

◆ The widow and the ward: the perils of the Dunstanvilles at the turn of the 12th and 13th centuries

by Kathleen Thompson

The history of the Dunstanville family at the turn of the 13th century provides a Sussex case study of two issues that underlay baronial discontent and the concession of Magna Carta: the guardianship of an heir and the treatment of widows. It also raises broader questions about the restrictions faced by women of the Anglo-Norman elite. Under King John there was a fierce bidding war for custody of the Dunstanville lands, which was won by the Basset family, cousins of the Dunstanvilles, who administered the lands until the heir came of age. The dower rights of the widow, Sibyl de Dunstanville, were an obligation on the family's lands that did not cease when the heir came of age. Her marriage to the king's favourite, Engelram of Préaux, ensured that those rights were energetically enforced for a further twenty years.

When Sibyl de Ferrers, daughter of Earl William of Derby, married Walter de Dunstanville at the beginning of the 1190s, she may reasonably have expected a lengthy widowhood; it was her husband's second marriage and he was probably well into his fifties, if not sixties.¹ The marriage was indeed short, for Walter was dead by 1195 when Sibyl's son, another Walter, was little more than a baby, and these were perilous times for the Anglo-Norman elite. As first King Richard and then King John sought to finance Continental entanglements, the widows and heirs of tenants-in-chief were particularly vulnerable and the exploitation of such individuals for the financial gain of the crown was an important factor in the baronial discontent in the years before 1215. The story of Sibyl and the young Walter is then a case-study of how royal policy affected such women and children and why these matters feature so prominently in the Magna Carta.²

Reliable information on Sibyl's early life is hard to come by. She is likely to have been born in the 1170s and was one of the three children (that we know about), born to Earl William de Ferrers and his wife, another Sibyl, the daughter of the Sussex landholder, William de Briouze (Fig. 1).³ The Briouze, also spelt as Braose, family had held the rape of Bramber since the late 11th century and our Sibyl's grandmother, Bertha, had become the heiress to considerable lands on the Welsh marches after the death of a succession of brothers.⁴ Sibyl

de Ferrers' marriage into the Dunstanville family, therefore, enhanced that family's connections with the wealthier elements of the baronage, and may have been in negotiation when a charter was given to Wombridge Priory, which is witnessed by Earl William de Ferrers.⁵ We have no information about the dowry that Sibyl brought and it may be that in securing an alliance with the daughter of an earl Walter de Dunstanville did not also look for landed interest (Fig. 2).⁶

Whatever the uncertainties of its beginning, it is clear that the marriage succeeded in its primary purpose of providing an heir for the Dunstanville lineage. Sibyl must have become pregnant almost immediately after her marriage, for her son made his first acts as an adult around 1212, placing his birth no earlier than 1191. No sooner had the heir been born however, than the Dunstanville luck changed. Early in 1194 Walter lost control of his property at Heytesbury, which is listed among the escheats or forfeitures both in the pipe roll compiled in autumn 1194 and in the roll recording the eyre of Wiltshire made by the king's itinerant justices at the same time.⁷ The timing of the dispossession suggests that the loss was related to King Richard's release from captivity and Walter's complicity in the activities of the king's brother, John, count of Mortain, during the king's absence on crusade.⁸ While the 1194 records refer only to Walter's lands, however, those compiled in September 1195 indicate that the king has the lands and the heir in his hand,

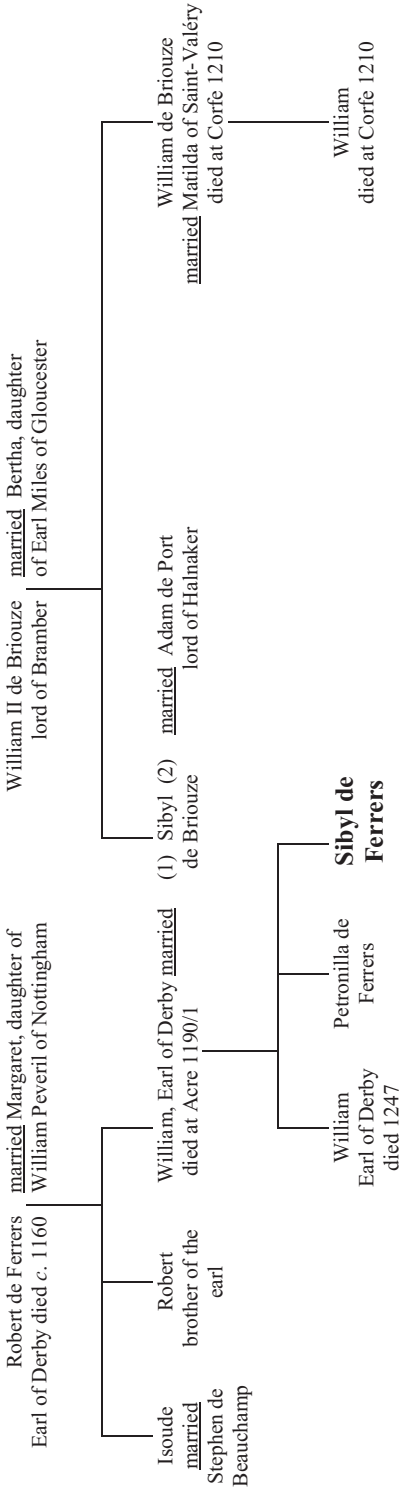


Fig. 1. The family of Sibyl de Ferrers



Fig. 2. Image of a 12th-century lady. The seal of Countess Isabella of Gloucester depicts the style of dress adopted by women of the elite, such as Sibyl de Dunstanville. Height c. 75mm, width c. 53mm. National Library of Wales, Penrice and Margam MS 2042.

suggesting that Sibyl’s husband had died between the compilation of the two rolls. The most likely date is on or around 23 April 1195, for the monks of Longueville, a house near the Dunstanvilles’ Norman home, celebrated the anniversary of his death on 23 April.⁹

Sibyl’s position was now unenviable. She was the mother of a young child with an extensive inheritance and the widow of a tenant-in-chief. It was long established custom that the king, as the tenant-in-chief’s lord, should take the heir into wardship and administer his lands. The origins of such a custom lay in the need to protect young heirs from other adult members of their family that might wish to advance their own claims, but, in the words of one modern commentator, ‘a family’s fortunes could lurch towards disaster if the youthful heir was confided to a poor guardian.’¹⁰ In the mid-1190s however the king was likely to retain such lands and to exploit them rigorously. King Richard’s justiciar,

Archbishop Hubert Walter, established the office of escheator in 1194 to undertake the management of such lands and there is a detailed picture of the Dunstanville property in the accounts of this official, William of Saint-Mère-Église, as he paid for repairs to property, sold the proceeds of the land and stocked the manors for the profit of the king, diligently paying the taxation owed on the land.¹¹

The king could also select a step-father for an heir who was under age by controlling the choice of the widow's new husband. Records were kept of the heiresses and widows of tenants-in-chief, so that the king might find a woman of the appropriate value when he wished to show favour.¹² While an heiress was clearly the greatest prize, a widow still brought advantages to her second husband, since she was entitled for her maintenance to claim up to a third of her first husband's estates. It was common practice therefore for lords to take advantage of the remarriage of widows, in effect selling off these women to the highest bidder. By the late 12th century when Sibyl was widowed, this custom was being exploited to a far greater degree than ever before. Richard I, pressed for money to fund his wars in France, sought every opportunity to raise cash; he penalised widows that married without his consent and secured fines from those that asked for permission not to marry or to have some choice over their new husband.¹³ He had even seized the lands of Countess Hawise of Aumale when she refused to marry the man he had chosen for her.¹⁴

Despite such pressures on other women in her position however, in the early years of her widowhood Sibyl de Dunstanville remained untroubled. It was 13th-century practice to leave very young children with their mothers until a guardian could be assigned and this may well have been the case in the 1190s.¹⁵ If so, this custom may have provided some protection for Sibyl, for she seems to have spent most of the 1190s largely unnoticed by the authorities. Sibyl does not seem to have had any aspirations towards independent action, moreover. While her exact contemporary and Sussex neighbour, Rohesia de Bohun, offered to render 300 marks at the Norman exchequer to have control of her late husband's lands and custody of her children, there is no record of similar action by Sibyl.¹⁶

We do not know where Sibyl lived during these years although there is a hint that it was at Shifnal (also known as Idsall) in Shropshire, for in

the 1197 pipe roll the sheriff accounted for a half year's income from this manor, which had been Sibyl's.¹⁷ If Sibyl had been assigned Shifnal for her maintenance, the arrangement did not continue beyond 1197, for by autumn of that year the manor was at farm, accounted by the sheriff. In 1198 an eyre was undertaken in which the king's justiciar 'instructed the justices to scour the countryside for widows whom they could mulct'.¹⁸ It may well be that the justices came upon the widowed Lady de Dunstanville and her six or seven-year-old son but there is no evidence that she was yet considered ripe for royal exploitation.

By September 1199 it is clear, however, that Sibyl's comparatively lengthy period of undisturbed widowhood had come to an end and that she had married for a second time. Her new husband was Engelram of Préaux and in that month he showed a writ from the justiciar giving him exemption from the scutage due on Walter de Dunstanville's fee in Shropshire.¹⁹ This writ appears as the last entry on the Shropshire roll after the sheriff's account has been completed and Engelram has been declared quit, suggesting that the grant was recent and had been made shortly before the audit of the Exchequer in September that year. A similar writ was sent by the king to the sheriff of Wiltshire, Stephen of Thornham, notifying him that Engelram was not to be asked for the scutage on Colerne and Broughton in Wiltshire.²⁰

Unlike many other women in her situation, Sibyl was acquainted with her new husband, for Engelram was a kinsman of her first husband, Walter de Dunstanville. He was a member of a family whose origins lay close to those of the Dunstanvilles in upper Normandy. His brothers were trusted members of King Richard's household, who made the transition to John's service and were prominent in the defence of Normandy before 1204.²¹ Engelram had witnessed an important Dunstanville family act in the early 1190s, when Walter de Dunstanville gave property to Wombridge Priory for the salvation of his soul and that of his wife, Hawise of Préaux.²² The coincidence of Engelram and Hawise's toponymic suggests that Engelram came from the same family as Walter's first wife and, given that Walter and Hawise had been married since the 1160s, a nephew seems more likely than a brother. Engelram and Walter are found together in acts dating from the early 1190s, so it is likely that, as a young man, Engelram came to the household of his aunt,

looking for a career in England. This was the period when Walter's fortunes improved as a result of King Richard's grant of Castle Combe, Colerne and Bathampton in Wylve and, when Walter confirmed the succession of one of his tenants, Engelram can be found among the witnesses.²³ Walter was also building a close political alignment with the king's younger brother, John, count of Mortain and Engelram seems to have followed his patron into Count John's circle.²⁴ In the early 1190s he had an established place in the count's household, witnessing 14 of John's acts before John's disgrace in 1194.²⁵

Engelram's whereabouts for the five years after 1194 are uncertain. He may have returned to live quietly on the family's Norman lands or even gone independently to the Holy Land. In April 1199, however, the death of King Richard unexpectedly brought the kingship to the count of Mortain and Engelram soon returned to John's household. On 7 August 1199 Engelram and his brother, Peter of Préaux, were in the thick of the political action. They witnessed a royal charter at Argentan in southern Normandy, done by the hand of the Chancellor, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Hubert Walter, alongside important figures such as the Earl of Leicester and William Marshal, while in September they were probably still at the king's side for he issued an instruction about a lawsuit that Engelram and his brothers, John and Peter, were pursuing.²⁶ By the late summer then Engelram was well-established at the royal court, suggesting that the most likely date for his return to John's service is late May when the king was crowned at Westminster. Engelram received a grant of income from Cheltenham, which is unlikely to have been made when the king was in France²⁷ and Engelram must, at some point, have been in England to have married Sibyl.²⁸ We may speculate then that Engelram was quick to re-establish his links with John and, as he consolidated his position in John's circle, he requested the grant of the widow of his uncle by marriage, Walter de Dunstanville, whose landed resources would have been well known to him.²⁹

It was not uncommon for the king to recognise the services of his favourites with marriage to a rich widow; John had exercised his patronage in a similar way towards another close associate, John Russell, who in the early days of the new king's reign married Rohesia, formerly the wife of the baron,

Henry de Pomeroy.³⁰ In the words of one modern authority King John 'regarded widows in his gift as a source of revenue. He could marry them off for a good price or as a reward for service, or he could accept a good price from women who did not want to be married off.'³¹ Engelram's reward was not just the dower lands of a middling rich widow, however, for he seems, at least temporarily, to have held all the Dunstanville lands in Shropshire, Wiltshire and Sussex.³² During this period of change for Sibyl the whereabouts of the younger Walter de Dunstanville are unknown. As we have seen, he may have been living with his mother. That was certainly the case for his slightly older cousin, Alan de Dunstanville, who was in the custody of his mother, Muriel of Luvetot.³³ This happy arrangement was broken up by King John in October 1200 when he granted Alan to William of Cantilupe and threatened to seize Muriel's lands if she did not deliver her son to William. It is possible that something similar happened to the young Walter de Dunstanville and that, as well as surrendering her son, Sibyl was obliged to marry a new husband.

The grant of this marriage would have been an act of considerable patronage on King John's part towards his old associate Engelram, particularly since there is no indication that Engelram offered any payment in return for this favour. This level of generosity on the king's part did not last, however, and by July 1200 Engelram had been dispossessed of the Dunstanville lands.³⁴ Perhaps John had only ever intended the grant to be temporary, or he may simply have received an offer which he did not want to refuse, namely 500 marks for the custody of Walter de Dunstanville's heir that had been offered by Thomas and Alan Basset.³⁵ Thomas and Alan were cousins of the young Walter de Dunstanville, their mother Adeliza having been the sister of Walter [I] de Dunstanville, and in the late 1180s and early 1190s they had been closely associated with their uncle, from whom they received grants of land in Wiltshire (Fig. 3).³⁶ Although they too had been associates of John in the early 1190s, when he was count of Mortain, they had avoided the worst consequences of his fall and were able to take service with King Richard on his return to England in 1194. When John succeeded his brother in 1199, they soon re-established themselves in his circle and might therefore reasonably expect to be successful in the custody request.³⁷ Their motives are likely to have been mixed. They may have been seeking to

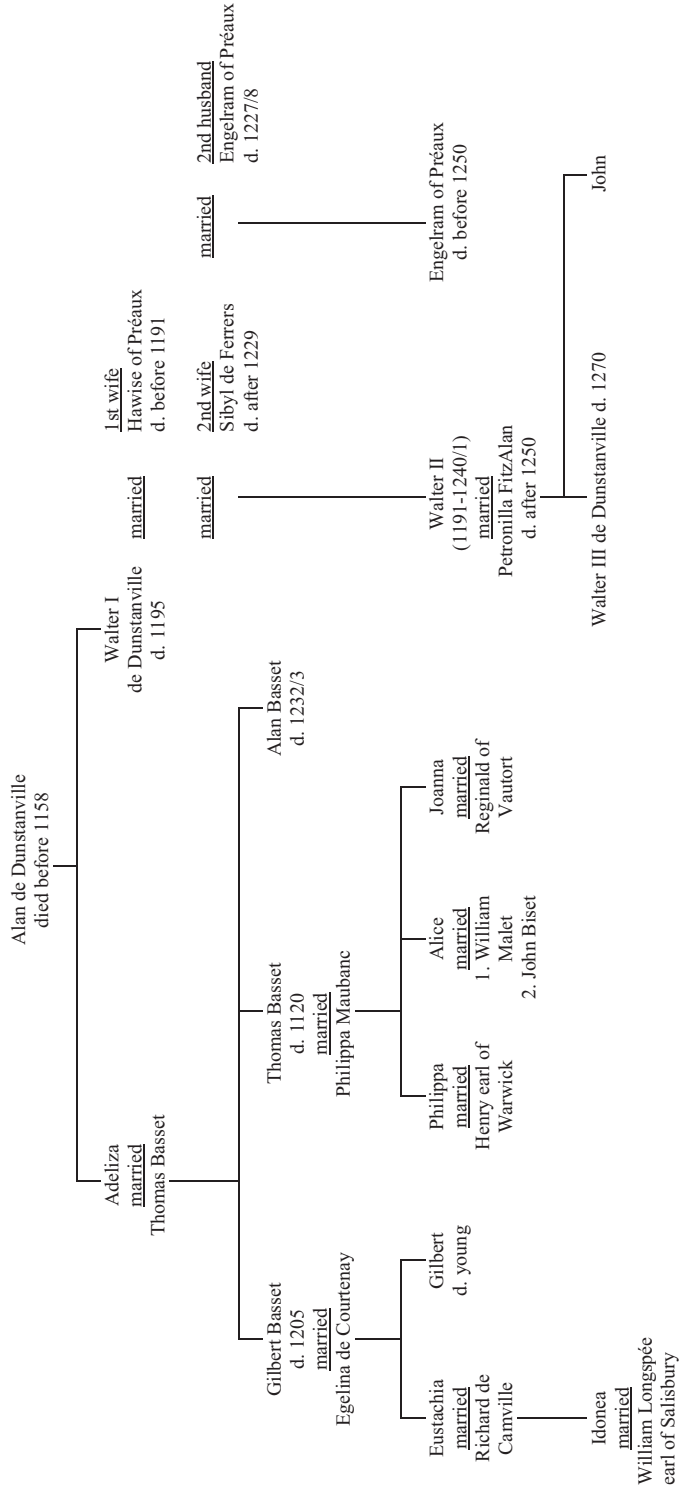


Fig. 3. The Dunstanville and Basset families.

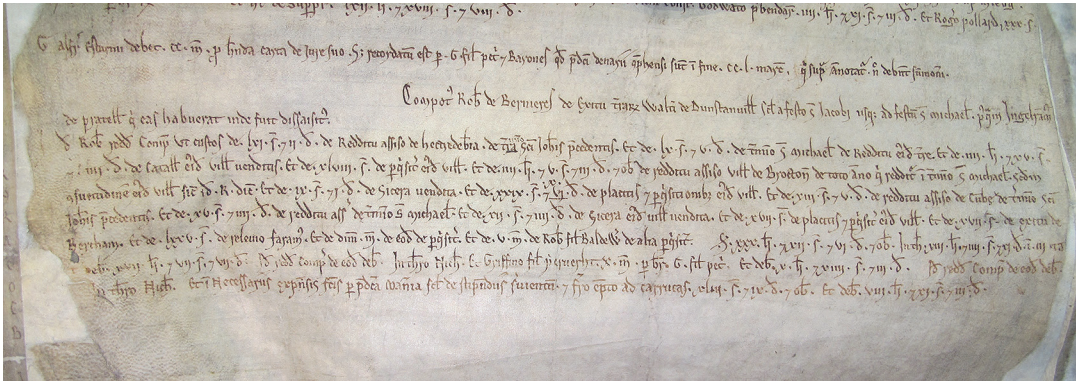


Fig. 4. Robert de Bernières' account for the Dunstanville lands from the 1200 pipe roll, The National Archives E 372/46, membrane 11d.

protect the interests of their uncle's young son: the Basset family had earlier acted as custodians of Roger Grelley, son of Thomas and Alan's sister, Isabel. But equally they may have recognised the Dunstanville custody as the opportunity for another lucrative wardship, which happened to lie within their own family.³⁸ A further factor that may have influenced Thomas and Alan to seek custody of the heir was a need to protect their own interests in the lands their uncle had granted them. Although the Bassets would have known Engelram personally from their days in the household of Count John, they likely saw him as a threat.

The arrangement between the king and the Basset brothers was under negotiation in 1200, for the pipe roll for that year shows that Engelram had lost the Dunstanville lands by July and there is an entry under Oxfordshire indicating that Thomas and Alan owe 500 marks, if they wish to give it, for the custody and lands.³⁹ The attractiveness of the Dunstanville holdings is apparent from the account presented by Robert of Bernières, who administered the property on the king's behalf for three months, after it had been surrendered by Engelram (Fig. 4).⁴⁰ For that period, Robert accounted in total £30 12s 6½d derived from rents, sales, profits of justice and other rights, loosely termed as perquisites. His account covers four of the Dunstanville holdings: Heytesbury, Broughton Gifford and [Castle] Combe in Wiltshire, and *Bergham* in Sussex. Robert does not account for Shifnal in Shropshire which suggests that the king had allowed Engelram to keep that property as the Dunstanville dower of his wife, Sibyl. The proceeds of these three months were

higher than might be expected, perhaps, as a result of the windfall of 75 shillings from the relief, or inheritance tax, payable in Sussex by Pharamus de Tracy, yet they indicate what might be derived from the lands. It is interesting to note that Robert de Bernières accounts for £1 1s 5d from the sale of cider from the two Wiltshire settlements of Broughton and Combe. The *compotus* also hints at the opportunities for unscrupulous custodians. There were large payments of £2 4s 9½d and £2 3s 9½d that Robert de Bernières explained as wages for manorial officials and the purchase of iron for ploughs, while at Heytesbury 15s 4d had been raised by the sale of the community's moveable goods and the revenues derived from perquisites may indicate over-exploitation of resources such as woodlands.

Whatever their motives, the deal to secure custody of the young heir and his lands for the Bassets fell through in the autumn or winter of 1200/1201 and less than a year later William Brewer offered 300 marks for the custody of Walter de Dunstanville's heir, his lands and the right to arrange the heir's marriage.⁴¹ Brewer was a baron of the exchequer, administrator and judge who had advanced his career through holding the office of sheriff of a multiplicity of counties under Henry II, Richard and John.⁴² He was clearly a man of great value to the king and famously was said to know King John's mind. He knew that John wanted money and he wanted it quickly. Although his bid was lower, William Brewer proposed to make quicker payments. His 300 marks (£200) would be paid in full in £50 instalments, by the time of the exchequer in the fourth year of the king's reign. This would

be squeezed from the proceeds of the Dunstanville inheritance, for Brewer acknowledged in the proffer that he would respect a reasonable dower for the Dunstanville widow, and it would be a significant charge on the Dunstanville lands. Brewer also procured from the king that any judgements in the king's court against the Dunstanville heir would be invalid – a clear blow at the Basset family, which had recently secured a confirmation of their Dunstanville mother's dowry at Shalford in Surrey.⁴³ Brewer was, moreover, a man with dynastic ambitions; two of his daughters were to marry men who had been in their father's wardship as children and, as young Walter's marriage was part of the package that Brewer secured from the king, a Brewer daughter would likely join the Dunstanville family.

It was an enormous challenge to the Bassets and was part of a wider pattern of rivalries in which elite families were embroiled as they sought to secure and retain the rewards of royal patronage. In April 1201 King John deprived the eldest Basset brother, Gilbert, of his office as sheriff of Oxfordshire, replacing him with William Brewer and Brewer's proffer may have been part of the deal; it may have been intended to raise the stakes and provoke a higher offer from the Bassets.⁴⁴ It certainly had that effect; by June 1201 Gilbert had come to an agreement with the king, offering 600 silver marks which would be paid even more quickly: £100 at the Feast of St John the Baptist, £100 at Michaelmas, £100 at Easter, £100 at St John's and £100 at Michaelmas with custody of the heir and lands, but no mention of the marriage, which the king must have kept for later sale.⁴⁵

Gilbert's offer was then the definitive one and it is likely that at this point the young heir entered the household of his cousin, just as some forty years before Gilbert himself had probably entered the household of the first Walter de Dunstanville.⁴⁶ Gilbert, as the eldest son of Thomas Basset and Adeliza de Dunstanville, held the Basset family's major landholding, eight knights' fees in the honour of Wallingford, and from 1179–88 he was keeper of that honour on behalf of the crown.⁴⁷ In the 1180s he had married Egelina de Courtenay, the widow of Walter of Bolbec, and together they founded an Augustinian priory at Bicester.⁴⁸ It was into a household run by Egelina that the young Walter de Dunstanville now entered, and it may not have been so bad a place for the young boy. Egelina's son had died in early adolescence, and

she and her husband had made benefactions to Bicester in his name. Their daughter Eustachia had married Richard of Camville in the 1190s and, with her own children thus lost to her, Egelina may have welcomed the presence of a young child. Gilbert and Egelina were a wealthy and well-connected couple, but only rarely at the court.⁴⁹ In his study of Gilbert Basset, David Carpenter characterises the eldest Basset brother as a 'substantial and not dangerously ambitious local magnate', detecting 'a preference for the comfort and prestige of county life, even with its drawbacks, to the exertions and risks of camp and court' and noting the affection that Gilbert and Egelina inspired in his associate Thomas le Bret.⁵⁰

With the Basset family in charge of the young Walter de Dunstanville and his lands, we can turn to the fortunes of his mother and stepfather. Sibyl's separation from her young son, Walter, is to modern eyes distressing, but it was by no means unusual for the children of the medieval elite to be educated away from their parents and by the early 1200s she is likely to have had another child by her new husband.⁵¹ The new marriage, however, was unlikely to have been characterised in its early days by much cohabitation. As we have seen Engelram had joined John in Normandy in the late summer of 1199 and, as the new king sought to win over the Norman lords, he was involved in complex negotiations between John and Hugh of Montfort-sur-Risle in January 1200.⁵² In May 1201 there is more evidence of travel undertaken in the king's service, for the king ordered 'our knight' Engelram to be provided with 20 marks of silver for his preparations as he is about to cross the Channel with the king.⁵³

Signs of the king's favour continued throughout the 1200s. Although Engelram did not retain the Dunstanville lands beyond the summer of 1200, he received the unidentified manor of *Moredon* and when the king gave that to another man, Engelram received £20 of land at Bloxham in Oxfordshire from 1202. In 1207 the king made Engelram a present of two goshawks that had come from Ireland,⁵⁴ and on occasion he pardoned Engelram's debts, as in 1204 when the sheriff of Wiltshire was instructed that Engelram was to have 12½ marks that remained from the fine of 20 marks, money that Engelram had probably received when he had held the Dunstanville lands, and had not remitted to the Treasury.⁵⁵ Engelram meanwhile continued to render services to the king. In the early days of November 1205, for example, when the king was at

a favoured hunting lodge in Freemantle Park, near Kingsclere in Hampshire, he diverted £30 and two marks from the farm of Alton in Hampshire through Engelram to private business abroad.⁵⁶ In 1209 there is even a hint of a moment of relaxation shared by the king and Engelram at Dorchester, when ten shillings is paid 'in sport'.⁵⁷

During these years Engelram seems to have forged a lasting association with Saltwood in Kent. He had been managing the lands at Saltwood, which Hugh of Montfort-sur-Risle held from the Archbishop of Canterbury, in return for an annual payment of £5 to Hugh. We do not know when this arrangement began;⁵⁸ it may have already been in place in 1197 when Richard I recognised the Archbishop's rights as tenant-in-chief at Saltwood and returned it to Archbishop Hubert Walter.⁵⁹ This would explain Engelram's apparent absence from the record in the late 1190s, which is noted above, and he seems to have been sufficiently trusted by Hugh of Montfort to have acted as the negotiator between John and Hugh in 1199 in the difficult days when John was trying to stabilise his position in Normandy. In 1204, when the archbishop bought out Hugh's rights at Saltwood, Hugh is known to have been divesting himself of other property,⁶⁰ but Hugh's act acknowledging the archbishop's payment of 50 marks specifies that Engelram should continue to hold the property at fee farm from the archbishop for an annual payment of 100s.⁶¹

After the death of Archbishop Hubert in July 1205, when the property of the archbishopric was taken into the king's hand, King John instructed the sheriff of Kent that Engelram was to have custody of Saltwood, its crops and chattels until further notice.⁶² In a separate writ sent a day later he ordered that a measure of the royal wine be sent to Engelram. Both writs were despatched from Wallingford in September, and we may speculate that Engelram had caught up with the king there to complain that Saltwood had been seized.⁶³ John's second order was perhaps intended to compensate Engelram for the inconvenience caused, but the extent of the king's good will is made clearer still by a further writ sent in December of the same year from Canterbury. In it the custodians of the archbishop's property are advised that the king has now given Saltwood and its appurtenances to Engelram. In clarifying Engelram's position in this way, John went back on his brother's recognition of the archbishop's rights there. Engelram's status as tenant-in-chief is

confirmed by the 1206 pipe roll, which shows that he had exemption by the king's writ from the sixth scutage taken in the reign.⁶⁴

Engelram retained the king's confidence then and he had also established himself in the elite networks within the king's household. In 1205, for example, he was a guarantor for Brian de Lisle, one of King John's household knights, who proffered 300 marks to marry a wealthy widow.⁶⁵ Similar pledges can be found in 1207 in support of Geoffrey de Lucy, Fulk fitz Warin and William Beveillein, and they suggest that Engelram was relatively confident of his own ability to meet at least some of these peer-group demands if they fell due.⁶⁶

Engelram was above all a fighting man, however. In 1193, he had been with John in his lordship of Glamorgan, when the count had sought mercenaries for his abortive rebellion.⁶⁷ He had returned to John's service in the early days of the reign when John was fighting for the kingship; he received exemptions from the scutages of the early 1200s, implying that he embarked upon the service himself, and when John undertook his expedition to Ireland in the summer of 1210, Engelram was among his forces. At midsummer he was at Kilkenny, where the king had made his way after landing at Waterford.⁶⁸ Engelram and other knights were paid expenses of three marks (40 shillings) under the supervision of the king's half-brother, the Earl of Salisbury, and Richard Marshal. A month later he received a further payment of four marks while the king and his army were besieging Hugh de Lacy's castle at Carrickfergus. On 1 August, St Lawrence's day, at Drogheda two marks were paid and as the king moved to Dublin, Engelram received a final 100 shillings at a payment overseen by his brother-in-law, Earl Ferrers, and Richard Marshal on the Saturday after the Assumption.⁶⁹

As the husband of the Dunstanville dowager, Sibyl, Engelram retained an interest in the Dunstanville lands throughout the 1200s, holding a knight's fee in Shropshire, but he may have resided in Wiltshire, since he accounts for his debts under that county.⁷⁰ The rest of the property and custody of the heir, the young Walter, stayed with the Bassets, remaining with Gilbert Basset until his death in 1206, when Gilbert's brother, Thomas Basset, stepped in to secure guardianship of the lands and presumably of Walter, though the young man is not explicitly mentioned in the paper work. Thomas gave 200 marks and a palfrey in 1206 and

agreed to pay arrears of Gilbert's fine.⁷¹ It was a substantial sum, but pales in comparison with the 2000 marks that Richard de Camville had to pay for the inheritance of his wife, Gilbert's daughter, Eustachia.⁷²

Unlike his elder brother, Thomas Basset did have a career at court; indeed Roger of Wendover describes him as one of the evil counsellors of King John.⁷³ From 1202 Thomas was the sheriff of Oxfordshire, where he built a substantial powerbase. In 1203 the king granted him Headington and he received the manor of North Stoke from his brother, Gilbert. As the custodian of the Dunstanville lands Thomas Basset appears in the sheriff's annual accounts holding Heytesbury in Wiltshire until September 1212, but Walter de Dunstanville's name is inserted in the roll for that year, so we can assume that he had just come of age.⁷⁴ Walter's early steps as an adult include acting in December 1213 as a surety for a fine made by his neighbour, Isolde, widow of Henry Biset, and as a young knight he probably went with the king in 1214 on the Poitevin expedition that was intended (and failed) to recover John's continental lands.⁷⁵ It was in these years, too, that the young Walter married and it is with this marriage that the fortunes of the Dunstanville family converge with those of one of the best-known, if not the best-known of Sussex families, the FitzAlans.

Although the exact date is unknown, a marriage had taken place by Easter 1213 between Walter and Petronilla, daughter of William FitzAlan and, perhaps unusually, William had received a gift of 100 marks from King John.⁷⁶ This wedding gift and the absence of any relief or inheritance tax payment on the young Walter's succession run contrary to the picture of John's exactions provoking baronial discontent in the years before the granting of Magna Carta. The bride's family, like the Dunstanvilles, had interests in Shropshire and Wiltshire, as well as Sussex, but the FitzAlan interests were far larger. When King Henry II had made his great enquiry about knight service in 1166, the FitzAlans had responded with a list of more than 30 knights' fees⁷⁷ held directly of the king in Norfolk, Shropshire and Wiltshire, while only eight knights' fees are attributed to the Dunstanvilles within the honour of the Earl of Arundel.⁷⁸ There were FitzAlan interests too at Isleham in Cambridgeshire, and lands in Wiltshire inherited from the de Hesdin family.⁷⁹

The family took its name from Alan son of Flaald, a Breton, who was given the office of sheriff of Shropshire by Henry I, probably in the 1110s. The details of Alan's career are obscure, but his wealth seems to have been founded on his wife's inheritance as well as the patronage of Henry I.⁸⁰ He married Avelina, the daughter of Arnulf de Hesdin, the possessor of estates in at least ten counties in 1086, including Wiltshire and Sussex.⁸¹ Alan's son, the first William FitzAlan, was, if not the founder, then a very early benefactor of Haughmond Abbey, an Augustinian house in Shropshire, and to this house he gave Peppering in Sussex and grazing rights in Stoke, probably South Stoke, which his mother had formerly held.⁸² The FitzAlans had also experienced a long minority when the first William FitzAlan died in 1160 and his son, the second William FitzAlan, did not come of age until 1175.⁸³ William son of William FitzAlan, as he often styled himself, recovered his father's office as sheriff of Shropshire in 1190, however, and played an important part, as keeper of hostages, in King John's dealings with the Welsh princes.⁸⁴

As her dowry, Petronilla was given Isleham in Cambridgeshire, an outlier in the FitzAlan holdings that had already provided family benefactions to Shrewsbury Abbey.⁸⁵ The marriage may have been in negotiation for some time, since Petronilla's father had made this provision for her from the family estates and our only source for his death places it in 1210.⁸⁶ A match made while Walter was still a minor, coupled with the king's generous wedding gift of 100 marks, suggests the hand of Walter's cousin, the well-networked Thomas Basset. Thomas not only had the ear of the king, but also a record of arranging good matches, for he had bought the marriage of his own daughter, Philippa, to the heir to the Earl of Warwick.⁸⁷

It was probably to mark the new alliance or possibly the birth of an heir that Walter made a grant to the FitzAlan foundation of Haughmond for his own salvation, that of his wife and heirs, and for the souls of his ancestors and that of William FitzAlan.⁸⁸ Despite the Dunstanville and Basset families' close links with King John for more than two decades, however, Walter became embroiled in the 1216 rebellion against the king, and was perhaps influenced by the grievances of his wife's family.⁸⁹ After the death of Petronilla's father, her brother, William, had not been able to offer enough money to the king to secure the family lands and was

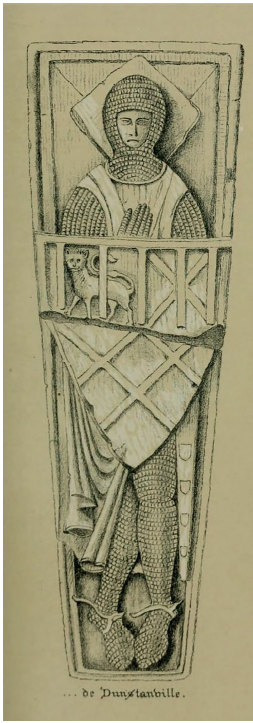


Fig. 5. Effigy of a Dunstanville from Monkton Farleigh Priory, Wiltshire. *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine* 4 (1858).

subject to a humiliating wardship by Thomas of Erdington, one of King John's household knights and the local sheriff since 1205.⁹⁰ Erdington's influence must have been much resented by Shropshire families as a symbol of increasing royal power, and when the younger of Petronilla's brothers, John FitzAlan, inherited the family's claims in 1215, he was to be found at the flashpoints of the disorder in the Marches.⁹¹ It was the marriage of John FitzAlan with Isabel, the daughter of Earl William of Arundel, that would bring future generations of the family to Sussex.⁹²

Walter's stepfather, Engelram, however, remained steadfast in his support for King John. In the weeks before Runnymede, the king wrote to instruct the

sheriff of Shropshire to receive Engelram and his people 'omnem gentem suam' at the royal castle of Bridgnorth in May 1215, and in 1216 Engelram received custody of lands in Yorkshire and Worcestershire belonging to those who were 'with the king's enemies'.⁹³ As late as 1224 Engelram was still bearing arms, and took part in the siege of Bedford.⁹⁴

With the coming of age of Walter [II] de Dunstanville in 1212 the wardship of the Dunstanville lands came to an end and Walter began to manage them himself, securing, for example, the king's approval for a weekly market and an annual fair at Heytesbury in 1215.⁹⁵ He also settled a long-standing dispute with the prior of Lewes over the right to appoint the priest at *Bergham* in Sussex in 1217/18⁹⁶ and assigned rents to Shrewsbury Abbey in compensation for reasserting his right to appoint the priest at Shifnal in Shropshire in 1219.⁹⁷ There is

little here to suggest that the Dunstanville property had been over-exploited while under the control of Thomas Basset, who seems to have performed equally effectively as guardian for his son-in-law, Henry, Earl of Warwick.⁹⁸ While the risks associated with a minority had prompted chapters 3 and 4 of Magna Carta, the Dunstanville estate provides no evidence of such problems.

The claims of Walter's widowed mother remained, however, and consumed time, energy and money for a further fifteen years, as Walter found himself involved in a series of actions about her claims to dower. Engelram and Sibyl sought one third of Colyton in Devon from Thomas Basset in 1219, for example, and they defended an action concerning her dower land in Wiltshire, in which Walter found himself called as warrantor.⁹⁹ As late as 1226/7 an action was underway against the heirs of Gilbert Basset for Sibyl's rights at Shalford.¹⁰⁰ We cannot know whether the prime mover of these actions was Sibyl herself or her husband; in the words of one modern historian of women 'The interplay of personalities was obviously instrumental in shaping relations between men and women...', but women could manipulate their position and enforce rights based on a marriage that had ended in widowhood many years before.¹⁰¹ By 1222/3 Walter had come to an arrangement with his mother and her second husband in which he conceded to them the manor of *Hammes* in Sussex, in return for their abandoning Sibyl's dower claim at Shifnal in Shropshire.¹⁰²

Sibyl's dower in the Dunstanville lands provided a steady source of income for her second husband, who died in late 1227 or early 1228. The daughter of an earl, at a young age she had married a knight with baronial means, but her second marriage was one-sided in that she took lands to Engelram. Thus, while her Dunstanville son, Walter, eventually inherited all the lands of his father, it was for a very slender patrimony that Engelram, Sibyl's son by Engelram of Préaux, gave homage to the king in 1228.¹⁰³ We do not know when or where Sibyl died, though she was still alive in 1229.¹⁰⁴ Her life had been lived within first the confines of her family's marital strategies and then as an element of royal patronage. Even the wealthiest women could similarly lack in direct agency; their seals were not used to authenticate others' acts as were those of men and the imagery of women's power as shown in those seals emphasised fecundity and their role



Fig. 6. Tomb of Sir Walter de Dunstanville, St Andrew's church, Castle Combe, Wiltshire.

within the family.¹⁰⁵ Nonetheless '...depending on age, personality and circumstances, they could play important roles in influencing and shaping family policies, exploiting the conventions of the day, just as they had been exploited by them.'¹⁰⁶ We can only speculate on how far Sibyl was able to shape her family policy and, although sons were born of both marriages, it is impossible to know whether either of her unions was in the conventional modern sense happy. It is interesting to note that, however, that when Sibyl finally achieved some independence after the death of her second husband and sought letters of protection from the king, they were granted in her own name of Sibyl de Ferrers.¹⁰⁷

POSTSCRIPT

Sibyl's eldest son, Walter [II] de Dunstanville, died in 1241 and was succeeded by his son Walter [III].

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¹⁰⁸ Although this Walter was to confirm family grants to Lewes priory, by the 1240s the focus of Dunstanville attention had moved to Wiltshire and they gave their support to religious communities situated in that county.¹⁰⁹ Benefactions were made or confirmed to the canons regular of Bradenstoke, the Cistercian house at Stanley and the Cluniac priory of Monkton Farleigh, a daughter house of Lewes, where a member of the family was buried (Fig. 5).¹¹⁰ The last Dunstanville, Walter [III], who died in 1270, lies beneath a magnificent tomb at Castle Combe in Wiltshire (Fig. 6).

Acknowledgements

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NOTES

- ¹ For Walter's possession of his family's lands by the mid-1150s, K. Thompson, 'Walter de Dunstanville: the ups and downs of a 12th-century Sussex landholder', *Sussex Archaeological Collections* **154** (2016), 157–68.
- ² D. Carpenter (ed.), *Magna carta* (London: Penguin, 2015).
- ³ The Ferrers earls of Derby are described as Earl Ferrers and as Earl of Derby. Sibyl had a brother, who became earl, and a sister, Petronilla; D. B. Crouch, 'Complaint of King John against William de Briouze (c. September 1210)', in J. S. Loengard (ed.), *Magna Carta and the England of King John* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2010), 168–79 at 170, where William, Earl Ferrers is described as the nephew of William de Briouze, thus confirming that Earl Ferrers' mother was the sister of William de Briouze; for Petronilla, T. D. Hardy (ed.), *Rotuli de oblatiis et finibus in turri Londinensi asservati tempore regis Johannis* (London: Commissioners of the Public Records, 1837), 530. J. H. Round, 'The Ports of Basing and their priory', *Genealogist n.s.* **18** (1902), 137–9, reviews the marital career of their mother, Sibyl de Briouze, Countess Ferrers.
- ⁴ See the family tree in D. Walker, 'Miles of Gloucester, earl of Hereford', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society* **77** (1958), 66–84 at 67. There is much material on the Briouze family in F. M. Powicke, 'Loretta, countess of Leicester', in J. G. Edwards, V. H. Galbraith and E. F. Jacob (eds), *Historical essays in honour of James Tait* (Manchester U.P., 1933), 247–71.
- ⁵ British Library, Egerton 3712 Cartularium Prioratus de Wombridge in com Salop ex bibliotheca Phillippica (hereafter Wombridge), fo. 38, no. ii.
- ⁶ Dowry or *maritagium* is surveyed in C. de Trafford, 'Share and share alike? The marriage portion, inheritance and family politics', in C. Meek and C. Lawless (eds) *Pawns or players*, Studies on medieval and early modern women **2** (Dublin: Four Courts P., 2003), 36–48.
- ⁷ References to printed editions of pipe rolls published by the Pipe Roll Society are abbreviated to *PR* followed by the regnal year. *PR 6 Richard I 1194*, 18, 19: Guy de Dive, the king's marshal, had received the proceeds of Heytesbury for one quarter and then William of Saint-Mère Église held it for the remaining six months of the accounting period that ended in Sep. 1194. F. W. Maitland (ed.), *Three rolls of the king's court in the reign of King Richard the first A.D. 1194–1195*, Pipe Roll Society **14** (1891), 94.
- ⁸ Thompson, 'Walter de Dunstanville', 165.
- ⁹ *PR 7 Richard I 1195*, 45; 'Ex necrologio prioratus Longae Villae', M. Bouquet (ed.), *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, nouv. éd. L. Delisle, 24 vols (Paris, 1840–1904) **23**, 432–8 at 434.
- ¹⁰ D. Crouch, 'The local influence of the earls of Warwick, 1088–1242: a study in decline and resourcefulness', *Midland History* **21** (1996), 1–22, at 9.
- ¹¹ H. Hall (ed.), *Red book of the exchequer*, 3 vols, Rolls series **99** (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode for HMSO, 1896) (hereafter *RB*), 114; *PR 8 Richard I 1196*, 33; R. V. Turner and R. R. Heiser, *The reign of Richard Lionheart: ruler of the Angevin empire, 1189–99* (Harlow: Pearson, 2000), 152.
- ¹² J. H. Round (ed.), *Rotuli de dominabus et pueris et puellis de donatione regis in xii comitatibus*, Pipe Roll Society **35** (1913); S. M. Johns, *Noblewomen, aristocracy and power in the twelfth-century Anglo-Norman realm* (Manchester U.P., 2003), 165–93.
- ¹³ S. L. Waugh, *The lordship of England: royal wardships and marriages in English society and politics, 1217–1327* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton U.P., 1988), 156–9; T. K. O'Keefe, 'Proffers for heirs and heiresses in the pipe rolls: some observations on indebtedness in the years before the Magna Carta (1180–1212)', *Haskins Society Journal* **5** (1993), 99–109.
- ¹⁴ Waugh, *Lordship*, 86.
- ¹⁵ Waugh, *Lordship*, 108ff.
- ¹⁶ *PR 9 Richard I 1197*, 221. For some other examples of widows offering fines for custody of their children in the 1200s, S. Annesley, 'The impact of Magna Carta on widows: evidence from the Fine Rolls 1216–1225', *Henry III Fine Rolls Project: Fine of the month*, November 2007, section 1.4 Widows and Wardships in the Fine Rolls, paragraph 1 <http://www.finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/month/fm-11-2007.html>
- ¹⁷ *PR 9 Richard I 1197*, 159: 'que fuit uxoris Walteri de Dunstanvill'.
- ¹⁸ Waugh, *Lordship*, 159.
- ¹⁹ *PR 1 John 1199*, 79.
- ²⁰ *PR 1 John 1199*, 173.
- ²¹ F. M. Powicke, *The loss of Normandy: studies in the history of the Angevin empire*, 2nd ed. (Manchester U.P., 1961), 350, 262–3.
- ²² Wombridge, fo. 41, no. xxvi.
- ²³ *PR 2 Richard I 1190*, 117. *Calendar of Charter Rolls*, 6 vols (London: HMSO, 1903–1927) **2**, 153.
- ²⁴ B. Kemp (ed.), *Reading abbey cartularies*, Camden Society, 4th ser. **31, 33** (1986–7), no. 40; M. Jones, 'A collection of the acta of John, Lord of Ireland and Count of Mortain, with a study of his household', 2 vols (unpub. MA thesis, Univ. of Manchester, 1949), no. 73; Lancashire Archives, DDBL 46/1.
- ²⁵ S. D. Church, *The household knights of King John* (Cambridge U.P., 1999), 21.
- ²⁶ T. D. Hardy (ed.), *Rotuli chartarum in turri Londinensi asservati, 1199–1216* (London: Record Commission, 1837), 10, 30b.
- ²⁷ *PR 1 John 1199*, 79, 180, 37; Church, *Household knights*, 21.
- ²⁸ *PR 1 John 1199*, 180, indicates that Engelram had exemption from scutage after the coronation.
- ²⁹ S. D. Church, 'The rewards of royal service in the household of King John: a dissenting opinion', *English Historical Review* **110** (1995), 277–302 at 288.
- ³⁰ Church, *Household knights*, 137.
- ³¹ J. S. Loengard, 'What did Magna Carta mean to widows?' in J. S. Loengard (ed.) *Magna Carta and the England of King John*, 134–50 at 135.
- ³² *PR 2 John 1200*, 162–3.
- ³³ T. D. Hardy (ed.), *Rotuli de liberate ac de misis de praestitis regnante Johanne*, Record Commission **30** (1844), 1.
- ³⁴ *PR 2 John, 1200*, 162–3: 'postquam Ingelrammus de Pratell' qui eas habuerat inde fuit dissaisitus'.
- ³⁵ *PR 2 John 1200*, 27.
- ³⁶ Thomas Basset had received Colyton in Devon from his uncle, *Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, ninth report* (London: HMSO, 1883–84), appendix II, 404. Alan had received Winterbourne Basset, *Descriptive catalogue of ancient deeds*, 6 vols (London, 1890–1915) **3**, no. 4825.

- ³⁷ N. Vincent, 'Basset, Thomas (d. 1220)', *Oxford dictionary of national biography* (Oxford U. P., 2004) (hereafter *ODNB*) [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/47245>]; W. T. Reedy, 'Basset, Alan (d. 1232)', *ODNB*, Jan. 2008 revision [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/1635>].
- ³⁸ W. T. Reedy (ed.), *Basset Charters, c. 1120–1150*, Pipe Roll Society **n.s.** **50** (1989–91), xiii.
- ³⁹ *PR 2 John 1200*, 27.
- ⁴⁰ *PR 2 John 1200*, 162–3. There is some uncertainty about the location of *Bergham*, Thompson, 'Walter de Dunstanville', 166, fn. 15 where this is discussed in the context of the holdings of Alan de Dunstanville.
- ⁴¹ *Rot. de obl. et fin.*, 133: 'Willelmus Briwer' dat domino rege CCC marcas pro habenda custodia terre et heredis Walteri de Dunstavill' et pro maritanda herede ipsius Walteri cum consilio domini Regis. Et dominus Rex concessit eidem Willelmo quod revocet omnia jura ipsius heredis per iudicium et consideracionem curie domini Regis. Terminum ad iii^{or} scaccarium ita scilicet quod L libras reddet cum saisinam inde habuit et ad festum sancti Michaelis L libras et sic de scaccario ad scaccarium donec totum persolvetur salve rationabili dote in omnibus uxoris ipsius Walteri.'
- ⁴² S. D. Church, 'Brewer, William (d. 1226)', *ODNB* [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/3369>] citing 'William Briwerre', in R. V. Turner, *Men raised from the dust: administrative service and upward mobility in Angevin England* (1988), 71–90.
- ⁴³ Gilbert Basset, elder brother of Alan and Thomas, had secured King John's confirmation of Adeliza de Dunstanville's dowry at Shalford in Surrey, which had been assigned to him in a dispute in King Richard's court in the 1190s, *Rot. chart.*, 41b; *Rot. de obl. et fin.*, 67.
- ⁴⁴ *Rot. chart.*, 103b.
- ⁴⁵ *Rot. de obl. et fin.*, 169.
- ⁴⁶ Thompson, 'Walter de Dunstanville', 161.
- ⁴⁷ D. Carpenter, 'Sheriffs of Oxfordshire and their subordinates 1194–1236' (unpub. D. Phil. thesis, Univ. of Oxford, 1974), 76–86, at p. 77.
- ⁴⁸ W. Kennett, *Parochial antiquities attempted in the History of Ambrosden, Burcester and other adjacent parts in the counties of Oxford and Bucks*, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon P., 1818) **1**, 210–11. For Egelina, B. Kemp, 'The miracles of the hand of St. James, edited with an introduction', *Berkshire Archaeological Journal* **65** (1970), 1–19 at 16.
- ⁴⁹ In March 1200 Gilbert had made a rare appearance at court to obtain John's confirmation of a market granted by King Richard at Egelina's manor of Strafford and his own rights at Shalford that had been confirmed by Richard, originally the dowry of his mother, *Rot. chart.*, 39, 41b.
- ⁵⁰ Carpenter, 'Sheriffs of Oxfordshire', 81; for the quotations, 85.
- ⁵¹ N. Orme, *From childhood to chivalry: the education of the English kings and aristocracy 1066–1530* (London: Methuen, 1984), 55. Engelram, son of Engelram of Préaux, succeeded to his father's lands in 1228 without a minority, so must have been born by 1207 and possibly earlier, *Close rolls Henry III, 1227–31*, 76.
- ⁵² *Rot. chart.*, 10, 30b and 59; D. Douglas (ed.), *The Domesday Monachorum of Christ Church Canterbury* (Royal Historical Society, 1944), 65–70.
- ⁵³ *Rot. de lib.*, 13: 'dilecto et fideli milite nostro Engelramo de Pratellis transfretanti nobiscum in servicio nostro habere xxⁱⁱ marcas argenti ad se preparandum.'
- ⁵⁴ T. D. Hardy (ed.), *Rotuli litterarum clausurarum in turri Londinensi asservati*, 2 vols (London 1833–44) **1**, 95b.
- ⁵⁵ *Rot. litt. claus.*, **1**, 1.
- ⁵⁶ *Rot. litt. claus.*, **1**, 56b: 'quittavimus Willelmo de Cornhull' xxx. libras et ij marcas quas recepit a vicemite Suhamp't de firma de Aulton' quia idem Willelmus fecit inde preceptum nostrum. Et ideo vobis mandamus quod eundem Willelmum inde quietum esse faciatis. Teste me ipso apud Freidmantell' iiii. die Nove' per Ingeram' de Pratell' ad privatum negocium ultra mare.'
- ⁵⁷ *Rot. de lib.*, 131: 'in ludo domini regis contra Ingelranno de Pratellis x.s.'
- ⁵⁸ When Robert of Montfort-sur-Risle was banished in 1107, Henry I seems to have seized all his lands, including those that he held of other tenants-in-chief, such as Saltwood, which he held from the Archbishop of Canterbury, DB, **1**, 4b. Some fifty years later another Robert of Montfort recovered Saltwood from the archbishop, with the approval of Henry II, *PR 15 Henry II 1168–69*, 111: 'Et Roberto de Montford .XXXIII. libras et .XII. denarios in Saltw' de dono Tedbaldi archiepiscopi. Teste Henrico rege secundo.'
- ⁵⁹ *Rot. chart.*, 23: '...ad petitionem venerabilis patris nostri Huberti Cantuariensis archiepiscopi concessisse et presenti carta nostra confirmasse ecclesie Cantuariensis et predicto archiepiscopo et omnibus successoribus ejus Saltwude ... quam Henricus de Essexia tenuerat de feodo archiepiscopato Cantuariensi et quam idem Henricus forisfecit per feloniam qua occasione Henricus Rex pater noster et Ricardus Rex frater noster diutius terram in manu sua tenerant quam bone memorie R Rex frater noster predicto archiepiscopo reddidit et carta sua confirmavit.'
- ⁶⁰ *Rot. chart.*, 21, 50b, 92b for other grants by Hugh.
- ⁶¹ Canterbury, Dean and Chapter Archives, CA-DCC-ChAnt/S/352.
- ⁶² *Rot. litt. claus.*, **1**, 50: 'Precipimus tibi quod habere facias Ingelram' de Pratell' in custodia terram de Sautwod' que fuit Hug' de Monteforti et est de feodo ejusdem Engl' et quam ipse dimiserat ad firmam domino Cant' Arch' cum bladis et catallis ejusdem terre quousque aliud inde tibi mandavimus...'
- ⁶³ *Rot. litt. claus.*, **1**, 50: 'Rex Roberto de Roppell' vel Hugone de Astin' etc. Mandamus tibi quod sine dilatione facias habere Engelramo de Pratell' j. dolium vini de vinis nostris quod ei dedimus...'
- ⁶⁴ *Rot. litt. claus.*, **1**, 58b: '...sine dilatione faciatis Engelramo de Pratell' saisinam terre de Saltewode cum pertinentibus que fuit ... in manu domini H. Cant. Archiepiscopi die qua obiit quas eidem Engelramo dedimus'; *PR 8 John 1206*, 54.
- ⁶⁵ *Rot. de obl. et fin.*, 241; S. D. Church, 'Lisle, Sir Brian de (d. 1234)', *ODNB* [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/47250>].
- ⁶⁶ *Rot. de obl. et fin.*, 459, 460 x 2.
- ⁶⁷ R. B. Patterson (ed.), *Earldom of Gloucester charters: the charters and scribes of the earls and countesses to Gloucester to A.D. 1217* (Oxford: Clarendon P., 1973), no. 138; J. Gillingham, 'John (1167–1216)', *ODNB*, Sep. 2010 revision [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/14841>] for the context of 1193.

- ⁶⁸ On the Irish expedition, Sean Duffy, 'King John's expedition to Ireland, 1210: the evidence reconsidered', *Irish Historical Studies* **30** (1996), 1–24, and, setting it in a wider context, his 'John and Ireland: the origins of England's Irish problem', in S. D. Church (ed.), *King John: new interpretations* (Woodbridge: Boydell P., 1999), 221–45.
- ⁶⁹ *Rot. de lib.*, 181, 204, 211, 219.
- ⁷⁰ Liber Feodorum: *the Book of Fees commonly known called Testa de Nevill*, preface by Sir Henry Maxwell-Lyte, 3 vols (London: HMSO, 1921–31), 144.
- ⁷¹ *PR 8 John 1206*, 189; *Rot. de obl. et fin.*, 349.
- ⁷² *Rot. de obl. et fin.*, 348.
- ⁷³ H. G. Hewlett (ed.), *Chronica Rogeri de Wendover*, 3 vols, Rolls series **84** (London: H.M.S.O., 1886–89), **2**, 60; Vincent, 'Basset, Thomas'.
- ⁷⁴ *PR 14 John 1212*, 147.
- ⁷⁵ *Rot. de obl. et fin.*, 511–12; *PR 16 John 1214*, 42, where Walter renders account for 68 marks of loans for Poitou ('prestitis pictavie'), of which he has paid 30 marks. For the significance of such loans, S. D. Church, 'The 1210 campaign in Ireland: evidence for a military revolution?' in C. Harper-Bill (ed.), *Anglo-Norman Studies, XX: proceedings of the Battle conference in Dublin 1997* (Woodbridge: Boydell P., 1998), 45–57.
- ⁷⁶ H. Cole (ed.), *Documents illustrative of English history in the 13th and 14th centuries from the records of the Queen's remembrancer in the Exchequer*, Record Commission **33** (1844), 259.
- ⁷⁷ *RB*, 271–4.
- ⁷⁸ *RB*, 201. The Dunstanvilles' Shropshire holdings were not reported in 1166, but in 1235 there were two knights' fees, *Book of Fees*, 540.
- ⁷⁹ U. Rees (ed.), *The cartulary of Shrewsbury abbey*, 2 vols (Aberystwyth: National Library of Wales, 1975), no. 285 for William FitzAlan's gift 1155–60, perhaps made on his deathbed, R. W. Eyton, *The antiquities of Shropshire*, 12 vols (London: J.R. Smith, 1854–60) **7**, 237.
- ⁸⁰ Eyton, *Antiquities of Shropshire* **7**, 217–23; J. H. Round, 'The origins of the Stewarts', *Studies in peerage and family history* (Westminster: Constable, 1901), 115–34.
- ⁸¹ H. E. Hallam (ed.), *Agrarian history of England and Wales, ii 1042–1350* (Cambridge UP, 1988), 118.
- ⁸² U. Rees (ed.), *The cartulary of Haughmond Abbey* (Cardiff: Shropshire Archaeological Society and University of Wales P., 1985), no. 888. Peppering lies in the manor of Burpham, on the east bank of the River Arun, less than one mile from South Stoke. In 1086 South Stoke was held from Earl Roger by Ernald, who may have been Avelina's father, Arnulf de Hesdin, *DB*, **I**, 25.
- ⁸³ Eyton, *Antiquities of Shropshire* **7**, 241; *PR 22 Henry II 1175/6*, 164.
- ⁸⁴ *Shrewsbury cartulary*, nos 301, 305, 310b, *Haughmond cartulary*, no. 290 for William son of William FitzAlan; for hostages, Eyton, *Antiquities of Shropshire* **7**, 243–4 and I. W. Rowlands, 'King John and Wales', Church (ed.), *King John: new interpretations*, 273–87 at 281.
- ⁸⁵ W. Illingworth and J. Caley (eds), *Rotuli hundredorum*, 2 vols (Record Commission, 1812–18), **2**, 504b: 'Et ipse [rex] dedit antecessoribus Willelmi fil' Alan' domino de Meleham ... qui illud manerium dedit Petronille filie sue ad se maritandum qui se maritavit Walter' de Dunstanville senior'; *PR 16 John 1214*, 120. *Shrewsbury cartulary*, nos 307, 285, 309. Isleham later formed the dower of Rohesia, the widow of Walter [III] de Dunstanville, *Rot. hund.* **2**, 498b.
- ⁸⁶ Dunstable annals in H. R. Luard (ed.), *Annales monastici*, 5 vols, Rolls series **36** (London: HMSO, 1864–69), **3**, 33 for the death of Petronilla's father. Petronilla de Dunstanville survived her husband and was still alive in 1253, *Close rolls Henry III 1251–3*, 458.
- ⁸⁷ *Rot. litt. claus.*, I, 35b; Crouch, 'The local influence of the earls of Warwick', 9 and references.
- ⁸⁸ *Haughmond cartulary*, no 15.
- ⁸⁹ On 23 July 1216 King John wrote to Thomas Samford to say that Geoffrey and Oliver de Breteville were to have Walter's lands of Castle Combe, Broughton and Heytesbury, *Rot. litt. claus.*, **I**, 278.
- ⁹⁰ The complex history of the FitzAlan succession in the final years of King John was untangled by Eyton, *Antiquities of Shropshire* **7**, 246–50; for Erdington, Church, *Household knights*, 64, 66–7.
- ⁹¹ John FitzAlan's rebellion was probably a reaction to the the king's failure to grant the family's lands to his elder brother after their father's death, P. Latimer, 'Rebellion in south-western England and the Welsh Marches, 1215–17', *Historical Research* **80** (2007), 185–224, especially at 220, n. 186.
- ⁹² Frederick Suppe, 'Fitzalan, John (II) (1223–1267)', *ODNB* [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/9531>].
- ⁹³ Fragments of the close roll for 15/16 John, published in *Memoranda roll of the tenth year of the reign of King John 1207–8*, Pipe Roll Society **69**, n.s. **31**, 139; *Rot. litt. claus.*, I, 248b, 285b (Yorkshire), 282 (Worcestershire).
- ⁹⁴ Engelram, son of Engelram was pardoned the exchequer's requirement to repay his father's prest at the siege of Bedford five marks, *Close rolls, Henry III 1234–1237*, **3**, 99; D. A. Carpenter, *The minority of Henry III* (Berkeley, CA: University of California P., 1990), 360–70. Church, *Household knights*, 133, for Engelram as a household knight of Henry III.
- ⁹⁵ *Rot. chart.*, 205.
- ⁹⁶ L. Salzmann (ed.), *An abstract of feet of fines relating to the county of Sussex from 2 Richard I to 33 Henry III*, Sussex Record Society **2** (1902), no. 140. For the earlier court case, *Curia regis rolls* (London: HMSO, 1923 in progress) **3**, 152, 170. For the location of *Bergham*, Thompson, 'Walter de Dunstanville', 166, fn. 16.
- ⁹⁷ *Shrewsbury cartulary*, no. 378; *Curia regis rolls*, **8**, 6.
- ⁹⁸ For Thomas Basset as earl of Warwick's guardian, Crouch, 'Local influence of the earls of Warwick', 9.
- ⁹⁹ *Curia regis rolls*, **8**, 124; **9**, 121, 290.
- ¹⁰⁰ *Rot. litt. claus.*, **I**, 155.
- ¹⁰¹ For quotation, L. Wilkinson, *Women in thirteenth-century Lincolnshire* (Woodbridge: Boydell for the Royal Historical Society, 2007), 2.
- ¹⁰² *SRS* **2**, no. 177. In 1225 Engelram secured a writ to move grain from the property at *Hammes* to Kent, *Rot. litt. claus.*, 35: 'Mandatum est ballivis portus Kingeston quod permittant Ingeram' de Pratellis ducere bladum suum de Hammes usque ad Heyam ibidem discarcandum ad ducendum in Cant accepta prius ab eo securitate per obsides vel per plegios quod bladum illud alibi duci non faciet.' *Hammes* is identified as a detached portion of the now lost parish of Barpham in C. P. Lewis (ed.) *A*

history of the county of Sussex **5**, pt. 2, *Littlehampton and district (Arundel Rape, south-eastern part, comprising Poling Hundred)* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer for the Institute of Historical Research, 2009), 42.

- ¹⁰³ *Close rolls Henry III, 1227–31*, 76. Engelram, son of Engelram of Préaux, became the keeper of the forest of Bere in the reign of Henry III and died before 1250, apparently leaving no heir, *Close rolls Henry III 1237–42*, 269, 411, 514. For Engelram's widow, Joanna, *Curia regis rolls*, **20**, no. 989.
- ¹⁰⁴ Sibyl was called to warrant property in Devon in a lawsuit of 1229, *Curia regis rolls*, **13**, no. 1945. For another active litigant of the 1220s and 1230s, S. Church, 'The excommunication of Beatrice de Faye'. *Henry III Fine Rolls Project: Fine of the month*, February 2011, paragraph 4 <http://www.finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/month/fm-02-2011.html>
- ¹⁰⁵ B. Bedos-Rezak, 'Medieval women in French sigillographic sources', in J. Rosenthal (ed.), *Women and the sources of medieval history* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia P., 1990), 1–36 at 3–5; on gendered imagery and representations; Johns, *Noblewomen, aristocracy and power*, 128–30.
- ¹⁰⁶ D. Carpenter, *The struggle for mastery: Britain 1066–1284* (London: Penguin, 2004), 422.
- ¹⁰⁷ *Calendar of Patent Rolls Henry III*, **2**, 177.
- ¹⁰⁸ Henry III took homage from Walter [III] on 21 August 1241 at Chester, The National Archives Fine Roll C 60/37, 25 Henry III (1240–1241), membrane 4, available at http://www.finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_037.html nos. 619, 620.
- ¹⁰⁹ L. F. Salzman (ed.), *The Chartulary of the Priory of St. Pancras of Lewes*, 2 vols, Sussex Record Society, **38, 40** (1932–4), **2**, 64.
- ¹¹⁰ V. C. M. London (ed.), *The cartulary of Bradenstoke Priory*, Wiltshire Record Society **35** (1979), nos 63, 239; British Library, Add. Ch. 18214 for Stanley; J. E. Jackson, 'The history of the priory of Monkton Farley', *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine* **4** (1858), 267–84, facing page 284. The heraldry of the shield depicted on the effigy at Monkton Farleigh indicates that this Dunstanville was not the holder of the arms, but the son of the head of the Dunstanville family, perhaps the John de Dunstanville, who appears in a quit claim by his father, *Calendar of Charter Rolls* **2**, 153.

