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Hereward and Flanders

ELISABETH VAN HOUTS

Hereward 'the Wake' is renowned as one of the leaders of the English resistance to the Normans in the late 1060s and early 1070s. His involvement in the resistance is noted by all main sources, even though the extent to which he was responsible for actions in Ely and Peterborough remains to be elucidated.¹ He is listed as a pre-Conquest Lincolnshire landholder and tenant in Domesday Book, which is the only contemporary source to mention, but not date, his outlawry.² Hereward's career as an outlaw is shrouded in mystery, due to the lack of detail in contemporary sources and also to the rise of stories incorporated in the *Gesta Herewardi* (*The Deeds of Hereward*), written in the twelfth century, which claim that

¹ The *Gesta Herewardi* as a narrative representing English ethnic awareness and pride of the English warfare is the topic of an important forthcoming study by Hugh Thomas, who most kindly allowed me to read his article in advance of publication (H. M. Thomas, 'The *Gesta Herewardi*, the English and their Conquerors', *ANS* 21 (1998), pp. 213–32). The relevant sources are: *Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel*, ed. J. Earle and C. Plummer, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1892–9) I, 204–5, 208 = *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 'DE', s.a. 1070 [Hereward at Peterborough] and 1071 [Hereward at Ely and his escape]; *The Chronicle of John of Worcester*, ed. R. R. Darlington and P. McGurk, trans. J. Bray and P. McGurk, 2 vols. [II–III] (Oxford, 1995–8) III, 20–1 [Hereward at Ely and escape]; *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis de gestis pontificum Anglorum*, ed. N. E. S. A. Hamilton, RS (London, 1870), p. 420 [Hereward at Peterborough]; *Henry Archdeacon of Huntingdon, Historia Anglorum, The History of the English People*, ed. D. E. Greenway (Oxford, 1996), pp. 396–8 [Hereward at Ely and escape]; *L'Estoire des Engleis by Geffrei Gaimar*, ed. A. Bell, Anglo-Norman Texts 14–16 (Oxford, 1960), lines 5460–5506, pp. 173–81 [Hereward at Peterborough and Ely]; *The Chronicle of Hugh Candidus*, ed. W. T. Mellows (Oxford, 1949), pp. 77–9 and 81 [Hereward at Peterborough and Ely].

² *Domesday Book seu Liber Censualis Wilhelmi primi regis Angliae*, ed. A. Farley, 2 vols. (London, 1783) [hereafter DB], fols. 346r, 364v, 376v, 377r and 377v, where he occurs as pre-Conquest landholder of Loughton, Rippingale and Witham (Lincs.) which he held respectively with one Toli, from Crowland Abbey and from Peterborough. Two of the entries (376v and 377v) explicitly mention his outlawry, which is not dated. The Pseudo-Ingulf's history of Crowland Abbey dates the outlawry to 1062 (*Historia Ingulphi in Rerum Anglicarum scriptorum veterum Tom. I*, ed. W. Fulman (Oxford, 1684), pp. 1–107, at 67). For discussions of Hereward's origin and status, see J. Hayward, 'Hereward the Outlaw', *JMH* 14 (1988), 293–304; C. Hart, 'Hereward the Wake and his Companions', in his *The Danelaw* (London, 1992), pp. 625–48; E. King, 'The Origins of the Wake Family', *Northamptonshire Past and Present* 5 (1975), 167–77; D. Roffe, 'Hereward the Wake and the Barony of Bourne: a Reassessment of a Fenland Legend', *Lincolnshire Hist. and Archaeol.* 29 (1994), 7–10; and A. Williams, *The English and the Norman Conquest* (Woodbridge, 1995), pp. 49–50 and n. 24.

he went as a mercenary to Cornwall, Ireland and Flanders. Two sections of the *Gesta Herewardi* are devoted to his exploits in the county of Flanders, and there is a curious third passage describing his relationship to Gilbert of Gent, the richest post-Conquest Flemish settler in England, who is said to have been Hereward's godfather.³ The purpose of this article is to take a fresh look at these passages and to assess them in the light of sources written on the Continent which seemingly confirm the *Gesta* sections on Flanders.

'GESTA HERWARDI'

The *Gesta Herewardi* survives in one mid-thirteenth-century manuscript known as the *Register of Robert of Swaffham*, which belongs to the Dean and Chapter of Peterborough Cathedral, but is kept at the University Library in Cambridge.⁴ It is commonly assumed, correctly I think, that the *Gesta Herewardi* as preserved in the *Register of Robert of Swaffham* is 'the book about Hereward . . . compiled . . . by the venerable man and learned brother, the late Richard', which is mentioned by the compiler of the *Liber Eliensis*.⁵ The Ely compiler refers twice to such a biography of Hereward in contexts which strongly suggest that Richard, a monk or clerk, was writing during the episcopacy of Hervey of Ely, that is between 1109 and 1131.⁶ If we accept this identification it follows that the anonymous author

³ *Gesta Herwardi incliti exulis et militis*, in *Lestoire des Engles solum la translacion maistre Geffrei Gaimar*, ed. T. D. Hardy and C. T. Martin, 2 vols., RS (London, 1888) II, 339–404; the Flemish passages can be found on 343–4, 353–64 and 370–1. A new edition and translation is in preparation by P. G. Schmidt and J. Mann for OMT. The English translation by M. Swanton (*Three Lives of the Last Englishmen* (New York, 1984), pp. 45–88) needs to be used with caution.

⁴ Cambridge University Library, Peterborough, Chapter Library 1, 320r–339r (339v is blank); the whole text is contained in two quires (nos. xxviii–xxix), written in one hand with red chapter headings, and red/blue initials. The *Register* also contains a collection of royal charters for Peterborough, the Chronicle of Hugh Candidus, and the Laws of William the Conqueror. For a description, see J. D. Martin, *The Cartularies and Registers of Peterborough Abbey*, Northamptonshire Record Soc. 28 (Peterborough, 1978), 7–12 and N. R. Ker *et al.*, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries* (Oxford, 1969–; in progress) IV, 162–4. A brief reference to the cartulary can be found in A. Gransden, *Historical Writing in England c. 550 to c. 1307* (London, 1974), p. 520.

⁵ *Liber Eliensis*, ed. E. O. Blake, Camden 3rd ser. 92 (London, 1962), 188: 'In libro autem de ipsius gestis Herewardi, dudum a venerabili viro ac doctissimo fratre nostro beate memorie Ricardo edito, plenius descripta inveniuntur.' See also *ibid.* p. xxxiv and n. 10. However, note the doubts expressed by S. Keynes in his unpublished paper 'Hereward the Wake' (1990). I am most grateful to Simon Keynes for allowing me to read his work in advance of publication.

⁶ This date (*Liber Eliensis*, ed. Blake, p. xxxiv) is consistent with the references in the Flemish sections of the *Gesta* to the counts of Guines and Warenne. Count Manasses is called 'Manasses the Old of Guines' to distinguish him from his grandson Manasses II or Robert (1091–c. 1137) (see below, pp. 211–12, n. 51), while William I of Warenne (d. after 1088) is called 'the old count William of Warenne', contrasting him with his son of the same name who was count from c. 1088 to 1138 (*Early Yorkshire Charters*, ed. W. Farrer and C. T. Clay, 12 vols. (Edinburgh, 1914–65) VIII, 7–12 and C. P. Lewis, 'The Earldom of Surrey and the Date of Domesday Book', *Hist. Research* 63 (1990), 329–36).

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of the *Gesta Herewardi* is Richard of Ely. In his prologue to the *Gesta* the author, whom from now onwards I shall call Richard of Ely, explains that he wrote the work in two stages. Firstly he consulted a damaged manuscript which contained an Old English Life of Hereward by Hereward's priest Leofric and he made oral enquiries.⁷ For unexplained reasons he then abandoned his project. The second stage took place at an unspecified later time when he stylistically revised his original text. He also incorporated extra oral information from two of Hereward's wounded companions. They are named as brother Siward of Bury St Edmunds and Leofric the Black, who later appear as participants in the struggle against the Normans around Ely.⁸ According to the prologue they were also known to the anonymous dedicatee of the *Gesta Herewardi*, who may be identified with some confidence as Bishop Hervey of Ely (1109–31).⁹

Clearly, Richard was working at a time when some of Hereward's companions were still alive. They, like other Conquest veterans, repeated their memories of the battle and subsequent expeditions orally to a generation that had not been present.¹⁰ For example, Abbot Ralph of Battle Abbey, who was born in 1040 and aged 84 when he died in 1124, was the main informant of the author of the *Brevis relatio*, written between 1114 and 1120 at Battle Abbey, while Count Robert of Beaumont, the fifteen-year-old hero of the Battle of Hastings, who died in 1118 at the age of 69, was another likely source of information about the events of 1066 well into the twelfth century.¹¹ Richard, therefore, had at his disposal a contemporary biography in Old English, oral eyewitness accounts from named companions as well as rumours he had collected at an early stage.¹² His acknowledgement of his sources is impeccable and accords with normal medieval practice by distinguishing between oral and written sources, and by naming informants, where possible.¹³ By translating or adapting Old English narratives into Latin he was not unique. Other contemporaries were doing the same: William of Malmesbury translated the now lost vernacular Life of Wulfstan of Worcester by Coleman, Wulfstan's chaplain, and Bishop Hervey of Ely himself

⁷ The Old English Life of Hereward by Leofric is now lost.

⁸ *Gesta Herewardi*, ed. Hardy and Martin, p. 383. ⁹ *Ibid.* pp. 339–41.

¹⁰ E. M. C. van Houts, 'The Memory of 1066 in Written and Oral Traditions', *ANS* 19 (1996), 167–80.

¹¹ E. M. C. van Houts, 'The Brevis relatio de Guillelmo nobilissimo comite Normannorum, written by a Monk of Battle Abbey', *Chronology, Conquest and Conflict in Medieval England*, Camden Miscellany 35, Camden 5th ser. 10 (London, 1997), 1–48, at 14–15; *The Chronicle of Battle Abbey*, ed. E. Searle (Oxford, 1980), pp. 130–2; and D. Crouch, *The Beaumont Twins; the Roots and Branches of Power in the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, 1986), pp. 3–4; and *The Gesta Guillelmi of William of Poitiers*, ed. R. H. C. Davis and M. Chibnall (Oxford, 1998), pp. 130–1 and 178–9.

¹² For lost Old English texts, see R. M. Wilson, *The Lost Literature of Medieval England* (London, 1970), pp. 72 and 113–15.

¹³ E. van Houts, *Memory and Gender in Medieval Europe, 900–1200* (London, 1999), pp. 19–39 (chronicles and annals) and 41–62 (saints' lives and miracles).

commissioned the translation of the Old English records which formed the basis of the *Libellus Æthelwoldi*.¹⁴

However, the transmission of the text is not as straightforward as this account might suggest. The problem arises from the use made of Richard's work by the compiler of the *Liber Eliensis*. It has been suggested that the compiler used not the *Gesta Herewardi* as preserved in the Swaffham Register but an earlier version which is probably the first version written by Richard and the one he later revised.¹⁵ It is true that there are literary and historical differences between the *Liber Eliensis* and the *Gesta Herewardi*, but it need not follow that an earlier version of the *Gesta Herewardi* must lie behind the *Liber Eliensis*. The compiler of the *Liber* was an accomplished Latinist and would have been quite capable of adapting his sources. His command of Latin would have enabled him to revise the *Gesta Herewardi* stylistically and to make it fit with other material he used, such as the Worcester Chronicle and William of Poitiers' *Gesta Guillelmi*. The differences in content could be attributed to the compiler's readiness to use other Ely traditions, including an otherwise unknown text on Hereward based on an adaptation of the biblical history of Maccabees I and II.¹⁶

If the text of the *Gesta Herewardi* as we have it was written between 1109 and 1131, then it is contemporary with the chronicles of John of Worcester, Henry of Huntingdon and William of Malmesbury, earlier by perhaps a decade than Gaimar's *L'Estoire des Engleis* (written in 1136–7) and considerably earlier than the late-twelfth-century Peterborough tradition as preserved by Hugh Candidus. On that basis, we should approach the text with the same mixture of trust and professional scepticism that we employ in our approach to those narrative sources.

THE STORY

The most important Flemish material in the *Gesta Herewardi* follows the alleged mercenary career of Hereward in Cornwall and Ireland. From there he travelled, so the story goes, to Flanders via the Orkneys and was shipwrecked on the coast near Saint-Bertin. He was received by the count of that land (*terrae illius*) Manasses the Old and his magnates, who established his identity and the reason for his arrival. Hereward's subsequent adventures in Flanders, which form the centrepiece of the first half of the *Gesta Herewardi*, culminate in his participation in a Flemish expedition against the people of 'Scaldemariland',¹⁷ and about this

¹⁴ *The Vita Wulfstani of William of Malmesbury*, ed. R. R. Darlington (London, 1928), pp. viii–ix and 2; *Liber Eliensis*, ed. Blake, pp. xxxiv and li–lii.

¹⁵ *Liber Eliensis*, ed. Blake, pp. xxxvi–xxxvii, 173–6 and 177–88.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* II.102, ed. Blake, pp. 173–6.

¹⁷ P. Grierson, 'The Relations between England and Flanders before the Norman Conquest', *TRHS*, 4th ser. 23 (1941), 71–112, at 102.

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expedition we are told the following facts.¹⁸ Hereward becomes a soldier fighting on the side of the count of Flanders in his struggle against his neighbour, the count of Guînes, and comes up against the latter's nephew or grandson (*nepos*) in particular, a man called Hoibrict. At Saint-Omer Hereward meets Turfrida, a clever girl of wealthy background and skilled in needlework, whose hand is being sought in marriage by the nephew or grandson (*nepos*) of the lord of Saint-Valéry. He spends time travelling around with other soldiers, participates in military contests (probably tournaments) at Bruges and Poitiers, and excels as a fighter and instructor of younger recruits. On one such occasion Hereward defeats Hoibrict and thereby makes a deep impression upon Turfrida, who falls in love with him and shows him her family's heirlooms. He is joined by his paternal cousins Siward the Blond and Siward the Red, who are mentioned earlier in the narrative as having been with him in Cornwall and Ireland, and kills several enemies. He joins the military expedition to *Scaldemariland*, described at some length, under the command of the count's son, Robert, his role as 'leader of the soldiers' (*magister militum*) being to force the people of *Scaldemariland* to pay tribute to the Flemish. Just before peace negotiations are concluded, Hereward manages to buy two beautiful horses named Swallow and Lightfoot. He returns with Robert and the other soldiers to Flanders to find that the count has died and that his successor is absent. Finally, Hereward and his servant Martin Lightfoot revisit England briefly, while both Siwards remain behind to protect Turfrida, who is here called Hereward's wife.

In between the stays in Flanders, Hereward is said to have returned to England, where '... he wished to visit his father's house and his homeland, now subject to the rule of foreigners and almost ruined by the exactions of many men'.¹⁹ This is an unambiguous reference to the conquest of England by the Normans. Hereward throws out the French occupant of his home and revenges the death of his younger brother. He is then knighted at Peterborough by Abbot Brand (1066–9), while his companions are made knights by the monk Wulfwine of Ely, and in this context Richard of Ely provides an interesting digression on the difference of opinion on knighthood between the English and French. Hereward's next move involves the murder of Frederick, brother-in-law of William of Warenne, after which he returns to Flanders.

A second, much shorter, Flemish interlude follows when Hereward comes back from England. Rejoining his wife and cousins, he is asked to fight for Baldwin (*quodam praeclarissimo milite provinciae ipsius Baldeuynno*, 'a most famous soldier of that province') in a struggle against the lord of Picquigny at which the lord of Brabant was present. Having done so Hereward returns to England for good, accompanied by his wife and by his two cousins.

¹⁸ *Gesta Herewardi*, pp. 353–71.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* p. 364.

‘SCALDEMARILAND’

What are we to make of the Flemish incidents mentioned in the *Gesta Herewardi*? In respect of the expedition to *Scaldemariland* the answer is relatively easy, because we possess a hagiographical account, the *Vita S. Willibrordi*, written by Abbot Thiofrid of Echternach (c. 1081–after 1105) in 1104–5, which describes what is surely the same expedition from a different point of view.²⁰ The monastery of Echternach held land and a church dedicated to St Willibrord on Walcheren, one of the islands in the wide estuary of the river Scheldt,²¹ and the last miracle appended to the *Vita S. Willibrordi* concerns an attempt by a younger son of Count Baldwin of Flanders to extract unpaid taxes from the inhabitants and those of neighbouring islands. He is said to have led an army of French- and German-speaking troops by land and sea across the *Scaldemermur*. A struggle between his army and local forces ensued and the invaders were driven back with much loss of life, though only three islanders were killed. Feeling victorious, the islanders sent two banners of the Flemish army to Echternach, the home of the saint to whom they credited their victory. However, the victory over the Flemish had left them divided and internal strife broke out. Some time later, therefore, Abbot Thiofrid travelled to Walcheren, where he visited the church of St Willibrord and negotiated a settlement. He took with him as an interpreter and guide a former soldier called Ekehard, whom he acknowledges as his principal informant concerning the earlier fighting. Since the abbot describes him as a monk of Echternach, Ekehard may well have been one of the islanders who took the banners there but stayed behind while the others returned.²²

One must bear in mind when comparing the stories contained in the *Vita S. Willibrordi* and *Gesta Herewardi* that the two texts were written for different purposes and represent opposite sides of the war described:²³ the *Gesta Herewardi* is centered on the deeds of its hero Hereward, a mercenary in Flemish service, whereas the Echternach text is concerned with the defence of its property against Flemish encroachment. Naturally, the accounts differ. Both, however, identify the leader of the expedition as Robert, and as the count of Flanders’s

²⁰ *Vita S. Willibrordi auctore Thiofrido abbate Epternacensi*, ed. A. Poncellet, *Acta SS*, Nov. III (Brussels, 1910), 459–83, at 480–3. For Thiofrid as hagiographer, see *Thiofridi abbatiss Epternacensis Flores epytaphii sanctorum*, ed. M. C. Ferrari, CCCM 133 (Turnhout, 1996), pp. viii–ix, where the *Vita S. Willibrordi* is dated to 1104–5.

²¹ The *Vita S. Willibrordi* is the earliest written testimony to Echternach’s possessions on Walcheren. For later charters referring to Walcheren, see C. Wampach, *Geschichte der Grundherrschaft Echternach im Frühmittelalter*, 2 vols. (Luxembourg, 1930), nos. 204–7 (pp. 335–45). ²² *Vita S. Willibrordi*, pp. 481 and 482.

²³ J. Huizinga, ‘Scaldemariland’, in his *Verzamelde Werken, I: Oud-Indie, Nederland* (Haarlem, 1948), pp. 554–69 (originally published in: *Mededelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, afd. Letterkunde* 84, ser. B, no. 2 (1937), 2–11) at 556.

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younger son. He must surely have been Robert 'the Frisian', second son of count Baldwin V (1035–67), who was count of Flanders himself from 1071 to 1093.²⁴ In 1063 he married Gertrude, widow of Count Floris I of Holland, and as her husband he acted from time to time as regent for her young son Thierry V. During the years 1063 and 1071 he spent time in Flanders and Holland while attempting to extend his authority over the border area between Flanders and Holland, alternately representing Flemish and Dutch interests.²⁵

Both accounts also use the same topographical name to describe the target of the expedition, which is the main reason for believing that they refer to the same events. The names *Scaldemermur* and *Scaldemarienses* occur in late medieval records, but they are found in no eleventh- or early-twelfth-century records apart from the *Gesta Herewardi* and the *Vita S. Willibrordi*. J. Huizinga has identified these toponyms with the collection of islands in the estuary of Scheldt which now form part of the province of Zeeland in the Netherlands.²⁶ In late medieval documents the northern and southern borders of the island area are named respectively *Scoudemarediep* and *Scaldemermur*. The latter name is clearly a composite of *Scalde* (Scheldt) and *mere* (extended sea water) or *mare* (lake or, unusually, sea), these two words being often interchangeable in Old Dutch. Together with its related form *Scaldemare[land]* it applied to the group of islands on the southern fringe of the area; in other words, to the area just north-west of the place where the Scheldt estuary begins. The Echternach text states that across *Scaldemermur* was Walcheren, where Echternach's property was situated; the town of Middelburg is mentioned several times. No specific geographical details are given in the *Gesta Herewardi*, apart from the sand dunes (*montana*), possibly of Walcheren, and unspecified *castra Scaldemariensium*, which may be identified with the fortifications of Middelburg, Domburg and Souburg, originally built by its inhabitants against the Vikings.²⁷ The references in both texts to the use of ships by the expedition leader illustrates the fact that from Flanders one had to cross water in order to reach the islands.

The *Gesta Herewardi* is unique in saying that the *Scaldemarienses* agreed to pay double the tribute they originally paid to the Flemish as part of a new settlement, rather than reaffirm what they used to pay in the times of their fathers.²⁸ Nothing is known about tribute or tax being paid by the islands of Zeeland to the count of Flanders. However, the area consisting of the island of Walcheren and some others in the estuary of the Scheldt as well as the land of Waes and the Four Offices had been given to the Flemish count in 1012 by King Henry II

²⁴ *Gesta Herewardi*, p. 360; *Vita S. Willibrordi*, p. 480.

²⁵ C. Verlinden, *Robert I le Frison, comte de Flandre; étude d'histoire politique* (Antwerp, 1935), pp. 27–39.

²⁶ Huizinga, 'Scaldemarieland', pp. 561–9.

²⁷ P. H. Sawyer, *Kings and Vikings. Scandinavia and Europe AD 700–1200* (London, 1982), pp. 82–3.

²⁸ *Gesta Herewardi*, pp. 363–4.

(1002–24) and that grant had been confirmed in 1056 by Agnes, widow of King Henry III (1039–56), on behalf of her son Henry IV (1056–1106).²⁹ Some renegotiation of the islanders' taxation payable to the count presumably took place and it is likely, but at present unverifiable, that Robert the Frisian's expedition, which according to the *Gesta Herewardi* took place on the orders of Robert's father, was the result of the islanders' refusal to pay their due.³⁰ The expedition may also have been intended as a warning to Bishop William of Utrecht, who since 1064 had held the former territory of Thierry IV around the delta of the river Rhine: the *comitatus in Westflinge* (the country of *Westflinge*) and the land *circa boras Reni* (around the mouth of the Rhine), due to extensive grants by King Henry IV.³¹ The bishop had prepared the way for those royal grants by making sure that the abbey of Echternach, which held many churches in the area, would not object. To this effect Bishop William and Abbot Reginbert, Thiofrid's predecessor, concluded a treaty, confirmed by Henry IV in December 1063.³² In short, therefore, the historical context of rivalry between the territorial princes, neighbouring the estuaries of the Scheldt and the Rhine, provides a satisfactory explanation for the *Scaldemariland* expedition by Robert the Frisian, who with his father's authorization attempted to force the islanders to pay tribute. The authenticity of such an expedition is strengthened rather than weakened by the account in the *Gesta Herewardi*.

As far as the date of the expedition is concerned, the contemporary sources are very unhelpful.³³ The *Annals of Saint-Bertin* mention that in 1063 'Robert, the younger son of the most powerful count Baldwin, surreptitiously entered Frisia', which is commonly interpreted as a reference to Robert the Frisian's contested acceptance of the regency for Gertrude's son Thierry V.³⁴ According to Lambert of Hersfeld, who wrote in the late 1070s and early 1080s, Robert was

²⁹ F. Ganshof, *La Flandre sous les premiers comtes* (Brussels, 1944), pp. 33 and 36.

³⁰ It is significant that Robert 'the Frisian' celebrated Whitsun 1067 with his parents and his brother Baldwin (Verlinden, *Robert I le Frison*, p. 43); on this occasion the planning of the expedition may have begun. For the independence felt by the freemen of the coastal areas of what is now the Netherlands, including the islands of Zeeland, since the Viking attacks, and their reluctance to accept the imposition of taxes, see D. Blok, 'Holland und Westfriesland', *FS* 3 (1969), 347–61, at 356–7.

³¹ MGH Dipl. reg. et imp., 6: *Diplomata Heinrici IV*, ed. D. v. Glädiss and A. Gawlik, 3 vols. (Weimar and Hanover, 1952–78) I, no. 128 (pp. 167–8); Verlinden, *Robert I le Frison*, pp. 38–9; Blok, 'Holland und Westfriesland', pp. 356–7; and R. Nip, *Arnulfus van Oudenburg, Bisschop van Soissons (d. 1087), Mens en Model; een Bronnenstudie* (Groningen, 1995), pp. 116–17.

³² MGH Dipl. reg. et imp., 6 I, no. 116 (pp. 152–5) and Wampach I, 2, no. 192 (pp. 308–11).

³³ Unaware of the existence of the *Gesta Herewardi*, Verlinden (*Robert I le Frison*, p. 34) suggested a date c. 1083, rejecting earlier suggestions for a date between 1061 and 1063.

³⁴ *Les Annales de Saint-Pierre de Gand et de Saint-Amand*, ed. P. Grierson (Brussels, 1937), p. 27: 'Rodbertus, Baldwini potentissimi iunior filius, Fresiam subintrat.' For the most recent discussion of the matter, see Nip, *Arnulfus van Oudenburg*, pp. 115–17.

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twice beaten back during expeditions to Frisia, 'the neighbour of Flanders', before he became count of Flanders.³⁵ The context suggests a period before Florence I's death in 1061, but Lampert's chronology is notoriously weak and would certainly allow the possibility that one of the two Flemish expeditions into neighbouring Frisia was the one to *Scaldemariland*. The account in the *Gesta Herewardi*, however, supplies a date which is extremely plausible. According to this account, the Flemish army returned to Flanders at a time when the old count – Baldwin V – had died and the new count and successor – Baldwin VI, eldest brother of Robert 'the Frisian' – was absent. Since Baldwin V is known to have died on 1 September 1067, and since the future Baldwin VI (1067–70) was very probably occupied at that time with affairs elsewhere, either in Hainault, which he ruled as Baldwin I (1051–70), or in Ponthieu, we may infer that the expedition took place in the (late) summer of 1067.³⁶

Before finishing with the *Scaldemariland* expedition it is important to point out that at least one other detail of the *Gesta Herewardi* story can be confirmed from other contemporary material. The availability of horses from the islands, particularly from Walcheren, is also mentioned in the *Translation of St Lewinna* written by Drogo of St Winnocsbergen between 1058 and 1068,³⁷ and thus supports the likelihood that in reality any mercenary might have taken the opportunity to acquire horses while he was in the vicinity.³⁸

CAMBRAI

Having established the authenticity of the expedition by Robert 'the Frisian' to *Scaldemariland* as described in the *Gesta Herewardi* we are still left with the question of whether Hereward was really present, or whether Richard of Ely, or his informants, made up the story of his Flemish mercenary career, inspired perhaps by the historical reality of many English aristocratic exiles and mercenaries who in the mid-eleventh century had flocked to Flanders. Queen Emma was welcomed by Count Baldwin V in 1037; he provided her with a house in

³⁵ *Lampert von Hersfeld, Annalen*, ed. A. Schmidt and W. D. Fritz, *Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters, Freiherr vom Stein Gedächtnisausgabe* 13 (Berlin, 1960), 138: '... in Fresiam, quae confinis est Flandriae, cui Thidericus quondam comes et post hunc Florentius frater eius imperaverat, irruptionem fecit. Bis ibi commissio prelio victus et fugatus est' ('... he [Robert] attacked Frisia, the neighbour of Flanders, which was ruled first by Thierry [IV 1039–49] and later by Florence [I 1049–61]. Twice he launched a war there but was beaten and put to flight'). See Nip, *Arnulfus van Oudenburg*, pp. 116–17.

³⁶ Huizinga, 'Scaldemariland', p. 561. This date is also accepted by Blok, 'Holland und Westfriesland', p. 357. For Count Baldwin VI's presence in Ponthieu in the (early) autumn, see below, p. 218, n. 80.

³⁷ N. Huyghebaert, 'Un moine hagiographe: Drogon de Bergues', *Sacris Erudiri* 20 (1971), 191–256, at 211.

³⁸ *Ex Drogonis translatione S. Lewinnae*, ed. O. Holder-Egger, MGH, SS 15.2 (Hanover, 1888), 782–9, at 789. Cf. Huizinga, 'Scaldemariland', p. 558, n. 1.

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Bruges and she stayed till 1040.³⁹ Osgod Clapa was likewise welcomed by Baldwin in 1049,⁴⁰ as were the Godwine family in 1051. Count Baldwin V had married off his half-sister Judith to Godwine's son Tostig,⁴¹ and he offered the couple shelter in the autumn of 1065. In 1068 the count's son and successor, Count Baldwin VI (1067–70), welcomed King Harold's mother Gytha with at least one daughter.⁴² Four years later, the then count Robert 'the Frisian' allowed both Edgar the Ætheling and the Northumbrian nobleman Gospatric, later earl of Dunbar, to stay for two years before they left for Scotland.⁴³ Gospatric, son of Aldgitha, a granddaughter of King Æthelred II, and of Maldred son of Crinan, had the earldom of Northumbria taken away from him by William the Conqueror; with the Ætheling he sought refuge first in Scotland and thereafter in Flanders, a county he knew well because of his earlier connection with Earl Tostig and Judith, whom he had escorted to Rome in 1061.⁴⁴ There is no shortage of evidence for the presence of English aristocratic exiles and active soldiers in Flanders in the middle of the eleventh century.

It has been universally accepted that no continental source explicitly mentions Hereward's presence in Flanders. There is diplomatic evidence, however, that may throw light on his mercenary career in Flanders. One of the witnesses to an original charter of Bishop Lietbert of Cambrai (1051–76), datable to early 1065, is listed as *miles Herivvardi*.⁴⁵ This Hereward is one of nine *milites*, soldiers or knights, whose names follow those of six archdeacons attesting the bishop's foundation charter of the monastery of Saint-Sepulchre. The charter itself was written and witnessed at Cambrai before it was sent to King Henry IV at Mainz or Worms for confirmation at the end of March or the beginning of April of that year.⁴⁶ The building of the monastery was part of an ambitious programme by Bishop Lietbert of Cambrai to enlarge the city and, more importantly, to use

³⁹ *Encomium Emmae reginae*, ed. A. Campbell with a supplementary introduction by S. Keynes, Camden Classic Reprints 4 (Cambridge, 1998), 46–8.

⁴⁰ *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 'C', s.a. 1049, ed. Plummer I, 168 and 'D', s.a. 1050 [for 1049], *ibid.* I, 169; John of Worcester, s. a. 1049 (ed. Darlington, McGurk and Bray) II, 550–1.

⁴¹ *The Life of King Edward Who Rests at Westminster*, ed. F. Barlow, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1992), pp. 38–40.

⁴² *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 'D', s.a. 1067 [for 1068], ed. Plummer I, 202.

⁴³ *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 'D', s.a. 1075 [for 1074], ed. Plummer I, 209; N. Hooper, 'Edgar the Aetheling, Anglo-Saxon Prince, Rebel and Crusader', *ASE* 14 (1985), 197–214, at 204.

⁴⁴ *The Life of King Edward*, ed. Barlow, pp. 54–7 and 56, n. 136; *De obsessione Dunelmi in Symeonis monachi opera omnia*, ed. T. Arnold, 2 vols., RS (London, 1882–5) I, 215–20.

⁴⁵ MGH Dipl. reg. et imp., 6 III, no. 147a (pp. 720–2, at 722). This is the first occasion that the charter has been printed in full with a witness list. It had been known to historians since the eighteenth century but only in an abbreviated form without witnesses; see, e.g., *Gallia Christiana*, ed. D. de Sainte-Marthe, 13 vols. (Paris 1715–85) III, cols. 118–19.

⁴⁶ It is one of a few royal confirmation charters not drawn up royal scribes, but instead by the beneficiary (for a discussion, see the introduction to Bishop Lietbert's charter of 1066, MGH Dipl. reg. et imp., 6 I, no. 178 (pp. 231–3, at 232)).

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the new building as part of a new fortification lay-out on the southern fringe of the town.⁴⁷ In order to protect the monastery it was brought within its battlements and ditch. The need for new defence work had become imperative due to the endemic strife caused by two political movements. Within the city there was internal warfare between the bishop, who was also count of Cambrai, and the castellans, John of Arras and Hugh, while the city of Cambrai as a whole was in a vulnerable position because of the predatory advances from the counts of Flanders. In 1076 castellan Hugh was defeated and he left for England.⁴⁸ Thus internal and external threats encouraged Bishop Lietbert to surround himself with troops of footsoldiers, mounted soldiers and any other military help he could get.⁴⁹ Fortification work and fighting required manpower, and one of the bishop's priorities, therefore, would have been to recruit mercenaries to support him. Could not the English Hereward have been one of them? Was he not *Herivvardus*? The name is a Germanic one but known in France, albeit on a very modest scale and mostly in eastern France, it seems.⁵⁰ But no other person with that name is known from any Flemish or northern French record. The time, early 1065, and the place, Cambrai in the south-eastern corner of Flanders, could be right and would have offered Hereward an opportunity to show off his mercenary skills. With regard to the time, it is important to return to the *Gesta Herewardi* and look closely at the date given there for Hereward's arrival in Flanders.

According to the *Gesta*, Hereward's host after he was shipwrecked was Manasses the Old, that is, Count Manasses I of Guînes who was active in the mid-eleventh century: he witnessed a charter in 1056 and his son Baldwin, who ruled until 1091, is known to have succeeded him by 1065.⁵¹ The county of

⁴⁷ *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium*, ed. L. Bethmann, MGH SS 7 (Hanover, 1846), 489–97; *Chronicon s. Andreae castri Cameracensis*, *ibid.* 526–50, at 536–7 and the *Vita Lietberti*, *ibid.* 537, n. 25 (excerpts from the otherwise unpublished *Vita Lietberti* are printed in footnotes to the *Chronicon s. Andreae*). For a commentary on Bishop Lietbert's career and his fortification work, see M. Rouche, 'Cambrai, du comte mérovingien à l'évêque impérial', *Histoire de Cambrai*, ed. L. Trenard (Lille, 1982), pp. 11–42, at 33–5 and 37–8; see also the reconstructed drawing of Cambrai in Bishop Lietbert's time, *ibid.* p. 25.

⁴⁸ *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium*, p. 499: ... *fugatum Hugonem recepit Anglia* ('... England welcomed the fugitive Hugh').

⁴⁹ For the bishop's troops of *equites* and *pedites* as well as *milites*, see *ibid.* p. 495. In 1077, shortly after Bishop Lietbert's death under his successor Bishop Gerard II (1076–92), Cambrai established a 'commune' (H. Platelle, 'Les luttes communales et l'organisation municipale (1075–1313)', *Histoire de Cambrai*, ed. Trenard, pp. 43–61, at 45–8).

⁵⁰ M. T. Morlet, *Les Noms de personne sur le territoire de l'ancienne Gaule du VI^e au XII^e siècle. I: Les noms issus du germanique continental et les créations gallo-germaniques* (Paris, 1968), pp. 124 and 127.

⁵¹ For the counts of Guînes, see L. Vanderkindere, *Histoire de la formation territoriale des principautés belges au Moyen Âge*, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (Brussels, 1899–1902) I, 186–7; Manasses I witnessed the 1056 charter of Count Baldwin V of Flanders for St Peter at Gent which was also witnessed by Guy, later bishop of Amiens, Count Guy of Ponthieu, Count Roger of Saint-Pol and Earl

Guînes was situated on the coast of Flanders just south of Bourbourg and adjacent to the estuary of the river Aa that led to the town of Saint-Omer. Any shipwreck off the coast of Guînes was the responsibility of the count of Guînes, rather than of the count of Flanders, and that may explain why Hereward was led to Count Manasses. The *Gesta* states that Hereward arrived while Manasses was still count, which dates his arrival to the early 1060s, possibly to 1064, but certainly not later than 1065. The author of the *Gesta* places Hereward's actions in western Flanders and mentions specifically Saint-Omer, Bruges and (much further south) Poitiers, cities that are singled out for what must have been military competitions, shows or tournaments. Little is known about these shows, but they are usually dated to the late eleventh century, with the first narrative reference, other than in the *Gesta Herewardi*, being to Poitiers in 1067 and the first documentary evidence coming from Valenciennes in 1114.⁵² Considering the well-attested military activity in the Cambrai-Valenciennes area in the 1060s and 1070s, tournaments or their early equivalents would surely have attracted mercenary soldiers. And if Hereward was attracted to the neighbourhood he could well have decided to stay at Cambrai and work for Bishop Lietbert before moving on to another master.

A short stay in the Cambrai area may also offer a possible explanation of the *Gesta Herewardi*'s story of Hereward's second stay in Flanders, where he is supposed to have helped the very famous Baldwin, perhaps the later Baldwin II of Hainault,⁵³ in a battle against the *vidame* of Picquigny,⁵⁴ at which the lord

Harold of Wessex (see Grierson, 'The Relations between England and Flanders', pp. 100–1; H. J. Tanner, 'The Expansion of the Power and Influence of the Counts of Boulogne under Eustace II', *ANS* 14 (1991), 251–86, at 269, n. 40). Count Baldwin of Guînes' earliest attestation comes in a charter of King Philip I of France issued at Corbie, which can be dated to a time after 4 August 1065 (*Recueil des actes de Philippe I roi de France (1059–1108)*, ed. M. Prou (Paris, 1908), no. xxiii, p. 66). For Count Manasses II, see *Actes des comtes de Flandre 1071–1128*, ed. F. Vercauteren (Brussels, 1938), nos. 13, 17, 21, 41, 90 and 122; his earliest appearance as count seems to have been in 1091 (*Les Chartes de Saint Bertin*, ed. D. Haigneré, 4 vols. (Saint-Omer, 1886–99) I, no. 87, p. 34). In Vercauteren, no. 122, dated to 1122x1127, he is mentioned as Count Baldwin's successor. Lambert of Ardres in his *Historia comitum Ghisnensium* (ed. I. Heller, MGH SS 24 (Hanover, 1879), 550–642) does not mention Manasses I.

⁵² *Gesta Herewardi*, p. 356: 'certamina sollempniarum quae apud Pontes iam et Pictavem fiunt' [this text is quoted from the manuscript] ('festive competitions, which then took place at Bruges and Poitiers'). M. Parisse, 'Le tournoi en France des origines à la fin du XIII^e siècle', *Das ritterliche Turnier im Mittelalter. Beiträge zu einer vergleichenden Formen- und Verhaltensgeschichte des Rittertums*, ed. J. Fleckenstein (Göttingen, 1985), pp. 175–211, at 180–2; H. Platelle, 'L'essor des principautés', *Histoire des provinces françaises du nord*, ed. A. Lottin, 2 vols. (Dunkirk, 1989) II, 1–115 at 36–7.

⁵³ Perhaps Count Baldwin VI of Flanders (1067–70), who was also Baldwin I of Hainault (1051–70) or, more likely, his son Baldwin, who became Baldwin II of Hainault (1076/81–98).

⁵⁴ The lord, *vidame*, of Picquigny at this time was Arnulf, father of Wermund of Picquigny who acted alongside Count Charles the Good of Flanders as judge in 1122 (*Actes des comtes de Flandre*,

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(*dominus*) of Brabant was also present. The lord of Brabant and Louvain at the time of the conquest was Henry II (1063–79), whose granddaughter Adeliza in 1121 became the second wife of King Henry I of England (1100–35).⁵⁵ Due to the geographical position of Picquigny, the likely arena of fighting would have been in the frontier area of Flanders, Amiens and Vermandois, south-west of Cambrai, a country that would have been well known to anyone who had fought for the bishop of Cambrai.⁵⁶

There is no cast-iron proof that the *Herivwardus* of the 1065 Cambrai charter is the same as our Hereward. However, considering the bishop's need for expert military advice and workmanship combined with the story in the *Gesta Herewardi* that Hereward went to Flanders the chances of the two men being the same are surely great. If the identification can be accepted, the omission of any explicit reference to Hereward's possible stay in Cambrai from the *Gesta Herewardi* may be due to the author's prime interest in western Flanders and in particular to Saint-Omer, the home town of Turfrida. It is to that place that we must now turn.

SAINT-OMER

The only place in Flanders that features prominently in the *Gesta Herewardi* is Saint-Omer. Its ties with England have always been strong and they were particularly so in the middle of the eleventh century.⁵⁷ Ecclesiastical and secular contacts are prominently recorded in reliable sources, Flemish and English. Most information centres on the monastery of Saint-Bertin at Saint-Omer from which two Flemish monks migrated to England. In 1041–2, a monk of Saint-Bertin wrote the *Encomium Emmae reginae* for the dowager queen Emma of England.⁵⁸ The hagiographer Goscelin of Saint-Bertin probably left Flanders c. 1058 in the company of Bishop Herman of Wiltshire and spent the next fifty

ed. Vercauteren, no. 108). In 1113 Arnulf's daughter, wife of Judhael of Totnes, was delighted to welcome at her house in Barnstaple the monks of Laon on their relic trip and to entertain them for three days on account of the fact that they were compatriots (*Hermani monachi de miraculis S. Mariae Laudunensis*, PL 156, cols. 961–1018, at 983–4). For Judhael, see J. B. Williams, 'Judhael of Totnes: the Life and Times of a Post-Conquest Baron', *ANS* 16 (1993), 271–89, at 284–5. Another of Arnulf's daughters, Millesende, was married to William II, castellan of Saint-Omer. After the conquest in 1066 Ansculf of Picquigny became sheriff (DB i, fols. 36r and 148v: Ansculf of Picquigny and his son William).

⁵⁵ Henry II of Louvain had two sons: Henry III (1079–95) and Godfrey the Bearded (1096–1139; from 1106 duke of Lower Lotharingia). Adeliza was a daughter of the latter (*The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. M. Chibnall, 6 vols. (Oxford, 1969–80) VI, 308).

⁵⁶ For a discussion of the rivalries there, see Ganshof, *La Flandre*, pp. 36–7.

⁵⁷ The classic study of relations between Flanders and England remains Grierson, 'The Relations between England and Flanders'; see also V. Ortenberg, *The English Church and the Continent in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries. Cultural, Spiritual and Artistic Exchanges* (Oxford, 1992), pp. 21–40.

⁵⁸ *Encomium Emmae reginae*, ed. Campbell, pp. 46–8.

years as a wandering scholar in England. He, or Folcard (see below), is the likely author of the *Vita regis Edwardi*, the biography of King Edward the Confessor.⁵⁹ Folcard's arrival in England from Saint-Bertin cannot be dated more precisely than between 1050 and 1069. He knew Archbishop Ealdred of York to whom he dedicated one of his works. He became abbot of Thorney Abbey, but in 1085 was deposed, together with Wulfketel of Crowland, by Archbishop Lanfranc of Canterbury.⁶⁰ Despite the fact that Folcard's career is much more obscure than Goscelin's, for our purpose it is intriguing that both men formed living links between Saint-Omer and the Fenland monasteries of Thorney (Folcard) and Peterborough, Ramsey and Ely, where Goscelin spent some time in the 1080s.⁶¹

The secular ties concern the town of Saint-Omer, rather than its monasteries. When in the autumn of 1065 Count Baldwin V of Flanders offered shelter to his half-sister Judith, he invested her husband Tostig with quite exceptional military power. He appointed Tostig as his deputy commander of Saint-Omer, put his forces there at his disposal, gave him the revenues of the town and provided him with a house and an estate.⁶² The military responsibility bestowed upon Tostig is particularly interesting, because it raises the question whether he worked alongside or under the command of Saint-Omer's castellan, who at that time until the battle of Cassel in February 1071 was Wulfric Rabel, son of the previous castellan Lambert.⁶³ It also raises the question whether those who otherwise received the town's revenues may have felt any resentment against Tostig. Whatever the local sentiments may have been, for us the more important question is when and why would Hereward have gone to Saint-Omer?

We might speculate that he had come to Saint-Omer on account of Earl Tostig's new appointment which he held from the late autumn of 1065 to the spring of 1066.⁶⁴ An Englishman in Tostig's position would undoubtedly have attracted mercenaries, and not only English soldiers, looking for a job. If the identification of the *miles Herivvardi* in the Cambrai charter with the Englishman Hereward can be accepted, Hereward would have been in Cambrai when the news of Earl Tostig's arrival spread through Flanders. For Hereward the attrac-

⁵⁹ *The Life of King Edward*, ed. Barlow, pp. xlvii–xlix.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* pp. lii–lvii; *The Heads of Religious Houses, England and Wales, 940–1216*, ed. D. Knowles, C. N. L. Brooke and V. C. M. London (Cambridge, 1972), pp. 42 and 74.

⁶¹ *The Life of King Edward*, ed. Barlow, p. 140. ⁶² *Ibid.* pp. 80–3, at 82.

⁶³ E. Warlop, *The Flemish Nobility before 1300*, trans. J. B. Ross and H. Vandermoere, 4 vols. (Kortrijk, 1975) IV, 1106–16, at 1111 and Verlinden, *Robert I le Frison*, pp. 68–70. At Cassel, Wulfric was involved in the capture of Robert the Frisian. Two weeks later he betrayed Saint-Omer to King Philip I, enabling the latter to launch a vengeful attack on the town. As the castellan of Saint-Omer he disappears from the Flemish sources after March 1071 and his subsequent history is unknown. It is, however, possible that he, like Hugh of Cambrai five years later, may have gone to England. ⁶⁴ See above, n. 62.

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tion of having an English, rather than a Flemish, master would have been great. Although in the autumn of 1065 Tostig's rivalry with his brother Harold would have been known, his aspirations to the throne of England would have peaked after King Edward's death in early January 1066.⁶⁵ This might have fuelled Hereward's hope of a legitimate return to England under the aegis of a new king who would abolish his status as an exile.⁶⁶ Hereward's stay at Saint-Omer lasted presumably until his employment with Robert 'the Frisian' which, as we have seen, dates from the (early) summer of 1067. While at Saint-Omer he also probably became acquainted with two other individuals mentioned in the *Gesta Herewardi*, Gilbert of Gent, later the wealthiest Flemish post-Conquest landholder in England, and Frederick of Oosterzele-Scheldewindeke, better known as brother-in-law of William of Warenne, whom he would later kill in England. Before we discuss Turfrida's origin at Saint-Omer we will look at Hereward's connections with Gilbert of Gent and Frederick of Oosterzele.

GILBERT OF GENT

Hereward is linked with Gilbert of Gent in a perplexing story belonging to the Flemish sections of the *Gesta Herewardi*. The most baffling aspect of it is that it is related before the stories of his adventures in Cornwall, Ireland and Flanders and therefore presumably refers to a pre-Conquest period. We have no other reason to suppose that Gilbert, who was clearly the wealthiest Flemish landholder after 1066, was in England at that time.⁶⁷ The story in the *Gesta* goes as follows. Allegedly an exile at the time, Hereward comes under the protection of Gilbert of Gent, who is said to be his godfather. Gilbert invites him and his servant Martin Lightfoot to join him in Northumbria, where Hereward engages in a famous fight with a bear brought to England from Norway. So memorable is this encounter that 'women and girls sing about him in their dances'. Hereward

⁶⁵ For Tostig's claim, see *The Life of King Edward*, ed. Barlow, p. lxxv; E. M. C. van Houts, 'The Norman Conquest through European Eyes', *EHR* 110 (1995), 832–53, at 838–9.

⁶⁶ J. H. Round, *Feudal England; Historical Studies on the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (London, 1895), p. 162 argues that the exile was caused by Hereward's involvement in the siege of Ely, and post-dates it to a time after the Norman Conquest. The Pseudo-Ingulf (see above, p. 201, n. 2) dates Hereward's exile to 1062, but gives no reasons for this date.

⁶⁷ The best modern study of the Gent family in England is M. Abbott, 'The Gand Family in England 1066–1191' (unpubl. Ph.D. dissertation, Cambridge Univ., 1973). Otherwise the following are useful: R. M. Sherman, 'The Continental Origins of the Ghent Family of Lincolnshire', *Nottingham Med. Stud.* 22 (1978), 23–35; R. H. George, 'The Contribution of Flanders to the Conquest of England, 1065–86', *Revue belge d'histoire et de philologie* 5 (1926), 81–99; J. Verberckmoes, 'Flemish Tenants-in-Chief in Domesday England', *ibid.* 66 (1988), 725–99; *Early Yorkshire Charters*, ed. Farrer II (Edinburgh, 1915), pp. 431–6. For the Flemish origins of the Aalst family and its later branches, see Warlop, *The Flemish Nobility* III, 587–3. Dr Warlop, unfortunately, did not use any English source material on the family. None of the authors cited used the *Gesta Herewardi*.

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gains the rank and status of a knight, but he chooses not to take up this honour at once. Overwhelmed by jealousy, his companions attempt to murder him. When this attack founders Hereward decides to part with Gilbert's company despite the pleas of Gilbert's (unnamed) wife that he should stay and perhaps be adopted in place of their sickly son should he die. Hereward ignores this request and leaves.

As far as we can tell, Gilbert I of Gent owed his fortune in England primarily to his participation in the Conquest. Though he is not mentioned in the context of the events of 1066, he was a member of the occupying forces at York in September 1069.⁶⁸ It is conceivable that he first arrived in England after the Conquest not having taken part in the battle of Hastings or the early campaigns, but considering the huge grants of land he later received his participation right from the start of the Conquest seems more likely. Flemish charter material shows that he was a younger son of Ralph of Aalst or Alost, hereditary advocate of St Peter's at Gent, and Gisela, daughter of Frederick of Luxembourg. Through his mother, Gilbert was a first cousin once removed of Matilda of Flanders, wife of William the Conqueror, whose paternal grandmother was Gisela's sister Ogiva. Gilbert's eldest brother was Baldwin I of Gent (d. 1082), his second older brother was Ralph, comital chamberlain of Flanders, and his youngest brother was Ragenfridus.⁶⁹ Kinship with the counts of Flanders and their officers clearly was not a disadvantage for Gilbert at the time of the Norman Conquest of England. Gilbert married Alice, the daughter of Hugh II of Montfort-sur-Risle, one of the Conqueror's Norman magnates.⁷⁰ While based in England and before his death in c. 1095,⁷¹ he remained in touch with his Flemish siblings, occasionally travelling to the Continent: in 1075 we find him in the company of his brother Baldwin I of Gent.⁷² His eldest son and heir was Gilbert, who died between c. 1095 and 1115, and probably very near to the first of these two dates;⁷³ the second son was Walter (d. 1139), who took Gilbert's place as heir and became his father's successor; the third, Robert (d. 1154), was a priest and became chancellor of King Stephen and dean of York; the fourth, Hugh, in due course inherited his mother's lands in Normandy as Hugh IV of Montfort; and a fifth son Ralph disappears from the

⁶⁸ Simeon of Durham, *Historia regum*, s.a. 1069, in: *Symeonis monachi opera omnia*, ed. Arnold II, 188.

⁶⁹ Abbott, 'The Gand Family', pp. 19–20; Sherman, 'The Continental Origins', pp. 25–6; Warlop, *The Flemish Nobility* III, 590.

⁷⁰ *The Gesta Normannorum Ducum of William of Jumièges, Orderic Vitalis and Robert of Torigni*, ed. E. M. C. van Houts, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1992–5) II, 176–7. ⁷¹ Abbott, 'The Gand Family', p. 23.

⁷² *Chronicon monasterii Watinensis*, ed. O. Holder-Egger, MGH SS 24 (Hanover, 1883), 169: '... Giselbertus, frater Balduini Gandensis, qui ab Anglia tunc venerat ...' ('Gilbert, brother of Baldwin of Gent, who then came from England').

⁷³ Abbott, 'The Gand Family', pp. 24, 83 and 252.

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sources after 1115.⁷⁴ One of his daughters married Hugh of Grandmesnil.⁷⁵ Most of his lands were situated in Lincolnshire and Northamptonshire, though little pockets can be identified in the Midlands and further north in Yorkshire.⁷⁶ Gilbert (re)founded Bardney Abbey in Lincolnshire, dedicated to St Peter and St Paul and St Oswald, as a cell of Charroux in 1086–7.⁷⁷

Why Richard of Ely should link Gilbert of Gent and Hereward, together with Martin Lightfoot, in a personal relationship against a pre-Conquest Northumbrian background, must remain a mystery, unless new evidence can be found. The easiest solution to this problem is to dismiss it on the grounds that Richard of Ely, or his informers, or indeed Leofric as author of the *Old English Life*, was confused about the chronology. If Hereward had met Gilbert of Gent before the Norman Conquest of England the most likely place would have been Flanders, and not England.

Other parts of the *Gesta's* account of Hereward and Gilbert are also suspicious. The reference to a bearfight reads like pure fiction, and the mention of a half-human bear certainly does not inspire confidence. On the other hand, there is evidence for trading in bears for the purpose of fighting and entertainment, for the late-twelfth-century chronicle of the counts of Ardres and Guînes mentions how a bear from England was imported to Guînes for the specific purpose of bear-fighting.⁷⁸ The phrase referring to women's songs celebrating Hereward's triumph over this bear comes so close to the Old Testament reference to women rejoicing after David's victory over Saul, that P. G. Schmidt is justified in his caution about using this particular phrase as evidence for pre-Conquest ballads sung about Hereward.⁷⁹

⁷⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 24–8 based on charter material and *Early Yorkshire Charters*, ed. Farrer II, 426–33; *The Domesday Monachorum of Christ Church Canterbury*, ed. D. Douglas (London, 1944), pp. 67 and 70. Hugh IV was still alive c. 1147 (*Calendar of Documents Preserved in France I: AD 916–1206*, ed. J. H. Round (London, 1899), no. 358).

⁷⁵ *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. Chibnall IV, 230–1.

⁷⁶ Abbott, 'The Gand Family', pp. 65–82; Verberckmoes, 'Flemish Tenants-in-Chief', p. 731.

⁷⁷ For the early history of Bardney, see *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford, 1969), pp. 246–51; the charter for the refoundation, which quotes Bede's history, is edited from Bardney's cartulary (London, BL, Cotton Vespasian E. xx, 278v) by Abbott, 'The Gand Family', no. 1, pp. 248–50 and is discussed *ibid.* pp. 190–1. There is no reference to Bardney church or abbey in Domesday Book. For the refoundation, see G. Beech, 'Aquitani and Flemings in the Refoundation of Bardney Abbey (Lincolnshire) in the Later Eleventh Century', *Haskins Soc. Jnl* 1 (1989), 73–90.

⁷⁸ *Lamberti Ardensis, Historia comitum Ghisnensium*, ed. I. Heller, MGH SS 24 (Hanover, 1879), 550–642, at 624–5, and the historical commentary by Warlop, *The Flemish Nobility* I, 71 and II, 391.

⁷⁹ P. G. Schmidt, 'Biblisches und hagiographisches Kolorit in den Gesta Herewardi', *The Bible in the Medieval World. Essays in Memory of Beryl Smalley*, ed. K. Walsh and D. Wood, Studies in Church History, Subsidia 4 (Oxford, 1985), 85–95, at 91–2.

FREDERICK, BROTHER-IN-LAW OF WILLIAM OF WARRENNE

The *Gesta Herewardi* is one of only two sources to say that Hereward killed Frederick, brother-in-law of William of Warrenne, one of William the Conqueror's close advisers. According to the *Gesta*, the murder took place in England during Hereward's brief visit there between his two stays in Flanders. Frederick was a member of the important aristocratic family of Oosterzele-Scheldewindeke, who were the hereditary advocates of Saint-Bertin at Saint-Omer. He was from a sufficiently distinguished background to have acted next after Count Baldwin VI as a witness to Count Guy of Amiens's gift to the abbey of Saint-Riquier in Ponthieu in the autumn of 1067.⁸⁰ His sister Gundrada married William of Warrenne, one of William the Conqueror's Norman companions and the later earl of Surrey. Most of Frederick's considerable estates in East Anglia passed after his death to Gundrada's husband William and so into the Warrenne family.⁸¹ The so-called 'Hyde Chronicle', an early-twelfth-century source emanating from the Warrenne circle, confirms the *Gesta Herewardi*'s story that Hereward killed Frederick, who is described as the brother (instead of the brother-in-law) of William of Warrenne, in England.⁸² The author of the 'Hyde Chronicle' seems to have been unaware of Hereward's career in Flanders, which he does not mention. He was well informed about the Warrenne family, knew of the Flemish origins of William of Warrenne's wife Gundrada and refers to the Warrennes' continuing links with Flanders, explaining that while their eldest son William succeeded his father in England and Normandy, their second son Reginald succeeded to the Flemish family estates.⁸³ Charter evidence shows that the advocacy of Saint-Bertin stayed with both Warrenne sons at least until the late 1090s and it links the Warrenne family to land at Roquetoire near Saint-Omer until the late twelfth century.⁸⁴ The 'Hyde' Chronicle and the *Gesta Herewardi* reinforce each other's material on this family and the story of Frederick's murder by Hereward.⁸⁵ Not only Frederick and Gundrada, but also their brother Gerbod established ties with England as a result of the Conquest.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.* p. 45 and *Recueil des actes des comtes de Ponthieu (1026–1279)*, ed. C. Brunel (Paris, 1930), no. iv. The date raises the possibility that Frederick had come back from England to Flanders with his brother Gerbod; see below, p. 219, n. 91. ⁸¹ DB i, 196v and ii, 167v.

⁸² *Chronica monasterii de Hida juxta Wintoniam*, in *Liber monasterii de Hyda*, ed. E. Edwards, RS (London, 1866), pp. 183–321, at 295. ⁸³ *Ibid.* p. 299.

⁸⁴ *Early Yorkshire Charters*, ed. Farrer and Clay VIII [Appendix A], pp. 45–6. *Les Chartes de Saint-Bertin*, ed. Haigneré I, nos. 87, 94, 325 and 365. By the beginning of the thirteenth century Lambert of Ardres knew of land in the county of Ardres-Guînes as belonging to the count of Warrenne, but thought, erroneously, that the holdings dated back to the late tenth century (*Historia comitum Ghisnensium*, ed. Heller, p. 566: 'predia in manus Warrennensis comitis' ('lands in the hand of the count of Warrenne')).

⁸⁵ *Early Yorkshire Charters*, ed. Farrer and Clay VIII, 1–13 and Appendix A (pp. 40–6).

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For a brief period between 1067 and early 1071 Gerbod was earl of Chester.⁸⁶ According to Orderic Vitalis, Gerbod was called back from England to Flanders because he had received a message from the men he had left behind in Flanders to administer his hereditary honour; however, upon his return Gerbod fell into the hands of his enemies and died.⁸⁷ But Orderic drew the wrong conclusion. Gerbod no doubt went home in connection with the war of succession following the death of Count Baldwin VI, but he did not die. Two continental chronicles explain that he took part in the battle of Cassel on 22 February 1071, where he killed Count Arnulf III (1070–1).⁸⁸ By way of penance he went to Rome where Pope Gregory VII prevented his self-imposed mutilation. Instead the pope recommended him to Abbot Hugh of Cluny, who absolved him from his crime and allowed him to become a monk. Thus Gerbod's 'disappearance' was due to his penitential pilgrimage and subsequent monastic vow, not because he died.⁸⁹

The three 'English' siblings can be connected with an older brother, Arnulf or Arnold II of Oosterzele-Scheldewindeke, who was their father's successor to the extensive estates in northern Flanders.⁹⁰ He died in 1067, probably without leaving any children, for his lands near Gent went to two brothers known as Arnulf/Arnold III (d. 1124 x 1138) and Gerbod III (d. 1096), whom Warlop has identified as the sons of Gerbod II, known to us as the earl of Chester and monk of Cluny.⁹¹ These two brothers knew Baldwin I of Gent, Gilbert of Gent's eldest brother, who as advocate of St Peter's at Gent was involved in the return of the allodium at Oosterzele by the two brothers to the abbey of St Bavo at Gent, which their uncle Arnulf/Arnold I had alienated.⁹² A similar restitution of land there was made to Saint-Bertin.⁹³ They also presented Saint-Bertin with land at Roquetoire, the very place where, as we have seen, the Warenne family

⁸⁶ C. P. Lewis, 'The Formation of the Honor of Chester 1066–1100', *The Earldom of Chester and its Charters. A Tribute to Geoffrey Barraclough*, ed. A. T. Thacker, *Jnl of the Chester Archaeol. Soc.* 71 (Chester, 1991), 37–68, esp. 38–40.

⁸⁷ *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. Chibnall II, 260.

⁸⁸ *La Chronique de Saint-Hubert dite Cantatorium*, ed. K. Hanquet (Brussels, 1906), pp. 65–9; *La Chronique de Gislebert de Mons*, ed. L. Vanderkindere (Brussels, 1904), pp. 8–10. The identification of this Gerbod with Gerbod of Saint-Omer can be found in Warlop, *The Flemish Nobility* IV, 1024 and Lewis, 'The Formation', p. 39, n. 16.

⁸⁹ Gerbod's presence at Cluny may well explain, as C. Lewis ('The Formation', p. 40) has pointed out, why Gundreda, now the only sibling left, and her husband William of Warenne, were so generous to Cluny.

⁹⁰ Warlop, *The Flemish Nobility* IV, 1021–4 and Lewis, 'The Formation', pp. 38–40.

⁹¹ Warlop, *The Flemish Nobility* I, 51–2. We should note that Arnulf/Arnold II's death in 1067 may have necessitated Gerbod II's brief return to Flanders, for in that year he witnessed a charter as advocate of Saint-Bertin (Warlop, *The Flemish Nobility* II, 382, n. 249).

⁹² *Liber miraculorum sancti Bavonis*, ed. O. Holder-Egger, MGH SS 15.1 (Hanover, 1887), 598–9.

⁹³ *Les chartes de Saint Bertin*, ed. Haigheré I, no. 85.

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also held land.⁹⁴ Thus our knowledge of Frederick of Oosterzele's background and family is at least as extensive as our knowledge of Gilbert I of Gent, even though the precise circumstances of their acquaintance with Hereward in Flanders cannot at present be further illuminated. As younger sons of important noble families in Flanders they turn up in charters and other documents and thus reveal their existence. Through her connection with William of Warenne some knowledge of Gundrada can also be gleaned. Unfortunately, the same cannot be said of Turfrida of Saint-Omer.

TURFRIDA

It is frustrating that we cannot establish where precisely Turfrida fits into the Flemish puzzle. Her name is Gallo-Germanic, distinctly un-English, and as such places her firmly on the Continent. According to the *Gesta Herewardi*, she came from a wealthy family and was learned and skilled in needlework. Her family was rich enough at Saint-Omer to attract as her potential suitor the *nepos* (grandson or nephew) of the neighbouring aristocratic family of Saint-Valéry. This must be a reference to Saint-Valéry-sur-Somme, from which Duke William set out for England in 1066. Identification of the lords of this Ponthieu harbour is rendered difficult by the existence of another Saint-Valéry family who took their name from Saint-Valéry-en-Caux in Normandy. On that account, it is not yet possible to name the lord of Saint-Valéry-sur-Somme in the 1060s, let alone his *nepos*.⁹⁵ It is unlikely that Turfrida was connected to the Oosterzele-Scheldewindeke-Warenne family, because if she had been the authors of the *Gesta Herewardi* and the 'Hyde Chronicle' would surely have made a point of the relationship. A plausible conjecture is that she was a daughter or sister of the castellan of Saint-Omer, Wulfric Rabel, but that is no more than an intelligent guess.⁹⁶ That she married Hereward, who after all had played an important military role, would fit a common medieval pattern

⁹⁴ *Ibid.* no. 96; Warlop, *The Flemish Nobility* I, 51.

⁹⁵ L. C. Loyd, *The Origins of some Anglo-Norman Families*, ed. C. T. Clay and D. C. Douglas (Leeds, 1951), p. 92 discusses the Norman Saint-Valéry evidence and suggests that the Ranulf of Saint-Valéry mentioned in Domesday Book as an under-tenant of the bishop of Lincoln came from the Pays-de-Caux. This leaves open the possibility that to the Ponthieu family belong the men carrying the names Bernard (Gallia Christiana 11, Instrumenta, cols. 19–20, dated 1096; *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum 1066–1154*, ed. H. W. C. Davis *et al.*, 4 vols. (Oxford, 1913–69) II, no. 1379, dated between 1107 and 1122; J. Green, *The Government of England under Henry I* (Cambridge, 1986), p. 234) and Reginald (spurious charter dated 1106, *Regesta* II, no. 797). From 1144 onwards there is a series of regular charters proving that Reginald (c. 1144–c. 1164) was the father of Bernard (still alive in 1190), see *Calendar of Documents*, nos. 12, 23, 44, 57, 790, 1057, 1077, 1084–5, 1360 and 1364.

⁹⁶ Although it would give added weight to my suggestion (see above, p. 214, n. 63) that in spring 1071 the disgraced Wulfric might have fled from Flanders to England to join, in this hypothesis, his daughter and son-in-law or his sister and brother-in-law.

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whereby mercenary soldiers married women connected with families of their military superiors.

Her later life in England does not reveal anything about her Flemish background either. According to the *Gesta Herewardi*, Hereward repudiated Turfrida in favour of the *uxor* (wife or widow) of 'Earl' Dolfin, named Ælfthryth by Gaimar, whereupon she retired to the monastery of Crowland.⁹⁷ The Pseudo-Ingulf adds that she died there after four years.⁹⁸ Such information would, if true, have been known in the Fenlands and in particular at Crowland, which at the time of King Edward and before Hereward's outlawry, counted Hereward as their tenant, and one of sufficient status to negotiate an annual rent with the abbot.⁹⁹ But how do we explain the 'Earl' Dolfin and his wife or widow who might have been called Ælfthryth? Perhaps there is a connection with Gospatric I, earl of Dunbar, whom we encountered earlier as one of the post-Conquest exiles in Flanders. Gospatric had three sons.¹⁰⁰ The youngest, Gospatric II, eventually succeeded him in Dunbar and Lothian and died at the battle of the Standard in 1138.¹⁰¹ The middle son was Waltheof, who later (perhaps after a secular career) became a monk at Crowland and was abbot there from 1126 to 1138.¹⁰² Little more than the name of the eldest son, Dolfin, is known. In 1092 he was expelled from Cumbria by William Rufus and after that nothing more is known of him, except indirectly through his brother Gospatric.¹⁰³ For Gospatric II as his father's successor was never styled earl or count, but instead was consistently referred to as 'Gospatric, brother of Dolfin'.¹⁰⁴ The conspicuous omission of a title for Gospatric II is intriguing, considering that the whereabouts of his older brother Dolfin are unknown. Could that older brother be the 'Earl' Dolfin of the *Gesta Herewardi*? We do not know whether he was married, but eldest sons usually were for dynastic reasons. If he was still alive but in some way incapacitated and unable to fulfil his comital office, his wife may have left him for someone else. Such information would have been known by members of his family, including Waltheof, who was already at Crowland in the 1080s. All this is pure speculation, of course, but the link with Crowland, where Hereward, Turfrida, 'Earl' Dolfin

⁹⁷ *Gesta Herewardi*, pp. 397–8; *L'Estoire des Engleis*, ed. Bell, line 5592, p. 177.

⁹⁸ *Historia Ingulphi*, ed. Fulman, pp. 67–8.

⁹⁹ DB, i, 377v; S. Raban, *The Estates of Thorney and Crowland* (Cambridge, 1977), p. 19.

¹⁰⁰ *Symeonis monachi opera omnia*, ed. Arnold I, 215–20 and II, 199; see also W. G. Searle, *Ingulf and the Historia Croylandensis* (Cambridge, 1894), p. 94.

¹⁰¹ *The Scots Peerage*, ed. Sir J. Balfour Paul, 9 vols. (Edinburgh, 1904–14) III, 241–6.

¹⁰² *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. Chibnall II, 350; Orderic was exceptionally well informed about Crowland, which he visited at least once, probably in 1114–15 (*ibid.* pp. xxiv–xxix), and therefore I see no reason to share the doubt cast on Waltheof of Crowland's identification by the editor of *The Scots Peerage* III, 243.

¹⁰³ *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 'E', s.a. 1092, ed. Plummer I, 227.

¹⁰⁴ *The Scots Peerage* III, 246.

and, if he was married, the 'earl's' wife were all known, makes the *Gesta's* unique details worthy of careful scrutiny.

All other information about Turfrida and her descendants derives exclusively from the Pseudo-Ingulf's history of Crowland, which gives Turfrida a daughter, also named Turfrida, who is said to have married Hugh of Envermeu.¹⁰⁵ From this union came another daughter and heiress, unnamed, who is said to have married Richard of Rullos. The existence of Hugh, who was the brother of Bishop Turolf of Bayeux (c. 1098–c. 1105), and of Richard can be proven from extant documentation.¹⁰⁶ Unfortunately, in none of this evidence is there any reference to land in Flanders which might help us to elucidate Turfrida's background.

CONCLUSIONS

We have seen how the existence of the *Vita S. Willibrordi* confirms the reliability of the *Gesta Hereward's* account of a military expedition to 'Scaldemariland' in 1067. The Echternach account increases dramatically the value of this part of the *Gesta* as an important historical source. The information about Flanders and its neighbouring provinces is, as far as can be established, accurate, even though references to rulers are vague. None of the material presented in the Flemish chapters can be shown to be wrong, from which of course it does not necessarily follow that they are historically correct. But a good case for the *Gesta's* verifiable contents concerning Flanders can be made. Against this background the presence of a *miles Herivvardus* in a charter of the bishop of Cambrai, who is known to have recruited mercenaries for his defensive strategies at Cambrai, deserves serious consideration as a reference to Hereward 'the Wake'. If this identification can be accepted then Hereward went to Flanders in the mid-1060s. Like other English exiles he put his military expertise at the disposal of Bishop Lietbert of Cambrai early in 1065, in all probability of Earl Tostig at Saint-Omer during the winter of 1065–6, and of Robert 'the Frisian' in 1067. It may have been at Saint-Omer that he became acquainted with Gilbert of Gent and Frederick of

¹⁰⁵ *Historia Ingulphi*, ed. Fulman, pp. 67–8. For a discussion of Turfrida's descendants, see Round, *Feudal England*, pp. 132–6, who ultimately rejects the veracity of the Crowland tradition. It should be pointed out, however, that despite the late date of the Crowland chronicle its fifteenth-century compiler had access to genuine eleventh- and twelfth-century documents now lost; see D. Roffe, 'The *Historia Croylandensis*: a Plea for a Re-Assessment', *EHR* 110 (1995), 93–108.

¹⁰⁶ For Hugh of Envermeu, see *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. Chibnall V, 210–11 and *Regesta* II, nos. 601, 727, 794–5, 818, 973 and 1577; for Richard of Rullos, see *ibid.* no. 1592, Loyd, *Origins*, p. 86 and Round, *Feudal England*, p. 165. Richard's brother William, lord of Bourne at the time of Henry I who died without offspring, appears in *Regesta* II, nos. 1031, 1098 and 1187. Richard of Rullos's daughter Adelina married Baldwin FitzGilbert of Clare, who became lord of Bourne 'iure uxoris'. For daughters as the likely missing link in the descent of Bourne from Hereward to Baldwin FitzGilbert, see Roffe, 'Hereward "the Wake"', pp. 7–10.

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Oosterzele-Scheldewindeke, and it was surely at Saint-Omer that he met Turfrida, a member of the local nobility (perhaps related to the castellans Lambert and his son Wulfric Rabel) who became his wife. The enhanced status of this part of the *Gesta* as more historically reliable than hitherto thought, ought to invite scholars to renew their acquaintance with this intriguing text.

Perhaps we should see the *Gesta Herewardi* neither as a fictional 'historical adventure novel' as P. G. Schmidt sees it,¹⁰⁷ nor as a chronicle, but as the sort of historical narrative which Gaimar wrote himself and, perhaps jokingly, offered to write about King Henry I to rectify the shortcomings of the now lost work of David:

'But as for the festivities that the king held, as for the drinking and boasting bouts, the courting and the love affairs over which he presided, David's book has hardly anything to say . . . Gaimar . . . could compose a verse account of the finest exploits [of Henry's court], namely the love affairs and the courting, the hunting and the drinking, the festivities and the pomp and ceremony, the acts of generosity and the displays of wealth, the entourage of noble and valiant knights that the king maintained, and the generous presents that he distributed.'¹⁰⁸

That Gaimar wrote his *L'Estoire des Engleis* in this vein for a female patron, Constance wife of Ralph FitzGilbert, and that he was prepared to compose something similar for Queen Adeliza of Louvain, King Henry I's widow, inspires me to suggest that the commission of the now lost Old English Life by Leofric, Hereward's chaplain, on which presumably much of the *Gesta's* narrative is based, came from a female member of his family.¹⁰⁹ Hereward's wife or daughter spring to mind as the likely patrons who successfully rescued the stories of Hereward's adventures in Flanders for posterity.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁷ Schmidt, 'Biblisches und hagiographisches Kolorit', pp. 94–5.

¹⁰⁸ *L'Estoire des Engleis*, lines 6495–6501 and 6504–6511, ed. Bell, pp. 205–6. I am most grateful to Ian Short for allowing me to use his unpublished translation of Gaimar's text. The *Gesta Herewardi's* likely early-twelfth-century date turns it into a significant source of medieval attitudes to knighthood. The striking story of Hereward's knighting as well as the author's comments on differences between English (Anglo-Norman) and French customs has never been taken into account in scholarly discussions of knighthood (J. Flori, *L'idéologie du glaive; préhistoire de la chevalerie* (Geneva, 1983) and *L'essor de la chevalerie XIe–XIIe siècles* (Geneva, 1986)); J. Gillingham, 'Thegns and Knights in Eleventh-Century England: Who Was Then the Gentleman', *TRHS*, 6th ser. 5 (1995), 129–54; J. Gillingham, 'Kingship, Chivalry and Love, Political and Cultural Values in the Earliest History Written in French: Gaimar's *Estoire des Engleis*', *Anglo-Norman Political Culture and the Twelfth-Century Renaissance*, ed. C. Warren Hollister (Woodbridge, 1997), pp. 33–58, where Gaimar's work is rehabilitated, but not the very similar *Gesta Herewardi*.

¹⁰⁹ For the exceptional concentration of female patronage of vernacular (Anglo-Norman) patronage in the Lincolnshire area, see I. Short, 'Patrons and Polyglots: French Literature in Twelfth-Century England', *ANS* 14 (1991), 229–50, at 243–4.

¹¹⁰ In the course of the preparation of this article I have benefited from comments and advice from Judith Everard, Susan Kelly, Renée Nip, Oliver Padel, David Roffe and Ian Short. I am particularly grateful to Simon Keynes for his editorial support and guidance.