny and John Marshal but before 'the renowned Falcasius' [Faulkes de Bréauté], Thomas Basset, Robert de Vipont, Brian de Lisle, Geoffrey de Lucy and Philip d'Albiny, which may or may not reveal something about their relative status. If this had been the order on a witness list then relative status could be assumed; however, as this is taken from a chronicle, it is unclear whether Roger of Wendover's opinions have informed the order in some subtle way, whether the order of names is intended to reflect relative status but is inaccurate,

^{1219, 2&}lt;sup>nd</sup> edn. (Pearson Education Limited: Harlow, 2002), esp. Ch. 3, 'The Making of a Magnate', pp. 57-96

¹⁹⁵ D. A. Carpenter, *The Minority of Henry III*, (London, 1990), p. 228.

¹⁹⁶ The earliest mentions of the differentiated names are in, Rot. Lit. Pat., i., 'senioris', p. 106; Rot. Lit. Claus. i., 'junior', p. 300b, in the first year of Henry's reign. Roger of Wendover's Flowers of History, ii, ed. J. A. Giles, (London, 1849) p. 392. Roger of Wendover was prejudiced against John, and therefore his view of the 'evil counsellors' of John's reign – William (I) de Cantilupe included – is not entirely representative of contemporary thought. See Rosamund S. Allen, 'The Loyal and Disloyal Servants of King John', The Court Reconvenes: Courtly Literature Across the Disciplines, Selected Papers from the Ninth Triennial Congress of the International Courtly Literature Society, University of British Columbia, 25-31 July 1998, eds. Barbara K. Altman and Carleton W. Carroll, (Woodbridge, 2003), 265-73.

or whether there is an order at all. William (I) is later listed alone at the siege of Mountsorel, again supporting the king. 197

Such lists of names are good indicators in terms of measuring the accruement of power – William (I) had gone from the son of the vassal of earl William de Roumare to a lord in his own right rubbing shoulders with the d'Albinys and Marshals, and ensuring that his son also followed in this path.

By the 1220s, both William (I) and his son William (II) were followers of Ranulf, earl of Chester, no doubt a calculated move given the strength of the earl at the time. 198 The connection with Ranulf no doubt gave William (I) the backing he needed to keep afloat during the turbulence of the de Burgh/des Roches factions. 199 After thriving under John, and forging a network of alliances strong enough to help them weather the civil war, the Cantilupes found themselves part of a minority government in which the power was held by the Regent, William Marshal, already well known to them from as far back as King John's comital years, and the triumvirate. The triumvirate was comprised of Pandulf, 'first counsellor and chief of the kingdom', the justiciar Hubert de Burgh, and Bishop Peter des Roches, who was Henry III's tutor. 200 While Hubert de Burgh dominated the triumvirate, gradually marginalising the influence of des Roches, it would have been hard for the Cantilupes to negotiate these early years without at least appearing to support the justiciar and his ally, William Marshal.

By the mid-1220s, just as William (I) was approaching the zenith of his career as the king's steward and increasing in both 'public' and 'private/personal' spheres of

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¹⁹⁷ Roger of Wendover, *Flores*, p. 389.

¹⁹⁸ B. W. Holden, 'Cantilupe', William (I) de (*d.* 1239)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford University Press, 2004), online resource, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4572, accessed 18.09.13.

¹⁹⁹ Carpenter, *The Minority of Henry III*, p.; D. A. Carpenter, *The Reign of Henry III*, (London, 1996) p. 228 p.; B. W. Holden, 'Cantilupe, William (I) de (*d.* 1239)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford University Press, 2004), online resource, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4572, accessed 18.09.13.

²⁰⁰ Carpenter, *The Minority of Henry III*, p. 128.

power, he had to disassociate himself with Faulkes de Bréauté, a man with whom he and his uncle Fulk had been closely connected from John's comital years. Faulkes and William had been members of the tight circle of Peter des Roches's faction, operating against Hubert de Burgh, which had also included the earls of Chester, Salisbury and Surrey, Brian de Lisle, Engelard de Cigogné, and Ralph Musard.²⁰¹ When Faulkes was disciplined like these other men in 1224, and even William (I) was relieved of Kenilworth castle and also temporarily stripped of his Wiltshire manors and even possibly Aston Cantlow, Faulkes did not respond with prudence.²⁰² Then when Faulkes instigated the capture of Henry de Braybrook, his brother's enemy, he provoked the king to action. His erstwhile friends and associates were summoned to the Bedford, where Faulkes was under seige. During the siege, concessions were made to them to maintain their loyalty to the king. When the siege was broken, the entire garrison was hanged, and thus ended William (I)'s relationship with the de Bréautés.²⁰³

Yet despite this distancing, there was little love lost between the Cantilupes and the justiciar. Hubert's highhandedness and self-serving attitude within the March was unacceptable as far as the Marcher lords were concerned, and the Corbets must also have shared the growing resentment. His failed military campaign and farcical attempt at castle-building, not to mention his improvements to Montgomery were all causes for contempt and concern. A growing threat to the rulers of Gwynedd and Powys as well as his Marcher neighbours, he illegally disseised William (I) de Cantilupe of eight knights' fiefs in Shropshire in 1229, transferred guards from Shrawardine castle to Montgomery, and forced five of Roger Mortimer's vassals to perform service there.²⁰⁴ It is no wonder that William ultimately sided with des Roches, and was instrumental in Hubert's fall,

²⁰¹ Carpenter, *Minority of Henry III*, pp. 270, 332.

²⁰² Ibid. p. 346.

²⁰³ Ibid. pp. 360-66.

²⁰⁴ CR 1231-1234, p. 173; Suppe, Military Institutions on the Welsh Marches, Shropshire 1066-1300, (Woodbridge, 1994) p. 107

and also apparent why, in the circle of Hubert's enemies, William found so many Marcher alliances.

In the interests of examining the network of relationships and connections that were maintained throughout the period, Table 2 (see Appendix 3 below) provides a snapshot of the cases with which Williams (I) and (II) were involved from 1208-1239, but only those cases where an attorney is mentioned. Note that there were no attornies in the limited number of cases 1206-07. As above with Table 1, it builds up a picture of the kinds of relationships they were cultivating and pursuing as the years progressed.

Due to his multiple concerns in the region, William was made keeper of the castle of Kenilworth and sheriff of Warwickshire and Leicestershire. One would therefore expect to find William cultivating relationships locally, both in terms of his household and his in-laws. In fact, this is what can be found in terms of the cases. In the 1225 case against the de Maras, for example, a Wiganus de Mara, serviens of William (I) de Cantilupe, can be found in 1201, implying that the de Maras were attached to or had relations in William's familia. Similarly, Odo Aurifabrium or Odo the Goldsmith is also a part of William's familia, and so apparently was William Aurifabrium, possibly his son (or simply another goldsmith), whom William (II) attorned. The list of impressive men on this list has significantly increased from the earlier days of William's career – now he is to be found in cases with and against magnates and curiales like William Ferrers, earl of Derby, Henry de Scaccario, the Lascelles, and Hubert de Burgh. William was found in legal wrangling with de Burgh in 1228 in Somerset, and in 1229 in Shropshire, both over pleas of novel disseisin. Evidently there was some level of personal tension between William and the justiciar at this point,

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²⁰⁵ David Carpenter, *The Minority of Henry III*, p. 320.

²⁰⁶ Rot. Lit. Pat. i., p. 83.

²⁰⁷ CR 1231-1234, p. 173.

perhaps because William now felt that he was in a stronger position to openly challenge de Burgh, or de Burgh felt William needed to be put in his place.

Yet William was also known for his diplomacy, and his ability to treat successfully with disgruntled parties, particularly on a local scale. A minor case in point is the incident between the prior of Dunstaple and the townspeople of Lincoln. In 1229, William (I) treated with the townspeople of Lincoln, who had furiously withdrawn their tithes and offerings from the prior after the burgesses had perjured themselves when collecting the prior's tax. ²⁰⁸ The townsmen said they would go to hell rather than be taxed, and so negotiated with William for forty acres to which they may transfer their property, threatening to leave the town altogether; the quarrel was ultimately made up by John, Archdeacon of Bedford. ²⁰⁹ Naturally the Dunstaple annalist was more concerned with the blasphemy and slander heaped upon the monks and prior by the angry laity, but William's diplomatic action is not only a demonstrative snapshot of his competence but also an example of the triple spheres of politics, law and Church merging in one local issue. It also reveals the web of relationships he had access to in order to bring the issue to a conclusion.

Maintaining the family's ties to Lincolnshire also involved maintaining relationships with the Earls of Lincoln, and their relatives, vassals and associates. The man to court was Ranulf de Blundeville, sixth earl of Chester and first earl of Lincoln

²⁰⁸ Ann. Mon., iii., pp. 121-22.

²⁰⁹ Ibid. p. 122. Bedfordshire became the centre of the Cantilupes' power in the South of England, until William (III) gained the Honour of Totnes by his marriage to Eva de Braose. An unidentified archdeacon of Bedford bore the Cantilupe arms on his seal, and William (II) built a castle there at Eaton Bray in the Portable Antiquities 1220s. See: Scheme [PAS]: HIS-753A11, online http://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/106913, accessed 30.11.2012; VCH Bedford, iii., (1912), 369-375, online http://www.britishresource, history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=42448&strquery=Eaton%20Bray, accessed 12.02.2012; TNA: E 40/106.

(1170-1232), the elder son of Hugh, earl of Chester, and Bertrada de Montfort.²¹⁰ Ranulf received royal acceptance of his claim to the Lincolnshire barony of Bolingbroke in 1198, on the death of his cousin William de Roumare.²¹¹ Cantilupe associations with Ranulf went back as far as their associations with John; they are to be found witnessing charters together even in John's comital years.²¹² Since the tangle of aristocratic relations also needed to be carefully negotiated, and because of his growing interests in their county, William had also endeavoured to court the earls of Leicestershire. In addition to the obvious territorial benefits, this must surely have been a factor behind William (I)'s securing for his son the hand of Millicent or Maud de Gournay, daughter of Hugh de Gournay and widow of Amaury de Montfort, the count of Evreux, in 1218.²¹³ The de Gournays proceeded to use the Cantilupes in their disputes just as the de Bracys were doing, as attested by the cases of 1220, 1221 and 1224.

All the marriages made by the Cantilupe men were shrewd, demonstrating an understanding of the geographies of power. It has been noted that William (I)'s sister was the wife of Thurstan de Montfort (d. 1216), whose father had been the second greatest tenant of the earl of Warwick.²¹⁴ Thurstan's son Peter became William (I)'s ward following his father's death, and developed a strong, lifelong friendship with his cousin Walter, who was to become the bishop of Worcester.²¹⁵ It was the connections with the de Monforts, earls of Leicester, however, which were to define Cantilupe action later in the century.

Richard Eales, 'Ranulf (III), sixth earl of Chester and first earl of Lincoln (1170–1232)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford University Press, 2004), online edn., Oct 2008, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/2716, accessed 27.09.2013.

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²¹² Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale ms. Y52 fos.64v, 66r, s.xiii.

²¹³ PRS Pipe Roll 1218, p. 63.

D. A. Carpenter, 'Montfort, Peter de (c.1205–1265)', rev. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, (Oxford University Press, 2004), online edn, Jan 2008, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/37845, accessed 27.09.2013

²¹⁵ Ibid.

William also secured the wardship of Margery Cumin in 1228, and her hand in marriage for his son John. However, in the rolls the name of Margery's father 'Willelmi Cumin' was corrected from 'Thurstani de Montforti', which would imply William (I) held the wardship rather than his son.²¹⁶ John and Margery were married by 1236, and had two sons, Walter after his brother, who also went into the Church, and John (II) who inherited the manor.²¹⁷

The Cumins were not in the same league as the de Bracys or de Gournays; they seem to be local family, found witnessing charters in and around Northamptonshire.²¹⁸ However, 'Comyn', a variant spelling of 'Cumin', or *vice versa*, is the name of an archbishop of Dublin and the earls of Buchan, a powerful northern family with strong connections to the Scottish March.²¹⁹

The witness lists of the Cumins' charters (those of Margery's relatives) reveal 'low' connections rather than significantly 'high' ones, including a great many of their relatives and men with local toponymics such as William of Holywell and Peter of Cirencester. However, one grant to St James abbey by Engeler Cumin describes him as 'the son of [fil'] Reginald de Roinges'. William (I) had already cultivated links with the de Roinges, having appointed Godfrey de Roinges as his attorney alongside his son Robert in one of his early disputes. This would suggest that although the family was not itself significantly important in the high political sphere, they were evidently

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²¹⁶ CR 1227-31, p. 121.

William Dugdale, *Antiquities of Warwickshire*, i, (London, 1730), p. 504; Philip Styles ed., 'Parishes: Snitterfield', *VCH Warwick*, iii., 167-172, online resource, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=57005&strquery=snitterfield, accessed 02.11.13.

²¹⁸ The Northamptonshire Record Office [NRO] contains a very few of the extant charters of the Cumins, including NRO: A6, NRO: A5 and NRO: A10.

²¹⁹ Archbishop John Cumin, CCA-DCc-ChAnt/B/318; Earls of Buchan, TNA: SC 8/197/9816; SC 8/93/4650; SC 8/274/13681; William Comyn alias Cumin, of Scotland, TNA: C 133/36/3; John, son of William Comyn (alias Cumin), of Kilbride, *CIPM*, lands in Suffolk and Northumberland, TNA: C 133/49/10.

²²⁰ NRO: A6; NRO: A5; NRO: A10.

²²¹ NRO: A5.

²²² Cur. Reg., iii., pp. 14-15.

key to maintaining close links with other middling knightly families at a grassroots level, which in turn allowed the Cantilupes to consolidate their hold over their ever increasing cross-county interests.

The Cantilupes 1240-1254

William (II)'s career overlapped and mirrored that of his father. Following William (I)'s death, he too became the king's seneschal, no doubt trained up in these weighty duties from an appropriate age. He moved in the same courtly circles that his father moved in, and consequently consolidated, developed and expanded Cantilupe networks. Politically, the situation had shifted yet again, and this brought with it its own set of challenges. Henry's personal rule had begun in 1234, and Williams (I) and (II) had been in his administrative service together for the first five years. Following his father's death in 1239, William (II) fully succeeded his father in his duties, and proceeded to become a 'faithful friend' of the impressionable king Henry.

The Cantilupes' connections to the de Montforts, earls of Leicester, were no doubt strengthened by the arrival of the younger Simon into the king's court in 1234, and it is evident from later events that the de Montforts and de Cantilupes became closely intertwined.²²³ A charismatic man, Simon de Montfort the younger soon acquired a great deal of friends at court, gaining a share of the Leicester estates in 1231 and the title of earl in 1236, marrying Eleanor, the king's sister and widow of William (II) Marshal in 1238.²²⁴ It is unsurprising that William (II) and his brother Walter de

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²²³ Carpenter, *The Struggle for Mastery*, pp. 340-41.

²²⁴ Ibid. p. 341.

Cantilupe grew close to him, and on William (II)'s death in 1251, Earl Simon and Humphrey de Bohun laid William to rest in Studley Priory.²²⁵

With the gradual introduction and subsequent rise of the foreigners within Henry's court, the Lusignans and the Savoyards created new factions and divisions that once more threatened the stability of the realm. The Cantilupes did not benefit directly from the arranged marriages of the foreigners, but they did make advantageous matches which settled them firmly on the 'English' side of the 'English' foreign' fissure which had opened up as a result of Henry's favouritism.

William (II)'s match was made with Millicent [or Maud] de Gourney, widow of Amaury de Montfort, the Count of Evreux. In addition to the obvious territorial benefits, this must surely have been a key factor behind William (I)'s securing Millicent for his son. Although not a 'great man' or *comes* himself, William (II) could at least boast of marrying the widow of one. This was not an overly ambitious match; after all, although not an earl himself, the young William Marshal had also married an earl's daughter. daughter.

Maud also seemed to have an active role in courtly life, and following the death of her husband in 1251 was in royal service – the widow of the king's previous steward, mother of the king's present steward and the bishop of Worcester, she accompanied Henry's daughter to Scotland upon her marriage to King David. Maud's protection order, issued on 2 January 1252, considered her protection first and foremost and was followed by, '[t]he like to Richard de Spechley and Robert de Bracy, who have gone

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²²⁵ Ann. Mon. iii., p. 192.

B. W. Holden, 'Cantilupe, William (II) de (d. 1251)', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, (Oxford University Press, 2004), http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4573, accessed 28 June 2013.

²²⁷ Crouch, William Marshal, p. 67.

²²⁸ CPR 1247-58, p. 129.

with the said Maud.'²²⁹ Maud de Cantilupe was clearly a woman of status. With her own lands and a forge in the Forest of Dean, which she quitclaimed to the king for ten marks a year, she was still able to capitalise upon her late husband's office and that of her son's, as well as demonstrate the qualities she held in her own right.²³⁰ She was still maintaining the connections to her mother-in-law's family, the de Bracys, and that may indicate something about the ongoing nature of the Cantilupes' relationship with their in-laws. She had evidently proved herself to be a worthy person for the task of accompanying Queen Margaret to Scotland, and so Maud was able to cement the family's influence in the North and potentially bring her influence to bear upon a second royal court.

William (II) was a man with the ear of the king, and evidently performed his duty well with a reputation for integrity and discretion. By the time he secured the wardship and marriage rights of Eva de Braose, her family had been rehabilitated following the Braose/de Lacy/Llywelyn alliance against John in the 1210s, with the de Lacy connection still in evidence and the Marshal family now also kin by marriage. These rebels had included the earl Marshal, the de Lacys of Ewyas Lacy, into whose line George de Cantilupe (d. 1273) married, and John of Monmouth, with whose son and heir William (III) had a violent dispute in 1248-9. Being supporters of the king, the Cantilupes could see for themselves what the Marcher lords were capable of, and the difficulties of campaigning against them in Wales and Ireland. Marital connections with these families, maintaining the Marcher emphasis in terms of inheritances in Eva's case and the marriage portions of other Cantilupe wives, therefore demonstrate the

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²²⁹ Ibid.

²³⁰ The forge was originally granted to her by the king in 1228 through Roger de Clifford, as recorded in *CR 1227-1231*, p. 74.

²³¹ Holden, *Lords of the Central Marches*, p. 80.

See Carpenter, *The Minority*, pp. xvi-xvii for a list of rebels and supporters of John. The marital alliances of the Cantilupes and the dispute with John of Monmouth will be discussed further below.

Cantilupes' pragmatism and recognition of the benefits of shoring up their more fragile possessions in England with territories in the March unfettered by the king's writ.

In doing so, William (II) proceeded with his father's example of expansion. Having gained the wardship and marriage rights to Eva de Braose, he secured not only a Marcher lordship for his son William (III) but also Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford and Roger Mortimer of Wigmore as in-laws.²³³ That these and other connections made by William (I) and (II) were maintained by William (III) is evident by the account of his burial at Studley Priory (1254) – he was laid to rest by Humphrey de Bohun and Simon de Montfort, a baron borne to his final resting place by two earls.²³⁴

William (II) also managed to secure other alliances through his other children. John and Nicholas became knights, with Nicholas marrying Eustachia fitz Hugh, granddaughter and heiress of Hugh fitz Ralph, through whom he gained Greasley in Nottinghamshire, which was to become the family seat after the main branch died out in the male line. Their sister, Agnes, married into the St. Johns. 236

The networks provided by the St Johns of Basing, Hampshire, again provided them with a local network in that county which they could use to secure their holdings there. As demonstrated on the map which shows George de Cantilupe's holdings at the time of his death in 1273 [Fig. 3, p. 180 below], Hampshire is a county which borders Wiltshire and Dorest, the locations of the southern grouping of Cantilupe lands. Cultivating personal relationships locally here would have been most helpful for the

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²³³ CPR 1247-58, p. 8.

²³⁴ Ann. Mon. iii., p. 192.

Cornelius Brown, *A History of Nottinghamshire*, (1896), online resource http://www.nottshistory.org.uk/Brown1896/greasley.htm, accessed 20.09.13.

²³⁶ T. C. Banks, *The Dormant and Extinct Baronage of England*, ii., (London, 1808), p. 521; John Burke, *A General and Heraldic Dictionary of the Peerage and Baronetage of the British Empire*, i., (London, 1832), p. 126.

family as they dealt with the logistics of being itinerant. The geographical benefits, while somewhat obvious, will be discussed more fully in Chapter Two.

Paris's elegy for William (III) in 1254 does not refer to him a *vir potens* like his father, yet, like his sires, this William was also one of Henry's most important courtiers.²³⁷ He consistently received gifts from the king of timber, wine and deer, and had been given significant sums from the Exchequer, and was with the king in Gascony 1253-54, before returning to England where he died, still a young man, in 1254.²³⁸ He left three surviving children, George, Joan and Millicent, and thus began a long minority during which the head of the family was first Bishop Walter (d. 1266) and then Bishop Thomas (d. 1288).

In fact, Paris notes that despite his father's closeness with the king, William (III) was treated harshly by Henry for a time when he first inherited his lands. ²³⁹ This is an uncorroborated version of events, and the letters close and patent give no indication that Henry III did treat William in this way. However, Paris reported it with the implication that he found this surprising, and may well be referring to a breakdown in the personal relationship between William (III) and the king that was not reflected in the surviving documentation. Yet when William (III)'s career is examined in comparison to his father and grandfather, the reason for the king's alleged harsh treatment becomes more apparent. It would appear that, upon entering the March and taking possession of his wife's dowry, the Honour of Abergavenny, William's first act as a Marcher lord was to throw down the castle of John of Monmouth and take possession of it unlawfully. Until this point he had been in the shadow of both previous generations of Williams, and

Robert C. Stacey, 'Cantilupe, William (III) de (d.1254)', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, (Oxford University Press, 2004), online resource, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4574, accessed 14.12.2011.

²³⁸ CR 1242-47, pp. 210, 299, 404; CChR, i., p. 390.

²³⁹ Chron. Maj., v, p. 224.

although he was the firstborn son was not given lands in the midlands or south of England. He was given the Wiltshire manor of Calne in his father's lifetime, and through his wife Eva became lord of Abergavenny and received lands in Ireland.²⁴⁰ There was no contradiction between a courtly career and the acquisition of Marcher territory, and while William (III) is present in court with his father training up in his administrative career, but it would seem that his father's aspiration for his son, and indeed, William (III)'s own ambition, was the acquisition of Marcher territory.

While William (II) had been prominent in the records as soon as he began to shadow his father; William (III), however, appears far more infrequently and when he does, is identified as 'the younger' or simply William 'and Eva his wife'. By contrast, after her husband's death, Maud is identified as 'sometime wife' or 'who was the wife' of William (II), but in life there were few, if any, joint mandates issued.

In 1248, John of Monmouth died and his lands and castles passed into the hands of his son, John (II). On 26 September, Henry III sent a letter patent to Giles de Cambrai to take seisin of the castles of Monmouth, Penrhos and 'Landinegat'.²⁴¹ However, another letter patent dated 20 October of the same year claims that taking seisin of Penrhos was impossible, because William (III) de Cantilupe (now termed 'the younger'), had intruded into it after John's death.²⁴² It appears that William held it from this time until 1251, significantly the same year as his father's death, when a letter close dated 23 May was sent to Walerand le Tieis to go in person to the castle and deliver it (*reddi*) to the king.²⁴³ Walerand was permitted to raise men from Herefordshire and form a company with the sheriff to help him take possession of the castle should he

²⁴⁰ Robert C. Stacey, 'Cantilupe, William (III) de (*d*.1254)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford University Press, 2004), online resource, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4574, accessed 14.12.2011.

²⁴¹ CPR 1247-51, p. 28.

²⁴² *CPR 1247-51*, p. 29.

²⁴³ CR 1247-51, pp. 540-1.

encounter resistance, although in the letter patent dated the day after, Walerand was merely mandated to go in person to the castle and require those holding it to surrender it safely.²⁴⁴ Clearly it was in the interests of the king not to overemphasise the situation, nor draw attention to the difficulties posed to him by a member of his own household with whom he had a strong personal relationship. On 13 June 1251, the king mandated Walerand le Tieis to deliver Penrhos castle to John of Monmouth (the younger), which had been taken into the king's hands. 245 By 25 June the letter patent was urging William and John to come to an agreement by means of their arbitrators, and assuring William that he would not forfeit his liberty or be disinherited.²⁴⁶ It may be that the previous personal communication between Henry III and William (III) had suggested otherwise, and this may be the reason why Paris reported that the king treated him harshly following William (II)'s death. The corresponding Close Roll entries are dated 1252, the first for that year being for the sheriff of Hereford, concerning the custody of Penrhos castle being given to John.²⁴⁷ The other two Close Roll entries are also in support of the previous letters patent, one to the sheriff of Hereford reinstating the castle to John, and the other for William de Cantilupe to ensure that he would not attack John again while John has possession of Penrhos.²⁴⁸ Despite these assurances that William's behaviour would not be punished, it is not until 26 June 1253 that William gained remission of all his trespasses, not just the original throwing down of the castle, but all the other unlawful actions committed against John of Monmouth during that time.²⁴⁹

This is a fascinating insight into the king's relationship and attitudes towards William, both householder and Marcher lord, because it demonstrates the way men with

²⁴⁴ CPR 1247-51, p. 97.

²⁴⁵ *CPR 1247-51*, p. 98.

²⁴⁶ CPR 1247-51, p. 100.

²⁴⁷ CR 1251-3, p. 50.

²⁴⁸ CR 1251-3, p. 54; pp. 200-201.

²⁴⁹ CPR 1247-51, p. 202.

such close relationships to the Crown were treated in cases such as these. Henry's insistent interference stemmed from his attempts to challenge Marcher power and make some response to the longstanding liberties of Marcher lords which curtailed royal power in the region.²⁵⁰ William held the castle unlawfully from 1248-1251, during which time the dispute escalated between him and the rightful heir. The fact that the incident and its aftermath did not properly and finally conclude until 1253 shows that such incidents were not so easily resolved. Castle-taking was a serious business, involving the besieging of garrisons and potentially the loss of men, and the occupation of a castle, once achieved, proved a difficult thing to challenge. William may have openly been asked to surrender the castle to Walerand le Tieis, but with the 'request' came the understanding that the sheriff of Hereford would support Walerand with a company of men raised from Herefordshire should that prove necessary. Nevertheless, William was pardoned completely without any sanction for his actions, which, despite the leniency shown to him, were clearly serious enough to have an impact on the men of Herefordshire, as well as a number of Henry's officials and the inhabitants of the region around the castle in question.

William (III)'s personal connections were certainly focused upon the March more squarely than his father's or grandfather's had been. He was not only reaping the benefits of having de Bohun and Mortimer as his brothers-in-law, but also reaping the further benefits of his wife's holdings in the West Country. He is found witnessing one of William Longespee's charters, son and heir of Ella, countess of Salisbury, to Geoffrey le Despenser, along with Stephen de Segrave, Geoffrey de Langelle and others in Wiltshire. While this could be his father William (II) who also spent time in Wiltshire, dying at Calstone in 1251, it is also possible that this was in fact William (III)

²⁵⁰ Carpenter, *The Struggle for Mastery*, p. 365.

²⁵¹ TNA: E 40/4848.

capitalising upon his father's connections and making his presence felt in his new holdings.

The *inspeximus* and confirmation of his widow Eva's charter to the canons of Studley, confirmed in 1262, was witnessed by his uncle Walter, bishop of Worcester, Richard de Clare, earl of Gloucester, his brothers John and Nicholas de Cantilupe, Ralph de Knoville, a relation of Bogo de Knoville, sheriff of Shropshire and Staffordshire in the 1270s, Robert Walensis or Robert the Welshman, and Adam de Farley.²⁵² Yet, aside from these exalted connections and strong family associations, the *inspeximus* also reveals the names of the tenants of Eva's manor of Lodeswell, Devonshire. They included several men with family connections to Shropshire and Warwickshire, namely William Peche and Robert de Bosco.²⁵³

The cross-county interests of the Cantilupes evidently benefitted their tenants, too, and the fact that the same families seem to be following the Cantilupes indicates on-going associations with them.

The comparatively short life of William (III) means that in comparison to his father and grandfather there is a paucity of sources available to chart his life and career, and therefore his personal connections. Nevertheless, his daughters made good marriages – Joan to John de Hastings, and Millicent to Eudo de la Zouche – and George concentrated on the consolidation and expansion of his Marcher heartlands, despite

²⁵² *CChR*, ii., p. 42.

²⁵³ William Peche 'of Mere' extant charter c.1286, SA: 938/8-9; this Robert de Bosco is possibly a relation of the Robert de Bosco murdered in Warwickshire in the 1220s when William (I) was sheriff there; Rolls of the Justices in Eyre being the Rolls of Pleas and Assizes for Gloucestershire, Warwickshire and Staffordshire, 1221, 1222, Selden Society, 59 (London, 1959), 751:340-1.

inheriting both Cantilupe heartlands of Aston Cantlow, Warw., and Eaton Bray, Beds., by marrying Margaret de Lacy who brought more lands in Herefordshire.²⁵⁴

Interestingly, the Cantilupes already had a connection to the Hastings family through the sister-in-law of William (II). Margery Cumin's mother was the widow of William de Hastings prior to her marriage to Margery's father, William Cumin. 255 William (III) de Cantilupe married off his daughter Joan (d. 1271) to Henry de Hastings some decades later, reinforcing the idea that William (III) was also consolidating his Warwickshire manors even after he had gained his Marcher lordship and secured Margaret de Lacy and her Herefordshire dowry for his son and heir. Similarly, his daughter Millicent (d. 1299) married Eudo la Zouche (d. 1279), whose family had estates in Shropshire, Leicestershire, and Devon, and whose brother Alan was the Justice of Cheshire. Millicent and Eudo established the Northamptonshire branch of the family, as, despite his own Marcher connections, it was Joan de Hastings who inherited Abergavenny from her brother.

It is also worth noting that the wardship of Henry de Hastings, a minor at the time of his father's death in 1250, belonged to Guy de Lusignan, who sold it and the marriage rights of his sisters to William (III) de Cantilupe in about 1252. Guy and Geoffrey de Lusignan and Guy de Rocheford had received the lion's share of the Hastings estate, which had been vast, and was divided between eight grantees. Young Henry, about fifteen at the time, was worth about £600 a year, and so his marriage to

Nicholas Vincent, 'Cantilupe, Sir George de (1251–1273)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford University Press, 2004), online resource, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4566, accessed 03.10.2013.

²⁵⁵ Dugdale, *Antiquities*, p. 504.

T. F. Tout, 'Zouche, Alan de la (d. 1270)', rev. R. R. Davies, Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, (Oxford University Press, 2004), online resource, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/30300, accessed 02.11.2013.

^{257°}C. L. Kingsford, 'Hastings, Sir Henry (1235?–1269)', rev. H. W. Ridgeway, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford University Press, 2004), online resource, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12573, accessed 02.11.2013.

Joan was an increased bonus for the Cantilupes alongside the Zouche and Lacy connections.²⁵⁸ Hastings built up a friendship with Geoffrey de Lucy while at court under the protection of the queen, both with their reasons to resent the Lusignans, and both of whom sided with Simon de Montfort at Evesham.²⁵⁹ These were surely matches of which Bishop Walter, one of the most formidable of the Cantilupes and head of the family from 1254 to his death in 1266, approved.

Whether William (III) would have remained loyal to Henry or not in the Barons' War, his personal relationships would have made it very difficult for him whichever side he chose. As things stood, by the time of his death at Calstone, his connections were focused on the March and West Country, but he still maintained his links at court and his personal relationship with Henry III.

The Cantilupes 1254-*c*.1300

After the deaths of Williams (II) and (III), with George de Cantilupe a minor, it fell to Bishop Walter (d. 1266) and then Bishop Thomas (d. 1282) to be head of the family. When George came of age in 1273 and then promptly died, it was his cousin William (IV), the son of his late uncle Nicholas, who took control of the family's lands in Nottinghamshire which had been parcelled out among the younger brothers, while the ancient heartlands, acquired Honours and the lion's share of the demesne was divided between George's two sisters. These lands were then inherited by the heirs of the

²⁵⁸ Ibid.

²⁵⁹ Ibid.

Zouches and the Hastings families, effectively ending Cantilupe control in multiple English counties.

The deaths of the Williams came at a critical time for Henry III, who was facing baronial rebellion just as his father King John had done. The support of his trusted steward would have been especially welcome, but it is difficult to say how supportive William (II) would have been since his brother, Bishop Walter, was a staunch Montfortian.²⁶⁰ It is impossible, given the lack of evidence regarding internal family dynamics, to say whether William might have swayed Bishop Walter in any way, or have formed a diplomatic bridge; as it was, his brother Walter, their cousin Peter de Montfort who died at Evesham, and William (II)'s son Thomas were all within the earl's circle. Bearing in mind the strong associations of the Cantilupes with the de Montforts and other Montfortian barons, it is hardly surprising that with the influence of Walter as head of the family the secular members also veered into the Montfortian fold.

William (II) had ensured that two of his sons, Hugh and Thomas, were taken under their uncle's wing, and, apparently funded by Walter, they both went to study in Paris. At Paris, both men had their own master – Peter de Butteville, later Bishop Walter's steward. Hugh returned to England and became the archdeacon of Gloucester; Thomas gained several degrees, the first in canon law in 1252 and the second in theology, gained later when he returned to his studies in 1267 following the Montfortian defeat at Evesham and gaining his degree around 1273. Catto notes that, '[t]hirty years in the schools, it must be admitted, may only have furnished his native

²⁶⁰ C. H. Lawrence, 'Cantilupe, Walter de (*c*.1195–1266)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford University Press, 2004), online resource, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4571, accessed 23.10.13.

²⁶¹ Jeremy Catto, 'The Academic Career of Thomas Cantilupe', *St Thomas Cantilupe Bishop of Hereford*, ed. Meryl Jancey, 45-55, p. 46.

²⁶² Ibid. p. 47.

²⁶³ Nona D. S. Martin, 'The Life of Saint Thomas of Hereford', *St Thomas Cantilupe Bishop of Hereford*, ed. Meryl Jancey, 15-19, p. 15; Catto, 'The Academic Career of Thomas Cantilupe', *St Thomas Cantilupe Bishop of Hereford*, ed. Meryl Jancey, 45-55, pp. 49-52.

proud spirit with the dialectical weapons to defy with confidence earl and archbishop alike', but Thomas also had the support of his kin and sprawling networks to draw upon in time of need.²⁶⁴ As evidenced by Hugh le Barber at his canonisation proceedings, it was not only his 'dialectic weapons' he arrayed against those he challenged. On one notable occasion, he had the very present physical support of both kin and neighbours when facing down the earl of Gloucester in Malvern Chase while wearing his hunting garments beneath his cope.²⁶⁵

Regrettably, the bishops' influence on their secular kin cannot be ascertained through a corpus of private correspondence, but the official records do reveal a little of interest. In the Chancery Inquisitions, an entry states that Bishop Walter's brother Nicholas had his lands in Greasley seized, but was reseised after he made his peace with the king and prince Edward. The jury came to the conclusion that 'he was in no wise against the king or Sir Edward, as far as the jury can discover', and in fact, 'The jury know nothing of any rebels against the king or Sir Edward.' However, a different jury had decided that 'Nicholas de Cantilupo sent his men with horses and arms against the king. His houses and lands etc. in *Wyskale* (Withcall, Lincolnshire) are worth 103s 5d.' Still another entry recorded, 'Sir William of Mortein seized the land of Nicholas de Cantilupo in Ilkesdon, worth 10l 3s.' He was reseised of Ilkesdon and Greasley after the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, although Withcall was not mentioned. It was noted in the Ilkesdon instance that, 'Sir Nicholas was keeper of the county of Derby, but

²⁶⁴ Catto, 'The Academic Career of Thomas Cantilupe', *St Thomas Cantilupe Bishop of Hereford*, ed. Meryl Jancey, 45-55, p. 55.

²⁶⁵ Meryl Jancey, 'Appendix: A Servant Speaks of his Master: Hugh Le Barber's Evidence in 1307', *St Thomas Cantilupe Bishop of Hereford*, 191-201, p. 195.

²⁶⁶ Cal. Inq. Misc. (Chancery), i., 849 p. 248.

²⁶⁷ Ibid. 796, p. 243. It is worth noting that Witchall passed to George de Cantilupe after Nicholas's death in 1266, which implies this is the brother of Bishop Walter and John (I) of Snitterfield, as otherwise it should have gone to William (IV). After George's death it passed to his heirs. – *Rot. Hund.* i, pp. 336, 337, 375.

²⁶⁸ Ibid. 644, p. 196.

whether or not he was a rebel, the jury knew not. He made his peace with the king and Sir Edward at Nottingham. ²⁶⁹

The apparent ambiguity and confusion over whether or not Nicholas had engaged in rebellious actions was clearly influenced by his position and relationship to King Henry and Prince Edward, not to mention the memory of his brother William (II) and father, William (I), both of whom had served Henry III faithfully. Nicholas's brother William (II) had been called 'the king's faithful friend' by Matthew Paris in his elegy, and the two ecclesiastic Cantilupes both received royal pardons following the Montfortian defeat at Evesham. Thomas de Cantilupe's competence and personable qualities during his stint as Chancellor during the baronial government no doubt helped foster favourable inclinations towards the rest of his kinsmen.

The *Inquisition Post Mortem* of Thomas's ill-fated nephew, George de Cantilupe, reveals a great deal of information about the family's lands and their accumulative acquisitions by 1273, but all of these territorial and economic gains were underpinned by the cultivating of personal relationships. However, the evidence given as proof of George's age reveals a great deal about their household, and so will be discussed further in Chapter Four, which will discuss the *familia* as a means of expressing and transmitting family power and identity. It will necessarily require a discussion of the named men in terms of their territorial networks, which will be explored in Chapter Two.

The Cantilupes' time in the March had been comparatively brief, but had it lasted they would have become a serious power there. Had William (III) survived his

²⁶⁹ Ibidem.

²⁷⁰ Chron. Maj., v, p. 224; Mon. Ang. i, p. 573.

²⁷¹ David Carpenter, 'St Thomas de Cantilupe: His Political Career', *Essays in His Honour*, ed. Meryl Jancey, p. 63.

illness, or had George his son not also died so young, the Cantilupes may well have risen even further with the aid of their vast networks of magnates, career administrators and the middling knights of the localities. The middling knights and tenants were especially key to the transmission and consolidation of the Cantilupes' hold over their local power bases, and the means by which they were able to extend their influence and authority by entrenching themselves in the shires. They would also have been able to capitalise further on their new links with the de Bohuns, de Lacys and Mortimers, perhaps even establishing themselves as a counterweight to the earls' power in Brecon and Glamorgan. However, as Matthew Paris lamented, William (III) died before reaching the zenith of his power, and so what might have been remains speculation. ²⁷²

THE CORBETS

The Early Years: Family Background

Due to the relative paucity of sources for this family, there is less evidence on which to construct a picture of their personal networks. However, from the evidence that does exist, it is possible to build up a picture of the web of alliances the family were forming which creates a workable impression of their strategies over the course of the three generations under discussion here. A great debt is owed to the work of Robert William Eyton, whose twelve volume work, *Antiquities of Shropshire*, has gone a long

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²⁷² Nevertheless, the practical difficulties of being so entangled with so many different families became apparent in 1290, when Matilda, John de Cantilupe's widow, had to apply for papal dispensation to legitimise her second marriage to Robert de Kirkstead. Although they had by that time had several sons, they had apparently been ignorant of the fact that Robert was related to John 'in the third degree of kindred', and so had to have the marriage properly legitimised. *Cal. of Entries in the Papal Registers*, *Papal Letters*, i., 1198-1304, p. 514.

way to unravelling the complex web of Corbets and their tangled kin relationships, as has Janet Meisel's critical observations of Evton's ideas.²⁷³

The conquest of Wales may not have been on William the Conqueror's agenda, but the defence of his newly conquered kingdom east of the Welsh border certainly was.²⁷⁴ Wales impinged on the Norman consciousness not long after the throne of England had been secured, when border attacks resumed and the Welsh were identified as posing a real military threat.²⁷⁵ As was noted above, the king originally put trusted men with military experience into the borderlands who in turn gave these new possessions to their own men to hold from them. Earl Roger de Montgomery was one such trusted man, and the Corbets were one of the families of vassals of the earl to hold land from him in the March.²⁷⁶ The Corbets certainly propagated the idea that they were trustworthy and loyal subordinates; A. E. Corbet's The Family of Corbet, Its Life and Times (2 vols. 1915-1919), largely based on Jean le Carpentier's Histoire genealogique des pais-bas, ou, Histoire de Cambrey et du Cambresis, (1664) records the legend that the Corbets were hereditary standard bearers of the Viking dukes of Normandy, gaining their name from the raven (*corbeau*) adorning Rollo's standard. 277 Whether or not this is true – it cannot be verified by any extant sources – it certainly gives a flavour of family bias and perspectives.

In the eleventh century, the family appear to have been close to Earl Roger de Montgomery, from whom they held their lands. ²⁷⁸ Lieberman has argued convincingly from the extant evidence that they were followers of Montgomery in the twelfth

²⁷³ The resulting genealogical table can be found above, p..31.

²⁷⁴ Carr, *Medieval Wales*, p. 32.

²⁷⁵ R. R. Davies, *The Age of Conquest: Wales 1063-1415*, (Oxford, 2000), p. 27.

²⁷⁶ Domesday Book 35 Shropshire, (Phillimore, 1986), ed. Frank and Caroline Thorn from a draft translation prepared by Celia Parker, 255c – 256a.

²⁷⁷ Janet Meisel, Barons of the Welsh Frontier: The Corbet, Pantulf and FitzWarin Families, 1066-1272, (University of Nebraska Press, 1980), p.3. ²⁷⁸ *Mon. Ang.* 3:518, 522; Meisel, *Barons of the Welsh Frontier*, p. 4.

century, and that their Norman lands were located at Crocy, near Falaise, in the heart of Montgomery's Norman holdings.²⁷⁹ The lords of Shropshire formed a tightly knit group among the earl's retinue, and the Corbets certainly can be seen to be capitalising on these personal links in the thirteenth century. 280 Shrewsbury Abbey was a foundation of the earl's, and a main recipient for Corbet tithes and donations thereafter.²⁸¹ Robert, baron of Longden and Alcester (Caus) and the younger son of Corbet the Norman (d. c.1080), died without male heirs and passed the barony to his brother Roger (d. c.1134). Robert's two daughters, Alice and Sybil, married well – Alice into the Boterell family, and Sybil into the FitzHerberts. 282 Sybil's illigitmate son by Henry I was Reginald 'de Dunstanville', and granted the title of the earl of Cornwall.²⁸³ This connection was to resurface a few generations later, when Thomas Corbet (d.1274) married Isabel de Vautort, the widow of Alan de Dunstanville, and gained manors in Devon and Cornwall.²⁸⁴ This later Vautort connection was also a boon to the family's personal connections. Henry (IV) de Pomeroy had married Joanna, daughter of Reginald de Vautort, connecting the Corbets of Caus, albeit loosely by ties of marriage and degrees of kinship, with King John's household knights – the late Alan de Dunstanville had also been a knight of the royal household, who had improved his own economic status by marrying Isabella.²⁸⁵

Roger, to whom the barony passed, continued the family's close associations with the Montgomerys, witnessing Hugh's charters from 1094-1098, and naturally becoming a close associate of his successor and brother, Robert de Bellême.²⁸⁶ The

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²⁷⁹ Max Lieberman, *The Medieval March of Wales: The Creation and Perception of a Frontier 1066-1283*, (Cambridge, 2010), p. 64.

²⁸⁰ Ibid.

²⁸¹ See Table 14, p. 263.

²⁸² Meisel, Barons of the Welsh Frontier, p. 5.

²⁸³ Cornwall Feet of Fines, i, (Devon and Cornwall Record Society, 1914), p. 139.

²⁸⁴ Meisel, *Barons of the Welsh Frontier*, p. 5.

²⁸⁵ Church, *Household Knights*, pp. 87-88.

²⁸⁶ Meisel, Barons of the Welsh Frontier, p. 4.

Corbets naturally sided with the earls of Shrewsbury during this period of rebellion, and were no strangers to revolt by 1102 when Bellême rebelled. Earl Hugh before him had joined Mowbray's revolt against Rufus in 1095, as had Roger de Lacy and other Marchers, dissatisfied with the division of territories that had followed the death of the Conquerer. Rufus had been forced to raise an army to put down the rising along the Welsh border, which no doubt impacted upon the Corbets as much as other Marcher families indirectly drawn into the turmoil. The Corbets' active support of Bellême, therefore, was in-keeping with the dynamics of their personal networks and recent history. During Bellême's revolt, Roger Corbet was left in command of the castle of Bridgnorth, which he held for three months under siege until betrayed by the men of the town. Orderic Vitalis also records that William Pantulf, disseised by Bellême, went over to the king and received the custody of Stafford castle; some decades later, Robert Corbet (d. 1222) married Emma Pantulf, daughter of Hugh Pantulf, uniting the families.

The Corbets do not appear in the records for a short while following the fall of Bridgnorth, but soon managed to return to the king's good graces. While it is unclear whose side they were on during the Anarchy, it is likely that they, along with other Marchers, supported the Empress, and Roger (II) of Caus can be found witnessing several charters of Henry II in the early part of his reign.²⁹⁰ The pragmatism of the family contributed to their success and survival, and their political context no doubt influenced the personal relationships they cultivated in and beyond the March.

²⁸⁷ Brock Holden, *Lords of the Central Marches*, p. 15.

²⁸⁸ Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History of England and Normandy*, vi, ed. M. Chibnall, (Oxford, 1990), pp. 24-5

²⁸⁹ Ibid.

²⁹⁰ Meisel, Barons of the Welsh Frontier, p. 6.

The Robert Corbet of this study (d.1222), was the nephew of Roger (II), and son of Simon Corbet of Pontesbury, and does not appear in his own right in the records until 1176.²⁹¹

As far as the web of cadet lines go, it should be noted that there are multiple Corbets in each generation bearing the same name. A Roger Corbet appears, presumably a cousin of Robert Corbet of Caus on the basis that he was underage in 1175 and heir to a FitzAlan fee, and from whom the Corbets of Hadley were descended.²⁹² There is another Roger Corbet, presumably another nephew or even a brother of Robert Corbet of Caus, who was of age in 1175, and brother to Richard Corbet who may well have been Richard Corbet of Wattlesborough. 293 These Corbets may well have been brothers or nephews of Simon Corbet of Pontesbury, but it is clear that of all of these Corbet men, the oldest was Robert Corbet, Simon of Pontesbury's son, as it is to him that the barony of Caus passed after Roger (II), baron of Caus, died without issue c.1165. Robert Corbet of Caus, then, received a Marcher lordship surrounded by a web of his kin who had spread themselves out across the border counties, as the court and close roll evidence reveals, but who were also centering their caputs on the Shropshire manors they inherited, known in the records by their Shropshire locatives 'of (de) Hadley', 'of Tasley', 'of Chaddesley' and 'of Wattlesborough', even as they expanded their interests beyond these areas. More of this will be said in Chapter Two.

The Corbets were, in theory, wielding the kind of power that William (III) de Cantilupe aspired to wield. Yet, as William (III) was to discover, the liberties of the March could be misleading, and what was possible to achieve often differed to what

 $^{^{291}}$ Eyton, Antiquities, vii, pp. 11-12 ; Meisel, $Barons\ of\ the\ Welsh\ Frontier,$ p. 7. 292 Eyton, Antiquities, i, p. 85.

²⁹³ Ibid., pp. 85-6, *n*. 303.

was *thought* to be possible. While Meisel does not go into great detail regarding the baronial administration of Caus, the actual power of the barony has been considered in detail by Lieberman in his article 'Striving for Marcher Liberties', which currently forms a vital part of the Corbet historiography. The intricacies of the Corbet genealogy and problems posed by concurrent Corbets have been discussed above, and so this chapter will focus upon the careers of Robert, Thomas and Peter without further justification except where it is necessary to compare with the activities of the cadet Corbet lines.

As lords and knights of the March, the Corbets did not so much occupy one political sphere or cohesive community rather than straddle several. Their location in particular gave the family, originally men of the Montgomerys, greater autonomy as barons within their shire and enabled them to project a greater perception of their power beyond it. One of the means by which they achieved this was by the associations they cultivated and the marital strategies they employed. Brock Holden, too, has made some important observations on power and patterns of personal associations, noting that the magnates of the Central Marches had 'to make hard choices about their family priorities', which were 'demonstrated by the marriage strategies they pursued'. Hard decisions, brought to bear by the pressures of living on a military frontier, were not limited to the magnates. Middling men like the Corbets also had to make these decisions, and here it is possible to see the universal concerns of both 'new' and 'old', not to mention greater and lesser, men, converging.

The Corbets managed to turn their own perceptions of Marcher power into actual power, despite opposition. In their case, the question of power rested more upon what actions they could get away with and what material revenue they might command,

²⁹⁴ Holden, *Lords of the Central Marches*, p. 84.

rather than upon an abstract understanding of prerogative. While the Cantilupes held a coveted position at the heart of government and initially received what could arguably be termed as *perceived* power, or power by proxy, upon which they might later practically capitalise, the Corbets were more concerned with immediate and practical gain. The transformation of perceived power into actual power (or perhaps, *potential* to *active*) was attained through personal might, wherewithal and character, and not necessarily determined by status or achieved by royal permission. *Keeping* such liberties, of course, was a different matter. This chapter, however, is most concerned with the mentalities that persuaded the Corbets they had the right to annex and usurp lands and liberties in the first place, and so the extent of their success (or lack thereof) will be a secondary part of the present discussion. Having considered power and the significance of the political offices held by the Cantilupes, comparing the careers of the first two Williams with the brief career of the third, it is now time to turn attention to the March itself and those who had been long-established there.

For the Marchers, being left out in the proverbial cold where the court was concerned was not one of their most immediate worries. Nor was it necessarily the case. After all, throughout the history of the March the king had established in the borderlands men on whom he believed he could rely, such as Roger de Lacy, Hugh d'Avranches, and later William Marshal (d. 1219), who added Pembrokeshire to his impressive list of possessions. Yet for the lesser lords like the Corbets, established in the March by 1086 and holding their lands of Earl Roger de Montgomery, the situation was somewhat different. They had not been given their lands by the Crown directly, but

²⁹⁵ See, Max Lieberman, 'Striving for Marcher Liberties: The Corbets of Caus in the Thirteenth Century', *Liberties and Identities in the Medieval British Isles*, ed. Michael Prestwich, (Woodbridge, 2008), 141-154.

<sup>154.
&</sup>lt;sup>296</sup> The families of these men can be found in *The Domesday Book*; see *Domesday Book: A Complete Translation*, Alecto Historical Editions, eds. Ann Williams and G. H. Martin, (London, 2003); Bartlett gives brief overview of William Marshal's acquisitions in *England under the Norman and Angevin Kings*, p. 14.

rather held the manor of Caus from the earl. 297 The Crown may not have dealt with these men directly in their initial establishment, but by the thirteenth-century they had grown in prominence. This part of the chapter will use the Corbet family to question whether such men were indeed at a disadvantage when it came to their relationship with the Crown and individual kings.

During this particular period, the Crown itself represented three kings whose reigns were vastly different in character: John, Henry III and Edward I. Arguably as a consequence of the social and political instability of the times, the family was spurred into being more outward (or eastward) looking. Peter Coss has maintained that by the end of the thirteenth century, 'knighthood was beginning to inhere within a comparatively restricted group of families'. ²⁹⁸ He points out that at the Feast of Swans in 1306, the Corbets were among four families to have three members knighted at this prestigious occasion, having argued that the capacity to support several knights in each generation was 'one of the proudest features of wealthier knightly families'. 299 This, along with the far more successful fourteenth century careers of the Moreton Corbet branch, indicates that despite the comparative lack of success at maintaining Marcher liberties the family was nevertheless efficaciously demonstrating and expanding its sphere of influence through affluence and social display. 300 This is the background, heritage and family memory of the three generations of Corbets being focused upon here, which will hopefully serve to contextualise the ambiguities of their own actions.

²⁹⁷ Domesday Book 35 Shropshire, (Phillimore, 1986), ed. Frank and Caroline Thorn from a draft translation prepared by Celia Parker, 255c-256a.

²⁹⁸ Peter R. Coss, 'Knighthood, Heraldry and Social Exclusion', *Heraldry, Pageantry and Social Display*,

^{39-68,} p. 65.

²⁹⁹ Ibid.

³⁰⁰ See Chapter Four, below, p. 292.

As Marcher lords, the Corbets' relationship with the king can be charted through government records. The Corbets were part of an established line of defence, with Welsh attacks on the important centres of Hereford and Shrewsbury in 1067-69. The Corbets were present at Caus and held the castle there at the time of Domesday, so evidently the strategic position of their castle was a vital link in the military chain. It also meant that their strategies in gaining and maintaining power were predominantly martial in nature, although it is evident that they were also capable of moving with the political tides and adapting their approaches.

In gaining a foothold across the channel so early on, the Corbets may well have initially been well on their way to achieving great familial successes. The addition of the Shropshire holdings as a reward for their service meant that they were established in an area where the extent of their power could be exerted across the region under their command, looking both west and east. Yet, unlike the Cantilupes, this meant that they found themselves tied to a particular region. By the very nature of their defensive necessity, they were locked into one particular place to serve a purpose which would itself fluctuate in terms of relevancy as the centuries progressed, and times changed. This meant that the family would have to be ever sensitive to the socio-political shifts that were occurring around them, in order to adapt and maintain their importance. Thus, their vision was always limited to the Marcher regions, and looking too far beyond their borders was not always expedient or possible. The stark contrast in terms of manoeuvrability with the wider-ranging Cantilupes makes the latter family's apparent

³⁰¹ John R. Kenyon, 'Fluctuating Frontiers: Normanno-Welsh Castle Warfare c.1075-1240', *Anglo-Norman Castles*, ed. Robert Liddiard, (Woodbridge, 2003), 247-57, p. 247.

enthusiasm for Marcher territories all the more surprising. As has been briefly shown above, the scope of the older sons' power and influence appeared to be deliberately narrowing as William (III) became known as William of Calne, and spent time in the Honour of Abergavenny with his Marcher wife. A shared mentality may well be seen in the actions here, but the Corbets did not have the luxury of picking and choosing paths for their sons. In order to widen their own networks of power and influence, the issues of personal networks and territorial acquisitions had to be taken into account.

Their cross-border interests ensured that they, like the rest of the Marcher lords, developed a network of 'cross-border alliances and socio-political relationships', and among their various tasks was the role of escorting parties between the courts of Wales and England. Robert Corbet does not seem to have had any personal contact with Henry II, since the only records concerning him relate to amercement for forest trespass paid in 1176 and 1177. During Richard I's reign, Robert was paid twenty marks to sustain himself while on the king's service in Wales in the autumn of 1193 and ten marks in 1198. In King John's reign, a market was granted to him and his heirs once a week, in the year 1200. The sustain himself while on the wear 1200.

Compared to the career administrators, Robert is understandably a low-key figure where central government records are concerned. He, or at least his father, seemed to be concerned with consolidation of local ties to begin with. Robert married Emma Pantulf, the daughter of a neighbouring lord with whom he is found witnessing several charters. Meisel has noted the close connection between the Pantulfs and the Corbets from the charter evidence between 1179 and 1215. Hugh Pantulf, Emma's

³⁰² Laura Radiker, 'Observations on Cross-Cultural Names and Name Patterns in Medieval Wales and the March', *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium*, Vol. 26/27, (2006/2007), 160-198 p. 171.

³⁰³ Meisel, Barons of the Welsh Frontier, p. 9.

³⁰⁴ Ibid

³⁰⁵ *Rot. Chart.*, 1:1, ed. Thomas Duffy Hardy, (London, 1837), p. 446. The economics of the manors will be discussed further in Chapter Two.

³⁰⁶ Meisel, Barons of the Welsh Frontier, p. 8.

father, and Robert Corbet witnessed five of FitzAlan's charters, demonstrating another connection, this time to one of the most powerful Marcher families in the region at the time, and appear with the FitzAlans as witnesses in three other instances. 307 Robert was also listed first on two of Hugh's charters, while Hugh witnessed three of Robert's. 308 Robert seemed to be more interested in engaging in this more local level of administration and judicial activity. He rarely appears at all in the king's courts, apparently handling litigation himself and holding suit in his own lands.

A Robert and a Roger Corbet of uncertain connection appear throughout the rolls from 1199 onwards. Since the geographical spread of cases is also of interest, the full table of Corbet cases 1199-1250 can be found in Chapter Two, Table 9.309 Robert Corbet's first four cases are listed on the rolls for Middlesex, Shropshire and Gloucester, demonstrating that he had connections beyond the border and linking him with other landowners who were more 'central' in their concerns. The two in Middlesex are both against William of Cramford, firstly in 1199 over thirty-six acres of woodland in Dawley and secondly in 1200 over thirty acres in 'Dalling', presumably a variant spelling of the same location. ³¹⁰ They do seem to be two different cases.

In Shropshire, 1200, Robert was suing John of Seldest in a plea of warranty of land in Tetenhill and Marlbrook.311 This may well be Robert of Caus, and in this instance he attorned Wizo of Arundel, who may well have been a man of the FitzAlans. Evidently Wizo was a man whom Robert knew well and trusted, and was probably part

³⁰⁷ Cartulary of St Peter's of Shrewsbury [CSPS], nos. 301, 305,368; Eyton, Antiquities of Shropshire, 2:53; British Library [BL] Harleian MS 2188 fol. 55; Shropshire Record Office [SRO], MS 1898/1; Foedera, Conventiones, Litterae &c or, Rymer's Foedera, A.D. 1066-1383, 1:101; CSPS, no. 293; Meisel, Barons of the Welsh Frontier, p. 8.

³⁰⁸ *CSPS*, no. 297; Shrewsbury Public library [SPL], Deed no. 6062; *Mon. Ang.*, 5:358, no. 7; BL Harleian MS 2188, fols. 210-11; *CSPS*, no. 291, cited in Meisel, *Barons of the Welsh Frontier*, p. 8. ³⁰⁹ See below, p. 205. To clarify the Robert Corbets, the Corbets of Caus have been highlighted in the

³¹⁰ Cur. Reg., ii, p. 89; pp. 173-4.

³¹¹ Cur. Reg., ii, p. 118.

of the Corbet's *familia*. Not only is Wizo 'of Arundel', but his first name appears to be of Flemish origin. This too is interesting in giving an indication of the demographical composition of the county and of the Corbets' household at this time; more on the Corbet *familia* will be said in Chapter Four.

As a Marcher lord, Robert's relationship with the Crown was relatively consistent regardless of which king was on the throne. He was responsible primarily for defence of the realm against the Welsh. In 1204 he is addressed, along with Hugh Pantulf, as the king's 'affectionate and loyal' man (*dilectos et fideles*) and charged with providing Gwenwynwen safe conduct to journey to the king who was at Woodstock. His relationship with Gwenwynwen was deeply personal, as the prince was his son-in-law and therefore well known to him. They were to continue the political aspect of their relationship until Robert's death, but, as will be discussed further below, the relationship between the princes of Powys and the Corbets soured after Thomas inherited his father's lands.

In Gloucestershire, another Robert Corbet, possibly a cousin, and his wife Sibyl appear being sued by Amisius of Woodstock, who was also suing Richard of Crumhall and his wife Denise, William de Land and his wife Florence, and Nicholas de Limesi and his wife Margery. This Robert's interests were spread across several counties, in part from his inheritance but no doubt also partly due to Sibyl's marriage portion. This may account for the fact her name also appears in the Gloucestershire roll. It certainly permitted the wider Corbet family to exercise their influence over a larger geographical area through the web of their extended kinship networks, and no doubt assisted the family to gain various marital alliances and wardships across the counties in areas where their relatives had a stronger grip than their own branch had.

³¹² Rot. Lit. Pat., i, p. 45.

³¹³ Cur. Reg., ii, p. 147.

Following this brief flurry of Robertian activity, characteristic silence falls once more. Roberts senior and junior Corbet, this time most definitely of Caus, reappear in the Shropshire eyre of 1209, where Robert senior's prudence and temperate use of the courts is shown to be beneficial. Robert junior and a huntsman (also unfortunately called Robert) poached a hart from Walter of Minton's forest along with Codigan the sheriff's servant, embarrassingly enough for the local law enforcement, and another Welshman named Codwellan. Caught in the act of butchering their kill and sharing it out between them, Robert Corbet junior fled the scene with the hart's head, its breast and an antler, while Ralph the forester took the other men and their dogs into custody until the pleas of the forest could be heard. Among huntsman Robert's custodians were Roger Purcell, Robert of Hope, Guy of Arundel, Roger Springehose, and Robert ap Madoc. It is worth noting that Robert ap Madoc was later given lands in Middlesex by Thomas Corbet, Robert junior's brother: more of this will be said in Chapter Two, below.

Guy of Arundel in particular may well have been one of the FitzAlans' men, as they were earls of Arundel and lords of Clun and Oswestry, emphasising the Causian connection to their greater neighbours. Robert of Hope was clearly local and one of the Causian men, since Hope was a satellite manor of Caus and part of Margaret's disputed dowry. Thomas Corbet of Caus gifted the vill of Hope to Robert following Robert Corbet of Caus's death, which implies a strong and consistent family connection. Similarly, Roger Purcell and Roger Springhose appear in connection with the Corbets consistently on witness lists.

³¹⁴ Selections from the Forest Eyre Rolls, Salop Eyre A.D. 1209, Selden Society 13, (1899), pp. 8-9.

³¹⁵ Rot. Hund.1216-1306, ii, p. 61.

³¹⁶ See Chapter Four: The Corbet Familia.

Robert ap Madoc is evidently a man of Welsh extraction on his father's side, demonstrating the kind of integration that was natural in the border shires throughout the thirteenth century. Robert Corbet can be found as the first witness on a grant by Hugh ap Madoc, possibly this Robert's brother, to Fulk FitzWarin, in the company of Ralph de Sandford and a number of Welshmen, Hywel ab Eynon, Owain ab Eynon, Meilor ap Llywelyn and Eynon ap Llywelyn. The relationship between Robert ap Madoc and the Corbets was particularly close; Thomas Corbet granted him Weston Corbett, in the Honour of Wallingford, Berkshire for life – Robert's wife had been the foster-mother to Henry III's niece, daughter of Joan and Llywelyn ab Iorwerth. This indicates that the Corbets were not just capitalising upon their kinship to Llewelyn ab Iorwerth, they were also actively consolidating it by forging stronger ties between his close associates and friends. By maintaining their links with Llewelyn's inner circle, they were also getting closer to King John and Henry III, since Llewelyn's daughter, (Robert ap Madoc's foster-daughter) was their granddaughter and niece respectively. The territorial aspect of this grant will be discussed further in Chapter Two.

Given that, as a whole, the Corbets seemed to have failed to claim the full range of Marcher liberties for their lands and the assessments of their careers have been overshadowed by greater, more distinguished men of the March, it is perhaps easy to overlook the actual range of connections and alliances the family had made and were actively cultivating.

The list of names creates an idea of who the Corbets of Caus could claim to have authority over, showing the scope of their influence and indicating the level of involvement they had with their neighbours and vassals. The case goes on:

³¹⁷ SA 465/533.

³¹⁸ Rot. Lit. Claus. ii, 16b, 17b, 24b; William Page, (ed.), 'Parishes: Weston Corbett', VCH: Hampshire, iii, 386-388, British History Online, online resource, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=42007&strquery=weston, accessed 05.11.2013.

Of Robert [erroneously rendered *Rogeri*] his [Robert Corbet senior's] son, who fled with the hart's head and with the breast, he said that he was with the Earl of Chester and that he did not know where he was, but would send orders to him to come to the court, and if he come thither afterwards he will undertake to have him stand to right.³¹⁹

The connection to Ranulf, earl of Chester, is also significant. It demonstrates that the Corbets were not simply consolidating their standing among their neighbours, but also reinforcing their personal connections to the magnates around them. By necessity they maintained their connections to their lords, the Montgomerys, and their neighbours, the FitzAlans, earls of Arundel, and here it seems that they, like William (I) and (II) de Cantilupe, were followers of Chester as well. This was another shrewd and necessary decision. As noted above, King John gave his daughter Joan in marriage to Llywelyn ab Iorwerth in order to counterbalance the power of Chester in that region. It is no wonder then, facing this growing power base in Gwynedd, that the Corbets thought it prudent to court the earl on one side, and Gwenwynwen ab Owain Cyfeiliog, prince of Southern Powys, on the other. Neither were they were alone in this strategy of cultivating alliances on both sides of the border; for Marcher lords, this was a fairly standard thing to do. The FitzWarins, their neighbours and vassals, had also made good matches for themselves, with Fulk (III) FitzWarin marrying Maud le Vavasour, daughter and heiress of Robert le Vavasour, and widow of the powerful Lancashire

³¹⁹ 'Custodes predicti, preter Robertum Corbet, ante iudicium finem fecerunt per sexaginta marcas vt quieti sint de custodia illa. Vicecomes habet plegios. Robertus Corbet dicit quod dominus rex condonauit ei loquelam illam, et non illum trahit ad warantum. Et quia est baro domini regis et regem trahit ad warantum, dies datus est ei coram rege a die Mercurii proxima post diem Pasche in vnum mensem ad habendum ibi Robertum venatorum suum. De Rogero (*sic*) filio suo dixit qui fugiit cum capite cerui et cum furchia quod fuit cum comite Cestr' et nescuit vbi fuit, set id mandaret ei quod veniat ad curiam et si ipse illuc veniat in posterum ipsum in manu capiet habendi recto.' Selden Society 13, (1899), p. 9. ³²⁰ Carpenter, *The Struggle for Mastery*, p. 283.

baron, Theobald Walter.³²¹ Similarly, Maud Lestrange (d. 1242), sister and coheiress of Ralph Lestrange of Alveley, was the widow of Gruffudd ab Iorwerth Goch, lord of Sutton.³²² Gwenwynwen was not the only Welsh prince to be securing Marcher allies and lands in England, as, particularly after Llywelyn ab Iorwerth's marriage in 1205, the balance of power needed to be re-addressed.

Robert junior was clearly protected by the influence and reputation of his father, who also had to cope with the fallout from his sons Thomas and William's misdemeanours, which will be discussed below. Could it be that Robert senior was so successful in his grasp on Marcher power that his sons had grown arrogant and believed they could get away with a great deal under his protection? Possibly; Robert may not have been looking towards the king of England for rewards because his interests lay the other side of the border. Robert was a distant kinsman of Llewelyn ab Iorwerth, close to Robert ap Madoc, the foster-father of Llewelyn's daughter, and had also married his daughter Margaret to Gwenwynwen prince of Powys. Evidently, he also had a number of dealings with Marcher magnates such as Ranulf, earl of Chester, and the FitzAlans, earls of Arundel. Unfortunately, as will be shown, Robert's careful cultivation of a balanced power relationship was not maintained by his son Thomas in later years.

Thomas's future actions and his great reliance on the royal courts throughout his own lifetime may indicate that he believed the family's future lay not with the Welsh princes but with the king of England. Pragmatically, this could reflect the shifts in native Welsh princely power as compared to the power of the English Crown, as well as Thomas's personal feelings. It is likely that the next generation believed the strategies

³²¹ Emma Cavell, 'The Burial of Noblewomen in Thirteenth Century Shropshire', *Thirteenth Century England XI*, eds. B. Weiler, Janet Burton, Philip Schofield and Karen Stober, (Woodbridge, 2007), 174-192, p. 174.

³²² Ibid. p. 180.

³²³ Eyton, *Antiquities*, 6:160; *Mon. Ang.*, vi, p. 497.

³²⁴ Meisel, Barons of the Welsh Frontier, p. 8.

of their father had taken them as far as possible, and now it was time to pursue a more aggressive path.

Yet the Corbets of Caus were not the only Corbets in the borders. Their sprawling webs of cadet lines were also settled in the same locality, and they too appear in the court rolls. In 1200, a Roger Corbet and his wife Agatha appear in the Worcestershire roll in a case against Godfrey d'Abitot concerning a plea of custody of Agatha's son. 325 The family support network evidently extended the scope of the Shropshire-based branch across the counties, but the while the legal records are useful in showing the scope of the Corbets' interests and the extent of their authority, their philological utility is limited by their paucity. They offer only brief glimpses into the world of personal networks, giving small snapshots of Robert's activities and the people he may or may not have had prolonged contact with and authority over. The confusion of names is nevertheless useful in assessing the personal networks of the family. One family member may well have capitalised on another's connections, as the Cantilupes certainly did. Kin networks were most certainly important, especially for Marcher lords who sometimes required military support from their kin, vassals and neighbours in order to defend the borders and their own lands. It is also interesting to note the wider family's spread of landholdings across the counties, as this gives an indication of the Corbets' impact and authority across England extending beyond the frontier zone of the Marches. This will be discussed further in Chapter Two.

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Otherwise, all of Roger's cases for this year are against churchmen; these include the abbot of Tewkesbury (in the Worcestershire roll), and two against the prior of St James of Bristol (both in the Gloucestershire rolls). The case against the abbot was regarding the presentation of a church (there is a blank space on the roll where the church name should be), while the two cases against the prior are both concerning one virgate of land with appurtenances in 'Huchenton' or 'Ychelinton' [Ichington]. These are the only entries for Roger until 1220, (and there is no guarantee that this is the same Roger, either) but not the last for other Corbets. He is also not the only Corbet to be found suing churchmen; Thomas Corbet seemed to make a career out of it, as will be shown later. Roger himself reappears in 1226, again in the Worcestershire roll and once more against the abbot of Tewkesbury. The ecclesiastic element of these cases and the attitudes of the Corbets towards the Church will be analysed further in Chapter Three; *Cur. Reg.*, i, p. 168; *Cur. Reg.*, i, p. 280-1, p. 366, p. 371; *Cur. Reg.*, xii, 1769:360.

Where the *Curia Regis* rolls are not so helpful in unearthing Robert of Caus's personal networks, they do set those connections in a legal context. The lack of activity in the king's courts at this time regarding his *caput* indicates that Robert was indeed exercising right of suit of court in Caus, and he was evidently connected to other knights and landholders across England, Wales and the Marches.

Witness lists, pledges, mandates, fines, charters and grants help to fill in this picture. From John's reign onwards, the 'old men' of the March began to have increased contact with the administrators of John's reign, and the Corbets began to engage in diplomatic activity alongside the Cantilupes.

Robert Corbet, who inherited the barony of Caus towards the latter part of the century, played a significant role in cross-border relations, and could claim Llywelyn ab Iorwerth as kin by marriage – Llywelyn had cited a Walter and William Corbet somewhat ambiguously as his kin, implying that either his mother Marared or his father Iorwerth Drwyndwn had made a second marriage into the Corbet line. This relationship was capitalised upon, however unwisely, by a young Thomas Corbet in the rebellion of 1215-16, during which he may have aided and abetted Llywelyn in the capture of Shrewsbury. While this resulted in a serious low point between the Corbets and the king, Robert's lands were restored to him in 1217 after Thomas did homage to the young Henry III, and for the most part business resumed as usual.

This diplomatic disaster aside, the relationship between Llywelyn and the Corbets implies that cross-border relations were being forged the generation previously, and that Robert had inherited his own diplomatic policies and a good sense of political

³²⁶ Acts of the Welsh Rulers, pp. 388-9. Dr David Stephenson has disputed Marared's possible marital alliance with the Corbets in private correspondence, noting that he has evidence she married into 'Powysian aristocracy' after Drwyndwn's death.

³²⁷ Max Lieberman, 'Striving for Marcher Liberties', *Liberties and Identities*, p. 149.

³²⁸ Ibid.

judgment from his familial context. In this, the Corbets appeared to be shoring up their importance as well as their security. When Robert married his daughter Margaret off to Gwenwynwen ab Owain Cyfeiliog, prince of Powys, the family's status should, in theory, have increased. The powers of Gwenwynwen and the potential this Cambro-Corbet alliance created certainly seemed strong. Yet the balance of power in the March was always a delicate one, and very easily upset. The relative strength of the king of England, the contemporary state of inter-Cambrian warfare and the various expansionist policies of Marcher neighbours all combined to create a volatile situation whereby the English Crown was made more able to curb Marcher liberties in later years than previously, to the detriment of the Corbets of Caus.

It is evident that while theoretically the Crown relied upon the Marchers to defend English lands and liberties from the marauding Welsh, ostensibly for the 'profit and honour' of the king, as claimed by the author of *Fouke Le FitzWarin*, the actual relationship sat more uneasily with both parties. It is true that the Crown acknowledged and supported the necessity of their presence, particularly when campaigns and expeditions had to be mounted, but there was still an element of wariness on both sides. The Crown recognised the potential threat posed by men of independent minds and means, while the Marchers for their part resented having their liberties examined or challenged by royal authority.

Yet despite his son's rebellious actions, Robert himself was apparently not a disloyal subject. In 1204 he is standardly addressed, along with Hugh Pantulf, as the king's 'affectionate and loyal' man (*dilectos et fideles*) and charged with providing Gwenwynwen safe conduct to journey to the king who was at Woodstock.³²⁹ The relationship between Robert Corbet and the Welsh rulers was a recurring theme

³²⁹ Rot. Lit. Pat., i, p. 45.

throughout John's reign, when he appeared in Shrewsbury in October 1208 to witness a treaty between Gwenwynwen, then his son-in-law, and the king.³³⁰ Robert's name appears below William de Cantilupe's and Willam fitzAlan's, but above Hugh Pantulf and John Lestrange, which implies that he was considered to be one of the leading Marchers present (others present are unnamed and glossed with *et aliis*). The treaty was to ensure Gwenwynwen's good behaviour through the surrender of twenty hostages, and in January 1209 Robert wrote to the king concerning one of them, 'Hemon ap Hedenawein', his vassal.³³¹ 'Hemon' is not among the listed twenty hostages in the treaty, although there are three possible relatives listed; the sixth on the list of names is Llywelyn ap Crahern ap Hedeuenit, the seventh Eyneon ap Hedeweni and the eighth is Madoc son of 'de Hewent'.³³² 'Hemon' could possibly be a misspelling or indeed a mishearing of Eyneon.

Furthermore, when John was at Angoulême in 1214, Robert Corbet and John Lestrange were named as his representatives to swear a recently negotiated truce with Llywelyn, Gwenwynwen, Madoc ap Gruffudd and other Welshmen.³³³ Llywelyn had been raiding the March regularly by 1211, and in 1212 John was faced with conflict within England that rendered him nearly powerless in the face of Welsh resurgence on the border.³³⁴ Despite this temporary peace, the Welsh rulers had amassed a great number of military successes, taking territory, razing settlements and burning castles, Shrewsbury among them.³³⁵ Robert and the Marchers on the Shropshire border were on the front line of these Welsh incursions, and so throughout John's reign their purpose was primarily that of defence. He is listed as owing scutage in the *Rotuli Litterarum*

³³⁰ *Foedera*, i, pp. 150-1.

³³¹ Meisel, *Barons of the Welsh Frontier*, p. 10.

³³² *Foedera*, i, pp. 150-1.

³³³ Rot. Lit. Pat. i, p. 120.

³³⁴ Kari Maund, *The Welsh Kings: Warriors, Warlords and Princes*, (Tempus, 2006), p. 194.

³³⁵ Maund, The Welsh Kings, p. 194.

Clausarum in the year 1217, the first year of Henry III's minority and the last year of the Baron's War, which was to be collected by the sheriff of Shropshire.³³⁶ Robert Corbet does not seem to have done anything to undermine this relationship or to upset the *status quo*; in fact, the evidence points to his embodying the trusted, valued and necessary side of Marcher lordship rather than its negative aspects.

³³⁶ Rot. Lit. Claus., i, p. 372 [the list of scutage-owing men begins p. 371].

The Corbets 1222-1274

Despite his extensive consolidation of his local networks, expansion was clearly also on Robert's mind. His son, Thomas Corbet, was married to Isabel de Vautort, widow of Alan de Dunstanville, and in 1208 Thomas can be found sitting on the grand assize jury in Somerset.³³⁷ The de Dunstanvilles were related to the Corbets, but the relationship had sufficiently watered down by this point; Reginald de Dunstanville, made earl of Cornwall in 1141, had been the illegitimate son of Henry I by Sibyl Corbet.³³⁸ Moreover, there was another Marcher connection – the daughter of Robert (III) de Beauchamp (d. 1195) married Simon de Vautort, a kinsman of Isabella's, and their son Robert (IV) de Vautort came of age *c*.1212, and died in 1251.³³⁹

This marriage to Isabel would have put Thomas Corbet into contact with other local knights of the county, and established him there in terms of the legal processes of the area and in local politics. However, Thomas was one of the elected jurors who did not come to court to hear a case between Godfrey of Kingston and Richard son of Gunnor, over one messuage in Melbourn with appurtenances. He must have become integrated into local society on some level, although he does not appear in the *Curia Regis* rolls again until 1227, where he is named as one of four electors for a grand assize jury in Somerset. Between 1208 and 1227, Thomas is largely absent from the records, but evidently was not idle in terms of pursuing his own agenda and building up his power and authority during this time.

³³⁷ Cur. Reg. 1207-09, v., pp. 228-9; 252.

³³⁸ PRS Cartae Antiquae, NS 17, 38:20; Complete Peerage, iii., p. 429.

³³⁹ Eng. Ep. Acta XII, no. 200, p. 180.

³⁴⁰ Ibid.

³⁴¹ Cur. Reg. xiii., 315:71.

Thomas appears in the Patent Rolls in 1217, being numbered among the king's enemies and having to come before the king to do him homage.³⁴² However, the earl of Chester, with whom Thomas's brother Robert junior was certainly associated, was loyal to John during the latter years of his reign.³⁴³ Robert Corbet was not one of the rebel barons, maintaining the relationship with Chester, as a letter of Henry III to Chester indicates.³⁴⁴ Robert's loyalty and Thomas's disloyalty may be indicative of a wayward son, or a case of the family hedging their bets in the midst of crisis. This is not even necessarily a comment on the Corbets' stance in the high political arena; it may simply have been that while Robert and Robert junior supported Chester, Thomas was consolidating family alliances with another neighbour or ally who became a rebel. The Dunstanvilles, the family of his wife's first husband, were rebels in 1215, as was Fulk (III) FitzWarin (d.1258), a near neighbour of the Corbets.³⁴⁵ If Thomas Corbet had been drawn into rebellion by Fulk (III) as well as his kin connections to Llewelyn and Gwenwynwen, this may account for the rancorous accusation he levelled at Fulk (IV) at a love-day between himself and his nephew Gruffudd in 1256, at which Fulk junior was present as a mediator. According to the Shropshire eyre, Thomas lost his temper and called Fulk (IV)'s father a traitor, resulting in Fulk heatedly remarking to the others present that he would never again hold land from Thomas. 346 Hamo Lestrange reported Fulk's rash words to Thomas Corbet, and, eight days later, Thomas marched into

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³⁴² '*Pro Thoma Corbet*. Rex comiti Cestrie, salutem. Sciatis quod Thomas Corbet, filius Roberti Corbet, venit ad fidem et servicium nostrum et fecit nobis homagium. Et ideo vobis mandamus quod castrum de Caos et omnes alias terras suas, que sunt in manu vestra, unde idem Robertus fuit dissaisitus eo quod prefatus Thomas, filius suus, contra nos fuit cum inimicis nostris, sine dilacione eidem Roberto liberetis. Teste ut supra.', *CPR 1216-1225*, p. 127.

³⁴³ Richard Eales, 'Ranulf (III), sixth earl of Chester and first earl of Lincoln (1170–1232)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford University Press, 2004), online edn, Oct 2008, online resource, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/2716, accessed 02.10.2013.

³⁴⁴ *CPR 1216-25*, p. 127.

Kathleen Thompson, 'Dunstanville, de, family (*per. c.*1090–*c.*1292)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford University Press, 2004); online edn, May 2010, online resource, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/54504, accessed 02.10.2013; Frederick Suppe, 'Fitzwarine family (*per. c.*1145–1315)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford University Press, 2004), online resource, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/45482, accessed 02.10 2013.

346 Shropshire Eyre 1256, 335:137-8.

Alberbury and disseised Fulk by force. It was decided that the disseisment was unlawful, and judgement was found in Fulk's favour. Without any details of the quarrel that sparked Thomas's comment, it is not possible to tell whether this was a calculated provocation to create an excuse for Thomas to reclaim his lands from his vassal, or whether this was genuinely a disagreement that got out of hand. It certainly suggests that the events of 1215-17 had left a deep impression on Thomas and, indeed, on his fellow Marchers. The incident also demonstrates how shared memories and events could shape and make or break relationships within the networks of local lords.

Nevertheless, Thomas and Fulk had worked together after 1217 – in 1228 they were both holding hostages of Llywelyn ap Iorwerth, both fulfilling their obligations to the Crown.³⁴⁷

Like the Corbets, the Cantilupes undoubtedly had their enemies at court when they supported one faction over another, but in the courtly world this might be negotiated by keeping a tight grasp of their relationship with the king and by making themselves useful to the right people. In the March, it is evident that personal slights and grudges might set the tone for future relationships, as evidenced by Thomas's need to support the king in the Barons' War.

Thomas's career was marked by aggressive expansionism and a tendency to aggravate those around him. His bitter and violent dispute with his nephew Gruffudd ap Gwenwynwyn over Margaret Corbet's dowry resulted in raids and deaths on both sides, and at a Love Day to mediate between them Thomas managed to start a separate dispute with Fulk FitzWarin, his own vassal.³⁴⁸ This in itself may indicate a strong royalist

³⁴⁷ CR 1227-31, pp. 113-14.

³⁴⁸ Shropshire Eyre 1256, 335:137-8.

leaning, but it could be that Thomas deliberately picked a fight with Fulk in order to justify unlawfully disseising him.

He is not to be found as one of Henry's 'wardens of the March', and both Treharne and Suppe posited that this was because the Corbets lacked loyalty to the Crown in the later decades of the thirteenth century. 349 The picture certainly looks bleak - Thomas had evidently rebelled against King John, as in 1217, after his father's principle manor of Caus had been taken into the hands of Earl Ranulf of Chester, Thomas came and did homage to the new boy-king Henry III for siding with the king's enemies.³⁵⁰ No mention is made of his father Robert having to do homage in a similar way, and, as has been shown, Robert's past record in John's service gives no indication of disloyalty. Thomas certainly did not come into his lands until the death of his father in 1222, as there is no record of Robert gifting lands to his son before this date, nor is it mentioned in the 1222 mandate for Thomas to pay the 100m relief for his lands (which never actually got paid).³⁵¹ This would seem to imply that Robert was being held accountable for Thomas's actions, in the same way that he had to stand surety for his other sons in the Shropshire eyre the previous year. 352 In the 1250s and 60s, however, Thomas was not actually a rebel. He was one of few Marcher royalists surrounded on all sides by Montfort's allies, including the Welsh prince Llywelyn ap Gruffudd. This was not to say that Thomas did not share the grievances of his fellow barons and Marcher lords. However, it does indicate that Thomas felt he should remain on the king's side rather than throw his lot in with the earl, even after the Montfortian victory at Lewes. There is no indication that Thomas changed sides, or even speculated in the way that

³⁴⁹ Suppe, *Military Institutions*, p. 111.

³⁵⁰ *CPR 1216-1225*, p. 127.

³⁵¹ Meisel, Barons of the Welsh Frontier, p. 14.

³⁵² Rolls of the Justices in Eyre being the Rolls of Pleas and Assizes for Gloucestershire, Warwickshire and Staffordshire, 1221, 1222, Selden Society 53, 1260:544; Select Pleas of the Forest, Shropshire Eyre 1209, Selden Society 13, pp. 8-9.

other families like the secular branch of the Cantilupes may have strategically done. ³⁵³ Perhaps fortunately for Thomas, Roger Mortimer of Wigmore (d. 1282) was also a royalist, if only because of his ferocious dispute with Simon de Montfort. ³⁵⁴ This was, of course, the same Roger who was the brother-in-law of William (III) de Cantilupe. His mother was Gwladus Ddu, daughter of Joan and Llywelyn ab Iorwerth to whom the Corbets could also claim a kinship bond by marriage, and the widow of Reginald de Braose. ³⁵⁵ Allying himself with the Mortimers and Cliffords, Thomas was still surrounded by his old enemies, the Lestranges, the FitzWarins, and Gruffudd ap Gwenwynwen. It is hardly surprising that he looked to the Mortimers for a marriage alliance with Roger Mortimer's sister Joan on the one hand, and to other local families of lesser prominence, the de Bromptons and the Staffords. In time of war, when the fate of his *caput* was at stake, Thomas focused on consolidation rather than expansion, just as the Cantilupes secured alliances in their heartlands after being temporarily stripped of their castles in the Minority.

Treharne and Suppe's argument that Thomas failed to make the list of later wardens of the March due to his disloyalty to Henry does not quite ring true when his past record is examined, either. After 1217, Thomas proceeded to keep his head down as far as possible until he came into his father's lands. Having already gambled on the wrong side and lost, Thomas seemed to realise that he could not risk offending his king again since political stability was being secured. The late 1220s saw Thomas engaged with Fulk FitzWarin in hostility against Llywelyn. Military duties were clearly a

³⁵³ See the discussion on Nicholas de Cantilupe (d. 1266), above.

Maud Mortimer received Simon de Montfort's head after the battle of Evesham; Charles Hopkinson and Martin Speight, *The Mortimers, Lords of the March*, (Logaston, 2002), pp. 62-3; their 'select' family tree of the Mortimers (p. xii) omits Joan, wife of Peter Corbet; J. J. Crump, 'Mortimer, Roger (III) de, lord of Wigmore (1231–1282)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford University Press, 2004), online resource, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/19352, accessed 03.10.2013.

³⁵⁵ J. J. Crump, 'Mortimer, Roger (III) de, lord of Wigmore (1231–1282)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford University Press, 2004), online resource, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/19352, accessed 03.10.2013.

consistently unifying factor, but just because the Corbets and FitzWarins were engaged in the same activities did not mean that old enmity had been set aside. In 1228 the king became involved in the matter of hostages held between Llywelyn and the two lords.³⁵⁶

The 1240s saw a spike Thomas's litigious activity, and serves to explain why he chose to remain loyal to the king. During this decade, John Lestrange was the warden of the March with powers in Shropshire, Staffordshire and Cheshire. He also had shrieval duties, being sheriff of the two counties of Shropshire and Staffordshire between 1236 and 1248. Thomas Corbet was certainly among the 'barons, knights etc.' of the three counties told to give faith to Lestrange's reports concerning the guarding of the March in 1241, although he is not named explicitly. With the Lestranges of Knockin, other near neighbours of Caus, accruing so much power in these decades, Thomas likely felt threatened when his nephew Gruffudd ap Gwenwynwen married Hawise Lestrange, John Lestrange's daughter.

The patent rolls from 1250-1255 find Thomas featured in a number of complaints, mostly against him. The next time he received a royal mandate was in 1257, when he was ordered, one among a great number of named Marcher lords including Gruffudd ap Gwenwynwen, to keep the March and defend it. This was in connection with the attack on Montgomery by Llywelyn, and in July of that year Hamo Lestrange, kinsman to John Lestrange and Gruffudd's wife Hawise, was given charge of the region. Thomas Corbet was one of those told to be intendant upon him for its defence, with FitzAlan and FitzWarin. There followed Henry III's unsuccessful campaign in North Wales, which restructured March defence but left the Marchers disillusioned by

³⁵⁶ CR 1227-31, pp. 113-114.

³⁵⁷ Suppe, *Military Institutions*, p.111.

³⁵⁸ *CPR 1232-47*, p. 432.

³⁵⁹ CPR 1247-58, p. 553

³⁶⁰ Suppe, *Military Institutions*, p. 114

the king's military failure. Hamo was replaced as warden of the March by John FitzAlan but stayed on as FitzAlan's deputy, and the earl of Gloucester was given the March of Montgomery and South Wales. It can hardly be a coincidence that all four of these men were among the baronial opposition to Henry during the struggles of 1258-64. The fact that Thomas was taken off the list of *custodes* later on is perhaps not so much an indication of Thomas's disloyal leanings, but evidence of Henry courting the other Marchers by raising them to higher official positions. With the list of complaints growing against Thomas throughout the 1250s, it is possible that King Henry recognised that Thomas had little choice but to remain loyal in order to keep the king, at least, as an ally.

In the 1250s, Gruffudd complained directly to Henry III in a letter claiming that his uncle Thomas had 'hanged without judgement or any cause' three of Gruffudd's men, who were under the protection of God and the king, as was Gruffudd and all his men. The kin of the hanged men had entered Thomas's lands and killed certain of Thomas's men in revenge. This may well have been in connection with the on-going legal battle between uncle and nephew over the three manors of Buttington, Trewern and Hope, granted from the lordship of Caus, which had been part of Margaret's dowry and were now being claimed by both parties. This dispute had been dragging on since 1243, but in the 1250s and '60s, Thomas's Welshry, the Gorddwr, became another point of discontent. As Thomas and Gruffudd had such a difficult relationship it was likely that this was another reason Henry decided not to include Thomas as one of the *custodes* of the March at this time. Thomas, in fact, embodied the very turbulence that the *custodes* and captains were attempting to contain.

³⁶¹ Ibid.

³⁶² Acts of the Welsh Rulers, p. 787

After Gruffudd had laid claim to Gorddwr in 1252 and realised not long after that he could not expect a ruling in his favour, his own dissatisfaction grew. Gorddwr was returned to the Corbets in 1255, and discontent between uncle and nephew began to affect Gruffudd's attitude to Henry III. The wedge was driven deeper when in 1257 Gruffudd was driven from his lands by Llewelyn ap Gruffudd, the latest ambitious ruler of Gwynedd, because of Gruffudd's alliance with Henry. Gruffudd went to his father-in-law, John Lestrange, whose own allegiance to the king was questionable at best. After two years of frustration at Llewelyn's audacity and success, not to mention two years of the Lestranges' influence, Gruffudd finally set out to pursue his own agenda in defiance of Henry III. In 1263, Simon de Montfort, allied with Llywelyn, rebelled. With Gruffudd losing faith in the king and cutting his losses to side with Simon de Montfort and Llywelyn ap Gruffudd, Thomas had very little choice but to side with Henry III.

Thomas Corbet did indeed remain loyal to the king, and had his lands ravaged by Simon de Montfort and Llywelyn ap Gruffudd as a consequence. When Llywelyn seized Thomas's Welshry of Gorddwr and razed Gwyddgrug castle, the other Marchers did not come to Thomas's aid. It is hard to see why they would. The interpersonal networks of his neighbours were too intertwined with those of his enemies, chief among these being his own nephew Gruffudd, with his father-in-law John Lestrange and ally Fulk FitzWarin. With these three powerful and influential men against him, all with their own personal reasons for counting themselves enemies of Caus, Thomas was faced with a difficult dilemma.

This context for Thomas Corbet's activities and loyalties throughout the Barons' War reveals a great deal about his motivations for remaining with Henry. While the

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³⁶³ Spurgeon, 'Gwyddgrug Castle', MC 57, p. 131

Suppe, *Military Institutions*, p. 119; C. J. Spurgeon, 'Gwyddgrug Castle (Forden) and the Gorddwr Dispute in the Thirteenth Century', *Montgomeryshire Collections* 57 (1963 for 1961-2), 125-36, p. 132.

Cantilupes were well placed to exercise power as administrators regardless of who was pulling the strings, with Thomas de Cantilupe receiving a full pardon for his time as Chancellor in the baronial government, those on the periphery could not count on close personal ties to protect them. However, Thomas Corbet's strategic position in the March meant that Henry found it beneficial to please and appease him by finding in his favour against Gruffudd, who was proving harder to control. Not only this, but Thomas found most of his personal enemies on the opposing side, which meant that if he also joined the Montfortians he could expect no further protection from the king, and there was nothing to prevent his neighbours, allies or not, from raiding his lands in private retribution during the chaos of the wars. Certainly with a weak king on the throne Thomas could expect to get away with his expansionism and policy of excluding royal coroners from his lands, as the complaints of the men of Shelve and Hope demonstrate that he did successfully throughout his lifetime.

No doubt the homage he had been forced to do in 1217, and the memory of his father's lands being taken into the king's hands as a result of his actions, also shaped his decision.

In the end, without definitive evidence of personal opinion, it is still difficult to ascertain whether Thomas was reacting to circumstances in the only pragmatic way possible, or if he had simply changed his stripes since 1217 and had become a die-hard royalist. He was certainly rewarded in 1266 with multiple gifts from the king, including wine and money to repair Caus castle, but this may not have been a lure enough on its own considering the tight network of alliances in his area. 365 It would certainly seem that Thomas sided with Henry III because he had very little choice, rather than because he did not share the Montfortians' aims or complaints.

³⁶⁵ CR 1264-68, pp. 206, 306, 452.

A factor which further complicates the Crown's relationship with Thomas Corbet, at least briefly, was the fact that Thomas took on a dual role. From 18 May, 1248 he was not only a Marcher lord, but also the sheriff of Shropshire and Staffordshire. He held this position until Robert Grendon took over in 1250, but was addressed as the sheriff (*vicecomes*) once more in November 1265, but not again after this date. That he did not hold the office a third time is hardly surprising, since he died in 1274 at a relatively old age. It is possible that the second time actually refers to Thomas Corbet of Tasley rather than Thomas of Caus, which would perhaps be more likely as the cadet Thomas was a much younger man and also possessed of lands in Shropshire and beyond.

A Marcher reserved the right to dispense justice in his own territory, and being sheriff of two counties extended his jurisdiction. The office of sheriff in the midthirteenth century still retained its seigniorial aspect to a certain extent, so for an experienced man like Thomas holding this office could have made dispensing justice in his own locality easier and more convenient. Even after the Provisions of Westminster passed into law, seigniorial courts retained jurisdiction over unfree tenants, as personal actions against free tenants did not require a writ to be brought to court (like debt, covenant or trespass), and 'an exclusive jurisdiction as a court of first instance in land actions brought by the writ of right [king's writ, which did not apply in the March] for tenements held of the lord of the court'. 368

It was also the sheriff's duty to ensure all royal mandates and writs were carried out, answering to the Justices at Westminster for any complaints brought against him, as

³⁶⁶ CPR 1247-1258, p. 16.

³⁶⁷ Staffordshire Landed Gentry, 1066-1702: A Genealogical Account, Compiled by Richard Williams, Copy of a work in progress (1 December 2004), Appendix 001: Staffordshire Sheriffs 1066-1702, online resource, http://boards.ancestry.co.uk/localities.britisles.england.sts.general/4623/mb.ashx?pnt=1, accessed 23.05.2011; CPR, Henry III, 1258-1266, (London, 1908) p. 51.

³⁶⁸ Paul Brand, Kings, Barons and Justices: The Making and Enforcement of Legislation in Thirteenth Century England, (Cambridge, 2003), p. 44.

the amercement of sheriff Bogo de Knoville later demonstrates. 369 This fact would appear to shorten the psychological distance between the Corbets and the Crown, putting them under the scrutiny of royal authority in a way their status as Marcher lords could not.

As sheriff, Thomas took castles into his custody, dealt with malefactors and seems to have performed all duties as befitting his position.³⁷⁰ It is unsurprising that a Corbet of Caus was chosen to hold this office given the location of their lands and their connections with the Welsh native rulers, as ideally the king required men who were familiar with local conditions, as they were better able to perform their duties.³⁷¹ While this is undeniably true, the idea that such a position was necessary to the family is a little harder to support given the extent of their territory and the revenue it must have accrued.³⁷² However, he also used his position to continue his vendettas against other neighbouring families, consolidating his own status and strengthening his position. Mention has already been made of the 'trespasses' committed against the king and his men in Salop and Staffordshire by Thomas in 1252, and these abuses find support in the Patent Roll entry of 1248, regarding the aforementioned malefactors:

> Mandate to John de Grey, justice of Chester, Thomas Corbet, Walerand le Tyeis and Robert Waleraundi, because war has many times arisen from this that the English receive malefactors of the Welsh, and the Welsh malefactors of the English in the march of Wales, as is said, to prohibit all nobles of their bailiwicks on the king's behalf from receiving such in future.³⁷³

^{369 &#}x27;Et scias quod graviter amerciatus es, eo quod praeceptum nostrum inde tibi directum non es executus sicut tibi praeceptum fuit; et gravius amerciaberis nisi hoc praeceptum nostrum plenius exequaris', Register of Thomas Cantilupe, i, p. 74. 370 CPR 1247-1252, pp. 16, 20, 28.

David Bruce Carr, Amici Regis: Administrative Personnel under King Henry III of England 1216-1258, unpublished PhD thesis, (Case Western Reserve university, 1975), authorised facsimile produced

³⁷² Meisel, Barons of the Welsh Frontier, p. 109.

³⁷³ CPR 1247-1252, p. 28.

It is unclear from this whether Thomas himself has been guilty of receiving such malicious traffic, but the 'trespasses and injuries' he committed later and presumably also during his time as sheriff would not rule this out. Despite being in an important official position which laid him open to closer scrutiny, he still appears to have had little regard for royal authority or rights within the border counties. The relative weakness of Henry III as king no doubt facilitated the attitude of 'casual indifference' to his authority. This is a view put forward by Meisel, who makes the compelling point that no precise answer can be found to explain such an attitude nor to categorically state whether it was the result of weakness on the part of the king or strength on the part of the lord. Additionally, his ongoing dispute with the FitzWarins first appears in 1250, when John Lestrange had taken over shrieval duties, and is even brought up in the Close Rolls of Edward I during Bogo de Knovill's time in office.

Since Thomas Corbet's land and its location provided the key to his military power, allowing him to push further into Wales, he was in a position that did not necessarily require other offices to augment his wealth and status. However, there is a difference between *potential* power and *active* or *actual* power, and the transition between the two largely depends on what other people – peers, subordinates and superiors – believe you can get away with.

The court rolls indicate that the Corbets retained Welshmen as well as Englishmen or those of mixed descent.³⁷⁶ In 1287 Peter Corbet was expected to provide four hundred armed footmen for Edward's expedition against Rhys ap Maredudd, and 'a

³⁷⁴ Meisel, *Barons of the Welsh Frontier*, p. 108.

³⁷⁵ Ibid.

³⁷⁶ TNA: KB 26/159; see also TNA: KB 26/156, cited in Meisel, *Barons of the Welsh Frontier*, p. 107.

good five hundred and more' from the Gorddwr had done him homage in 1277.³⁷⁷ Based on these figures, it is likely that Meisel's high estimates of the Corbets' military might are perfectly reasonable – she herself cites these sources as evidence that there must have been a thousand men readily available to the family in a military capacity, and more if mercenaries were employed on a frequent basis.³⁷⁸

Elsewhere, in lands where the king held greater control over the administration and justice, advancement in terms of territory and its associated revenues could come only through marriage – itself dependent upon the beneficial nature of such matches – or through the generosity of the Crown. To remain outside the Crown's notice was to remain insignificant and inconspicuous, yet for those on the geographical 'fringes', their position on the real and imagined frontiers of the realm was in itself an opportunity rather than a misfortune. Even demonstrating competence in official duties which brought them closer to their king did not necessarily strengthen their relationship with their sovereign, as their actions were now under closer examination. While for others, such as the administratively able Cantilupes, this would seem to be a chance for making a name for themselves, for men like the Corbets this was more of a hindrance to their agenda, as Thomas Corbet discovered.

While the Corbets do not have as much evidence or activity to discuss in comparison to the amount of surviving material relating to the Cantilupes, a picture has nevertheless been constructed of a family who employed very similar strategies in very similar circumstances.

³⁷⁷ Calendar of Welsh Rolls, contained in Calendar of Various Chancery Rolls 1277-1326, (London, 1912), pp. 312-313; Calendar of Ancient Correspondence Concerning Wales, ed. John Goronwy Edwards, (Cardiff, 1935), p. 81.

³⁷⁸ Meisel, Barons of the Welsh Frontier, p. 200.

The development of the consolidation and expansion strategies through their personal networks can be traced further with Thomas's son Peter, who inherited the positive and negative networks of his father and grandfather.

The Corbets 1274-c.1300

Peter was the son and heir of Thomas Corbet and Isabel de Vautort, widow of Alan de Dunstanville, through whom the Corbets gained lands in the West Country. Were it not for the high concentration of Marcher manors in these counties, and the strong connections of Totnes Priory with the Welsh princes, this may seem like an odd choice of alliance. Yet Thomas was also looking to consolidate his lands with the support of his neighbours, and had secured Joan Mortimer to be Peter's wife. His daughter Emma had married into the de Bromptons, a local Shropshire family, while his other daughter, Alice, had married into the de Staffords, but even these local connections were of little help during the Barons' War. ³⁷⁹

The Corbet attempt to shore up their personal connnections to the more powerful magnates in the surrounding area can be seen as they used marital alliances to consolidate local support and gain greater influence in the neighbouring counties. To this end, after Joan Mortimer's death, Peter Corbet remarried. His second wife was Alice d'Orreby, daughter of the Justice of Cheshire. 380 Just as the de Lacy alliance for the Cantilupes also meant re-establishing ties to ancient heartlands in Lincoln as well as shoring up new border acquisitions by expanding into Herefordshire, so the combined Mortimer/d'Orreby alliances served to reinforce the Corbets' previous holdings and connections cultivated by Peter's grandfather, Robert Corbet, as well as give them authority over new holdings. Equally, Peter's children also made prudent matches – his

³⁷⁹ Emma Corbet (d. 1284) stated that she should be buried wherever her husband and brother wished, although there is no record of the location; see Emma Cavell, 'The Burial of Noblewomen in Thirteenth Century Shropshire', *Thirteenth Century England XI*, eds. Bjorn K. U. Weiler, Janet Burton, Philip Schofield and Karen Stober, (Woodbridge, 2007), 174-192, p. 184.

³⁸⁰ See the genealogical table above, p. 31.

daughter Alice, for instance, was the second wife of John de Harecourt, a family of some consequence in the region and beyond.³⁸¹

Peter Corbet also faced the heavy handedness and taxation of Edward I, a much more formidable king than Henry III had been. His actions often infuriated the Marchers, yet still there was no outright rebellion as there had been in the days of his father – a testimony to Edward I's ability to control his subjects and wield royal power effectively. Peter was unable to hold onto the liberties his father Thomas had accumulated, but this did not necessarily put the Corbets on the back foot since their neighbours found themselves equally scrutinised. Peter's position was valuable to Edward and so was his ability to muster upwards of five hundred men; although the scope of his power was curbed by the *quo warranto* proceedings, Peter Corbet was still summoned to aid the king during the Conquest of Wales in the 1280s, and benefitted by receipts of royal gifts as a result, in particular the gifts of manors, which will be discussed more fully in Chapter Two. 383

Many Marcher lords resented Edward's intervention and heavy handed attitude to territory which, as far as they were concerned, was not under royal control regardless of such mitigating factors. The earl of Warenne, when asked by what warrant or right he held his lands, reportedly drew an old sword and said, 'by this warrant my ancestors won their lands and by this I do and will hold mine'. 384

This famous sentiment of bold independence is arguably one which Peter Corbet shared, given his efforts to retain land in various legal cases including one with Thomas

³⁸¹ Mon. Ang, vi., p. 258.

³⁸² A. D. Carr, 'Crown and Communities: Collaboration and Conflict', *Edward I and Wales*, eds. Trevor Herbert and Gareth Elwyn Jones, (Cardiff, 1988), 123-145, p. 125.

³⁸³ CPR 1272-81, p. 435, wolf-hunting mandate to Peter Corbet; CPR 1281-92, pp. 115, 175.

Humphrey Llwyd, *Cronica Walliae*, ed. Ieuan M. Williams, (Cardiff, 2002), p. 220.

de Cantilupe, bishop of Hereford. 385 It is also obvious in his disregard for the king's rights in his lands; in 1298, despite being told that no one should be king in his county except the king of England, Peter continued to imprison his own tenants and usurp judicial rights within his territories. 386 This demonstrates the difference between perceived power and actual power – if a man is able to continue to act in a certain manner despite instructions to the contrary, this implies that the reality was quite different to the theory. Just because the Corbets were not as powerful on paper (or vellum, in this case) as their greater neighbours, did not mean that such limitations were recognised in practice. This is applicable across the whole period being studied here, and is perhaps more obviously true in the case of Thomas Corbet's career, who was also able to take advantage of the weaknesses of Henry III's rule. Had Edward I proven to be a man more in the mould of Henry III, then arguably Peter Corbet may not have had any difficulties in maintaining the usurpations of his father.

However, that was not to be the case. With the advent of a king whose grip on power was far stronger than his predecessor's, the relationship between this sovereign and his lords inevitably underwent a shift as their autonomy was challenged and curbed. Under Edward's reign, the purpose of the Marchers also underwent a shift, in that the conquest of Wales now ranked high on the king's agenda as opposed to the more reactive expeditions and retaliations of the past. Peter received protection for going to Wales three times throughout 1277, first on May 5 until Michaelmas, which was renewed May 24, and then again October 20 until Easter 1278.³⁸⁷ Therefore regardless of any stress the Corbets put on their relationship with the king by their constant attempts to gain territory, their litigious actions and penchant for disharmony, each generation was vital for the protection and defence of the realm. Regardless of

³⁸⁵ Register of Thomas Cantilupe, i, pp. 67-72.

³⁸⁶ Max Lieberman, *The March of Wales 1067-1300*, p. 3.

³⁸⁷ CPR 1272-1281, pp. 201, 209 and 222.

personality clashes and differences in policy they were necessary to the Crown for their experience and resources. Even their combative attitudes were of use when it came to dispatching their duties in Wales.

It is fitting that this chapter on personal networks should end with a discussion on the personal links between the Cantilupes and the Corbets themselves, which were not uniformly diplomatic and harmonious. To this end, attention will be given to the case between Peter Corbet and Bishop Thomas de Cantilupe, which links the two families in the legal arena. They had had a certain amount of interaction in the past, with Robert and William (I) appearing on the same witness lists in regards to John's treaties with the Welsh princes, and one of Thomas Corbet's men testifying at George's *Inquisition Post Mortem*. With the context of each family firmly established, it is possible to understand the perspective of these later generations upon which family influences had been brought to bear.

The narrative of this case begins, unsurprisingly, with Thomas Corbet annexing Asterton from Hereford in the time of Bishop Peter d'Aigueblanche. On May 8 1276, Thomas Corbet was accused of unlawfully disseising Bishop Peter of one hundred acres with appertenances. Another writ was sent out ordering the sheriff, Bogo de Knoville, to take view of the hundred acres of pasture with its appurtenances and to send four of the viewing knights to the Justices at Westminster. 389

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³⁸⁸ Register of Thomas Cantilupe, i, p. 67.

³⁸⁹ 'Et dic quatuor militibus ex illis qui visui illi interfuerint, quod sint coram Justiciariis nostris apud Westmonasterium, a die Sancti Martini in xv dies, ad testificandum visum illum.' Ibid., p. 68.

Some nineteen months passed before the issuing of a further writ on December 30, 1277. This writ directed the sheriff 'to secure by distraint the service of the knights who failed to act on the perambulation of the border-lands of the Bishop and Peter Corbet'. 390 Three months later, the details of the perambulation were duly reported. 391 However, it appears that this perambulation was not good enough; a writ dated June 4 of the same year was issued to the sheriff, 'directing him to appear at Westminster to answer for his neglect to make the perambulation ordered in the suit with Peter Corbet, and to bring the names of the four knights concerned'. 392 The writ states that the sheriff was meant to have taken twelve 'wise and lawful' knights 'towards the land of Thomas, Bishop of Hereford, in Ledbury North, and the land of Peter Corbet in Caus'. 393 It would appear that the previous perambulation had not been completed to anyone's satisfaction. The sheriff responded to this writ with a letter, explaining that the jury had indeed been duly summoned, giving eleven names. It appears that only five of these were armed, belted knights (milites gladio cinctos), and that the jury also consisted of freemen, liberos et legales homines, whose inclusion Peter Corbet had challenged.³⁹⁴ Two writs were received in reply; the first is undated but says that since he failed to inspect the boundaries at Lydbury North as instructed, he was to report to the Justices with twelve knights. The second, dated July 14 1278, tersely informed him that he had been amerced for his neglect and would be fined more heavily unless he complied.³⁹⁵ This was Knovill's required incentive; he managed to solve his manpower problems, despite

³⁹⁰ This is the first entry where Asterton is identified as being unambiguously the Bishop's land (*terram Thome, Episcopi Herefordensis, in Esthamptone*), and is said to border the Corbet manor of Wentnor (*terram Petri Corbet in Wentnoure*). Register of Thomas Cantilupe, i, p. 68.

³⁹¹ Ibid. p. 69.

³⁹² Ibid. p. 70.

³⁹³ 'ad terram Thome, Episcopi Herefordensis, in Ledebury North, et terram Petri Corebet in Cauz.' Ibid., 70-71.

tum quod non habebant certum numerum xij militum gladio cinctorum, tum quod predictus Petrus in predictos tres liberos et legales homines de predictis xij tunc noluit consentire, licet alias coram me in ipsos consensisset,' Ibid., pp. 71-2.

395 'Et scias quod graviter amerciatus es, eo quod preceptum nostrum inde tibi directum non es executus

³⁹⁵ 'Et scias quod graviter amerciatus es, eo quod preceptum nostrum inde tibi directum non es executus sicut tibi preceptum fuit; et gravius amerciaberis nisi hoc preceptum nostrum plenius exequaris', Ibid., p. 72

previously insisting that there were simply not enough belted knights in Shropshire to make up a full jury unless freemen were permitted to stand.³⁹⁶ The jury, whose composition had changed for a third and final time, duly reported the boundaries between the lands of the Bishop and Peter Corbet.³⁹⁷ The final writ in this legal saga is dated November 3 1278; since Knovill's term as sheriff had ended eight days previously, this must have been meant for his successor Walter Hopton.³⁹⁸ It simply returns the report of the boundaries to be amended.³⁹⁹ In all, this case had dragged on for two and a half years, and seems to have concluded in the bishop's favour.

What brought the Corbets and Cantilupes together in this case was a combination of character and family history. If it had not been for Thomas and Peter Corbet's aggressive expansionist policies, and Thomas de Cantilupe's extensive training in both civil and canon law, the case would not have been pursued so rigorously.

The dispute between the baron and the bishop was at the mercy of the contemporary state of the judicial and administrative systems, and the outcome depended on the men within those systems. At least some of these *milites* had prior dealings with both the sheriff and the Corbets, but since Thomas Corbet was not known for his amenable qualities, this was not necessarily a point in Peter's favour. For example, two of the jurors, Thomas Boterel and John fitz Aere, appear as witnesses on a

³⁹⁶ Ibid., p. 72.

³⁹⁷ Register of Thomas Cantilupe, i, p. 73; compare with p. 63 – the first jury list includes 'Johannem fitz Aere and 'Johannem Picheford', as knights (*milites*), and has four freemen, one of whom is 'Johannem de Esthope'. The later jury list excludes these two knights and replaces them with 'Adam de Mungomery' and 'Rogerum Pichard'. The remaining jury members are the three freemen (*liberos et legales homines*) listed in the original jury, 'Robertum de Bullers, Lucam de Rutone, et Ricardum de Dodemanestone', and it is the presence of these three men which provokes Corbet's challenge.

³⁹⁸ TNA: SC 8/192/9571.

³⁹⁹ Register of Thomas Cantilupe, i, p. 73.

deed in 1270 alongside a William Corbet, likely Thomas Corbet of Caus' younger brother, or William son of Robert Corbet of Moreton Corbet. 400

The sheer lack of knights may have been a great difficulty for the sheriff, but it proved a great convenience to Peter Corbet as it allowed the baron to mount his objections and delay the outcome of the suit. Bogo de Knoville reports that he did try to fulfil his duty, but he found it difficult to put a jury together that the defendant would accept since there was 'a great deficiency' of belted knights in Shropshire at the time. 401 Of course, assessing and estimating numbers is notoriously difficult for a historian to do throughout this period, but Knovill's protest rings true given the numerical studies on knights that have been undertaken. Ralph V. Turner notes that other studies, such as those conducted by J. Quick and R. F. Treharne, show that there could have been no more than 2,000 of such men actively involved in administration during the thirteenth century. 402 More recently, however, Noel Dunholm-Young concluded that in Edward I's reign there were only 500 fighting knights left in England, with an estimate of 3,000 potential knights and 1,250 actual knights, figures with which Peter Coss agrees in The Knight in Medieval England. 403 The Great Roll of Arms c.1308 listed 1,110 names, doubtless a high proportion (although not a complete list) of the knights functioning at the time, which was a small elite in light of the population estimates of five to six million.404

The deficiency of his shire left Knoville with the problem of putting together twelve men of whom Peter Corbet could not legally object. His first attempt had include

⁴⁰⁰ SCLA: DR10/1341.

⁴⁰¹ 'Et sciatur quod maximus defectus est militum gladio cinctorum in Comitatu Salopie', *Register of Thomas de Cantilupe*, i.,, p. 72.

Ralph V. Turner, 'Changing Perceptions of the New Administrative Class in Anglo-Norman and Angevin England: The Curiales and their Conservative Critics', *Journal of British Studies*, 29:2 (Apr. 1990), 93-117, pp. 103-104.

⁴⁰³ P. R. Coss, *The Knight in Medieval England, 1000-1400*, (Sutton, 1993), p. 84.

⁴⁰⁴ Ibid., pp. 82, 84.

four freemen (later termed *liberos et legales homines*, although in this original list they are specifically referred to as *milites* which could imply that although they were knights, they were landless). It appeared that Peter Corbet had objected to their inclusion and mounted a legal challenge to ensure their perambulation was void. Nevertheless, Bishop Thomas was tenacious, and refused to allow technicalities to stand in the way of justice being done. The second list of jurors, as named in the letter of June 1278, has only three freemen (this time specifically termed *legales et liberos homines*) and eight knights, with Knoville himself making up the twelfth man.

Knoville was by no means alone in the need to include men who did not come up to standard in his jury, however. As early as 1204, for example, the abbot of Chertsey had complained that four freemen 'who were not knights' had viewed his essoining opponent. The Thomas de Cantilupe's *Register* is evidence that as late as the 1270s such situations were still occurring; indeed, throughout the thirteenth century county courts were poorly attended since tenurial obligations appeared to apply only to the biannual great courts. This implies that this kind of practice – the use of freemen – was at the very least an established precedent, and at most was a consistently applied solution for local sheriffs as the number of knights gradually reduced. This was to Peter

⁴⁰⁵ Namely, John of Easthope, Robert de Bullers, Richard of 'Dodemanestone', and Lucas de Rutone. Turner argues from plea roll evidence that 'lawful knights' were men of substance and, most importantly, landowners; ibid. p. 104.

⁴⁰⁶ There were only eight knights on this original list; Walter of Bokenhull, William of Hungerford, John fitz Aere, John of Ercalewe, Roger Springhose, Thomas Boterel, John of Picheford and Walter of Bredwardin. *Register of Thomas Cantilupe*, i, p. 69. It can be inferred that the first perambulation was void since although boundary details were ascertained in March 1278, a writ was issued to the sheriff that June directing him to appear at Westminster to answer for his neglect. This implies that the first perambulation was unsatisfactory. The sheriff had explained, 'tum quod predictus Petrus in predictos tres liberos et legales homines de predictis xij tunc noluit consentire'. Peter did not consent to the presence of three freemen on the jury, despite the lack of belted knights.

⁴⁰⁷ The freemen are the same as before but without John of Easthope; the knights, however, *had* changed, swapping John fitz Aere and John of Picheford for Adam of Montgomery and Roger Pichard. *Register of Thomas Cantilupe*, i, p. 71.

^{&#}x27;quatuor liberi homines, qui non fuerunt milites', my translation, cited in Turner, 'Curiales and their Conservative Critics', *JBS*, 29:2, p. 104.

⁴⁰⁹ P. R. Coss, *Lordship, Knighthood and Locality: A Study in English Society c. 1180-1280*, (Cambridge, 1991), p. 4.

Corbet's advantage in this case, as he was able to challenge the jury and thus delay perambulation and judgement. Thomas de Cantilupe portrayed remarkable persistence, pressuring the sheriff in his capacity as bishop and also perhaps making good use of his connections in Westminster from the time when he had been Chancellor in the 1260s.⁴¹⁰

Consequently the sheriff had to draft in an alternative trio who happened to be Brian de Brompton and his sons Walter and Brian, Peter Corbet's relations; Brian senior was in fact Peter's brother-in-law, the husband of his sister Emma. These men could not have been completely pleasing to the bishop, however, and the final report by the jury reveals that the de Bromptons were not included in the latest composition of the twelve good men. Presumably the shortage of knights in Shropshire had been successfully overcome, since by including himself and his own son John, sheriff Bogo (erroneously rendered 'Hugo' by the transcriber) managed to put a group of twelve different knights together.

The list of named knights provided in the *Register* provides a window onto the ways in which a sheriff may overcome his jury problems by borrowing from other shires, but also demonstrates the web of interactions and relationships that both the Corbets and Thomas de Cantilupe had access to. Thomas Boterel, John of Ercalewe [Ercall], Roger Springhose, William of Hungerford, Walter of Bokenhull and Roger Pichard are still named, John fitz Aere has returned to the list following his unexplained absence, and four new names appear – Hugo Burnel, William of Stapleton, Adam of Elmbridge and Peter of Grete. All of them are termed *milites*, and while this seems to have satisfied both parties it isn't made explicit where the sheriff has acquired them. This is the point at which the *Register* must interact with other pieces of documentary

⁴¹⁰ David Carpenter, 'St Thomas Cantilupe: his Political Career', in *St Thomas Cantilupe*, 57-72, p. 59.

evidence. Of these, Springhose was certainly known to both families, having appeared to give evidence at George de Cantilupe's *Inquistion Post Mortem*.⁴¹²

Hugo Burnel was certainly a landowner, and is found witnessing several grants between 1279 and 1290. 413 In 1299 he is listed as a creditor of John the Glover of Shrewsbury for the amount of £7, indicating he is indeed a local man of substance – the writ lists him as being of Wooton, Pimhill Hundred, County Salop. 414 Why he was not put on the jury beforehand is unknown, but absence from the county (or indeed from the country) may be the reason. In January 1287, a William of Stapleton can be found as a creditor of Roger de Colville, a knight of Lincolnshire, for the amount of £15, which may indicate he was acquired for the purposes of this jury and may also have been away on previous occasions or serving in a judicial capacity elsewhere. 415 With the Cantilupe connections to Lincolnshire, William of Stapleton's inclusion may be the result of Bishop Thomas's influence, just as the inclusion of the Bromptons was very likely due to Peter Corbet's. However, through Peter's second wife Alice d'Orreby, daughter of the justice of Chester, the Corbets also had connections to Lincolnshire. 416 A knight who had similar cross-county connections would thus very likely have suited both parties.

Adam of Elmbridge was also a knight; he is named as such in writs of 1295 and 1299, where he is a debtor to Walter de la Barre, a citizen and merchant of Hereford, and Sibyl his wife, and later a debtor to John de Ollerton of Ludlow. In 1295 he is said to be 'of Herefordshire' but in 1299 he is said to be a knight 'of Worcestershire', and so may have been borrowed by the sheriff or even sent by the bishop in order to complete

⁴¹² See above, pp. 14-15.

⁴¹³ See: SA 1514/58 *N.D*; SA 1093/2/243 1279; Berkeley Castle Muniments: BCM/D/5/74/8 [1 Oct. 1290].

⁴¹⁴ TNA: C 241/73.

⁴¹⁵ TNA: C 241/7/340.

⁴¹⁶ Complete Peerage, x, p. 170.

⁴¹⁷ TNA: C 241/27/57; TNA: C 241/34.

the perambulation. Again, the Cantilupe connections may be responsible for his inclusion, and may be the result of Bishop Thomas's influence.

Peter de Grete appears alongside Adam on a witness list, and is revealed to be a landowner in his own right in a gift of William Edrich of Little Collington to John son of Robert Loverum, where de Grete's land borders the land being granted. If Peter de Grete held land near Little Collington, he too was likely to be local to Shropshire, although if this was the case it again begs the question why the sheriff hadn't included him on the jury sooner. Nevertheless, since no further complaints were brought, there seems to have been no reason to challenge any of these men, and the perambulation was made.

The Corbets and Cantilupes had both interacted with members of these juries in various capacities prior to this case. The cross-county interests of some of the knights included reflected the personal networks and territorial networks of both parties. While the territorial networks will be discussed further in Chapter Two, here it is clear that the personal networks of the families were vast and complex, sprawling across the counties in which they had interests, and creating a vast web of relationships by and through whom the territorial interests might be consolidated and expanded.

By the time Peter Corbet died in 1300, his son by Joan Mortimer, Peter (II) Corbet, was of age. He inherited not only the Corbet lands, but also the history and heritage of his family, the legacy of relationships, both positive and negative, and the networks his father, grandfather and great-grandfather had created, cultivated and undermined. While each successive generation was responsible for building upon or repairing their inheritance, whether physical or personal, in the March relationships and reputations were important aspects of lordship that aided the expression and wielding of

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⁴¹⁸ SA: 1037/21/61; HRO: A95/5/10.

power. Thus, by 1300, the Corbets had certainly established themselves as prominent figures of the Middle March, even if that was not a status supported by their liberties or territorial gains.

Conclusion

In conclusion, it is clear that the personal networks of both Cantilupe and Corbet families were, for the most part, strategically calculated to give them the most advantageous web of alliances. They could build upon these connections to help them in court, consolidate their holdings, and expand their spheres of influence. The families' personal networks overlapped, which was to be expected in the interwoven webs of gentry culture of the thirteenth century where 'power' was really about who you knew.

While the concepts and scope of power differed from the new men to the old, with far more evidence available for the career administrators than the established Marchers, it is evident that the same strategy held for each of them. Regardless of status, it seems, the key factors remained universal.

Firstly, families used their personal networks, i.e. their choice of friends, associates, marital partners and wards, to consolidate their holdings and ensure that they embedded themselves into the fabric of local life, legally, politically and spiritually. The mechanics of this and their impact will be discussed at length in the following chapters.

Secondly, families used their personal networks to expand their authority and influence over different localities, or rather, over other communities of people. By gaining alliances, friends and in-laws in other counties, they were able to make further connections that would expand their reach beyond their heartlands and make their mark elsewhere.

There was also the negative aspect of personal connections – the termination of certain relationships could also be seen as strategic, and often the loss of certain relationships informed the future actions of the individuals concerned. Where it is more obviously a strategic move in the world of high politics, where factions are more clearly

delineated, Thomas Corbet's alienation of his neighbours and kinsmen is far less so. Nevertheless, perhaps it is useful to see the March as a factional and divided community in much the same way as the royal court, with alliances forming around the various vying axes of regional power. The Corbets required support as well as the Cantilupes, and positive and negative associations were just as important for them as for their administrative counterparts. The main difference in the March, arguably, was the violent nature of the consequences of supporting the 'wrong' faction. In England, counting the king as one of their personal friends, the Cantilupes were shielded to a greater extent from the kind of castle-sacking, raids and violent feuding with which the Corbets had to contend. Disturbances there tended to be due to problems between the king and his barons, while in the March it was customary for lords to wage private war on one another in a way that would have been unacceptable across the border.

In terms of 'strategy', therefore, with the great Marcher magnates gaining power in central government, and the earls of Lincoln and Chester holding such sway in the original Cantilupe heartlands, all men with strong connections to the March, it became more and more expedient for the administrative men to pursue their own Marcher agenda. Building on their initial opportunisitic acquisitions, they began to set about making and consolidating their relationships in a more deliberate and 'strategic' fashion, as their holdings began to increase and a marcher lordship became more desirable and more possible.

As for the old men of the March, they were finding it prudent to consolidate their holdings by intermarriage with their neighbours and the Powysian dynasty of Gwenwynwen. Like the Cantilupes, they recognised the importance of the two great power centres of Powys and Chester, and endeavoured to secure relations with both sides. Their strategy was also one of opportunism and individual gain, with the Corbets

like most baronial families having their share of prudent and individualistic men, leaving the successive generations to respons and react to the actions of the previous generations accordingly. While the Cantilupes had no immediate personal need to ensure Gwenwynwen's cooperation, the Corbets found themselves facing the might of Powys standing between them and an aggressive, increasingly expansionist and ambitious Gwynedd. While the Cantilupes helped to broker treaties between King John and Gwenwynwen, the Corbets required more than political assurances. While this makes Thomas Corbet's feud with his nephew Gruffudd difficult to understand in the light of family strategy, strategy cannot be held accountable for personality and personal grievances. The territorial issues that caused so much strife between uncle and nephew will be discussed further in Chapter Two, so that the reasons behind this rift can be explored further.

Ultimately, in order for either family to achieve real 'power', a subjective idea in and of itself, they needed to be *seen* to be 'powerful'. This was largely governed, not by how much land they owned, but by how much authority they were thought to hold over others. The circles in which they moved determined their actions and were in turn indicative of their ambitions. This will later be offset by a discussion of visual representations of power in Chapter Four, and the extent of their spiritual investment in their lands and relationship with spiritual authority in Chapter Three.

Now, however, it is the territories which will be discussed. Building on the context of these positive and negative personal associations, the next chapter will look more closely at the choice of land holdings and the question of *caputs*, exploring the geographies of power from the more practical standpoints of territorial acquisition and baronial administration.

CHAPTER TWO: TERRITORIAL NETWORKS

Introduction

This chapter will consider the territorialisation of power in the Middle Ages, using geopolitical theory to explore the actual and perceived power of the families in terms of their location and spread. It seems wise to divide this chapter between the personal and the territorial, for, as John Allen has argued, the exercise of power and the resources mobilised to sustain its exercise are not of the same order. Power flows through networks of interpersonal relationships – as has been discussed in Chapter One. Yet the networks themselves must have their roots somewhere, and in medieval society, those roots were men, and the land (and revenue) which sustained them. The economic networks will be considered here also, as the underlying reasons for certain acquisitions.

In the Medieval period, Europe experienced an institutional change – a shift from territory being identified through society to a political landscape where society was ordered by territory. However, territory and its accumulation should not necessarily be assumed to equal the increase of the families' power. In fact, Allen's discussion on the imposition of power through movement and activities, although written about globalisation and modern-day cities, lends itself well to a discussion of itineraries and the families' presence (physical or by proxy) in their lands in their official roles, and on a more local level in and through the lands they acquired.

In order to discover why the Cantilupes began their systematic edging towards a Marcher lordship, and why the Corbets struggled to expand from theirs, this chapter will

⁴¹⁹ John Allen, *Lost Geographies of Power*, (Blackwell Publishing, 2003), p. 5.

⁴²⁰ Rhys Jones, 'Mann and Men in a Medieval State: Geographies of Power in the Middle Ages', *Transactions of the British Institute of Geographers*, 24:1, 65-78, p. 65.

first briefly discuss why territorial consolidation and expansion was necessary, before moving on to discuss the strategies employed to achieve it.

Coming from Normandy, neither the Cantilupes nor the Corbets were strangers to Marcher territories, customs and practices. In the Norman March as in the Welsh March, argues Daniel Power, 'private advantage rather than the genuine deep legal differences continued to dictate jurisdiction and practice long after the disappearance of the context in which they had been conceived.' Both families certainly recognized the benefit of this 'private advantage', yet there were differences which would have to be understood to be negotiated. In the case of the Norman Vexin, lords had to resort to 'ruthless suppression' to maintain control, while in the case of the Welsh March, the frontier lord 'could accumulate power and privilege from the advantages of his location'. All A knightly family may well have been exposed to the pressures and military requirements of the Norman frontier, and so despite the initial collection of possessions accrued in the English midlands, they would not have been unfamiliar with the benefits a Marcher lordship could bring.

Henry II had implemented legal reforms in his reign which have led to great historiographical debates concerning the king's aims and the nature of feudal mentalities in the late twelfth century. Much has been made of the lords' control over their tenants, and what impact the legal reforms had upon this control. While scholars agree that Henry II did not intend to threaten or challenge the position of the barons, as he purchased their political support through patronage, the changes were having an

⁴²¹ Daniel Power, *The Norman Frontier in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*, (Cambridge, 2004), p. 178.

⁴²² Ibid., p. 4.

⁴²³ A good discussion of the historiography of this issue can be found in Ralph V. Turner, *Judges, Administrators and the Common Law in Angevin England*, (London, 1994), pp. 1-16.

effect.⁴²⁴ R. C. van Caengem argued that there was a triple revolution in twelfth century government; firstly, reason was applied to the governmental process, most clearly in the justice sphere; secondly, authority was centralized; finally, bureaucracy grew as the government increasingly relied upon documents for conducting its business.⁴²⁵ Not only were there legal, bureaucratic and governmental reforms coming into play, but also fiscal pressures were plaguing the Angevin dynasty. Following the period known as the Anarchy, Henry II was tasked with restoring the royal demesne to its full state, and throughout John's reign the cumulative financial pressures of Richard's crusades and ransom added to these pressures.⁴²⁶ The lack of an independent means of bank rolling ventures was an issue for Henry III as well, as demonstrated by the collapse of the Sicilian venture. Inevitably, this meant that payments and taxes – direct and indirect – increased from Henry II's reign onwards.⁴²⁷ In view of the financial pressures being placed on noble families in return for patronage, lands in the March where the king's writ did not run might have seemed increasingly attractive.

J. L. Bolton has challenged the idea that inflation was as high or as problematic in the thirteenth century as has been thought, suggesting that the tears shed over the gloomy picture of debt and taxation were in fact crocodile tears, 'shed because the ambitions and expectations of a richer and more acquisitive society were being thwarted

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⁴²⁴ Ralph V. Turner, *Men Raised from the Dust*, p. 8.

⁴²⁵ R. C. van Caengem, 'L'Histoire du Droit et la Chronologie: Réflexions sur la Formation du 'Common Law' et la Procédure Romano-Canonique', *Etudes d'Histoire de Droit Canonique Dédiés à Gabriel le Bras*, (Paris, 1965), 2:1459-65, cited in translation in Ralph V. Turner, *Men Raised from the Dust*, (Philidelphia, 1988) p. 11.

⁽Philidelphia, 1988) p. 11.

⁴²⁶ Nick Barratt, 'Financial Pressures and Dynastic Problems in Angevin England', *Family and Dynasty in late Medieval England*, Harlaxton Medieval Studies [HMS] IX, ed. Richard Eales and Shaun Tyas, (Donington, 2003), 1-20, p.15.

⁴²⁷ Barratt 'Financial Pressures' HMC IV = 10.

⁴²⁷ Barratt, 'Financial Pressures', HMS IX, p. 19; see also J. C. Holt, *The Northerners*, (Oxford, 1961), pp. 143-74 and J. E. A. Jolliffe, 'The Chamber and the Castle Treasuries under King John', *Studies in Medieval History Presented to F. M. Powicke*, ed. R. W. Hunt, R. W. Southern and W. A. Pantin, (Oxford, 1948) 117-42, also cited in Barratt, for discussions on John's finances.

by the demands of an equally ambitious king.'428 Crocodile tears or not, for an acquisitive society and the families within it such financial concerns were paramount, and Henry III's revenues were much smaller than his father's had been. Standards of living were connected to social standing, and such things mattered. After all, it was the family that was most important to the medieval nobility, and they therefore needed to both procure and secure lands and rights to enhance the standing of future generations as well as their own. As Gudrun Tscherpel argued, the aspired ideal was for the survival of the dynasty, as it was through dynastic membership that rights, status and property, the aspect key to this discussion, were defined. It was also the means for an individual to live on in the memory of future generations and therefore in the prayers and masses said for their souls, which was more important than mere sentimentality. 429 This aspect will be further discussed in Chapter Three. As far as the Cantilupes were concerned, Marcher lordships were increasingly desirable; they could use the networks created by the spread of their territories to expand even further. The Corbets, however, found their own power curbed by the very geographical situation the Cantilupes coveted. Since their centre was already in the March, the Corbets found themselves surrounded by neighbours who all thought alike in terms of expansion, and the networks themselves were therefore also limited to a pool of like-minded Marchers. Territorially, the only way to expand was by patronage or royal gifts, marriage and/or wardship rights of minors (as and when appropriate heirs and heiresses became available), or to create local enemies, both in the March and in Pura Wallia, by a militarily and therefore financially exhausting process of usurpation and annexation.

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⁴²⁸ J. L. Bolton, 'Inflation, Economics and Politics', *Thirteenth Century England IV: Proceedings of the Newcastle Upon Tyne Conference*, 1991, eds. P. R. Coss and S. D. Lloyd, (Woodbridge, 1992), 1-14, pp. 10-11.

⁴²⁹ Gudrun Tscherpel, 'The Political Function of History: The Past and Future of Noble Families', *Family and Dynasty*, HMS IX, 87-104, p. 89.

Patronage and endowments had enabled social mobility in the Norman and Angevin courts from the time of the Conquest, when chroniclers such as Orderic Vitalis, the author of the Gesta Stephani and John of Salisbury claimed that men of low birth or base stock (de ignobili stirpe or ex plebeio genere) were being raised above the illustres of the court, being endowed with estates and important positions. 430 Henry II had also borne the brunt of this complaint, voiced by Gerald of Wales. After him, King John was accused of usurping native-born subjects with aliens, which fits with the appearance of Walter de Cantilupe and his sons into John's comital circle, but these reports were also largely exaggerated. 431 Ralph Niger, Walter Map, and Peter of Blois had added their voices to the swell, and by Henry III's time, Matthew Paris had taken up the baton of the chroniclers' complaints. 432 Ralph V. Turner, Judith A. Green and Charlotte A. Newman have all studied the 'new men' of Henry I's reign, with Newman in particular arguing that curial kingroups were quick to merge with higher ranking families. 433 Studies such as these have shown that such men mostly built up their wealth 'through the slow accumulation of smaller rewards', and that the machinery of royal government was the tool of choice to climb to noble status. 434 However, with such favour bestowed on the new men of the court, old men of the middling families like the Corbets could find themselves neglected. This chapter will consider how the 'new men' went about gaining their territories and their reaction to the Marcher culture in which they then

⁴³⁰ Orderic Vitalis, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 6 vols., ed. and trans. Marjorie Chibnall, (Oxford, 1968-80), 2:261, 5:202-3, 6:16; *Gesta Stephani*, ed. K. R. Potter, Medieval Texts (Edinburgh, 1955), p. 22, cited in Ralph V. Turner, *Men Raised from the Dust*, p. 1; Ralph V. Turner, *Judges, Administrators and the Common Law in Angevin England*, (London, 1994), p. 225.

⁴³¹ Giraldi Cambrensis Opera, 8 vols., ed. J. S. Brewer, J. F. Dimock and G. F. Warner, Rolls Series, (London, 1861-91) 5:199; J. C. Holt, Magna Carta and Medieval Government England c. 550-c.1307, (London, 1985), p. 334.

⁴³² Ralph V. Turner, Men Raised from the Dust, pp. 1-2.

⁴³³ See, Turner, *Men Raised from the Dust*, (Philidelphia, 1988); Judith Green, *The Aristocracy of Norman England*, (Cambridge, 1997); C. A. Newman, 'Family and Royal Favour in Henry I's England', *Albion*, xiv, (1982), 268-91.

⁴³⁴ Ralph V. Turner, *Judges, Administrators and the Common Law*, p. 228.

found themselves, and the options open to the 'old men' and the ways in which they exploited them.

THE CANTILUPES

The Cantilupes *c*.1199-1205

It is clear that the personal networks discussed in the previous chapter were supported by a growing territorial network of lands within England, and the family's interests were increasing. Indeed, following the loss of Normandy, the Cantilupes were in the best possible position on the other side of the Channel to capitalise on the 'lands of the Normans' now left vacant. Given their history in England, expanding from as early as the twelfth century, it is unlikely that they missed their Norman fees to any great extent. It is also evident that a branch of the family had already settled or at least gained a foothold in Glamorgan by 1199, and that the connections with this branch had strengthened the main branch's position in the borders, providing the Cantilupe *curiales* with a ready-made network of Marcher lords to capitalise upon, and aiding their own acquisition of a Marcher lordship. It is also important to note that, just as the Cantilupes of Glamorgan transmitted the name 'Robert' and seemed to have consolidated their authority in their fee as tenants of the St Quintins, 'Robert' de Cantilupe, either the legitimate brother of William (I) or possibly his cousin, is found in Dorset and Somerset with Fulk de Cantilupe (the brother or uncle of William (I)), which would reinforce the West Country ties to the Marcher branch of the family. 435

As shown in Chapter One, the Cantilupes had connections with both the Calvados and La Manche regions of Normandy, and a branch of them may have been present in England as subtenants of Roger de Corseuelles. They certainly had land at Bruton, Somerset, in the 1140s, and Walter, the patriarch of this branch, identified

435 See the tables in Appendix 1 and Appendix 2 below.

⁴³⁶ *Cal. Docs. France*, pp. 172-3, No. 486; this was confirmed by the Bishop of Bath in the same year, p. 173, and by the Archbishop of Canterbury, Theobald, [1150-61], p. 174.

himself as a man of William de Roumare with lands in Lincolnshire and Essex. 437 Alexander, whose father may be the 'Erneis' who appears in Domesday, is to be found in 1146 granting the canons of Bruton [Briwerton] Priory in Somerset all their rights of the town of Briwerton in fee-farm to canons forever, (the hundred and the market and the court) at the price of two mares a year. 438 That is not to say that Alexander or Ranulf his son actually spent a great deal of time here when they did hold the rights to this land; it was apparently held by Aldetha and her predecessor Laddel, who had held it in Alexander's time and in the time of his unnamed father (Erneis?). 439 This early West Country connection is significant, in that the connection between the West Country and Wales – not only the March, but also *Pura Wallia* – was a traditionally strong one. Archaeological evidence has shown a strong trade link between the West Country and Wales, with pottery dumps appearing along rivers where no marketing licences were granted, implying that unlicenced trade was a usual source of interaction. 440 More will be said of this later in the chapter, and the links between the Welsh princes and Totnes Priory, underscoring the territorial and personal connections between Wales and the West Country, will be discussed in context in Chapter Three to further this argument. At present, it is sufficient to note that these were the links upon which the Cantilupe curiales could build, consolidate and expand their own networks of power and authority in the same areas.

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⁴³⁷ TNA: DL 25/2371

⁴³⁸ *Cal. Docs. France*, pp. 172-3, No. 486; this was confirmed by the Bishop of Bath in the same year, p. 173, and by the Archbishop of Canterbury, Theobald, [1150-61], p. 174.

⁴³⁹ *Cal. Docs. France*, p. 173.

See, Alice Forward, *The Ceramic Evidence of Life and Economic Networks from Twelfth to Seventeenth Century Settlement Sites in South Glamorgan*, unpublished PhD thesis, (Cardiff University, 2013); John Hines and Alice Forward, 'Cosmeston, Vale of Glamorgan, Wales: Multiple narratives of Rural Settlement and Power', *Hierarchy in Rural Settlement Ruralia 9*, J. Klápšte and P. Sommer, eds., (Brepolis, forthcoming); Alice Forward, 'Stoking the Kiln, Cardiff: Cross Channel Trade; Traditions of North Somerset and Devon ceramics in South Wales', unpublished conference paper, MLPW, March 2011.

So far the main Cantilupe branch had more to do with the Norman lands of their origin and their lands in Lincolnshire and the midlands than with the March of Wales. Walter's brother Fulk, William (I)'s uncle, has twenty-seven attestations in the Comital Acta of John, as compared to Walter's seven, and William's six. 441 As knights of Normandy, the Cantilupes were members of the knightly order that Benedict of Sainte-Maure wrote about in his Estoire des ducs de Normandie, written between 1173-75 and 1180-85. In his *Estoire*, Benedict 'placed the figure of trifunctionality at the centre of a picture of the perfect society', as Georges Duby has noted. 442 Yet it was not as part of this image of the knightly class that the Cantilupes themselves attempted to build their careers. For them, the road to success was two-fold: the road of administration leading to secular office, and the parallel road of education leading to secular office leading to ecclesiastic office. War was no longer necessarily the route to wealth and success, and regardless of the ideals espoused by churchmen, pragmatism won out as far as the Cantilupes were concerned. The personal connections which enabled this social progression have been detailed in Chapter One, above; the territorial advancements underpinning and influencing these relationships will be discussed here.

As administrators, the Cantilupes were able to use their skills to their advantage in building their careers within the king's household. They helped each other to these positions, with examples in each generation of family members aiding their children, siblings, cousins and nephews. Their careers blossomed from these developments, but even as they received abundant patronage they were then also subject to the reforms which limited the scope of their power within their lands. Unsurprisingly, as soon as the lands in Normandy had been lost in 1205, the Cantilupes began to step up their

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⁴⁴¹ Acta of John, Count of Mortain, ed. N. Vincent, (unpublished, seen 2012), pp. 209-220.

Georges Duby, *The Three Orders: Feudal Society Imagined*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer, (London, 1980), p. 271.

incursions and connections to the Welsh March and to Ireland. While the Corbets were transforming the Hundred of Caus into a Marcher lordship through the slow process of the usurpation of rights in a frontier region, the Cantilupes were unequivocally constrained by English law. As noted by R. R. Davies, the original foundation and ultimate sanction of all lordship was military power, and this was still the precondition of lordship in the March until the end of the thirteenth century and beyond.

Therefore, weighed against the benefits of a Marcher possession was the very real issue of Marcher warfare. With the connections between the Cantilupes and the de Braoses, the Marshals, and other such families in the king's household, something of the strife and skirmishes must have filtered through to their family consciousness. The massacre of Abergavenny Castle in 1175 was planned and executed by William (II) de Braose, his uncle Philip and their loyal confederate Ranulf Poer, whose kinsman Walter was to become William (I)'s under-sheriff of Worcester in the 1220s. William (V) de Braose was captured in 1228 by Llywelyn ap Iorwerth and executed in 1230 when Llywelyn alleged that he had caught William having an affair with his wife Joan. At It was this unfortunate event that left the de Braose heiresses needing guardians, and William (II) de Cantilupe paid for the wardship and marriage rights to Eva. As has been shown in Chapter One, the Cantilupes were not a diplomatic, administrative family who shied away from military action. Nor were they unfamiliar with the complexities and vicissitudes of native Welsh and Marcher politics.

⁴⁴³ S. D. Church, 'The Knights of the Household of King John', *Thirteenth Century England IV: Proceedings of the Newcastle upon Tyne Conference*, 1991, eds. P. R. Coss and S. D. Lloyd, (Boydell, 1992) 151-166, p. 153.

⁴⁴⁴ R. R. Davies, Lordship and Society in the March of Wales 1284-1400, (Oxford, 1978), p. 24.

The massacre had been in revenge for the murder of William de Braose's brother-in-law Henry, son of Milo fitzWalter. Henry fitzWalter had been killed by the Welsh lords of Upland Gwent, led by Seisyll ap Dyfnwal; Davies, *Lordship and Society*, p. 67.

⁴⁴⁶ Roger Turvey, *The Welsh Princes: The Native Rulers of Wales, 1063-1283*, (London, 2002), p. 45.

⁴⁴⁷ Turvey, *The Welsh Princes*, p. 47.

From the beginning of King John's reign, William (I) de Cantilupe was involved in Marcher or borderland affairs. On his various tours to the border shires and beyond, William (I) de Cantilupe can be found with the king witnessing his mandates and grants. J. J. Crump's project, The Itinerary of King John, based on the tables prepared by Thomas Duffy Hardy, has made the itinerary available in digitised format with a map and moveable timeline. The itinerary shows that after his extensive travels in Normandy and France in his first regnal year, King John toured the North of England and came down into Staffordshire in 1200.448 As yet, it is not possible to cross-reference years, locations and names, so this must still be done by hand using Hardy's index (digitised by the project with the complete volume of the Patent Rolls), thus allowing for a margin of human error. The Close Rolls are not part of the project either, and so crossreferences within the Patent Roll indices must themelves be cross-referenced with the Close Roll indices also. It is not always possible to definitively identify place names in these rolls, and to fully research each ambiguous, vanished or chronically misspelt place to discover its original location would require a separate study to accompany the one being dealt with here. Therefore, in the maps included, all place pins are roughly situated and stars have been used when a place's location is in question.

John's itinerary reveals the king's travels around the border shires in the autumn of that year, staying at Marlborough, Chelsworth, Cricklade, Bradenstoke, Malmesbury, Stanley and Melkesham, county Wiltshire, and then moving into Gloucestershire to issue open letters from Berkeley, Winterbourne, Gloucester, Westbury and St Briavels. The journey continued into 1201 with Herefordshire being visited, including Hereford, Ledbury and Upton, and then the itinerary went into Worcestershire with a short stay at

⁴⁴⁸ The Itinerary of King John Project, J. J. Crump, http://neolography.com/timelines/JohnItinerary.html, accessed 19.09.13.

Feckenham before going into Shropshire to stay at Bridgnorth for a few days. 449 1202-03 saw John journeying around France, including Poitou, Touraine, Anjou and Normandy, on campaign. During this time, William (I) had letters of protection to go to England on the king's service, and so was engaged in cross-channel activities. 450 John's return in the fifth year of his reign (1203-04) took him through Wiltshire and Berkshire, and then around Essex, Sussex, Hertfordshire, Kent and Buckinghamshire, before heading up to Oxfordshire. It is worth noting that, according to the Pipe Rolls, the Cantilupes began to accumulate lands in all of these counties through grants and marriages.

⁴⁴⁹ The Itinerary of King John Project, J. J. Crump, based on the tables compiled by Thomas Duffy Hardy Lit. Pat. i., online resource, pp. xl, http://neolography.com/timelines/JohnItinerary.html, accessed 19.09.13.

Rot. Lit. Pat., i., p. 29.

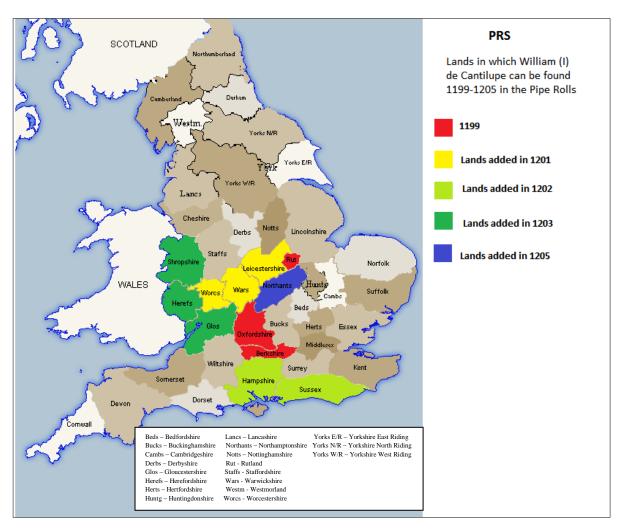


Figure 1: PRS Entries of Cantilupe Interests 1199-1205

Already, a territorial bridge can be seen in the early stages of formation. Despite William (I) apparently not owing anything for lands in Warwickshire or Leicestershire before 1203, he is to be found in the *Curia Regis Rolls* in 1200 being sued by Peter Corbizun over meadowland in Studley. The fact that he is recording amounts owed in the region from 1201 suggests that the Cantilupes were building their territory in the area as well as their personal relationships, and the early associations with Berkshire and Hampshire largely passed along to his brothers, who were also later to be found in Huntingdonshire on behalf of their sister Matilda, Essex, Lincolnshire, Wiltshire and

⁴⁵¹ Cur. Reg. Rolls, i., p. 116.

Somerset.⁴⁵² Also in 1205, not represented on the map of the Pipe Roll entries, William is recorded as the custodian of the lands and heirs of John of Kilpec in Staffordshire.⁴⁵³ This accounts for his Pipe Roll entries regarding John's lands in Herefordshire in this year.

King John, meanwhile, was concentrating his itinerary on the West Country and the borders by the summer of 1204, progressing up into the midlands and looping around Nottinghamshire, down through to Oxfordshire and Wiltshire to return to the South East and London by the autumn. 454 The shires which William (I) is found touring with his fellow administrators or where he owed money during these first years of John's reign roughly correspond to the king's itinerary during these years. Two distinct centres seem to be emerging; the lands in the South of England, and the lands in Warwickshire and Leicestershire further north, which provided the family with four main advantages. Firstly, it gave them access to the Welsh border; secondly, access to the North of England and a place to stay when *en route* from the South; thirdly, access eastwards; and finally, access to the South if travelling from the North. Both these centres seem to have been complemented by the holdings of William's brothers, especially Fulk and Robert. 455

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⁴⁵² See fn. 453, below.

⁴⁵³ Rot. Lit. Claus., i. pp. 17, 28.

⁴⁵⁴ See: Thomas Duffy Hardy's tables in *Rot. Lit. Pat.* i., online resource. http://neolography.com/timelines/JohnItinerary.html, accessed 10.10.13.

⁴⁵⁵ PRS Pipe Roll 1199, p. 104 [Emma de Cantilupe in Essex, holding lands in the Honour of Bolon']; p. 125, (Fulk in Sussex); p. 178 (Fulk in Wiltshire); p. 60 (Michael in Kent, holding lands in Sutton – unsure as to the relationship between Michael and the other branch. It is possible he was a relative of William's father Walter (I), but 'Michael' is not transmitted at all in the Cantilupe family tree from then on, so either he was not a well-liked or well-remembered member of the family, or an unrelated individual with the same toponymic); PRS Pipe Roll 1200, p. 218 (Arnold in Surrey – again, unsure of the exact familial connection); p. 98 (Fulk in Somerset, owing 10 marks for Parva Marston); p. 100 (Fulk recorded as owing 50s. for Wiltshire lands, but recorded on the Dorset & Somerset rolls); pp. 156, 161 (Fulk for the royal manor of Calne in Wiltshire); p. 221 (Walter in Cornwall); PRS Pipe Roll 1201, p. 71 (Emma in Essex for 3 knights' fees), p. 141 (Emma in Norfolk & Suffolk rolls, quit of the king's writ); p. 228 (Arnold in Surrey); p. 23 (Fulk in Lincolnshire); pp. 27, 29 (Fulk in Dorset/Somerset); pp. 80, 81-2 (Fulk in Wiltshire); pp. 195, 294 (Fulk and Robert in Berkshire); PRS Pipe Roll 1202, pp. 269, 271 (Emma in Essex); p. 14 (Arnold in Surrey); pp. 64-5 (Fulk as a pledge for Hugh Malebisse in York)

These few years (1199-1205) were laying the bedrock of the family's future expansion. To establish geographically beneficial centres controlled by various family members may have been a high priority when the court was itinerant, as this meant that there were more opportunities to provide hospitality for the king and various other important magnates and advisors on their travels around England. It is at this point that the strategy of consolidation can be seen coming into play, with the younger brothers being given land to hold across the country. This spread of holdings across the kin network therefore underpinned the geographical and territorial spread with the personal networks of relationships they had developed or were developing, and *vice versa*.

As far as the main branch of the Cantilupes was concerned, there appears to have been two distinct regions around which their heartlands were concentrated. In 1205, William (I) was granted the manor of Aston Cantlow in Warwickshire as a gift from King John, and their subsequent investment in Studley Priory, the Augustinian house nearby, further cemented their links to the area. Previously the manor had belonged to the Tankervilles, lost to them as part of the lands escheated to the English Crown following the loss of Normandy in the previous year. That Aston Cantlow was part of the main holdings of the family is suggested by the fact that this manor passed directly through four generations of descent (as opposed to forming a portion or whole of a daughter's dowry, or being gifted to a younger son), and that it was apportioned to John and Joan de Hastings upon George de Cantilupe's death along with the Honour of

[;] p. 83 (Fulk receiving 3 tons of wine in Hampshire); pp. 87, 88, 92 (Fulk in Dorset/Somerset); pp. 124-5, 127 (Fulk in Wiltshire); p. 131 (Fulk in Cambs & Hunts); p. 291 (Fulk and Robert in Berkshire); p. 136 (Matilda in Cambs & Hunts); *PRS Pipe Roll 1203*, p. 134 (Emma in Essex); pp. 15, 19, 21 (Fulk in Wiltshire); pp. 102-03, 114 (Fulk in Lincolnshire); pp. 152, 153 (Fulk in Dorset/Somerset); p. 223 (Fulk in Yorkshire owing 1 mark for land in Barton); *PRS Pipe Roll 1204*, p. 31 (Emma in Essex); p. 102 (Fulk in Sussex); pp. 248, 253, 254 (Fulk in Wiltshire); p. 32 (Robert in Essex); *PRS 1205*, pp. 174, 188 (Emma in Essex); p. 130 (Fulk in Hampshire owing 2 palfreys for having confirmation of Oxenbourne); pp. 161, 165, 169 (Fulk in Wiltshire); p. 139 (Robert in Dorset/Somerset).

⁴⁵⁶ *VCH Warwick*, iii, online resource, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=56977&strquery=AstonCantlow, accessed 01.03.2013.

457 Ibid.

Abergavenny, the primary holding of the family in the March. In addition to Aston Cantlow, William also gained the responsibility of Studley Priory, an Austin foundation that Peter Corbezon's father had established first at Wicton, Worcestershire, and then transferred to Studley. William also had lands in Worcestershire, and so the intercounty connection of the Austin House mirrored the inter-county interests of its new patrons. This, the fact that William (I) was also castellan of Kenilworth and sheriff of the county, and the amount of consistent development the Cantilupes put into the Austin foundation of Studley nearby indicates that the manor of Aston Cantlow was part of their primary 'heartland' holdings.

It was also in 1205 that the family exchanged [eschambium] their Berkshire manor of Cockswell for Eyton or Eaton, now known as Eaton Bray (there is no evidence that it was ever known as Eaton Cantlow). He are thought that Eaton became the caput of the Cantilupe barony – yet it was not until the 1220s that a castle was built there by William (II), and the area did not take on the Cantilupe family name as Aston did. William (I) first paid more attention to the bridge of territories they had amassed from Lincolnshire across to Herefordshire, and it would seem that Maud de Gournay's Oxfordshire fees then served the strategic purpose of connecting the territories in the midlands with those in the South of England. The Berkshire associations naturally predated this early exchange, and were once more the result of personal networks – in 1199, a Robert de Cantilupe (Cantelo) appears in the

⁴⁵⁸ *CIPM*, ii, No. 17.

⁴⁵⁹ VCH Warwick, ii, online resource, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=36502, accessed 14.09.2013.

⁴⁶⁰ PRS Cartae Antiquae, NS 17, 368:51; Rot. Chart. i., p. 147.

VCH Bedford, iii, online resource, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=42448&strquery=Cantlowe#n14, accessed 18.04.13.

William also held Karsington manor in Oxfordshire in chief by service of one knight's fee of William de Paris, which had been held by William Mauduit, and then passed to William de Monte Acuto. *CIPM*, i., p. 96.

Michaelmas Memoranda rolls as the steward of Emma, widow of Henry de 'Muntfort' or Montfort. 463

The Cantilupes 1206-1215

In 1207, the castle of Hereford was handed over to William along with others held by Roger Puintell. 464 That same year a Welsh hostage who had been in the custody of William Clifford was released to him by William FitzAlan, Marcher lord of Clun. 465 The personal and geographical connections to the border regions were building up, and William (I) continued to build on these connections and duties. The following year, he witnessed the treaty between King John and Gwenwynwen ab Owain Cyfeiliog concerning Gwenwynwen's liberties. 466 In the Shropshire pleas, William de Cantilupe was appointed as attorney for Audulf de Bracy in de Bracy's case against Roger Mortimer in a plea of land. 467 William (I) was evidently moving in Marcher circles in personal contexts in addition to the military and diplomatic duties he performed. His experience as castellan of Hereford castle, however brief, and his exposure to Welsh princely politics made him or his Glamorgan kinsman of the same name a good choice for the itinerant justices of the Glamorgan circuit in 1210. 468 Two years later, William (I) was to be found in Shrewsbury once again when King John sent two hundred marks to John Marshal by Geoffrey de Caleto for the sustaining of twenty knights with 'William de Cantilupo'. As discussed in Chapter One, William had by this time built up

⁴⁶³ PRS Memoranda Roll 1 John, p. 13.

⁴⁶⁴ Rot. Lit. Pat., i, p. 46.

⁴⁶⁵ Rot. Lit. Pat., i, p. 59.

⁴⁶⁶ Foedera, i, pp. 150-1.

⁴⁶⁷ Cur. Reg., v, pp. 142, 155.

⁴⁶⁸ Cur. Reg., vi, p. 32.

his network of Marcher alliances further. It is not the last time he appears in connection with John Marshal, nor the last time he is listed with the Marcher lords.

Men with few lands would be of less use to the king since their network of influences and territorial interests would be significantly diminished in comparison to greater landowners. Territory was a main source of revenue, and the greater the economic strength of a family, the more powerful they might become, first in their locality, and then by extension on the national stage. The Curia Regis Rolls also demonstrate the expansion of territories accumulated as William (II) increased in importance. That this came at a time when the country was under minority rule is clearly significant. It demonstrates that capable men of recognised talents and competence could be rewarded so as to be made more useful, as opposed to requiring lands as a prerequisite for governmental or administrative success. It also demonstrates that one did not have to be a Marcher lord by origin nor necessarily by close connection in order to serve the king's interests in that area, although prior knowledge of Marcher law and custom must have been preferable. Indeed, in the Patent Rolls, William (I) is referred to as the king's seneschal as early as 1204, when his lands were still comparatively limited. 469 It is therefore unsurprising that William (I) and other members of his family – Robert and Roger de Cantilupe in particular, and later his sons William (II), Walter and John – increased their activities in the border counties of Gloucestershire and Herefordshire from 1220 onwards. 470

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⁴⁶⁹ *Rot. Lit. Pat.*, i, p. 45.

⁴⁷⁰ See *Cur. Reg.* xix, pp. 258, 156-7; x pp. 112, 181, *Cur. Reg.* xiv 2304 :494-5; *Cur. Reg.* xvi 315:80, 529:113, 732:146-7, 929:178, 954:182, 1493:287-90, 2161:437, 2194:440, 2261:452, 2737:522; *Cur. Reg.* xvii, 363:86, 1003:187, 1583:309, 2027:402; *Cur. Reg.* xviii, 34:4, 942:193, 1596:330-1; *Cur. Reg.* xix, 1167. See Appendix 1 for the table of Cantilupe entries in the Pipe Rolls for 1206-1215.

William gained some of these lands through wardship rights and others by marriage and royal patronage. Although no wills survive, it seems that the family members also bequeathed lands to one another, particularly across the same generation. Due to the relationship that William maintained with the king, he also gained the royal manors of Calne and Calstone in Wiltshire after his uncle Fulk died, and was able to regain the manors in Warwickshire fairly speedily following his brief disseisin.

Crucially, the family had succeeded in building a bridge of territories, from Lincolnshire where Walter (I) could be found in the 1190s, across to Herefordshire. They managed this fairly rapidly through a series of marriages, gifts of the lands of others, and by deliberately acquiring the marriage and wardship rights of minors as they became available. They were able to answer for certain debts in other counties, adding to the reach of their authority, and benefitted from the loss of Normandy by receiving the lands of those who chose to remain there. William (I) appeared to be quite zealous when it came to territorial consolidation and expansion, utilising his personal networks to increase his interests significantly between 1199 when John took the throne, and after 1204 and the loss of Normandy. Perhaps because of the difficulties associated with serving King John – the king's personality was not exactly conducive to a harmonious environment at court – as well as the attraction of the liberties the March could provide, William began pressing towards the frontier and the March at an early stage.

It is also interesting to note that the Nottinghamshire manors were also an early acquisition, but that these were passed down through the younger sons rather than the elder sons. Despite the centrality of their heartlands, and the acquisition of two main centres from which they could command a great deal of England, the men of the main branch of the family seemed to put more emphasis upon their interests in Warwickshire

and Leicestershire, and later on Wiltshire, Abergavenny and the West Country, rather than focusing upon their lands elsewhere.

The Cantilupes 1216-1239

While the politics of faction-negotiation has been discussed in Chapter One, the territorial impact of these relationships will be considered here. With the death of King John, the defeat of the French and the beginning of the Minority, the political situation from 1216-18 was considerably unsettled. As the Minority progressed, with des Roches's influence being marginalised in the light of Hubert de Burgh's ambitious ascendance, the Cantilupes consolidated their territories quietly. William (I) remained where he was, concerning himself with the swathes of manors he had acquired which cut across England from Leicestershire to Herefordshire, while his brothers continued to hold lands in the traditional holdings in Lincolnshire, Essex, Northamptonshire, Berkshire, Wiltshire and the West Country. However, territorially, lands in the March must have been becoming increasingly attractive, since de Burgh was gaining a foothold there himself and had the support of the Marshal. It would appear that Fulk had died by this time; his lands in Burton, Northamptonshire, and Shopland [Sopiland'], Essex, had passed to his heir, also named Fulk, who was to answer for them.

By 1217, the Cantilupes as a family had managed to spread themselves across most of the English counties. While Fulk's spread seems a little geographically broad, he could easily have travelled through his brother's lands to reach Lincolnshire from Dorset or Wiltshire, and *vice versa*.

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⁴⁷¹ PRS Pipe Roll 1218, Fulk pp. 59, 73; Fulk's heir, p. 70; William (I), pp. 10, 29, 42, 49, 50, 51, 52, 61, 63, 64, 92, 93; William (II), pp. 53, 63.

⁴⁷² PRS Pipe Roll 1218, pp. 59, 70, 73.

From 1218, William (presumably (I)) has the lands belonging to the heirs of Hugh de Gournay, which included Hoxton in Buckinghamshire, and Kelsey in Lincolnshire. 473 From 1219, despite Fulk the younger still appearing in Essex and Northamptonshire, it is William who appears in the Pipe Rolls owing one mark for half a fee in Calstone, and responding for the scutage which Fulk still owed there in Warwickshire and Leicestershire. ⁴⁷⁴ Fulk was apparently not a minor, however, as he is found in Essex alone taking full responsibility for his debts there in the same year. 475 In 1219, while Fulk the younger appears in his own right, the only other Cantilupes to appear in this roll are William and Mazilia, his wife. Both Fulk and William appear answering for debts in Wiltshire (the debt is owed by Fulk but William is to respond in Warwickshire and Leicestershire for it), and Fulk the younger is to respond for debts in Shopland, Essex, but apart from that the responsibility for all other debts in all other counties - Wiltshire, Buckinghamshire, Northamptonshire, Huntingdonshire and Lincolnshire - fell to William alone, with the exception of Bulwick in Northamptonshire, where William is again listed with Mazilia. 476 It is more likely that this is to identify William (I) rather than William (II), who begins to be known as William *junior* around this date.

⁴⁷³ PRS Pipe Roll 1218, pp. 61, 93.

⁴⁷⁴ PRS Pipe Roll 1219, pp. 18-19.

⁴⁷⁵ PRS Pipe Roll 1219, pp. 108, 110.

⁴⁷⁶ PRS Pipe Roll 1219, Fulk, pp. 19, 81, 108; Fulk's heir pp. 108, 110; William, pp. 18, 19, 52, 57, 70, 78, 83, 118; Mazilia, p. 83.

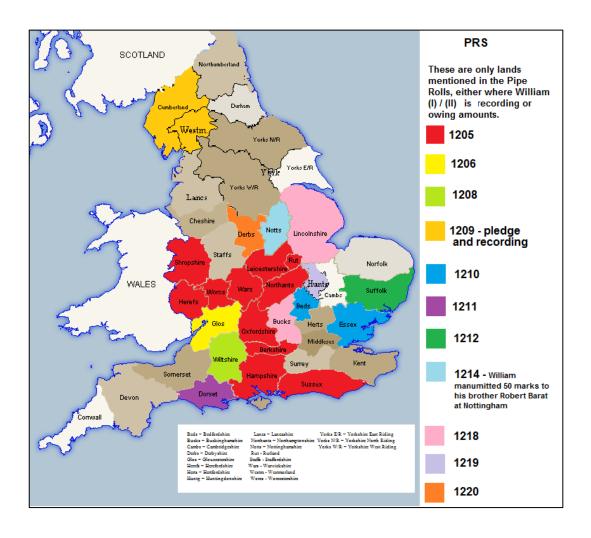


Figure 2: PRS Entries of Cantilupe Interests 1206-20

It is important to note that while the above map represents only William's progress, some of the counties had an historic Cantilupe presence (such as Essex, Lincolnshire and Somerset) but were not held directly by William (I) or his son and grandson until much later, being held instead by his brothers, cousins and nephews. Somerset was also occupied by the Cantilupes and had been since the start of King John's reign, but these lands had been held by Fulk and Robert. (See Appendix 1 for the tables of Pipe Roll entries for the family).

It is also clear that from 1206 onwards, although the Cantilupes are still very active as a family in the South East and North East of England, by the time of William's death in 1239 they had dramatically increased their holdings in the west of the country

and were pushing towards the March. They had developed their territorial bridge from Lincolnshire to Shropshire, and these acquisitions seem to have been deliberate, such as through the gaining of wardship rights.

In 1221, William (II) was in control of some of the Cantilupe lands and others in his own right, including Eaton Bray, Bedfordshire, where he built a moated, fortified manor house, listed as a 'strong house' by David Cathcart-King. The was another twenty years before William (II) made any additions or improvements to this manor, however, and in the meantime Aston Cantlow in Warwickshire was a key site for the family. There does not appear to have been an archaeological excavation of the family seat at Aston Cantlow since a partial dig was conducted in 1932 on the moated enclosure north of the church and in 1935 on a different section of the earthwork, and so reports and interpretations of the site differ. The physical evidence of both these manors will be considered further in Chapter Four, where the visual representations and expressions of power will be discussed.

⁴⁷⁷ D. Cathcart-King, *Castellarium Anglicanum: an Index and Bibliography of the Castles in England, Wales and the Islands. Volume I: Anglesey – Montgomery*, (New York, 1983), p. 8; English Heritage Monument No. 346552, *PastScape*, online resource, http://www.pastscape.org.uk/hob.aspx?hob_id=346552&sort=4&search=all&criteria=Eaton Bray&rational=q&recordsperpage=10, accesed 01.11.13.

The Archaeology Warwickshire reports (1999-2010) have no reports for the castle. See, http://www.warwickshire.gov.uk/Web/Corporate/pages.nsf/Links/45D65A91217B090880256DE5005A0323, accessed 01.11.13. The 1935 excavation is mentioned in *VCH: Warwick*, iii., p. 32, and the scant archaeological data collected on the site is recorded at *English Heritage PastScape*, http://www.pastscape.org.uk/hob.aspx?hob_id=330927, accessed 01.11.13, and The Archaeological Data Service, http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archsearch/record.jsf?titleId=97863, accessed 01.11.13.

The Cantilupes 1240-1273

By the 1240s, the Cantilupes had established their power bases in several counties, with certain manors acting as their primary bases in each case, as the table below indicates:

Table 1: Cantilupe Centres of Power

Shire	Manors	By Whom	Year
Wiltshire	Calne & Calstone	Fulk, brother of	c.1199 [when it was
	(royal gift)	William (I) – they	in Fulk's hands]
		were passed to Fulk's	
		nephew, William (II)	
		after Fulk's death	
Somerset	Chilton Cantlow	William (I) [it was	c.1199 [when first
	(hereditary)	held by a close male	known to be in
		relative prior to	Cantilupe hands,
		William's inheritance	inherited by
		of this manor]	William (I) c.1201]
Warwickshire &	Bugdon &	William (I)	c.1203
Leicestershire	Haverbridge (royal		
	gift)		
Warwickshire	Aston Cantlow gained	William (I)	1205
	with Studley Priory		
	from the Corbizuns		
	(hereditary)		
Bedfordshire	Eyton [Eaton Bray]	William (I)	1205, expanded and
	gained by exchanging		more heavily
	the Cantilupe manor of		invested in during
	Cockswell		the 1220s
Honour of	Honour of	William (III) by	c.1238x41
Abergavenny	Abergavenny	marriage to Eva de	
		Braose	

In terms of an evolving family strategy for the branch of the Cantilupes under discussion, it would appear that they had begun with opportunism and developed their territorial aims based on locations where a family presence already existed prior to King John's rise to power, and then looked for manors that would benefit and befit their elevating positions at court, taking advantage of the lands abandoned or forfeited by other lords following the loss of Normandy. Actions such as the buying of wardship rights and exchanges can be said to be deliberate, rather than simply accepting gifts

chosen for them by the king. These 'deliberate' acquisitions can also be seen to be directly beneficial to the administrators of the family, and the Williams seemed to be taking into consideration the spread of family influence and how best to expand it for themselves and the inheritance they would leave to their oldest son and heir, who was also continuing the naming tradition for three successive generations. While the influence of the head of the family over the successive generations of the cadet lines is not really being considered here, it is evident that the main branch were willing and able to capitalise on the other branches of their family when necessary, particularly when male heirs of close kin were in short supply. By the time William (II) had deliberately secured Eva de Braose for his oldest son William (III), the administrative Williams already had a strong presence in the border shires, and no doubt the Cantilupes of Merthyr Mawr in Glamorgan helped them to consolidate their authority across these regions. Their territorial gains began to develop further, with the securing of other manors around these primary holdings and the continued spread of Cantilupe power and authority around them.

In 1240, following their attainment of lands in Wales and Ireland through William (III)'s marriage to Eva de Braose, William (II) and his heirs were made quit of suits in counties and hundreds, sheriffs' aids, hidages, and views of frankpledge in all their English lands. Letters to this effect went out to the sheriffs of York, Lincoln, Northampton, Warwick and Leicester, Bedford and Buckingham, Wiltshire, Somerset and Dorset, Hertford, Devon and Shropshire. In 1241, the Michaelmas Receipt Rolls recorded that William (II) held lands in Norfolk, as he had custody of the land and heirs of Hugh de Gournay, Somerset, Wiltshire, Warwickshire, and Hampshire. After William (II) had taken control of the royal manors of Calne and Calstone in Wiltshire

⁴⁷⁹ CChR 1226-57, p. 253.

⁴⁸⁰ PRS Receipt and Issue Rolls 1241-2, pp. 14-15.

and married off his son to his ward, Eva de Braose, he added fisheries and a deer park to Eaton Bray. By the 1240s, the Cantilupes were evidently beginning to divide their time between their two centres – one of the pitfalls of having so many manors in so many counties. With the eldest son taking charge of the Marcher regions, it fell to the younger sons and nephews to take charge of the midlands (particularly Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire) and the cadet branches continued in Essex and Surrey. Their court cases throughout the 1240s were spread across multiple counties, as Table 5 (Appendix 3, below) illustrates.

Eaton Bray was perfectly placed for continued access to court when the king was in Westminster, and so the additions to the manor here may well be indicative of the necessary shift required as the personal rule of Henry III progressed, punctuated by its frequent parliaments. The Close Rolls show that William was indeed spending much of his time in Westminster, witnessing and sealing royal letters and grants. This was due to the fact that he, the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of Carlisle, were left in charge of England while Henry was away on campaign in Gascony, necessitating William moving closer to the seat of government. It would also account for William (III) taking over his father's duties in various lands across England while William (II) was otherwise engaged. Yet, in 1242, William was mandated with the Archbishop of York to send 4,000 Welshmen to the king in Gascony, a mandate which may also have served to reinforce the Cambric ties that William and his father and son had

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⁴⁸¹ English Heritage, *PastScape*, online resource, http://www.pastscape.org.uk/hob.aspx?hob_id=346571, accessed 01.11.13.

⁴⁸² Carpenter, *The Struggle for Mastery*, p. 354.

⁴⁸³ CR 1242-1247, pp. 49, 51 [1243].

cultivated.⁴⁸⁴ He was also expected to carry out official duties in Ireland during this time, where his son William (III) had gained lands through his wife Eva.⁴⁸⁵

Naturally, this meant that others of his family clustered around the Bedford power centre – in 1249 Ralph de Francheville confirmed his charter to Robert de Cantilupe granting him his lands in 'Karbodesham', which may be Caversham, Berkshire, about forty-five miles south of Eaton Bray. Robert is also found quit of the common summons in York in 1251, reinforcing the Cantilupe ties to the North of England and Scotland, no doubt helped by William (II)'s professional relationship with the Archbishop during Henry's absence.

However, others in the wider family seem to have very little to do with the Bedfordshire manor. In 1251 Maud's forge in the Forest of Dean had passed to Mabel de Cantilupe, possibly a daughter, and Master Roger, who could be the Master Roger of the Essex branch, can be found in Chippenham, Wiltshire, in the 1240s. Walter was bishop of Worcester by this time, elected in 1237. In 1251, Nicholas de Cantilupe, brother of William (III), gained the lands of Thomas Escoteny in Lincolnshire of the king's gift, although the benefits of royal favour were not enough to prevent him from rebelling at a later date.

William (II) became constable of Nottingham castle from 1248 until his death in 1251, reinforcing the family ties to this area, where they could be found since the reign of King John. 491 Yet it was Nicholas, not his brother William (III), who became a power

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⁴⁸⁴ CR 1242-1247, p. 76.

⁴⁸⁵ CR 1242-1247, pp. 79-80.

⁴⁸⁶ CR 1247-1251, p. 221.

⁴⁸⁷ CR 1247-1251, p. 558.

⁴⁸⁸ CR 1242-1247, p. 423 [Mabel]; p. 198 [Roger].

⁴⁸⁹ C. H. Lawrence, 'Cantilupe, Walter de (*c*.1195–1266), *bishop of Worcester*', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online resource, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/printable/4571, accessed 01.11.13. ⁴⁹⁰ *CR* 1247-51, p. 546.

⁴⁹¹ CR 1247-51, pp. 37, 409.

in this county, his descendants being lords of Greasley. This would imply that these interests, while part of the traditional Cantilupe holdings, were at first considered minor or satellite manors, better suited for the younger members of the family rather than passed to the eldest son with the centres and prioritised demesne lands.

Of the prioritised lands in the hand of the eldest son, the Honor of Abergavenny seems to have become the most central to William (III)'s concerns. Although the dispute between William (III) and John of Monmouth the younger has already been discussed in Chapter One, the dispute will be revisited here in greater detail in order to look at the territorial aspect of the case rather than the effect it had on the relationship between William and the king.

It would appear that the issue began when Penrhos castle was mistakenly laid claim to by William (III) because he believed he had the right to it through Eva's dowry. His previous connections with John of Monmouth senior did not appear to be hostile; John was mandated to let William's father have deer from the forests of Rockingham and Blakemore on several occasions, and their names appear together several times throughout Henry III's reign. Pevertheless, William took it upon himself to take control of John's castle to prevent his heir, John the younger, from claiming it, but in the process preventing Henry III from taking it into his hands as was his prerogative before John the younger could pay the fine to claim his inheritance. The Patent Rolls portray this as a very simple affair, an irritant to Henry but deserving no more than a casual gloss:

⁴⁹² The first time William I and John of Monmouth (senior) appear together is in 1222, where the constables and men of the late Reginald de Braose were mandated to release all castles belonging to the said Reginald to William de Cantilupe the king's seneschal, John of Monmouth and Roger Clifford, *CPR 1216-1225*, pp. 334-5; John of Monmouth is also mandated to give William several deer from the forest of Blakemore in 1230, *CChR 1227-31*, p. 443.

On the death of John de Mornemue [Monmouth] the king took seisin of all his lands and castles, except the castle of Penrhos ... and because William de Cantilupo the younger had intruded into the castle of Penrhos after the death of the said John, the said William came to the king and put himself at his mercy and surrendered to the king seisin of the castle... 493

This was dated 20 October, 1248; on 10 January 1250, Walerand le Tieis and Gilbert de Preston were commissioned to 'enquire and do justice' regarding the complaints and trespasses between John of Monmouth and William de Cantilupe, with Walerand to provide a jury at Oswestry. In June 1253, William had been forgiven – the Patent Rolls record remission to William 'of all his trespasses, as well as in respect to the castle of Penros of John of Monmouth, which he has caused to be thrown down, as other trespasses of him and his against the said John', on the condition that if John or others would proceed against him, he would agree to stand trial. 495

However, in the letters close, the affair was far from simple. While the open letters demonstrated the king's tight grip on power in the March, William did not in fact come before the king until 1251, when the dispute had been dragging on for several years. This would imply that the entry in the Patent Rolls for 1248 saying that William had already come before the king may have been written in or added to some years later. The dispute had actually begun in 1248, and the Close Rolls reveal the actual effort it had taken to cause William to come before the king in this manner. Henry III had caused William's lands in Devonshire to be taken into the king's hands as a consequence of his actions, and had brought in Bishop Peter d'Aigueblanche of

⁴⁹³ CPR, 1247-58, p. 29 – also recorded in the Calendar of Close Rolls for 1251: 'Willelmus de Cantilup' recognovit coram de rege se non habere aliquem in castro de Penros, nec se aliquem advocare qui se tenuerit hostiliter in eodem castro.' CR 1247-51, p. 541.

⁴⁹⁴ *CPR 1247-58*, p. 77.

⁴⁹⁵ CPR 1247-58, p. 202.

Hereford, Walerand le Tieis, Gilbert de Preston, Nicholas de Molis, Robert Waleran and Hugh de Kynardley to help bring the situation to a satisfactory end. ⁴⁹⁶ In 1251, Walerand le Tieis was even mandated to join with the sheriff of Hereford and raise the shire against William III de Cantilupe to take possession of the castle by force if necessary, imprisoning the transgressors in the king's prison. ⁴⁹⁷ What had begun as a private inter-Marcher dispute between the lord of Abergavenny and his neighbours ended with the castle (a motte and bailey construction founded by William fitz Osbern) being demolished, and William being publically humbled. When William's father died in 1251, this dispute was still fresh in Henry's mind, and it was probably the fact that William III's inheritance consisted of considerable lands in England that Henry was at last able to bend the stubborn young lord and bring him to heel. Penrhos castle was only returned to John of Monmouth the younger in 1252, and in that year William was told in no uncertain terms not to cause any more trouble in those parts, 'as he desires to avoid the king's anger'. ⁴⁹⁸

Here, Henry III can be seen intervening in what William (III) probably considered to be a private Marcher dispute. From Henry III's perspective, the castle of Penrhos was in his gift and therefore he was entitled to take seisin of it whether it lay in the March or not. Additionally, the senior and junior Johns of Monmouth had worked their way into royal service and had received the king's patronage and favour, as had the Cantilupes, and both families owed a great deal to the Crown. William (III) had not been numbered among the king's enemies before, and as he was later to be found with the king in Gascony and receiving the castle of Builth through his attorney in his absence, the matter was cleared up with the minimum of lingering animosity. Here was a neighbourly dispute that William, as a Marcher, could use to test the extent of his

⁴⁹⁶ *CChR 1247-51*, pp. 112, 249.

⁴⁹⁷ *CChR 1247-51*, pp. 540-1.

⁴⁹⁸ 'sicut indignacionem regis cupit evitare', *CChR 1247-51*, p. 54; pp. 200-201.

new-found freedom and liberties. His brother-in-law, Robert Tregoz lord of Ewyas, had doubtless often done the same thing albeit on a smaller scale. William could take full advantage of the private powers of his new Marcher lordship, just as his wife's family the de Braoses (not to mention the Marshals) had done for decades. However, this became the battleground for something far bigger – the situation quickly transformed from a demonstration of local Marcher powers into a test of royal authority and control, and William submitted to his king. Despite the principles and tests of power involved, a motte and bailey construction somewhere in Wales, actually demolished during the disturbances, was hardly an issue over which to jeopardise his standing (and by extension, that of his relations) in the royal court.

This incident is useful in revealing the extent of Cantilupe ambition in the March. Had this incident happened a century earlier, William may well have gotten away with it – but unfortunately for him, royal government had progressed since the early days of Marcher settlement and conquest, and so had the machinery of royal governance. It does raise the issue of how far Marcher lords could actually wage private war upon each other in the thirteenth century, and to what extent such 'frontier' concerns impacted upon central government.

Certainly, it was not the last time that the Honour of Abergavenny caused some royal concern. In 1276, Edward I wrote several letters patent from Westminster with a view to solving these kinds of conflicts. The letter dated November 16 says,

The like to Walter de Helyun and Master Henry de Bray, touching homicides, depredations and other offences perpetrated between the king's men of the honour of Bergaveny and the men of Edmund the king's brother, of the honor of the Three Castles ... 499

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⁴⁹⁹ *CPR*, *1272-1281*, p. 182.

This is a conflict which seems to be between Edmund and the king, but also between Edmund and 'the heir of George de [Cantilupe]' (John de Hastings, husband of his sister Joan) who is mentioned further on, apparently involving violent raids into each other's territories. 500 At this point, the Marcher mentality was alive and well.

The Cantilupes were by no means alone in their acquisitive strategy. The de Greys, a lower ranking administrative family and lords of Wilton, also later became lords of Ruthin and were mandated to lead several campaigns into Wales on the king's behalf.⁵⁰¹ Lands in Wales and marriages to Marcher families like the Lestranges and the de Hastings increased the family's stature, and by the time of Edward IV they had been created Earls of Kent. 502

The Audleys of Staffordshire, another family on a similar social rung as the Cantilupes, were also understandably keen to consolidate their positions. As well as marrying into the de Montforts (unrelated to the earl Simon) who were in turn connected to the de Cantilupes, James Audley married Ela Longespee, daughter of the earl of Salisbury. The family also made marital links with Gruffudd ap Madog, lord of Bromfeld. 503 In a similar manner, the de Verduns, studied extensively by Mark Hagger and from whom the de Cantilupes held land in Warwickshire, also expanded into Ireland and Wales. 504

The minority of George de Cantilupe lasted from 1254 to 1273, during which time the duties of 'head of the family' passed to Bishop Walter, following the deaths of William (II) and (III) in quick succession. William (II) and Walter's brother Nicholas (I)

⁵⁰⁰ Ibid.

⁵⁰¹ Pedigree of the Family of Grey de Ruthin, Early English Books Online [EEBO], electronic resource (c.1640), online resource, http://eebo.chadwyck.com/search accessed 27.10.12. Pedigree, EEBO, http://eebo.chadwyck.com/search accessed 27.10.12.

⁵⁰³ He married Emma Audley; TNA: SC 8/262/13080.

⁵⁰⁴ Mark Hagger, *The de Verdun Family in England, Ireland and Wales, 1066-1316: A Study*, unpublished PhD thesis, (St Andrew's University, 1998) p. 222; See also, Mark Hagger, The Fortunes of a Norman family: the de Verduns in England, Ireland and Wales, 1066-1316, (Dublin, 2001).

had died in the early 1250s as well, the third death in as many years. The Cantilupes lost control of certain manors during this time, including the royal manors of Buggedon and Haverbridge in Leicestershire which had been in their hands since William (I)'s time. In 1261, the tallage of these Leicestershire manors belonged to Gruffudd ap Gwenwynwen, presumably to try and salvage the prince's relationship with the king since the prince's suit against his uncle Thomas Corbet was causing serious problems in the March. The king had presumably taken the manors back into his own hands after 1254 during the minority of George, and chose to give them to Gruffudd ap Gwenwynwen since the relationship between Gruffudd and Henry was becoming strained in the latter decades due to his vendetta against Thomas Corbet, and the increasing baronial discontent.

Had there been a Cantilupe of age and of proven administrative ability to inherit the lands, perhaps the family would have retained the impressive extent of their control, rather than see George's vast inheritance divided between the de la Zouche and Hastings families. This should have been William (II)'s next oldest son Nicholas (II), (as opposed to William (II)'s brother, Nicholas) but Nicholas (II) died the same year as Bishop Walter in 1266, leaving the archdeacon Hugh, knight John and Bishop Thomas as the next in their generations. Nicholas left a son, William (IV), also a minor in 1266, whom Thomas brought to court and who was a student at Paris in 1288 at the time of Thomas's death. Bishop Thomas was absent from England following the ill-fated battle of Evesham, and therefore it would have fallen to his uncle John to be head of the

⁵⁰⁵ CR 1259-1261, p. 382; Gruffudd had his Derbyshire manors taken temporarily into the king's hands in 1260, after an attack on Thomas Corbet's vills in Ford; see, CR 1259-1261, pp. 49, 180-1.

⁵⁰⁶ Will and Testament of Thomas Cantilupe, 'Item idem dominus Johannes confessus est et et recognovit se recepisse et habuisse vice et nomine Willelmi de Cantilupo studentis Parisivis triginta marcas.' C. M. Woolgar (ed.), *Testamentary Records of the English and Welsh Episcopate, 1200-1413: Wills, Executors' Accounts and Inventories, and the Probate Process*, (The Canterbury and York Society: Boydell Press, 2011), 104-106, p. 105.

family during the concurrent minorities of his nephews.⁵⁰⁷ John de Cantilupe was lord of Snitterfield, Warwickshire, drawing the family centre back into their ancient heartlands despite Aston Cantlow being in the hands of Prince Edward for the duration of George's minority.⁵⁰⁸

Snitterfield was a manor brought to the Cantilupes by John's wife, Margery Cumin, and so this return to Warwickshire following the shift to Eaton Bray as a main centre of Cantilupe power was in keeping with the family strategy of consolidating and prioritising their heartlands in the midlands. John was granted a market there in 1257, demonstrating its economic development and increasing importance, but as soon as George and William (IV) came of age, the centres of Cantilupe power shifted yet again. ⁵⁰⁹

 $^{^{507}}$ Dugdale, $Antiquities\ of\ Warwickshire,\ p.\ 504.$

⁵⁰⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁰⁹ *CR 1227-57*, p. 474.

The Cantilupes 1273- c.1300

George de Cantilupe, only son of William (III), came of age *c*.1273 and died of causes unknown. The Cantilupe lands that were *not* held by George's uncles but passed down solely through his father, mother, grandfather and grandmother, were staggering. It is also very obvious by George's time where the centres of the Cantilupe lands were – not, as has been frequently posited, at Eaton Bray, but at Aston Cantlow, Abergavenny, and Bridgewater, as shown by Figure 3 below:

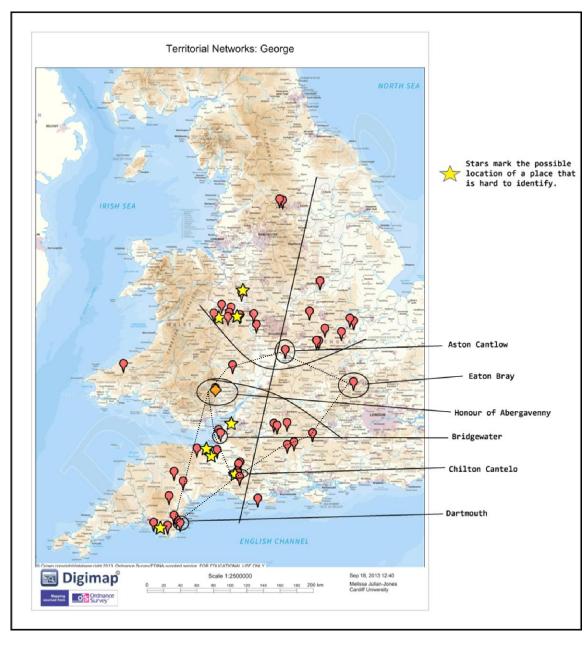


Figure 3: George de Cantilupe's Centres of Power

From the map, it is evident that Eaton Bray, while a convenient location for London and Westminster, was not the centre of the Cantilupe estates. In fact, the main cluster of lands inherited by George (the eldest son of the eldest son of the eldest son) were all located to the west of the central diagonal line. Only seventeen named manors and vills appear on the east of that line, while the thirty-two others which are more readily identifiable, and all the lands which are not and represented by stars on the map to suggest potential locations, are on the west of the line. The majority are in Warwickshire, Shropshire, Somerset and Devon. Although the concentration of the majority of George's holdings are west of the line, both Aston Cantlow and Eaton Bray are on the east, two strong power centres providing a balance between the lands in and closer to the March, and those closer to the centres of power for their cadet lines and in-

The four key centres in George's inheritance seem to have been Aston Cantlow, Warwickshire; Abergavenny, where George was born and raised; Chilton Cantlow, Somerset, part of the family's historic demesne in the county, and Eaton Bray, Bedfordshire. The dashed line on the map indicates the points of connection between the manors. Chilton Cantlow and Aston Cantlow were among the oldest of the Cantilupe lands, and formed two strong powerbases for expansion in the surrounding regions. As has been argued, Eaton Bray was convenient for Westminster and for showing off and entertaining courtly guests in the South East, as well as being a good place to stay en route from or to the Cantilupes' other manors. Abergavenny, the most recent of the acquisitions, was the perfectly located Marcher stronghold, geographically an ideal place to travel either north or south, or straight across the corridor of Gloucestershire, Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire on the way to Eaton Bray.

From Abergavenny, George could have commanded a great deal of the English manors he possessed, especially as the majority of them were situated either to the north or south while his cousins had control in Warwickshire and Nottinghamshire. Territorially, the Cantilupes had produced enough heirs across the generations to divide their interests among themselves, but as the eldest son of the eldest son of the eldest son, George was receiving the lion's share. His death in 1273 must have come as a terrible blow to the family, and his sisters, Joan and Millicent, then saw his vast inheritance carved up between them and pass to their husbands' families.

When William (IV) came of age, the family seat was at Greasley, Nottinghamshire, with other principal manors at Ilkeston, Derbyshire and Withcall, Lincolnshire. These he had inherited from his father Nicholas (d. 1266), who had been in danger of losing them after Evesham.

The Cantilupes had now been eclipsed since the Hastings and Zouches had inherited most of their lands, and yet were still continuing in their traditional counties. Their policies of consolidation in each generation had paid off with the family's survival despite a series of unfortunate events, and these manors now provided the base for further expansion (or re-expansion) for the cadet line.

Had George not died so young, the Cantilupes may well have become a great power in the March and in the border shires, with the cadet lines forging new networks simultaneously from and within the ancient heartlands. They would certainly have maintained their grip on power in the court, as even Bishop Thomas, a pardoned Montfortian, had a reportedly good relationship with Edward I when he ascended the

Figure 7:10 Richard Partington, 'Cantilupe , Nicholas, third Lord Cantilupe (c.1301–1355)', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, (Oxford University Press, 2004), online resource, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4567, accessed 02.11.2013.

⁵¹¹ Cal. Inq. Misc. (Chancery), i., 849:248; 796: 243; 644:196.

throne – no doubt cultivated from Thomas's days as royal chancellor in the baronial government.

The strategy of new men attempting to gain, maintain and expand the scope of their power and authority in terms of territorial networks must now be set against that of the old men of the March. The Corbets of Caus and their territorial web will now be examined for the same period.

THE CORBETS

The Corbets *c*.1199-1205

While the Cantilupes were discussed largely in terms of the three Williams and George, the Corbets require a little more attention. For the Cantilupes, the ther Cantilupe kin (aside from a few obvious exceptions) were dependent upon their respective heads of the family to help them increase their own status, personal networks and landholding. While the Cantilupes benefitted from their royal service and could gain manors through their personal relationship with King John, Henry III and Edward I, the Corbets could not boast of such a strong, consistent personal connection. For this family, manorial consolidation and expansion had to come from their marital alliances, personal networks, and the more direct process of military usurpation. Connections had already been made with other parts of the country by 1199, through the network of relationships forged throughout the eleventh and twelfth centuries; Earl Reginald of Cornwall had been active in the March in the reign of Henry II, and he is to be found alongside a Roger Corbet, his kinsman on his mother's side, witnessing charters to Shrewsbury Abbey in 1155.⁵¹² Already, the links between these 'old' men of the March and the West Country were evident, so the marriage between Thomas Corbet of Caus and Isabel de Vautort, widow of Alan de Dunstanville, is not so difficult to explain, despite the hundreds of miles between the manors at Shropshire and the manors of Devon and Cornwall received in dowry. 513

Robert Corbet does not seem to have had any personal contact with Henry II, since the only records concerning him relate to americement for forest trespass paid in

⁵¹² *CSPS*, i, no. 36.

⁵¹³ See above, p. 111, and below, p. 198.

1176 and 1177.⁵¹⁴ However, during Richard I's reign, Robert was paid twenty marks to sustain himself while on the king's service in Wales in the autumn of 1193 and ten marks in 1198, so it is possible that he may have been known to Richard personally.⁵¹⁵ Meisel believes that one possible explanation for Robert's absence in the 1190s was because he had taken the Cross and was with King Richard at Acre. Another possible explanation is that he was simply in the Corbet fees in Normandy, which were lost in 1204.⁵¹⁶

In 1200 a market was granted to him and his heirs at Caus once a week, one of an increasing number of such royal grants as the king's right to licence new markets such as this become increasingly more effective. ⁵¹⁷ R. H. Britnell has demonstrated that the number of markets granted from 1200 onwards increased rapidly, and possibly numbered in the thousands between 1200-1349, and it is clear that the Corbets were quick to capitalise on this increase of royal grants. ⁵¹⁸ It is evident from the fact that he was required to defend the border and provide safe conduct for others through his territories and beyond that he had a number of men at arms at his disposal. The presence of a market implies that Caus was also an economic centre capable of providing for and sustaining the population, and that the borough of Caus had, by 1200, become a centre of trade which would benefit from such formal organization. ⁵¹⁹ They had also set about enlarging and improving Caus castle from this date onwards, until, by the reign of Henry III, it was at least as big as the royal fortress at Montgomery and one of the most impressive castles on the border at the time – although more of this will be said in

⁵¹⁴ PRS Pipe Roll 22 Henry II, p. 58; PRS Pipe Roll 23 Henry II, p. 39, cited in Janet Meisel, Barons of the Welsh Frontier, p. 9.

⁵¹⁵ PRS Pipe Roll 5 Richard I, p. 110; PRS Chancellor's Roll, 8 Richard I, p. 42.

⁵¹⁶ Meisel, Barons of the Welsh Frontier, p. 10.

⁵¹⁷ Rot. Chart., i, p. 446; R. H. Britnell, 'The Proliferation of Markets in England, 1200-1349', Economic History Review, 34:2, (May, 1981), 209-221, p. 211.

⁵¹⁸ Britnell, 'The Proliferation of Markets', *EHR*, 34:2, p. 209.

⁵¹⁹ Ibid. p. 211.

Chapter Four.⁵²⁰ The Corbets were evidently set upon turning their *caput* into a powerful economic and military centre, capitalizing upon its position on the main road into Wales, and reflecting their status as Marcher lords and kin to the Welsh princes.

From the Pipe Rolls, it is clear that the Corbet family had interests that followed those of their lords, the Montgomerys. Robert and his kinsman Roger, either a brother or cousin, appear in the Pipe Rolls from 1199 onwards.

Their comparable geographical spread and military capabilities can be seen at this early stage of John's reign by a cursory glance at the scutage being levied from their near neighbours; obviously, the FitzAlans of Clun, earls of Arundel, are not a fair comparison, with £14 10s. being levied from them in the First, Second and Third Scutage collections for the redemption of Richard. Robert Corbet of Caus owed twenty shillings of scutage per fee, while Wiso Lestrange of Knockin at first owed only ten, which then increased to twenty. The FitzWarins also owed twenty, indicating that it was a standard amount to levy in this area from these comparable families. It puts the Corbets on something of an economic par with their neighbours, and indicates that as far as the Exchequer was concerned, there was a basic fiscal parity between these three families that belied the actual interpersonal tensions. ⁵²¹

The Corbets' cross-border interests ensured that they developed a network of 'cross-border alliances and socio-political relationships', and among their various tasks was the role of escorting parties between the courts of Wales and England. ⁵²² By the thirteenth century, the Corbets had expanded their Welshry to include several manors held of the earl of Shrewsbury, but very little evidence survives regarding them,

⁵²⁰ L. F. Chitty, 'Interim Notes on Subsidiary Castle Sites West of Shrewsbury', *TSAS* 53 (1949-50), 83-90; Meisel, *Barons of the Welsh Frontier*, p. 62.

⁵²¹ PRS Pipe Roll 1201, pp. 278-82.

Laura Radiker, 'Observations on Cross-Cultural Names and Name Patterns in Medieval Wales and the March', *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium*, Vol. 26/27, (2006/2007), 160-198 p. 171.

although Meisel has identified eight that were granted to them by the earl and a further four which were later received or usurped. In terms of their expansion in England, they evidently had interests in the Honour of Wallingford from the early years of John's reign, bringing them into contact with families like the Foliots and Bassets, and possibly reinforcing links with the Cantilupes following the treaty between John and Gwenwynwen in 1208, and the movement of the Cantilupes into Shropshire and Staffordshire.

The Worcestershire connection is reinforced in the *Curia Regis* Rolls, where Roger Corbet and his wife Agatha are found suing Geoffrey d'Abitot over a plea concerning the custody of Agatha's daughter in 1200.⁵²⁴ Similarly, the Gloucester Corbets, which included Robert (husband of Sibyl), had extensive personal networks within that county too.⁵²⁵ Although there is very little evidence to suggest the extent of the family's close links with its cadet branches and other kinsmen, it is likely that through these relations the Corbets of Caus were able to project a sense of their importance and authority along territorial lines into these neighbouring shires from their Shropshire heartlands.

The Berkshire interests are also represented and illuminated further in the *Curia Regis* Rolls. In 1199 and 1200, Robert Corbet of Caus is found fighting a case against William de Cranford in the Middlesex rolls over thirty-six acres of woodland in Dawley. Robert attorned William fitz Ranulf, whom came to defend the right of Robert, which had been unjustly withheld from him by de Cranford. Dawley was a Middlesex manor which Robert inherited from his uncle William Corbet, and William

⁵²³ Meisel, Barons of the Welsh Frontier, pp. 74-5.

⁵²⁴ *Cur. Reg.*, i., p. 168.

⁵²⁵ Cur. Reg., i., p. 147.

⁵²⁶ Cur. Reg., i., pp. 89, 173-4.

⁵²⁷ Cur. Reg., i., p. 89.

fitz Ranulf was a close associate of Robert Corbet's in Berkshire, and was also lord of Whitchurch, Shropshire. 528 William de Cranford was also a Middlesex man, as the toponymic suggests. 529 The case, heard in Middlesex with a Berkshire-based attorney for the Corbet's defence, is a good demonstration of how cross-county even middling Marchers could be, and the ways in which they maintained territorial links and personal networks across England as well as in the March, their locality, and further into Wales.

Although no Herefordshire manors or interests are recorded in the Pipe Rolls for the family, an Emma Corbet, wife of Richard Corbet, appears in 1201 in an incomplete entry in the Curia Regis rolls, appointing William of Westbury (Wiltshire) as her attorney. 530

While the Cantilupes were busy establishing and consolidating their old and new lands, and paying the way for future acquisitions, the Corbets were busy about the same strategic business. While the Corbets were, naturally, centred in Shropshire for the most part, the cadet lines had also forged into the honour of Gloucester, and into the counties of Worcestershire and Berkshire.⁵³¹ Their interests in Berkshire, in particular the fees they held in the honour of Wallingford, were part of their ancient demesne lands, passed down to the family from their twelfth century acquisition by Robert Corbet lord of Alcester. 532 Robert Corbet of Caus had also gained lands in Derbyshire, since he gave these two manors away as his daughter Margaret's dowry upon her marriage to

⁵²⁸ Meisel, Barons of the Welsh Frontier, p. 12; Susan Reynolds (ed.), 'Harlington: Manors', VCH: A History of the County of Middlesex, 261-267, British History Online, online resource, http://www.britishhistory.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=22361&strquery=Corbet, accessed 08.11.2013.

⁵²⁹ Susan Reynolds (ed.), 'Cranford: Manors', VCH: Middlesex, iii., 179-181, British History Online, http://www.britishresource, history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=22309&strquery=william+de+cranford, accessed 05.11.2013. 530 *Cur. Reg.*, ii., p. 30.

Roger Corbet first appears in the Honour of Gloucester in *PRS Pipe Roll 1199*, pp. 29, 37; Roger first appears in Worcestershire in PRS Pipe Roll 1200, p. 32; Robert first appears in Berkshire PRS Pipe Roll 1201, p. 204.

VCH: Berkshire, iv, British History Online, online resource, http://www.britishhistory.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=62682&strquery=Corbet, accessed 05.11.2013.

Gwenwynwen. 533 Thomas, his son, then gained Dorset holdings through his marriage to Isabel de Vautort, widow of Alan de Dunstanville. 534

In terms of baronial administration, there is very little to look at. The few charters and grants that are extant mainly date from Thomas Corbet's lordship, and reveal very little except the men with whom he was closely associating at the time. However, the few extant charters that do exist from this period all point to Caus being the chief seat, and the itinerary of King John at this time frequently included the March, making Shropshire a good geographic location for access to an itinerant court during the period of instability and King John's presence on the borders.⁵³⁵

It also interesting that Margaret's dowry consisted of the contentious lands of Bobbington (Staffordshire), Hope (Shropshire), and 'Arleton', which were part of the Corbet's Welshry. At the same time, Gwenwynwen was gifted lands by King John in Derbyshire, expanding into England and gaining baronial status. The choice of dowry indicates that gaining lands in England was a priority or at least very desirable for Gwenwynwen also. It would not do for Robert to give too many of his Shropshire border lands away, either, and as the political situation deteriorated, it is no wonder that Thomas later expended a great deal of time, energy, men and money into getting them back from his sister and her son following Gwenwynwen's death.

The family connection to the FitzHerberts does not appear to be as amicable as the Cantilupe relationships with their in-laws were. Instead of attorning Corbets in their cases, in 1203 the FitzHerberts were suing them. 536 Unsurprisingly, they are suing Thomas Corbet. The case was heard in Hampshire, and was a plea of novel disseisin in

⁵³³ Eyton, Antiquities, vii., pp. 42-3.

Meisel, Barons of the Welsh Frontier, p. 73.

⁵³⁵ See above, pp. 146-7.

⁵³⁶ Cur. Reg., iii., pp. 38, 82; In Cur. Reg. iv., p. 186, Peter fitz Herbert is identified as the grandson of Sibyl Corbet who was the sister of Walter Corbet (1206).

Weston. This refers to Weston Corbett, not mentioned in Domesday, but held of the crown by Thomas Corbet from whom it derived its name. The consolidation and expansion of the Corbets, as with the Cantilupes, increased exponentially after 1204. In May of that year, Philip Augustus gave several lands to the mayor of Falaise, including the entire Corbet fief which Robert Corbet held of Robert, count of Alençon'. The loss of the Norman lands was no doubt a blow for the family, but as has been demonstrated, Caus by this time had become a strong economic and military centre in its own right. In 1205, their number of knight's fees bore up well in comparison to their neighbours. John Lestrange and Hugh de Pitchford both owed two marks for scutage in 1205, Gruffudd 'the Red' (Coch) owed five, but Robert owed ten. In an atmosphere of competition such as the world of the thirteenth century gentry, heightened by the geographical factor of the Welsh March, the strength of the Corbets as a family may well have spurred their neighbours, like the Lestranges, to increase their own strategic activities in pursuit of power in their shire.

Including Margaret's dowry lands, Robert clearly held a good amount of lands across the midlands, building a territorial bridge as the Cantilupe lands had done. Roger and his other kin connected the Berkshire and Middlesex manors to the main heartlands in Shropshire, and the lands brought to them by Isabel de Vautort added to their holdings. The Corbets certainly held Cheriton and Silverton in Devon and Egloshayle in Cornwall before 1198, implying that Thomas and Isabel were married in the 1190s. 539

⁵³⁷ Rot. Lit. Claus. ii, 24b.

⁵³⁸ Cart. Norm. 76:15, cited in Meisel, Barons of the Welsh Frontier, p. 10, and identified in her Appendix 3, p. 144 as 'Croceium' [Crocy].

Meisel, *Barons of the Welsh Frontier*, pp. 144-5. Additionally, Thomas held Churlton of Edmund Pipard, at the same time that William de Cantilupe (II/III) held the manor of Bovi of Edmund also. *CIPM*, i., p. 286.

Access to the West Country from Shropshire would probably have been achieved by river and sea rather than land, and the fees they held there could also be accessed by water (Egloshayle is on the Polmarla River, which feeds into the Bristol Channel, and Cheriton is not far from the coast, an hour and a half's walk from Lynmouth). Silverton, however, is further inland from Cheriton and a further forty miles away, far less convenient and a good day or two's ride even on a fast horse. The distance between Silverton and Egloshayle by land is about sixty-nine miles, roughly a two or three day journey. Yet Thomas was actively present in these manors by 1208, and the marriage had evidently been deliberately contracted, and the manors agreed upon. The three manors together triangulate, a round trip from point to point being about 186 miles, creating a good base at each point to command the surrounding area and make their presence felt. 542

The triangle of West Country manors, as well as the numerous Shropshire, Staffordshire, Herefordshire, Gloucestershire, Worcestershire and Warwickshire fees, as well as fees in Wales, meant that by 1199 the Corbets were far from being a parochial power on the periphery of royal concerns. As shown in Chapter One, from the start of King John's reign Wales, the Marchers and the native princes were often a central theme and focus. While the Cantilupes were striving for manors and fees in the March and pressing westwards from their heartlands, the Corbets were consolidating the Marcher manors they had and pressing on in all surrounding directions.

Figure 4 (below) shows the spread of Corbet territory pre-1086 to 1205, with the strongest concentration of manors naturally centring around their *caput* of Caus. With such an obvious concentration, it makes identifying the *caput* as the focus of the

⁵⁴⁰ Google Maps, online resource, https://maps.google.co.uk/maps?hl=en&tab=Ml, accessed 08.11.13.

Google Maps, online resource, http://goo.gl/maps/wRLk2, accessed 08.11.13.

⁵⁴² Google Maps, online resource, http://goo.gl/maps/rzLQz, accessed 08.11.13.

family's attentions far more obvious than the divided interests of the Cantilupe family (above).



Figure 4: Corbet Centres of Power

By 1205, with the loss of their Norman fief, it made sense for the Corbets to focus upon their English consolidation and expansion. They were a dominant force in

Shropshire and the surrounding area, creating an excellent base for the cadet branches to make their own progress in the shires to the best of their own abilities. Not all the fees they held are identifiable, and so the Welsh fees have mostly been omitted; they would presumably add to the western edge of the dense territorial cluster around Caus.

It is easy to get the impression that lesser Marchers like the Corbets would not have had such extensive holdings, based on the fact that their relative status to the great lords around them such as their lords, the Montgomerys, or the FitzAlans, tend to diminish them by comparison. Even the FitzWarins, who held both Alberbury and Bausley of the Corbets, had more extensive territory that included property in Lancashire and Yorkshire in the north, in Hampshire, Berkshire and Cambridgeshire as their central fees, and in Wiltshire, Somerset and Devon to the south-east. They also spread over most of Shropshire and could boast of holdings in Gloucestershire and Staffordshire.⁵⁴³ In fact, when considered as a whole, the sheer number of fees held by the family in lordship or as mesne tenants is impressive – far more than George de Cantilupe inherited in 1273, and certainly far more than William (I) could boast of this early in his career.

To a lord like William (I) de Cantilupe, whose lands were primarily found in England, the idea of building up a powerbase such as the Corbet stronghold of Caus must have been strongly alluring, even if the fees he and his family possessed were worth far more *per annum* than the smaller parcels of arable and woodland that made up larger clusters of holdings in the March. The added benefits of minimal royal interference in these powerbases would similarly have attracted *curiales* like the Cantilupes, and their associations with the Corbets and other, even more powerful, Marchers evidently encouraged them to gain a foothold there.

⁵⁴³ See Meisel, *Barons of the Welsh Frontier*, Appendix 3, pp. 153-5.

However, as the century wore on, the Corbets began to fall back from their English holdings and focus more upon their *caput* and surrounding manors, as will be discussed below.

The Corbets 1206-1222

The Pipe Rolls from 1206-1220 are by no means comprehensive, but they roughly indicate the location of Corbet lands throughout the period. It should be noted that after 1214, Weston Corbett in the honour of Wallingford, Berkshire, was granted to Robert ap Madoc for life. 544 The relationship between Thomas and Robert ap Madoc has been discussed above, from a personal networks perspective, but a little more will be made of this choice of territorial grant later in this chapter. 545

Although the Pipe Rolls by no means reveal a comprehensive list of Corbet territories, they are nevertheless useful in considering the broad scope of the family's holdings. As powerful Shropshire men with interests in Hampshire, Berkshire and as far south as Wiltshire through their cadet line, Thomas's marriage to Isabel de Vautort added West Country manors to the family's possessions, easily accessible via the Channel.

In 1208, Thomas Corbet was elected to the grand assize in Somerset by Robert de Bosco, Osbert Dacus, Ranulf Crucket and William of Windlesham, but, like many other knights called to be present, did not come.⁵⁴⁶ Nevertheless, as a landowner in the county he was expected to fulfil judicial duties there regardless of his obligations in

 ⁵⁴⁴ Rot. Lit. Claus. ii, 16b, 17b, 24b.
 ⁵⁴⁵ See above, p. 103.

⁵⁴⁶ Cur. Reg., v., pp. 228-9, 252.

other parts of the country, and his presence (or expected presence) at the grand assize there demonstrates the level of integration in his manors outside of Shropshire.

In 1209, Thomas's brother, Robert, was at the heart of a poaching case in the Shropshire eyre. Robert Corbet junior, along with his father's hunter (also unfortunately named Robert) were accused of taking a hart 'under the town of Stratton'. 547 Robert Corbet senior had seisin of Stratton, but it would seem that he did not have hunting rights in the forest there, as he was apprehended by Walter of Minton's forester, Ralph. 548 This is the case discussed in Chapter One, notable because afterwards Robert junior fled to the earl of Chester, and Robert Corbet senior stood surety for him, claiming that he was with the earl but could not say exactly where.⁵⁴⁹ Territorially, while the Corbets of Caus had a gret deal of interests across Shropshire, they by no means had the monopoly on rights and customs within the county. They did, however, have strong cross-county connections via their personal networks, and they were able to capitalise on these in their later marital alliances, for example, Peter (I) Corbet's second marriage to Alice d'Orreby, whose father John was the Justice of Chester. Similarly, the family had been able to capitalise on their connections with the earl of Cornwall, and the Caus Corbets were able to aid their cadet lines in obtaining lands in the West Country just as they were able to use the Caus connections to expand in the surrounding Marcher regions.

Robert Corbet was still clearly in the king's favour during this period. When John was at Angoulême in 1214, Robert Corbet and John Lestrange were named as his representatives to swear a recently negotiated truce with Llywelyn, Gwenwynwen,

⁵⁴⁷ Select Pleas of the Forest, Selden Society 13, p. 8.

⁵⁴⁸ 'Tunc supervenit Radulfus, forestarius Walteri de Muneton, et cepit predictum Robertum ...', *Select Pleas of the Forest*, Selden Society 13, p. 8.

⁵⁴⁹ 'De Rogero (*sic*) filio suo dixit qui fugiit cum capite cerui et cum furchia quod fuit cum comite Cestr' et nescuit vbi fuit, set id mandaret ei quod veniat ad curiam et si ipse illuc veniat in posterum ipsum in manu capiet habendi recto.' *Select Pleas of the Forest*, Selden Society 13, p. 9.

Madoc ap Gruffudd and other Welshmen.⁵⁵⁰ Llywelyn had been raiding the March regularly by 1211, and in 1212 John was faced with conflict within England that rendered him near powerless in the face of Welsh resurgence on the border.⁵⁵¹ Despite this temporary peace, the Welsh rulers had amassed a great number of military successes, taking territory, razing settlements and burning castles, Shrewsbury among them.⁵⁵² Robert and the Marchers on the Shropshire border were on the front line of these Welsh incursions, and so throughout John's reign their purpose was primarily that of defence. He is listed as owing scutage in the Close Rolls in the year 1217, the first year of Henry III's minority and the last year of the Baron's War, which was to be collected by the sheriff of Shropshire.⁵⁵³ The Crown relied upon this line of defence against the Welsh princes more than ever in times of turbulence, as it was during periods of civil upheaval in England when the Welsh were most likely to take advantage of the distraction and attack the border counties.

In the civil war, however, Thomas was clearly on the side of the king's enemies, while Robert did not apparently rebel himself, as discussed in Chapter One. Yet it was the stronghold of Caus and the lands in Shropshire which were briefly escheated, with no mention made of the Berkshire or Middlesex holdings. At some point between 1214 and 1224 not only had Thomas given Robert ap Madoc the Berkshire manors to hold for life, but also the Fitz Ranulfs of Whitchurch had been given Dawley in Middlesex, and the remaining fee in the honour of Wallingford. It is significant that these fees were given away around the same time as the civil war that marred the end of King John's reign and Louis' invasion at the start of Henry III's minority, as it would seem that the Corbets were focusing upon their Shropshire manors, recognizing that these were the

⁵⁵⁰ Rot. Lit. Pat., i, p. 120.

⁵⁵¹ Maund, The Welsh Kings, p. 194.

⁵⁵² Ibid

⁵⁵³ Rot. Lit. Claus., i, p. 372 [the list of scutage-owing men begins p. 371].

⁵⁵⁴ See below, pp. 198-210.

main source of their power. Thomas evidently recognised this too, and did homage to Henry III in 1217, whereupon his father regained seisin.

In 1220, the cadet Corbets in Gloucestershire sued each other over the manor of Tytherington, and land in Itchinton. 555 Emma, Richard Corbet's wife, was suing Roger and his son William over the land, and this is apparently a case of brother versus brother or uncle versus nephew, depending on which 'Richard' it happened to be.

Margaret Corbet was suing Llywelyn ab Iorwerth in Shropshire that same year, also in a plea of land, although the details of the case have not survived. 556 By 1220, Margaret's husband, Gwenwynwen ab Owain Cyfeiliog, prince of Southern Powys, had been dead for four years. Her young son Gruffudd was still a minor, and Llywelyn had expelled the dynasty from their lands some year before. 557 Robert's decision to ally with Gwenwynwen had not paid off in this regard. The aim had presumably been to protect the border and shore up the family's status, expanding their powerbase into Powys through their new ally, but Welsh princely politics had thwarted Robert's attempts at ensuring stability. Even attempts to secure Llewelyn's favour by rewarding Robert ap Madoc had not been that successful. Gwenwynwyn himself had been a typically warlike prince of dubious character, committing various acts of treachery against king and kin alike, and constantly changing allegiance from King John to Llywelyn as it suited his needs, although King John attempted to maintain control in Wales by playing the two princes (despite Llywelyn being his son-in-law) against one another. ⁵⁵⁸ Gwenwynwen's inglorious history included his ravaging of the FitzHerbert lands, despite the

⁵⁵⁵ Cur. Reg. ix., pp. 156-7.

⁵⁵⁶ Cur. Reg. ix., p. 205.
557 T. F. Tout, 'Gruffudd ap Gwenwynwyn (d. 1286)', rev. A. D. Carr, Oxford Dictionary of National
Press 2004), online resource, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/11694, accessed 12.11.13.

⁵⁵⁸ T. F. Tout, 'Gwenwynwyn (d. 1216?)', rev. A. D. Carr, Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, (Oxford University Press, 2004), online resource, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/11806, accessed 12.11.13.

FitzHerberts being kin to his wife, and he possibly led Thomas Corbet, his brother-in-law, into siding with the enemies of King John during the civil war. The Corbet manor of Ashford in Derbyshire was confiscated and granted instead to Brian de Lisle, but after Gwenwynwen's death in 1216 de Lisle was ordered to give the widow Margaret her dower from the manors of Ashford and Holme. In many ways, the Powysian princes benefitted far more from the Corbets and their territorial network than the Corbets did from their marital alliance. This no doubt was a factor which riled Thomas Corbet, and helps to explain his dramatically different attitude to his sister and nephew, characterised by his legal and military campaigns against them to return her lands to the Corbet manors in later decades.

In 1221, Matilda Turbot is found in Hertfordshire with her husband John, the plaintiffs in a case against Isabella de Perepont. A Robert Corbet was 'sometime the husband of Matilda', according to the case, which again could be the uncle, nephew or son of Robert Corbet of Caus (whose only wife was Emma Pantulf). See Isabella only had the right to enter the land in question (forty-eight acres in Westwick) through her late husband Henry de Gorham, to whom Robert Corbet, Matilda's late husband, had sold the acres. Since Henry was dead, it was argued, Isabella should now be denied entry.

Evidently, the cadet line also had lands in this Hertfordshire manor, but like the main branch of Caus Corbets were pulling back further into the March. Through the tangle of relations and confusing naming patterns, the Corbets were nevertheless seemingly agreed upon what was important, and the 'central' holdings in England were far less of a priority and far more peripheral to their concerns. Economically, this seems a little odd – in theory, revenue from fees in Berkshire and Middlesex, less troubled by the threat of raids, may be considered more stable sources of income than Marcher fees

⁵⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁶⁰ Cur. Reg., x., pp. 8-9.

threatened by the competing powers of Gwynedd and Powys and the internal personal politics of the Marcher region. Yet, following the civil war of King John's last years and the turbulence of the Minority, these fees may not have been any better off, and it cost money, men and time to travel between them when affairs in Shropshire required more immediate attention and the lord's physical presence. It would appear that the West Country was the better option for trade and economic connections, with pre-existing commercial networks that could also be exploited for the personal links with South Wales and other Marcher lords and Welsh princes which came with them, even for lords as far north of the Bristol Channel as Shropshire. ⁵⁶¹

The Corbets 1222-1274

The Pipe Roll evidence is very patchy for the Corbet family from 1220 onwards, as the Corbets simply do not appear in the rolls for several years, despite being present in Shropshire and their other fees. There is also the issue of scribal accuaracy with which to contend. For example, it is unclear whether the scribe for the 1224 Berkshire roll was copying previous rolls and forgot (or was unaware) that Robert Corbet had died in 1222 and had been succeeded by Thomas, as it is still Robert recorded as owing two marks in the honour of Wallingford. This could have passed to Robert Corbet junior, Thomas's brother, but the Close Rolls make it clear that it was Thomas who was in seisin; Thomas had given this land to Robert ap Madoc, so it may simply be a scribal confusion over the identity of the 'Robert' in question. ⁵⁶²

⁵⁶¹ Spencer Dimmock has argued that the trade of Welsh ports and cross-border trade, especially between Chepstow and Gloucester, has been neglected by historians in his 2005 article, 'Urban and Commercial Networks in the Later Middle Ages: Chepstow, Sevenside and the Ports of Southern Wales', *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 152 (2005) 53-68.

⁵⁶² Rot. Lit. Claus. ii., 24b.

The patchy information from the Pipe, Memoranda and Receipt rolls include the Scottish branch of Corbets (found briefly in Yorkshire, 1224) and the cadet line represented by Thomas of Hadley (not to be confused with Thomas of Tasley, or the main Thomas under consideration in this study, Thomas of Caus). To avoid confusion, the other Thomases will always be referred to with their locatives.

Having made his peace with the king, Thomas Corbet's first act on inheriting his father's lands in 1222 was to fail to pay the £100 fine to take seisin of them. ⁵⁶³ The Pipe Roll for 1274-75, written shortly after Thomas died, records that he still owed £67 and 1 mark for relief: the Memoranda Roll for 1230 has an order saying that Thomas was not to pay his relief until further notice, notice which apparently was never given. ⁵⁶⁴ Prior to this order, in 1223 the Close Rolls record him being pardoned twenty pounds of his relief. ⁵⁶⁵ His refusal to pay was not, therefore, unwarranted; it seemed to be generally accepted by the Crown and the Exchequer that he was in the March and exempt. Later, in 1224, there are two *percursus* licences recorded for Thomas – the right of chase, or the right to drive pigs through the forest. ⁵⁶⁶ Evidently, Thomas's argument that he should not have to pay relief since his ancestors had not done so was accepted, even if it took twelve years for an official acknowledgement to be recorded, and there was no reason why he could not be issued with other licences and rights in the meantime. The defence of the border was a priority regardless of Thomas Corbet's behaviour or disregard for the king's rights over his lands (which he, like most Marchers, would

⁵⁶³ Exc. Rot. Fin., 1:94-95, cited in Meisel, Barons of the Welsh Frontier, p. 14.

 $^{^{564}}$ TNA: MS E 372/119 ; Memoranda Roll 1230, p. 54.

⁵⁶⁵ 'Rex baronibus suis de Sc'cio salt'. Sc' quod de quinquaginta libris quas Thomas Corbet nobis debet de relevio suo ad hûc t'minu' instantis Pasch' anno T; ir' septimo dedimus ei viginti libras in auxilium castri sue de Caors firmandi. Et ío vobis mandamus quod de viginti libris ejusdem relevii ipsum quietum esse faciatis; salvis nobis residuis triginta libris ad eundem terminum. T. H. de Burg' etc. ap' Brug', x. die Marc'. p eundem.' *Rot. Lit. Claus.*, i., ed. Thomas Duffy Hardy, p. 537.

⁵⁶⁶ Rot. Lit. Claus., i., p. 623 and p. 648.

argue were minimal), and royal grants and licences were still available to him following his return to the king's peace and favour.

As far as the English fees were concerned, Weston Corbett appears again around this time. Thomas had recovered seisin of it from Robert ap Madoc in 1224. ⁵⁶⁷ Henry III then commanded that a dowry from the lands in Weston be granted to Robert ap Madoc's wife, the foster-mother to Llywelyn ab Iorwerth's daughter and Henry III's neice. ⁵⁶⁸ As referred to in Chapter One, the Corbets could claim a kin link to Llywelyn ab Iorwerth, and so this territorial exchange adds to the sense of Welsh interests bleeding through the porous periphery and into English heartlands, implying that Wales and the March were not as peripheral in the minds and understanding of those further away from the border as might be supposed, and *vice versa*. The personal connection to Robert ap Madoc and his wife, implying a continued attempt to build or capitalise on the relationship with Llywelyn, shows the kinds of uses that territory could be put to in order to establish or consolidate relationships, particularly through vassalage. In cases such as this, the interplay of territorial and personal relationships are highlighted.

Despite relinquishing their hold on Weston Corbett, the connection to Berkshire was not severed – Thomas of Hadley of the Corbets' cadet line appears in Hampshire and Shropshire with 'Madoc of Sutton', indicating that while the Caus Corbets had shifted their central concerns to Shropshire and their Devonshire and Cornish holdings, some of the cadet branches were still pursuing expansion across England. Thomas Corbet is found as one of the four justices of assize hearing a case between Walter de Tylly and Roger of Calmundston and his wife Agnes in 1227 in Somerset. Thomas

⁵⁶⁷ Rot. Lit. Claus. ii, 16b, 17b, 24b.

⁵⁶⁸ Ibid; *VCH Hampshire*, iii., 386-388, British History Online, online resource, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=42007&strquery=weston, accessed 05.11.2013.

⁵⁶⁹ *PRS Memoranda Roll 1230*, p. 41.

⁵⁷⁰ Cur. Reg. xiii., 315:71.

had been judicially active in Devon and Cornwall, where his wife's dowry lands were, since at least 1208. One member of that particular jury was 'William the Welshman', another reminder of the close links between Wales and the peninsula, and another sociopolitical reason why Marcher lords like Thomas also coveted lands in these shires in the same way central lords like the Cantilupes strove for lands in the March. In 1230 he was in Dorset, again as one of four electors of the jury involved in Margery de Lucy's dispute with Roger de Gouiz.⁵⁷¹

Similarly, a Geoffrey Corbet came to support Fulk FitzWarin in his case against Peter fitz Herbert, enrolled in the *Curia Regis* rolls for Wiltshire in 1230.⁵⁷² Emma Corbet, had attorned a Wiltshire man in 1201 in her incomplete Herefordshire case.

Worcestershire, too, was still within the family's orbit via the cadet branch; Roger Corbet was the defendant in a plea of *finis factum* against the abbot of Tewkesbury in 1226.⁵⁷³ This implies that, despite the Pipe Rolls not recording Corbet activity in the county since 1201, they were still present, and still making themselves felt. Meanwhile, their mesne manor in Middlesex had also been relinquished by Thomas. Dawley apparently passed with the fee in the Honour of Wallingford to the fitz Ranulfs, lords of Whitchurch. In 1235 Dawley was held by Maud of Whitchurch, and William lord of Whitchurch was summoned to do service in the Honour of Wallingford in 1253.⁵⁷⁴ In 1260 Whitchurch passed to coheirs, one of whom was Joan de Barentyn, who held Dawley jointly with Robert Corbet (junior?) in 1300.⁵⁷⁵ The history of these manors are patchy, and very little survives to suggest that the Corbets of Caus – Thomas in particular – invested in them a great deal. However, with the cadet branch selling off

⁵⁷¹ Cur. Reg., xiv., 629:124.

⁵⁷² Cur. Reg. xiii., 2429:517.

⁵⁷³ Cur. Reg., xii., 1769:360.

VCH Middlesex, iii, online resource, history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=22361&strquery=Corbet, accessed 08.11.13. 575 Ibid.

their lands in Hertfordshire, it seems reasonable that the Corbets would want to keep a grip, however slight, on some of their lands beyond the March, perhaps for fear of being left with no significant source of revenue should their Shropshire manors be devastated by war and invasion, as Llywelyn grew in strength and audacity and relations with Powys began to break down.

The cadet branch, though similarly focusing on the border counties, made good use of their connections and lands elsewhere; a Luke Corbet can be found in 1240-1 as the attorney of the earl of Kent in several cases in Dorset and Somerset. Luke Corbet appears to be a professional lawyer, which does not necessarily mean he held lands there himself – however, the locations of the cases for which the earl employed him to represent his legal interests does seem to suggest that he had maintained links with his West Country family connections, which may have influenced the earl in his choice of Luke as his attorney. This may imply that, like the Cantilupes, the Corbets also assisted one another and enabled or permitted the cadet lines to also put down roots near manors and fees of their greater kin, and *vice versa* should the cadet relations prove similarly useful and well-connected.

Caus was still the family's primary seat, however, and in 1225 Thomas received £20 for repairs and fortification, as the *caput* of the barony was always the Corbets' central concern and focus of their military strength and power. The rose fifty-five feet above the double rock-cut ditches flanking it on the west and north, with three baileys and a market town connected to it, along with the Chapel of St Nicholas situated in the borough. Thomas would add the Chapel of St Margaret in the 1270s. Added to the exemptions the Corbets enjoyed in their Welshry and parts of their demesne in

⁵⁷⁶ Cur. Reg., xvi., 2489:495; 2564:504; 2693:517.

^{5//} TNA: E 372/69/14d

⁵⁷⁸ L. F. Chitty, 'Interim Notes on Subsidiary Castle Sites West of Shrewsbury', *TSAS* 53 (1949-50), 83-90, cited in Meisel, *Barons of the Welsh Frontier*, p. 62.

Shropshire, they had built up an impressive lordship, and by 1230 had personal and territorial connections stretching from this centre in all directions. In fact, so seriously did Thomas take his holdings around his *caput* that in 1231 he appeared to have packed a jury with his vassals and associates to ensure he received his rights in Stratton, one of his peripheral Shropshire fees.⁵⁷⁹ This particular jury included Richard Corbet, his kinsman, Roger de Stapleton, Roger de Springhose, and William of Ercall, all of whom had prior connections with the Corbets of Caus.

The 1230s demonstrate the importance of Thomas Corbet's position. Despite being excommunicated briefly in 1230 by the bishop of Coventry and Lichfield for laying violent hands upon the bishop's men, Thomas's violence and military capabilities were necessary for the defence of the March. In 1232 a letter to Llywelyn from the king makes mention of the Marcher twice in the context of the treaty held between them, and in the context of political turbulence Thomas received more mandates and gifts from the king. That did not stop his dubious territorial acquisitions, however; at some point he annexed Asterton from Bishop Peter d'Agueblanche of Hereford, and was found to have some land over which the widow of Thomas de Dunton, another Isabella, was trying to sue William de 'Nefmennild'. Neither William nor de Dunton's heir could give her the land in Hereford as her dower, since it was found that Thomas Corbet had it. There is no explanation as to why he had it, and no obvious reason as to why this should be the case.

⁵⁷⁹ Cur. Reg. xiv., 1230:261; 689:137; 1739:371. The jury is listed in no. 1230 p. 261. A discussion of the Corbet vassals and *familia* takes place in Chapter 4.

⁵⁸⁰ Cur. Reg., xiv., 579:114.

⁵⁸¹ *CR 1231-34*, pp. 53, 132, 133, 139, 176, 177, 220, 312, 327, 377, 449, 463, 537, 575; *CR 1234-37*, pp. 113, 232, 235, 332; *CR 1237-42*, pp. 124, 429, 437; *CPR 1232-47*, pp. 56, 235, 456 – mandates to Thomas to help with the Welsh situation, keeping hostages and supporting the effort to rescue Dissard castle in 1245; the same is true after Evesham as Thomas receives several gifts in 1266: *CR 1264-68*, pp. 206, 307, 542; *CPR 1266-72*, p. 622.

⁵⁸² See the case between Peter Corbet and Thomas de Cantilupe discussed above in Chapter One.

⁵⁸³ Cur. Reg. xiv., 2345:504-505.

In 1236, Thomas received the surrender and confirmation of Stiperstones forest, which Richard I had granted to his father.⁵⁸⁴ He also pursued another court case against his kinsman, petitioning against Hubert fitzPeter for two parts of the manor of Pontesbury, and against Isabella, widow of Peter fitzHerbert, who attorned Hugh Corbet, and also against Simon Corbet over a separate plea of seisin.⁵⁸⁵ This deliberate and systematic attempt to regain control over various Shropshire fees, even if they belonged to other family members, appears to be an attempt by Thomas to reinforce the dominance of the Caus branch over the area and monopolise the power base of Shropshire, putting his other kin in their place. Proportionally, Shropshire cases accounted for most of Thomas's litigation efforts, while other members of the family appeared in other county courts. Luke Corbet was the attorney for the earl of Kent in the county courts of Devon and Cornwall in the 1240s, for example, while a Richard Corbet appears in Oxford against Peter Oliver in 1239.⁵⁸⁶ Meanwhile, the only case Thomas appears in between 1237-42 is a 1237 case against William of Ercall, again in Shropshire, although the details of the case are missing.⁵⁸⁷

Even in terms of litigation, the family – both the main and cadet lines – focused their energies on their heartlands, rather than their peripheral concerns. For Thomas Corbet of Caus, this was Shropshire, but significantly Corbet activity is also evident in the West Country as well. As has been shown, this was the same for both the main and cadet lines of the Cantilupes. Several other family studies would need to be done to fully support the hypothesis that Marcher activities were bound together with West Country interests across the social spectrum of thirteenth century Marcher gentry. That is not to say that *every* family with lands in Wales or in the border counties would have

⁵⁸⁴ *CChR* 1227-1257, p. 215.

⁵⁸⁵ Cur. Reg., xv., 1644:420.

⁵⁸⁶ Cur. Reg., xvi., 2489:495; 2564:504; 2693:517; 1070:201.

⁵⁸⁷ Cur. Reg., xvi., 148g:45.

also had fees in the West Country by automatic extension – but it would be interesting to see if obtaining these fees together or expanding into them at later dates was also a part of family strategy for a large number of powerful middling families. For a full table of Corbet cases in the *Curia Regis* rolls up to 1250, see Appendix 4, below.

Thomas later gained a charter of free warren for his lands of Caus, Worthin, Fordon, Yockleton and Munsterley in 1246, demonstrating a significant expansion in the territory around Caus since the days of his father.⁵⁸⁸ In 1248 he was granted a market at Caus on the vigil, feast and morrow of St Thomas the Martyr (Becket) after whom he was very likely named.⁵⁸⁹ The choice of date may very well have been deliberate, as he later built and dedicated a church to St Margaret towards the end of his life, in memory of his late sister (Margaret).⁵⁹⁰

In 1251, a William Corbet, possibly Thomas's younger brother mentioned in the Shropshire eyre of 1221 or a William of one of the cadet lines, gained licence to course hare and foxes in the forest of Fekenham, excepting the woods and the king's little park at Pepperod, and a licence to course hares and foxes in Kinver, saving the hay of Chacepel and the little woods, and the king's demesne hays. ⁵⁹¹ Kinver forest was in Staffordshire, while Feckenham forest lay across Worcestershire and Warwickshire, and was the same forest from which the Cantilupes had been granted deer. Evidently the family were maintaining their interests in Worcestershire, where Roger Corbet could be found in 1200, and as Thomas Corbet held the dual shrievality of Shropshire and Staffordshire it is to be expected that the family would have gained Staffordshire lands by this time.

⁵⁸⁸ CR 1227-1257, p. 294.

⁵⁸⁹ CR 1227-1257, p. 330.

⁵⁹⁰ L. F. Chitty, 'Interim Notes on Subsidiary Castle Sites West of Shrewsbury', *TSAS* 53 (1949-50), 83-90.

⁵⁹¹ CR 1227-1257, p. 357.

Thomas was apparently still active at Caus until his final days, acting through his familia. Thomas FitzPeter of Aston Roger came to court in the 1290s to complain that, in 1272, William Hagar had come in the suite of Thomas Corbet between Albrighton and Worthin, and detained him [FitzPeter] in prison at Caus. The plaintiff claimed he was also deprived of two cows, four acres of barley and three acres of oats which were mowed down, twenty pigs, twenty-four goats, and ten shillings worth of other goods. 592 This seems to be a typical example of Thomas's behaviour, and demonstrates the sway he held in the areas in and surrounding his caput and satellite manors, right up until his death. It was this level of power and control in these territories which Peter Corbet inherited, but, with the changing political situation and a strong king who no longer relied upon the Marcher barons, struggled to retain. Such apparently was the power of Thomas and Peter Corbet that men did not come to court to complain against them until after the quo warranto proceedings had weakened their hold and rights over their Shropshire *caput*, an indication of the strength of the Corbets at the zenith of their power, and the strength of Edward I, not only in comparison to his father, but also in terms of controlling the March after the conquest of Wales.

⁵⁹² Select Bills in Eyre 1292-1333, Selden Society 30 (1914), p. 10.

The Corbets 1274-c.1300

Peter Corbet needed to consolidate his hold over his father's lands, particularly since his father had expanded his territory quite significantly during Henry III's reign. He had a much tougher sovereign to contend with than his father had done. Edward I came to the throne having cut his teeth in the Barons' War and seen the effect of a weak king upon the country, and was determined to extend and consolidate his control over his barons in Wales as well as the native Welsh rulers. While Henry III had difficulties exercising and holding on to his power, Edward I had no such problems, as briefly discussed in Chapter One.⁵⁹³

In 1274 Peter Corbet had inherited the manors of Aston, Caus, Munsterley, Wentnor, Worthin and 'Yokelthul', with associated knights' fees.⁵⁹⁴ He also retained the Devonshire manors, and is recorded as having the assize of bread and ale at Silverton.⁵⁹⁵ When he died in 1300, he left to his son (also named Peter), the manors of Binneweston, Caus, Munsturley, Wentnor, Worthin, and 'Yokelthull' as well as claiming rents in Shelve, Forton, Lower Gorthor, Upper Gorthor, Baghaltreff, and the forest of Stiperstones.⁵⁹⁶ Despite this territorial growth, Peter (I) had been unable to hold on to any but a fraction of Worthin's assumed liberties after the *quo warranto* proceedings.⁵⁹⁷ Max Lieberman has argued that the ability of the Corbets to convince the Crown that their barony should be possessed of such liberties was hampered by the weakening status of the family, the geographical location of their holdings, and the ethnicity of the area – mainly English or 'Anglo-Norman', aside from the majority

⁵⁹³ See Chapter One, pp. 85-6; A. D. Carr, 'Crown and Communities: Collaboration and Conflict', *Edward I and Wales*, eds. Trevor Herbert and Gareth Elwyn Jones, (Cardiff, 1988), 123-145, p. 125.

⁵⁹⁴ *CIPM*, ii, 85:62.

⁵⁹⁵ Rot. Hund., i, pp. 70, 95.

⁵⁹⁶ CIPM, iii, (London, 1912), 600:451-2.

⁵⁹⁷ Placita de Quo warrantoo, Temporibus Edw. I, II & III, In Curia Recepta Scaccarij Westm. Asservata, (London, 1818) pp. 677, 686, 718-19.

Welsh presence in the Gorddwr which was in dispute with Llywelyn ap Gruffudd.⁵⁹⁸ Judging from the court evidence, and the waning of Corbet control, this argument seems to carry weight. Certainly, men like Thomas FitzPeter felt able to complain in the courts against old wrongs and excesses, and Peter Corbet had evidently maintained his father's attitudes to his vassals and his satellite manors but with lesser success in the changing socio-political climate.

Thomas FitzPeter of Aston Roger, the same man who had complained of his treatment and detention at Caus in 1272, also complained that Peter Corbet's men, Thomas Gow and Badekyn, had come by command of Adam Hagar in 1286 and seized two of his cows and detained them until he obtained the King's writ for their deliverance, which cost him twenty shillings. While the deputation of power (and therefore its transmission and projection) through the *familia* will be discussed more thoroughly in Chapter Four, below, this case is considered here because of the geographical location of the seizure. As with the original complaint against Thomas, it happened near Albrighton, this time on the high road between Albrighton and Cecil's Cross. Albrighton is located on the eastern fringe of Shropshire, halfway between Wolverhampton and Telford. When the number of Corbet holdings across Shropshire is considered alongside this case (see Fig. 5, below), it would seem that the Corbet influence extended across the breadth of Shropshire, a clear demonstration of the success of Thomas Corbet's aggressive strategies and policies.

However, it must be noted that the Corbets had forfeited their place on the diplomatic stage as a result of this process of usurpation and aggressive consolidation. While Robert Corbet (d. 1222) had been instrumental in the diplomatic developments between Gwenwynwen and King John, the deterioration of the Corbets' relationship

⁵⁹⁸ Lieberman, 'Striving for Marcher Liberties', *Liberties and Identities*, pp. 153-4.

⁵⁹⁹ Select Bills in Eyre, 1292-1333, Selden Society 30, p. 10.

with the Welsh princes meant that they were less than ideal for brokering treaties. The letters addressed to the Marchers in general no doubt were circulated to Peter Corbet, but he was not named on them, unlike others of his neighbours, overlords and vassals. The only instance where Peter is named specifically is in a summons concerning Edward I's campaign against Llywelyn in 1276, along with Nicholas Corbet of a cadet branch.

Yet the Corbets were not alone in their struggles to maintain their status in the light of shifting political dynamics, and their loyalty in the Barons' War was not forgotten by Edward. Peter Corbet, with his connections to the Mortimers and later to the d'Orrebys, was a valuable military asset during the Conquest of Wales in the 1280s, and maintained Edward I's favour. In 1284, Peter received several more manors from Edward I.⁶⁰² In part satisfaction of a grant of land worth £100 annually, he received Merston, Somerset, in wardship during the minority of the heir, extended at £35 5s 9 ½ d., and the manor of Dorton, Buckinghamshire, £12 6s 5d. The manor of Dorton had been John Beauchamp's, as had the manor of Shepton, Somerset, of which Peter received £12 7s 9 ½ d. yearly although the grant of custody was John de Neele's.⁶⁰³ In June 1285, Peter received a grant of full satisfaction of land worth £100 from wardships

Foedera, ii., p. 25, (De Interceptionibus, hinc inde contra formam Pacis cum Lewelino Principe Walliae, emandandis, 1277) – addressed to Marchers: Peter Corbet not named, but Odo de Hodnet is, among others; p. 53, (De nullo Parliamento cum Lewelino, Principe Walliae, in non tuto loco, tenendo, 1275) – Bogo de Knoville named; pp. 64-5, (De Consipratione contra Lewelinum Principem Walliae 1276) – Gruffudd ap Gwenwynwen; p. 66, (Obligatio Garsionis de Marchia, quod fideliter Domino Regi Angliae adhaerebit 1276) – addressed to Marchers in general; pp. 68-9, (De Judicio reddito contra Lewelinum filium Griffini 1276) – the list of names again does not include Peter Corbet, but does include the following: R. Mortimer, J. de Vescy, B. Wake, R. fitzPeter, W. de Braose, R. de Roos, J. de St John, R. fitz Roger, P. de Montefort, P. de Cadurc, Eudo de la Zouche, R. de Neville, R. de Tibbetot, R. de Grey, W. de Stuteley, R. fitz Walter. [If George de Cantilupe had survived, his name may well have been on this list, perhaps in place of Eudo's]; pp. 88-92 (Various documents relating to peace between Llywelyn and the king which affect the March, 1277) – again, Peter not specifically named here; p. 96 (De Lewelino Principe Walliae, ad Regem apud London. venturo. 1277) – Roger Clifford is one of those named here, but Peter Corbet is again unlisted.

⁶⁰² CPR 1281-92, pp. 115, 175.

⁶⁰³ CPR 1281-92, p. 115.

– in part satisfaction of which, it was recorded, he had already received land to the value of £68 12s 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ d in Merston, Somerset, Dorton, Buckinghamshire, and Langedon, Devon, late of John Beauchamp and Thomas Pypard. He now received land to the yearly value of £15 in the manor of Cherleton, Devon, also late of Thomas Pypard; lands to the yearly value of £6 14s 5d and £9 18s 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ d in the manors of Myriet, Somerset, and Winterbourne 'Fifayshes', which has been identified as modern-day Anderson in Dorset. These manors were late of John de Myriet and William de Stoke.

By 1285, Peter was complaining to the king and royal council that Henry de Bray had taken and sold the heirs of Ranulf de Waws, given to him by gift of the king of the manor of Merston, Somerset, until Beauchamp came of age. He further complained that Mathia de Stoke received 50s from him for her dower, which she took from the rent of Anderson, which was also his by gift of the king, and requested a remedy on both counts. 606

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⁶⁰⁴ CPR 1281-92, p. 175.

⁶⁰⁵ Ibid.; Description of TNA: SC 8/40/1997 in the National Archives online catalogue, online resource, http://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/SearchUI/Details?uri=C9062201, accessed 03.04.2012.

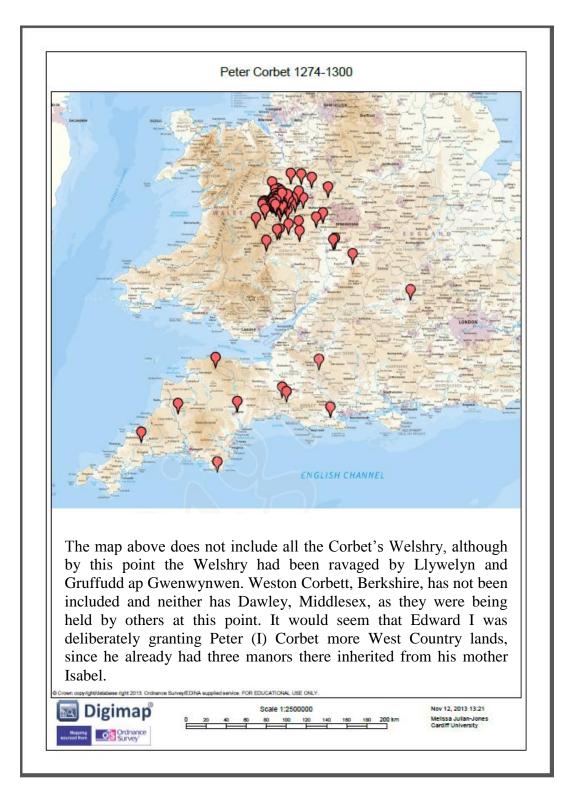


Figure 5: Peter Corbet's Centres of Power

It would seem that the Corbets did indeed begin with the understanding that lands beyond the March were crucial to building their status and importance as a family. Following the loss of their original Norman fief, they began to build up a more secure power base in the March where they could be practically solely responsible for its

defence and maintenance, and were not at the mercy of an inept monarch's military incapacity. While this may not be a fair assessment of the Corbets' views of King John or Henry III, it was nevertheless a positive factor that the March had to offer.

Nevertheless, they continued to build on their fees elsewhere in England, attempting to consolidate and expand so that they were not concentrated too heavily in one volatile area but had the opportunity to project their authority over a greater area. Lands in the West Country, lucrative and desirable, were a high priority, and these were pursued in conjunction with Robert Corbet's shrewd marital alliance with Powys to protect his borders from the potential threat of Llywelyn ab Iorwerth, distant kinsman or not, and the imbalance of power in Wales as Gwynedd grew in strength and ambition. Yet, as the decades progressed, the relationship between the Corbets and their Welsh neighbours, not to mention almost everyone else around them to a considerable extent, deteriorated. The family therefore allowed their cadet lines to pursue expansion in the other English shires while they found it more prudent to withdraw their attention from other holdings and look towards their heartlands. They did manage to hang on to their territorial network elsewhere, and by Peter Corbet's time, the Corbets still had an impressive array of manors and holdings, concentrated mainly in the West Country and the border shires. This fact can be evidenced by the bitter and protracted dispute between Peter's second wife, Alice d'Orreby, and his son, Peter (II). Alice complained in 1305 that Peter (II) and his accomplices had 'ejected her from certain of her Welsh tenements, stolen goods, usurped her judicial rights or blocked proceedings, broken into one of her parks and stolen beasts, poached large game from her reserve and even assaulted some of her men.'607 The array of land and its uses, not to mention her rights

⁶⁰⁷ Emma Cavell, 'Aristocratic Widows', TRHS XVII (2007), p. 65.

and customs there, indicate a healthy share of lands, of which Alice had complained in 1303 she had not fully received from her stepson.⁶⁰⁸

However, the Corbets of Caus were in decline, and it was the Corbets of Moreton Corbet and Tasley who came into their own from the reign of Edward I onwards. Just as the cadet branches of the Cantilupes began to flourish on their own during George's minority, the Corbets of Caus seemed to decline in the records after Peter (I) Corbet's death. It would appear that Thomas Corbet's natural aptitude for alienating and intimidating those around him contributed to the difficult situation Peter (I) Corbet inherited, and his unsuccessful attempts to cling onto the Marcher liberties usurped by his father did not seem to be cancelled out by the accumulative value of his lands in England. Meanwhile, the cadet branches had spread further by necessity, and this enabled their survival. A balance between Marcher lands and lands in England had to be maintained, and it would seem that West Country territories went hand-in-hand with Marcher acquisitions. Nevertheless, the more territory a family had in England, the better their chances of maintaining their status, power and authority.

⁶⁰⁸ Ibid.

Conclusion

It would therefore appear that the tripartite strategy demonstrated by the Cantilupes was by no means exclusive to the upper echelons of the gentry, but can be seen demonstrated in the movements of the Corbets throughout this period, albeit with different levels of success. The emphasis put upon the consolidation of their Shropshire heartlands was by no means unique to the Corbets, and created an impressive power base in Shropshire which allowed them to raise a significant number of men for the king's campaigns and for their own private army. Their expansion into the rest of England became a secondary consideration in the turmoil of the Welsh raids and uncertain political atmosphere as Llywelyn and Gwenwynwen vied for position, while the baronial revolts in England underscored the Corbets' determination to hang on to the liberties and lands in the March.

They may not have succeeded in withdrawing their lands fully into Marcher status in this way, but they nevertheless gave their barony all the trappings of a Marcher lordship, with Thomas expelling royal coroners and Peter erecting his own gallows to mete out justice. In addition, by 1300 they had gained control of several West Country manors, an apparently important extension of Welsh and Marcher power which was shared by the Cantilupes, Beauchamps and even the native princes of South Wales.

As far as both these families are concerned, clear power centres have emerged, with territorial patterns showing a similar strategy for consolidation and expansion, with an interesting correlation between West Country possessions and Marcher possessions appearing, none more starkly obvious than in the case of the Corbets. The Corbet cadet line already had some Somerset possessions, just as the Cantilupe cadet branch appears to have done, and the main branches seem to have sought to match their Marcher holdings with further West Country manors, and *vice versa*. This pattern deserves

further expansive study, and would benefit from an interdisciplinary approach – Alice Forward has produced an interesting archaeological study of Medieval pottery in Cosmeston, and has herself come to the conclusion that there was a strong trade link between Wales and the March and the West Country region. 609

It is also evident that over the years, both families managed to build upon their territories following their patterns of personal networks. They were able to concentrate their gains around their power centres, but also to bridge the gaps between their lands and those of their other relations. It is clear that the personal networks discussed in Chapter One had a direct impact on the lands held by the families, and influenced the strategies they employed. It is evident that the acquisition of a Marcher lordship was also a deliberate move, with William (II) gaining the wardship and marriage rights of Eva de Braose, marrying her off to his oldest son. When George was born, the first and only male heir of the eldest Cantilupe son of the eldest son of the eldest son, his inheritance was vast. George's betrothal and possible marriage to Margaret de Lacy only served to increase it further. Meanwhile, the Corbets were attempting to expand their own lands by a process of usurpation and litigation, attempting to establish Marcher liberties within their barony and thereby develop their territorial and personal networks to advance their agendas.

Having examined these personal and territorial networks, it is now possible to look more closely at what might be termed the 'spiritual investment' that the families put into their possessions.

⁶⁰⁹ Alice Forward, *The Ceramic Evidence of Life and Economic Networks from Twelfth to Seventeenth Century Settlement Sites in South Glamorgan*, unpublished PhD thesis, (Cardiff University, 2013), p. 128.

CHAPTER THREE: PIETY, POWER AND STRATEGY

Introduction

Having discussed the secular contexts of the two families, it is time for the ecclesiastic evidence to be considered. It is here that the means of building up a visible strategy may also be seen, and it is not possible to conceptualise such a strategy without considering its religious aspect. This chapter will therefore consider donations, gifts and grants to the Church, as well as looking at those family members who took up ecclesiastic office. If the careers and ecclesiastic activities of the two Cantilupe bishops were to be discussed, the scope of the study would be dramatically broadened; indeed, they are the subject of various works in their own right and as part of the wider medieval ecclesiastic/episcopal historiography. Therefore, the discussion of the ecclesiastics of each family will be concerned with their roles as *family men*, and their impact on their families' strategies and scope of their perceived authority.

When examining attitudes to the Church in this period, it is inevitable that 'piety' will enter into the discussion and play a prominent part. Piety is, of course, impossible to measure. Without personal recollections or insights, it is almost impossible to state with any great certainty that a person's motives were purely pious, or

⁶¹⁰ For example, see: Philippa Hoskin, 'Cantelupe's Crusade? Walter de Cantilupe, Bishop of Worcester, Baronial Rebellion', unpublished paper, full text online at academia.edu, https://www.academia.edu/2281601/Cantilupes Crusade Walter de Cantilupe Bishop of Worcester a nd the baronial rebellion, accessed 10.12.13. Meryl Jancey, (ed.), Thomas Cantilupe Bishop of Hereford: Essays in His Honour, (Hereford, 1982); Philippa Hoskin, 'Diocesan Politics in the see of Worcester, 1218-1266', Journal of Ecclesiastical History, 54:3 (2003), 422-440; Joseph Goering and Daniel S. Taylor, 'The Summulae of bishops Walter de Cantilupe (1240) and Peter Quinel (1287)', Speculum, 67:3 (1992), 576-594; Sophie Ambler, 'The Montfortian Bishops and the Justification of the Conciliar Government in 1264', Historical Research, 85:228 (2012), 193-209; Robert Bartlett, The Hanged Man: A Story of Miracle, Memory and Colonialism in the Middle Ages, (Princeton, 2006); Michael E. Goodrich, 'Microhistory and the Inquisitiones into the Life and Miracles of Philip of Bourges and Thomas of Hereford', in Medieval Narrative Sources: A Gateway into the Medieval Mind, eds. Werner Verbeke, Ludo Mills and Jean Goossens, (Medieavalia Louvaniensa Series I: Studia, 34, 2005), 91-106. The majority of work on Thomas Cantilupe relates to his posthumous miracles and the impact of his saint cult, and there is very little specifically on his role as a family member or his relationships with his kin.

whether they were not. A man or woman may have several reasons for choosing to give land or wealth to a particular foundation, some overt and obvious, but others known only to themselves. For this reason, this chapter will discuss 'demonstrable piety', that is, a lord's public and private actions relating to the Church, or what may be better termed 'spiritual investment'. This is not to imply that such actions were genuinely pious, but neither can it be said that they were not. These kinds of gifts and actions would still have been viewed or classed as acts of piety by their contemporaries, even if the giver's aim was to be seen and rewarded by said contemporaries rather than by God. It must also be noted here that where this notion of piety is concerned, whether such acts were performed in the private or public spheres, the families would not have necessarily separated their devotional spiritual lives from their 'secular' ones.

Perhaps one of the clearest practical examples of this spiritual integration is found in *MS Digby 86*, a thirteenth century commonplace book housed in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, compiled by a Worcestershire gentry family in the latter part of the century. Within this book, prayers and devotions in Latin are to be found alongside games, almanacs, love poetry and fabliaux in English and French, which, to this family at least, was not considered irreverent or innocuous. The mundane advice on running a household and getting rid of unwanted guests were as much a part of the fabric of their daily lives as prayers and other devotions which permitted the family to prosper and the entertainment for the family to enjoy. With this context in mind, the ecclesiastic or

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⁶¹¹ Facsimile of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 86 has been published by the Early English Text Society with an introduction by Judith Tschann and M. B. Parkes, SS16 (Oxford, 1996). Thorlac Turville-Petre has written an essay on this MS: 'Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 86: a Thirteenth Century Commonplace Book in its Social Context', Family and Dynasty in Late Medieval England, Harlaxton Medieval Studies, Vol. IX, eds. Richard Eales and Shaun Tyas, (Donington, 2003), 56-66. Turville-Petre notes that the first detailed study of this MS was E. Stengel, Codex Manu Scriptus Digby 86 (Halle, 1871), and lists several other more recent studies.

⁶¹² Thorlac Turville-Petre, 'Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 86: a Thirteenth Century Commonplace Book in its Social Context', *Family and Dynasty in Late Medieval England*, Harlaxton Medieval Studies, Vol. IX, eds. Richard Eales and Shaun Tyas, (Donington, 2003), 56-66, p. 65.

devotional side of thirteenth century life must be seen as equally interwoven into the dynamics and fabric of the family as the other aspects of their lives.

Therefore, this chapter will be taking into account the notions of power and the judicial and legal aspects explored previously in its discussion of family piety. Spiritual investment in a region or by, for or amongst a specific group of people was possibly just as vital as the supplying of financial and material resources, and so both donations and the entry of sons into the Church will be considered.

Firstly, the patterns of donation and 'spiritual investment', both in or through or for certain individuals or a specific group of people, or geographically, will be considered. Each family will be discussed broadly to begin with, considering the donations and grants to churches and foundations in an overview of the whole period, as well as the advowsons the families held. David Crouch has made several observations on the worship practices of the aristocracy and nobility in *The English Aristocracy*, noting that the establishment of manorial chapels allowed the nobility to worship away from the local community, which would seem to undermine the initial premise of this chapter.⁶¹³ However, connections to the wider community were not entirely compromised by the establishment of chapels and chantries. The connections between the local nobility and the local spiritual landscape have been considered by several scholars with special regard to the thirteenth century, and spiritual investment in local areas has also been examined before. In all these studies, the connections have been made between patterns of patronage and the consolidation of authority. For example, Peter Coss's study of Coventry saw the relationship between the earls of Chester and local religious houses as part of the consolidation of their lordship. 614 Most recently,

⁶¹³ David Crouch, *The English Aristocracy 1070-1272: A Social Transformation*, (London and New Haven, 2011), pp. 229-30.

⁶¹⁴ Peter R. Coss, Lordship, Knighthood and Locality, pp. 24-42.

Elizabeth Gemmill has discussed patronage as a dynamic give-and-take, always needing to be exercised, and 'benefitting from refreshment in the form of new endowments'. 615 Gemmill notes that personal preferences played their part among the patterns that emerge from the study of the wider social group with which her work is concerned. 616 Furthermore, in terms of the give-and-take aspect of the patronage relationship, Benjamin Thompson's articles, focusing on periods of especial stress in the history of East Anglian monasteries and the reaction of their patrons, has emphasised the weakening of the relationships between patrons and houses as they changed hands, and as the houses failed to offer the spiritual services the laity required. 617 These more recent studies build on the previous work of historians such as R. I. Jack and R. W. Dunning, who have also discussed family-centric patterns of patronage. 618

In this study the families will be considered separately, with their patterns of patronage discussed in an overview, which will then be broken down to look at the attitudes displayed across the generations under discussion. The sections will not be chronological, as in the previous two chapters, but geographical, focused on the power centres identified in Chapter Two. It will argue that in a militarised zone and with a lack of direct royal influence a career in the Church was not always practical or possible, while for a family *with* direct access to the king and a considerable network of

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⁶¹⁵ Elizabeth Gemmill, *The Nobility and Ecclesiastic Patronage in the Thirteenth Century*, (Woodbridge, 2013), p. 174.

⁶¹⁶ Ibid. p. 177.

⁶¹⁷ Benjamin Thompson, 'From "Alms" to "Spiritual Services": The Function and Status of Monastic Property in Medieval England', *Monastic Studies*, 2 (1990), 227-62; '*Habendum et Tenendum*: Lay and Ecclesiastical Attitudes to the Property of the Church', *Religious Beliefs and Ecclesiastical Careers in Late Medieval England*, ed. C. Harper-Bill, (Woodbridge, 1991), 197-238; 'Monasteries and their Patrons at Foundation and Dissolution', *TRHS*, 6th series, 4, (1994), 103-25; 'The Statute of Carlisle, 1307, and the Alien Priories', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 41 (1990), 543-583; 'The Laity, the Alien Priories, and the Redistribution of Ecclesiastical Property', *England in the Fifteenth Century: Proceedings of the 1992 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. N. J. Rogers, (Donnington, 1994), 19-41.

⁶¹⁸ R. I. Jack, 'The Ecclesiastical Patronage Exercized by a Baronial Family in the late Middle Ages,' *Journal of Religious History*, 3, (1965), 275-95; Jack, 'Religious life in a Welsh Marcher Lordship: The Lordship of Dyffryn Clwyd in the Later Middle Ages', *The Church in Pre-Reformation Society: Essays in Honour of F. R. H. Du Boulay*, eds. Caroline M. Barron and Christopher Harper-Bill, (Woodbridge, 1985), 143-157; R. W. Dunning, 'Patronage and Promotion in the Late-Medieval Church', *Patronage, the Crown and the Provinces in Later Medieval England*, ed. R. A. Griffiths, (Stroud, 1981), 167-82.

influences, the Church (by means of the education it afforded) was yet another avenue of expansion available to them. It also seeks to show that the Marcher dioceses were in need of such men, educated at Paris and Oxford, politically equipped and influential, theologically able, yet strong enough to deal with encroachments into their territory by neighbouring temporal lords. This would account for the fact that lesser educated Marchers like the Corbets had far fewer churchmen among their kin than the Cantilupes, and that access to such education was also dependent upon socio-economic status and

THE CANTILUPES

familial priorities.

An Overview: Advowsons and Patterns of Patronage

The Cantilupes took spiritual investment consistently seriously. In 1146 they had granted lands to Bruton priory, and in 1155 they had donated to the Cluniac priory of Longueville, Calvados. 619 Following the loss of Normandy in 1204, their spiritual investment was exclusively centred upon their English holdings. Since the Cantilupe family held so many lands in so many counties, the identification of their four main centres by 1273 should significantly aid the focus this chapter. One would expect to find the family focusing their donations and gifts upon these areas, and in terms of spiritual investment one would expect to see them patronising foundations as well as having presentation rights in the local churches.

Table 3 (below) indicates that this is exactly the picture that emerges, evidence that the spiritual activities of the family were far from being arbitrary. The monastic foundations are highlighted:

⁶¹⁹ Cal. Docs. France, 486:172-3; Cal. Docs. France, 225:77.

Table 2: Cantilupe Advowsons

Date of Record	Location	Person	Details	Reference
1201	Chesterton,	Roger de	Roger vs	Cur. Reg., i.,
	Huntingdonshire	Cantilupe	William de	pp. 404, 458;
		•	Merco over the	(1202) <i>Cur</i> .
			presentation	<i>Reg.</i> , ii., pp.
			rights of an	149, 201;
			unspecified	(1203) Cur.
			church. Roger	Reg., iii., p. 60
			attorned Ralph	
			de Cantilupe of	
			Chesterton.	
1204	Studley, Warwickshire	William de	Receives the	Rot. Litt.
		Cantilupe	manor of Aston	<i>Claus.</i> i., p. 9;
			and takes over	CChR 1327-
			the patronage	<i>41</i> , p. 60
			of Studley	(Inspex. and
			Priory from	conf. of the
1010	D 1: 1 1:	XX 7'11' 1	Peter Corbizun	original grants)
1210	Buckinghamshire	William de	William vs	
		Cantilupe	Prior of	
			Merton,	Cum Dag vi
			Surrey, over advowson of	Cur. Reg., vi.,
				pp. 7, 17, 24
			an unspecified church	
1232	Weston, Gloucestershire	William de	William is	
1232	Weston, Gloucestershire	Cantilupe	supposed to	
		Cultifupe	have the rights	Cur. Reg., xiv.,
			to the vacancy	2304:494-5
			of the church	250111713
			of Weston	
1243	Clipsham, Rutland	William de	Peter de	Cur. Reg.,
	_	Cantilupe	Fraxineto	xviii., 760:151
		_	granted the	; CChR 1227-
			rights of the	<i>56</i> , p. 276
			church to	
			William	
1250	Cilgarran,	William (III)	William has	<i>CR 1247-51</i> , p.
	Pembrokeshire		the rights to	297
<u> </u>	T . T . 10 . 11 .	******	Cilgarran	
Dated	Eyton, Bedfordshire	William de	William	DDO E 40/405
1239x1254		Cantilupe	confirms his	PRO: E 40/106
but most likely		(III?)	father's grant	
1251x1254			(William (II) in	
			1220s?) to the	
1254	Badmundfeld, Suffolk	William (III)	chapel in Eyton Advowson of	<i>CIPM</i> , i., p. 85
1254	Daumanurera, Surroik	** 1111a111 (1111 <i>)</i>	Wichum	C11 1/1, 1., p. 65
			church &	
			advowson of	
			the chapel of	
			Badmundfeld	
			manor	
1258	Berwick, Wiltshire	Mabel de	Mabel holds	CIPM i.,

		Cantilupe	Berwick manor	417:113-5
		cummape	by 60s of rent	(Patrick de
			along with the	Chawores, p.
			advowson of	114)
			the church,	11.)
			which will	
			revert back to	
			the manor after	
			her death	
1260-1	Greasley,	Nicholas de	Advowson of	CIPM, i., p.
1200 1	Nottinghamshire	Cantilupe	church in	298
		ouninap •	Greasley	2,0
1273	Mildstone, Wiltshire	George de	Has the	
1273	Wildstone, Wiltsime	Cantilupe	advowson of	<i>CIPM</i> , ii., p. 17
		cuntilape	the chapel of	C11 1/1, 11., p. 17
			'Mildeston' in	
			Brightmerston	
			manor	
1273	Eyton, Bedfordshire	George de	'a new chapel'	<i>CIPM</i> , ii., p. 17
	,	Cantilupe	Î	
1273	Cornworthy, Devon	George de	Advowson of	<i>CIPM</i> , ii., p. 17
		Cantilupe	the 'poor	
			priory'	
1273	Totnes, Devon	George de	A chapel which	
		Cantilupe	is part of 'the	
			castle of	<i>CIPM</i> , ii., p. 17
			Totnes, with a	
			ruined	
			chamber,	
			chapel, &c.'	
1273	Totnes, Devon	George de	Advowson of	<i>CIPM</i> , ii., p. 18
		Cantilupe	Totnes priory	
1273	Bolwick,	George de	Advowson of	<i>CIPM</i> , ii., p. 18
	Northamptonshire	Cantilupe	the church in	
			this manor	
1273	Berwick, Somerset	George de	Advowson of	
		Cantilupe	the chapel here,	<i>CIPM</i> , ii., p. 18
			worth 66 <i>s</i> 8 <i>d</i>	
			yearly	
1273	Stoke St Edwald, Dorset	George de	'advowson of a	<i>CIPM</i> , ii., p. 19
		Cantilupe	certain chapel'	
1273	Monmouthshire:	George de	Advowsons of	
	Llanfihangel	Cantilupe	the churches of	<i>CIPM</i> , ii., p. 20
	Estumlouern, Llancadoc		Abergavenny	
	Defrenusk, Abergavenny		and	
	Priory		Abergavenny	
			Priory	
1273	Pembrokeshire:	George de	Advowsons of	<i>CIPM</i> , ii., p. 20
	Cilgarran, Maynardeyvy	Cantilupe	the churches of	; Cal. Anc.
	St Michael's Penbedo		Cilgarran	<i>Corr</i> ., pp. 69-
	Clethey			70

The family seem to have had at least one advowson in each county where they had considerable land interests. Significantly, they held the advowsons of three priories

– Studley, where the three generations of Williams and William (III)'s son George were buried; Abergavenny priory, inherited from Eva de Braose, and the seat of their Marcher interests; and Totnes Priory, Devon. Therefore, the Cantilupes can be seen to have invested heavily in the three centres identified in Chapter Two, not simply in financial terms, but also in a spiritual sense.

Bearing this distinctive and deliberate pattern of spiritual investment in mind, the context of the foundations themselves should be considered. The burial site of William (I), (II), (III) and George de Cantilupe, Studley Priory was evidently the family's main spiritual centre, and so their relationship with this particular foundation should be discussed first.

The Cantilupes in Warwickshire: Priory and Hospital

Peter de Studley, also called Peter Corbicon or Corbezon, founded an Augustinian priory at Wicton in Worcestershire in the time of King Stephen. During Henry II's reign the priory was transplanted to Studley in Warwickshire, and the patronage transferred to Peter's son, also called Peter. This second Peter passed the patronage of the house over to William (I), cementing William's ties to Warwickshire in these early days of Cantilupe advancement and land accumulation, and William proceeded to improve its chronically mismanaged situation. At the time when William took on the patronage of Studley Priory there were only three canons left, but he increased their holdings and revenue dramatically before passing the patronage over to William (II).

William (I) had set the tone for the care of this foundation: besides the grants of land, he also gave the convent there the privilege of choosing their own prior after obtaining his or his heirs' licence to do so at each vacancy and then afterwards desiring their assent as patrons. As the custom was for the patron to take the temporalities in the case of a vacancy, that he bestowed custody on the sub-prior and cellarer instead on his and his heirs' behalf, is worthy of note. This may have been a personal conviction of his, or a practical consideration, or he could have been consciously following ecclesiastical thought in order to ingratiate himself with the bishops with whom he had to deal in his administrative capacity, or a combination of all of the above.

⁶²⁰ Mon. Ang. vi, p. 185

⁶²¹ Ibid

⁶²² CCR 1327-41, p. 60; VCH Warwickshire, ii, 'The Priory of Studley', online resource, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=36502, accessed 12.10.13.

⁵²³ Ibid.

⁶²⁴ VCH Warwickshire, ii, p. 95.

Ralph Turner noticed that of his sample of fifty-two royal administrators, the majority of foundations by these men c.1170-1239 were hospitals. 625 The Cantilupes were one of those families to found one; William (I) also erected a hospital at the monastery gates, 'for poor people' or *impotentes*. 626 Hospitals lacked a strict definition during this period, variously being almshouses, shelters for the aged, or hostels for pilgrims and other travellers, as well as housing the sick and infirm. 627 This would seem to be the only hospital founded by the Cantilupes, and it is significant that it was situated here, when Studley was not the only priory whose advowson they held. There is no detailed archaeological report on this hospital to suggest its capacity or how well it may have been maintained, but given means of the Cantilupes and their considerable income, it is not unlikely that this hospital was as well managed and endowed as the Priory came to be.

William's reasons for founding the hospital may be indicated by a cursory sweep of the monastic landscape. Despite having lands in most counties in England, some of which, like Worcestershire, had quantitatively few hospitals (only four in the case of the latter, although each of these had a considerable capacity) William chose Warwickshire where the enthusiasm for creating monastic foundations was evident throughout the eleventh and twelfth centuries. 628 It was also a county where the densest concentration of hospitals was in and around the two main urban centres, Warwick and Coventry. 629 As Studley Priory was a pre-existing foundation which lay outside these urban centres, William was not exactly following a trend in terms of this establishment.

⁶²⁵ Ralph V. Turner, 'Religious Patronage of Angevin Royal Court Administrators c.1170-1239', *Albion:* A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies, 18:1 (Spring, 1986), 1-21, p. 4. 626 VCH Warwickshire, ii, p. 95.

Turner, 'Religious Patronage', *Albion*, p. 4.

⁶²⁸ Sheila Sweetinburgh, The Role of the Medieval Hospital in Medieval England: Gift-Giving and the Spiritual Economy, (Dublin, 2004), pp. 47, 52.

Sweetinburgh, *The Role of the Medieval Hospital*, p. 56.

However, the choice of location is more obviously connected with William's interest in the Priory rather than a fashionable action of demonstrable piety. As a founder of his own addition to the Corbizuns' priory, William was making his own mark on the spiritual life of the county and consolidating his importance as its new benefactor. As the hospital's founder, William could expect spiritual privileges, but it was the priory itself which took the role of patron. 630

However, William's relationship with Studley and its priors was not always friendly. He was being sued by the prior in 1223, in a case recorded in the Berkshire roll. This incident was in an assize to recognise 'that the prior of Studley had the right to fill the vacancy at the church of 'Anewurn', which the prior claims against William de Cantilupe, the earl of Pembroke William Marshal, John Belet and Ralph Pigun'. None of them came, so a new date was set and they were re-summoned. The outcome of the case has not survived.

In 1227 Nicholas, the prior, took William (II) to the court of the king's bench once more in a plea of land.⁶³² The promises made to the priory were not always honoured, apparently, and the prior still had to assert his rights in more complicated matters of jurisdiction.

Although the relationship between the Cantilupes and the priory was not always harmonious, it maintained its importance to the family as the central point of their spiritual focus. As Daniel Power has noted, burial was a final form of patronage, and, in many ways, the ultimate one. Ralph V. Turner studied a sample of fifty-two royal

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 $^{^{630}}$ Rotha Mary Clay, *The Medieval Hospitals of England*, (London, 1901), p. 326. 631 Cur. Reg., xi, 196:34, 405:75.

⁶³² Cur. Reg., xiii, 276:61.

Daniel Power, *The Norman Frontier*, p. 328. For an archaeological survey of burials and a comparison of the choices made by individuals in cathedrals, parish churches and chapels, see: Christian Sapin, 'Dans l'Église ou Hors l'Église, Quel Choix pour l'Inhumé?', *Archéologie du Cimetière Chrétien: Actes du 2e Colloque A.R.C.H.E.A.* (Orléans, 29 septembre - 1er octobre 1994), ed. Henri Galinié and Elisabeth Zadora-Rio (Revue archéologique du Centre de la France, 11e supplément), 65-78.

administrators, and concluded that a monastic foundation was not simply a signifier of piety, but served to show their associates that they had 'arrived'. ⁶³⁴ The first indicator of the Cantilupes' 'arrival' was Studley Priory – it therefore makes sense that this 'first' should also become their 'last', that is, their final resting place.

William (I) was certainly laid to rest here in 1239, and William (II) was laid there too. William (III), although he died of a fever at his Wiltshire manor of Calstone and was nearer to Abergavenny Priory, where his wife Eva was laid to rest, was also taken to Studley.⁶³⁵ As mentioned in Chapter One, he was laid to rest by his brother-in-law Humphrey de Bohun, and Simon de Montfort. George, who died in Abergavenny, was also laid to rest in Studley rather than beside his mother at Abergavenny, although Eva's effigy bears only the Cantilupe rather than the de Braose arms.

The patriarchal line therefore wanted to demonstrate that, despite their various possessions and donations, they considered Warwickshire to be, in a sense, their 'spiritual' home.

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⁶³⁴ Ralph V. Turner, 'Religious Patronage', *Albion*, 18:1, p. 2.

⁶³⁵ T. C. Banks, *The Dormant and Extinct Baronage of England*, ii., (London, 1808), p. 521; John Burke, *A General and Heraldic Dictionary of the Peerage and Baronetage of the British Empire*, i., (London, 1832), p. 126.

The Cantilupes in Bedfordshire: Chapels and Archdeacons

The effort that went into the Cantilupes' manor at Eyton, or Eaton Bray, Bedfordshire, was impressive. Chapter Two has noted that it was ideally situated for the court when it was at Westminster, and the investment William (II) put into the impressive moated castle and its many leisure-orientated appurtenances, such as the deer park, chase, fisheries and gardens, also extended to its spiritual well-being. The church building as cultural space has been discussed in detail by Peter Coss in *The Foundations of Gentry Life*, his study of the Multon family. ⁶³⁶ Regrettably, the churches and chapels under discussion here are, for the most part, no longer standing, or the physical buildings would offer more depth to this section of the study in offering a glimpse into Cantilupe modes of thought, both of the individual grantors, and in terms of family expressions and representations of power and piety. ⁶³⁷

Sometime after William (II)'s original grant, probably after he died in 1251, William (III) confirmed the endowment of the chapel at his manor house of 'Eyton' [Eaton Bray]. If the castle and appurtenances were impressive, the chapel was equally so. It had one messuage, once held by Alicia daughter of Reginald, his tenant, and twelve acres of fields, six measures of wheat a year, and could raise twenty-two shillings of rent, with a further grant of fifty shillings a year to support a second chaplain. It also had been granted two oxen and two cows, a croft to keep a lamp burning in the chapel, and the Prior of Merton was to give them thirty-five shillings

⁶³⁶ Coss, Foundations of Gentry Life, Ch. 8.

⁶³⁷ To this end, see Nigel Saul, *English Church Monuments in the Middle Ages: History and Representation*, (Oxford, 2009). Thomas Cantilupe's shrine is accorded especial mention there, pp. 167, 181, 182, 186. Mention of the Cantilupe arms in their fourteenth century context appears on p. 224 in the discussion of military effigies, where Sir John Sutton (d. 1356) displays the arms of his companions in stained glass at Sutton-on-Hill (Yorkshire). The Cantilupe arms appear along with those of FitzWilliam, Greystoke, Ros, Percy, and Lucy. Evidently the fourteenth century Cantilupes were as entrenched in their locality in terms of their personal networks as their thirteenth century ancestors were in theirs. Studley Priory (Warw.) appears briefly on p. 27 of Saul's survey, but since Studley Priory is no longer standing, no mention is made of the last resting places of the Williams (I), (II) or (III), or of George.

grant came with stipulations as to the appointment and support of the two chaplains, unfortunately unspecified in the confirmation.⁶³⁸ The chapel commemorated the Blessed Mary, St Nicholas and St Mary Magdalene, and the chaplains there were to pray for the souls of William (III)'s mother and father (Millicent/Maud de Gournay and William (II)) and all his ancestors and successors.⁶³⁹ This spiritual and financial investment in the Bedfordshire manors is to be expected, despite the family choosing to be buried in Studley priory in Warwickshire.

William (III) may also have been encouraged in this investment by the fact that one of his brothers may have been the archdeacon of Bedford Priory. Despite no Cantilupe appearing in the (incomplete) list of Bedford archdeacons, a seal matrix belonging to an unidentified archdeacon of Bedford was discovered in South Lincolnshire in 2003.⁶⁴⁰ The paternal arms on the right side of the Virgin and Child are William (II)'s distinctive arms (leopards *jessant-des-lys*), while the left side bears the maternal arms of a lion rampant, used by the de Gournays.⁶⁴¹



Figure 6: Seal of Archdeacon of Bedford

⁶³⁸ TNA: E 40/106.

 $^{^{639}}$ Note that the Corbets also had a chapel dedicted to St Nicholas in their manor of Caus.

⁶⁴⁰ IHS-753A11, *Portable Antiquities Scheme*, digital database, <u>www.finds.org.uk</u>, accessed 12.10.13.

⁶⁴¹ See Chapter 4, pp. 325-331.

The location of the find, in an area where the Cantilupes were known to have a concentration of interests, indicates that the archdeacon was travelling between Cantilupe lands, perhaps for personal rather than official reasons. The maternal arms on the Madonna's left side simply show a lion rampant. Although not as distinctive as William (II)'s arms, this blazon was used by the de Gournays, which makes it more likely to be a younger son of William (II). 642 Since the list of archdeacons is incomplete and so is Bishop Thomas's list of benefices prior to his election, it may well be that Thomas is the mystery archdeacon. His older brother Hugh, who was educated with him in Paris and later became the archdeacon of Gloucester Cathedral, may also be a potential candidate. 643

Additionally, Walter de Cantilupe was evidently a pluralist prior to his election to the Worcester see, entering royal service as a clerk in minor orders, and being generously rewarded. He was presented with a number of parish livings, including Eyton (1208), Burton and Warfield (1215), Long Itchington, Rampisham, Preston, Priors Hardwick, and a moiety of Stokes (1216), Hinxworth in 1219, Penrith in 1222, Bulwick in 1227 and finally, on 22 July 1231, a canonry and prebend in Lichfield Cathedral. He may also have been the Walter identified as 'sometime vicar of Totnes' in George de Cantilupe's *Inquisition Post Mortem*, for whom two chaplains celebrated mass for his soul and the souls of William (III) and his wife Eva in the poor free chapel there. Walter's multiple interests were no doubt the reason why he pleaded the cause

⁶⁴² Aspilogia, ii., Glover's Roll no. 193, p. 152.

⁶⁴³ Barbara Ross, 'Vipers and Gardens of Balsam: St Thomas and the Virtues of Purity and Prudence', *St Thomas Cantilupe Bishop of Hereford, Essays in his Honour*, ed. Meryl Jancey, (Hereford, 1982), 73-81, p. 74.

⁶⁴⁴ C. H. Lawrence, 'Cantilupe, Walter de (*c*.1195–1266)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford University Press, 2004), online resource, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4571, accessed 25.11.2013.

⁶⁴⁵ CIPM, ii., 17:18; TNA: C 133/2.

of other noble pluralists, threatened with impoverishment in 1237 by being reduced to a single benefice each. Given his family background, impoverishment was not necessarily something that Walter was personally concerned about; it may have been more important to him to maintain his reputation as a 'noble' pluralist, honourably managing his benefices and engaging in alms-giving and hospitality.

Yet the location of the benefices themselves is also interesting from the point of view of this discussion. Walter received benefices in all the counties in which his family already had interests, with several of them concentrated in and around Warwickshire and Dorset, two of the main power centres for his father and brother. The concentration of benefices in Warwickshire makes up for the lack of advowsons here. Walter was also to bestow benefices upon his saintly nephew Thomas, who also received a licence to hold benefices in plurality. 648

The ecclesiastic Cantilupes can therefore be seen to be advancing their family's interests in terms of physical presence or manifested spiritual authority in areas where there were already Cantilupe landed interests. The progression of the Cantilupes' attempts to push further into the March can also be seen in the progress made by these churchmen, including Hugh the little-known archdeacon of Gloucester. It is interesting to note that, out of all of the counties where the Cantilupe clergy held benefices, and taking into account Thomas de Cantilupe's academic career at Oxford, all three of them ended up in the border shires. The Essex branch, of course, centred their clerical careers in that county; it therefore seems natural that the main branch would similarly have their

⁶⁴⁶ Chron. Maj., iii., p. 418.

⁶⁴⁷ C. H. Lawrence, 'Cantilupe, Walter de (*c*.1195–1266)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford University Press, 2004), online resource, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4571, accessed 25.11.2013; *Chron. Maj.*, iii., p. 418.

⁶⁴⁸ Register of Thomas Cantilupe, i, p. vii.

high-ranking churchmen in the regions where the secular members would also benefit from their incumbencies.

Since the Cantilupes historically had possessions in the surrounding counties as well as in Bedfordshire itself, they also had the advowsons of churches in Huntingdonshire, Northamptonshire and Buckinghamshire, all bordering Bedfordshire.

The Cantilupes in the West Country: Priories and Chapels

If Bishop Walter was the 'vicar of Totnes' mentioned in George's *Inquisition Post Mortem*, that would certainly add a personal dimension to the West Country holdings. Fulk and Robert de Cantilupe are found in Somerset and Dorset as early as 1200, when another Walter (their father or brother?) is also found in Cornwall.⁶⁴⁹

While they also held the advowson of a 'poor priory' at Cornworthy, Devon, which they had doubtless attained quite early on, Totnes would seem to supersede this foundation in terms of importance and revenue. It should be noted again here as in Chapter Two that there was a definite socio-economic connection between the West Country and Wales. The charters, deeds and chronicles of Totnes Priory and its sister foundation, Tywardreath Priory, reveal that the houses took an interest in the activities of the Welsh princes, particularly Gruffudd ap Cynan's activities, and several princes of the South Welsh kingdoms made grants and gifts to the priory throughout the twelfth century. This reinforces the West Country's socio-economic ties to Wales and the

⁶⁴⁹ *PRS Pipe Roll 1200*, p. 221.

Hugh R. Watkin, *The History of Totnes Priory and Medieval Town, Devonshire, Together with its Sister Priory of Tywardreath, Cornwall, Compiled from Original Records*, (Torquay, 1914), p. 10; Cadwallon ap Gruffudd pp. 46-7; Gruffudd ap Rhys p. 47-8; Rhys ap Gruffudd pp. 48-9; Cadell ap Gruffudd pp. 48-50.

March through personal and territorial networks, and indicates a spiritual connection that reinforced this connection.

It is interesting to note the number of chapels and priories here, and to compare this with the concentration of manors in the region. By 1273 George could claim to hold the advowson of no less than two priories and a chapel in Devon, a chapel in Somerset and a chapel in Dorset. The chapel in Berwick, Somerset was worth the princely sum of 66s. 8d. annually, noted in his *Inquisition*. This is compared with a single chapel in Bedfordshire, and the archdeaconry of Bedford Priory rather than the advowson.

Meanwhile, the Wiltshire manors which had been in the possession of Fulk de Cantilupe, William (II)'s brother, had passed to William (II) and thus down to George. William (III) had died at Calstone, and had also been known as William of Calne. George held the advowson of a church at Mildstone, and a Mabel de Cantilupe, one of William (II)'s daughters, held the advowson of a church at Berwick, Wiltshire. This is the only English county outside the three main centres where two advowsons are held by members of the main branch of the family, but as it bridged the Marcher lordship and the English holdings, this is hardly surprising. It must also be noted that one would expect to find more advowsons in the area where the family had been the longest – in which case, it is surprising that there are not more (or any) in the Lincolnshire area – but if a branch of the Cantilupes were indeed in Somerset since the Conquest, this would also account for their accumulation of spiritual interests in the South West. When the power centres shifted following George de Cantilupe's death in 1273, Nottinghamshire and Lincolnshire became the regions of significant fourteenth century spiritual

⁶⁵¹ CIPM, i., 417:113-5 (Inquisition of Patrick de Chawores, p. 114).

investment, with Nicholas (III), third baron Cantilupe, founding Beauvale Priory at Greasley in 1343, and Cantilupe Chantry, Lincoln, in 1367. 652

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⁶⁵² VCH Nottinghamshire, ii, pp. 105-109; VCH Lincolnshire, ii, p. 236.

The Cantilupes in the March

Finally, the plethora of advowsons in the Honour of Abergavenny and in Pembrokeshire demonstrates the high level of spiritual investment possible in the Marcher lordships. The de Braose and Marshal families had already succeeded in monopolising a great number of advowsons and founding or patronizing a number of monastic houses, which was part of the appeal of the March. 'Ecclesiastic subjugation', as Rees Davies put it, had gone hand-in-hand with the Norman or 'Anglo-Norman' conquest of the Welsh kingdoms, but this was not simply a matter of high theology and asserting Canterbury's supremacy. The 'politically essential' practice of ecclesiastic assimilation had proven exceptionally profitable for the enterprising Marchers. What George inherited from his mother's side was the evidence of this, with far more advowsons in the Honour of Abergavenny, including that of the priory, than any other county in his English lands.

That he was buried with his father makes Eva's choice of resting place more significant. It was not a given fact that Eva would be entombed in Abergavenny priory, since many ladies were laid to rest beside their husbands and she died only a year after William had done. Emma Cavell has studied the burial practices of women in the March and noted that women often agreed to be buried wherever their husbands or fathers chose for them. That she was buried in Abergavenny priory, as a de Braose, but had her effigy holding her husband's *fleur-de-lys* shield, ties the Cantilupes to their Marcher acquisition by visual representation, which will be discussed more fully in Chapter

⁶⁵³ R. R. Davies, The Age of Conquest, p. 180.

⁶⁵⁴ Ibid. p. 179

⁶⁵⁵ Emma Cavell, 'The Burial of Noblewomen in Thirteenth-Century Shropshire', *Thirteenth-Century England XI*, 174-92, p. 175.

Four. 656 It would seem that Eva embodied both families in her death, ensuring that the priory remained aware of both in her final act of patronage.

The Cantilupes and Personal Attitudes: 'Secular' Cantilupes 1199-1254

Attitudes towards the Church, and towards individual ecclesiastics, were complicated by the Cantilupes' offices and relationship with the kings whom they served. For example, Fulk, brother of the charitable and generous patron, founder and benefactor, William (I), was one of the 'cruel and inhuman knights' who expelled the monks of Canterbury during the Stephen Langton affair. 657

From the 1220s onwards, William (I) (and then later William (II)) can be found in the Patent Rolls in entries concerning presentations of benefices. The first of such entries, dated 1222, states that William has letters of presentation for the vacancy of the church of 'Penred', in which the king is taking a personal interest. The following year William is to be found dealing with the bishopric of Carlisle (*episcopatus Carleolensis*) regarding this presentation. However, in 1226 he is to be found wrongfully withholding something (*deforciantem* – details unspecified) from the church of Bulwick. A plea was made against him by the prior of Worspring concerning this church, and the judges of the county court were mandated not to hold that assize. Such an indiscretion may well have damaged William's standing with the Church and her bishops, but his Essexbased kinsman Roger is named as a prefect of the *curia Romana* in 1231, which

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⁶⁵⁶ Fleur-de-lys – stylised lilies.

Roger of Wendover, Flowers of History, trans. Rev. J. A. Giles, (London, 1849), p. 240.

⁶⁵⁸ 'De presentacione. Walterus de Cantilupo habet litteras de presentacione ad ecclesiam de Penred que vacat et ad donacionem domini regis spectat. Teste ut supra.' *CPR*, i, p. 350.

^{659 &#}x27;De advocatione ecclesie de Bulewic. — Rex dilectis et fidelibus suis Mauricio de Aundely, David de Esseby, Roberto de Salceto, et Johanni de Ulecot, salutem. Sciatis quod finalis concordia facta est coram nobis inter priorem de Worspring petentem, et Willelmum de Cantilupo deforciantem, de advocatione ecclesie de Bulewic, unde idem prior aramiavit coram vobis assisam ultime presentationis. Et ideo vobis mandamus quod assisam illam non capiatis. Teste me ipso, apud Westmonasterium, xvij die Octobris, anno etc. x.' CPR, ii, p. 63.

doubtless helped improve his standing vicariously.⁶⁶⁰ Whatever his motives may have been in upsetting the prior, things seem to have been resolved relatively quickly as there is no further record of the case after this year.

In 1236, William (II) can be found making a pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela. There could have been a number of motivations for this, and pilgrimages were a common part of medieval life. Diana Webb has noted that 'curiosity' was as much a part of pilgrim psychology as devotion and piety, as indicated by the account of St Willibald's pilgrimages to the Holy Land and to Rome. Since none of the Cantilupes seem to have actually gone on Crusade, pilgrimages may well have been the next best thing. William (III) did leave money in his will to fulfil his Crusading vow, but in practice, the Cantilupes seem to have been far more concerned with their administrative tasks and political careers to actually leave the country and risk a power vacuum forming at court in their absence. Pilgrimages were shorter than stints in the Holy Land, and Pontigny (William (I)'s pilgrimage site) and Santiago de Compostella (William (II)'s) were comparably safer and easier to return from.

Neither did their generous donations and acts of piety detract from the fact that the Williams were prepared to defend their rights in court against churchmen as much as anyone else. Even Bishop Walter can be found taking abbots and priors through the secular courts throughout his incumbency, as well as challenging several of the laity over land rights in the border shires. This is illustrated by the table below, which covers a thirty year period from 1220-1250. William (II) came into his own from 1220 onwards, and Henry III's second coronation was in this year, 'marking a turning point in the political history of the minority', as David Carpenter put it, which in turn had a

⁶⁶⁰ *CPR*, ii, p. 423.

⁶⁶¹ *CPR*, iii, p. 138.

⁶⁶² Diana Webb, Medieval European Pilgrimage, (Palgrave, 2002), p. 45.

profound impact upon the *curiales* and their own individual careers. 663 The table spans thirty years and ends in 1250, not only for convenience in terms of handling such a large amount of data, but also since the turbulence and unrest of the next two decades should be considered separately in their own context, and because William (III) died in 1254, when George was three years old.

Table 3: Cantilupe Cases Against Ecclesiastics

	Cantilupes				
Date	Details	Location			
1223	Prior of Studley vs. William (I), reason unrecorded. 664	Warw.			
1223	Prior of Dunstaple vs. William (I), pleas of trespass. 665	Beds.			
1224	Prior of Dunstaple vs. William (I). 666	Beds.			
1226	Prior of Newham vs William (I), plea of land. 667	Beds.			
1227	Prior Nicholas of Studley vs. William (I), plea of land. 668	Warw.			
1228	Bishop of Salisbury vs. William (II), custody of the manor of Lindon. 669	Rutland			
1228	Bishop of Durham vs William (II), plea of custody. 670	Rutland			
1232	Abbot of Evesham vs. William (I), vacancy of the church in Weston. 671	Gloucs.			
1239	Abbot of St Augustine, Bristol, vs. Bishop Walter, over a mill and appurtenances in Radwick. 672	Gloucs.			
1240-	Prior of Deerhurst vs. John and	Northants.			
1	Margery, 15 acres and appurtenances at Welford. 673				
1240-	Master Odo de Kilkenny vs. Bishop	Lincs.			
1	Walter, prosecuting the cause of the Chapter of Lincoln. 674				
1242	Abbot of Gloucester vs. Bishop Walter, plea of land. 675	Gloucs.			
1242	Abbess of Polesworth vs. William (II),	Gloucs.			

⁶⁶³ Carpenter, *The Minority of Henry III*, p. 187. 664 *Cur. Reg.* xi, 196:34; 404:75. 665 *Cur. Reg.* xi, 843:169; 1930:387.

⁶⁶⁶ Cur. Reg. xi, 1930:387; 2011:403; 2225:445.

⁶⁶⁷ Cur. Reg., xii, 2318:462.

⁶⁶⁸ Cur. Reg., xiii, 276:61.

⁶⁶⁹ Cur. Reg., xiii, 597:135. 670 Cur. Reg., xiii, 869:190.

⁶⁷¹ Cur. Reg., xiv, 2304:494-5.

⁶⁷² Cur. Reg., xv, 954:182.

⁶⁷³ Cur. Reg., xv, 732:146-7.

⁶⁷⁴ Cur. Reg., xvi, 2021:412-3.

⁶⁷⁵ Cur. Reg., xvi, 2194:440.

	presentation of the church at Quenton. 676	
1242	Abbot of Hales vs William (II), issue	Lines.
	with the presentation of Cunningsby church to William Marmion. 677	
1242	Prior of Merton vs. William (II), plea of fine. 678	Surrey
1242	Abbot of Bordsley vs. Matthew, plea of common pasture. ⁶⁷⁹	Worcs.
1250	Abbess of Godstowe vs William (III) & Eva, plea of customs and services. 680	Sussex
1250	Prior of Studley gave 20s. for a licence	Somerset (but concerning Warws.)
	of agreement with William (III) and Eva. 681	
1250	Abbot of St Augustine, Bristol, vs.	Gloucs.
	Roger, concerning the plea by which	
	Roger had discharged himself from the	
	service of the abbot of Stoneleigh,	
	expelling him from his free tenement of	
	Coderington. ⁶⁸²	

Even with a sample of cases from these rolls, it is evident that the more land and possessions a family had, the more they had to defend. Equally, the more regions in which a family had interests, the greater the chance of clashing with the local monastic foundation or bishop regarding land rights and issues of presentations, custody and service.

It is clear that the spiritual and economic benefits of being a founder and/or primary benefactor did not preclude a difficult relationship with the foundation. Nor was this the only ecclesiastic with whom William de Cantilupe was involved in litigation; there was also a long-running dispute with the prior of Dunstaple over an acre of land with appurtenances in Shortgrave, Bedfordshire, beginning in 1208, and

⁶⁷⁶ Cur. Reg., xvi, 2161:437.

⁶⁷⁷ Cur. Reg., xvi, 2128:432.

⁶⁷⁸ Cur. Reg., xvii, 817:158.

⁶⁷⁹ Cur. Reg., xviii, 307:59.

⁶⁸⁰ Cur. Reg., xix, 1593:258; Cur. Reg. xx, 122:21, 1259:224.

⁶⁸¹ Cur. Reg., xx, 719:125.

⁶⁸² Cur. Reg. xx, 1167:206.

appearing again in 1215.⁶⁸³ In 1210 there are no less than three entries in the Buckinghamshire roll regarding a case between William and the prior of Merton in a plea of advowson over a church there, implying a patronage connection to this house also.⁶⁸⁴ Nor is this the last of such cases: in 1220 he is found attorning against the prior of Broc, in a case which appears to have been on behalf of Thurstan de Montfort and his heirs, who were in William's custody.⁶⁸⁵ In 1226 there is another plea of land by the prior of Newham against William enrolled under Bedfordshire.⁶⁸⁶ In 1228, William (II) is found in a custody battle of the manor of Lindon with the Bishop of Salisbury.⁶⁸⁷ From the geographical pattern of these cases it would seem that the Cantilupes are complimenting their territorial gains with attempts to assert their rights over the churches in those areas, and make an impression in the ecclesiastic network of the relevant area.

In 1232, William II had custody of Ralph de Welneford's heirs and wished to 'have freedom' from a writ held by the abbot of Evesham, concerning a vacancy in the church of Weston in Gloucestershire.⁶⁸⁸ In 1242, William (II) is in dispute with the abbess of Polesworth, again in Warwickshire, regarding the presentation of the church at Quenton to William Marmion.⁶⁸⁹ Since the family's territorial and personal networks were bringing them further and further into the border counties, it should be expected that they would have advowsons in these areas. Thanks to William (III)'s marriage to Eva, they received the advowsons of Abergavenny and Totnes Priories and the advowsons of churches in Monmouthshire and Pembrokeshire around this time, following which there does not seem to be any further suits of court to defend their

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⁶⁸³ Cur. Reg., v, p. 310; VII, p. 312

⁶⁸⁴ *Cur. Reg.*, vi, pp. 7, 17, 24

⁶⁸⁵ Cur. Reg., viii, p. 294; ix, pp. 15, 291

⁶⁸⁶ Cur. Reg., xii, 2318:462

⁶⁸⁷ Cur. Reg., xiii, 597:135, 869:190

⁶⁸⁸ Cur. Reg., xiv, 2304:494-5

⁶⁸⁹ Cur. Reg., xvi, 2161:437

rights anywhere else. The last entry in the *Curia Regis* rolls concerning an advowson is in 1243, and this is merely a recognition before the court that William (II) has bought the rights from Peter de Fraxineto.⁶⁹⁰

Neither are the Williams the only secular Cantilupes involved in such disputes and cases. John (I) de Cantilupe, brother of William (II), is found with his wife Margery in a series of land disputes in 1240, one of which was against the Prior of Deerhurst, Gloucestershire, and concerned fifteen acres with appurtenances at Welleford. A Matthew de Cantilupe is also found in 1243 against the abbot of Bordesley, a Cistercian foundation in Worcestershire, in plea of common pasture.

This indicates that acts of generosity towards monastic foundations were coupled with a definite secular and pragmatic attitude to the family's possessions and rights. Like their peers, the Cantilupes felt that these rights were being unjustly usurped they would take the matter to court and settle it there, regardless of the status of their adversary.

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⁶⁹⁰ Cur. Reg., xviii., 760:151; CR 1227-56, p. 276.

⁶⁹¹ Cur. Reg., xvi, 732:146-7

The Cantilupes and Personal Attitudes: Ecclesiastic Cantilupes 1199-1288

Another aspect of the personal spiritual attitudes of the Cantilupes is that of the churchmen themselves, and their relationships with their kin. The activities of these ecclesiastics and the patterns of their benefice holding should be considered separately, as their ability to influence the 'secular' family members should be given due consideration.

The Cantilupes, like other *curiales* of their day, put a good number of their younger sons into the Church, and ecclesiastic advancement went hand-in-hand with their secular progression. Those under discussion here include Bishop Walter, the son of William (I) who had grown up with Peter de Montfort, his father's ward, and had become close friends with the younger Earl Simon of Leicester. His nephews, Bishop Thomas, canonised in 1320, and Hugh, the archdeacon of Gloucester, will also be discussed. The Cantilupes also produced a legate, Roger, but it would seem that he was of the minor Essex branch who had apparently lost the support of their more powerful kin in the early 1220s.

Regarding Roger, Matthew Paris records that, in 1225, Bishop Alexander Stavenby of Chester complained 'most severely' about Roger de Cantilupe, a lawyer, saying that his father had been a traitor and had been hanged for his sins.⁶⁹³ The *Annales Monastici* identifies this traitor de Cantilupe as another Roger, 'a noble knight of Essex', although the only legal references to this incident refer to Hugh de Cantilupe,

discordiae seminatoribus, siluit **legista praenominatus**, ab anathemate, ut videtur, non immunis. ...' *Chron. Maj.*, iii., 268, my bold emphasis.

⁶⁹³ 'Episcopus autem ille praenominatus [Alexander Stavenby of Chester] pontificalibus indutus, cum talia sibi objecta cognovisset, necnon quosdam qui regi suggesserunt exasperando, episcopus foventes partes Marescalli velle alium regem creare, commotus est vehementer, maxime adversus **Rogerum de Cantelu**, **legistam**, arguens eum sceleris paterni, dicens, quod patris sui proditoris et suspensi pro eodem proditione sequens vestigial patrissavit. Excommunicavit igitur incontinenti omnes qui contra regem iniquitatem hujusmodi sceleris cogitabant, vel super episcopos, qui ominio de salute et honore regis sollicitabantur, malitiose talia imponebant. Et sic manifestata episcoporum ac probata innocentia, confusis

hanged around the same time for the murder of John de Goldingham, which took place around 1224.⁶⁹⁴ This latter case apparently has nothing to do with the incident between Roger and Bishop Alexander, and has been the subject of some recent research by Tony Moore.⁶⁹⁵

With several incidents of which the Cantilupes were less than proud, it no doubt served the main branch of the family to cultivate and maintain a stronger relationship with the Church. They appear throughout various records, engaged in the usual and expected practice of the time.

With the lineage of this Roger in question, and the separation between him and the main branch of his kin, the three ecclesiastics to be discussed here will be Bishop Walter, Bishop Thomas and Hugh.

Firstly, in order to understand the form their influence might have taken, it is important to assess what their attitudes to their offices were. Both Bishop Walter and Bishop Thomas regarded their position in the Church as synonymous with the vital components of secular government, and acted accordingly when they felt the need. It has already been noted that they retained their close connections to their family and

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⁶⁹⁴ Eodem anno Rogerus de Cantilupo, miles nobilis de Esexsia, accusatus est de pace regis infracta; et duello convictus, et tandem suspensus. Et filii ejus exhaeredati et utlagati.' *Ann. Mon.* iii. 95; 'Hugh de Cantilupe', hung for 'felony' and who held Smeethton and Finborough: *CR 1226-1257*, pp. 1, 92, 180. The case between the Goldinghams and the Cantilupes, first concerning pleas of service, then of breaking the king's peace, had been dragging on since 1224 and had originally been between Peter de Cantilupe and Hugh de Goldingham, both on the king's service in Scotland, but in the same year Hugh de Cantilupe had become involved versus John de Goldingham. See, *Cur. Reg.*, xi., 1431:287, 2392:475, 2445:485-6, 2888:580.

Tony Moore, 'A Medieval Murder Mystery, or the Crime of the Canteloups', *Henry III Fine Rolls* Fine the Month 2006), of (April, online resource, http://www.finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/month/fm-04-2006.html, accessed 25.11.13. Moore notes that this branch of Cantilupes 'probably shared a common twelfth-century ancestor' with the main branch discussed here, probably the William de Cantilupe who was possibly the father of Walter de Cantilupe, father of William (I), since Hugh de Cantilupe also had a son named William. They may also be descended from Walter's brother (?) William, and be close cousins to the main branch. Unfortunately, as shown in Chapter One, as a supporter of des Roches William (I)'s influence at court had waned in this period, and he was unable or unwilling to support his kinsman in this case. However, William (I) did seem to forfeit lands in Bettingham as a result of John's murder, so it seems that the kin connection was recognized and perhaps closer than Moore believes here.

identified strongly with their heritage. For the two bishops particularly, political and ecclesiastic advancement were bound together. Their careers spanned some of the most turbulent years of that century, and they were well placed to become actively involved.

To contextualise the role of the Cantilupe bishops as influential kinsmen where the rest of their family were concerned, it would be prudent here to briefly explore their role on a national stage.

Matthew Paris records Bishop Walter's impassioned defence of ecclesiastic rights which in turn emboldened other bishops. In 1255, the papal legate Rustan demanded a large sum from the clergy at a synod in London. The bishops Fulk and Walter 'led the way to an effectual opposition', although the king himself was going to share in the profit for the Sicilian venture. Matthew Paris records that, in the face of such steep taxes for a venture that, it was felt, should not receive such funding from the Church, Fulk Basset stood up and announced, 'Before I will consent to such an intolerable oppression of the Church, I will have my head cut off.' Walter de Cantilupe seconded him, saying, 'And I will be hanged before the Church shall be subject to such unjust spoil.' As a result, everyone took courage and promised to stand by each other as in the steps of St Thomas the Martyr, defending the liberty of the Church unto death. Although these two men later took different political stances, with Walter blessing the rebels before the ill-fated battle of Evesham and Fulk supporting the king, they were both entangled in the politics of their day, which inevitably connected them to the actions of the rest of their relations.

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⁶⁹⁶ David Carpenter, 'St Thomas Cantilupe: His Political Career', *St Thomas Cantilupe Bishop of Hereford: Essays in his Honour*, ed. Meryl Jancey, (Hereford, 1982), 57-72, p. 61; *Mon. Ang.*, i, p. 573. 697 'Et cum strictissimum consilium super his per plures dies haberetur, longa trahens praecordialiter suspire episcopus Londinensis Fulco ait: "Antequam tantae ecclesie consentiam servituti et injuriae, ab intolerabili oppression profecto decapitabor." Cujus constantiam cum audisset episcopus Wigorniensis Walterus ait in propatulo: "Et ego priusquam tali subjaceat ecclesia sancta subversion suspendio condemnabor." Quorum salubribus assertionibus omnes alii firmiter antimati, constanter promiserunt se vestigia beati Thomae Martyris, qui pro libertate ecclesiae se permisit excerebrari, pedetentim sequuturos.' *Mon. Ang.*, i, p. 573.

As a Cantilupe with two generations of powerful and influential relatives and their networks of allegiances to draw upon, Bishop Walter would have had no qualms about speaking his mind. Plenty of work is being done and has already been done on the role of Walter and the bishops in general during this time, and it is not the intention of this chapter to discuss theological justifications for their rebellion.⁶⁹⁸ Instead, this chapter is concerned with Walter and Thomas, the two most high-profile Cantilupe churchmen, primarily as family men.

As bishops, their role in the holy hierarchy was to protect the flock from enemies of Christ, and Bishop Walter certainly saw himself as a *miles Christi* defending Christ and the Church from outside (and therefore *un*holy) incursions and oppressions. This is evidenced by Bishop Walter's attitude to the rebellion, treating it as a kind of holy war, absolving the rebels at the battle of Lewes in 1264 and telling them to 'fight valiantly for the remission of their sins', and promising them a swift entrance to heaven should they be slain.⁶⁹⁹ He was excommunicated for this by the papal legate but absolved two years later as he wished to die in the peace of the Church.⁷⁰⁰

With such an example set before him, it is little wonder that Thomas de Cantilupe followed closely in his uncle's footsteps. David Carpenter has argued that Thomas's career doubtless owed a great deal to his uncle Walter and the circles in which Walter moved; that would certainly seem to be the case. Also a Montfortian by conviction, Thomas pursued his political and academic career against the turbulent backdrop of Henry III's reign, going from Chancellor of Oxford University to

⁶⁹⁸ See the Historiography, above, for a list of such works.

⁶⁹⁹ 'Willielmus (sic) etiam de Cantilupo Wigorniensis episcopus, omnibus absolutionem impendens, jussit ut in remissionem peccatorum pro justita illa die viriliter decertarent, promittens omnibus taliter morientibus, ingressum regni caelestis.', Matthew Paris, cited in *Mon. Ang.* i, p. 573.

⁷⁰⁰ Ibidem.

⁷⁰¹ Carpenter, 'St Thomas de Cantilupe: His Political Career', *St Thomas Cantilupe*, p. 63.

Chancellor of the king in the baronial government.⁷⁰² Yet throughout his career Thomas gave every indication that he was possessed of a strong and forceful character of his own, equally as independent and bold as his uncle, and in this respect can be seen to have the Cantilupe family traits. His letter to Walter de Merton in 1273 reflects this:

Cantilupe also requests Merton to send to the chancellor, masters and scholars at Oxford, such a royal writ to the terror of fools (*ad terrorem fatuorum*) that the masters and scholars be more inclined to keep the peace, and that the chancellor be more stern and attentive in administering justice. ⁷⁰³

Thomas's strict attitude had already stood him in good stead when he received the king's seal from 25 February to 7 May, 1265. He proved himself a thoughtful but firm and able chancellor, conscious of reform and more conscientious when it came to the 'giving' of royal charters than his predecessors. The is no wonder that he too supported Simon de Montfort (family connection notwithstanding), and that as bishop of Hereford he continued to display this strong attitude, exercising and defending his rights through the courts when the need arose. His long-running and at times dramatic dispute with Gilbert de Clare, not to mention Llywelyn ap Gruffudd and Peter Corbet, certainly bears this out. The called on the support of his kinsmen during the dispute with Earl Gilbert, wearing his hunting clothes underneath his cope to meet his opponent at the disputed Malvern Chase. The earl and his companions were forced to turn around under threat of severe spiritual sanction, and possibly the physical threat of the neighbours and kin of the bishop who had turned out to support him.

⁰² Ibid.

⁷⁰³ Calendar of Ancient Correspondence Concerning Wales, ed. J. Goronwy Edwards, p. 38.

⁷⁰⁴ Carpenter, 'St Thomas Cantilupe: his Political Career', *St Thomas Cantilupe*, p. 64.

⁷⁰⁵ Register of Thomas Cantiulupe, i, pp. 9, 10, 29, 31, 42, 103 [Llywelyn ap Gruffudd]; pp. 23, 34, 36, 52-55, 59-61, 84, 104, 123-5, 125n; ii, p. 227 [Gilbert de Clare].

⁷⁰⁶ Meryl Jancey, 'A Servant Speaks of his Master: Hugh Le Barber's Evidence in 1307', *St Thomas Cantilupe*, 191-201, p. 195.

Unfortunately, little is known of Hugh the archdeacon, but with the example of his brother and uncle before him, it would be reasonable to surmise that his attitudes to his office were similarly diligent and sincere.

With this as a brief background to the ecclesiastics under discussion, attention will now be paid to the ways in which they impacted their kin, and their role in their family's personal network strategies as outlined in Chapter One, and their relationship to the territorial networks laid out in Chapter Two.

Bishop Walter evidently made an impact on his other nephews and younger brothers. Of his five nephews, Walter took special interest in Thomas and Hugh, and their master in Paris, Peter de Butteville, was known to him personally. Even before his brother and nephew's deaths, Walter sent the two boys to school, and beneficed them. After the deaths of his brothers William (II) and Nicholas (I), and also of his nephew William (III), the third tragedy within the closely knit Cantilupe kin group, Walter became head of the family. He certainly seems to have influenced his knightly nephews as a result; Nicholas (II) de Cantilupe had to make his peace with the king and prince Edward following the battle of Evesham. In the Chancery Inquisitions, an entry states that Nicholas had his lands in Greasley seized, but was reseised after he made his peace with Prince Edward. The jury came to the conclusion that 'he was in no wise against the king or Sir Edward, as far as the jury can discover', and in fact, 'The jury know nothing of any rebels against the king or Sir Edward.' However, a different jury had decided that 'Nicholas de Cantilupo sent his men with horses and arms against the king. His

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⁷⁰⁸ Cal. Inq. Misc. (Chancery), i., 849:248.

⁷⁰⁷ Jeremy Catto, 'The Academic Career of Thomas Cantilupe', St Thomas Cantilupe, 45-55, p. 46.

houses and lands etc. in *Wyskale* [Withcall, Lincolnshire] are worth 103s 5d. 709 Still another entry recorded, 'Sir William of Mortein seized the land of Nicholas de Cantilupo in Ilkesdon, worth 10l 3s. 710 He was reseised of Ilkesdon and Greasley after the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, although Wyskale was not mentioned. It was noted in the Ilkesdon instance that, 'Sir Nicholas was keeper of the county of Derby, but whether or not he was a rebel, the jury knew not. He made his peace with the king and Sir Edward at Nottingham. 711

The apparent confusion over whether or not Nicholas had engaged in rebellious activities was clearly influenced by his position and relationship to King Henry and Prince Edward, not to mention the memory of his late brother, father and grandfather, all three of whom had served Henry III faithfully. In addition, Thomas de Cantilupe's competence and personable qualities during his stint as Chancellor during the baronial government had doubtlessly helped foster favourable inclinations towards the rest of his siblings.⁷¹²

Bishop Thomas was also an influential figure, despite his long absences in France and Italy. When Thomas's brother Nicholas died, his widow was left without any horses under the terms of the will. Thomas gave her horses from his own stables at Hereford to use until she was able to buy her own.⁷¹³ He also took Nicholas's son William (IV) to court himself after Nicholas's death, and was apparently very fond of this nephew, who accompanied him to the second Council of Lyons in 1274.⁷¹⁴ Prior to William (IV)'s education in Paris, Thomas had apparently also schooled him at

⁷⁰⁹ Cal. Ing. Misc. (Chancery), i., 796: 243.

⁷¹⁰ Cal. Inq. Misc. (Chancery), i., 644:196.

⁷¹¹ Ibid

⁷¹² Carpenter, 'St Thomas de Cantilupe: His Political Career', *St Thomas Cantilupe*, p. 63.

⁷¹³ Barbara Ross, 'Vipers and Gardens of Balsam', *St Thomas Cantilupe*, 73-81, p. 80.

⁷¹⁴ Martin, 'The Life of St Thomas of Hereford', St Thomas Cantilupe Bishop of Hereford, p. 17.

Oxford.⁷¹⁵ Yet Thomas's virtues of prudence and purity apparently did not rub off on the young man as well as Thomas might have hoped. During his last journey to Rome it was asked why his nephew was not accompanying him on this occasion, and Thomas evasively replied that this was because young men were more immodest and less bashful than in his day, when he would have pulled his hat over his eyes to avoid the gaze of a handsome woman – the implication being that William would not!⁷¹⁶ Nevertheless, moral conduct aside, Thomas still schooled him at Paris and left provision for him in his will of thirty marks.⁷¹⁷

As far as his other siblings were concerned, it is also evident that Thomas also had a close relationship with his sister Juliana, lady of Ewyas. In 1273, Thomas, not yet bishop of Hereford, wrote a letter to Walter de Merton the royal chancellor. He explained that it had been agreed between his widowed sister and her brother-in-law, John de Tregoz, that Ewyas should be extended. The men of Ewyas opposed the extent, and the twelve 'free and lawful' men of Hereford who were to carry it out, 'with force and arms'. Thomas wrote this letter to the chancellor asking for remedy on his sister's behalf, following it up with a request that de Merton also send a royal writ to the chancellor, masters and scholars at Oxford 'to the terror of fools' so that they would be more inclined to keep the peace. The mix of family and University business indicates a man who took his duties to both very seriously.

However, despite having kissed Juliana in greeting and affection before, after his election it was reported that he only held out his hand for her to kiss his ring,

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⁷¹⁸ *Cal. Anc. Corr.*, p. 38.

⁷¹⁵ Ross, 'Vipers and Gardens of Balsam', *St Thomas Cantilupe*, p. 79.

⁷¹⁶ Ibidem

^{717 &#}x27;...et nomine Willelmi de Cantilupo studentis Parisivis triginta marcas', C. M. Woolgar (ed.), Testamentary Records of the English and Welsh Episcopate 1200-1413: Wills, Executors' Accounts and Inventories, and the Probate Process, (Canterbury and York Society: Boydell, 2011), p. 105.

emphasising his episcopal authority.⁷¹⁹ This was considered odd by the English clerics, but Thomas seems to have been following Bernard of Clairvaux's code for the Knights Templar which forbade them to kiss any woman including a female relative, and so in France, where Thomas had spent a great deal of his life, the kissing of female relatives by clerics was frowned upon.⁷²⁰ This idea of following the code of a *miles Christi* fits in well with Thomas's noble background, and would explain the shift in his interaction with his female relations.

The Cantilupe ecclesiastics were also part of their familial networks, both personal and territorial. It can hardly be a coincidence that Walter had benefices in the West Country and border counties in and around Worcestershire; equally, Thomas was also licenced to hold benefices in plurality. The list of Thomas's benefices is incomplete due to the fact that several records are missing. He was the archdeacon of Stafford and canon of Lichfield, so perhaps the seal of the mystery archdeacon of Bedford belonged to Hugh rather than to Thomas.⁷²¹ He was also Precentor of York, Prebendary of St Paul's, London, and also of Hereford, and incumbent at several parochial churches such as Wintringham, Yorkshire, which he held for thirty years.⁷²² The Yorkshire connection was also a pre-established one; William (I)'s brother Fulk had held the manor of Barton, Yorkshire, in 1203.⁷²³ Deighton, given to Thomas in 1247 by Agatha Trussebut, was where the Yorkshire branch of Cantilupes were later to settle.⁷²⁴ Despite all these English benefices, the strongest and only oath Bishop Thomas was ever heard to swear was 'by St Dewy', or St David, an interesting choice for a man born in

⁷¹⁹ Ross, 'Vipers and Gardens of Balsam', *St Thomas Cantilupe*, p. 77.

⁷²⁰ Ibidem.

⁷²¹ Register of Thomas Cantilupe, ii, p. xix.

Title Thomas of Hereford] (c.1220–1282)', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, (Oxford University Press, 2004), online resource, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4570, accessed 11.12.13.

⁷²³ *PRS Pipe Roll 1203*, p. 223.

⁷²⁴ Register of Thomas Cantilupe, ii, p. xix.

Buckinghamshire and educated at Paris, Orleans and Oxford. 725 To discuss the impact of David's saint cult in and outside of Wales would be beyond the scope of this chapter, but it is an interesting aside in terms of the extent to which Wales and the March permeated his consciousness.⁷²⁶

A close friend of Edmund, earl of Cornwall, Thomas's heart was enshrined at Ashridge in Buckinghamshire by the earl, while his bones were entombed at Hereford. 727 The heart burial itself has not been the subject of much of the literature concerning Thomas, yet it connects the personal networks with the territorial in a transcendent manner. Born in Buckinghamshire and baptized there in the village church at Hambledon, it was fitting for the most significant organ to return there after his death. 728 It was also significant that Edmund, earl of Cornwall, should be the one to undertake this heart burial, blurring the geographical lines in his person and strengthening the territorial networks between the centres of Cantilupe power in the same way as his uncles and brothers had done with the development of their personal networks.

It would seem that the Cantilupes were utilising their children's ecclesiastic careers as means to further the family's connections as well as consolidation of the family's presence in various counties. It has been noted of eleventh century Wales that 'ecclesiastic subjugation was underpinned by firm political control', and it would seem

⁷²⁵ Jancey, 'The Evidence of Hugh le Barber', St Thomas Cantilupe, p. 193.

The Cult of St David has been discussed at length in J. Evans and Jonathon M. Wooding, St David of Wales: Cult, Church and Nation, (Woodbridge, 2007). It also implies that, despite the various benefices Thomas held, he maintained his personal connections to Wales and the March through his choice of saint, and that his connection to the Marcher benefices were always the strongest. On the other hand, it could also have been pejorative towards the Welsh saint, which would reflect the antagonism between the Welsh diocese of St Asaph's and the diocese of Hereford. It has also been suggested in private correspondence with Dr Gideon Brough that it may be a subtle anti-Edwardian oath, reflective of the Montfortian convictions held by Thomas, although it would seem that the two men were actually on good terms throughout Edward's reign.

Martin, 'The Life of Saint Thomas of Hereford', St Thomas Cantilupe, p. 19; Michael Ray, 'A Ashridge', Pilgrimage to Henry IIIFineRolls Project, online resource, http://blog.frh3.org.uk/?tag=ashridge, accessed 30.01.14.

728 Martin, 'The Life of Saint Thomas of Hereford', *St Thomas Cantilupe*, p. 15.

that in the thirteenth century this policy had been adapted on a micro-level, and was not simply a policy used in wholesale conquest. It was a strategy that could be appropriated to ensure the expansion and control of one kin group, to great effect.

In all, it is clear that the Cantilupes were focusing their spiritual investment in the main centres of their patronage. They had the means and revenue to pour into a dual path of secular and ecclesiastic advancement and thus ensure their progression in the social circles attained by their birth and promotion. This affected their attitudes to the Church as a family, and the powerful ecclesiastics among them also exerted a strong influence over the rest of the family, and were closely involved in the lives of their relations. The continuation of this pattern in the fourteenth century with the foundations of Beauvale and Cantilupe College by Nicholas (III) bears out the hypothesis, and indicates that for the Cantilupes, spiritual investment was most evident in the areas they considered to be their centres of power.

However, while the study has shown the Corbets following a similar pattern to the Cantilupes in terms of their personal and territorial strategies, their dissimilar geographical and socio-economic situations, coupled with their ingrained mentalities, may well show some divergence in attitudes towards the Church.

THE CORBETS

An Overview: Patterns of Patronage

Prior to 1199, some of the sprawling branches of the Corbet family were making use of their lands beyond the March and their personal and territorial connections to 'spiritually invest' in other areas of the country. Lady Hawise Corbet, according to Dugdale, founded the Austin priory of Tortington, near Arundel in Sussex, sometime before King John's reign. 729 Hawise was the wife of Roger Corbet, who appears in an agreement made between the couple and the abbot of Tewkesbury concerning the church of Hadley, and therefore a likely ancestor of Thomas Corbet of Hadley. 730 It is probable that she was able to capitalise on the FitzAlan connection, since they were the earls of Arundel and lords of Oswestry and Clun, benefitting the rest of her family by proxy both physically and politically, reinforcing their presence in the local consciousness through the physical building and its six canons, and embedding themselves in local memory through the perpetual masses said for their souls in that location. Certainly there was a strong continued connection between the FitzAlans and the Corbets; Robert Corbet of Caus appears first on the witness list of William FitzAlan's recovery of the Austin priory of Cold Norton and confirmation of its lands and rights c.1204, and wrongly printed in Dugdale as a foundation charter. 731

Similarly, Robert Corbet (d. 1222)'s father Simon appears on a witness list of a confirmation to Kershall, a Lancashire cell of Lenton Priory, a Cluniac foundation,

⁷²⁹ *Mon. Ang.*, vi., p. 597.

⁷³⁰ *Mon. Ang.*, ii., p. 76.

Mon. Ang., vi., pp. 420-421; Cold Norton was actually founded by Lady Avelina of Norton in the twelfth century, 'Houses of Augustinian canons: The priory of Cold Norton', *VCH Oxford: Volume 2* (1907), pp. 95-97, online resource, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=40188, accessed 23.01.14.

fourth on the list below Matilda, Countess of Cheshire; Cadwalader, *rege Waliarum* [sic], and William FitzAlan.⁷³²

The Corbets never attained the heights of the Cantilupes in either their secular or their ecclesiastic careers. As their secular lives plateaued with their relationship with the king being on a military basis, so their ecclesiastic appointments remained on the same low level. A great deal of this may be accounted for by recognising that the Corbets did not think of themselves as lords of England – that much has been made clear through their process of usurpation and annexation, and the mentalities revealed in the discussions in Chapters One and Two. They considered themselves Marchers, and as such had an understanding of a different form of power and authority to the one which existed in England, accompanied by a different set of social mores and customs. Susan Reynolds has argued that, '[s]urviving written sources about early medieval and Christian Wales suggest a ... pattern of warrior rulers whose varying power, though generally accepted, did not apparently owe much to the Church'. 733 Yet, Brock Holden has also argued that religious foundations were a 'serious' but 'necessary' drain on Marcher lords' resources. 734 For those Marchers with means, that is probably true. The Corbets, however, despite the potential revenue they could amass from their holdings and the number of men they could muster, were not the great men of the March that Holden writes about in his work Lords of the Central Marches. For middling Marchers, Reynolds' opinion is probably the more accurate, as this discussion will seek to show.

A cursory glance of the Corbets' ecclesiastic careers would certainly seem to bear this out. There was a William Corbet who was a parson, and a Walter Corbet who

⁷³² *Mon. Ang.* v., p. 111.

⁷³³ Reynolds, 'Secular Power and Authority in the Middle Ages', *Power and Identity*, 11-22, p. 13.

⁷³⁴ Brock W. Holden, Lords of the Central Marches, p. 81.

was an Augustinian canon, but this is as far as any of them appear to rise.⁷³⁵ In 1280, a Hugh Corbet was presented to the church of Wyke in the bishopric of Lincoln, which was void and in the king's gift, but it is unclear as to how exactly he is related (if at all) to the Corbets of Caus.⁷³⁶

In terms of advowsons, and based on the patterns evident in the Cantilupe records, one would reasonably expect to find the Corbets holding advowsons in Shropshire above all other counties, with the other significant sites being in the West Country, based on the map of Peter Corbet's possessions in Chapter Two. Unfortunately, the Corbet records are not as complete as the Cantilupe records, and neither were the Corbets on a socio-economic par with the *curiales* previously discussed. Therefore, the number of advowsons is far smaller, but may also be an incomplete picture.

Table 4: Corbet Advowsons

Date of Record	Location	Patron/Donor	Details	Reference
1274	Wentnor,	Thomas Corbet	The church at	<i>CIPM</i> ii, 85:62
	Shropshire		Wentnor is in the	
			gift of the lord of	
			Caus	
-	Caus, Shropshire	Thomas Corbet	Chapel of St	L. F. Chitty,
			Nicholas in the	'Interim Notes
			borough of Caus	on Subsidiary
				Castle Sites
				West of
				Shrewsbury',
				TSAS 53
				(1949-50), 83-
				90, cited in
				Meisel,
				Barons of the
				Welsh
				Frontier, p.
				62.
-	Caus, Shropshire	Thomas Corbet	Chapel of St	L. F. Chitty,
			Margaret	'Interim Notes
			founded by	on Subsidiary
			Thomas in the	Castle Sites

⁷³⁵ CCR 1257-1300, p. 420; Mon. Ang., vi, p. 497.

⁷³⁶ *CPR*, 1272-81 (London, 1901), p. 362; he may be a member of the Scottish March branch.

			borough of Caus	West of Shrewsbury', TSAS 53
				(1949-50), 83- 90, cited in
				Meisel,
				Barons of the
				Welsh
				Frontier, p.
				62.
Tuesday after St	Charlton, Devon	Peter (I) Corbet	The manor and	
Lucy, 12 Edw. I		(d. 1300)	the advowson of	
			the church	
			belonged to	CIPM ii, no.
			Thomas Pipard,	470
			but was given to	
			Peter Corbet in	
			free marriage	
1318x1319	Tremarton and	Peter (II) Corbet	Peter (II) and	
	Calstock manors,	(d. 1322)	Henry de la	
	Cornwall		Pomeroy claim	
			they have the	PRO: SC
			advowsons of	8/3/114
			these manors, as	
			kinsmen of	
			Roger Vautort	
			(part of a longer	
			plea)	

This table certainly supports the previous hypothesis. Since Shropshire contained a finite number of churches, and the advowsons of these were already being held by the monastic foundations and other members of the laity, the Corbets had to make do with donations and other forms of patronage to assert their spiritual links to the regions under their authority. This was yet another reason to look beyond the March and expand their authority elsewhere, as the Corbets did through their Vautort connection.

They were also willing to fight for their advowson rights within their power centres. There are remarkably few challenges that went through the courts. In fact, Thomas can only be found in an *assize ultime presentatione* in 1230 against the abbot of Shrewsbury.⁷³⁷ The other quarrels with churchmen and ecclesiastics seem to have been to do with land ownership rather than darrein presentment, feeding into his territorial

⁷³⁷ Cur. Reg. xiii, 2363:507.

control rather than his spiritual investment in said territory. These are represented in the table below, which, like the Cantilupe table above, focuses only on the three generations under discussion here.

The following table, the same thirty year period considered in the Cantilupe section above, indicates the number of cases prosecuted by or against Thomas and other Corbets.

Table 5: Corbet Cases Against Ecclesiastics

	Corbets				
Date	Details	Location			
1221	Thomas counselled and commanded his brother	Shrops.			
	William and others to rob a monk of Buildwas – the				
	incident took place at the house of Thomas's <i>amica</i>				
	(mistress?) in Foregate, Shrewsbury. ⁷³⁸				
1221	Abbot of Buildwas vs. Robert and Thomas, in a plea	Shrops.			
	of taking plough beasts. ⁷³⁹				
1226	Abbot of Tewkesbury vs. Roger Corbet, plea of	Worcs.			
	fine. ⁷⁴⁰				
1230	Abbot of Shrewsbury vs. Thomas, presentation	Shrops.			
	rights [assise ultime presentionis]. ⁷⁴¹				
1230	Bishop Alexander of Coventry and Lichfield vs.	Staffs.			
	Thomas, Thomas is excommunicated for laying				
	violent hands upon the bishop's men. ⁷⁴²				
1242	Abbot of Buildwas pays 20s. for a licence of	Shrops.			
	agreement with Thomas. 743				
1242	Abbot of Haughmond responds to the Abbot of	Shrops.			
	Buildwas vs. Thomas. ⁷⁴⁴				
1243	Abbot of Buildwas vs. Thomas, plea of road	Shrops.			
	access. ⁷⁴⁵				
1249	Prior of Chirbury vs. Thomas, plea of land. ⁷⁴⁶	Shrops.			
1250	Abbot de la Pole vs Margery, over a fee in	Shrops.			
	Bodington. 747				
1250	Prior of Chirbury vs Thomas, fifteen acres of land	Shrops.			
	and appurtenances in Shelve. ⁷⁴⁸				

⁷³⁸ Shropshire Eyre 1221, Selden Soc. 53 (1940), 1260:544.

This Robert could be Thomas's father or his brother, Robert junior. Given Robert Corbet senior died the following year, it is more likely to be his brother. Confusingly, Robert Corbet of the Moreton Corbet branch, a kinsman of Thomas's and likely his cousin, could also be the 'Robert' mentioned here. *Shropshire Eyre 1221*, Selden Soc. 53, 992:436.

⁷⁴⁰ Cur. Reg. xii, 1769:360.

⁷⁴¹ Cur. Reg. xiii, 2363:507.

⁷⁴² Cur. Reg. xiv, 579:114.

⁷⁴³ *Cur. Reg.*, xviii, 44:6.

⁷⁴⁴ Cur. Reg., xviii, 59:10-11.

⁷⁴⁵ Cur. Reg., xvii, 1298:246, 1342:256, 1406:272.

⁷⁴⁶ Cur. Reg., xix, 630:95; 863:132.

⁷⁴⁷ Cur. Reg., xx, 267:44.

Despite Thomas's reputation, the number of cases against members of the clergy from 1221-1250 seems small in comparison to the number prosecuted by and against the Williams de Cantilupe. Nevertheless, while the Cantilupes were mainly concerned with land and presentation rights, pursuing them primarily through the courts, Thomas's actions were far more aggressive, particularly in the early years of his lordship.

The control exercised over much of the region by various religious foundations meant that the line between spiritual and secular concerns blurred on occasions. In a frontier zone such as Shropshire, things were perhaps more likely to get out of hand. Yet this does not necessarily seem to have been the case, and was largely dependent upon attitudes and personality.

Firstly, as with the Cantilupes, their principle seat should be considered first, and the foundations there (including their Welshry). The focus for the Corbets of Caus is so concentrated upon one particular region that the county of Shropshire as a whole should also be examined in order to see what relationship the Corbets had with the foundations and churches founded by their neighbours, overlords, allies and enemies.

The chapter will then consider the spiritual investment (or lack thereof) in the lands they held beyond the March. Since having land in the West Country seems to have been a natural addition to the lands of a Marcher, and *vice versa* if the Cantilupe presence in the West Country does indeed date to the Conquest, the Corbet presence in the South West will be considered separately to the Corbet interests in other English counties. Throughout both sections of this chapter, personal attitudes of the three Corbet generations will be considered, including the potential impact that the Corbet ecclesiastics had. The reasons as to why there were so few of the latter, and the effect

⁷⁴⁸ Cur. Reg., xx, 853:153.

this dearth of family churchmen had on the former, will also be considered here. Again, due to the apparent lack of Corbet ecclesiastics, it is not possible to reconstruct a full picture of their impact in the way that it is for the Cantilupes.

The Corbets of Caus: Foundations and Patterns of Patronage

The Corbets had ancient territorial claims to their Shropshire lands that went back to Domesday; it is hardly surprising that their ecclesiastical patronage went back just as far.

Within the confines of the large, well-defended plateau on which the borough of Caus was built, there were no less than two chapels by 1300. One, like the Cantilupe chapel in Eyton and the later Cantilupe College, was dedicated to St Nicholas. The other was founded by Thomas Corbet towards the end of his life, and was dedicated to St Margaret, which was presumably in memory of his sister Margaret with whom he had been embroiled in a long-running and violent legal dispute. ⁷⁴⁹

One might describe these chapels as dedicated to popular saints, and it was probably the connection with his sister's name that led Thomas to found a chapel dedicated to this particular one. He had also been given a licence to hold a market on and around the feast of St Thomas, which would also appear to have been deliberately chosen. The act of connecting namesakes and saints in this way was an interesting method of linking the liturgical calendar with the personages of the local family. Not only did it reinforce the family's spiritual ties to the borough by association, but it also

http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/11063b.htm, accessed 11.12.13.

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There were (and are) more than one St Margaret – however, this is likely to be St Margaret the Virgin, also known as St Margaret of Antioch, rather than St Margaret of Scotland, although the Corbets did have a Scottish branch. Similarly, it is likely that the St Nicholas was the fourth century bishop of Myra, very popular throughout Europe and one of the most popular saints in the Greek and Latin Churches. See: Michael Ott, 'St Nicholas of Myra', *The Catholic Encyclopaedia*, (New York, 1911), online resource,

ensured the memorial of the family members, even when the line between spiritual date and secular activity was blurred, as in the case of the market.

The Corbets did not found any monastic foundations themselves, but instead donated to the monastic houses that were already present. Robert Corbet of Caus made several donations throughout his lifetime to several foundations. He gave several gifts and tithes to St Peter's, Shrewsbury, and the abbeys of Buildwas and Haughmond.

Abbey of St Peter, Shrewsbury

The Cartulary of St Peter's, Shrewsbury, reveals that this foundation was heavily funded and supported by the Marcher lords resident in and around Shropshire. As the Corbets began their Marcher lives as men of the Earl Roger, and St Peter's was his foundation, it is to be expected that of the middling men of the region the Corbets would pay the closest and most consistent attention to it. From the twelfth century through to the fourteenth, the Corbets are one of the most frequently cited families in comparison to their vassals, neighbours and acquaintances, as the table below demonstrates.

Table 6: CSPS Grants and Donations

Family	Total	Total	Total Number of	Total	Other
	Number of	Number of	Donations/Confirmations	Number of	References
	Individuals	References		Witnesses	
Audley	1	1	0	1	0
Clifford	6	10	6	4	0
Corbet	21	58	16	40	2
FitzWarin	6	11	3	8	0
Lestrange	12	28	4	22	2
Pantulf	9	17	4	13	0

⁷⁵⁰ Ordericus Vitalis, *Hist. Ecc.* ii. 415-22.

⁷⁵¹ CSPS 2 vols., ed. Una Rees (National Library of Wales, 1975).

Meisel has suggested that Thomas Corbet cannot be seen to be as pious as Robert, his father, and that is true in the sense that he did not give away as much to the Church. However, where Shrewsbury Abbey is concerned, both men made the same number of donations/confirmations, and Thomas is to be found on four witness lists compared with Robert's two. Thomas died at the abbey and was presumably also buried there, indicating that St Peter's was the centre of his patronage. As a family, the Corbets clearly donated to the abbey to a greater extent and for a longer period of time than other local lords, accumulatively making a considerable number of grants and confirmations, and appearing as witnesses forty times throughout the cartulary. The number of individuals mentioned in the cartulary is also proportionately greater than even than the wealthier and more influential Lestranges, who appear only twenty eight times compared to the Corbets' fifty-eight. This in itself suggests that, if anything, the Corbets had more of an interest in the abbey than other lords in the area, and each generation were active donors from the twelfth century through to the fourteenth.

Buildwas Abbey

Robert certainly donated to Buildwas abbey as well, although the abbey's cartulary does not survive to give a full picture of his donations as compared to his relations and neighbours.⁷⁵³ However, surviving material shows that Robert granted Buildwas all of his lands in Ritton, and a mill in Wentnor, witnessed by his heir, Thomas, among other members of his family and *familia*.⁷⁵⁴ The grant of the mill in particular is of note, as it is witnessed by William FitzAlan and Hugh Pantulf, his own brother Hugh, John Lestrange, Odo de Hodnet and Fulk FitzWarin among others. This

⁷⁵² Daniel Power, *The Norman Frontier*, p. 328.

⁷⁵³ Eyton, xi. 182–3, p. 190; *Mon. Ang.* v. pp. 357–8.

⁷⁵⁴ *Mon. Ang.* v, p. 358.

was a high profile grant in that sense, which served, aside from the obvious purposes of the grant, to emphasise Corbet piety and highlight their spiritual investment in this particular place. He also seems to have granted the abbey lands in 'Hulemore', in the parish of Wentnor, *in perpetua excambia* for their grange at Caldon, Staffordshire.⁷⁵⁵ This exchange seems to show Robert engaging in the consolidation and expansion of Corbet lands in Staffordshire, following the strategic pattern explored above in Chapter Two. While an exchange is not in itself a 'pious' activity, regardless of the devotional language and terms in which the grants are couched, it still demonstrates the willingness of the more demonstrably devout Robert Corbet to further his territorial expansion through his interaction with the clergy. Thomas Corbet is the first on the witness list, and his later dealings with Haughmond Abbey, discussed further below, show that he had learned from his father's shrewd donation strategy.

However, despite the donation *in excambia* which benefitted the family or at least compensated for the loss of certain lands, it is possible that having to witness his father's generous grants to the foundations eating away his inheritance provoked Thomas and soured his attitude to the Church. This may certainly appear to be the case at first glance, especially in the light of a certain case that features in the 1221 Shropshire Eyre:

Gerin Burnel and William Corbet and others with them robbed a monk of Buildwas in the house of a mistress (*amica*) of Thomas Corbet at Foregate by the command and counsel of Thomas.⁷⁵⁶

⁷⁵⁵ Mon. Ang. v., p. 357.

⁷⁵⁶ 'Gerinus Burnel et Willelmus Corbet et quidam alii cum eis robauerunt unum monachum de Bildewas in domo cuiusdam amice Thome Corbet apud Foriat' per preceptum et consilium eiusdem Thome.' *Rolls of the Justices in Eyre being the Rolls of Pleas and Assizes for Gloucestershire, Warwickshire and Staffordshire, 1221, 1222*, Selden Society 53 (1940), p. 544, No. 1260. The other men involved appear to have included Thomas Hagar, who reappears on the witness list of Thomas Corbet's grant to Strate Marcella in 1229 (see below).

Given that the monk of Buildwas was carrying money and in the house of Thomas's (euphemistically named?) *amica* in Foregate, Shrewsbury, it is very likely that he was engaged in soliciting a prostitute, and so Thomas's decision to incite William (likely his brother, as Robert Corbet of Caus stood surety for them) and their friends to rob him seems like a case of indignant and indirect repatriation of his father's misused donation rather than an act of malicious theft. It is doubtful Robert intended the revenue from his gift to assist a monk's dubious extracurricular activities.

There certainly did not seem to be any especial antagonism between Thomas Corbet and this House in later years. After all, the usual struggles of lords against churchmen and *vice versa* can hardly be said to constitute malicious behaviour or point to personal grudges. In 1236, Thomas agreed to uphold his father Robert's gift to the abbey of one hundred acres of land at Ulresmore, to be held by the abbey in free and perpetual alms, and to be quit of secular services. Thomas also made an addition to the grant, recognising 'one messuage and eight [others] near the mill' should belong to the abbey with 'all customary payment relating to the mill', at a cost of 12*d* annually at Wentnor each Michaelmas, as a gift of Thomas (rather than his father) and his heirs. It would seem that Thomas continued to donate to Buildwas, building on previous grants his father had given. While he did not donate a great deal more, there is still an element of continuity here in terms of pious actions and associations, as well as a sense of cross-generational respect for and pledge of continued 'spiritual investment' in the abbey.

⁷⁵⁷ SA_1037/8/85.

Haughmond Abbey

The Cartulary of Haughmond Abbey reveals that Robert, unarguably the most consistent of the Corbets in his gifts, gave two grants to the abbey in his lifetime and witnessed a further nine. He actually appears twelve times in the cartulary: the twelfth time is because another grant is made in his court. Thomas also made one grant to Haughmond and witnessed seven others. 759 While witnessing in itself is not a direct act of piety, it nevertheless indicates a continued connection to the abbeys in question and is therefore worth briefly mentioning here.

It is the context of the grants of father and son which illuminates the attitudes behind them. All the grants are fairly minor, given their need to maintain their lands for strategic military and marital purposes. Robert gave the monks the assart of Gatten, in Ratlinghope, for which the canons paid half a mark annually. 760 He then gave the canons an assart held by William son of May (Maie), which lay at the head of the canons' land below Gatten. For this they paid an annual rent of four pence. 761 There does not seem to be any motivation behind this grant other than the usual formulaic (but formulaic does not necessarily preclude them being genuine) reasons for donation.

Thomas Corbet, on the other hand, exhibits a definite strategy in his choice of land to donate. This is a fairly unusual grant as it is not a straightforward donation, but rather an exchange. Thomas first made an exchange with the abbot and convent of Strata Marcella, essentially swapping a portion of his Haye above Caus for Picklescott. 762 This is couched in the usual terms of a donation stating the reasons for

⁷⁵⁸ Cartulary of Haughmond Abbey, ed. Una Rees, Nos. 233, 275, 279, 290, 615, 706, 743, 751, 986,

⁷⁵⁹ Cartulary of Haughmond Abbey, Nos. 511-12, 724, 738, 745, 875, 1105, 1160.

⁷⁶⁰ Cartulary of Haughmond Abbey, ed. Una Rees, 1182:217.

⁷⁶² Charters of Ystrad Marcell, ed. Graham C. G. Thomas, (Aberystwyth, 1997), 72:215-17.

the grant as being 'for the salvation of my soul and those of my ancestors and successors', and was made in 1229.⁷⁶³ Among the witnesses are two familiar names, Thomas Hagar and Warin Burnell, both of whom were involved in the monk-mugging incident in 1221.⁷⁶⁴ Not long after this (Una Rees dates the Haughmond charter as 1222x1235, but 1229x1235 is more likely the better date, and given Thomas's character perhaps *c*.1229 would be more precise) Picklescott was granted to Haughmond in exchange for the land the abbey held at Edderton, in Wentnor.⁷⁶⁵ Evidently, Edderton in Wentnor was Thomas's goal. The territorial substitutions appear to be deliberate, and Thomas is careful not to compromise his lands during the proceedings but instead aimed to connect them.⁷⁶⁶ It was far more important that he be the master of his own centre than allow a religious house to erode his control and authority there.

Thomas is not alone in this view, it would seem. Edward I himself had a highly pragmatic view of the Church and its relationship to the realm, as Peter Heath has argued. Heath claims that the king 'followed a traditional line with a vigour and resourcefulness dictated by his legal and martial preoccupations, not by any concern to alter the balance of church-state relations'. He went on to argue that when Edward did push the bounds of secular authority he did so from defensive reaction, not aggressively, and so the secular cause was advanced as much by his aggressive subjects – several of whom being churchmen – as by his own 'vigour and resourcefulness'. The the same way, this pragmatic approach to the advance and protection of secular

⁷⁶³ 'pro salute anime mee et antecessorum meorum ac successorum meorum,' *Charters of Ystrad Marcell*, 72:215-17

⁷⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁶⁵ Cartulary of Haughmond Abbey, ed. Una Rees, 875:174.

⁷⁶⁶ Meisel purports this theory in *Barons of the Welsh Frontier*, p. 63; she notes that Eddington was held by the Roger I Corbet from Earl Roger in *Domesday*, and was one hide considered to be in Wales. [See: *Domesday 25 Shropshire*, eds. Frank and Caroline Thorn, (Chichester, 1987), 254a]. She argues that this reveals 'the unusual emphasis which the Corbets placed on their border lands', but I would argue that for a Marcher lord in the frontier zone the border lands – in every direction - were the most important.

⁷⁶⁷ Peter Heath, Church and Realm 1272-1461: Conflict and Collaboration in an Age of Crises, (London, 1988), p. 22.

⁷⁶⁸ Heath, Church and Realm, p. 23.

authority was reflected in the attitudes of the Marcher lords. A king's attitude depends largely upon the king and the circumstances of the reign, while a Marcher's attitude depends largely upon the Marcher and the circumstances of their lordship, but as with strong kings, strong lords also benefit from vigour, pragmatism and resourcefulness.

Based on the cartulary evidence, the Corbets seem to be no better or worse than their neighbours as regards what this chapter has termed 'demonstrable piety', that is, the number of grants made to foundations. It is also clear from the cartularies that donations on the borders were shrewdly chosen so as not to compromise their authority or ability to defend their heartlands. Inevitably there must be a return to the legal records in order to evaluate whether the bad reputations of Thomas and Peter have been deserved.

It was also not until Peter's time that the emphasis on gaining and investing in the Marcher dioceses began to shift, and that was largely thanks to the personal and territorial networks already established by Thomas's marriage to Isabel de Vautort. This expansion beyond Shropshire and the March will be discussed in the following section of the chapter.

The Corbets of Caus: Power and Patronage beyond the March

The Corbet family were not greatly active east of the March, and had never been. A Simon Corbet does appear in the time of Henry II as a witness on a foundation deed of Ranulf de Gernuns, earl of Chester, of Kershall, a Lancashire cell of Linton Priory, Nottinghamshire, a Cluniac House. Aside from Hawise Corbet's foundation at Arundel, these seem to be the only two significant instances of Corbet involvement beyond the March. In both cases, personal networks are a primary factor – the donations and witness lists reinforce the Corbets' relationships with the earl of Chester in the case of Simon Corbet's appearance as a witness to his foundation deed, and to the FitzAlans, earls of Arundel, in the case of Hawise's foundation there.

It is surprising that there does not seem to be a record of Corbet investment in the churches or foundations in their Berkshire. It would seem that, as Thomas gifted the Berkshire interests to Robert ap Madoc, there was a tactical withdrawal by the family into the March to consolidate their concentration of manors in and around Shropshire. With such heavy and consistent investment in the power centre of Shropshire, however, it is probable that there was very little left to give elsewhere. The nature of a Marcher lordship meant that one's neighbours were just as likely to attack as the Welsh, and so investment was required on all sides. Expansion and intimidation tactics were common strategies to ensure the survival and consolidation of lordships in difficult times, but that left little physical or fiscal power for other holdings.

As the territorial network map demonstrated, despite being granted a few midland manors, (which did not seem to be the family's focus, despite an economic need to secure manors whose revenue would be unaffected by Welsh ravaging), Peter

⁷⁶⁹ *Mon. Ang.* v, p. 111.

Corbet had two distinct power centres - Shropshire, and the South West. As the advowson table above has shown, the Corbets held the advowsons in their West Country manors, namely for the churches in Charleton, Devon, and Tremarton and Calstock, Cornwall. These came with the land grants with which Edward I rewarded him, resulting in the expansion of Corbet interests beyond their Shropshire power centre.

Bishop Walter Bronescombe of Exeter's *Register* mentions that Thomas Corbet was the patron of Silverton, where Roger of Leicester was instituted on 22 August 1272.⁷⁷⁰ That Thomas was named as the 'patron' shows that he had taken on an active role here throughout his lordship. Therefore, spiritual obligations and investment came with his wife's dowry, and the Cornwall and Devon lands were integrated into the Corbets' power centres on both spiritual and secular levels.

Tremarton, or Trematon, is located in Saltash, Cornwall, and was a modest borough with a castle. The church may have been St John the Baptist's chapel, documented by name in 1390, although a leper hospital was recorded in the vicinity, possibly located at Trevollard near the castle, in 1309. It was one of the hospitals to receive a payment from the executors of Bishop Bitton's will, namely the sum of 7s 6d.

The possible Corbet connection to this hospital precedes Edward I's gift to Peter, however. Peter's mother's family, the de Vautorts, had been lords of Trematon since Domesday. Throughout the twelfth century, they had engaged in disputes with the bishops of Exeter over the advowson of Plympton Priory, although judgement was ruled

770 Register of Walter Bronescombe 1258-1280, ii, Canterbury and York Society 87, no. 904.

'Trematon', English Heritage, *PastScape*, online resource, http://www.pastscape.org/hob.aspx?hob_id=904488, accessed 14.01.14.

The source of the sou

⁷⁷² VCH Cornwall, ii, p. 303; Monument 436624, Medieval Lazar Hospital, Saltash, Cornwall, online resource, http://www.pastscape.org/hob.aspx?hob_id=436624, accessed 14.01.14.

⁷⁷³ VCH Cornwall, ii, p. 303.

in favour of the canons.⁷⁷⁴ They also held Modbury, Ludbrook and Halton, with connections to the abbey of St-Pierre-sur-Dives, to whom Reginald (I) de Vautort granted Modbury. A priory was founded there c.1140. Reginald (III) retained the advowson of Modbury priory – on 19 August 1240 the monk Richard was admitted to the priorate on Reginald (III)'s presentation.⁷⁷⁵

Isabella de Vautort's family therefore had a significant ecclesiastic connection to the area already, which her son Peter Corbet inherited by virtue of descent, explaining the choice of lands donated by royal grant.

⁷⁷⁴ English Episcopal Acta 11: Exeter 1046-1184, ed. Frank Barlow, (Oxford, 1996), 120:110.

⁷⁷⁵ English Episcopal Acta 12: Exeter 1186-1257, ed. Frank Barlow, (Oxford, 1996), 288:261.

The Corbets of Caus and Diocesan Relationships

Context: The Church in Wales

Contentious personal relationships aside, diocesan politics itself may well have been a barrier to ecclesiastical advancement in the March. The character of the Church in Wales was not one which fostered potential for ecclesiastic advancement, as the multiple English sees did. For a start, there were only four – Llandaff, St David's, St Asaph's, and Bangor. Earlier, in the time of Henry of Huntingdon, there purported to be only three.⁷⁷⁶ While this meant that population-wise Wales was better spiritually provided for than some parts of England, out of a large geographical area subdivided into multiple kingdoms and lordships, only four men could hold a Welsh episcopal office at any one time. Since bishops usually held them until their deaths or until they were forced to step down, this made advancement particularly difficult for those in the cathedral chapter. Men like Bishop Walter and Bishop Thomas de Cantilupe had licenses to hold benefices in plurality, and could have potentially been elected to other sees – in Wales, however, this was not as possible. Even if the Corbets did have sons (or daughters) free to enter the Church, which they rarely did in comparison to other lords with power bases solely in England, there could be very little room for them to manoeuvre once they had a foot in the door, and the competition for higher offices must have been intense, aside from the question of individual suitability and levels of personal devotion.

The St Asaph's was not mentioned; Henry of Huntingdon wrote in his *Historia* that, 'In the west part of Britain, which is called Wales, there are three bishoprics; one at St. David's (*Sanctum David*); another at Bangor; the third at Clamorgan [sic]. These three are, however, bishops of no cities, on account of the desolation of Wales, where remain only the conquered Britons.' *Episcopal Acts Relating to Welsh Dioceses 1066-1272*, 1:1, ed. James Conway Davies, (Historical Society of the Church in Wales, 1946), p. 260.

Serious problems also emerged in the political context of Welsh autonomy. The origins of the ecclesiastic wrangling between the dioceses, which Coventry and Lichfield and Hereford were also drawn into, stemmed from the eleventh century, and the earliest Norman incursions into Wales. First was Lanfranc's assertion of the primacy of Canterbury over York as part of a vision Rees Davies has described as nothing short of 'pan-Britannic'. Page Bede's tomes were brought out in support of this vision, and the dioceses in Wales were also claimed for Canterbury with Lanfranc asserting himself as primate over the whole of Britain. This was duly recorded in the Council of London in 1075. Ecclesiastic reforms were then duly forced upon the native *clas* Church, with complaints about hereditary priests, incorrect tonsuring, and other offences being levelled against the Welsh ecclesiastics, who appeared to have adhered more to the schismatic Eastern practices than to the Western norms.

It is a little surprising, then, that the resistance to Canterbury came from the first Norman bishop to be consecrated in St David's, rather than a native Welsh ecclesiastic. The historiography consistently views the consecration of Norman and Anglo-Norman

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⁷⁷⁷ R. R. Davies, *The First English Empire*, (Oxford, 2000), p. 12.

Allata est igitur *Aecclesiastica gentis Anglorum ystoria* quam Eboracensis aecclesiae praesbiter et Anglorum doctor Beda composuit; lectae sententiae quibus pace omnium demonstratium est a tempore beati Augustini primi Dorobernensis archiepiscopi usque ad ipsius Bedae ultimam senectutem, quod fere centum et quadraginta annorum spatio / terminatur, antecessores meos super Eboracensem aecclesiam totamque insulam quam Britanniam uocant necnon et Hiberniam primatum gessisse ...' Lanfranc's letter to Pope Alexander II, 25 Dec. 1072 - 21 Apr. 1073 in *The Letters of Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury*, eds. and trans. Helen Clover and Margaret Gibson, Oxford (1979), facing English trans. p. 51; Latin p. 50.

'... iubente atque eidem concilio presidente Lanfranco, sanctae Dorobernensis aecclesiae archipresule totiusque Britannicae insulae primate...' *Letters of Lanfranc*, trans. pp. 73, 75; Latin pp. 72, 74.

Like the Eastern tradition, clerical marriage was common at every level of society, and it also retained a tendency towards the Eastern mystic character, its monasticism being a quest for spiritual perfection: See, A. D. Carr, *Medieval Wales*, p. 50; see also: Fr. Constantinides, *Orthodoxy 101: A Bird's Eye View*, (Northridge, 2006), p. 77 for an overview of Eastern Orthodox monastic principles for comparison. The roots of the Church in Wales allegedly stem from claims of a direct link with the Apostle John through Irenaeus, the third century bishop of Gaul, via John's disciple Polycarp, a tradition that still is proudly acclaimed among modern-day 'Celtic' Christians. See: Ray Simpson, *Exploring Celtic Spirituality: Historic Roots for our Future*, (London, 1995), p. 50; for notes on current trends in modern Celtic Christian belief and the origins of this tradition see also *Celtic Daily Prayer* (London, 2005), pp. 126, 128 and 142. Today this tradition is continued by the Northumbrian Community who practice 'new monasticism', which is based upon what they term 'Celtic Christianity'. See the online resource, http://www.northumbriacommunity.org/WhoWeAre/index.html, accessed 12.12.13.

bishops alongside the plantations of foreign monastic orders as 'ecclesiastic subjugation', which went hand-in-hand with political dominance.⁷⁸¹ Yet the origins of the diocesan disputes lay with those men transplanted into the Welsh sees, which not even the Welsh chroniclers could have predicted.

The Brut y Tywysogyon records Bernard's consecration with gloom:

"In that same year died Griffri, bishop of St. David's; and the king made a man called Bernard the Norman bishop in his place, without the permission of or asking the Welsh scholars; and then the bishop of St David's lost his privilege which was taken by the Bishop of Canterbury."

Bernard, as the *Brut* categorically states, was of Norman stock, having received his priestly orders at Southwark and been made chancellor to queen Matilda. This makes Bernard's personal struggles to have St David's accepted as an independent metropolitan see all the more intriguing, particularly since the *Brut* in no way anticipates it. Not only that, but Bernard attended Henry I's court, had access to the queen, and had built up a friendship with the queen's brother, David king of Scots. He was clearly not looked upon as a liability but was respected and trusted in royal circles. Nevertheless, Bernard's unsuccessful assertions that St David's should be a metropolitan see set a chain of claims and counter-claims in motion that continued into the thirteenth century, keeping the diocesan borders fluid throughout the decades.

⁷⁸¹ R. R. Davies, 'The Age of Conquest: Wales 1063-1415', (Oxford, 2000), p. 180.

⁷⁸² 'Yr un fwyddyn y bu farw Griffri Escob Dewi; ac y gwnaeth y Brenin wr a elwid Bernerd Norman yn Escob yn ei le heb na chennad na chyfarch ysgolheigion y Cymry; ac yna colles Escob Dewi ei fraint ac ai dug Escob Caint.' Arthur West Haddan and William Stubbs, eds. *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents Relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, i, (Oxford, 1869), p. 307.

⁷⁸³ Julia Barrow, ed., *St. David's Episcopal Acta 1085-1280*, (Cardiff, 1998), pp. 2-3.

David Walker, 'Bernard (d. 1148) bishop of St David's', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, (Oxford University Press, 2004), online resource, http://www.oxforddnb.com.abc.cardiff.ac.uk/view/article/48536, accessed 12.03.13.

'Secular' Corbets c.1199-1300

The precedent was set and built upon, so that in the mid-thirteenth century, St Asaph's was in a jurisdictional dispute with Hereford, the Marcher dioceses now drawn into the various neighbourly disagreements. In fact, since Hereford was known as Hereford' in Wallia even in King John's time, perhaps its status as an 'English' diocese was not as definite in the minds of other ecclesiastics as it might have been expected. Bishop Swinfield's Register records that some of the vills in dispute with St Asaph's were part of the barony of Caus, and the reaffirmed limits of Hereford and St Asaph's 'divided the lord king's lands of Montgomery and the lord Peter Corbet's', making the ancient limits of the diocese of Hereford extend up to the Shrewardyn ford. 785 The diocese claimed the vills of Botinton and two others on the strength of the border agreement and because they were held of the lady Hawise, wife of Gruffudd ap Gwenwynwen, whose son Owain de la Pole had married Peter Corbet's daughter Margaret.⁷⁸⁶ Geographically, then, Caus was very much part of the diocesan jurisdictional dispute, and consequently even despite the lack of ecclesiastic Corbets, the Marcher family were still able to engage with the diocesan politics through their attitudes to land control.

⁷⁸⁵ *Richard Swinfield's Register 1283 – 1317*, Cantilupe Society, transc. and ed. W. W. Capes, (Hereford, 1909), pp. 207, 209.

⁷⁸⁶ 'Hoc etiam est notorium quod villa de Botintone cum duabas villis adjacentibus ad eandem, quas nunc tenet domina Hawisia, semper fuerunt de baronia de Caus donec avus domini Petri Corbeth qui nunc vivit ipsas daret cuidam filie sue, nomine Margarete, in liberum matrimonium, cum ipsam daret in uxorem avo domini Oweni, domini de la Pole qui nunc vivit, tum quia sancte recordancionis dominis Thomas de Cantilupo, etc., post litem super ipsis locis Herefordensis per multas et veracissimas raciones contaret, prout sibi et multis sapientibus videbatur, ipsemet in propria persona cum multis clericis, militibus, et aliis viris discretise a vado ad vadum predictum super vipa Sabrine fluvii peragravit vendricans, et sicut tunc posuit, possessionem continuans omnium predictiorum locorum tanquam ad jus diocesanum episcopatus Herefordensis pertininenciam.' *Swinfield's Register*, p. 209.

Peter Corbet, like his father before him, also found himself at odds with bishops, on one notable occasion over the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Gorddwr. The bishop of St Asaph's complained that he had been persistently obstructed in his rights there by Peter Corbet, who had annexed the area 'for' the diocese of Hereford as part of the diocesan dispute. That Peter, a secular lord who was involved in his own territorial dispute with Hereford at this time over Asterton, should get involved in a territorial dispute between two dioceses shows that for some reason he had a definite preference as to whom the ecclesiastical rights of his land belonged to. It may even have been his way of trying to get Bishop Thomas to relinquish his hold on Asterton, by offering additional land in return for the one hundred acres he wished to keep.

Peter had his father's example to follow and to learn from: it was as a result of his aggression that Thomas Corbet was excommunicated in 1230, a sentence which was imposed upon him by the bishop of Coventry. At this time, as Elizabeth Vodola argues, excommunication was 'fully integrated into adversary procedures' – by the twelfth century, a litigant in civil suits might petition and pay for an opponent's excommunication, and similarly block their absolution in court. Thomas was absolved after the customary period of forty days, and it is not possible to determine exactly what effect this sanction had upon him. Violence towards clerics was a very serious crime, and not one that he had committed before or one he committed afterwards. Even his crime against the monk of Buildwas had been one of theft not violence, and had been committed vicariously through his brother William and his friends. The rules regarding the treatment of an excommunicate by the community would have made the procedures and mechanics of lordship difficult throughout the period of his excommunication. In the late twelfth century, Huguccio summarised the

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⁷⁸⁷ Calendar of Ancient Correspondence Concerning Wales, J. Goronwy Edwards, pp. 39-40.

⁷⁸⁸ Cur. Reg., xiv, 579:114.

⁷⁸⁹ Elizabeth Vodola, *Excommunication in the Middle Ages*, (University of California Press, 1983), p. 37.

effect such sanction had on these obligations: vassals were not to fight for, aid, or defend a feudal lord if he lay under such a sentence, and neither were they to form a court for him, visit him, travel with him, or eat or drink with him.⁷⁹⁰ However, public ostracism and avoidance were not as stringently enforced or even necessarily expected in the thirteenth century, even if the excommunicate was seen in public, providing that others present were unaware of their status.⁷⁹¹ This would have been a loophole Thomas could have exploited in order for 'business as usual' to proceed; he could argue that not everyone with whom he interacted would be aware of his status, although he may have equally left public matters to his son to handle. It is not possible to determine what actually happened during these forty days of sanction, whether it impacted the daily running of the manors or not, or even how (or if) it affected the relationships within the family and with their vassals. What is certain is that Thomas Corbet did not 'lay violent hands' on clerics again, but this may be lack of opportunity or reason to do so as much as his being deterred by spiritual sanction.

In the same year, Thomas was also involved in a case against the abbot of Shrewsbury in an assise of *ultime presentionis*, but this is the only recorded case in the royal courts until 1237, when the prior of Wenlock became involved in a case between Thomas and William of Ercalewe, which is not included in the table above.⁷⁹² In 1242-3, Thomas is found responding to the abbots of Buildwas and Haughmond regarding land.⁷⁹³ In 1249, the prior of Chirbury is added to the list of litigants - Thomas was involved in a dispute with him over fifteen acres of land in Shelve.⁷⁹⁴

⁷⁹⁰ Huguccio, *Summa* (1188-90), C. 15 q.6 c.4, v. *Fidelitatem*, Admont 7, fol. 268rb-va (A), and Vat. 2280, fol. 210vb (V), reproduced in Vodola, *Excommuniation*, Appendix 3a, pp. 219-20.

⁷⁹¹ Vodola, *Excommunication*, p. 49.

⁷⁹² Cur. Reg., xiii, 2363:507; xvi, 148g:45.

⁷⁹³ Cur. Reg., xvii, 1342:256-7; 1298:246; 1406:272; xviii, 44:6.

⁷⁹⁴ Cur. Reg., xix, 630:95; 863:132; XX, 853:153.

In fact, Thomas Corbet engages in more litigation with clerics following his excommunication than before, which at first glance indicates that after his sentence he was far more cautious about going through the proper channels than previously. However, he had only come into his lands in 1222, eight years prior to his excommunication. He retained control until his death in 1274, which left forty-four years for him to deal with the rigours and business of lordship. Too much should not therefore be made of the fact that the majority of these cases came after 1230; indeed, it is only to be expected. The cases mentioned above are spread over a twenty year period, which goes some way to explaining their quantity. What is most significant is that there are no references to violence after 1230, indicating that the excommunication was successful in protecting the clergy from future acts of physical aggression but not from litigation or more minor actions that would lead to suits of court.

Thomas and Peter Corbet were not the only Marchers to fall foul of a bishop, however; certain Welshmen also fell afoul of the bishop of St Asaph's on much the same grounds. Around 1277 the prior of Alberbury wrote the following letter to the king in bitter complaint:

The prior of Alberbury and the Convent of the same place have complained that John, the parson, son of Griffin, Nicholas, the esquire of John, the parson, Peter, the huntsman of Pola (Pool-Welshpool), Hugh Kambrey, Eynon son of Geywyn, Ithel son of Clochet of Pola, Eynon, son of Moylpen, Herbert of Pola, Cadugan son of Lucas, came on the Friday next before the Feast of the Decollation of St. John [29] August] this year at 'Baleslege' (Bausley, near Alberbury), and there took two brothers and a chaplain and a clerk, and killed a certain man, by name of Madoc, son of Eynon, with several others unknown, and abducted the aforesaid Prior together with others, and still detain them in his prison; wherefore they seek the King's grace and delivery of the aforesaid. 795

⁷⁹⁵ Calendar of Ancient Petitions Concerning Wales, ed. William Rees, (Cardiff, 1975), pp. 488-9.

Fulk FitzWarin, the Corbet's vassal, in turn wrote to the king concerning the man who had been killed and the men whom the bishop held responsible:

Fouke le FitzWarin complains to God and to our Lord the King and prays him, if he may please, that he reverse (sovenge) the plea made before him at Shrewsbury concerning his man who was killed (ockeis) in his [FitzWarin's] manor of Bausley in the peace of God and of yours, by Sir John [Lestrange?], the parson, the son of lord Gruffudd ap Gwenwynwen and his following (soute), and by the command of the bishop of St Asaph. And he took the prior of Alberbury, his brother, his chaplain and his deacon on Friday next before the Decollation of St. John [23 August] in the present year, beat and abused them (nauffrerent) and bound and bought them in against your peace there, up to 24 leagues (lues) in Wales; And there they imprisoned them and put them in irons [both] feet and hands. And then they caused the Chaplain and Deacon each to be shorn (rere) of the hair of their head in despite of Holy Church by the command of the Bishop of St Asaph's. And they took as much while they fought with him and, despite your protection, they took a person (uncors) in the bishopric of Hereford in the same place and carried outside the Bishopric in despite of you, Sire, and of the Bishop, after your Serjeant had departed from there and after your protection, etc. 796

The outrages committed here against the clerics makes Thomas Corbet's 'violent laying on of hands' sound quite tame in comparison, but this is possibly the kind of thing that Bishop Alexander's more genteel gloss refers to. The contrast here is that Fulk FitzWarin appears to object to a judgement implying his involvement, while Thomas Corbet was excommunicated for his actual deeds. It would appear that some men put more emphasis upon the special status of churchmen than others, which implies that mentalities depended upon personal piety, character and belief as well as fear or respect

⁷⁹⁶ Cal. Anc. Pet, ed. William Rees, p. 466.

for the consequences. For those less disposed to concern themselves with such matters, anyone encroaching upon their territory and jurisdiction was to be treated like anybody else, regardless of whether they were in the Church or not. Peter Corbet's attitude in dragging out the Asterton case with Bishop Thomas de Cantilupe is another example of this, as has been shown. Nor is it fair to suppose that the more minor misdemeanours perpetrated by the Corbets were unusual; while suing Robert and Thomas Corbet for theft of plough beasts in 1221, the abbot of Buildwas attorned brother Walter of Boningale not just against these men but also in his pleas against the abbot of Burton in a simultaneous plea of assize of novel disseisin, and against Roger la Zouche and William de Vigeford in a plea of novel disseisin, and against Osbert of Diddlebury in a plea of assise of mort d'ancestor. 797 Enrolled in the same eyre is the suit of the abbot of Cumbermere, attorning his prior against Llewelyn 'prince of Wales' in a plea of assize of novel disseisin, and a plea against Fulk d'Oiry and Geoffrey the clerk in the same. 798 Moreover, Thomas Corbet of Tasley went quit of the same court in a plea of land in Kinslow brought against him by the abbot of Shrewsbury, after claiming he should not answer the writ as he did not and had never held land in Kinslow. 799 Ultimately, there was nothing truly unusual about the Corbets' struggles with the Church and particular churchmen; these events do not in themselves demonstrate a lack of piety or devotion or even a lack of respect worthy of especial remark.

In fact, these incidents must also be put into the context of Thomas Corbet's duties. In 1232, Thomas was mandated by the king not to impede the abbot of la Pole or the abbot's men as they led horses through his lordship to provision their house. 800 The

⁷⁹⁷ Rolls of the Justices in Eyre being the Rolls of Pleas and Assizes for Gloucestershire, Warwickshire and Staffordshire, 1221, 1222, Seldon Society 53, 992:436.

⁷⁹⁸ Ibid, 990:436.

⁷⁹⁹ Ibid. 1179:517.

^{800 &#}x27;Pro Hominbus abbatis de la Pole – Mandatum est Thome Corbet quod permittat dominicos homines abbatis et monachorum de la Pole per dominicos equos suos in partibus suis cariare et ducere sine

king's involvement with the house can be seen in his interest in defending its rights and liberties from the Marchers with whom they dealt, but it also demonstrates the need for an official royal mandate to be issued for this purpose. This was not an issue that could be simply dealt with between the abbot and Thomas Corbet directly, apparently, but actually required official instruction to ensure the safety of the abbot's men. In light of Thomas's excommunication two years previously, it was evidently thought that royal intervention was necessary in ensuring Thomas permitted the abbot access across the lands in his lordship. More importantly, Pole [Welshpool] was in the lands controlled by Thomas's nephew, the prince of Powys, with whom he was engaged in a long-running and complicated dispute. This muddles the waters somewhat; if Thomas Corbet was in any way hostile towards the abbot or his men, it could simply have been an expression of hostility towards their patron, and not to the monks themselves. This has been argued by James Jenkins in his thesis King John and the Cistercians in Wales, who has shown that King John seemed to consider William de Braose's attack on Leominster Priory as an attack upon himself, given that the abbey was under the king's patronage.⁸⁰¹ This may help to explain the cause of the friction between Thomas and the bishop of Coventry and Lichfield – the bishops were patrons of Buildwas abbey, and Thomas's attack upon the monk of dubious character in 1221, not to mention his carrying off of plough beasts, may have sown the seeds of antagonism and sullied their relationship.

Following Thomas's short-term excommunication in 1230 by Bishop Alexander, there was little antagonism until 1242, as shown in the table above. Thomas still

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impedimento ad domum suam victualia, que emi faciunt ad opus suum proprium, et, si equos eorum per quos victualia sua duci fecerunt vel aliquis de rebus vel victualibus eorum arestari fecit; hos eis sine dilatione reddi faciat. Teste rege apud Westmonasterium, ij. die Maii. CR, 1231-34, (London, 1905), p. 53.

^{53. &}lt;sup>801</sup> 'Sed cum ibi proficere non possent, diuerterunt ad quandam villam. Scilicet Limenistre que cellaest abbatie de Rading' de libera elemosina nostra, et medietatem ville illius combusserunt.': trans. David Crouch, 'The Complaint of King John against William de Briouze (c. September 1210)', in Janet S. Loengard, ed., *Magna Carta and the England of King John* (Woodbridge, 2010), pp. 170, 175, cited in James H. Jenkins, *King John and the Cistercians in Wales*, unpublished PhD thesis, (Cardiff, 2012), p. 28.

focused his attentions – and therefore his disagreements – on the abbeys in the orbit of his main power centre. Peter (I) Corbet also concentrated on Shropshire, since after the Barons' War the ravaged land required considerable attention.

Very little 'spiritual investment' is recorded around the time of the Barons' War, presumably because Thomas and his kin were fully engaged in military matters. In 1260, for example, Gruffudd ap Gwenwynwen, allied with Fulk FitzWarin, Gruffudd 'de Ceis' and Gruffudd ab Owain attacked Thomas's vills in Ford, burning them down and stealing livestock and goods. The Corbets were also facing military threats from Llywelyn and Simon de Montfort, so their financial burdens during this time may well have precluded devotional generosity.

In fact, nothing of significance in terms of behaviour occurs until 25 March 1272, when Thomas founded a chantry of two priests in the chapel of St Margaret, located in his vill of Caus. 803 The deed begins with the usual *pro anima* clause, in this case being for the good of Thomas's soul, his wife Isabella's, and the souls of his ancestors and descendants. Among the various things gifted to the chantry were sixty acres of land with appurtenances and one messuage, a meadow with appurtenances, common pasture, sixty sheep and six cows, two horses, and fifty pigs. For its construction and maintenance, the deed also included *housebote* and *heybote*, along with timber rights. It was witnessed by John le Breton, bishop of Hereford and members of the chapter, including the treasurer, precentor and chancellor who were specifically named. The secular witnesses included the sheriff of Hereford, then Bartholomew de Suchley; Thomas's son-in-law, Brian de Brompton; his kin Roger and Robert Corbet, and Sir Robert Blundel. A second entry dated 22 September 1272, witnessed by men of similar standing and with several of the same names, records that Thomas pledged

⁸⁰² CR 1259-1261, pp. 49, 180-1.

⁸⁰³ Swinfield's Register, pp. 162-4.

himself that the church of Westbury (the parish church of St Mary in the diocese of Hereford) should not suffer from the foundation of this chantry. Evidently the church was concerned about competition for resources with the chantry, or afraid that its rights would be compromised in favour of the new foundation. It could also imply that they did not want to lose Thomas's offerings or alms donations, although no evidence has been discovered in the writing of this study which sheds light on this. The baronial administration for Caus simply does not exist in a great enough volume to be useful in this regard. Nevertheless, Thomas's pledge concerning it may imply that aside from the donations and grants recorded and witnessed by him in the extant cartularies of local foundations, he regularly contributed to parish churches rather than give significant grants away to the foundations.

Ecclesiastic Corbets c.1199-1300

With the deliberate planting of certain men still necessary in the sees, and the internal politics perhaps prejudicing the advancement of certain canons over others, it is hardly surprising that that Corbets and other middling Marcher men did not have more churchmen in the family by this time. In fact, it is only after 1320, when the relative peace and order of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries changed the character of the March, including its ecclesiastical environment, that more family members went into the Church. 805

⁸⁰⁴ Swinfield's Register, p. 164.

soft Fulk Corbet was prebend of Freeford in the diocese of Coventry and Lichfield 1323-1332, despite a challenge from John de Silvaticus of Genoa, who briefly interrupted Corbet's office for a year in 1326 but then lost the challenge and Fulk Corbet was reinstated; B. Jones, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1300-1541*, vol. 10, (Institute of Historical Research, 1964), 38-40, online resource, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=32279&strquery=Corbet, accessed 21.01.14; Margaret Corbet, prioress of the Austin House of St Leonard, Brewood [Shropshire], known as the House of the White Ladies, occurs 1377 and 1381, *VCH Shropshire*, vol. 2, (1973), pp. 83-84, online resource,

The most influential and important religious man of the Corbet family in the thirteenth century was probably Walter Corbet, an Austin canon likely professed to Wigmore and a kinsman of Llywelyn ab Iorwerth. His exact relationship to Robert Corbet of Caus (d. 1222) is unclear, but he was possibly a younger brother or cousin. He acquired the manor of Ratlinghope either from the king or from members of his family, which he gave to Wigmore. Llywelyn noted that the land had been acquired 'for a pious purpose', and instructed his men not to molest it. A small cell was established there by 1209, making Walter the founder, an ecclesiastic, and a mediator between the Welsh prince and the local foundations. Despite the family influence and interest in the cell, there are no Corbet records that I have found to suggest the secular members of the family gave donations to the cell, or favoured Wigmore. This may well be because the Corbets of Caus considered themselves to be a different branch of the family, and relations between the Moreton Corbets and the Caus Corbets were not always harmonious.

However, the church attached to the small priory was dedicated to St Margaret, a name which was transmitted down through the Caus line through Robert Corbet (d. 1222)'s daughter, and great-granddaughter. Thomas Corbet of Caus also dedicated his chapel to the same saint, implying that the family had a historic connection with this particular dedication.

The next significant ecclesiastical office to be occupied by a Corbet was that of treasurer of Llandaff, a post gained by an Alan Corbet. The prior and convent of Monmouth wrote to Alan Corbet and the dean of Oxford regarding letters of proxy for

http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=39931, accessed 21.01.14: the transmission of the name 'Margaret' and choice of the Austin house seems to hold with Corbet family tradition, and suggests that she is also close kin to the Corbets of Caus.

⁸⁰⁶ Acts of the Welsh Rulers, p. 11.

⁸⁰⁷ Eyton, Antiquities of Shropshire, vi, pp. 159-60.

⁸⁰⁸ VCH Shropshire, ii, p. 80.

Adam of Monmouth and Miles of Abergavenny in a letter dated *c*.1251-3. 809 Again, it is unclear how Alan Corbet is related to the Corbets of Caus, and there is not a great deal to connect the main branch of the family with the diocese of Llandaff – no Corbets of any branch appear in the *Liber Landavensis* – and there is precious little evidence regarding the way Alan Corbet's position affected the wider family. An Alan Corbet appears in the Patent Rolls, his only appearance in the government records, on 23 May 1263. He is awarded letters of protection 'with clause' by the king until All Saints (1 November), or 'during the war in Wales within that term'. 810 This is more likely to be a namesake, as it seems unlikely that the treasurer of Llandaff would be named in a company of knights which included Thomas, Peter and Robert 'Corbeth' (the first men on the list and in that consecutive order, indicating that this Thomas is Thomas of Caus), followed by a long list of other familiar names, likely members of the Caus Corbets' *familia*. Alan Corbet is nineteenth on a list of twenty-six names, which seems to imply that he is a younger namesake in his kinsman's household.

There are three others who appear in the latter half of the thirteenth century, Simon and William, but their relationship to the main branch of the Corbets is, again, difficult to ascertain. Simon Corbet may well be a descendant of Simon of Pontesbury, Robert Corbet of Caus's father. Similarly, it is unclear whether the William Corbet is Thomas's younger brother (perhaps making up for his monk-mugging days) or a cousin of the same name. Finally, a Robert Corbet (presumably from the Moreton Corbet line) was instituted to the church at Llandinabo at the presentation of Cecilia de Bereford in 1279. This being the case, it would seem that the few Corbets going into the Church were divided between a Welsh diocese (Llandaff) and an English one (Hereford), mirroring and supporting the pattern of their marriages and personal alliances, as well as

⁸⁰⁹ TNA: SC 1/47/56.

⁸¹⁰ CPR 1258-66, p. 287.

⁸¹¹ Register of Thomas de Cantilupe, i, p. 239.

their territorial spread. Unfortunately, there is very little evidence aside from these snippets in the Episcopal registers and the odd reference in the Close and Patent rolls to give more than a brief glimpse.

Despite the various examples of patronage, few Corbets actually went into the Church, either monastic or secular, themselves. Neither was this unusual among Marcher families. In the March, the lords' sons were needed for martial and marital purposes, given the importance of protecting and consolidating personal and territorial networks, as explained in Chapters One and Two. Spiritual investment was not used in quite the same way, then, as the *curiales* and more elevated gentry were able to use it.

Robert Corbet's donations to the various monastic foundations may have been seen as excessive by his son, and in the case of the monk of Buildwas, a complete waste of revenue since it was going into the hands of corrupt and lustful monks. However, without close relations occupying high positions in the Church, and with the complexities of diocesan politics in the neighbouring Welsh sees, there was very little opportunity for these middling status Marchers to advance in ecclesiastical careers. Similarly, in such a tightly concentrated area where the land and resources were limited, it was not really practical or possible to add another foundation or hospital to those already in the county.

In fact, Thomas Corbet in his limited historiography has received a terrible reputation in his attitude to all things ecclesiastic, and his son Peter (d. 1300) has fared little better. Yet that is not to say that this family was at all unusual in Marcher circles. Even in terms of education, Marchers of minor landholding families or families on a particularly turbulent part of the frontier were hardly to be seen sending their sons of good military and marriageable age away to Oxford or Paris. Apart from the additional expense of this, when castle repair and maintenance was an ever present consideration,

not to mention the payment of men and buying and maintaining of arms, horses and other such equipment, it would seem a waste of potential leadership, marital allegiance and manpower. According to Emden's *Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500*, there were no members of the Clifford, Corbet, Lestrange, Pantulf, FitzWarin, de Braose, de Tregoz or de Bohun families there at all throughout the entire thirteenth century. Comparatively, three de Clares can be found, along with no less than four de Cantilupes, two de Segraves, three de Greys and one de Lusignan. Education with a view to ecclesiastic advancement required means, motive and opportunity, not yet available to those on the March.

⁸¹² A. B. Emden, A Biographical Register of Oxford to A. D. 1500, 3 vols., i (Oxford, 1957-1959).

Conclusion

Although the amount of evidence to draw upon in this study is heavily weighted towards the Cantilupes, there is enough evidence to form a picture of the Corbet activities. It is clear that the differences in revenue and status have a part to play in terms of religious donations and foundations, although overall the pattern of what has been termed 'spiritual investment' holds for both families.

Firstly, it has been shown that no matter how many manors a family held or where, and regardless of that family's status, significant donations to religious houses were rarely given outside their power centres. Personal and territorial networks were further identified and consolidated by the family through corresponding patterns of 'spiritual investment', with the major beneficiaries of family devotion located firmly in those areas under strongest family control. This was achieved through donations of land and tithes, the foundation of chapels, hospitals and chantries, and the tendency to support specific priories, abbeys and other larger religious foundations.

Choices of burial – the ultimate form of patronage in several respects – was also a means of connecting a specific place with the family in question, and reinforcing the family's power in that area by embedding themselves into the collective memory of the worshippers who saw their tombs or heard the masses said for their souls. It could also be a way of joining the personal networks they had established with the territorial spheres of their influence, particularly in the Cantilupe example. William (III) was laid to rest at Studley, Warwickshire, by Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester, and Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Gloucester and Brecon, while his brother Thomas's heart was enshrined at Ashridge, Buckinghamshire, by the earl of Cornwall. Meanwhile, the Corbets seem to have concentrated upon their Marcher holdings as being their top priority, with Thomas Corbet dying and being laid to rest in St Peter's, Shrewsbury.

However, in terms of *human* investment – that is, putting family members into the Church – it would seem that the Cantilupes were far better placed to pursue clerical careers for its sons. They had the benefits of socio-economic and political stability, with lands across the midlands and powerful positions in the royal court. The March, with its highly militarized nature, was prone to socio-political instability, with raids and attacks on lands also affecting the economic landscape. If a Marcher lordship was the primary power centre for a family like the Corbets, then it was far more desirable to keep sons and daughters in the marriage market to gain and consolidate alliances, as well as for military purposes (in the case of the sons specifically).

If, however, the Marcher lordship was a goal rather than a traditional heartland, the family would be more likely to utilize both parallel paths of Church and Government to connect themselves more closely with the regions they wished to claim, and the families they wanted to connect with. It is a shame, aside from the human tragedy of the Cantilupes' extinction in the male line, that their Marcher days did not last longer – it would be interesting to see whether the hypothetical younger sons of George de Cantilupe and Margaret de Lacy would have gone into the church as each generation of younger Cantilupe sons before them, or whether they, like the Corbets did with Caus, would have turned their strategy into the insular consolidation of the Honour of Abergavenny and saved their offspring for marriage and the military.

Overall, it would seem that the spiritual investment of the families followed and supported the strategies of personal and territorial networks identified in Chapters One and Two. It would be interesting to map the patterns of such spiritual investment for comparative families, in order to see if the devotional aspect of medieval life was used in such a strategic way across the March in comparison to the strategies of the more powerful *curiales*.

CHAPTER 4 REPRESENTATIONS AND EXPRESSIONS OF POWER AND IDENTITY

Introduction

When one of the onlookers at a tournament remarked of a combatant, 'Sis escuz est de Tankarville', 'his shield is of a Tankerville', they were not looking at a member of the Tankerville family, but at William Marshal.⁸¹³ This associative nature of badges, banners, seals, and even the castles and manors which housed them or which they were called upon to defend, meant that family power and identity could be expressed through their personal networks via their territorial ones, reinforcing and consolidating their control over regions in and through which they and their *familiae* travelled, the buildings they inhabited and defended, and the banners, shields, badges and livery they displayed.

In order to get a sense of who these families were, therefore, the visual dissemination of their respective identities must also be considered from a critical perspective. As their respective strategies sought to advance them further, how was this reflected in the way they thought of themselves, and the ways in which they encouraged others to view them? This question falls within the wider debate surrounding family structure and development in the late Middle Ages. Theories evolving from the social Darwinism ideas of the nineteenth century and passing through the filters of Durkheim and Bloch have had a great impact on the way historians think about the construction of 'family' during this period. Bloch's argument that 'from the thirteenth century onwards a sort of contraction was in process', was suggesting that there was a significant movement away from attachments to sprawling kin groups towards smaller groups

⁸¹³ History of William Marshal, ed. A. J. Holden, trans. S. Gregory, i (London, 2006), line 1478, cited in Robert W. Jones, *Bloodied Banners*, p. 57.

'much more like our small families of today'. 814 If this were true, then one would reasonably expect this to be demonstrated through the medium of arms and seals. The personalisation of public power has already been discussed in Chapter One, and now, drawing upon the context laid down in previous chapters, the means of its transmission through the family, *familiae* and their residences will now be discussed.

The pattern of development and transmission of heraldic devices would naturally centre upon the immediate inheritance, rather than linking vertically or horizontally across the spread of the extended family. David Crouch has noted that in the case of twelfth century studies, the 'Anglo-French' groups he took into consideration 'could hold together different models of the family in [their] consciousness'. 815 This was seemingly a matter of pragmatism and convenience. When beneficial to emphasise a matriarchal link, the choice of arms would transmit this, emphasising vertical links or horizontal links or the conjugal family as it pleased them, dependent upon the attitudes and aims of the kin group. 816 Crouch goes on to cite a thirteenth-century legal example of flexible land inheritance, in order to show that notions of the family and family succession retained this variformed tractability well into the middle of that century and, indeed, beyond.⁸¹⁷ This rounded conclusion makes Crouch's previous studies all the more relevant here, and questions the Blochian model of familial identity and its visual transmission. As the strategy of the Cantilupes and Corbets has been discussed, revealing the familial models within which they operated, this context can now be used to open up the question of transmitted identity.

It has been argued that the visual media of the time was prominent and popular, opening up the questions of stylistic interaction and co-operation amongst artists and

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⁸¹⁴ M. Bloch, Feudal Society, trans. L. A. Manyon, 2nd edn, (London, 1962), Vol. I, p. 139.

⁸¹⁵ David Crouch, 'The Historian, Lineage and Heraldry', *Heraldry, Pageantry and Social Display*, p. 34.⁸¹⁶ Ibidem.

⁸¹⁷ Ibid. pp. 36-7.

craftsmen, and the 'multiple stimuli that helped to determine a consumer's choice'. 818 It is the element of *choice* which is particularly relevant here. In the earlier part of this period, heraldry was still a developing form. By Edward I's reign in the 1270s, it had become a living reality 'which expressed the cultural hegemony of the landed upper classes', and could be found everywhere – at the centre of community life in the stained glass of the church windows and carved in stone upon pillars, on effigies and tombs, illuminated in commissioned manuscripts such as family Psalters, emblazoned on harness studs and displayed on banners. 819 As Adrian Ailes argues, heraldry could be used to in multiple ways to transmit messages and ideas to the viewer, supporting Coss's view of such images as living realities, and, more recently, Richard W. Jones' study of banners, badges and martial display as symbols of identity, authority and status. 820

This chapter will look at the visual sources available, looking at the way the kin groups and their allies developed their armorial devices and seals to transmit and display their identities throughout this period. The 'reading' of visual sources is one which historians have often passed over in favour of the 'real' or actual text. This is most acutely the case in terms of the seals of the period, taken so much for granted that archivists would at one time simply record whether or not a seal was extant and move on, and antiquarian studies have at times detached the seal (as a collectible item) from the historicity and context of its existence. Yet the seal as a source can offer a way into the unspoken language of the Middle Ages by revealing what Roland Barthes has

⁸¹⁸ P. R. Coss, 'Knighthood, Heraldry and Social Exclusion', *Heraldry, Pageantry and Social Display*, 39-68, pp. 39-40.

Big Ibidem; see also *Plate 1* [Lutterell Psalter page] p. 44, *Plate 3* [Effigy of a knight from All Saints church, Hurwirth, Northumberland] p. 46, *Plate 4* [Clerestory window, choir, Tewkesbury Abbey] p. 50, *Plates 5 and 6* [Late thirteenth-century heraldry on nave capitals from St Peter's church, Cogenhoe, Northamptonshire] p. 57.

Adrian Ailes, 'Heraldry in Medieval England: Symbols of Politics and Propaganda', *Heraldry, Pageantry and Social Display*, 83-104, p. 83; see also, Richard W. Jones, *Bloodied Banners: Martial Display on the Medieval Battlefield*, (Woodbridge, 2010).

termed 'myths' of contemporary medieval thought – that is, the naturalised workings of everyday life and culture. 821

Therefore, heraldry will form a key part of this chapter, with the arms of as many individuals as possible identified for comparison. Heraldic terms are explained in the footnotes. The display of arms and so on by individuals also demonstrates that the bearer has taken on the moral and physical qualities of their *antecessores*. Thus, close examination of the Cantilupe and Corbet family shields and seals should begin to reveal some interesting points about their owners. Additionally, these coats of arms will form something of an overarching theme for the chapter, as the vehicles for heraldic display – physical buildings, the tabards and shields of the *familiae* – will be discussed further as entities of identity in and of themselves. A connected form of representation, the personal seal, will be considered separately to the heraldic devices despite being inherently linked by the crossovers in iconography. Sigillography will form a central part of this chapter as the seal could be transmitted as a mobile, independent object from person to person and place to place.

Sigillography will also be considered to show how the two families transmitted and adapted their *representamen* through the generations, exploring the subtle (and not so subtle) iconographical shifts in light of the context of the previous chapters. While the heraldic imagery developed within comparatively limited parameters, the seals were more fluid and flexible in their scope. The personal seals of other family branches will also be compared to the main branch, where extant, in order to see how, when and why the family identities merged or diverged.

⁸²¹ Steve Baker, *Picturing the Beast: Animals, Identity and Representation*, (University of Illinois Press, 2001), p. 8.

Adrian Ailes, 'The Knight's Alter Ego: From Equestrian to Armorial Seals', *Good Impressions: Image and Authority in Medieval Seals*, eds. Noel Adams, John Cherry, and James Robinson, (The British Museum, 2008), 8-11, p. 8.

Brigitte Bedos Rezak's essay, 'Medieval Seals and the Structure of Chivalric Society', is an excellent place to begin in terms of an introduction to the importance of seals as visual sources. 823 Current research into seals owes a great debt to that already done by the antiquaries who carefully recorded seals in facsimile drawings primarily for the purpose of genealogical studies. Jean Mabillon (1632-1707) was an early pioneer of the methodological approach to seals, examining them in the context of validating the authenticity of medieval documents. 824 Alphonse A. L. Chassant and Pierre Jean Delbarre recognised the need to delve deeper into this form of visual communication in order to illuminate the Middle Ages to a greater extent. They compiled their Dictionnaire de Sigillographie Pratique (1860), arguing in their apologetic introduction that the seal had been overlooked and underappreciated by historians for many years. 825 Their evidence is solely confined to French seals (including Normandy), but this is still an obviously important work for England and the March in a cross-Channel context. However, the *Dictionnaire* predominantly deals with types of seals, the practical terminology, and their owners, and is not a comprehensive catalogue of signs, symbols and forms and their uses or owners. Conventions were not limited to England and France, of course; due to the multifarious socio-political, diplomatic and economic networks that spread across the continent, sealing forms and practices seem to have been shared across Europe, with many examples of armorial seals and the familiar iconography of the *fleur-de-lys* catalogued in countries such as Portugal. 826 Of more use to this study is the Aspilogia, the multi-volume work on heraldic materials and devices, and the Rolls of Arms, and the other influential works of Anthony Wagner and G. J.

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Brigitte Bedos Rezak, 'Medieval Seals and the Structure of Chivalric Society', *The Study of Chivalry: Resources and Approaches*, eds. Howell Chickering and Thomas H. Seiler, (Kalamazoo, 1988), 313-372.
 Ailes, 'The Knight's Alter Ego', *Good Impressions*, p. 8

Alphonse A. L. Chassant and Pierre Jean Delbarre, eds., Dictionnaire de Sigillographie Pratique: Contenant Toutes les notions propres à faciliter l'étude et l'interprétation des Sceaux du Moyen Age, (Paris, 1860), pp. i-viii.

⁸²⁶ See, Marquês De Abrantes, *O Estudo da Sigilografia Medieval Portuguesa*, (Ministério da Educação, 1983), especially p. 112, Exemplar No. 30, for a fleur-de-lys example.

Brault, built upon by P. D. A. Harvey and Andrew McGuiness, and other scholars discussed further below. 827

Scholarship seems to have also moved away from the twentieth century textual interpretations of the seal's importance, when evidence of contemporary top-down attitudes to seals was used to demonstrate that seals were, or should have been, the province of 'great men' only. 828 Twentieth century archivists and historians, even as late as the 1990s, often only noted the fact of the seal when studying charters, divorcing the image and object from its contextual (and textual) setting, and vice versa. Therefore, recent trends in the field seek to restore the seal as an agent within the culture of its production, looking at the way in which seals acted as representational objects of identity, the aspect with which this chapter is most concerned. It has long been a subject of interest to French historians, however; in 1981, Michel Pastoureau produced his work, Les Sceaux, which detailed the work done to date and indicated future directions for the discipline. 829 More recently, scholars such as Martine Fabre have produced analyses of the physical culture of sealing, which is currently generating more interest within Anglo-American scholarship. 830 Among the scholars producing new studies on seals are Elizabeth New, John Cherry, Brigitte Miriam Bedos-Rezak, Markus Späth and Marie-Adélaide Nielen, all of whom examine seals in the context of personal representation. Brigitte Bedos-Rezak and Markus Späth both concentrate their attentions on ecclesiastic seals, and Späth also works on architecture and other visual sources. Bedos-Rezak's monograph, When Ego was Imago, is part apology for

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⁸²⁷ Anthony Wagner, gen. ed., *Aspilogia: Being Materials of Heraldry*, (Oxford, 1950); Wagner and T. D. Tremlett, eds., *Aspilogia: Rolls of Arms Henry II*, (Oxford, 1967); T. D. Tremlett and Hugh Stamford, *Rolls of Arms Henry III*, (Boydell, 2009); Gerard Joseph Brault, *Rolls of Arms, Edward I*, (Woodbridge, 1997); P. D. A. Harvey and A. McGuiness, *A Guide to British Medieval Seals*, (British Library, 1996).

David Crouch, *The Image of Aristocracy in Britain, 1000-1300*, (London, 1992); see especially Chapter 7: 'Insignia Defining Aristocracy' pp. 220-251.

⁸²⁹ Michel Pastoureaux, Les Sceaux, (Turnhout, 1981).

⁸³⁰ Martine Fabre, Sceau Médiéval: Analyse d'une Pratique Culturelle, (L'Harmattan, 2001).

sigillography as a discipline using semiotic anthropological theory, and part ecclesiastic case study. Späth has done a lot of work on English seals in his native German, and a few in English, again mainly relating to monastic corporate identity and its visual representations. Elizabeth New is also approaching the discipline from the perspective of an Ecclesiastic/Monastic historian, with publications on seals which range from the more general *Seals and Sealing Practices*, to more specific work on Christological seals and their relationship to Christocentric devotion. In a similar vein, John Cherry is an editor of the very useful British Museum publication, *Good Impressions: Image and Authority in Medieval Seals*, in which several scholars such as Adrian Ailes have made interesting observations regarding the uses of the personal seal in a secular context. Similarly, Nielen works on seals from a secular perspective and has several publications in French. A great deal of her work has focused upon the families of d'Outremer and the Counts of Brienne, where she examines both sigillography and philology, as well as work on the seals of queens and their children in France.

While modern sigillographic scholarship is progressing, the most recent historiographical trends show that a great deal of this work focuses on ecclesiastic or monastic contexts, with the *Seals in Medieval Wales 1200-1550* project [SiMeW] being one of the few current long-term and wide-ranging endeavours which takes a more

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⁸³¹ Brigitte Bedos-Rezak, When Ego was Imago (London, 2011).

Markus Späth, 'The body and its parts: iconographical mataphors of corporate identity in thirteenth century common seals' in *Pourquoi les sceaux? La sigillographie nouvel enjeu de l'histoire de l'art. Actes du colloque organisé à Lille, Palais des Beaux-Artes les 23-25 octobre 2008*, eds. Jean-Luc Chassel and Marc Gil, (Villeneuve d'Ascq, 2011), pp. 383-399; 'Architectural Representation and Monastic Identity: The Medieval Seal Images of Christchurch, Canterbury', in *Image, Memory, Devotion. Liber Amicorum*, ed. Paul Crossley, Zoë Opačić and. Achim Timmermann, Studies in Gothic Art 2, (Turnhout, 2011), pp. 255-263.

⁸³³ Elizabeth New, *Seals and Sealing Practices*, British Records Association Archives & the User 11. (London, 2010); New, 'Christological seals and Christocentric devotion in later medieval England and Wales', *Antiquaries Journal* 82 (2002), 47-68.

⁸³⁴ See, Noël Adams, John Cherry and James Robinson, eds., *Good Impressions: Image and Authority in Medieval Seals*, British Museum Research Publication 168.

⁸³⁵ Marie-Adélaide Nielen, Les sceaux des reines et des enfants de France, Archives Nationales, Corpus des Sceaux Français du Moyen Age, iii, (2011).

holistic view, in which Elizabeth New, Philip Schofield, Sue Johns and John McEwan are involved. The project has produced two publications to date, the aforementioned *Seals and Sealing Practices* being one of them, and the other being *Seals in Context: Medieval Wales and the Welsh Marches*. 836 A comparable on-going project is the *People of Medieval Scotland 1093-1314* database [PoMS], the outcome of two AHRC-funded projects, *The Paradox of Medieval Scotland* and *The Breaking of Britain*. It is not exclusively sigillographic in content but recognises the vital importance of seals and image in considering the people to whom they belonged. There does not seem to be a comparable project of such broad scope for England as a whole as yet, and while the *Seals in Medieval Wales* project naturally deals with the Marches, there is a need to place Marcher lords in the wider socio-political context of their English and Norman holdings and background.

Secondly, the chapter will also consider the physical remains of the families' impact on the landscape, and consider what psychological impact their castles and manor houses may have had upon those confronted with the buildings in various contexts. Castles may use a different 'vocabulary of forms', to borrow T. A. Heslop's phrase, than the spiritual (i.e. ecclesiastic) buildings discussed in Chapter Three, but they are nevertheless images and symbols of power in their own right. While previously the trend has been to view such buildings for their military capabilities and practical functions, a great deal of work has also been done (and is currently being done) on castles and manor houses as domestic spaces, physical areas where the private and public elements of family life merge. These issues will be considered in this chapter in the cases of the Cantilupe and Corbet possessions, considering them in terms of their

⁸³⁶ John McEwan and Elizabeth New, eds., with Susan M. Johns and Phillipp R. Schofield, *Seals in Context: Medieval Wales and the Welsh Marches*, (Aberystwyth, 2012).

⁸³⁷ T. A. Heslop, 'Orford Castle, Nostalgia and Sophisticated Living', *Anglo-Norman Castles*, ed. Robert Liddiard, (Woodbridge, 2003), 273-296, p. 295.

symbolic significance as embodiments of prestige, and the impact of the castle on the landscape in terms of visual representations of family power. More on the current historiographical trends and debates will also be given in this section.

Finally, the question of the households of the respective families will be discussed, since these physical buildings were the 'envelopes' in which the itinerant familia were contained. In this final section, the difficulties of identifying the Cantilupe and Corbet householders will be discussed, as it is the demographic of the respective familiae which is most relevant to this study. Given the personal and territorial networks identified in the previous chapters, supported by the ecclesiastic networks and regions of concentrated spiritual investment, it would be assumed that the composition of the household would reflect these concerns. As in the second section on the physical buildings, it is not this study's intent to significantly contribute to the scholarship of either castles as visual symbols of power or to the historiography of the household as the vehicles of family power, but rather to demonstrate the ways in which the Cantilupes and Corbets used both in their specific contexts to support and reinforce their strategies and systems by which their power and authority could be expanded, expressed and maintained.

Representations of Power and Identity: The *Imagines*

Bernard of Clairvaux criticised the vainglory of knightly visual display in his Patrologia Latina, saying,

> What then, O knights, is this monstrous error and what this unbearable urge which bids you fight with such pomp and labour... You cover your horses with silk, and plume your armour with I know not what sort of rags; you paint your shields and your saddles; you adorn your bits and spurs with gold and silver and precious stones, and then in all this glory you rush to your ruin with fearful wrath and fearless folly

The glamour of the knight and the pomp of their visual displays were all part of

the attraction of knighthood. Visual displays were an important and recognised part of knightly status, and aside from being a soul-threatening show of vanity, as Bernard seems to have seen it, they also served other purposes. Heraldic arms were not only a means of individual (or associative) identification, but in the case of those who carried their own rather than their lord's, they were also 'a visual record of the familial and social ties between knights', as discussed in some detail by Robert W. Jones. 839 It is therefore fitting that this chapter begin with a comparative discussion of the means of display used by both families, exploring the visual expressions of identity as a common mimetic language which all knights, regardless of their relative place in the social strata, used and readily understood. This section of the chapter will consider the shifts in visual identity (or lack thereof) and compare and contrast the families' responses to the

^{838 &#}x27;Quis ergo, o milites, hic tam stupendous error, quis furor hic tam non furendus, tantis sumptibus ac laboribus militare ... Operitis equos sericis, et pendulos nescio quos panniculos loricis superinduitis; depingitis hastas, clypeos et stellas; frena et calcaria auro et argento, gemmisque circumorenatis: et cum tant pompa pudendo furore et impudenti stupore ad mortem properatis...' Bernard of Clairvaux, 'De laude novae militia ad milites templi liber', in Patrologia Latina, ed. J. P. Migne, vol. 182, (1854) p. 923; Bernard of Clairvaux, 'In Praise of the New Knighthood', trans. Conrad Greenia, The Works of Bernard of Clairvaux, vii, treatises III, (Kalamazoo, 1977), pp. 132-3, both cited in Robert W. Jones, Bloodied Banners, (Woodbridge, 2010), p. 2 fn 2.

⁸³⁹ Robert W. Jones, *Bloodied Banners*, p. 20.

changing socio-political and economic circumstances *c*.1199-*c*.1300 through their chosen means of visual communication. After all, heraldry and the use of certain recognizable signs were signifiers of membership 'of an armigerous elite', and it is this recognition of status which can help to explain the developmental shifts in the families' arms and sigillographic images. ⁸⁴⁰ This section will begin by charting the progression of their heraldry through a heraldic 'family tree', and discuss the use of heraldic devices on the personal seals (where extant) of the family members.

Such symbols can be misinterpreted, over-interpreted, or played down to the point of missing their significance altogether; these visual forms of display were personal and as such highly subjective, both as far as the medieval contemporaries were concerned and as regards historians. Herefore, this section will attempt to offer an outline of the visual representations used by the Cantilupes and the Corbets, and be careful to consider the intentional and unintentional impact that these *representamen* may have had. Also included in this section will be a separate consideration of the ecclesiastics, although no evidence regarding the ecclesiastic Corbets is readily available for study. However, the sigillographic images used by the Cantilupe bishops Walter and Thomas should be discussed separately to the personal seals of their 'secular' family, as they exist within a different context and can shed light on wider episcopal trends developing in this period.

⁸⁴⁰ Matthew Strickland, War and Chivalry: The Conduct and Perception of War in England and Normandy, 1066-1217, (Cambridge, 1996), p. 137.

⁸⁴¹ Robert W. Jones, *Bloodied Banners*, p. 8.

THE CANTILUPES

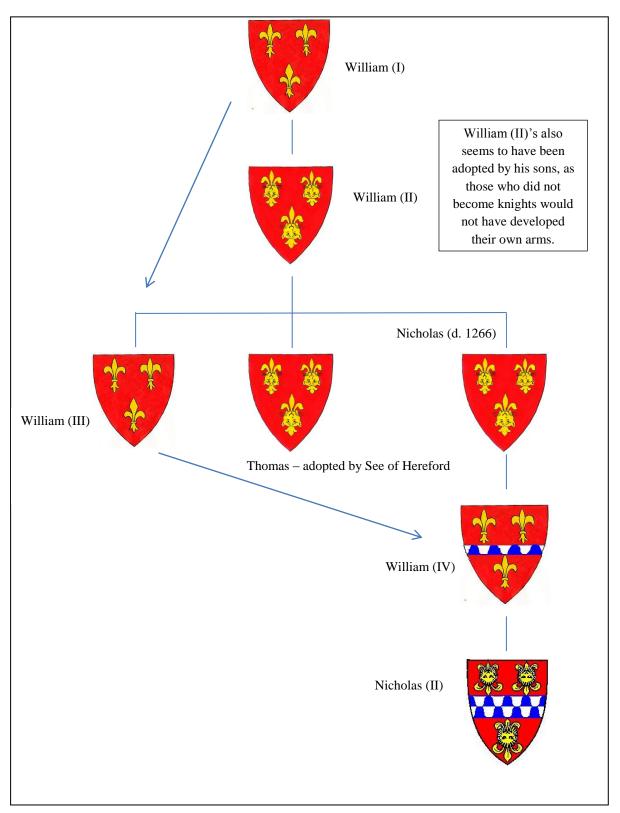


Figure 7: Cantilupe Heraldic Family Tree

The *Aspilogia* and edited rolls of arms are very useful for charting the development of the Cantilupe blazons. It would appear that the basic fleur-de-lys device, first used by William (I) on his personal seal as a shield within a circle, was the

key *representamen* of the family. William (I) seems to have developed this himself, as an early seal purporting to belong to a William de Cantilupe bears a seeded, singular fleur-de-lys design. 842 This seal probably belonged to the Glamorgan William of Merthyr Mawr, holder of Candleston Castle, and it bears a close resemblance to William de Sumery's seal, which is attached next to it. The two seals appear on the same letter, along with de Pincera and William de Regny, written to 'their lord' Gilbert de Clare, earl of Gloucester and Hereford, $c.1218.^{843}$



Figure 8: Glamorgan Seals

It can be assumed that this seal belongs to a different cadet William, rather than to William (I), as John Nichols in his *History and Antiquities of Leicestershire* notes the existence of a different seal attributed to William (I) de Cantilupe, attached to a deed

⁸⁴² NLW PM_2050.

⁸⁴³ See *PRS 1218*, p. 92; The cadet William de Cantilupe of Merthyr Mawr owed 3 marks for one and a half fees that was Hugh the Forester's in Gloucestershire, and also had lands in Herefordshire at this point. This letter, however, seems to deal with events in Glamorgan: it certifies that David Scurlag was of full age and seised of his lands when agreements were made by him with Margam Abbey in the fee of Landgewi, and that his age had been admitted in the County Court of Cardiff when he recovered his land against his bastard brother Raymund; NLW PM_2050.

dated 1215. This seal is described as having 'three fleur de lys circumscribed', and not one seeded fleur-de-lys, as above.⁸⁴⁴

Based on the existence of a cadet line in Glamorgan, the seeded fleur-de-lys probably belongs to a different William de Cantilupe, perhaps a near relation to Thomas Cantilupe, monk of Margam, mentioned in Chapter One. 845 They clearly wanted to associate themselves with the main branch, which would explain the seeded fleur-de-lys as a seal device, visually connecting with the blazon of the head of the main branch of the family. However, the seeded fleur-de-lys and three fleur-de-lys circumscribed are both a far cry from the image that Walter (I) de Cantilupe bore on his own personal seal. Walter very likely did not have his own armorial bearings prior to William (I)'s development of the distinctive Cantilupe arms in King John's reign; at least, no early arms are recorded that seem to relate specifically to this branch, and it would be more likely that they had, like William Marshal and his Tankerville shield, adopted the arms of their lord, perhaps in this case the Roumare arms, or, previously, those of de Courseulles. The younger sons, as can be seen by the heraldic chart above, adopted the basic blazon of their fathers (the three fleur-de-lys) with their own additions. This is particularly true of the first of the generations under discussion here – the illigitmate children, while acknowledged as 'brothers' of the full-blooded Cantilupes William and Fulk in the records, were clearly not 'forgotten family members', the subject of David Crouch and Claire De Trafford's article on twelfth-century bastardy, but it is unclear how far the overt connections to their kin would have been.⁸⁴⁶ While they could not have become heirs of Walter (I), they were nevertheless helped into the royal household by their legitimate (and older?) kin, and so were able to marry well and receive lands in

⁸⁴⁴ 'Circumscribed' means in a triangular formation; John Nichols, *The History and Antiquities of Leicester*, 2:2, p. 498.

⁸⁴⁵ Hugh Pryce, ed., Acts of the Welsh Princes, 167:304.

⁸⁴⁶ David Crouch and Claire De Trafford, 'Forgotten Family Members in Twelfth-Century England', *Haskins Society Journal* 13 (2004), 41-63.

their own right. As knights, if they did bear arms, they would probably have borne the arms of their overlord, or perhaps adopted a form of their half-brother's armorial bearings just as Robert Barat, or 'Barat de Cantilupe', adopted the family name.

To look into the question of identity shifts further, the seal of William (I)'s father Walter should be considered. The seal of the elder Walter de Cantilupe, grandfather of the bishop of the same name, was not an equestrian device, most commonly used by twelfth century nobles. In fact, until the late twelfth century, the mounted knight design was almost universal, a design which stemmed directly from the seal of William the Conqueror.⁸⁴⁷ Even in the fourteenth century, John Lestrange was still using this device on his personal seal.⁸⁴⁸ It is argued by Harvey and McGuinness that, while the spread of equestrian seals throughout the century has not been charted, by 1154 'probably any knight might have had one'. 849 This is supported by Adrian Ailes, who argues that by the mid-twelfth century, even the *milituli* or 'petty knights', among whom Walter (I) de Cantilupe might have been numbered, were using seals of a similar nature, and by 1200 the equestrian seal was giving way to the armorial seal. 850 The *Dictionnaire* notes that armorial seals began to appear c.1050, but became more commonplace in the thirteenth century. 851 Therefore the construction of the forms and representamen that would come to be used on the seals themselves would have developed in line with the blazons and connects the seal as object and image with the emergent heraldic culture.

⁸⁴⁷ P. D. A. Harvey and Andrew McGuinness, A Guide to British Medieval Seals, (The British Library and Public Record Office, 1996), p. 43.

⁸⁴⁸ See Fig. 19 below.

Harvey and McGuiness, A Guide to British Medieval Seals, p. 43.

⁸⁵⁰ The equestrian device was a mounted knight, often shown bearing arms, while an armorial device specifically depicted the coat of arms of the bearer in some form; Adrian Ailes, 'The Knight's Alter Good Impressions, 8 [available p. http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/publications/research_publications_series/research_publications_ online/medieval_seals.aspx, accessed 27.11.2012].

851 Chassant and Delbarre, *Dictionnaire de Sigillographie Pratique*, p. 15.

However, David Crouch takes a different view. He argues that only great men such as counts or dukes had seals in the twelfth century – petty knights did not, and even in terms of heraldic devices would have worn the devices of their lord, reflecting their patrons, rather than their own design. Crouch takes this view from citing twelfth century attitudes. According to the Chronicle of Battle Abbey, a county knight Gilbert de Bailleul, suffered public rebuke from Richard de Lucy (himself ironically descended from a 'new man'), for boasting of his seal. The irate justiciar allegedly called him a *militulus* and told him that 'seals are appropriate for kings and great men [*precipius... personis*] only'. However, regardless of contemporary attitudes that was evidently not the case, and such prejudicial outbursts did not prevent the spread of seals and devices across that social group. Walter de Cantilupe did not seem to be a man to brook much opposition – his letters indicate that he was no stranger to war and defence, and the image on his seal seems to bear testimony to this aggressive attitude.

⁸⁵² Crouch, The Image of Aristocracy, pp. 243, 230.

⁸⁵³ Crouch, The Image of Aristocracy, pp. 138-9.



Figure 9: Walter (I) de Cantilupe's Seal, c.1198854

Walter's device is neither equestrian or armorial. The legend around the edge is in Roman capitals, typical of the style up to 1200, while the legend around the outside seems to say SIGILLVM WALTERI DE CHANTELVPO. It does not appear to qualify him as miles, which Bedos-Rezak notes was quickly adopted by lesser castellan lords in addition to their usual sigillographic title, dominus. 855 The worn image in both cases of the extant seal appears to be that of a wolf biting the neck of a sheep, although an alternative interpretation, given that Walter fathered at least two illegitimate sons, is that it might represent two rutting creatures, the male biting the neck of the female. Of the two possibilities, the wolf and sheep would seem the most plausible given that

854 TNA: DL 25/2731.

⁸⁵⁵ Bedos Rezak, 'Medieval Seals', The Study of Chivalry, p. 335.

Chantelupo is a corruption of Chanti Loup, and therefore the wolf would be a fitting allusion to his name.

If it is a wolf, it is impossible to say whether this is purely metaphorical, an allusion to the name and a demonstration of power, or a depiction of an actual event in family history, perhaps attached to some kind of lost family legend, or indeed, all of the above. Similarly, the sheep is more likely to be the artisan's general impression of the animal, as opposed to anything specific or significant.

The wolf is an interesting choice of creature, and associated with battle in both medieval England and Scandinavia along with the raven (the emblem of the Corbets of Caus) and the eagle. 856 Aleksander Pluskowski's discussion of the emblematic wolf in Wolves and the Wilderness in the Middle Ages has missed this particular early emblem, noting only examples of heraldic display from the early thirteenth century onwards.⁸⁵⁷ He also only notes wolves as an allusion to a personal name in Wales, citing the seals of the Louvels or Luvels, whose name is also partially derived from loup, meaning 'wolf'.858

Yet the wolf was not officially used for the family's arms, even at a later date, replaced instead by the leopard in the time of William (II). This, then, suggests that the family deliberately chose the leopard as a creature more befitting their ambitions and steadily increasing rank, rather than continuing to use the wolf which had far less regal associations. After all, the kings of England had adopted the leopard as part of their royal arms, the origins of which can be traced back to 1198, according to Caroline

⁸⁵⁶ Aleksander Pluskowski, Wolves and the Wilderness in the Middle Ages, (Woodbridge, 2006), p. 135.

857 Pluskowski, Wolves and the Wilderness, Ch. 8, pp. 134-153; see especially p. 149.

⁸⁵⁸ Pluskowski, Wolves and the Wilderness, p. 150. Pluskowski cites Chesshyre and Woodcock (1992:207, 268-269 and 296) as having a full list of wolves in medieval English heraldry.

Shenton, but as Adrian Ailes has argued, may have even earlier roots. From a secular perspective, it is more likely that the leopard and stylised lilies were used deliberately in an attempt to associate the family with royal power, as the spread of the royal arms reflected the increase of 'English control' and 'royal bureaucracy', as further argued by Ailes. The Cantilupes were certainly at the heart of this central spread, and so it would seem appropriate for them to adopt a leopard rather than retain a wolf.

Indeed, the juxtaposition between the early seal and the later arms indicates a dramatic rise in family fortunes. A wolf, considered vermin worthy of extinction throughout the period, engaged here in an act of poaching an agricultural staple, betrays roots which are rustic and battle-hardened, and holds a plethora of strong, but ultimately negative metaphorical meanings. Among these, there is the Biblical parallel of the wolf among the Shepherd's flock (John 10:12), the ways in which the family overcame its enemies, or perhaps suggesting that the family members (or Walter himself) embodied the wily and cunning aspects of the wolf and was possessed of a 'pack' mentality, recognising and reinforcing kinship ties. It is little wonder that William (I), upon entering King John's household, decided upon a complete change of style.

A complete contrast to his father's lupine seal, William (I)'s seeded fleur-de-lys is oval, and only 38.1mm in diameter. The only visible letters around the incomplete edge areLMLO, standing for WILLELM CANTILUPO. It is also much smaller, a fact which is a little puzzling if Elizabeth New's argument that 'size matters' is universally correct in its application. New argues that it is possible to judge status by the size of the seal well into the thirteenth century, and that it is possible to see a direct

⁸⁵⁹ Caroline Shenton, 'Edward III and the Symbol of the Leopard', *Heraldry, Pageantry and Social Display*, 69-82, p. 69; for Adrian Ailes's argument, see: *The Origins of Royal Arms in England*, (Reading, 1982).

⁸⁶⁰ Ailes, 'Heraldry in Medieval England', *Heraldry, Pageantry and Social Display*, p. 85.

correlation between the status of a great man and the size of his seal.⁸⁶¹ This is demonstrably correct, as can be seen by the larger seals of earls like William de Rumare which has a diameter of 71mm.⁸⁶²

However, while it is clear that 'great men' did have larger seals than most, the *milituli* like Walter are to be found with seals of a fair size – 61mm in diameter in his case, perhaps only a little smaller than his lord's out of deference – compared to his son, the king's seneschal, which is nearly half its size.

Walter's seal may well have been comparatively large to over-emphasise his status in the eyes of its recipients, while William, actually moving in courtly circles among the great men of the realm, may have deliberately chose the size of seal to appear humble and not to elicit the kind of aggravated response de Ballieul got from Richard de Lucy. Since his position and office meant that he required allies at court, which were to include men like Ranulf, earl of Chester, a degree of humility would not have gone amiss to ingratiate rather than alienate. This would certainly account for the drop in size despite the rise in status.⁸⁶³

There is also a more practical explanation; in France, the size of seals was also decreasing, simply because the larger seal matrices were impractical for everyday use. ⁸⁶⁴ If William had a smaller seal it may indicate that he was setting his seal to a larger volume of documents and so needed a more portable and less cumbersome matrix to transport easily as he followed the king and toured his own lands. This being the

⁸⁶¹ Elizabeth New, *Seals and Sealing Practices*, British Records Association, Archives and the User 11, (London, 2010), p. 91.

⁸⁶² TNA: DL 27/1; DL 27/256.

An excellent means of size comparison are the seals attached to the Barons' Letter (1301). Held at the National Archives, Kew, the seals were once attached to a roll of parchment (not of contemporary date) and are now kept in individual boxed trays in box E 26. They each bear numbered tags for ease of identification, and are catalogued in the (offline) seal catalogue which can be found on the upper floor. The collection itself contains ninety-three seals in total, although the numbers 66, 71, 72, 83, 84 and 85 have not been used.

⁸⁶⁴ Chassant and Delbarre, *Dictionnaire de Sigillographie Pratique*, p. 42.

case, the converse is implied – the smaller the seal, the more 'in demand' the owner, particularly if the owner was an administrator.

Even though the wolf device/allusion had not been forgotten even in the late thirteenth century, the adoption of the fleur-de-lys had quickly become the central image of family power. It connected them to their new roles at the heart of government, and reflected their close proximity to the king. It was less rustic in design and allusion, moving away from the rural and overtly aggressive image of predator and prey, towards a more sophisticated and courtly projection of identity. Evidently, to the thirteenth-century mind, geographies of power played an important role in the way they chose to be perceived. It was also a very common device used by a variety of men, both in the English counties and the March. ⁸⁶⁵ It is also interesting that they chose the fleur-de-lys rather than the common equestrian device – another indicator, perhaps, that they were *curiales* despite military prowess and responsibilities.

William (III) de Cantilupe evidently reverted back to his grandfather's arms, minus the leopards' heads, as evidenced by the effigy of his wife Eva at Abergavenny Priory. Eva is holding her husband's arms, which are simply three fleur-de-lys, not leopards *jessant-de-lys*. 866 It would seem that his younger brothers adopted their father's arms instead. For example, Thomas de Cantilupe, as bishop of Hereford, did not have his own arms, but the See of Hereford adopted the leopards *jessant-de-lys* in his honour. 867

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William Silion, recipient of half a virgate and a mesuage from Robert Corbet in Shropshire, had a single fleur-de-lys: SA: Acton_322/2/39. William de Sumery's seal also had a single seeded fleur-de-lys design, almost identical to William (I) de Cantilupe's except that it was round instead of oval: see NLW PM 2050

⁸⁶⁶ Jessant-de-lys – fleur-de-lys which are passing through or shooting forth from something; in this case, emerging from the upside down head of a leopard.

⁸⁶⁷ See the arms of Hereford Cathedral, displayed at the Cathedral and on its official correspondence and website, http://www.herefordcathedral.org/.

After the untimely death of his cousin George, Nicholas's son became head of the Cantilupe family in his majority. He became William (IV), Baron of Ravensthorpe, and had William (I) and (III)'s device on both his coat of arms (according to the Marshal Roll, which does contain known scribal errors) and on his harness stud, discovered in Pocklington, East Yorkshire, in 1999.⁸⁶⁸ The harness stud as material evidence is incredibly valuable in reinforcing the documentary account.

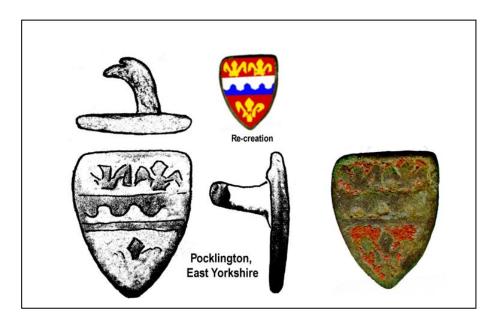


Figure 10: Harness Stud of William (IV) de Cantilupe 869

The harness stud reconstruction matches the image on William (IV)'s seal, an example of which can be found amongst those attached to the Barons' Letter of 1301.

⁸⁶⁸ Portable Antiquities Scheme, online database, http://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/207085, accessed 12.11.12, Unique ID: IHS-623731, broadly dated from 1250-1350. Description: A copper alloy harness stud with a shield-shaped head; there is a pointed projection at the rear with the last third bent over. \end is very rough and obviously broken off. The shield has substantial traces of fractured red enamel outlining three splayed fleurs-de-lys, two at the top and one on the bottom. There are also small traces of blue enamel on the lower portion of a central horizontal band. The original arms appear to have been "gules, three fleurs-de-lys and a fess vair". Measurements: 16 mm x 21 mm; projection 10 mm from back to bend point.

⁸⁶⁹ Portable Antiquities Scheme, online database, http://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/207085, accessed 12.11.12, Unique ID: IHS-623731.



Figure 11: William (IV) de Cantilupe's Seal⁸⁷⁰

His son, Nicholas, adopted the leopards *jessant-de-lys*, which, in light of his father's close relationship with Bishop Thomas, could reflect the family's connection to the saintly Cantilupe; he retained his father's *fess vair*, and the resulting arms visually connected the fourteenth century family group to the main thirteenth century branch, in particular to the royal stewards and the canonised bishop.

It should be finally noted that the fleur-de-lys did not transmit across all the siblings and cadet lines. Roger de Cantilupe, in an undated thirteenth century charter, is found granting land to John of Atleburgh in Westminster. As a name, 'Roger' was transmitted mainly through the cadet line of Cantilupes, a Roger being hanged for treason in 1225 and his heirs (one of whom was also called 'Roger') excommunicated and outlawed.⁸⁷¹ The seal belonging to this Roger de Cantilupe is a simple oval with a

⁸⁷⁰ TNA: E 26/A 25.

⁸⁷¹ Ann. Mon. iii. 95.

hunting dog rampant in the middle.⁸⁷² There are no additions to the image, and the legend around the edge, although badly worn, only gives his name, in this case spelt CAUNTELO.



Figure 12: Robert de Cantilupe's Seal

It is interesting to note that this branch bears no visual resemblance or obvious connection (save the hound to the wolf allusion) with the main branch. This may have been deliberate, and it is from this branch that the 'traitors' and 'felons' of the line are descended, with Hugh de Cantilupe hung in 1225 for the murder of John de Goldingham.⁸⁷³ Hugh's actions cost William (I) lands in Brettenham, which were taken into the king's hands and given instead to William de Creppinges.⁸⁷⁴ It is likely that the main branch did not wish to have any resemblance to this cadet line, and this in turn

⁸⁷² TNA: E 40/1535.

⁸⁷³ Bishop Alexander de Stavenby of Chester complained against Roger de Cantilupe, the legate, saying his father 'Roger' had been hung for treason – *Ann. Mon.* iii., p. 95; *Chron. Maj.* iii., p. 268. It could be that Matthew Paris (or Bishop Alexander!) got the name wrong, and is in fact referring to Hugh de Cantilupe, knight of Essex, who was hanged in that same year (1225) for the murder of John de Godingham. The initial dispute was between Peter de Cantilupe, a knight of Essex, and Hugh de Goldingham or Goddingham – Hugh de Cantilupe later came into the dispute on Peter's behalf, as did John on behalf of his kinsman, and this somehow ended in Hugh de Cantilupe murdering John. See: *Cur. Reg.* xi., 2445:485-6; *VCH Suffolk*, i, p. 299.

supports the idea of families contracting from sprawling kin networks to smaller, more nuclear or linear, lines. Furthermore, the visual distance supports the idea of the family's concerted efforts to emphasise their control over their power centres, and the increasing emphasis on their Warwickshire / Marcher / West Country holdings. The family difficulties in Essex may in fact have helped precipitate the main branch's shift, even though the manor at Eaton Bray was the key area as regarded family investment in the south of England.

The sigillographic shifts in identity were not confined to the Cantilupes, either. The Corbets also began to adapt their *representamen* as the generations continued, attempting to distance themselves from some and associate more closely with others, in accordance with the socio-political shifts occurring throughout the period.

THE CORBETS

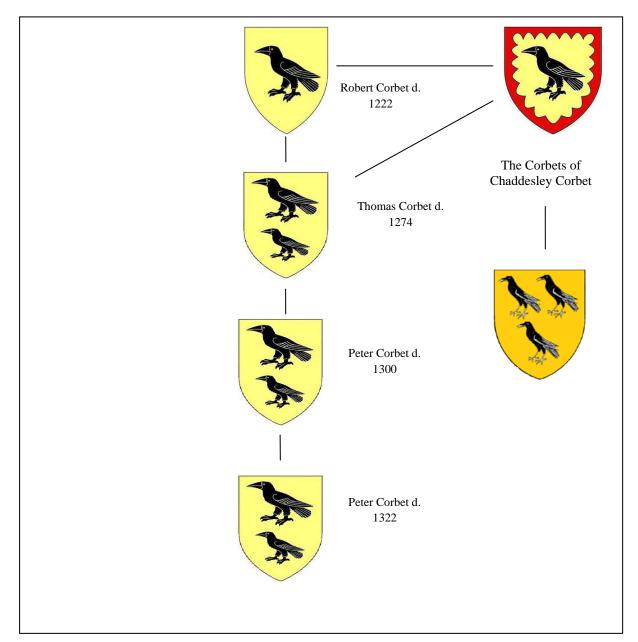


Figure 13: Corbet Heraldic Family Tree

The Corbets are far more consistent in their choice of devices, although regrettably there is far less in the way of evidence. The lack of ecclesiastics of any great renown or office has already been remarked upon, and thus the nature of their identity and its expression is necessarily different to the Cantilupes. Like the Cantilupes, the Corbet arms and seals began as an allusion to their personal name, and the *corbeau* with its military connotations appeared throughout the period. However, as there was no

significant shift in the circles in which the Corbets moved, there was no real need for them to change their device. The March was a mixture of great lords and minor barons, and the Corbets' neighbours possessed a range of devices and designs. In this environment, the need for consistency was arguably far greater than the need to reinvent themselves. Unlike the sophistication of the courtly environment, where 'new men' could shed their less courtly skins and be reconstructed in the image of their betters, the March required a sense of continuity and steadfastness. The native Welsh obsession with genealogies and ancestral celebration may well have added to this atmosphere, and so contained in the image of the Corbet raven was the history of the family, a reminder of who they were and where they came from, and a visual connection to the weighty deeds and dignity of the family past. 875

As with the three successive generations of Williams de Cantilupe, the Corbet device was handed down from father to son and represented on their respective seals without any significant differencing, unlike the complete stylistic departure seen in the change from Walter (I) to William (I). It could be convincingly argued that there was no major catalyst or reason for such a dramatic change. It could also be argued that the March itself was not an environment conducive to such changes. Perhaps such an image was required for the purposes of projecting a strong military identity – this despite the advantages of marrying into the dynasty of Powys Cyfeiliog, and then into the Mortimers.

⁸⁷⁵ See, Thomas Charles-Edwards, Early Welsh and Irish Kinship, (Oxford, 1993) – see also, A. O. H. Jarman, Y Gododdin, Britain's Oldest Heroic Poem, (Llandysul, 1988); Jarman, The Cynfeirdd: Early Welsh Poets and Poetry, (University of Wales Press, 1981); Dafydd Johnson, Iolo Goch Poems, (Llandysul, 1993); Johnson, Gwaith Lewis Glyn Cothi, (University of Wales Press, 1995), Eurys Rolant, Poems of the Cywyddwyr: A Selection of Cywyddau, c.1375-1525, (Dublin, 1976). Note how the Welsh bards later composed praise poetry for their (non-Welsh) lords and patrons in the vernacular and using traditional styles, including ancestral celebration, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Such literary evidence demonstrates the Marcher acceptance and active encouragement of such attachments to the past, with the deeds and characters of previous generations recalled as reasons/proofs of the worthiness of the present nobility.

The Corbet heraldry was reflected in their seals, and this can help to identify the correct Corbet branch. Thomas Corbet had a circular seal which showed his shield in the centre, and, though in worn condition, the central shield bears two ravens.



Figure 14: Seal of Thomas Corbet of Caus

In addition to the military aspect of the ravens, the shield in the centre gives an additional martial context to the device. This example is a very early seal of Thomas's, as the charter it is attached to refers to him as 'fili' Roberti Corbet', indicating that he was not yet baron of Caus in his own right. This would put the date at pre-1222, or in the early years of Thomas's succession to the barony. There is no evidence that he changed this seal, even after his marriage to Isabella de Vautort and succession to Caus. His son Peter (d. 1300) may well have used a similar device, although it has proved difficult to locate a good example. The next best extant example of a Corbet seal is Thomas's grandson Peter (II) (d. 1322).

By Peter (II), aside from the number of ravens, the seal had also become a little more elaborate to reflect both his maternal and paternal lineage. The seal featured two

^{876 &#}x27;Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego, Thomas fili' Roberti Corbet...', SA Acton_322/2/10.

ravens on a shield, surrounded by two worn creatures of uncertain form, which appear to be lions. A spray of foliage emerges from the top of the shield.⁸⁷⁷



Figure 15: Seal of Peter (II) Corbet



Figure 16: Seals of Edmund Mortimer of Wigmore (d. 1304) left; Roger Mortimer of Chirk (d. 1326), right.

It is worth comparing this method of merging two styles with that chosen by Hawise Lestrange on her personal seal, following her marriage to Gruffudd ap Gwenwynwyn. Her seal shows a lady standing full-length on a corbel, wearing a long cloak over a girdled dress, a necklet with a pendant jewel, wimple and flat cap with her hair in a net, holding a shield in each hand. In her right hand she holds a shield bearing a lion *rampant* (her husband's arms), and in her left a shield with two lions *passant*, her

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⁸⁷⁷ TNA: E 26/A 17.

father's arms. This is a common style of seal as far as a lady was concerned, emphasising the pivotal role that marital alliances played in the furthering of dynastic ambition. Ela Basset, Countess of Warwick, also displayed both her husband and father's arms on her personal seal, c.1250, as did Agnes de Vasci, c.1254. Similarly, Isabella, Countess of Gloucester (d. 1217), used a pointed oval seal depicting a woman standing full-face in a dress with long sleeves, holding a stylised lily in her right hand and a bird in the left. Hawise was using a conventional style of seal that denoted her status, and associated her very typically with both her father's and her husband's lineage, drawing her status and identity from them. The choice of costume is also part of displaying personal status and identity, another strongly recognisable visual marker of her economic and socio-political position.

Both techniques (the merging of styles and symbols into one, as Peter Corbet did, and Hawise's personal *representamen* displaying heraldry on both sides) were widely practiced and seem to be largely personal taste. The reasons for these choices are difficult to ascertain, but it would appear that Peter Corbet actively wanted his seal to be directly associated with the Mortimer device stylistically so that, bar the two ravens on the central shield, it may conceivably be mistaken for a Mortimer seal at a distance, while Hawise felt that she required a more personal means of identification. In terms of style and impact, lions evidently trumped ravens in terms of regal association, and so the adoption of the lions *passant* around the Corbet shield may have put Peter (II) on a rough par with his princely Powysian kin. Relations with Powys – now the Marcher barony of Pool – were much easier after the death of Thomas Corbet, and so perhaps the

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⁸⁷⁸ Passant – walking straight past, looking in the direction of travel. David H. Williams, Catalogue of Seals in the National Museum of Wales: Seal Dies, Welsh Seals, Papal Bullae, I., (National Museums and Galleries of Wales: Cardiff, 1993), D 32, p. 26.

⁸⁷⁹ Seals in Context, p. 77.

⁸⁸⁰ Coss, *The Lady*, Figs. 14, 15, 16 and 17, pp. 42-3.

⁸⁸¹ Seals in Context, Fig. 39, pp. 96-7.

long-term litigation, violence and raiding and its aftermath was the reason why the Corbet seals did not adopt leonine connections sooner following Margaret's marriage. The Lestranges were also old enemies of the Caus-ian Corbets, and so in later years a strategic marital coup in the form of a Mortimer allowed the Corbets to present themselves in a in a visually interconnected manner with lions *passant* of their own.

It does not always follow that status inspires complications in the design, but this Peter had more to be proud of and more to display – his mother was Joan Mortimer, and his lineage was impressive, as were the holdings he inherited. Roger Mortimer of Wigmore (d. 1304) had the same creatures along the inner edges of his seal. They are also the same shape and roughly the same size, and even the central shields are of similar shapes and proportions. 883

Peter (II) was evidently using his maternal devices in conjunction with his paternal ones, which is not something that the Cantilupes seem to have done. Eva de Braose, for example, is buried with the Cantilupe arms on her effigy, not the Braose or Marshal heraldic emblems. This may be because the Cantilupes could trade off their own name and status, so to speak, while the Corbets required a little visual bolstering of theirs. Peter clearly borrowed the design of the Mortimer seal and made a few adjustments – replacing the heraldry with his own and using a different design for the top. Nevertheless, all the elements point to the Mortimer design. The Mortimer lineage was certainly currency in the March, and in visually reminding or informing the recipients of the seal of the Mortimer connections, Peter (II) was potentially able to capitalise on his maternal networks, alliances and status.

⁸⁸² E 26/2 ; see also The Mortimer History Society, http://mortimerhistorysociety.org.uk/index.php/roger-isabella, online resource, accessed 22.06.2013.

⁸⁸³ See the Clifford seal [TNA: E 26/2 A 26] for an example of a differently proportioned central shield.

Both the Cantilupes and the Corbets had to present themselves amongst a sea of visual images. Their neighbours, friends, associates and adversaries were also possessors and recipients of their own *imago* or, perhaps more accurately, *imagines*. It is worth briefly comparing the styles and images on other seals to conclude the secular section of this chapter, to demonstrate the common sigillographic language of the time, and to contextualise the choices of imagery a little further.

Like the Corbets and Mortimers, the Cliffords also used a shield on their seal (below). The Clifford seal on the Barons' Letter of 1301 is a little more complex than the earlier example of Thomas Corbet's, clearly displaying the family's heraldry. 884



Figure 17: Clifford Seal

The Seagrave seal (Fig. 18 below) also shows a shield and the same foliate design as the Mortimer and Corbet examples, showing that these kinds of designs were not necessarily regional or, rather, Marcher-specific.⁸⁸⁵ As courtly administrators like the Cantilupes, the Seagraves were using similar means of identification, as were other powerful courtly individuals from comparable family backgrounds like the Lascelles.⁸⁸⁶

⁸⁸⁴ TNA: E 26/2 A 26.

⁸⁸⁵ TNA: E 26/2 A 36.

⁸⁸⁶ TNA: SC 13/A 90.



Figure 18: Seagrave Seal

Armorial seals were not the only devices prevalent in the March at this time. The Corbets used an archaic name allusion with military connotations, while the Lestranges of Knockin used the traditional equestrian seal to demonstrate their knightly status and importance in their region (Fig. 19 below). 887



Figure 19: Lestrange Seal

The Lestranges are something of an anomaly amongst this crowd of heraldic examples. That they were still using the equestrian image – the mounted knight with a

⁸⁸⁷ TNA: E 26/2 A 23.

sword raised aloft in his right hand – indicates their aspirations of higher standing, emulating the seals of greater men, but perhaps by the fourteenth century was also a little old-fashioned, considering the growing trend to display a shield on the personal seal by 1300.⁸⁸⁸ Nevertheless, this more traditional emblem visually linked them to contemporary Continental examples as well as to those belonging to the Angevin nobility in England. This may also have been more common in the March, where a great number of Welsh princes used or had used the equestrian seal throughout the thirteenth century.

The Corbets, Cantilupes and fellow Marchers, whether *curiales* or not, were therefore utilising aspects of the same sigillographic language as the wider community of gentry and aristocracy. This indicates that there was a recognised and established pool of forms and symbols which were transmitted across this wide-ranging network, and that Marcher lords constructed their visual identities from the same basic vocabulary of this non-verbal language. By the end of the thirteenth century, this was mainly armorial in nature as far as their neighbours at Caus were concerned, so that those who chose to represent themselves on their seals using different images to their arms were becoming anomalous. This is not to suggest that other images were necessarily 'lesser' in terms of choice – the recent work of Elizabeth New and John McEwan is contesting the ideas of 'conventional' devices as 'superior'.⁸⁸⁹ This in itself connects the March and its nobility with the communities beyond the fluid frontier, a tangible point of connection and transmission which linked not only the Marchers with

⁸⁸⁸ In private correspondence with Elizabeth New of the SiMeW project, the concepts of fashion trends in the March and *Pura Wallia* has been disputed based on the findings of the project.

⁸⁸⁹ I have discussed this with Elizabeth New in private correspondence – much of the work for SiMeW is presently forthcoming.

other knights and nobles in the east, but with the native Welsh rulers in the west who were themselves adopting these sealing forms and practices.

Representations of the Cantilupe and Corbet Ecclesiastics

Regrettably, there does not seem to be any surviving seals for the Corbet ecclesiastics, even the treasurer of Llandaff, which means that this section will be limited to Bishops Walter and Thomas de Cantilupe.

The Cantilupe ecclesiastics deserve their own consideration, as the transmission of both the wolf symbol and the fleur-de-lys can be charted through them. The personal nature of this transmission is connected to the idea of personal networks, and the mobility of these men in terms of their interaction with the inhabitants of their diocese and various religious houses, supports the ideas laid out in the previous chapters. In addition, the use of secular references and allusions on their seals makes them pioneers in the evolution of the bishop's seal and projected identity, and this deserves a place in the current discussion.

It has been noted by Mary Cheney that '[i]n marked contrast to France and Germany, bishops from the high aristocracy were a small minority in twelfth century England – as (strangely) at all periods of the Middle Ages'. One of these great exceptions was Bishop Roger of Worcester, son of the earl of Gloucester who was himself the illegitimate child of king Henry I, making Bishop Roger the cousin of Henry II. Yet as Cheney pointed out, Bishop Roger was a bishop first, and a loyal subject of

⁸⁹⁰ English Episcopal Acta 33 Worcester 1062-1185, eds. Mary Cheney, David Smith, Christopher Brooke and Philippa M. Hoskin, (Oxford, 2007), pp. xlvii-xlviii.

the king second.⁸⁹¹ Indeed, despite his status being described as 'princely' by contemporaries, Bishop Roger's seal does not have any reference to his family arms upon it, unlike later bishops' seals of the thirteenth century which included fleurs-de-lis, shields, swords and wolves. ⁸⁹²

The Catalogue of Seals in the British Museum seems to show that allusion to armorial bearings on bishops' seals began in the thirteenth century, but was commonplace by the fourteenth. This is borne out by other visual examples. Effigies of twelfth century bishops in the South Choir Aisle of Hereford Cathedral, for example, can now be seen with fourteenth century additions of coats of arms above them.



Figure 20: South Choir Aisle, Hereford Cathedral

Of course, Hereford is an interesting case in itself as it was a Marcher diocese, and the bishop of Hereford could have been said to be a Marcher lord because of the See's holdings on the border. It is for this reason that Thomas de Cantilupe's tomb is surrounded by a frieze of knights, as not only was the bishop was from a significant noble family, but was also required to send armed men into Wales should the need arise. Thomas's tomb, which became a shrine following his canonisation, demonstrates that

⁸⁹¹ Ibid., p. xlviii.

⁸⁹² Mary G. Cheney, *Roger, Bishop of Worcester 1164-1179*, (Oxford, 1980), p. 8; TNA:E/329/399, image included in Cheney, *Roger, Bishop of Worcester*, p. 228.

this display of secular military power, even in Hereford, was a late development reflecting the shift in emphasis of a bishop's earthly duties.



Figure 21: Mourning Knights around the Shrine of St Thomas de Cantilupe, Hereford Cathedral

Walter de Cantilupe – and later his nephew Thomas – alluded to their family names on their seals. In both cases, the bishops are depicted with a wolf under their feet and are flanked by a trinity of fleurs-de-lys. One description of the seal in the Episcopal Acta describes the wolf as 'enraged', although, as can be made out in the image below, perhaps *couchant* would be a better description (it is hard to make out from the worn image).

⁸⁹³ TNA: E 329/371.



Figure 22: Bishop Walter de Cantilupe's Seal, obverse (left) and reverse (right)

The use of such canting arms was not exclusive to the Cantilupe bishops. Another example of this is Nicholas Longespee, bishop of Salisbury in the 1290s, who had a seal depicting the bishop not only with his family arms but also with two longswords either side of him, which is also believed to be an allusion to his family name. ⁸⁹⁴ This is in contrast to the seal inscribed with the name 'William Longespee', whose seal was a simple oval containing the Virgin and Child, with his name inscribed around the edge. ⁸⁹⁵

On the surface, a simple answer to this sudden thirteenth century rise of secularisation among the [secular] clergy as a general trend could be genealogical pride. It is arguable that perhaps these bishops, elected as they were from curial backgrounds and largely from administrative families, began emphasising their family names and connections as a late response to the clerical condemnation of the 'new men' being raised up into government service who were often exaggeratedly accused of being of servile origin. They were largely mistrusted because they achieved their rewards not in the true knightly way, by prowess on the battlefield or by the traditional bonds of

⁸⁹⁴ Episcopal Acta 37 Salisbury 1263-1297, ed. B. R. Kemp, (Oxford, 2010).

William Longespee's seal matrix is recorded in the *Portable Antiquities Database*, Unique ID: KENT2034, 18mm x 11 mm, copper alloy, online resource, http://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/2777, accessed 30.11.2012. It appears to be a clerical seal, so may not be the same William Longespee who was earl of Salisbury, d. 1226; the Portable Antiquities Scheme entry for the seal matrix does identify the matrix owner as earl William, but given the clerical nature of the seal, this may be a mis-identification.

vassalage, but instead undermined the concept of the three orders of society by fitting conveniently into none of them. Now that such men were being raised to the rank of bishop, in most cases demonstrating a talent for both secular and ecclesiastical advancement, certain of their number may well have thought it prudent to identify themselves with their families to demonstrate a certain proud reinforcement of their origins. Where the Cantilupes as a family were concerned, this anxiety over status can hardly be said to apply, as they certainly had a great history of royal service and consequently a widespread network of friends and allies upon which they could draw, and certainly aided each other's advancement. This can be seen even on the mystery archdeacon of Bedford's seal discovered in Lincolnshire, discussed in Chapter Three.

It is important to note in the context of both Cantilupe bishops displaying fleur-de-lys on their seals, and given the possibility that Thomas may be the mystery archdeacon, that even after 1250 few individual bishops of England demonstrated any visual connection to their secular origins or offices. Those who were elected from the cathedral chapter and who did not belong to a prominent family, or who were illegitimate and had to receive special dispensation in order to hold office, on the whole did not seem to have such allusions on their seals, at least not the ones that are still extant. Some seals from some episcopates are completely missing or fragmentary, which means that it is not possible to definitively show a correlation between a bishop's background and his identity. However, even bishops who *did* come from prominent backgrounds did not always feel the need to present themselves in this manner.

One notable exception to the convenient explanation of genealogical pride being the cause of such visual display is Ralph Neville, an earlier bishop of Chichester. Ralph Neville, bishop from 1224 to 1244, had a typical thirteenth century success story to tell. He came from a family that had risen to prominence in the twelfth century, and was

himself a man who had achieved both secular and ecclesiastic preferment. He was Chancellor by 1227 and named as a regent with the administrator Stephen de Segrave in 1230. He used his royal connections and influence to secure grants for Chichester, which was a relatively poor See to be ruled by such an eminent man. However, the three full copies of his seal still in existence, do not allude to this background or secular standing whatsoever. The obverse of the seal is of a full length bishop, his right hand raised in benediction and his staff in his left. The reverse depicts Christ in glory upon His throne, above a bust of the bishop with his left hand raised.

As has been briefly discussed in Chapter Three, the two Cantilupe bishops did influence their kin and were not above securing their physical support for their own causes. Walter arguably did this during the Barons' War, and Thomas certainly gained his family's physical and doubtless intimidating presence when confronting Gilbert de Clare in Malvern Chase. Yet in the wider context of the bishops who began to represent themselves on their seals with familial identifiers, it would seem that the wider political situation was the primary factor. Personally and politically, the identification with their family would also have emphasised their personal links to Simon de Montfort, who had laid their nephew and brother William (III) to rest. Both Walter and Thomas de Cantilupe must be examined on their own terms, as prominent ecclesiastics not entirely 'of the world', their family history providing only a part of their context. They were men shaped by the turbulence and intrigue of their time, important members of a baronial family, and considered it appropriate to visually represent themselves on their official seals and in other public, secular and sanctified spaces as such. The thirteenth

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⁸⁹⁶ Fred A. Cazel, Jr, 'Neville, Ralph de (*d.* 1244)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford University Press, 2004); online edn, Jan 2008, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/19949, accessed 30.11.12.

S97 Ibid.

⁸⁹⁸ English Episcopal Acta 22 Chichester 1215-1253, ed. Philippa Hoskin, (Oxford, 2001), pp. xxxi-xxxiv⁸⁹⁹ Ibid. p. lxxii

century was a time of great shifts, when bishops were gaining importance in terms of taxation gathering, landholding and therefore the owing of military service to the crown. Walter and Thomas de Cantilupe adapted their knowledge, training and network of allegiances admirably to the position in which they found themselves. The combination of the spiritual and secular was natural and necessary, and this was the identity that both uncle and nephew sought to display, reflect and transmit.

With the See of Hereford adopting the leopards *jessant-de-lys* – William (II)'s arms – as its own official Episcopal arms, Hereford Cathedral became one of several prominent buildings (but the only exclusively spiritual space) to reflect Cantilupe secular power, albeit unintentionally. Thomas had evidently adopted his father's arms, and may well have publically displayed them throughout his time in office. The Cathedral chose to bear them following Thomas's canonisation in 1320, blurring the line between spiritual and secular even further, not just for the Cathedral itself, but also for the remaining Cantilupes who were still using that device.

Therefore, the idea of power being embodied and transmitted by a physical building should also be considered here, although this chapter will limit itself to the secular geography, since the question of hospitals, priories, chantries and chapels was addressed in Chapter Three (above).

 $^{900}\,\mathrm{Cf}.$ the Episcopal arms of Lincoln, who adopted the arms of Grosseteste.

Representations of Power and Strategy: The Locations

Anthony Emery, in his discussion of manor houses as emblems of social status in the late Middle Ages, notes that it is often overlooked that 'houses are essentially an envelope to contain a household, whether a magnificent one or that of a modest family'. The 'envelopes' as containers of family power will therefore be considered here, and the range of their functions will briefly be discussed in the light of the findings of the previous chapters. Regrettably, an extensive study of each location would mean extensive interdisciplinary analysis of the constructions and their uses, and would require a separate volume per manor in order to fully explore their physical, military and psychological impact on the locality and wider area. This will not be attempted here, although an overview of the historiography may assist in setting these locations in their historiographical context.

A good historiographical discussion regarding castle studies in particular exists in Robert Liddiard's introduction to *Anglo-Norman Castles*. Frederick Suppe's essay 'Castle guard and Castlery of Clun', one of those included in the Liddiard collection, especially demonstrates how detailed local studies can build upon earlier work of broader and more general scope. In particular, Suppe's local study illuminates Sidney Painter's tentative conclusions in his 1935 article, 'Castle-Guard', which is itself a continuation and critique of even earlier work done on the subject of feudalism and feudal arrangements for the custody of castles, both royal and baronial, by J. H. Round

⁹⁰¹ Anthony Emery, 'Late-Medieval houses as an Expression of Social Status', *Historical Research*, 78:200, (2005), 140-161, p. 144.

⁹⁰² Robert Liddiard, ed. Anglo-Norman Castles, (Woodbridge, 2003), pp. 1-21.

⁹⁰³ Stephen Morillo, 'Review of Anglo-Norman Castles by Robert Liddiard; The Castle Community: The Personnel of English and Welsh Castles, 1272-1422 by John Rickard', Albion, 36:1 (Spring, 2004), 88-90; Frederick Suppe, 'Castle guard and Castlery of Clun', Anglo-Norman Castles, ed. R. Liddiard, (Woodbridge, 2010), 211-222.

and F. M. Stenton. 904 This particular study will not be as locally concentrated as Suppe's, since the Cantilupes and Corbets both had more than one manor house and more than one castle to be considered. It will also acknowledge the military purpose of the castles, underlined by the work of Suppe and his influential predecessors, but in addition to this obvious function, will follow in the footsteps of the recent historiographical trend in recognizing that castles were not *only* military constructions.

As for the castles themselves, a battle royale has raged in the recent historiography between those such as Colin Platt, who believe castles were primarily military in design and purpose, and others, such as Charles Coulson, O. Creighton, Robert Liddiard and M. W. Thompson, whose revisionist approaches (focusing on the fourteenth century onwards) have drawn attention to the castle as a symbolic construction of power, designed for displaying the status of their occupant and owner/holder. With this context in mind, it is important to note that in the thirteenth century, defensive capabilities were the prime motivator behind castle improvements and construction. In the wake of the civil war at the end of King John's reign, the thwarted French invasion, the turbulent internal politics of the Minority and the rumblings of unease which erupted into the Barons' War, castles all over England were far from leaving their military functions behind. Yet, in the case of a few holdings, a castle might *also* express status and be a centre for domesticity and leisure, providing comfort and a place in which to impress and entertain important guests. Not only this, but the enclosures, chases and gardens surrounding the castle would be put to symbolic

⁹⁰⁴ Sidney Painter, 'Castle-Guard', *The American Historical Review*, Vol. XL, No. 3 (April, 1935), 450-59; J. H. Round, 'Castle Guard', *Archaeological Journal*, LIX (1902), 144-59; F. M. Stenton, *The First Century of English Feudalism*, 1066-1166, (Oxford, 1932), pp. 190-215.

Golin Platt's 2007 article is a response to M. W. Thompson, *The Decline of the Castle*, (Leicester, 1987, repr. 1994) and Charles Coulson, *Castles in Medieval Society: Fortresses in France, England and Ireland in the Central Middle Ages*, (Oxford University Press, 2003); see Colin Platt, 'Revisionism in Castle Studies: A Caution', *Medieval Archaeology*, 51 (2007), 83-102. Oliver Creighton and Robert Liddiard's response to Platt appeared in the same journal the following year; see, O. Creighton and R. Liddiard, 'Fighting Yesterday's Battle: Beyond War or Status in Castle Studies', *Medieval Archaeology*, 52 (2008), 161-9.

and practical use, extending the physical and psychological dominion of the main fortification beyond its foundations and walls. It is this multiplicity of functions which will be discussed briefly here, to demonstrate the means by which the two families reinforced their power and authority by means of their main strongholds.

In the Cantilupes' case, there are fortified manor houses all across England, such as Hambledon, the birthplace of Bishop Thomas. Since there were a plethora of such places, this section will concentrate on Aston Cantlow, Eaton Bray and Abergavenny Castle as the three principle manors in their power centres, and then consider the improvements they made to Abergavenny castle in the short time they held it.

The Corbets, meanwhile, had the main castle of Caus, the disputed (and ultimately destroyed) castle of Gwyddgrug in their Welshry, and manors in the West Country that were acquired throughout the century. Unfortunately, very little information survives regarding the West Country holdings in particular, and only limited archaeological records exist for Gwyddgrug, so this section has more limited material to work with.

Emery has noted that there was no visible differentiation between the homes of nobility and gentry – much like the general use of the equestrian seal and seals bearing family shields. While this is an observation about the fourteenth and fifteenth century, the roots of gentry aspirations came much earlier. With this in mind, it is necessary to first describe the structures and their remains in order to get a sense of the material evidence, and then to interpret them in the landscape as regards the contribution these architectural 'envelopes' made to the family's reputation.

⁹⁰⁷ See, Coss, The Origins of the English Gentry.

⁹⁰⁶ Emery, 'Late-Medieval houses as an Expression of Social Status', HR, 78:200, p. 145.

Ideally, a separate study mapping the manor houses, parks, gardens and chases of each family across England would be attempted in order to gain a far more comprehensive understanding of the families' attitudes to their principle manors. Regrettably, there is little room for such a study here, and the purpose of this chapter is largely to examine the expressions of power and authority as discussed in Chapters One, Two and Three. This section in particular is serving to outline the ways in which the buildings themselves underlined and housed family power, rather than aiming to be a study from an architectural perspective in its own right. Spencer Gavin Smith of Manchester University is already undertaking an interdisciplinary [Archaeology and History] approach to his postgraduate study of Medieval Parks and Gardens of North Wales and the Shropshire Marches, and work is being done by such scholars as Anne Rowe and Robert Liddiard, while French examples have also been discussed in recent years by Alain Salamagne and Pascale Touzet.

⁹⁰⁸ Spencer G. Smith, current PhD Student at Manchester University, studying *Medieval Parks*, *Gardens and Designed Landscapes of North Wales and the Shropshire Marches*; view his abstract here: http://www.whgt.org.uk/documents/SpencerSmith.pdf, accessed 15.02.13, and his research blog here: http://medievalparksgardensanddesignedlandscapes.wordpress.com/, accessed 03.11.13; See also, Anne Rowe, *Medieval Parks of Hertfordshire*, (University of Hertfordshire Press, 2009); Robert Liddiard, ed., *The Medieval Park: New Perspectives*, (Macclesfield, 2007); Robert Liddiard and Tom Wilkinson, 'There by Design? Some Reflections on Medieval Elite Landscapes', *Archaeological Journal*, 165 (2009), 520-535; Liddiard, 'Medieval Designed Landscapes: Problems and Possibilities', *Landscape History after Hoskins 2: Medieval Landscapes*, eds. Mark Gardiner and Stephen Rippon, (Macclesfield, 2007), 201-214; Alain Salamagne, 'D'Hesdin au Quesnoy: Jardins et Parcs des Châteaux de Plaisance', *Le Château*, *autour et alentours (XIVe-XVIe siècles) : Paysage, Parc, Jardin et Domaine*, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008); Pascale Touzet, 'Les Parcs et Jardins Historiques : L'Exemple de la Picardie', *Bulletin Trimestriel de la Société des Antiquaires de Picardie*, 66 :679-680 (2006), 635-637.

THE CANTILUPES

Abergavenny Castle



Figure 23: Abergavenny Castle 909

As argued in Chapter Two, Williams (I) and (II) appear to have deliberately established a northern and a southern *caput*, with Aston Cantlow being their Warwickshire base post-1204, and Eaton Bray in Bedfordshire providing closer and easier access to London and Westminster, as well as the Channel ports.

The family then appeared to spread out from these two directions. The older sons, as has been shown, pushed westwards into Wales and Ireland, with William (III) being known as William *de Calna* or William of Calne (Wiltshire), and his wife Eva and ill-fated son George apparently not leaving Abergavenny. As the castle there had

⁹⁰⁹ Google Maps, http://goo.gl/maps/Tjqxj, accessed 14.02.13.

been destroyed in 1233 by Richard Marshal, as recorded in the *Brut*, the Cantilupes were given royal grants to repair and restore it from the 1241 onwards. They spent a great deal of time on this, with the Ministers' Accounts for 1256/7 recording costs of 66s 8d for making defences and brattices between the castle and the wall, and 13s 4d for strengthening the castle wall and repairing the alure. Yet although the Cantilupes restored the castle, and Eva de Cantilupe and her son George remained there, the extensions and repairs were continued by George's sister Joan and her son John de Hastings. William (III) was not in fact buried at Abergavenny, but at Studley. The Marcher Honor reverted to his wife, whose lands it had been, and who was buried at Abergavenny with her effigy bearing the Cantilupe, rather than the de Braose or Marshal, arms. 913

The repairs made to Abergavenny seem to have been mainly martial in purpose, but the castle was also an important domestic dwelling. Lady Eva and her children lived there while William (III) was on the king's service in Gascony and elsewhere, and the *Inquisitions Post Mortem* reveal that she was 'in childbed' with George when one of Thomas Corbet's knights came to seek his lord's land in Lydham, as part of the proof of age testimonies. This would imply that the castle had domestic quarters suited to Eva's needs and status, and that it was not only a military structure but also built to impress and cater for visitors of various social ranks. Its previous holders, the de Braose family, would presumably have contributed a great deal to this side of the castle's development, and it is evident from the household kept by Thomas and Hugh de

⁹¹⁰ Neil Philips, 'Abergavenny Castle 1087-1535', Gwent Local History: The Journal of Gwent Local History Council, 88 (Spring 2000), 17-31, p. 18.

⁹¹¹ A. J. Roderick and W. Rees, 'The Lordships of Abergavenny, Grosmont, Skenfrith and White Castle – accounts of the ministers for the years 1256-7: Lordships of Grosmont and White Castle', *South Wales and Mon. Record Soc. No. 3* (1954), p. 45.

⁹¹² Neil Philips, 'Abergavenny Castle 1087-1535', *Gwent Local History*, p. 18.

⁹¹³ The effigy of Eva is in the Priory Church of St Mary, Abergavenny.

⁹¹⁴ CIPM ii, 17:20.

Cantilupe as students in Paris that the Cantilupes also had a certain lifestyle to which they were accustomed.⁹¹⁵

It therefore seems reasonable to suppose that the castle at Abergavenny was far from being a purely functional construction. The infamous massacre that took place in the castle in 1175 is another indicator of the castle's domestic uses and capabilities. A number of Welsh princes and nobles were called to Abergavenny castle, and murdered by William (III) de Braose in revenge for the killing of his kinsman, although Gerald of Wales names Ranulf Poer, sheriff of Hereford, as the *machinator*. 916 Evidently, even from its earlier days, the castle had also been constructed as a residence capable of receiving (and aweing) guests of high social status and of great importance, and it is reasonable to assume that this side of castle life was not neglected in later years either. Clearly the damage done in 1233 was repaired by the time of George de Cantilupe's birth at least, and one might expect the reception rooms and main hall of the castle to have been kept in good repair in the intervening decades, if not updated and improved upon its facilities. As the seat of Cantilupe power in the March, it would certainly need to have been an impressive site. It had already been attacked several times – taken in 1182 by relatives of the murdered Welshmen, and then destroyed in 1233 – so it was perhaps necessary to restore not only the physical construction, but also the castle's reputation and image. To this end, the keep was rebuilt in stone, and the hall similarly reconstructed.⁹¹⁷ In the 1290s, during the time of the Hastings' control of the castle, Edward I stayed there while trying to bring an end to the private war raging between Gilbert de Clare and Humphrey de Bohun, so it must have been considered a fit place to

⁹¹⁵ Catto, 'The Academic Career of Thomas Cantilupe', *St Thomas Cantilupe*, p. 47; Martin, 'The Life of Saint Thomas of Hereford', *St Thomas Cantilupe*, p. 15.

⁹¹⁶ Gerald of Wales, Giraldi Cambrensis Opera, vi, ed. James F. Dimock, (London, 1868), pp. 49-53.

⁹¹⁷ Neil Philips, 'Abergavenny Castle 1087-1535', Gwent Local History, p. 19.

receive a royal guest, just as Thomas and Hugh's Parisian household was deemed worthy of a visit from the king of France. 918

Abergavenny seems to embody functionality and a certain standard of living, inkeeping with the expectations of the Cantilupes according to their status. A far more impressive example of this can be seen in their Bedfordshire manor of Eyton (Eaton Bray), which was being modified and invested in by William (II) at the same time his son was improving Abergavenny.

Eyton/Eaton Bray

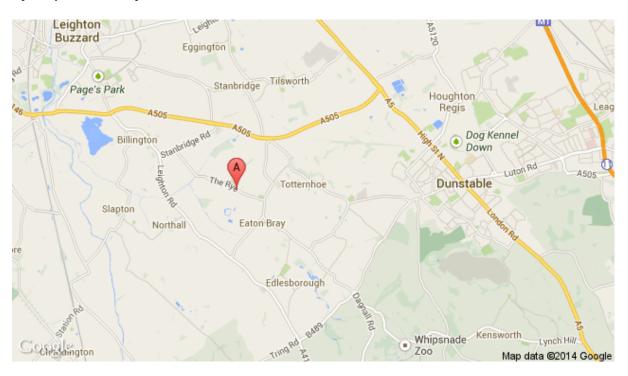


Figure 24: Location of Eyton Manor [Eaton Bray]

Eaton Bray was the fortified manor house built in 1221 by William (I) de Cantilupe. 919

A moated site, the manor was surrounded by two water-filled ditches ten to sixteen metres wide, the resulting islands containing a hall, a granary, outbuildings, and a stable

VCH Bedford, iii,

online

resource,

http://www.british-

history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=42448&strquery=Cantlowe, accessed 03.05.2013.

⁹¹⁸ A. C. Reeves, *The Marcher Lords*, (Dyfed, 1983), p. 156.

for sixty horses. ⁹²⁰ Evidently, this was a place intended to contain a large number of residents and guests, with the capabilities to cater for large numbers of people and be visually impressive. The defensive capabilities are of course not to be downplayed, but from the number of domestic buildings recorded, it is obvious that this was not its only or even primary function.

The causeway connecting the islands to the mainland is forty metres wide. By 1241 it was surrounded by a deer park some twenty eight acres in size (although other surveys put it at fifty acres), and also boasted of two fishponds which lie to the east and north-west of the park respectively, presumably William (II)'s additions. 921 It is worth noting that while William (II) was continuing to add to his manor house here, William (III) was simultaneously focusing his attentions on Abergavenny castle, pouring money into its reconstruction and improvements, and continued to dedicate himself in these pursuits until his untimely death in 1254. There was clearly communication between father and son, as has been demonstrated in previous chapters; it is inconceivable that William (III) had no idea what his father was doing to the Bedfordshire manor house. This may have been one of the reasons, aside from purely practical concerns, why he began to devote his time to his Marcher holdings and the restoration of his own great stone symbol of power in his newly acquired lands. Similarly, the building work taking place at Abergavenny may have inspired William (II) to improve upon the manor house in Bedfordshire, so that the power of the family was visually and physically consolidated in all the key areas under their control.

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accessed 21.06.2013, for the argument that the deer park covered fifty acres rather than twenty-eight.

Bedfordshire HER, **DEER PARK** 13970. online Monument, resource, http://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MBD13970&resourceID=1014, accessed 21.06.2013; it is listed as a 'strong house' by David J Cathcart King, Castellarium Anglicanum: An Index and Bibliography of the Castles of England, Wales and the Islands, Vol. I, p. 8. Bedfordshire HER, 13970, Monument, **DEER PARK** online resource, http://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results Single.aspx?uid=MBD13970&resourceID=1014, accessed 21.06.2013; see also, VCH Beds iii, pp. 370-1; P. Bigmore, Beds & Hunts Landscape (1979), p. 95 and E. P. Shirley, Deer Parks, (1867) p. 126, cited in accompanying details of the PastScape digitised report, Monument No. 346571, http://www.pastscape.org.uk/hob.aspx?hob_id=346571, online resource,

All of the features discovered at Eaton Bray seem to suggest a grand and impressive building, more for leisure and entertaining high status guests than for defence. The hall, granary, and outbuildings suggest that the castle was capable of entertaining a good number of guests, while the deer park and fisheries are also indicative of leisure pursuits and status symbols as they are of practical considerations. 922 The church of St Nicholas and its extensive grant, discussed in Chapter Three, added to the impression of a power-centre whose physical presence in the landscape had an impact on the socio-economic and spiritual lives of the local population, and anyone passing through. Unfortunately, little of the administration of Eaton Bray (or the manor at 'Eyton') survives, and there is very little documentary evidence available regarding the courtiers and great men who may have been entertained there. However, considering the scope of the Cantilupes' personal networks as explored in Chapter One, their territorial networks as discussed in Chapter Two and the success they achieved in both the secular and ecclesiastic spheres, it is possible to surmise that it was a place they felt comfortable bringing the great men of their acquaintance, and entertaining them there.

Clearly, the Cantilupes were ensuring their status was being recognised in the county and among their friends, associates, neighbours and acquaintances in the surrounding area and at court, who were more likely to visit the Bedford manor than the Warwickshire one, although the family chose to be buried in Studley Priory and their administrative interests show a leaning towards their Warwickshire-Leicestershire holdings.

⁹²² There is a growing historiographical trend to interpret parks and gardens as status symbols; see such works as, Robert Liddiard, ed., *The Medieval Park: New Perspectives* (Macclesfield, 2007), particularly S. A. Mileson, 'The Sociology of Park Creation in Medieval England', *The Medieval Park: New Perspectives*, ed. Robert Liddiard, (Macclesfield, 2007), 11-26; Stephen A. Moorhouse, 'The Medieval Parks of Yorkshire: Function, Contents and Chronology', *The Medieval Park*, ed. R. Liddiard, 99-127; Anne Rowe, *Medieval Parks of Hertfordshire*, (Hatfield, 2009).

Aston Cantlow



Figure 25: Location of Aston Cantlow

Aston Cantlow, the primary seat of the Cantilupes as argued in Chapter Two, seems far less grand and far more functional, but impressive nevertheless, and clearly a building with multiple purposes. The description of the site and archaeological remains is as follows:

The earthwork remains of a ringwork castle and a double bailey, situated on the western outskirts of Aston Cantlow, with an earlier, Late Saxon ringwork. The ringwork is roughly circular in plan and enclosed by a bank and external ditch. The surface of the ringwork is uneven, indicating that buried features associated with the site's occupation will survive here. Part of the ringwork was excavated in 1932, exposing a foundation wall of local lias stone, and fragments of pottery and roofing tile were recovered. To the north of the ringwork is a rectangular bailey with rounded corners which is bounded by a bank and external ditch. A second, smaller bailey lies to the south east of the ringwork and is defined by a ditch and an external bank. Documentary sources indicate that the ringwork castle was constructed by the Cantilupe family and was inherited by the Hastings family around 1273.

George Lewing, in his investigation c.1850, noted that, 'the ground shows a causeway leading up to the church, the remains of stonework, apparently that of the Drawbridge, still exist and some years back oaken wood was excavated from the moat...roads to and from the said earthwork, north, north-east and south, may be traced (especially in a very dry season).'924 The causeway leading to the church indicates the centrality and importance of the family's devotional life, as it connects the religious with the personal space, bridging public and private. Significantly, the Cantilupes' foundation was at Studley, focusing the family's spiritual interests and patronage firmly in this shire rather than in Bedford.

The granges and barns, in conjunction with the evidence of the family's personal, territorial and spiritual investment in the area show that this was definitely an important domestic centre as well as a symbol of status, or defensive structure. It does not seem to have as many improvements as Abergavenny or Eaton Bray, perhaps because none were strictly necessary. For this reason, the functionality of Aston Cantlow seems more apparent from the archaeological remains, whereas Eaton Bray seems to be the kind of place one did not habitually live in, but the first choice for leisure pursuits.

The comparative grandeur of the later manor at Eyton (Eaton Bray) compared to the earlier one at Aston demonstrates the improvement of the family's status and position – William (I)'s in particular – and the increase in their affluence. It also reflects

Monument No. 330927, http://www.pastscape.org.uk/hob.aspx?hob_id=330927, online resource, accessed 21.06.2013.

⁹²⁴ VCH Warwick, iii, p. 32

the need of the family to have several bases around the country, as the court was itinerant and the Cantilupes, like the rest of the royal household and its administrative machinery, followed the king. In fact, much of the manors in the south of England came to the Cantilupes through William (II)'s marriage to Millicent de Gourney. It is this addition to the family's coffers and standing by means of her dowry (not to mention her dower, as the widow of Amaury de Montfort) that was responsible for the increase in lands, and so perhaps she was also the influence behind the improvements to them. She certainly chose to be confined at the Buckinghamshire manor of Hambledon for at least Thomas's birth, and possibly also preferred the southern shires of her dowry lands to the Warwickshire-Leicestershire holdings of her in-laws.

Yet despite the functionality of Aston Cantlow and the impressive amenities of Eaton Bray, her oldest son William (III) was known as William 'de Calna' (William of Calne, the royal Wiltshire manor he inherited from his great-uncle Fulk's territories) and centred his holdings in the March and on the Honour of Abergavenny.

It is interesting to note that the primary concern at Abergavenny was defence, while the primary concern at Eaton Bray appeared to be leisure. A comparison with the attitudes of the Corbets would be beneficial here, as, with the Marcher holdings as their primary power centre, Caus would have to perform both functions – provide a stronghold against attack, and be an impressive physical space from and through which to express family power and social standing.

THE CORBETS

The Corbets of Caus did not have such a wide range of manors, and sadly not a great deal of material survives regarding their investment in their West Country holdings. Therefore, this section will chiefly consider the castle and borough of Caus as their primary power centre, and consider Gwyddgrug castle in the Gorddwr, their Welshry. Again, when considering these buildings in their various contexts, it should be reiterated that they all served a multiplicity of functions in addition to the primary reason for their construction. Castles on the March needed to be defensible and strong, able to withstand attacks at any given time. As with Abergavenny, Shropshire saw a great deal of assaults, raids and skirmishes, and so the emphasis of Caus castle and the castles held by the Corbets in their Welshry was always on defence. However, even in this militarized region, a castle still had other functions to fulfil. The lords of Caus still required somewhere to entertain, and Caus castle, as the *caput* of their barony, would have been this centre for leisure, domesticity and entertaining guests. The multiplicity of functions was perhaps more stark in the March, which meant that they had to express their power and authority in more practical ways.

Caus Castle and Borough



Figure 26: Caus Castle, Shropshire 925

The *caput* of the Corbet barony, Caus castle was originally built on Hawcock's Mount, a corruption of 'Old Caus Mound'. It has been suggested that Hawcock's Mount is an Iron Age hillfort, although there is currently no evidence to support that assumption. However, other castles were built on pre-existing Iron Age settlements – for example, there is a Norman ringwork at Caerau, Ely, currently being excavated by Cardiff University. While the Norman ringwork and thirteenth century parish church of St Mary's, a prebend of Llandaff Cathedral, is perched on the site of a pre-Roman settlement commanding the surrounding countryside, Caus in Shropshire was also located on a raised earthwork commanding the king's road and the surrounding area. Hawcock's Mount

⁹²⁵ Google Maps, Caus Castle, Shropshire, http://goo.gl/maps/eahQs, accessed 04.12.12.

Caus Castle, Archaeological Report, http://www.pastscape.org.uk/hob.aspx?hob_id=66343 The Archaeological Journal 138, (1981), p. 34, online resource, accessed 11.07.2013.

See: http://CAERHeritageProject.com for details of the excavation project currently underway – there have been no recent publications and the archaeological report is likewise incomplete, as the project is ongoing.

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Gweirydd ab Brochfael ... efe a wnaeth Eglwys Llanweirydd yr hon a elwir yn awr Y Caerau, ac a fu gantho yno bias, a chynnal ei Lys ynghaerdydd.' Trans. 'Gweirydd ap Brochfael ... built the church at Llanweirydd, which is called now *Y Caerau* [*The Fortifications*], where he had a mansion, although he held his court at Cardiff.' *Iolo MSS*, The Welsh MSS Society, (Llandovery, 1848), p. 13; translation by

Lieberman argues that the proximity of Caus castle and borough to two royal castles was a considerable geographical disadvantage in terms of attracting scrutiny, but it may also have served to spur the spirit of competition and the need to keep up appearances. The considerable architectural feats of the de Clare castle at Caerphilly and their cathedral at Gloucester are clear examples of Marcher magnates demonstrating their power and affluence for the benefit of their neighbours and the Crown, and it is therefore reasonable to suppose that the Corbets took their own castle and borough seriously as a statement, as well as a practical means of defence, its primary function. 930

The borough of Caus had two chapels, the original chapel dedicated to St Nicholas, and the later one founded by Thomas Corbet towards the end of his life and dedicated to St Margaret, probably in honour of his late sister with whom he had been embroiled in a bitter dispute. This demonstrates that, like the Cantilupe castles which took on the Cantilupe name and served to demonstrate the family's power and authority, Caus also served as a monument to the family it served. It is interesting that Thomas Corbet, whose attitude to the church has been more thoroughly discussed in Chapter Three, chose to commemorate his sister in the form of a new chapel. Obviously in a Medieval context this was a natural means of remembrance and a bid for heaven via death-bed piety, but it also reflects a renewed sense of family unity (even though that may have been entirely superficial). Two chapels instead of one may also have been another way of shoring up the Corbet legacy, or at least the public perception of it — much like the foundation of the Cantilupe hospital at Aston Cantlow. While the

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Thomas Williams, pp. 369-70. While Iolo Morgannwg's MSS is a notoriously unreliable document, current research undertaken by Melissa Julian-Jones for the CAER project has identified Caerau as "Caerduicil" or "Dinduicil" in the records, although no evidence has been uncovered so far to suggest that the site was a royal seat.

⁹²⁹ Max Lieberman, 'Striving for Marcher Liberties: The Corbets of Caus', p. 112.

⁹³⁰ See: D. F. Renn, *Caerphilly Castle*, (Cardiff: Cadw: Welsh Historical Monuments, 1997); Carolyn M Heighway, *Gloucester Cathedral: Faith, Art and Architecture*, 1000 Years, (London, 2011), and David Welander, *The History, Art and Architechture of Gloucester Cathedral*, (Stroud, 1991).

significance of this has been discussed in Chapter Three, here it deserves a brief mention as part of the physical, visual means of establishing Corbet dominance over secular and spiritual matters in the landscape.

As far as the actual castle and borough were concerned, they too were prominent parts of the local landscape and loomed just as large in the consciousness of the king and his officials as other Marcher castles. Thomas Corbet received several royal grants for the upkeep of Caus, and the need to keep the castle in good repair is self-explanatory when set against the turbulent backdrop of Welsh raids throughout the period. It would seem that while the Cantilupes could afford to have three types of castle or fortified manor, one the functional centre of their *caput*, one with which to impress others in a more convenient location, comparatively closer to London and the ports of the South of England, and the Marcher castle for dominance and defence, Caus, as the *caput* of a Marcher barony, had to perform the same domestic, martial and psychological functions at the same time.

While trade was suggested in Chapter Two as being the primary reason lands in the West Country were so attractive to the Corbets, the Corbet spread into Devon and Cornwall also may have been facilitated by the desire for manors beyond the March, which could serve the purpose of entertaining in the same way as the Cantilupes invested in Eaton Bray; however, since there is a dearth of evidence for the Corbet holdings here this early, such an idea is purely conjecture.

Gwyddgrug Castle

The Welshry of Caus, the Gorddwr, was an additional part of the barony which requires some discussion. Built in sandstone like Caus, a local building material, the stone's use nevertheless presented a visual and physical connection to the Englishry across the Severn. Archaeological investigation proved it to be a good defensive structure, placed on a steep rocky outcrop with some sides so sheer as to be almost vertical, at an elevation of 130x110 feet and surrounded by ditches on the north-west side. 931 As early as 1784, Pennant recorded that the walls were seven feet and seven inches thick, verified in 1962 when the castle was rediscovered. 932 In order to claim Marcher liberties, the Caus barony had to have a Welshry – but ironically this area was taken over by the Welsh in the twelfth century, so that it was not until the mid-thirteenth that the Corbets were able to re-establish their claim. This castle would no doubt have been an impressive fortification, but its destruction seems to have prevented the family from rebuilding here. The psychological impact of throwing down a castle is not something that can be easily discovered, and it would surely vary depending on the individual, their relationship to the castle, and the context of the throwing down or destruction.

The castle here was built to be imposing and difficult to access, a statement of power and commanding the surrounding countryside to emphasise the authority and capabilities of its owners. It is no wonder that Gruffudd ap Gwenwynwyn staked a claim to it in 1252, claiming it as his rightful inheritance. Litigation followed, and by

⁹³¹ C. J. Spurgeon, 'Gwyddgrug Castle (Forden) and the Gorddwr Dispute in the Thirteenth Century', *Montgomeryshire Collections* 57 (1963 for 1961-2) 125-36, p. 127.

⁹³² Ibidem.

1255 Gorddwr had returned to Thomas Corbet. 1933 It was certainly in Thomas's possession in 1260, when Thomas sued William de Hockleton and William fitzBaldwin for attacking his men while they were going to the castle of 'Wyre Bruch' on his, Thomas's, business. 1934 Gwyddgrug castle appears to have given its name to the area in the Gorddwr, as it is not mentioned as a castle after 1263 and the *Inquisition Post Mortem* for Peter (I) Corbet (d. 1300) makes no mention of it. Chirbury Hundred Roll claims that the castle of 'Wythegruc' was destroyed 'in the late war', and this implies that it was one of the casualties of Llywelyn and company's campaign against the Corbets during the Barons' War. 1935 Peter (I) Corbet was suing Llywelyn ap Gruffudd for taking a third of his barony, and although it was Gwenwynwyn who destroyed the castle, blames Llywelyn for this instead – Peter and Gruffudd were allies once more at this point. 1936

The fact that it was Gwyddgrug that was targeted in these attacks demonstrates the importance that Marchers and their *Pura Wallia* neighbours placed upon the castles in the Welshries rather than implies that it was a peripheral concern and an easy target. Given the location and construction, that was clearly not the case. It was also far from peripheral even after the castle was destroyed – in 1277 Bogo de Knoville reported that over five hundred men of Gorddwr had done homage to Peter Corbet. 937 Therefore the command of the area was still firmly in Corbet hands, and the Corbets must have had a military presence there in order to support their claim to it. It is hard to gauge the impact of such a physical (and therefore visual) presence in a region, but there were certainly

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⁹³³ Ibid. p. 130.

⁹³⁴ Ibid. p. 133.

⁹³⁵ Spurgeon, 'Gwyddgrug Castle', MC 57, p. 133.

⁹³⁶ Ibid, p. 134.

⁹³⁷ Calendar of Welsh Rolls, contained in Calendar of Various Chancery Rolls 1277-1326, pp. 312-313; Cal. Anc. Corr., p. 81

Corbet men on business there throughout the latter part of the thirteenth century, the political and authoritative impact of which has already been discussed in Chapter One.

Expressions of Power and Identity: The *Familiae*

Where it comes to the daily activities within these 'envelopes' of impressive, multi-functional buildings, information for the two families under discussion here is sparce. The Luttrell Psalter is the most obvious and well-used example of gentry family life from this period, with various marginalia images of domestic activities taking place in and around the manor house. 938 It is not hard to imagine these scenes taking place in the Cantilupe and Corbet households too, in their respective manor houses and with their servants, vassals, friends, associates and extended family. It is regrettable that household accounts do not exist for either the Cantilupes or the Corbets, but much can be assumed from the studies of gentry families of comparative means. In fact, since such accounts are generally scarce for the thirteenth century and even rarer for the twelfth, much more has been written on the Late Medieval period, in recent years including essay collections such as M. Kowaleski and P. J. P. Goldberg's Medieval Domesticity: Home, Housing and Household. 939 While this section is not so concerned with daily life and household culture, or its consumption and day-to-day running and expenses, such specific details would be greatly valuable in terms of exploring the expressions of status that the Cantilupes and Corbets both utilized.

⁹³⁸ Luttrell Psalter, BL Add. MS 42131; see for example the images of dining in the Luttrell household, fos. 206v, 207r, 208r, 208v, images reproduced in Coss, *Foundations of Gentry Life*, p. 34, © The British Library Board, 2010.

Maryanne Kowaleski and P. J. P. Goldberg, eds., *Medieval Domesticity: Home, Housing and Household*, (Cambridge, 2008).

THE CANTILUPE FAMILIA

Identifying members of the household is a difficult task due to the lack of a Cantilupe cartulary (where the collated witness lists would prove invaluable), or a coherent collection of administrative material. Nevertheless, the names that do appear in connection with the Cantilupes reveal local men from the respective counties in which the Cantilupes had interests, and seem to bear out the patterns of personal and territorial networks discussed in Chapters One and Two at a grassroots level.

An indication of the men in the Cantilupe *familia* can be found in the legal and government records, particularly the court rolls, and the proof of age testimonies in George de Cantilupe's *Inquisition Post Mortem*. To a limited extent, some indications of others can be found in the canonisation proceedings of Thomas de Cantilupe, although the bishop's household is not going to be considered here in great detail in favour of the three main Cantilupes around whom this study is centred – Williams (I), (II) and (III). All of these men would have represented the Cantilupes in terms of physical presence and visual display, just as Peter de Montfort, ward of William (I) and close friend of Bishop Walter, did. Montfort showed his affection and loyalty to the Cantilupes by incorporating their fleurs-de-lys into his coat of arms. ⁹⁴⁰ Similarly, the effigy of Eva de Braose, a Cantilupe ward and wife, depicts her lying full length and holding the shield of her husband William (III), without any reference to her father's arms. ⁹⁴¹ Since the Cantilupe bishops also bore the fleurs-de-lys on their official episcopal seals, and the archdeacon of Bedford had both paternal and maternal arms on his official seal, as discussed in Chapter Three, it is no surprise that the scope of family

⁹⁴⁰ Carpenter, 'Montfort, Peter de (*c*.1205–1265)', rev. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford University Press, 2004); online edn, Jan 2008, online resource, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/37845, accessed 27.09.2013.

⁹⁴¹ See the effigy at St Mary's, Abergavenny.

power was being expanded by visual means through the transmission of their images. This, after all, was a very common means of expressing identity and desired association. While a full study of Cantilupe and Corbet wardships and the buying of marriage rights would be beneficial, these types of alliances have already been considered in Chapter One. Therefore, this section will look at the lower ranking knights and servants of the families in order to gain some insight into the geographical spread of such men, to see how they, as members of their respective households and therefore a walking, physical representation of their lords in certain contexts and perspectives, aided the strategic web of interpersonal alliances and territorial networks of the family.

As far as the lower born men of the household and the Cantilupe tenants were concerned, some indication is given in the court records. In 1221, Robert of Rownall killed the sergeant of William (I) de Cantilupe and fled, and the case was brought to the county court at Coventry. He sergeant was named as Walter the Welshman, Walter Walensis, and his brothers, Caradoc and Rhodri, appealed others as accessories to his murder. This would imply that even when William (I) was sheriff of Warwickshire and Leicestershire, and his activities were centred upon his manor of Aston Cantlow, he still had Welshmen in his household and employed them in official capacities. If he was indeed holding land from the earl of Glamorgan in 1218 and had kin in the area such as Thomas the monk of Margam, then the Welsh connection is natural and only to be expected.

A rather baffling incident took place in 1243, enrolled in the roll for Buckinghamshire. A certain Stephan Turpin claimed before the court that he had been

⁹⁴² Rolls of the Justices in Eyre being the Rolls of Pleas and Assizes for Gloucestershire, Warwickshire and Staffordshire, 1221, 1222, Selden Society 53, pp. 348-9.

beaten and abducted and imprisoned, contrary to the king's peace, by an overwhelming number of assailants in the house of Roger of Worcester. 943 Most of his assailants were of lower social status, with some going by matronymics rather than patronymics, often an indicator of lower birth or peasantry. 944 However, among those listed were William de Cantilupe (Cauntelo or Cantlow), William Bigod and John Warlow of Twyford, a servant of the Earl Marshal. It would seem that the order of names was not in the order of status, since John Warlow is listed first. It could be that the men listed all belonged to the greater men's respective *familiae*, and so what appears to be a random order punctuated with greater men at various points in the middle of the list of apparently 'lower' individuals, could actually be a list of the *familia* of each man in status order of the lords concerned. The trouble is that there is no way of really proving that this is the case, and the list itself gives no indication of the affiliation of the men after John Warlow.

The men listed after William de Cantilupe are listed as follows: Roger the Forester; William the Seneschal; Simon de Berners; Simon brother of Milo; John Webbe; Simon son of Hugh; Godfrey Body; John Springaud'; Andrew son of Reinbald; Ely Cock; William son of Millisent; Robert son of Agnes Vidue; Gervase son of William; Gilbert son of Lucy; Robert son of Kaym.

It is the first three on the list who are of most importance, since the others seem to be local men and tenants rather than householders or officials. Of these men, Simon de Berners is a recognisable name in terms of personal connections with the Cantilupe family – William (I) witnessed a comital charter of John to Robert de Berners in

⁹⁴³ Cur. Reg., xvii., 1670:328.

⁹⁴⁴ Cecily Clarke, 'English Personal Names ca. 650-1300: Some Prosopographical Bearings', *Studies on the Personal Name in Later Medieval England and Wales*, eds. D. Postles and J. T. Rosenthal, (Michigan, 2006), 7-28, p. 26.

1197. 11 would make sense that William the Seneschal (or Household steward) refers to the Cantilupes' own household steward, not William (II). It is hard to imagine several *curiales* joining in an attack at a house alongside 'Hugh the Porter' and 'Mayfly the Carpenter and William son of Mayfly'. 1946 The men did not come to court when they were supposed to. Nothing seems to have happened to them as a result, and the sheriff was not mandated to fetch them. No mention is made of either Cantilupe or Bigod after this, and it is possible that they were only mentioned in the first place because they were thought to be culpable for their men's actions.

There is a Henry son of Ralph Turpin 'of Doncaster' at this time, and Turpins also appear witnessing charters gifting land in Derbyshire. Some decades earlier, a Mahu Turpin appears on a witness list of a grant of Ivo of Tevelford to Robert of Berkley, which was also witnessed by Mauger bishop of Worcester and William Marshal, other potential points of contact between the Turpins and Cantilupes via mutual associations. Another Stephan Turpin, possibly his son, appears as a debtor of Thomas of Lincoln in 1301, and this Turpin is said to be 'of Wiltshire' – of course it was not only the Cantilupes who had cross-county interests, but it may not be coincidental that the Turpins' personal networks corresponded with the Cantilupes' territorial ones, especially if William de Cantilupe was involved in the beating and kidnap of Stephan Turpin in Buckinghamshire.

While the reasons for the treatment of Stephan Turpin is unclear, it is clear that his family had connections to all the men on the list, and the men who attacked and

⁹⁴⁵ TNA: E40/6686.

Mayfly the Carpenter and son are listed sixth and seventh on the list, following John Warlow servant of the Earl Marshal and before William Rigod, who is thirteenth

of the Earl Marshal and before William Bigod, who is thirteenth.

947 Nottinghamshire Archives, DD/FJ/1/211/3; West Yorkshire Archive Service, Leeds, WYL: 230/170;
WYL: 230/182; WYL: 230/184; WYL: 230/185; WYL: 230/183; WYL: 230/179; WYL: 639/157
Yorkshire Archaeology Society, H. L. Bradfer-Lawrence Collection, MD335/4/1/6; H. L. Bradfer-Lawrence Collection, MD335/4/1/21; H. L. Bradfer-Lawrence Collection, MD335/4/1/21; H. L. Bradfer-Lawrence Collection, MD335/4/1/27.

948 Berkeley Castle Muniments, BCM: A/2/71/1.

imprisoned him unlawfully may well have done so because they were acting in their respective masters' names or to protect the honour of the men they served. It is not recorded what Stephan may have done to provoke such an attack, but it seems to have been a large crowd to accost and assault one man for no reason or without serious provocation.

Rising above the common servants and their misdemeanours to focus again on the greater men of the Cantilupe household, attention should be returned to the *Inquisition* of 1273, and the evidence given as proof of George's majority at the time of his death. As discussed in Chapter Two, the bulk of the Cantilupes' territorial interests were clustered along a broad diagonal line from Dartmouth to York, with the largest concentration of manors and fees being in the West Country, Wiltshire, Monmouthshire, Shropshire and Warwickshire. They sprawled out towards London in a rough semi-circle around the capital, taking in much of Northamptonshire, Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire. In addition there were the de Bracy dowry of lands in Kent (George's great-grandmother, wife of William (I) de Cantilupe) or the de Gournay fees in Oxfordshire (George's grandmother, wife of William (II) de Cantilupe). To the north, lands in Lincolnshire and Leicestershire also came into the Cantilupe orbit as they had held these when they first came to England. The strategy employed in this acquisition, and the pushing of the family further into the March, can be revealed not simply by the pattern of lands they held, but by the interests of those from whom they held, the significance of those areas to the Welsh princes and other Marcher lords, and by the networks of alliances they established.

As George de Cantilupe's age required verification from multiple sources, it provides a great deal of information on the composition of the Cantilupes' *familia* and

provides a rare glimpse into the way the household was managed and the way the lands were connected.

Firstly, to prove George was of age when he died, Brother Peter the prior of Hinton, Somerset, came and told the inquisitors that George was born on Good Friday in 1250 or 1251, as he was William (II) de Cantilupe's chaplain at the time. He remembered because when George was born he was engaged in the execution of William (II)'s will, as the boy's grandfather had died the year of George's birth or the preceding year. 949

The choice of a chaplain with links to Somerset emphasises the Cantilupes' connections in the West Country, with their large cluster of lands centring on the Honor of Totnes, whose own priory had close links to the Welsh princes across the Severn Estuary. 950

Brother John, master of the hospital of St Mark in Billswick, outside Bristol, reported that he was originally from Calstone in Wiltshire, a royal manor held by the Cantilupes. 951 He knew George to be twenty-one at the time of his death 'from the report of the country'. His own experiences supported this well-known fact; Brother John calculated George's age from the fact that John himself had been ordained twentyfive years before, and William (III), George's father, had died eighteen years before at Calstone, where John was originally from. John knew George had been three years old at the time of William (III)'s death, and thus calculated his age. 952

⁹⁴⁹ CIPM, ii, 17:20.

⁹⁵⁰ Hugh R. Watkin, The History of Totnes Priory and Medieval Town, Devonshire, Together with its Sister Priory of Tywardreath, Cornwall, Compiled from Original Records, (Torquay, 1914). The Chronicle of Totnes records Gruffudd ap Cynan's activities, p. 10, while several Southern princes gave deeds and charters to the Priory, including Cadwallon ap Gruffudd pp. 46-7; Gruffudd ap Rhys p. 47-8; Rhys ap Gruffudd pp. 48-9; and Cadell ap Gruffudd pp. 48-50.

⁹⁵¹ *CIPM*, ii, 17:17.

⁹⁵² CIPM, ii, 17:21.

Here we have the word of two churchmen, one the chaplain of George's grandfather, and the other with strong links to the Cantilupes' Wiltshire interests, now advanced considerably from the time of his ordination and situated just over the Severn not far from the Honour of Abergavenny. The Cantilupes were obviously concerned with cultivating these 'local' and cross-border networks, as the following men giving evidence hailed from even further afield.

Sir Alan of Wanton, the next man on the list, is difficult to identify by the toponymic. 953 'Warton' is a place in Lancashire, but 'Wanton' may simply not exist anymore and, in the thirteenth century, may have been the name of more than one village since deserted, renamed or subsumed. If it is in fact 'Walton', then it could be any number of places, as there is a 'Walton' in Staffordshire, Derbyshire, Shropshire, Warwickshire, Leicestershire, Buckinghamshire, Somerset and Suffolk. Judging by the demographic of the twelve men called, perhaps Shropshire, Warwickshire or Leicestershire would be the most likely candidates.

Sir Peter de Bruges is easier to locate, as he claims to have been at Bridgwater (*Bruges Walteri*) with the constable of the castle, who was holding the hundred court when news came to them of George's birth. Since George was born at Abergavenny castle, a fact which Sir Robert Blundel asserted in his evidence, this demonstrates the way news was disseminated through the networks of the *familia* and their other lands. A picture is now building of the men considered to be trustworthy and in the know, that is, men who were prominent in the household or to whom the household were well known at the time of George's birth.

⁹⁵³ CIPM, ii, 17:21.

⁹⁵⁴ Ibidem.

Robert de 'Trilleck' agreed with all the above statements, adding that he knew of George's age through inspection of the chronicles of Abergavenny Priory. Robert would appear to be a local man, originating from Trelleck as the name suggests, indicating that the *familia* also made use of knights from the Honour in addition to those brought in from outside. As he inspected the chronicles of Abergavenny Priory rather than Totnes, it seems to rule out Trellick in Devonshire, although it is certainly possible that a Devonshire native would find himself based in Monmouthshire as part of George's *familia*.

Thomas Creyk, the next man to testify, reveals another Somerset connection, saying that his wife Anastasia was married to her first husband at the time, a man called Richard Wason, and had by him a son who was born the same year as George. The son, unnamed, was a canon at Bruton Abbey, Somerset, at the time of the inquisition.

Sir Robert Blundel was a Shropshire man, and a knight of Thomas Corbet. He went to Abergavenny to 'seek his lord's land of Lydeham', and found Eva in childbed with George. Lydham manor had been given to William (II) de Cantilupe, and is found in his *Inquisition Post Mortem* of 1251 as one of the Cantilupes' Shropshire manors. ⁹⁵⁵

The other men named are John de Baskerville, who knew it 'by the relation of knights and of others in the country'; Sir Henry Murdak, who said the same, and John Fawkes of Dartmouth, who knew it by inspection of the chronicles of Totnes Priory. Sir William de Merle agreed, and knew it 'by the oath of Sir Adam de Gurdun and others who were of the *familia* of William de Cantilupo, the father of the said George'. John de Baskerville's lands were to be found in Cheshire, and the Baskervilles had been

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⁹⁵⁵ CIPM, i, 175:44.

mandated to assist in the defence of the March throughout the thirteenth century. Henry Murdak is the token Warwickshire/Leicestershire man (unless Alan of Wanton/Walton hailed from there as well) – he held Stockerston in Leicestershire, and no doubt knew the Cantilupes as neighbours and through the earls of Leicestershire and Lancaster, from whom they held their lands. He is also listed in the *Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous (Chancery)* as holding Aston and Wardley in Rutland, in which county the Cantilupes also had interests. He is also listed in the management of the county the Cantilupes also had interests.

Sir John de Pycheford also cited Sir Adam de Gurdun as his source, adding Sir Robert de Tregoz 'and others of the said household'. He also stated that his wife, the daughter of William de Ebroicis, was 'a kinswoman' of George's. William de Ebroicis was based in Lyonshall, Herefordshire, not far from Penrhos where William (III) de Cantilupe's occupation of John de Monmouth's castle took place. William's mother was Isabel de Cantilupe, George's great-aunt, making John's wife George's second cousin. De Pycheford can be found witnessing various charters in and around Shropshire, usually in the company of Roger Springhose, and together they were part of the jury that dealt with the long-running dispute between Peter Corbet of Caus (d. 1300) and Bishop Thomas de Cantilupe of Hereford over the hundred acres in Asterton.

⁹⁵⁶ *CR 1227-31*, p. 115 (1228); *CR 1237-42*, pp. 124, 235 (1238); Walter de Baskerville is to be found in company with both William de Cantilupe and Thomas Corbet in these mandates. See also *CR 1264-68*, p. 127 (1265) when Walter de Baskerville is among those lords ordered to bring horses and arms to Hereford.

⁹⁵⁷ VCH Leicestershire, v, online resource, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=22072, accessed 14.09.2013.

⁹⁵⁸ Cal. Inq. Misc. i., 856:262.

⁹⁵⁹ *CR 1227-31*, p. 31; TNA: C 241/26/46; William Devereaux (de Ebroicis) is also to be found in Shropshire in the Staffordshire Plea Rolls of 1258, being sued by John Chete along with Hugh de Baskerville and others for maliciously destroying the stank of John Chete's fish pond; Ed. Major-General Hon. George Wrottesley, 'Plea Rolls for Staffordshire: 1256-60', *Staffordshire Historical Collections*, iv, (1883), pp. 134-147, Plea Rolls No. 16, *m.*8, Tower Records, online resource, http://www.britishhistory.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=52391&strquery=Ebroicis, accessed 14.09.2013.

⁹⁶⁰ Lichfield Record Office, D 187/1/4; SA_ 1514/167; SA_ 1093/2/1 records a William de Pycheford of Much Wenlock (1309); *Register of Thomas Cantilupe*, i, p. 73.

Pycheford, de Ebroicis and Baskerville were all men whose interests were concentrated on the Welsh border, and Robert de Tregoz was the lord of Ewyas, husband of Juliana de Cantilupe, George's aunt. 'Merle', the toponymic of another named source, William de Merle, who could verify George's age, may be a place in Gloucestershire (Marle Hill can be found near Chalford) or be a variant spelling of Myrle, now Marley, near Poole in Dorset, although no mention is made of Myrle in the Dorset extents. ⁹⁶¹ Gurdun is similarly a difficult toponymic to locate. An Agnes Gurdun can be found in Wiltshire *c*.1290, and Adam Gurdun can be found as a knight of Hampshire and Surrey *c*.1304. ⁹⁶² He may of course be the same Adam de Gurdun who was an outlawed adherent of Simon de Montfort – quite likely, considering the Cantilupes' connections – and therefore the Hampshire knight who famously duelled with Prince Edward in 1266. ⁹⁶³

It would seem that the evidence was given by a selection of men, six of whom were certainly based in and around the March, and four definitely coming from the West Country holdings. De Gurdun was more central, certainly with family links to Hampshire and Surrey where George's grandfather had held lands, while de Merle is a little more ambiguous. It would seem that of these men, most had been in the Cantilupe familia at one time (in the case of the churchmen, for example), while others either were still members of the household or were relations of the Cantilupes. Of the men mentioned, Pycheford, de Ebroicis, Baskerville, de Tregoz and Robert Blundel were probably not in the Cantilupe familia; Blundel was certainly not, as he was a knight of Thomas Corbet, while the others had their own lands and were related to George by marriage. The householders would appear to be Thomas Creyk (there seems to be no

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⁹⁶¹ TNA· C 133/2

⁹⁶² TNA: E 326/8346; C 143/1/30; C 133/116/23.

⁹⁶³ H. Arthur Doubleday, William Page (editors), 'Houses of Austin canons: Priory of Selborne,' *VCH Hampshire*, ii, online resource, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=38108&strquery=Gurdun, accessed 28.10.2013.

other reason to call upon him otherwise); Sir Henry Murdak; Alan of Wanton/Walton; William de Merle; Adam de Gurdun, and Robert of Trellick.

The roughly even geographical split indicates that George and his father had cultivated their connections across their territories, using oral communication networks to disseminate important personal and public information. This ensured their men maintained their association to the family, and interestingly, indicates that George's 'peripheral' lands were those in Bedfordshire, Leicestershire, Northamptonshire, Nottinghamshire, his grandfather's centre of Warwickshire, and the two manors in York. Thus, the eldest son of the primary line had shifted his personal centre firmly into the March of Wales and the borderlands. His nephews and cousins then controlled the centres of Eaton Bray, Beds., and the lands in Nottinghamshire, so that George's Cantilupe cousin, William (IV), became 'the first baron Cantilupe', and the title and barony descended through his sons. ⁹⁶⁴ George's nephew William de la Zouche, apparently unborn at the time of George's death when his heirs are named as his sister Millicent de la Zouche and nephew John de Hastings, inherited Eaton Bray from his mother's share of her inheritance. ⁹⁶⁵

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⁹⁶⁴ Richard Partington, 'Cantilupe , Nicholas, third Lord Cantilupe (*c*.1301–1355)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford University Press, 2004), online resource, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4567, accessed 14 Sept 2013.

⁹⁶⁵ CIPM, ii, 17:16-21; Nicholas Vincent, 'Cantilupe, Sir George de (1251–1273)', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, (Oxford University Press, 2004), online resource, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4566, accessed 14 Sept 2013.

THE CORBET FAMILIA

The Corbet *familia* are difficult to untangle from the *familiae* of the other cadet branches of the same family, as they appear to have been largely local Shropshire men who appear alongside the Corbets on witness lists and in court cases. Again, because of the lack of a cartulary, such evidence is patchy. It is frustrating that more documents have survived from the Moreton Corbet administration than from Caus, but this is due to the fourteenth century extinction of the Caus line and the ascendency of the Moreton Corbet branch.

Nevertheless, from the extant witness lists, it is possible to build up an idea of the men who were usually called upon as witnesses to Corbet grants and charters, and cross-reference these with jury lists, attorneys and other involvement in the county courts.

On the 15th May, 1278, a grant of Sir Robert Blundel to Nicholas his son and heir was witnessed by Bogo de Knovill, sheriff of Herefordshire, in the company of not one but four members of the Corbet family – Sir Peter Corbet, Sir Robert Corbet, Sir Roger Corbet, and Thomas Corbet. Peter Corbet would be Peter Corbet of Caus, since there does not seem to be any other Peters in the cadet line; Robert, Roger and Thomas are all cadet Corbets, either of the Moreton Corbet (Shropshire) or Chaddesley Corbet (Worcestershire) branches. The branches were closely related; Peter (II) Corbet (d. 1322) called Roger Corbet of Chaddesley his 'beloved nephew' (*nepotis*), although *nepotis* may in fact refer more generally to other close kin. Peter (This would account for

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⁹⁶⁶ Lancashire Record Office: DDBL 55/4.

⁹⁶⁷ A. E. Corbet, *The Family Corbet: Its Life and Times*, Vol. 2, p. 174; Peter Corbet's brother-in-law Brian de Brompton and his son are both referred to as 'nepotes of the Lord Peter' in the *Register of Thomas de Cantilupe*, p. 71.

the minor differences and adaptations in heraldry used by the cadet branches, and would certainly increase the authority of the Corbets of Caus over a wider area. As the Pipe Roll evidence showed in Chapter Two, the Corbets did have interests in other neighbouring counties, which were delegated to the younger members of their family while the centre of their power was consolidated and expanded by the respective heads of the Causian branch. It is likely that the younger family members were present from time to time in each other's households, and that there was good communication between them. It is also almost certain, then, that the various branches associated with the same people and benefitted from one another's networks, as discussed in Chapter One. This being the case, the question of who was to be found in which household becomes somewhat muddier. Blundel is a case in point. Seeking 'his lord's land of Lydham' when George de Cantilupe was born implies that his lord at this time was Thomas Corbet of Caus or his younger contemporary, Thomas Corbet of Tasley, and demonstrates the longevity of the Blundel association.

Further to this, the usual circle of Corbet men can be considered from the (admittedly patchy) surviving records of the Caus administration. Unsurprisingly, the vast majority of these men are local to Shropshire with interests in the surrounding counties.

The Burnels are also close associates, with Gerin Burnel appearing not only as one of those involved in the monk-robbing case discussed in Chapter Three, but also as a witness to Thomas's grant to Strata Marcella in 1229.

The de Sandfords are another possible household connection. Ralph de Sandford appeared with Robert Corbet as a witness to a grant by Hugh ap Madoc to Fulk FitzWarin, as discussed in Chapter One, but he also appeared with Odo de Hodnet,

⁹⁶⁸ Ystrad Marchell Abbey Charters, ed. Una Stubbs, p. 216-17.

another known associate of the Corbets of Caus, along with Robert de Say, a family of whose minors the Corbets of Caus had gained wardship rights, as witnesses of a deed of Robert Corbet of Moreton Corbet. This is unsurprising, given that this Robert was the nephew of Robert Corbet, who gained Moreton through marriage to a Toret heiress. Sandford is an ambiguous locative – while there are places named Sandford in Shropshire, there are also West Country towns with this name, which could mean he is either another Shropshire local, or a Devonshire man who came into the Corbets' service through the Vautort possessions.

Like the Cantilupes, the Corbets also had good links between the main and cadet branches, particularly in this case as the geographical distance between the two manors was relatively short. It is very likely, then, that they shared associates and friends, and that livery, badges and banners of both households would be a common sight in Moreton Corbet and in the areas of Shropshire under Causian control. Of course, there is an important distinction between *familia* and associates who happened to be local landowners. Not all local knights of the Corbets' acquaintance were household knights, and it is the close proximity of the Corbets to their neighbours and vassals which clouds the issue further.

Odo de Hodnet was himself a man of some local consequence, and had his own park at Hodnet. He was often found in the company of Corbets, however, and made a joint petition with Thomas Corbet of Caus in c.1238 in the Shropshire county court, paying a fine for the abolition of customs that had been set up during one of the Welsh campaigns. He also held Hope Bulers of George de Cantilupe, while George was a minor and in the wardship of prince Edward, another connection between the Corbet

⁹⁶⁹ SA 2919/2/54.

⁹⁷⁰ TNA: C 143/2/5.

⁹⁷¹ Calendar of Fine Rolls Henry III, C 60/36/78, C 60/36/245; Fine Rolls Project, online resource, http://www.finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll 036.html, accessed 10.12.12.

and Cantilupe families.⁹⁷² In the same court he brought a complaint *against* Thomas on an unrelated matter, and in 1256 Thomas is the plaintiff in another case against Odo, in a plea of customs and services.⁹⁷³ From the later plea it is clear that Odo de Hodnet did owe Thomas service, and this alone would imply he was at least occasionally to be found at Caus – but he also owed service to Robert Burnel, from whom he held Hodnet.⁹⁷⁴ Burnel is a familiar name; there was a Hugo Burnel on one of the juries put together by sheriff Bogo de Knoville in the case between Peter Corbet and Bishop Thomas de Cantilupe.⁹⁷⁵ This Burnel may be kin to Gerin Burnel, who was a known close associate of the Corbets and may well have been in Thomas Corbet's household, while a Roger Burnel is known to have held Acton Burnel of Thomas Corbet.⁹⁷⁶

It is clear from Chapter One that many of the knights in the Asterton case juries were known to the Corbets, and some, like Springhose and Burnel, were known to both the Corbets and the Cantilupes. From the extant witness lists, it does not seem that most were local to Shropshire and the March, and that there were a number of men drawn from the Welshry.

There are many mentions of 'the men' of Thomas Corbet (which could mean householders or simply tenants, difficult to determine without names and more detailed context) and other officers, such as his sergeant (*serjentium de Thoma Corbet*) but without giving their names.⁹⁷⁷

In 1260, John Lestrange, the constable of Montgomery, was mandated to deliver Thomas Corbet's men back to Thomas, as many of them were captured and imprisoned

⁹⁷² Rot. Hund. 1216-1306, ii, p. 70.

⁹⁷³ Ibid; *Roll of the Shropshire Eyre of 1256*, Seldon Society 96, 289:116.

⁹⁷⁴ TNA: SC 1/23/136

⁹⁷⁵ Register of Thomas Cantilupe, i, p. 71.

⁹⁷⁶ Rot. Hund. ii, p. 62.

⁹⁷⁷ *CR 1242-47*, p. 119.

in the Montgomery castle. 978 These seem to be tenants rather than householders, but some were clearly household servants, such as Roger le Porter. Other servants, complained about for their part in the wrongful imprisonment of a Thomas son of Peter of Aston Roger, are named as Thomas Gow and Badekyn, which gives little indication of their origin or territorial connections but implies that they were local men.⁹⁷⁹ A similar complaint was brought by Richard the son of Martin, who complained that the same Peter Corbet and a certain Reynold of . . . (this part of the record is frustratingly unreadable), who came to Richard's house (later referred to as 'dom' or 'Sir' Richard) and took him to Caus castle, where he was wrongfully imprisoned until he and his wife paid Peter Corbet six marks and forty shillings for his release, and then a further twenty pence was demanded 'for a linen cap'. 980 Peter denied all the charges, and Richard requested that he be allowed to withdraw his complaint, and so it was withdrawn. This slightly odd episode aside, it would seem that, just as the locus of Corbet power and authority was at Caus, so the composition of the household reflected this central concern. Unlike the Cantilupes, who had Welshmen in their household even while based in the midlands, and men from many other English counties when at Abergavenny, the Corbets seemed to find consistency in their local connections was preferable to securing these 'grassroots' links with men from other areas within their territorial networks.

This may be to do with local knowledge and experience, as these were preferable when dealing with a turbulent, militant Marcher context. Even without a great deal of evidence, this would be logical and expected. However, to say that the entirety of the Corbet household was made up of Shropshire men and Welshmen would

⁹⁷⁸ CR 1259-61, p. 177.

⁹⁷⁹ Select Bills in Eyre 1292-1333, Selden Society 30 (1914), p. 10; the case to which Thomas son of Peter is referring occurred in the twelfth year of Edward I's reign, so the 'Piers Corbet' of Caus would be Peter (I) (d. 1300).

⁹⁸⁰ Select Bills in Eyre 1292-1333, Selden Society 30 (1914), pp. 37-8.

be a step too far; the evidence may not be comprehensively available, but it does seem probable that at least one or two men would come from their West Country interests or even the Honour of Wallingford. Meanwhile, the picture presented by the extant evidence underlines the impression gained from the previous chapters; that all the family's primary interests and efforts were centred upon the March, and that this was where their expressions of this power, exhibited by and through the men of their household and the emblems they displayed, were similarly concentrated.

Conclusion

It is unfortunate that the Corbets have left so little evidence behind, and that in terms of their *familia* and their castles there is not as much to discuss as their administrative counterparts. However, the differences between the two families presented them with different challenges both in and beyond the March. They therefore required different means of reflecting and transmitting their identities, and the sophistication of the Cantilupes in turning from the savage, personal name allusion to the more refined, basic fleur-de-lys *representamen* would not have worked for the Corbets, nor was it necessary for them. Despite the contrasting context preventing the Corbets from reinventing themselves, they still made good use of their marital connections to improve their status, capitalising on the Mortimer name for the benefit of their neighbours. Surrounded by signs of wealth, power and authority, such sigillographic improvements to their own image served a similar purpose as the Cantilupes' switch from wolf to lily.

The brief outlines of the households of the two families serves to underline the conclusions drawn in the previous three chapters, as the majority of men seem to have

come from the centre of each family's power, with others representing family interests in other regions (in the Cantilupe case, at least). It was by and through these men that the families' power could be visually and physically displayed and disseminated, reinforcing their power and authority over their networks in psychological as well as practical and tangible ways.

Similarly, while in the March both families paid close attention to the upkeep, improvment and renewal of their castles. As well as being centres of administration, the Marcher castle was the seat of power, and just as the Cantilupes projected affluence in the architecture and design of their castle at Eaton Bray, so the Corbets projected a sense of authority with their impressive defensive structures. While William (II) was busy with the Bedfordshire castle, his eldest son and daughter-in-law were recreating Abergavenny as the seat of his power. This was wise – Thomas and Peter Corbet did not stint on their maintenance of Caus, nor did they give up on Gwyddgrug in the Gorddwr. After all, a razed castle is just as powerful an image as its impregnable counterpart, albeit creating a far more negative impression. Corbet control in the Gorddwr would have required more physical military presence, and practical legal manouevering. The structures themselves were just as important as visual symbols as they were as centres of baronial administration.

The transmission of family identity therefore seems to be in line with the tripartite strategy of territorial consolidation, territorial acquisition/expansion and increasing/consolidating their social status. Even though the Cantilupes did not, like the Corbets, merge their visual images with those of their spouses, they did construct castles on land acquired through dowry (Eaton Bray in Bedfordshire being the chief example of this), and in this way assimilated such lands with the Cantilupe family name and all it represented.

Overall, it is clear that the study of visual imagery and physical symbols of power is an important means of entering into an individual's psyche and exploring how they thought of their kin ties. It is also supremely useful in considering how an individual or group wished to be portrayed, and shifts in the established, handed-down trends of imagery can point to important shifts in the lives and goals of the individuals and, by natural extension, of their branch of the family.

CONCLUSION

R. R. Davies noted that the introduction of new men into the March by Edward I meant that by 1307, seventy per cent of the earls of England were Marcher lords. 981 From the Edwardian conquest onwards, there was a 'political gravitation' of English into Wales. 982 Yet this phenomenon did not begin in the 1280s. The Cantilupes were systematically moving into the March from the start of the thirteenth century, while the Corbets were expanding their territorial gains in Wales and England. Both the 'old' and 'new' men of the March prioritised the strengthening of their power centres, and despite their differences in their respective socio-political contexts, certain similarities nevertheless have appeared. This thesis has materially contributed to the field of Marcher Studies by exploring the place of the March in the consciousness of two families under discussion, demonstrating that such a comparative study is not only viable but valuable. The contrast in their respective stati and generational experiences provides a broader platform for exploration, showing that there is much to be gained from a vertical comparison of families in addition to the horizontal comparative studies (meaning studies based on comparisons of families of similar means and status, most of which are also concentrated upon one geographical area). This thesis has demonstrated that a wider focus, looking at people and the different kinds of networks they cultivated and engaged with, can be equally as fruitful and beneficial to those seeking to understand the dynamics of local areas as more concentrated studies. Even thirteenth century Marcher mentalities have been illuminated further, and in particular, the thesis has explored the mentalities and actions of two key families, each important in their own contexts, and the parts they played in a time of political turbulence and civil unrest.

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⁹⁸¹ R. R. Davies, Lordship and Society, p. 39.

⁹⁸² Ibid., p. 38.

A clear, tripartite family strategy has slowly been identified, emerging from the elements of opportunism and changing circumstances. Where the heads of the families have been discussed, clear patterns have emerged in terms of the marital alliances, wardship rights, land exchanges and donations made, opportunism notwithstanding. While the cadet lines occasionally assisted in the main branch's acquisitional aims, they were often creating power bases of their own, and as such came into their own successfully in both cases following the extinction of the male line of each branch.

These two families in particular reveal something of a three-pronged strategy which should be the focus of more considered analysis. Firstly, there was the consolidation of their respective heartlands through marriage, the cultivation of personal associations, territorial gains and spiritual investment. Secondly, again, in both contexts, there was a deliberate expansion into Wales and the strengthening of Welsh ties and alliances, again by similar means. Finally, or rather, concurrently, there was deliberate expansion into England, coupled by the attempt to improve their social standing there. Even in the cases of the cadet lines, the same tripartite triangualation of lordships can be identified for both families. The Cantilupe cadets had lands in Essex, the West Country and Glamorgan, while the Corbet cadet lines had lands in the border shires, the West Country and the midlands.

Most interestingly in terms of English expansion, it seems that the Marcher connection was often married to a West Country connection, and the two regions seemed to be intrinsically linked in the minds of those looking to aquire manors and cultivate relationships either side of the Severn. Not only were the Marcher lords doing this, but Totnes Priory had also been the recipient of lands and gifts by Welsh princes as far north as Gwynedd, and its annals reveal a strong interest in the activites of princes like Gruffudd ap Cynan as well as those in Glamorgan and Sengennydd. Both the

Corbets and the Cantilupes had historic connections to the West Country regions, and both families cultivated these links even as they were concentrating their personal, fiscal and martial resources on their Welsh holdings.

Both families also had lands in the midland counties, edging towards the South East of England. However, as the political situation shifted and the needs of the families began to centre more and more on their heartlands, the interest in these holdings began to wane in favour of consolidation elsewhere, in line with more expedient and immediately relevant concerns. For the Cantilupes, this happened much later; interest in Eyton or Eaton Bray only really waned in George's minority, but the reasons for this are rather obvious; prior to this, however, William (III) put more effort into consolidating his wife's dowry than he did into building on his father's investments in the Bedfordshire region. While William (II) was improving Eaton Bray, William (III) was busy improving Abergavenny, and throwing down John of Monmouth's castle of Penrhos, which kept his activities firmly Marcher-centric until his ill-fated participation in the Gascon campaign, from which he returned to Wiltshire, apparently already struck with with a fever, to die.

For the Corbets, their fee in the Honour of Wallingford served as an opportunity to strengthen their ties with their influential Welsh vassals and neighbours, and assist their own social standing through this web of relationship and their pre-existing possessions. Of all the manors they held, it was the Berkshire fee that Thomas Corbet chose to bestow upon Robert ap Madoc, and with his wife's connection to Henry III's niece, it is clear why this fee would have been an appropriate one for Robert with its closer proximity to London, and a good point from which to access other areas of England. Meanwhile, the Corbets were concentrating on their Welsh, Marcher and West

Country expansion, and it would seem that they believed this to be the key to their power and authority as a family.

This three-pronged strategy opens up new avenues for exploration, particularly if it was not simply a *Marcher* strategy. In terms of the centralised administrative and knightly kin groups of an ambitious bent, as regards the 'expansion' aspect of the strategies employed, 'expansion into Wales *and Ireland*' might be more accurate, particularly in the post-1204 context with the loss of the Norman lands. Used to cross-channel management, even though Ireland was geographically more difficult to get to (and therefore logistically more problematic), it was a natural area of expansion and acquisition. The Cantilupes certainly had lands in Ireland, gained through their loyal service to King John and further consolidated through marriage to Eva de Braose. In this context, then, lands in Wales formed a very useful bridge between England and Ireland. This may well be another reason why such centralised families began looking for Welsh March allegiances and frontier fees.

By marrying into a strong Marcher family, the Cantilupes escaped the insecurity of marriage into a native Welsh dynasty and the trouble that this might bring them. They had also timed it just right – the memory of William de Braose's rebellion had faded after the death of John, and Henry III certainly had nothing against the match to a de Braose-Marshal heiress. However, had Robert Corbet married Margaret off to a near (Marcher) neighbour instead of Gwenwynwyn, then without securing his border he opened himself up to attack from a Welsh force he could not hope to withstand. Additionally, the struggle of 1215-17 had left their near neighbours, especially the FitzWarins, under a cloud of suspicion, and it was preferable for the Corbets to secure diplomatic importance and domestic security than marry into a Marcher dynasty accused of treason.

While the Cantilupes were able to extend their power and influence into the March gradually, and mainly via legal and judicial means until William (II) made well-placed Marcher marriages for his children, the Corbets had to extend theirs in a more direct and brutal fashion, often without recourse to the law. They were not as restricted in terms of the use of their knights as the Cantilupes were. The Cantilupes could not forcibly take lands because they had too much to forfeit; the Corbets could expand by usurpation and take advantage of the distance between themselves and the king to obtain grants of free warren for their annexed and usurped lands, thus consolidating their rights through military might and legal footwork.

The differences in means, status, affluence and geography, not to mention relative personal relationships to the Crown, are most starkly observed here. While the freedom of the March was coveted by those constrained by their positions, those who had to live in its militarised reality seemed to covet territorial expansion eastwards as well as westwards, no doubt in part for the economic stability this would provide. It would seem that the measure of thirteenth century success was a geopolitical balance of territories and allies. The means by which this balance could be achieved was affected by the lands and offices the families already held, and their importance therein. The tripartite strategy, it would seem, could be developed along several avenues. Politics, the acquisition of offices, marital alliances and ecclesiastic engagement were all areas in which a family could consolidate and expand their power base, but again a great deal depended upon the constraints of each context.

Similarly, as regards spiritual investment, the ways in which this was practicable were related to the position each family found themselves in. The 'investment' of family members into the church as churchmen was not apparently a priority in the March itself, as the need for marital alliances and military help either outweighed the

spiritual vocation or solved the problem of what to do with younger sons. Since the web of extended family was also a factor in the Corbet case, it was also possible for the main branch at Caus to focus their attentions on these secular concerns, while their kin produced canons and clergy of minor orders. This was not to say that a career in the Church would have hindered the family's rise to prominence in and of itself; but the fact that the main branch of Corbets and indeed a number of their neighbouring Marcher families did not produce clergymen or ecclesiastics would suggest that they prioritised the path of military prowess and secular advancement, and due to their lack of courtly connections, those that did enter the Church did not rise particularly high.

The Cantilupes, on the other hand, could not only afford to put their sons into the Church, they were also in a position to support their education and climb to higher ranks. These ecclesiastic Cantilupes were then able and evidently willing to support and influence the rest of their family, and in so doing became part of the family's means of expansion and consolidation.

Identity is arguably a crucial element which supported these strategic paths. Therefore, as a continuation of the tripartite strategic points noted here, the projection and dissemination of family identity has been explored through visual and symbolic means as well as in written forms. Additional complimentary studies would be beneficial here, in order to put these forms of visual expression into a wider context. What has become clear is that the means of transmitting images and evidence of family power and identity correlates with the tripartite strategy outlined above.

From a cursory look at other families, such as the administrative Audleys and Seagraves, or the Marcher-centric Lestranges, Cliffords and FitzWarins, these expansionist strategies and the visual means of conveyance were not confined to the use of one particular family group. Neither of these two families appears to be anomalous

by the standards of their day, and this opens up several further avenues for future exploration, where perhaps a mapping of personal and territorial networks overlaid with evidence of spiritual investment could be carried out for a wider group of families, or even done by county. After all, if there was a clear link between the March and the West Country, surely a systematic approach to gentry networks would be beneficial to the understanding of the dynamics between other communities across the British Isles, and deepen the historiographical understanding of local and inter-county relationships in the case of the knightly families of England.

Appendix 1:

Cantilupe Tables 1199-1225

The table below represents the counties for which William (I) de Cantilupe either owed money, wine or palfreys with 'D' standing for *debet*, or was one of the men who recorded the amounts of each shire (*pro eo r.c.*, represented with 'R']. One entry for Sussex records the amount paid to William for the passage of armed and mounted knights through Surrey in 1202 (*in passagio* [iP]).

Table 7: Cantilupe PRS Entries 1199-1205

	1199	1200	1201	1202	1203	1204	1205
Berkshire	R^{983}		D^{984}	D^{985}	D^{986}	D^{987}	D^{988}
Gloucestershire					R^{989}	R^{990}	
Hampshire				D^{991}			

⁹⁸³ PRS Pipe Roll 1199, p. 261, with Richard Sifrewast, Ralph de Sumery, Thomas de Sancto Walerico, Earl of Albem', Hubert de Burgh, William Marshal, and the Earl of Leicester.

⁹⁸⁴ PRS Pipe Roll 1201, p. 201, De Praestitis Factis a Rege Ultra Mare – Willelmus de Cantelu [blank] l. s. pro eodem.

 $^{^{985}}$ PRS Pipe Roll 1202, p. 5, William owes 50s as a pledge of John de Grey, and he and his brother Robert Barat (*fratri sua*) owe £22 10s in Cockswell. In total, £66 4s are owed, and there was nothing in the Exchequer.

⁹⁸⁶ PRS Pipe Roll 1203, p. 46, Pleas of the Forest; William de Cantelu [blank] 50s. de prestito.

⁹⁸⁷ PRS Pipe Roll 1204, p. 58, Pleas of the Forest; William de Cantelu [blank] 50s. de prestito.

⁹⁸⁸ PRS Pipe Roll 1205, p. 65, William may be quit (set Willelmus de Cantelu habet inde quietantiam per breue R.) as the Earl of Warwick is recorded of 8 marks and ½ of scutage for 4 fees and a fourth part of one fee just as the sheriff said; in the chamber is 6 ½ marks and he owes 2 marks; p. 77, William owes 50s. de prestito.

⁹⁸⁹ PRS Pipe Roll 1203, p. 63, [De Taillagio Facto per S. de Pateshull' et Willelmum de Cantelu et Henricum de Norhanton'].

PRS Pipe Roll 1204, pp. 151-2, Concerning Amercements with Simon de Pateshull and their Companions; p. 153, the steward of the Bishop of Worcester owes 5m for trespass (pro transgressione) (set respondet infrai) by the pledge of William de Cantilupe.
 PRS Pipe Roll 1202, p. 82, William receiving 10 ½ tons of wine at Worcester [Compotus Magistri

⁹⁹¹ PRS Pipe Roll 1202, p. 82, William receiving 10 ½ tons of wine at Worcester [Compotus Magistri Serlonis et Radulfi Molendinarii De Vinis Regis que receperunt in pluribus locis que infra annotantur in termino Penticost' Anni Regis Tercii.]; p. 83, receiving 11 tons (tonellis) by the writ of G. fitz Peter, £14 10s. for the same writ, for which William ought to respond; p. 84, William owes 11 tons of wine de praestitio que appreciate fuerunt £14 et 10s.

Herefordshire				R ⁹⁹²	R ⁹⁹³	R ⁹⁹⁴
Northamptonshire						D^{995}
Oxfordshire	R ⁹⁹⁶					
Rutland	R ⁹⁹⁷					
Shropshire				R ⁹⁹⁸	R ⁹⁹⁹	
Staffordshire				R ¹⁰⁰⁰		R ¹⁰⁰¹
Sussex			iP ¹⁰⁰²			
Warw & Leic		R ¹⁰⁰³	R ¹⁰⁰⁴	D/R ¹⁰⁰⁵	D/R ¹⁰⁰⁶	D^{1007}

⁹⁹² PRS Pipe Roll 1203, pp. 56-7, 'Hereford' In Wallia', [De Taillagio Facto per S. de Pateshull' et Willelmum de Cantelu].

⁹⁹³ PRS Pipe Roll 1204, p. 18, The Third Scutage and amercements – recording amounts with Simon de

Pateshull.

994 PRS Pipe Roll 1205, p. 271, William (I) with Walter le Poer pro eo Adam the Clerk, in 'Hereford' in Wallia', recording amounts due for the shire (a fourth of £20 and 48s and 2d) - nothing in the Exchequer; p. 272, William [blank] 20s of John de Kilpec's hayes of half the year - John of Kilpec is recorded of 40s and 1 acciptre of haiis in Hereford; p. 273, William de Cantilupe ought to respond (debet respondere) for the debt of William Longchamp who owes the Exchequer £35 for his lands in the shire: William de Cantilupe [blank] £140 of the same land of that year; pp. 275-6, William owes 3 marks of the scutage of John of Kilpec; William and Adam the Clerk record and answer for the money owed in the shire.

⁹⁹⁵ PRS Pipe Roll 1205, p. 264, relating to the Earl of Warwick's debts: Et in perdonis Willelmo de Cantelu j m. per breue R.
996 PRS Pipe Roll 1199, p. 225.

⁹⁹⁷ PRS Pipe Roll 1199, p. 20, with Ralph de Sumery, Earl of Chester, Earl David, William de Humez and Robert Gredle.

⁹⁹⁸ PRS Pipe Roll 1203, pp. 65-66; William is one of those helping to sort out a case of marriage rights and dowry concerning Alice, daughter of Robert fitz Roger; p. 63, [Taillagium Factum per S. de Pateshull' et W. de Cantelu et Socios Suos] – this circuit includes taking tallage from Ford, one of Robert Corbet of Caus's holdings. Later, Thomas Corbet was to withdraw Ford, along with Hope and Shelve, into Caus and claim it was had the status of a Marcher liberty. The men of Ford later complained against his son Peter regarding this.

¹⁹⁹ PRS Pipe Roll 1204, pp. 157-8, amercements with Simon de Pateshull and their companions.

¹⁰⁰⁰ PRS Pipe Roll 1203, p. 252, [De Taillagio Facto per S. de Pateshull' et Willelmum de Cantelu et Socios Suos1.

¹⁰⁰¹ PRS Pipe Roll 1205, p. 158, [Ammerciamenta per Simonem de Pateshull' et Willelmum de Cantelu].

¹⁰⁰² PRS Pipe Roll 1202, p. 139, 'and for the passage of 15 mounted knights by William de Cantilupe 7s

¹⁰⁰³ PRS Pipe Roll 1201, p. 231, with William de Hardredshull, recording £64 12d for Warwiskshire for that year, and £42 18s. 2d. for Leicestershire for half the year. In the Exchequer, £14 8s. 3d.

PRS Pipe Roll 1202, p. 31, with Walter le Poer recording £128 2s. for Warwickshire, and de quarter xx et v li, et xvi s, et iiii d, bl, de firma de Leircestrscire. Nothing in the Exchequer.

¹⁰⁰⁵ PRS Pipe Roll 1203, p. 28, with Walter le Poer, recording amounts for Warwickshire and Leicestershire for that year - £128 2s, for Warw., and de quarter xx et v li. et xvj s. et iiij d. bl. de firma de Leircestrscire. In the Exchequer, £47 10s. 6d.; and William (I) owes £8 15s. in Bugedon and Haverbridge; p. 36, [De Ammerciamentis per S. de Pateshull et Socios Suos] William recorded 62s. 8d. of chattals for Godfrey – in the Exchequer 10s, and 52s and 8d is owed; p. 37, William recorded 1m of chattals for Richard. In the Exchequer: 8s. and 4d. 5s. is owed; p. 39, [Item Ammerciamenta per S. de Pateshull et Socios Suos], William de Cantelu [blank] £14 10s. for 11 tons of wine que magister Serlo et Radulfus molendinarius ei liberauerunt . de prestitio . sicut continentur in compoto illorum in Sudhantescir' de anno preterito.

PRS Pipe Roll 1204, p. 220, recording the usual amounts for Warwickshire and Leicestershire with Walter le Poer, and owing £17 10s. in Bugdon and Haverbridge; p. 225, dealing with amercements with

Simon de Pateshull and their companions; p. 228, owes 1 palfrey *pro* Peter de Mauley.

1007 *PRS Pipe Roll 1205*, p. 28, William owes £17 10s. for land in Bugden and Haverbridge; p. 31, William owes 1 palfrey pro Peter de Mauley; p. 38, [De Finibus et Scutagio Militum de Sexto Scutagio] Et Willelmo de Cantelu xxm. de feodis x. militum eiusdem comitis [Comes de Warewic] . per breue R. Et in Norhantesir' locantur ei v m. de (ijⁱ) feodis et dim. Et debet lxiij li. et ij s. et vijd. et ob.

Worcestershire		R^{1008}	D^{1009}	R^{1010}	R/D^{1011}
VV OT COSCOTSTITIC			_		1 1

¹⁰⁰⁸ PRS Pipe Roll 1201, p. 114, with Adam of Worcester. They recorded £215 10s 4d blati de firma de Wirecestrescire. In the exchequer: £57 14s; p. 293, with Adam of Worcester, pro eo de firma de Wirecesterscire. In the exchequer £23 11s 10d. Owed: £4 3s 3d blati. The same is recorded of the same debt. In thes. lib. Et Q. E.

¹⁰⁰⁹ PRS Pipe Roll 1202, p. 16, with Adam of Worcester, recording £215 10s. 4d. for Worcestershire. In the Exchequer: £61 5s 1d. ¹⁰¹⁰ PRS Pipe Roll 1203, p. 52, with Adam of Worcester, recording £215 10s. and 4d. for Worcestershire.

¹⁰¹⁰ PRS Pipe Roll 1203, p. 52, with Adam of Worcester, recording £215 10s. and 4d. for Worcestershire. In the Exchequer: £50 and 15s. and 2d.; p. 54, [Taillagium Factum Per Simonen de Pateshull' et Willelmum de Cantelu].

¹⁰¹¹ PRS Pipe Roll 1205, p. 265-66, William collecting revenue and recording amounts for Worcestershire – same as previous years; p. 268, [De Sexto Scutagio Assiso ad Duas Marcas]: Willelmus de Braiosa habet quietantiam per breue R. Willelmus de Cantelu . de wardis.

The Cantilupes began to make significant territorial advancements from 1205 onwards. The table below shows the increase of William's land interests and activities, including the counties for which William (I) acted in an official capacity from 1206-1215. [Note that the roll for 1213 (15 John) is missing].

Table 8: Cantilupe PRS Entries 1206-1215

	1206	1207	1208	1209	1210	1211	1212	1214	1215
Beds					D^{1012}	D ¹⁰¹³		D^{1014}	
				D/		iP ¹⁰¹⁶			
				Pledge					
Beds & Bucks				1015					
Berks	D^{1017}	D ¹⁰¹⁸	D ¹⁰¹⁹						
Bucks									
				Pledge					
Cumb'land				1020					
Dorset &						R ¹⁰²¹			
Somerset									
					R/D				
Essex & Herts					1022				
Glouc	R^{1023}	R ¹⁰²⁴							

¹⁰¹² PRS Pipe Roll 1210, p. 13, William owes 2 palfreys for 7 hides.

¹⁰¹³ PRS Pipe Roll 1211, p. 146, The heirs of Simon f. Elye owe 20s of 1 fee for the Scottish Scutage set Willelmus de Cantelu habet quietantiam; The heirs of William de Kinnesworth owe money for the Scottish Scutage for a 27th part (xxvij parte) of one fee set Willelmus de Cantelu [habet inde quietantiam]; p. 147, The heirs of Simon f. Elye owe 2 marks for the Welsh Scutage Assize and Two Marks for the same, as do William of Kinnesworth's heirs.

1014 PRS Pipe Roll 1214, p. 19, William owes money for 1 fee and a 27th part of a fee.

¹⁰¹⁵ PRS Pipe Roll 1209, p. 181, William is Hugh de Gournay's pledge for 100 marks, for Hugh to have the manor of 'Wandoure'. Other pledges are of note: The Earl of Devon for 100m., [William de Cantilupe], Nicholas de Stuteville for 1m., William Brewerre the younger for 20m., Matthew fitz Herbert for 20m., Thomas Basset for 20m., Reginald de la Zouche for 20m.; William also owes 2 palfreys for 7 hides in Exton.

¹⁰¹⁶ PRS Pipe Roll 1211, p. 142, For Passage to Ireland – William pardoned 100m. by the king's writ.

¹⁰¹⁷ PRS Pipe Roll 1206, p. 221, Vill of Waringford, William owes 50s.

¹⁰¹⁸ PRS Pipe Roll 1207, p. 186, Vill of Waringford, William owes 50s.

¹⁰¹⁹ PRS Pipe Roll 1208, p. 56, William is paying 50s of tenders he owed from Worcestershire – see PRS Pipe Roll 1208, p. 41.

¹⁰²⁰ PRS Pipe Roll 1209, p. 96, William de Cantilupe is a pledge for 1 mark for Robert de Veteri who has custody of the lands and heirs of William fitz Ralph and for the marriage rights of William fitz Ralph's widow Heloise de Stuteville.

¹⁰²¹ PRS Pipe Roll 1211, p. 109, William recording amounts for the account of the Abbot of Abbotsbury [Dorset].

¹⁰²² PRS Pipe Roll 1210, p. 200, William is recorded owing 200m and 1 destrier with Martin Longchamp [?] (Martinus campio) and is pardoned 50m. by the king's writ; p. 201, same debt, William is pardoned 100m, by the king's writ and William ought to discharge Martin of 100m, by the king's writ. And Martin owes 200m. and 1 destrier sicut supra continetur. de quibus respondet supra.

¹⁰²³ PRS Pipe Roll 1206, p. 16, [Respice in Tergum], The town of Gloucester is recorded of 60m of tallage by William de Cantilupe and Henry de Vere. In thes lib.; p. 17, William and Henry de Vere records the tallage owed by the town of Bristol (£100).

PRS Pipe Roll 1207, p. 217, William and Henry de Vere recording tallage owed by the town of Bristol.

	R/D	D/R	D^{1027}	D^{1028}	D^{1029}	D^{1030}	D^{1031}	D^{1032}	
Hereford	1025	1026							
Norfolk &							D^{1033}		
Suffolk									
							Lib.		
Notts							1034		
Oxfordshire						R ¹⁰³⁵			
				Pledge					
Sussex				1036					
W'm'land				R ¹⁰³⁷					
			D^{1038}		Pledge				
Wilts					1039				

¹⁰²⁵ PRS Pipe Roll 1206, p. 65, William is responding for John of Kilpec's hayes, and owes 20s. and 1 hawk (accipitrem) for the previous year [1205], and 40s. and 1 hawk for this year; p. 66, William records the worth of land belonging to William Longchamp; p. 67 [De Sexto Scutagio], Wiliam is recorded of £11 16d. de proficuo comitatus for half of the previous year.

¹⁰²⁶ PRS Pipe Roll 1207, p. 157, William ought to respond for Osbert, a man of the queen (Osberto, homini Regine) in Hereford, and Wilton on Wye and Caples; p. 158, William still owes money and a hawk for hayes in Hereford - he now owes the Exchequer 40s. and 3 hawks; recorded with William Longchamp [see PRS 1206, p. 66]; p. 159, Sixth Scutage, William [blank] £11 16d. de proficuo comitatus de dim. anno vij.. ¹⁰²⁷ PRS Pipe Roll 1208, p. 191, William owes £11 16d..

¹⁰²⁸ PRS Pipe Roll 1209, p. 61, William owes 3 hawks; p. 62, William de Cantilupe the king's seneschal owes 40 marks for having the custody of land and heirs of Egidie, lady of Kilpec, who was the wife of William FitzWarin.

¹⁰²⁹ PRS Pipe Roll 1210, p. 146, William owes 3 hawks; he also owes 40m. for the land and heirs of lady

PRS Pipe Roll 1211, p. 232, William owes 4 hawks and still has money outstanding - £4 for the sixth year of John's reign and for the year before. He owes 40s. for this year; p. 234, the heirs of Hugh the forester owe 3 marks for one fee and a half set Willelmus de Cantelu habet inde quietantiam by the king's writ; Henry Longchamp owes 2 marks for one fee in Wilton. Set Willelmus de Cantelu habet inde

quietantiam by the king's writ; p. 235, William is quite of 1 fee and a half that was John de Kilpec's. ¹⁰³¹ *PRS Pipe Roll 1212*, p. 158, William owes 7 *ostur*', and £6whch will be continued in the next roll; p. 160, William owes 40s and 6d for discharging trencheiarum factarum in Trivel [trencatum].

¹⁰³² PRS Pipe Roll 1212, p. 137, William is quit of a writ for 1 fee and a half that was Hugh the Forester's. 1033 PRS Pipe Roll 1212, p. 171, Et Willelmo de Cantilupo ad expensas nuntiorum Imperatoris iiij li. et x s. et viij d. per idem breue. ...

¹⁰³⁴ PRS Praestita Roll 1212, p. 90, [Worcester] William manumitted (lib.) to Robert Barat his brother 50 marks at Nottingham. Item Willelmo filio suo super eundem v. m. Item eidem ii m..

¹⁰³⁵ PRS Pipe Roll 1211, p. 12; Master Michael Belet r.c. 500m. for having the king's benevolence (pro habenda benevolentia R.) and lands and his restorations of that which he was disseised... in the chamber, 10 m. by William de Cantilupe ...

¹⁰³⁶ PRS 1209, p. 5, William is a pledge for Ralph de Clare who owes 1 palfrey in respect of his duel for one day [pro respect de duello suo per unum diem].

¹⁰³⁷ PRS Pipe Roll 1209, pp. 16-17, assistance for knights in the honours of Warwickshire and Leicestershire, of which counties William de Cantilupe was sheriff, are recorded.

¹⁰³⁸ PRS Pipe Roll 1208, pp. 198-9; William de Cantilupe or Peter fitzHerbert are to have custody of the land and heirs and marriage rights of the children of Ysolde, widow of Henry Biset. The pledges are of note in the light of personal networks: Walter de Lacy for 200m., John of Monmouth for 100m., Gilbert Talbot for 20m., Petronilla Dewias for 20m., Godfrey Longchamp for 10m., the Earl of Chester for 100m., the Constable of Chester for 100m., Roger Corbet for 10m., Richard fitzWilliam for 10m., John de Baalun for 20m., and others [alios plegios].

¹⁰³⁹ PRS Pipe Roll 1210, p. 80, Richard de Neville r.c. de ^dxx palfridos pro habenda petitione R. ad Ysold' Biset . ut ipsum Ricardum capiat in uirum . plegii William is a pledge for 50m. with William Malet (25m.) and William de Harecourt (25m). [the rest of the entry is deleted].

Warw & Leic	\mathbf{D}^{1040}	\mathbf{D}^{1041}	D ¹⁰⁴²	D^{1043}	R/D 1044	R/D 1045	R/D 1046	R/D 1047	R/D 1048
Worc	D/R 1049	R/D 1050	R/D 1051	D/R 1052	D/R 1053	R/D 1054	R/D 1055	R/D 1056	R ¹⁰⁵⁷

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¹⁰⁴⁵ PRS Pipe Roll 1211, p. 188, William de Cantilupe recording amounts with Walter le Poer for the counties; William owes his usual £17 and 10s for Bughdon and Haverbridge; p. 191, William owes 2 palfreys eo quod R. tradidit ei vij hidas which will be continued in Buckinghamshire on the preceding roll; p. 196, William is with Philip de Kinton making an account of the lands of Simon de Montfort; p. 197, in the account of the lands of Simon de Montfort, William has and owes lands in Worcestershire.

¹⁰⁴⁶ PRS Pipe Roll 1212, p. 136, William recording amounts with Walter le Poer and owes £17 10s in Bughdon and Haverbridge that was the land of William de Filgeriis; p. 138, William owes 2 palfreys which will be continued in the Bucks. Roll.

¹⁰⁴⁷ PRS Pipe Roll 1212, p. 109, William is recording amounts with Philip de Kinton and owes his usual £17 10s for Bughdon and Haverbridge, and has expenses for himself and 30 knights in the March of Wales for 21 days (£63) by the writ of Peter des Roches, bishop of Winchester; pp. 110-11, William owes 2 palfreys; p. 114, William (II) [junior] [blank] 68 marks for the Prestitis Pictavie.

¹⁰⁴⁸ PRS Pipe Roll 1215, p. 28, William recording amounts with Philip de Kinton and owes his usual £17 10s for Bughdon and Haverbridge which was William de Fugeriis'.

¹⁰⁴⁹ PRS Pipe Roll 1206, p. 201, William recording £215 10s. and 4d. for Worcestershire with Adam the Clerk – in the chamber: Nothing; p. 213, concerning tallages for which the men of Worcester responded; William owes £14 and 10s. of wine (vinis) sold through Master Serlo and R. molendinarium.

¹⁰⁵⁰ PRS Pipe Roll 1207, p. 197, recording amounts owed with Walter le Poer; p. 199, William [blank] £14 10s. of wine; p. 200, William records the value of William Longchamp's land here and in Hereford.

¹⁰⁵¹ PRS Pipe Roll 1208, pp. 39-40, William with Walter le Poer recording amounts, and William owing wine; p. 41, Pleas of the Forest through Henry de Neville, William [blank] 50s. of tenders, which will be sought in Berkshire; p. 207, view of account with Walter le Poer.

PRS Pipe Roll 1209, p. 63, William records the tallage owed in the county and owes 1 palfrey by Peter de Mauley; p. 64, William is recorded as owing 50s but there is nothing in the Exchequer; William also is recorded of £45 8s. 2d. de firma foreste of Malvern. Nothing in the Exchequer.

1053 PRS Pipe Roll 1210, p. 169, William recording the amounts owed with Adam Rufus; p. 171, William

¹⁰³⁵ PRS Pipe Roll 1210, p. 169, William recording the amounts owed with Adam Rufus; p. 171, William r.c. 10m. pro Robert Caluestail.

¹⁰⁵⁴ PRS Pipe Roll 1211, p. 251, William recording amounts with Adam del Wich; pp. 253-4, William

[blank] 500 marks and 5 palfreys for having the custody of land that was Henry Longchamp's with the custody and *maritagio* of Matilda, his wife, and the sister of the said William de Cantilupe and with the marriage of the heirs of the said Henry; p. 275, William and Adam del Wich on the Chancellor's Roll, pro eo de firma comitatus. In thes. Et Q. E.; p. 252, William the king's seneschal owes 2 tons of the best wine (*melioribus vini*) which the king will be able to obtain and [which] will be sold for 1 ton of white wine which the king caused him to have.

1055 PRS Pipe Roll 1212, p. 58, William and Adam del Wich recording amounts owed in the county; p. 59, William owes 2 tuns of wine; pp. 60-1, William one of the companions (socios) of Ralph de Neville hearing pleas of the forest and recording amounts owed; also involved in making the account of the bishop of Worcester; p. 136, William with Walter le Poer recording amounts owed in the county, and

¹⁰⁴⁰ PRS Pipe Roll 1206, p. 1, William owes £17 10s. in Bughdon and Haverbridge; p. 3, he owes 1 palfrey pro Peter de Mauley; p. 7, [De Taillagio Facto per Archdeaconum Wigorn' et Hugonem de Chaucumb'], William [blank] £4 9s. 4d. of land in 'Wimundeswald', and 43s. 8d. of tallage in Gaddesby, and 22s. of tallage of Barnsby.

¹⁰⁴¹ PRS Pipe Roll 1207, p. 190, William owes £13 2s. and 6d. in Bughdon and Haverbridge; Et internis datis in Leircestr'sir', William owes £4 and 8s.and 6d. in Bughdon and Haverbridge; p. 192, William owes 1 palfrey pro Peter de Mauley; p. 194, Sixth Scutage, William owes £7 and 15s. of tallage of the vill which was recorded in the preceding roll. He should respond in Worcestershire in the sequential roll. PRS Pipe Roll 1208, p. 159, William owes £17 10s. for Bughdon and Haverbridge.

¹⁰⁴³ PRS Pipe Roll 1209, p. 17, William owes £17 10s. for Bughdon and Haverbridge; p. 23, [Ammerciamenta per Radulfum de Ardenn' et Socios Suos], William owes half a mark. ¹⁰⁴⁴ PRS Pipe Roll 1210, p. 89, William records the amounts that should be collected from the two

¹⁰⁴⁴ PRS Pipe Roll 1210, p. 89, William records the amounts that should be collected from the two counties, and owes his usual £17 10s. in Bughdon and Haverbridge; p. 92, William owes 3s. as recorded by Ralph de Ardenne concerning the amercements; p. 93, William owes 2 palfreys for 7 hides which will be sought in Buckinghamshire; pp. 96-7, [Compotus Terrarum Simonis de Montford de anno integro a die qua Willelmus de Cantelu suscepit custodiam terrarium illarum]; William is with Philip de Kinton making this calculation.

Table 9: Cantilupe PRS Entries 1218-1225

	1218	1219	1220	1221	1222	1223	1224	1225
Beds								
				D ¹⁰⁵⁹				
Berks			1058					
Bucks	D^{1060}	D^{1061}	D^{1062}	D^{1063}	D^{1064}			
Cambs & Hunts		R ¹⁰⁶⁵						
Derbyshire			D ¹⁰⁶⁶					
Dorset					D^{1067}			
Essex & Herts								
	R/D							
Glouc	1068							

William owes the usual £17 10s. for Bughdon and Haverbridge which was William de Filgeriis'; p. 138, William owes 2 palfreys which will be dealt with in Buckinghamshire; PRS Praestita Roll 1212, p. 90, William manumitted to Robert Barat his brother 50 marks at Nottingham. Item Willelmo filio suo super

eundem v. m. Item eidem ij m.. 1056 PRS Pipe Roll 1214, p. 107, William recording amounts for the county with Philip de Kinton; p. 108, William owes 2 dolia of wine, and is recorded as owing 1 m for the chattals of Robert de Penedoc, who also owes 2 marks for being in mercy in the forest. William owes £174 8s. and 5 palfreys pro habenda custodia sicut continetur in rotulo xiiij^o.; p. 109, William owes 200m. for having custody of the land and daughter of Hugh de Insula and her marriage rights.

¹⁰⁵⁷ PRS Pipe Roll 1215, William recording amounts with Philip de Kinton.

PRS Pipe Roll 1220, p. 186, a pledge of Thomas Brito along with Faulkes de Bréauté and Thomas Esturmy.

1059 PRS Pipe Roll 1221, p. 64; William is Quit [Isti Habent Quietantiam per Brevia] - on list with William FitzWarin, Robert de Vere earl of Oxford, Robert de Pinkney, Earl de Clare, William de Windlesor', the bishop of Winchester of the fee of Robert d'Albiny, Roger de Beauchamp, Ranulf de Scirinton, Robert de Veteri Ponte, Earl Glovern' of the fee of Walter de Trailli, William Marshal, [William de Cantilupe], William de Beauchamp, William Fitz Hamo, William Brewer, Earl of Chester, William de Gimeges of the Honour of Peverell in Dorset, Peter de Mauley (of the same Honour), Hubert de Burgh of the fees of Philip de Girund of the same Honour.

1060 PRS Pipe Roll 1218, p. 61, William owes £40 in Hoxton with the daughter and heir of Hugh de Gourney. And he owes £13 and 3s and 11d. bl. and £108 num.; p. 63, William is recorded of 200 marks for having Millicent, who was the wife of Amaury de Montfort, for his son William, and for having Katherine, the daughter of Hugh de Insula for one of his brothers. William was pardoned the 200 marks by a writ of King John which is in forulo of the Marshal in Worcestershire. Et Q. E.; p. 64, William owes 2 marks and 11d for one fee and a 27^{th} of a fee.

1061 PRS Pipe Roll 1219, p. 52, William owes £40 in Hoxton with the daughter and heir of Hugh de Gournay; p. 57, William owes 2 marks and 11d. for the First Scutage.

1062 PRS Pipe Roll 1220, p. 1, William owes £40 in Hoxton with the daughter and heir of Hugh de

1063 PRS Pipe Roll 1221, p. 194, William owes £40 in Hoxton with the daughter and heir of Hugh de Gourney; p. 198, William owes 2 marks and 11d for the First Scutage.

1064 PRS Pipe Roll 1222, p. 16, William owes £40 in Hoxton with the daughter and heir of Hugh de Gourney.; p. 19, William owes 2 marks and 11d for the First Scutage.; p. 19, William (II) owes 19 marks for the First Scutage for the fee of Leon de Stuteville, which has been sought in Nottinghamshire.

¹⁰⁶⁵ PRS Pipe Roll 1219, pp. 70-3, William, with his companions, records the ammercements of the Abbot of Ramsey.

1066 PRS Pipe Roll 1220, p. 153, William junior (II) owes 19 marks for the First Scutage for the fees of Leonie de Stuteville. By 1230 he also gains the town of Bingley from Ranulf, earl of Chester: CR 1226-57, p. 115.

PRS Pipe Roll 1222, p. 50, William is responding for a debt in Warwickshire here pro Matilda Luvel

and Radulf Pincerna. ¹⁰⁶⁸ *PRS Pipe Roll 1218*, p. 10, Jordan la Warr owes 2 palfreys and Faulkes de Bréauté is a pledge for one. William and others are to respond in Gloucestershire; p. 42, it is recorded in the Gloucestershire roll that the villata of Leicester owes 200 marks for the grand assise by William de Cantilupe and William Brewer to relax the interdict of king John (ad relaxationem interdicti tempore R. J.).

Hampshire			D^{1069}					
Hereford	D^{1070}		D^{1071}	D ¹⁰⁷²	D^{1073}		D ¹⁰⁷⁴	
Kent				R ¹⁰⁷⁵				
Lincolnshire	D ¹⁰⁷⁶	D^{1077}	D^{1078}	D^{1079}	D^{1080}			
Northants		D^{1081}	D^{1082}	D^{1083}	D^{1084}			
Notts				D^{1085}				
Oxfordshire				D^{1086}	D^{1087}			
Sussex								
Wilts	Pledge 1088	D ¹⁰⁸⁹	D^{1090}		D^{1091}	D^{1092}	D ¹⁰⁹³	

¹⁰⁶⁹ PRS Pipe Roll 1220, p. 122, William as the king's seneschal discharging the king's expenses here.

¹⁰⁷⁰ PRS Pipe Roll 1218, p. 92, William owes 3 marks for one and a half fees that was Hugh the Forester's.

¹⁰⁷¹ PRS Pipe Roll 1220, p. 194, William with the heir of Henry Longchamp owes £16 10s bl. In Wilton on Wye and Caples.

¹⁰⁷² PRS Pipe Roll 1221, p. 13, William with the heir of Henry Longchamp owes £16 10s bl. In Wilton on Wye and Caples.

¹⁰⁷³ PRS Pipe Roll 1222, p. 64, William with the heir of Henry Longchamp owes £16 10s bl. In Wilton on Wye and Caples.; p. 65, William owes 2 palfreys pro the heir of Henry Longchamp; p. 68, William has the quitclaim by the king's writ of the fees of Chandos and of Longchamp.

¹⁰⁷⁴ PRS Receipt Rolls 1223-4, 3685:132, William owed 100m for the fine for the land and heirs of Robert de Chandos.

¹⁰⁷⁵ PRS Pipe Roll 1221, p. 209, The sheriff recorded 100s which he received of William de Cantilupe by the hand of Odo the Goldsmith. [cf. the *Cur. Reg.*, x., p. 94 and p. 112, where Odo is attorned by William in his cases against Denise of Barford and Henry Pembridge respectively].

¹⁰⁷⁶ PRS Pipe Roll 1218, p. 93, William owes £8 in Kelsey which was Hugh de Gournay's.

¹⁰⁷⁷ PRS Pipe Roll 1219, p. 118, William owes £8 in Kelsey which was Hugh de Gournay's.

¹⁰⁷⁸ PRS Pipe Roll 1220, p. 88, William owes £8 in Kelsey which was Hugh de Gournay's.

¹⁰⁷⁹ PRS Pipe Roll 1221, p. 144, William owes £8 in Kelsey which was Hugh de Gournay's.

¹⁰⁸⁰ PRS Pipe Roll 1222, p. 197, William owes £8 in Kelsey which was Hugh de Gournay's; And William owes 40s for the quarter [of the year] in Kelsey.

PRS Pipe Roll 1219, p. 78, William owes £30 to discharge the king's expenses at Northampton to the Feast of the Birth of Blessed Mary in the third year of his reign; and he owes £15 15s and 8d.; p. 83, William and his wife Mazilia owe 6 marks and 4s. and 5d. in Bulwick, for the First Scutage.

¹⁰⁸² PRS Pipe Roll 1220, p. 19, William and his wife Mazilia owe 6 marks 4 s and 5d for the First Scutage in Bulwick.

¹⁰⁸³ PRS Pipe Roll 1221, p. 190, William the elder (senior) and Mazilia his wife [blank] 6 marks and 4s and 5d for the First Scutage in Bulwick.

¹⁰⁸⁴ PRS Pipe Roll 1222, p. 83, William (I) and Mazilia his wife owe 6 marks and 4s and 5d for the First Scutage in Bulwick.

¹⁰⁸⁵ PRS Pipe Roll 1221, p. 78; see Oxfordshire (below) for that year; recorded on the Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire roll, William owes 19 marks for the fee of Leonie de Stuteville, for which he will respond in Oxfordshire.

¹⁰⁸⁶ PRS Pipe Roll 1221, p. 78, Recorded on the Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire roll, William owes 19 marks for the fee of Leonie de Stuteville, for which he will respond in Oxfordshire; William (II) (*junior*) owes 19 marks for the First Scutage for the fee of Leon de Stuteville, which has been sought in Nottinghamshire.

¹⁰⁸⁷ PRS Pipe Roll 1222, p. 19, William (II) (junior) owes 19 marks for the First Scutage for the fee of Leon de Stuteville, which has been sought in Buckinghamshire.

¹⁰⁸⁸ *PRS Pipe Roll 1218*, p. 10, Jordan la Warr owes 2 palfreys and Faulkes de Bréauté is a pledge for one. William and others are to respond in Gloucestershire.

¹⁰⁸⁹ PRS Pipe Roll 1219, p. 19, Fulk owes 30s. of Scottish scutage for which William will respond in the following roll for Warwickshire and Leicestershire.

¹⁰⁹⁰ PRS Pipe Roll 1220, p. 35, [in the Warwickshire and Leicestershire rolls] William owes 1 mark for half a fee in Calstone and 30s. pro Fulk de Cantilupe for which he will respond in Wiltshire.

Warw & Leic	R/D 1094	D ¹⁰⁹⁵	R/D 1096	D/R 1097	R/D 1098	D ¹⁰⁹⁹	
Worc	R/D 1100	D ¹¹⁰¹	D^{1102}	R/D 1103			

¹⁰⁹¹ PRS Pipe Roll 1222, p. 216, William owes £75 in Calne for five years and ought to respond with £15 per year, and he owes £160 in Marlborough for five years.

1092 PRS Receipt Rolls 1223-4, 115:4, William paid £7 10s for Calne.

¹⁰⁹³ PRS Receipt Rolls 1223-4, 4495:156, William owed £7 10s for Calne.

¹⁰⁹⁴ PRS Pipe Roll 1218, p. 49, William with Philip de Kinton recording amounts owed by the county; p. 50, William owes his usual amount in Bughdon and Haverbridge (£17 10s); p. 51, William owes 2 palfreys; p. 52, William owes 2 tons of wine for which he will respond in Worcestershire; p. 53, William (II) [junior] is recorded of 48 marks for *Praestitis Pictavie*.

1095 *PRS Pipe Roll 1219*, responding for other debts here – see fn. 577 (above) and fn 588, (below).

¹⁰⁹⁶ PRS Pipe Roll 1220, p. 35, recorded as owing and discharging debts in Wiltshire here; p. 30, with Philip de Kinton, recording amounts for the county; p. 32, William owes 2 tons of wine for which he will respond in Worcestershire.

¹⁰⁹⁷ PRS Pipe Roll 1221, p. 215, William is on the list as recording amounts due from this region with Radulf Arabicus (sic), indicating that the Cantilupes had professional interaction with those who came to England (or back to England) from the Middle East; 'Arabicus' suggests that Radulf may be of mixed descent or was perhaps a Christian/Christianized native; William also owes his usual amount for Bughdon and Haverbridge, and owes 100 marks for the land of David de Lindes' which the king conceded to William to sustain himself [ad se sustentandum]; p. 217, William owes 2 tons of wine; p. 219, Willelmus de iiij^{or} maris debet xx m. pro habenda gratia R. de quibus Willelmus de Cant'lupo debet eos adquietare qui illas receipt sicut recognovit.; William owes 43s 4d for the First Scutage; p. 222, It is recorded that William owes 17s 10d for the chattals of Thurstan [de Montfort?]. In the chamber 8s and 9d. And he owes 9s and 1d.; p. 224, [Respice in Tergum], William is recorded of 24s 6d of the chattals of Thomas. In the chamber 10s. And he owes 14s 6d. The same William is recorded of 14s of the chattals of Michael... in the chamber 4s and he owes 8s and 4d.

¹⁰⁹⁸ PRS Pipe Roll 1222, p. 1, William and William de Luditon are recording amounts owed in the region ; William owes his usual amount for Bughdon and Haverbridge; p. 3, William owes 2 tons of wine; p. 5, William owes 20 marks through (pro) William de Quatuor Maris, and owes 43s for the second debt which will be continued in the third roll, and 5 marks and 4s and 5 d for the first scutage which will be sought in Nothamptonshire, and William also owes 3 and a half marks pro Matilda Luvel which Philip de Kinton the bailiff received and which will be required in Dorset.

¹⁰⁹⁹ PRS Receipt Rolls 1223-4, 2674:103, William had to pay 5s 8d for the chattals of Roger, a fugitive

⁽fugitivi).

1100 PRS Pipe Roll 1218, p. 29, William records the amounts owed for the growth (cremento) of the county, and owes 2 dolia of wine for which he will respond in Warwickshire; he also is recorded as owing five palfreys for having custody of the chattals of Robert de Penedoc.

PRS Pipe Roll 1219, p. 18, William owes 1 mark for 1 and a half fees in Calstone, for which he is to respond in the Warwickshire and Lincolnshire rolls.

PRS Pipe Roll 1220, p. 32, William owes 2 tons of wine.

¹¹⁰³ PRS Pipe Roll 1221, p. 227, William and Henry Luvel recording amounts for the county; p. 231, Concerning the amerciamentis factis through S. Abbot of Rading' and Martin de Pateshull and their companions – William is recorded of 21s and 4d of chattals.; p. 232, William owes 8 marks and 40d for the evasion (evasione) of the vill of Berton, and he will respond in the sequential Warwickshire roll.

Appendix 2

Corbet Tables 1199-1230

As with the Cantilupe tables, 'D' stands for *debet*, indicating that an amount was owed in the county.

Table 10: Corbet PRS Entries 1199-1205

	1199	1200	1201	1202	1203	1204	1205
Berkshire			D^{1104}	D^{1105}	D^{1106}	D^{1107}	D^{1108}
Gloucestershire	D^{1109}		D_{1110}	\mathbf{D}^{1111}	D^{1112}		D^{1113}
Shropshire	D^{1114}	D^{1115}	D_{1116}	D^{1117}	D_{1118}	D^{1119}	D^{1120}
Worcestershire		D^{1121}	D^{1122}				

¹¹⁰⁴ PRS Pipe Roll 1201, p. 204, [Isti Sunt Qui Finem Non Fecerunt] William son of Ranulf owes 5m. for his fine for 1 knight's fee which Robert Corbet holds.

¹¹⁰⁵ PRS Pipe Roll 1202, p. 6, The Second Scutage: William son of Ranulf owes 5m. for his fine for 1 knight's fee which Robert Corbet holds.

¹¹⁰⁶ PRS Pipe Roll 1203, p. 47, The Second Scutage: William son of Ranulf owes 5m. for his fine for 1 knight's fee which Robert Corbet holds; p. 49, ... And concerning 3 marks of Robert Corbet for one knight's fee.

PRS Pipe Roll 1204, p. 62, Robert is recorded of £4 for the scutage in the Honour of Wallingford.

¹¹⁰⁸ PRS Pipe Roll 1205, p. 66, Robert owes 2 marks for the Sixth Scutage in the Honour of Wallingford.

¹¹⁰⁹ PRS Pipe Roll 1199, p. 37, Roger Corbet 2 m. for the First Scutage and 2 marks; p. 29, ... Corbet (name missing but presumably Roger) is recorded of 15s. pro murdro; PRS Memoranda Roll 1199, p. 41, Roger Corbet owes 15s. for dissiesin.

PRS Pipe Roll 1201, pp. 47-8, Roger is recorded of 8 marks for the Second Scutage of the King concerning Fines of Knights who have not Crossed the Sea [De Secundo Scutagio Regis de Finibus Militum Ne Transfretent] and for 1 knight's fee in the Honour of Gloucester (in Anglia) and three knights in Wales (in Wallia).

¹¹¹¹ PRS Pipe Roll 1202, p. 281, Roger Corbet owes 10 marks for one fee.

¹¹¹² PRS Pipe Roll 1203, p. 42, Roger owes 4 marks for 1 knight's fee.

¹¹¹³ PRS Pipe Roll 1205, p. 106, Roger owes 5 marks for 1 knight's fee.

¹¹¹⁴ PRS Pipe Roll 1199, p. 74, Richard son of Robert owes 3 and a half marks for having the right of 7 marks against Robert Corbet (pro habendo recto de vij m. versus Robertum Corbet); p. 75, Robert owes 20s. for the Third Scutage; p. 79, Robert is recorded of 8 marks of scutage in his county and (20s) 2 marks of scutage 1 knight's fee. In the chamber 8 marks. And he owes 2 marks.

¹¹¹⁵ PRS Pipe Roll 1200, p. 171, Robert owes 20s for the scutage to ransom King Richard, and 20s. for the Second Scutage; p. 172, Robert owes 20s. for the Third Scutage; p. 173, Robert owes 2 marks for the First Scutage.

¹¹¹⁶ PRS Pipe Roll 1201, p. 278, Robert is recorded of 20s. of scutage for Richard I's ransom; Robert owes 20s. for the Second Scutage; p. 279, Robert owes 20s. for the Third Scutage; p. 280, Robert owes 2 marks of scutage for the First Scutage; p. 282, [De Secundo Scutagio Asiso ad IJ Marcas et de Finibus Militum] Robert owes 10m. of scutage.

¹¹¹⁷ PRS Pipe Roll 1202, p. 43, Robert owes 2 marks for the First Scutage; p. 46, Robert owes 10 marks for the Thrid Scutage.

¹¹¹⁸ PRS Pipe Roll 1203, p. 67, Robert Corbet owes 2 marks for the First Scutage; p. 68, Robert is recorded of 1 mark for the Third Scutage; p. 70, Robert owes 10 marks for 5 knights' fees in the Fourth Scutage.

¹¹¹⁹ PRS Pipe Roll 1204, p. 155, Robert is recorded of 2 marks for the First Scutage.

¹¹²⁰ PRS Pipe Roll 1205, p. 91, Robert Corbet owes 10 marks of scutage, as compared with John Lestrange (2 marks), High de Pichford (2 marks), and Gruffudd Coch (5 marks).

In the table below, 'D' once again stands for *debet*, indicating where money was owed by the Corbets from 1206-1220, and the details are given in the footnotes below, ordered by county rather than by year.

Table 11: Corbet PRS Entries 1206-1220

	1206	1207	1208	1209	1211	1212	1214	1218	1219	1220
Berkshire	D^{1123}				D^{1124}		D^{1125}			
Gloucester	D^{1126}		D^{1127}	D^{1128}	D^{1129}					
Shropshire	D^{1130}	D^{1131}				D^{1132}	D^{1133}	D^{1134}	D^{1135}	D^{1136}

Table 12: Corbet PRS Entries 1223-30

	1223	1224	1230
Berkshire		D^{1137}	
Hampshire			D^{1138}
Gloucestershire			

¹¹²¹ PRS Pipe Roll 1200, p. 32, Roger Corbet owes 10 marks for having recognition against the abbot of Tewkesbury (pro habenda recognitione uersus abbatem de Teokesbir').

¹¹²² PRS Pipe Roll 1201, p. 118, Roger Corbet owes 10 marks for having recognition against the abbot of Tewkesbury (pro habenda recognitione uersus abbatem de Teokesbir').

¹¹²³ PRS Pipe Roll 1206, p. 225, Robert owes 2 marks for his fee in the Honour of Wallingford.

¹¹²⁴ PRS Pipe Roll 1211, p. 205, Robert has 1 knight's fee.

PRS Pipe Roll 1214, p. 53, Robert owes £10 in the Honour of Wallingford.

¹¹²⁶ PRS Pipe Roll 1206, p. 20, John Corbet (heir of Roger?) owes 10 marks for the Seventh Scutage; p. 111, William Corbet owes half a mark for disseisin, as does William 'the clerk' FitzWarin.

¹¹²⁷ PRS Pipe Roll 1208, p. 115, Roger Corbet owes 20s.

¹¹²⁸ PRS Pipe Roll 1209, p. 60, Radulf Avenel r.c. quarter xx et xv m. pro baillia sicut supra conitentur. In thes. v m. per Rogerum Corbet. ... (There follows a list of names with other amounts, including Richard de Piplington, John le Poer, Richard fitz William, William de Stanes, Roger de Longs, William de Wasseburn, Thomas Rupe, Richard de Ambrell, Hugh Marmion (?), and Stephan of Worsley).

¹¹²⁹ PRS Pipe Roll 1211, p. 65, Roger Corbet owes 20s; p. 66, Roger owes 2 marks for the Welsh Scutage alongside Walter de Cantilupe.

¹¹³⁰ PRS Pipe Roll 1206, p. 111, Robert Corbet is one of those who is quit by writ – the full list is as follows: Peter fitz Herbert, Ingel de Pratell, Thomas Malduit, Hugh Pantulf, William FitzAlan, William de Boterell, John Lestrange, Baldwin de Bodliers and Robert Corbet.

¹¹³¹ PRS Pipe Roll 1207, p. 6, William Corbet owes ½ mark for disseisin.

PRS Praestita Roll 1212, p. 91, Thomae Corbet super Robertum Corbet j m.; p. 93, [Item Prestitum Factum Militibus apud Cant' Coram Petro f. Herberti et Radulfo de Normanvill' et Willelmo de Huntingefel'], Roger Corbet owes 4 marks.

¹¹³³ PRS Pipe Roll 1214, p. 122, [De Scutagio Pictavie Assiso ad III Marcas] Robert Corbet owes £10 for 5 fees.

¹¹³⁴ PRS Pipe Roll 1218, p. 6, Robert Corbet owes 10 m. for 5 fees.

¹¹³⁵ PRS Pipe Roll 1219, p. 7, Robert Corbet owes 10 marks for the First Scutage. In the chamber 8 marks. And he owes 2 marks. Et Q. E.

¹¹³⁶ PRS Receipt Rolls 1220-22, 739:30, Easter 1220, Robert owes 2 marks of scutage.

¹¹³⁷ PRS Pipe Roll 1224, p. 229, Robert owes 2 marks for one fee in the Honour of Wallingford; p. 231, Robert owes 2 marks.

¹¹³⁸ PRS Memoranda Roll 1230, p. 41, Thomas Corbet of Hadley and Madoc of Sutton owe money here – evidently this branch of Corbets and Robert ap Madoc's son are still closely linked to the main Caus branch, and are benefitting from their English territories.

Shropshire	D^{1139}	D^{1140}	D^{1141}
Yorkshire		D^{1142}	

¹¹³⁹ PRS Pipe Roll 1223, p. 175, [De Amerciamentis] Robert Corbet owes 28s and 5d of scutage of Biham. In the chamber 8s and 5d. And he owes 20s.; [Nova Oblata] Thomas of Caus [blank] £100 for relief of the lands that were Robert's, his father's, which Robert held in lordship; Gerin Burnel and William Corbet (Thomas's brother) are recorded of 5 marks ut possint esse sub plegio. [This is for their case in the Shropshire eyre of 1221 where they stood accused of robbing a monk of Buildwas at the instigation of Thomas, and Robert of Caus their father was their surety]; PRS Receipt Rolls 1223-4, 431:19, Easter 1223, Thomas Cornet owes 20marks for relief.

¹¹⁴⁰ PRS Pipe Roll 1224, p. 37, Robert owes 20s of scutage for Byham; Thomas owes £100 for relief; p. 38, Thomas is quit by writ – along with Radulf de Pichford, John son of William FitzAlan, Thomas Mauduit, Walter Clifford, Hugh pantulf, [Thomas Corbet], Peter fitz Herbert, John Lestrange, Walter Dunstanville; Thomas is quit by writ for his five fees; p. 36, William Corbet and Gerin Burnel still owe 5 marks regarding their court case. They paid one and owe 4.

¹¹⁴¹ PRS Memoranda Roll 1230, p. 54, The king mandates the sheriff of Shropshire to demand £47 and 1

¹¹⁴¹ PRS Memoranda Roll 1230, p. 54, The king mandates the sheriff of Shropshire to demand £47 and 1 mark that Thomas still owes the Crown for relief (from 1222); pp. 58-9, Thomas Corbet of Hadley and Madoc of Sutton are answering for pones to the sheriff of Shropshire and Staffordshire. Thomas of Hadley has the manor of Bromley.

¹¹⁴² PRS Receipt Rolls 1223-4, 1993:72, Michaelmas 1224, Hervey Corbet owes 15s.

Appendix 3

Cantilupe Cases in the Curia Regis Rolls

Table 13: Cantilupe Cases 1200-1203

Date	Location	Defendants	Plaintiffs	Attornies	Reference
1200	Warwickshire	William de Cantilupe	Peter Corbezun	Peter attourned via the Prior of Studley, Simon de Cotton, Richard of Antioch	Cur. Reg. i., p. 116
1200	Lincolnshire	William de Cantilupe	Lambert de Scotenn'	William de Cantilupe appointed Ralph 'Neil'	Cur. Reg. i., p. 254
1200	Lincolnshire	William de Cantilupe	Lambert de Scotenn'	William attourned via Ralph 'de Neville'; [Ralph 'Neel' (p. 269); Ralph 'filius Nigelli' (p. 275); 'filii Nigelli' (p. 415)] Lambert attourned via Mauger de Ricton	Cur. Reg. i., pp. 261- 2
1201	Huntingdonshire	Roger de Cantilupe	William de Merc'	Roger appointed Ralph de Cantilupe of Chesterton	Cur. Reg., i., p. 404
1201	Somerset	Mazra de Bracy	Stephen de Welton and his son William	Mazra attourned William de Cantilupe, William de Hardredshill, Robert de Cantilupe, Godfrey de Roinges	Cur. Reg. ii., p. 29
1203	Kent	William de Cantilupe and his wife 'Mascillia'	John de Wahill' and Richard de 'Bosevill'	William and Mascillia appointed Robert de	Cur. Reg. iii., pp. 14- 15

	Cantilupe	
	and Godfrey	
	de Roinges	

Table 14: Cantilupe Cases 1208-1239

Date	Location	Defendant	Plaintiff	Attorney	Reference
1208	Shropshire	Roger Mortimer	Audulf de Brascy	Audulf attorned William de Cantilupe	Cur. Reg. v., pp. 142, 155
1210	Somerset	William Dacun	John Capellanum and Ranulf 'Abbatem'	Robert de Cantilupe essoined by Philip; John son of Vitalis essoined by Alexander	Cur. Reg. vi., p. 61
1215	Bedfordshire	William de Cantilupe	Prior of Dunstaple	Prior attorned William his canon	<i>Cur. Reg.</i> vii., p. 312
1220	Herefordshire	William de Cantilupe	Henry de Penebrige	Henry attorned Reginald de Braose	<i>Cur. Reg.</i> viii., pp. 240-1
1220	Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire	William de Fesnes	William de Cantilupe, Henry de Scaccario	William attorned William Mautuit or John de Fesnes	Cur. Reg. viii., p. 283
1220	Warwickshire, Bedfordshire and Rutland	William de Cantilupe	William de Fennes / Prior of Broc / Denise of Bereford	William attorned Odo Aurifabrum	Cur. Reg. viii., p. 294
1220	Warwickshire	William de Cantilupe	Denise of Bereford	William de Cantilupe attorned but the name is missing	Cur. Reg. viii., p. 334
1220	Somerset	Mazilia wife of William de Cantilupe	Vitalis Engaigne, Roger Gernet	Mazilia essoined [no name]	Cur. Reg. ix., p. 149
1220	Somerset	William de Cantilupe and his wife Mazilia	Vitalis Engaigne, Roger Gernet	Vitalis and Roger attorned [no name given]	Cur. Reg. ix., p. 216
1220	Bedfordshire	William de Fennes	William de Cantilupe	Both attorned [no names]	<i>Cur. Reg.</i> ix., p. 13
1220	Northamptonshire	Theobald de Lascelles and his wife Ada	William de Cantilupe	Theobald and Ada attorned [no names given]	Cur. Reg. ix., p. 87

1220	Warwickshire	William de	Denise of	Denise attorned	Cur. Reg.
		Cantilupe	Bereford	Henry de	ix., p. 129
1220	*** ' 1 1 '	XX 7'11' 1	D : C	Nafford	C P
1220	Warwickshire	William de	Denise of Bereford	Both attorned	Cur. Reg.
1220	Somerset	Cantilupe Thomas de	Elias de	[no names] Thomas	ix., p. 143
1220	Somerset	Mariscis	Beauchamp	attorned Robert	<i>Cur. Reg.</i> ix., p. 169
		Manscis	and William	de Mariscis	1x., p. 109
			de Cantilupe	de Mariseis	
1220	Herefordshire	William de	Reginald de	Both attorned	Cur. Reg.
		Cantilupe	Braose and	[no names]	ix., p. 258
		•	Henry de		
			Penebrige		
1220	Bedfordshire	William	William de	'William'	Cur. Reg.
			Cantilupe	attorned Hugh	ix., p. 276
				de Gournay –	
				presumably William de	
				Cantilupe	
1220	Devon	Robert de	William de	Robert attorned	Cur. Reg.
1220	DOVOII	Borard	Cantilupe	Richard son of	ix., p. 308
		201410	Cunturup	Edmund;	, p. 200
				William	
				attorned Odo	
				Audifabrum	
1220	Devon	Robert de	William de	Both attorned	Cur. Reg.
1220		Borard	Cantilupe	[no names]	ix., p. 329
1220	Northamptonshire	Theobald de	William de	Theobald and	Cur. Reg.
		Lascelles and his wife Ada	Cantilupe	Ada attorned [no names]	ix., p. 365
1220	Essex, Somerset	Vitalis	Theobald de	Vitalis attorned	Cur. Reg.
1220	Essex, Somerset	Engaigne	Lascelles	Gerard son of	ix., pp.
		8	and Ada his	Richard or	370-1
			wife <i>de</i>	William	
			placito	Mauduit	
			dotis;		
			William de		
			Cantilupe		
			junior de		
1221	Warwickshire	William de	<i>placito terre</i> Denise de	William	Cur. Reg.
1221	vv ai wicksiiiic	Cantilupe	Bereford	attorned Walter	x., p. 94
		Cantinapo	20101014	de Bisshopton	, p. , ,
				or Odo	
				Aurifabrum	
1221	Herefordshire	William de	Henry de	William	Cur. Reg.
		Cantilupe	Penebrige	appoints	x., p. 112
				Laurence the	
				Cleric or Odo	
1221	Puolinghomohina	William de	William de	Aurifabrum	Cum Daa
1221	Buckinghamshire	William de Fednes	Cantilupe,	William de Fednes attorns	Cur. Reg.
		1 cuites	Hugh de	Howel de	x., p. 254
			Gournay	Fednes or	
			Journay	Ingram de	
				Bertun	
	1		İ		

1221	Somerset	William de	Vitalis	William	Cur. Reg.
		Cantilupe	Engaigne,	appoints	x., p. 61
		junior	Roger	Richard son of	
1233	Surrey	Felicity de	Gernet William de	Edmund Felicity	Cur. Reg.
1233	Surrey	Baseville, wife	Torel	attorned John	xi., 33:5
		of Arnold de	10101	de Cantilupe	м., ээ.э
		Cantilupe			
1223	Berkshire	Prior of Stodley	William de	William de	Cur. Reg.
			Cantilupe,	Cantilupe	xi., 196:34
			earl William	attorned Henry	
			Marshal, John Belet,	de Waltham; Prior attorned	
			Radulf	William de	
			Pigun	Edricheston	
1223	Suffolk	William de	William de	William de	Cur. Reg.
		Crepping	Cantilupe	Cantilupe	xi.,
				attorned Radulf	1269:255
				de Alnett	
1223	Buckinghamshire,	William de	'Gevam'	William	Cur. Reg.
	Warwickshire	Cantilupe	Basset de	attorned Odo Aurifabrum for	xi., 2226:445
			placito dotis Emma	the Geva	2220:443
			Cumin de	Basset case and	
			placito dotis	attorned	
			1	Richard son of	
				Edmund in the	
				Emma case	
1224	Essex	Hugh de	Peter de	Peter essoined	Cur. Reg.
		Godingham	Cantilupe	[no name]	xi., 2445:485-
					6
1224	Bedfordshire	Prior of	William de	Prior attorned	Cur. Reg.
		Dunstaple	Cantilupe,	Brother John of	xi.,
			Thomas the	Collingham or	1930:387
			seneschal	Brother	
			seneschal	Godfrey de	
			seneschal	Godfrey de Eketone his	
1224	Bedfordshire	Prior of		Godfrey de Eketone his canons	Cur. Reg.
1224	Bedfordshire	Prior of Dunstaple	Hugh de Gournay,	Godfrey de Eketone his	Cur. Reg.
1224	Bedfordshire		Hugh de Gournay, William de	Godfrey de Eketone his canons Hugh appointed Hugh de	_
1224	Bedfordshire		Hugh de Gournay,	Godfrey de Eketone his canons Hugh appointed Hugh de Stocksey,	xi.,
1224	Bedfordshire		Hugh de Gournay, William de	Godfrey de Eketone his canons Hugh appointed Hugh de Stocksey, Prior appointed	xi.,
1224	Bedfordshire		Hugh de Gournay, William de	Godfrey de Eketone his canons Hugh appointed Hugh de Stocksey, Prior appointed Brother	xi.,
1224	Bedfordshire		Hugh de Gournay, William de	Godfrey de Eketone his canons Hugh appointed Hugh de Stocksey, Prior appointed Brother William the	xi.,
1224	Bedfordshire		Hugh de Gournay, William de	Godfrey de Eketone his canons Hugh appointed Hugh de Stocksey, Prior appointed Brother William the cellarer,	xi.,
1224	Bedfordshire		Hugh de Gournay, William de	Godfrey de Eketone his canons Hugh appointed Hugh de Stocksey, Prior appointed Brother William the cellarer, William	xi.,
1224	Bedfordshire		Hugh de Gournay, William de	Godfrey de Eketone his canons Hugh appointed Hugh de Stocksey, Prior appointed Brother William the cellarer,	xi.,
1224	Bedfordshire Bedfordshire	Dunstaple Prior of	Hugh de Gournay, William de Cantilupe	Godfrey de Eketone his canons Hugh appointed Hugh de Stocksey, Prior appointed Brother William the cellarer, William appointed Odo Aurifabrum Prior appointed	xi., 2390:475
		Dunstaple	Hugh de Gournay, William de Cantilupe William de Cantilupe,	Godfrey de Eketone his canons Hugh appointed Hugh de Stocksey, Prior appointed Brother William the cellarer, William appointed Odo Aurifabrum Prior appointed Brother John	xi., 2390:475 Cur. Reg. xi.,
		Dunstaple Prior of	Hugh de Gournay, William de Cantilupe William de Cantilupe, Thomas the	Godfrey de Eketone his canons Hugh appointed Hugh de Stocksey, Prior appointed Brother William the cellarer, William appointed Odo Aurifabrum Prior appointed Brother John de Collingham	xi., 2390:475
		Dunstaple Prior of	Hugh de Gournay, William de Cantilupe William de Cantilupe,	Godfrey de Eketone his canons Hugh appointed Hugh de Stocksey, Prior appointed Brother William the cellarer, William appointed Odo Aurifabrum Prior appointed Brother John de Collingham or Brother	xi., 2390:475 Cur. Reg. xi.,
		Dunstaple Prior of	Hugh de Gournay, William de Cantilupe William de Cantilupe, Thomas the	Godfrey de Eketone his canons Hugh appointed Hugh de Stocksey, Prior appointed Brother William the cellarer, William appointed Odo Aurifabrum Prior appointed Brother John de Collingham	xi., 2390:475 Cur. Reg. xi.,

1225	Buckinghamshire	Geva wife of Richard son of	William de Cantilupe	Geva attorned, William	<i>Cur. Reg.</i> xii., 81:15
		William		attorned [no names]	
1225	Northamptonshire, Somerset, Essex	Vitalis Engaigne	William de Cantilupe	Vitalis attorned [no name]	Cur. Reg. xii., 248:43
1225	Warwickshire	William de Cantilupe	John de Mara and his wife Eva	William attorned Odo; John attorned Robert son of Gilbert	Cur. Reg. xii., 265:47
1225	Northamptonshire, Leicestershire	Vitalis Engaigne	William de Cantilupe	Both attorned [no names]	Cur. Reg. xii., 567:114
1225	Buckinghamshire	Geva, wife of Richard fitz William	William de Cantilupe	Geva attorned [no name]	Cur. Reg. xii., 806:164
1225	Wiltshire	Ralph de Wilinton	William de Cantilupe	Ralph attorned [no name]	Cur. Reg. xii., 1058:216
1225	Somerset, Northamptonshire	William de Cantilupe	Vitalis Engaigne	William de Cantilupe attorned [no name]	Cur. Reg. xii., 1096:225
1225	Buckinghamshire	William de Cantilupe	Geva Basset	William attorned Robert son of Godfrey et amovet Odo Aurifabrum	Cur. Reg. xii., 1311:268
1225	Northamptonshire	William de Cantilupe	W. de Ferrar' count of Derby	William attorned Odo Aurifabrum	Cur. Reg. xii., 1313:268
1226	Buckinghamshire	William de Cantilupe	Geva Basset	William attorned George de Whelpel' / Robert son of Gilbert	Cur. Reg. xii., 2369:474
1226	Northamptonshire, Somerset	Vitalis Engaigne	William de Cantilupe	both attorned [no names]	Cur. Reg. xii., 2582:514
1228	Somerset	Robert de Novo Burgo	Philip de Cantilupe	Robert attorned John Harang	Cur. Reg. xiii., 979:211
1228	Somerset	William de Cantilupe	H. de Burg	William attorned Peter de Leonibus	Cur. Reg. xiii., 923:199
1228	Rutland	William de Cantilupe junior	Bishop of Salisbury	both attorned [no names]	Cur. Reg. xiii, 597:135
1228	Rutland	Bishop R. of Durham	William de Cantilupe junior	William attorned William Aurifabrum	Cur. Reg. xiii, 869:190

1230	Northamptonshire	William de	Vitalis	William	Cur. Reg.
		Cantilupe	Engaigne	attorned Vitalis	xiv., 423:82
				essoined [no	723.02
				names]	
1230	Northamptonshire	William de	Vitalis	William	Cur. Reg.
		Cantilupe	Engaigne	attorned [no	xiv.,
1230	Devonshire	Robert Foliot	William de	name] Robert attorned	668:133 Cur. Reg.
1230	Devolishine	Robert Follot	Cantilupe	[no name]	xiv.,
			senior	[110 1141114]	1757:374
1231	Wiltshire	William de	Master	William	Cur. Reg.
		Cantilupe who	Edmund of	attorned [no	xiv.,
		is a suitor for	Abbend'	name]	1101(e):
1232	Gloucestershire	the king William de	Abbot of	William de	229 Cur. Reg.
1232	Giodeestersinie	Cantilupe	Evesham,	Cantilupe	xiv.,
		1	William	attorned [no	2304:494-
			Huse,	name]	5
			William of		
1233	Norfolk	Roger de	Weston Adam de	Roger attorned	Cur. Reg.
1233	NOTIOIR	Cantilupe	Kailly,	Geoffrey	xv., 156:37
		r	Hamo	Beivin	,
			Chevre,		
			Radulf de		
1233-4	Norfolk	Dogge do	Kailly Adam de	Dogga	Cun Dag
1233-4	NOTIOIK	Roger de Cantilupe	Kailly	Roger attourned	Cur. Reg.
		Cantinape		Thomas de	506:104
				'Gerbodestram'	
1233-4	Norfolk	Roger de	Adam de	Roger attorned	Cur. Reg.
		Cantilupe	Kailly	[no name]	XV.,
1233	Northamptonshire	Vitalis	William de	Vitalis attorned	564:119 Cur. Reg.
1233	Trortilamptonsime	Engaigne	Cantilupe	Robert son of	xv., 148:36
		<i>c e</i>	1	Humphrey	,
1236	Essex	H. earl of	Avicia the	H. attorned	Cur. Reg.
		Oxford	widow of	Philip de	XV.,
			Ade fitz William	Cantilupe / Stephen of	1794:453
			vv IIIIaiii	Glemeford	
1238	Wiltshire	Roger de	Count of	Roger attorned	Cur. Reg.
		Cantilupe	Hereford	Geoffrey de	xvi.,
1225	****			Fineberg'	400:93
1238	Wiltshire	H. earl of	Roger de	both attorned	Cur. Reg.
		Hereford	Cantilupe	[no names]	xvi., 473:104
1238	Shropshire,	Vitalis	William de	Vitalis	Cur. Reg.
	Staffordshire	Engaigne	Cantilupe	appointed	xvi.,
			_	William of	315:80
				Stokes / Gerard	
1239	Gloucestershire	Walter de	Abbot of At	son of Richard Walter attorned	Cur. Reg.
1237	Oloucestersille		Augustine of	[no name]	
	l	Cantilupe,	Augustine of	ino namei	xvi.,

Worcester			Worcester			
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Table 15: Cantilupe Cases 1240-50

Date	Location	Family Member
1242	Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire, Northamptonshire	Eustace [son of Robert Barat] ¹¹⁴³
1242	Devonshire	William (III) and Eva ¹¹⁴⁴
1243	Warwickshire	John ¹¹⁴⁵
1243	Worcestershire	Matthew ¹¹⁴⁶
1242-3	Dorset	William (II) and Matilda ¹¹⁴⁷
1242-3	Dorset	William (II) and Matilda ¹¹⁴⁸
1242-3	Essex	Philip ¹¹⁴⁹
1242	Suffolk	Robert ¹¹⁵⁰
1242-3	Huntingdon	Roger (of Chesterton) ¹¹⁵¹
1242	Lincolnshire	William (II) ¹¹⁵²
1242	Lincolnshire	William (II) ¹¹⁵³
1242	Nottingham	William (II) ¹¹⁵⁴
1242	Warr', Glouc', Oxon', Buck'	William (II) ¹¹⁵⁵
1242	Bedfordshire	William (II) ¹¹⁵⁶
1242	Surrey, Buckinghamshire, Middlesex	William (II) ¹¹⁵⁷
1242	Surrey, Berks, Middlesex	William (II) ¹¹⁵⁸

¹¹⁴³ Cur. Reg. xvii., 989:185.
1144 Cur. Reg., xvii., 375:90-1.
1145 Cur. Reg., xvii., 1456:280.
1146 Cur. Reg. xvii., 2005:398.
1147 Cur. Reg. xvii., 79:22.
1148 Cur. Reg. xvii., 118:30.
1149 Cur. Reg. xvii., 12:4.
1150 Cur. Reg. xvii., 12:4.
1151 Cur. Reg. xvii., 16:5-7.
1152 Cur. Reg. xvii., 63:20.
1153 Cur. Reg. xvii., 187:49-50.
1154 Cur. Reg. xvii., 309:78.
1155 Cur. Reg. xvii., 460:103.
1156 Cur. Reg. xvii., 659:132.
1157 Cur. Reg. xvii., 676:134.

1242	Warwickshire	William (II) ¹¹⁵⁹
1243	Buckinghamshire	William (?II) ¹¹⁶⁰
1243	Devon	William (?III) ¹¹⁶¹
1242	Worcester	Matthew ¹¹⁶²
1242	Worcester	William (II) ¹¹⁶³
1244	Essex	Roger ¹¹⁶⁴
1243-4	Lincolnshire	William (II) ¹¹⁶⁵
1243-4	Nottinghamshire	William (II) ¹¹⁶⁶
1243-4	Lincolnshire	William (II) ¹¹⁶⁷
1243-4	Rutland	William (II) ¹¹⁶⁸
1243-4	Sussex	William (II) ¹¹⁶⁹
1243-4	Lincolnshire	William (II) ¹¹⁷⁰
1243-4	Sussex	William (II) ¹¹⁷¹
1243-4	Lincolnshire	William (II) ¹¹⁷²
1244	Somerset	William (II) ¹¹⁷³
1244	Somerset	William (II) ¹¹⁷⁴
1244	Gloucester	William (II) ¹¹⁷⁵
1242	Devon	William (III) ¹¹⁷⁶

¹¹⁵⁸ Cur. Reg. xvii., 817: 158.

¹¹⁵⁹ Cur. Reg. xvii., 1107:211.

¹¹⁶⁰ *Cur. Reg.* xvii., 1670:328. 1161 *Cur. Reg.* xvii., 1681:331.

¹¹⁶² Cur. Reg. xviii., 307:59.

¹¹⁶³ Cur. Reg. xviii., 1546:319. 1164 Cur. Reg. xviii., 629:122.
1165 Cur. Reg. xviii., 658:130.
1166 Cur. Reg. xviii., 662:131.
1167 Cur. Reg. xviii., 723:141.

¹¹⁶⁸ Cur. Reg. xviii., 723:141.
1168 Cur. Reg. xviii., 760:151.
1169 Cur. Reg. xviii., 800:159.
1170 Cur. Reg. xviii., 846:171.
1171 Cur. Reg. xviii., 846:172.
1172 Cur. Reg. xviii., 912:188.
1173 Cur. Reg. xviii., 1227:261.
1174 Cur. Reg. xviii., 1273:268.
1175 Cur. Reg. xviii., 1596:330-1.
1176 Cur. Reg. xviii., 472:89.

¹¹⁷⁶ Cur. Reg. xviii., 472:89.

1249	Leicestershire	Eustace ¹¹⁷⁷
1249	Northamptonshire	Eustace ¹¹⁷⁸
1249	Northamptonshire	Eustace ¹¹⁷⁹
1250	Leicestershire	Eustace ¹¹⁸⁰
1249	Herefordshire, Somerset	William (III) and Eva ¹¹⁸¹
1249	Herefordshire, Gloucester, Devon, Somerset, Dorset, Surrey	William (III) and Eva ¹¹⁸²
1249	Wiltshire	William (III) and Eva ¹¹⁸³
1249	Sussex	William (III) and Eva ¹¹⁸⁴
1249	Sussex	William (III) and Eva ¹¹⁸⁵
1249	Oxfordshire	John, lord of Snitterfield ¹¹⁸⁶
1249	Wiltshire	John and his wife Margery
1249	Dorset, Gloucester	William (?III) ¹¹⁸⁸
1249	Dorset	William (II) ¹¹⁸⁹

¹¹⁷⁷ Cur. Reg. xix., 321:44.
1178 Cur. Reg. xix., 770:115.
1179 Cur. Reg. xix., 839:128.
1180 Cur. Reg. xix., 1752:287.
1181 Cur. Reg. xix., 151:25-6.
1182 Cur. Reg. xix., 690:104.
1183 Cur. Reg. xix., 885:138.
1184 Cur. Reg. xix., 885:138.
1185 Cur. Reg. xix., 1090:174.
1186 Cur. Reg. xix., 808:124.
1187 Cur. Reg. xix., 1021:162.
1188 Cur. Reg. xix., 876:134-5.
1189 Cur. Reg. xix., 168:28.

Appendix 4

Corbet Cases in the Curia Regis Rolls

The table below details all the Corbets mentioned in the *Curia Regis* rolls from 1199-1250, with the Caus Corbets highlighted. The table stops at 1250 because throughout the 1250s the Caus cases were centred on Shropshire (as evidenced with the progression through the 1230s and 1240s), and the Barons' War ensured that they concentrated their forces and energies on defending their lands from Llywelyn and Simon de Montfort, as well as carrying out their military duties to Henry III.

Table 16: Corbet Cases 1199-1250

NAME	PLACE	YEAR	CAPACITY	CITATION
[Corbets]				
Robert	Middlesex	1199	Attorney for William fitz Ralph in a plea of land in Dawley versus William de Cranford	<i>Cur. Reg.</i> i, p. 89
Agatha and Roger	Worcestershire	1200	Plaintiff (plea of land against Godfrey of Abitot, son of Agatha)	Cur. Reg. i, p. 168
Robert	Shropshire	1200	Plaintiff (plea of warrant against John de Seldest)	Cur. Reg. i, p. 118
Robert and Sibyl	Gloucestershire	1200	Plaintiff (in a plea of customs against Amisius of Woodstock)	Cur. Reg. i, p. 147
Robert	Middlesex	1200	Plaintiff (against William de Cranford, plea of land in Dawley)	Cur. Reg. i, pp. 173-4
Roger	Worcestershire	1200	Plaintiff (against the Abbot of Tewkesbury)	Cur. Reg. i, pp. 280-1
Roger	Gloucestershire	1200	Plaintiff (against the Prior of St James, Bristol)	Cur. Reg. i, p. 366
Roger	Gloucestershire	1200	Plaintiff (against the Prior of St John)	Cur. Reg. i, p. 371
Emma	Herefordshire	1201	[missing]	Cur. Reg. ii, p. 30
Thomas	Hampshire	1203	Defendant (against	Cur. Reg. iii, p. 38

			his kinsman, Peter	
			fitzHerbert, plea of	
			novel disseisin)	
Thomas	Sudh' (Suffolk?	1203	Defendant (against	Cur. Reg. iii, p. 82
	South Wales?		his kinsman, Peter	
	Sussex?)		fitzHerbert, plea of	
Peter son	Herefordshire	1206	novel disseisin) Plaintiff (against	Cur. Reg. iv, p. 186
of Herbert	Herefoldsille	1200	Philip of Stapleton	Cur. Keg. IV, p. 180
grandson			and Emma his wife,	
of Sibyl			plea of land)	
Corbet				
sister of				
Walter	Company	1200	Elected to Jumphy	Com Post of 220 0
Thomas	Somerset	1208	Elected to Jury by Robert de Bosco,	Cur. Reg. v, pp. 228-9
			Osbert Dacus,	
			Radulfus Crucket and	
			William de	
			Windelham to hear a	
			case between	
			Godfrey of Kingston and Richard son of	
			Gunnor, plea of grand	
			assize over one	
			messuage in Melburn	
			with appurtenances	
Thomas	Somerset	1208	On list of those jurors	Cur. Reg. v, p. 252
			who did not come to court	
Ralph	Cumberland	1212	One of the four	Cur. Reg. vi, p. 195
			electors of the jury to	
Daluh	Cumbanland	1212	hear a plea of land	Cun Dag vi n 245
Ralph	Cumberland	1212	On Jury (in a separate land case to the one	Cur. Reg. vi, p. 345
			above)	
Emma,	Gloucestershire	1219	Plaintiff (against	Cur. Reg. vii, p. 104
wife of			Roger Corbet)	
Richard				
Roger	Gloucestershire	1219	Defendant (against	<i>Cur. Reg.</i> vii, p. 104
Emma,	Gloucestershire	1220	Emma Corbet) Plaintiff (against	<i>Cur. Reg.</i> vii, pp. 199,
wife of	Glodeestelsliffe	1220	Roger Corbet)	134; <i>Cur. Reg.</i> , ix, pp.
Richard				156-7
Roger	Gloucestershire	1220	Defendant (against	Cur. Reg. vii, pp. 199,
			Emma Corbet)	134 ; <i>Cur. Reg.</i> , ix, pp. 156-7
William	Gloucestershire	1220	Attorney for his	Cur. Reg., ix, pp. 156-
son of			father against Emma	7
Roger	Cl. 1.	1000	District Co.	C P : 205
Margaret	Shropshire	1220	Plaintiff (against Llewelyn, attorned	<i>Cur. Reg.</i> , ix, p. 205
			Nicholas the	
			Welshman)	
John	York	1225	Attorney for Nicholas	Cur. Reg., xii, no.

			de Yeland and his wife Eustachia	1394 pp. 284-5 [1394:284-5]
Roger	Worcestershire	1226	Defendant (plea of land against the abbot of Tewkesbury)	Cur. Reg., xii, 1769:360
Thomas, knight	Somerset	1227	Elector	Cur. Reg., xiii, 315:71
Geoffrey	Wiltshire	1230	One of thse whom Fulk FitzWarin, defendant in the case against Peter Fitz Herbert, was willing to be accompanied by.	Cur. Reg., xiii, 2429:517
Thomas	Shropshire	1230	Plaintiff (against the abbot of Shrewsbury over presentation rights, and against Robert of Stratton in a plea of land)	Cur. Reg., xiii, 2363:507
Thomas	Shropshire	1230	Plaintiff (against Robert son of John [of Stratton?] in a plea of land in Stratton)	Cur. Reg., xiii, 2487:529; Cur. Reg., xiv, 689:137; 1233-4, Cur. Reg., xv, 782:162
Thomas	Staffordshire	1230	Defendant (against Bishop Alexander of Coventry – Thomas is excommunicated for laying violent hands on the bishop's men)	<i>Cur. Reg.,</i> xiv, 579:114
Thomas, knight	Dorset	1230	Elector (in case between Margaret de Lucy and Roger de Gouiz, a plea of fine)	Cur. Reg., xiv, 629:124
Richard	Shropshire	1231	Elector (one of the four knights electing the jury for Thomas Corbet's case against Robert son of John)	Cur. Reg., xv, 782:162
Thomas	Shropshire	1236	Plaintiff (against Hubert FitzPeter over two parts of the manor of Pontesbury; Isabella, widow of Peter fitzHerbert over a thord part of the same manor, and Simon Corbet over a plea of seisin)	Cur. Reg., xv, 1644:420
Simon	Defendant	1236	Defendant (in case against Thomas, above)	Cur. Reg., xv, 1644:420
Thomas	Shropshire	1237	Plaintiff against William of Ercall	<i>Cur. Reg.</i> , xvi, 148g:45

William	Worcestershire	1238	Defendant (against	Cur. Reg., xvi, 232:66
			Christiana, widow of Richard the Cleric of	
			Munt in a plea of	
			land)	
Richard	Oxford	1239	Plaintiff (against	Cur. Reg., xvi,
			Peter Oliver)	1070:201
Luke	Dorset	1240-1	Attorney for earl of	Cur. Reg., xvi,
			Kent in a case against	2564:504 ; 2693:517
			Giles of Erdington	
Thomas	Wales	1242	Plaintiff (against John	Cur. Reg., xvii,
			Lestrange and Howel of Brompton,	326:81
			claiming he should	
			have seisin of Weston	
			and Brompton)	
Thomas	Wales	1242	Plaintiff (against	Cur. Reg., xvii,
			Margaret his sister,	327:81
			wife of	
	~1.1	10.10	Gwenwynwen)	G D !!
Thomas	Shropshire	1242	Plaintiff (against	<i>Cur. Reg.</i> , xvii,
			Herbert fitzPeter – Thomas paid 100s for	631:127
			an agreement)	
Richard	Shropshire	1242	Gives two marks for	Cur. Reg., xviii,
	1		a licence of	210:42
			agreement with the	
			abbot of Buildwas	
Thomas	Shropshire	1243	(Defendant against	Cur. Reg., xvii,
			the abbot of	1298:246 ; 1342:256 ;
			Ruildwaci	1/106.777
Thomas	Shropshire	1243	Buildwas) Abbot of Buildwas	1406:272 Cur. Reg., xviii, 44:6
Thomas	Shropshire	1243	Abbot of Buildwas	1406:272 Cur. Reg., xviii, 44:6
Thomas	Shropshire	1243	/	
2 2.00	-		Abbot of Buildwas gives 20s for a	Cur. Reg., xviii, 44:6
Thomas	Shropshire Shropshire	1243	Abbot of Buildwas gives 20s for a licence of agreement with Thomas Defendant (against	Cur. Reg., xviii, 44:6
2 2.00	-		Abbot of Buildwas gives 20s for a licence of agreement with Thomas Defendant (against Gruffudd ap	Cur. Reg., xviii, 44:6
Thomas	Shropshire	1243-4	Abbot of Buildwas gives 20s for a licence of agreement with Thomas Defendant (against Gruffudd ap Gwenwynwen)	Cur. Reg., xviii, 44:6 Cur. Reg., xviii, 679:133
2 2.00	-		Abbot of Buildwas gives 20s for a licence of agreement with Thomas Defendant (against Gruffudd ap Gwenwynwen) Plaintiff against	Cur. Reg., xviii, 44:6 Cur. Reg., xviii, 679:133 Cur. Reg. xix,
Thomas	Shropshire	1243-4	Abbot of Buildwas gives 20s for a licence of agreement with Thomas Defendant (against Gruffudd ap Gwenwynwen) Plaintiff against Godfrey of Overton	Cur. Reg., xviii, 44:6 Cur. Reg., xviii, 679:133
Thomas Robert	Shropshire	1243-4	Abbot of Buildwas gives 20s for a licence of agreement with Thomas Defendant (against Gruffudd ap Gwenwynwen) Plaintiff against Godfrey of Overton in a plea of trespass	Cur. Reg., xviii, 44:6 Cur. Reg., xviii, 679:133 Cur. Reg. xix, 2429:416
Thomas	Shropshire Shropshire	1243-4	Abbot of Buildwas gives 20s for a licence of agreement with Thomas Defendant (against Gruffudd ap Gwenwynwen) Plaintiff against Godfrey of Overton	Cur. Reg., xviii, 44:6 Cur. Reg., xviii, 679:133 Cur. Reg. xix,
Thomas Robert Roger	Shropshire Shropshire Somerset	1243-4 1249 1249	Abbot of Buildwas gives 20s for a licence of agreement with Thomas Defendant (against Gruffudd ap Gwenwynwen) Plaintiff against Godfrey of Overton in a plea of trespass Defendant in a plea of land against John de Burgh	Cur. Reg., xviii, 44:6 Cur. Reg., xviii, 679:133 Cur. Reg. xix, 2429:416 Cur. Reg. xix, 1085:174; 1138:185
Thomas Robert	Shropshire Shropshire	1243-4	Abbot of Buildwas gives 20s for a licence of agreement with Thomas Defendant (against Gruffudd ap Gwenwynwen) Plaintiff against Godfrey of Overton in a plea of trespass Defendant in a plea of land against John de Burgh Defendant in a plea	Cur. Reg., xviii, 44:6 Cur. Reg., xviii, 679:133 Cur. Reg. xix, 2429:416 Cur. Reg. xix, 1085:174; 1138:185 Cur. Reg. xix,
Thomas Robert Roger	Shropshire Shropshire Somerset	1243-4 1249 1249	Abbot of Buildwas gives 20s for a licence of agreement with Thomas Defendant (against Gruffudd ap Gwenwynwen) Plaintiff against Godfrey of Overton in a plea of trespass Defendant in a plea of land against John de Burgh Defendant in a plea of land against John	Cur. Reg., xviii, 44:6 Cur. Reg., xviii, 679:133 Cur. Reg. xix, 2429:416 Cur. Reg. xix, 1085:174; 1138:185
Thomas Robert Roger	Shropshire Shropshire Somerset	1243-4 1249 1249	Abbot of Buildwas gives 20s for a licence of agreement with Thomas Defendant (against Gruffudd ap Gwenwynwen) Plaintiff against Godfrey of Overton in a plea of trespass Defendant in a plea of land against John de Burgh Defendant in a plea of land against John de Burgh Service of Abbot of Service of Servi	Cur. Reg., xviii, 44:6 Cur. Reg., xviii, 679:133 Cur. Reg. xix, 2429:416 Cur. Reg. xix, 1085:174; 1138:185 Cur. Reg. xix,
Thomas Robert Roger	Shropshire Shropshire Somerset	1243-4 1249 1249	Abbot of Buildwas gives 20s for a licence of agreement with Thomas Defendant (against Gruffudd ap Gwenwynwen) Plaintiff against Godfrey of Overton in a plea of trespass Defendant in a plea of land against John de Burgh Defendant in a plea of land against John de Burgh Defendant in a plea of land against John de Burgh [same as above – Roger this	Cur. Reg., xviii, 44:6 Cur. Reg., xviii, 679:133 Cur. Reg. xix, 2429:416 Cur. Reg. xix, 1085:174; 1138:185 Cur. Reg. xix,
Thomas Robert Roger	Shropshire Shropshire Somerset	1243-4 1249 1249	Abbot of Buildwas gives 20s for a licence of agreement with Thomas Defendant (against Gruffudd ap Gwenwynwen) Plaintiff against Godfrey of Overton in a plea of trespass Defendant in a plea of land against John de Burgh Defendant in a plea of land against John de Burgh Service of Abbot of Service of Servi	Cur. Reg., xviii, 44:6 Cur. Reg., xviii, 679:133 Cur. Reg. xix, 2429:416 Cur. Reg. xix, 1085:174; 1138:185 Cur. Reg. xix,
Thomas Robert Roger	Shropshire Shropshire Somerset	1243-4 1249 1249	Abbot of Buildwas gives 20s for a licence of agreement with Thomas Defendant (against Gruffudd ap Gwenwynwen) Plaintiff against Godfrey of Overton in a plea of trespass Defendant in a plea of land against John de Burgh Defendant in a plea of land against John de Burgh Defendant in a plea of land against John de Burgh Plaintiff against the	Cur. Reg., xviii, 44:6 Cur. Reg., xviii, 679:133 Cur. Reg. xix, 2429:416 Cur. Reg. xix, 1085:174; 1138:185 Cur. Reg. xix,
Thomas Robert Roger Roger	Shropshire Shropshire Somerset Somerset	1243-4 1249 1249 1250	Abbot of Buildwas gives 20s for a licence of agreement with Thomas Defendant (against Gruffudd ap Gwenwynwen) Plaintiff against Godfrey of Overton in a plea of trespass Defendant in a plea of land against John de Burgh Defendant in a plea of land against John de Burgh Vestburyl Plaintiff against the Prior of Chirsbury in	Cur. Reg., xviii, 44:6 Cur. Reg., xviii, 679:133 Cur. Reg. xix, 2429:416 Cur. Reg. xix, 1085:174; 1138:185 Cur. Reg. xix, 1922:317; 2023:335
Thomas Robert Roger Roger	Shropshire Shropshire Somerset Somerset	1243-4 1249 1249 1250	Abbot of Buildwas gives 20s for a licence of agreement with Thomas Defendant (against Gruffudd ap Gwenwynwen) Plaintiff against Godfrey of Overton in a plea of trespass Defendant in a plea of land against John de Burgh Defendant in a plea of land against John de Burgh [same as above – Roger this time attorns Henry of Westbury] Plaintiff against the Prior of Chirsbury in a plea of land in	Cur. Reg., xviii, 44:6 Cur. Reg., xviii, 679:133 Cur. Reg. xix, 2429:416 Cur. Reg. xix, 1085:174; 1138:185 Cur. Reg. xix, 1922:317; 2023:335 Cur. Reg. xix, 630:95;
Thomas Robert Roger Roger Thomas	Shropshire Shropshire Somerset Somerset Shropshire	1243-4 1249 1249 1250	Abbot of Buildwas gives 20s for a licence of agreement with Thomas Defendant (against Gruffudd ap Gwenwynwen) Plaintiff against Godfrey of Overton in a plea of trespass Defendant in a plea of land against John de Burgh Defendant in a plea of land against John de Burgh [same as above – Roger this time attorns Henry of Westbury] Plaintiff against the Prior of Chirsbury in a plea of land in Shelve	Cur. Reg., xviii, 44:6 Cur. Reg., xviii, 679:133 Cur. Reg. xix, 2429:416 Cur. Reg. xix, 1085:174; 1138:185 Cur. Reg. xix, 1922:317; 2023:335 Cur. Reg. xix, 630:95; 863:132
Thomas Robert Roger Roger	Shropshire Shropshire Somerset Somerset	1243-4 1249 1249 1250	Abbot of Buildwas gives 20s for a licence of agreement with Thomas Defendant (against Gruffudd ap Gwenwynwen) Plaintiff against Godfrey of Overton in a plea of trespass Defendant in a plea of land against John de Burgh Defendant in a plea of land against John de Burgh [same as above – Roger this time attorns Henry of Westbury] Plaintiff against the Prior of Chirsbury in a plea of land in	Cur. Reg., xviii, 44:6 Cur. Reg., xviii, 679:133 Cur. Reg. xix, 2429:416 Cur. Reg. xix, 1085:174; 1138:185 Cur. Reg. xix, 1922:317; 2023:335 Cur. Reg. xix, 630:95;

			Nicholas Meverel	
Thomas	Shropshire	1250	Defendant in a plea	Cur. Reg. xix,
			of fine, against	1509:244 ; 1641:267
			Reginald Fitz Peter	
Thomas	Shropshire	1250	Defendant in case	Cur. Reg. xix,
			against Odo de	2115:351
			Hodnet in plea of	
			customs	
Margery	Shropshire	1250	Response of the	Cur. Reg. xx, 267:44
			Abbot of Welshpool	
			(de la Pole) to	
			Margery's plea in the	
			Ecclesiastic court,	
			over a fee Margery	
			has entered contrary	
			to the prohibition of	
			the abbot	
Roger	Somerset	1250	Licence of agreement	Cur. Reg. xx,
			made between Roger	1833:316
			and John de Burgh	
Thomas	Shropshire,	1250	Plaintiff against	Cur. Reg. xx, 799:141-
	Staffordshire		Nicholas de Meverel	2
			and John le Poer with	
			his wife Amy/Avice	
			[Amicie] – plea of	
CD1	G1 11	1270	land	G D 072.170
Thomas	Shropshire	1250	Plaintiff against the	Cur. Reg. xx, 853:153
			Prior of Chirsbury in	
			a plea of land	

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