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RICHARD DE LUCY, HENRY II'S JUSTICIAR

EMILIE M. AMT

Richard de Lucy (d. 1179) is the most striking, though by no means the only, example of a leading *familiaris* of King Stephen (1135-54) who moved smoothly into the administration of Stephen's rival and successor, Henry II (1154-89). A "new man" himself, Richard established strong local and curial links with leading figures of the day, and he was followed into the royal service by a number of his own relatives. An examination of his family and other connections should reveal much about the degree to which his relatives and friends were able to benefit from his very eminent position; this is the purpose of the present inquiry. On a more general level, a local and prosopographical approach is clearly emerging as the next line of attack for historians of Stephen's reign, and careers like Richard's, which spanned both the "Anarchy" and the period of strong royal government which followed, will have much to tell us about the transition between the two reigns.

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1 It would like to thank John Prestwich for suggesting the topic and for much help in its development. Any study of Richard de Lucy must note at the outset the work of John Horace Round, particularly his "The Honour of Ongar," *Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society*, n.s. 12 (1898), 142-52.

2 See, for example, David Crouch, *The Beaumont Twins: The Roots and Branches of Power in the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, 1986); Richard Eales,
The family of Richard de Lucy came originally from Lucé in Orne, in southwestern Normandy. The town lies about four miles southeast of Domfront, in the bailiwick of Le Passeis. Nine miles to the northwest is Lonlay-l'Abbaye, where Richard's brother Walter de Lucy, later abbot of Battle Abbey in Sussex, began his monastic career. Slightly further away to the southwest is Gorron; Geoffrey de Gorron, a twelfth-century abbot of St. Albans, was described as Walter de Lucy's kinsman. The family links to Le Passeis are confirmed by the 1172 returns of Norman fiefs, which listed Richard de Lucy as holding eighteen fees in the bailiwick.

The proximity of Lucé to Domfront suggests a connection with Henry I; ambitious Lucies might well have availed themselves of the opportunities which so many men from western Normandy found in that king's household. This is one possible explanation of Richard's entry into royal service; The Book of Fees includes the statement (ca. 1212) that Henry I had granted land from his demesne in Suffolk to Richard de Lucy. Indeed, the earliest mention of a Lucy is in an 1131 charter of Henry I, and it seems to refer to the young Richard de Lucy himself. The king, granting some land in Laleu, in Orne, to a bishop, explains that he has bought the land, once held by William Goth, from William's niece Aveline and her son Richard de Lucy. That Aveline and her son held land in England as well is apparent from King John's confirmation (in 1205) to the monastary at Sheppey of half a sulung of land "from the gift of Richard de Lucy, by the acquisition of Archbishop William [1123-36], through Aveline, mother of the aforesaid Richard de Lucy of Newington [Kent]." The family held other lands in England; according to the carte baronum of 1166, Richard's ancestors had done castle guard at Dover for lands amounting to seven and a half knights' fees in Norfolk, Suffolk, and Kent. How and when they acquired these holdings we cannot know; the picture which emerges is simply one of a family with strong roots in Normandy but hereditary lands on both sides of the Channel.

In the first few years of Stephen's reign two of the Lucy brothers achieved positions of some prominence. Walter, the monk of Lonlay, became abbot of Battle Abbey in 1139, by which time his

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\(^5\)Chron. Battle, p. 142.


\(^11\)These included holdings in Newington and in Diss (Norfolk); Red Book, 1:351-52. The Book of Fees, p. 131, states that Henry I had either confirmed Diss to Richard de Lucy or granted it for service.
brother Richard was beginning to distinguish himself in the new king's service. Walter and Richard had a third brother, Robert, of whom we know almost nothing; Herbert de Lucy, who defended Wareham for King Stephen in 1142 and is linked by charter evidence to Richard de Lucy, may have been a fourth brother (fig. 1).12

Richard de Lucy witnessed his first known charter for King Stephen in Oxford in 1136.13 The means of his entry into royal service can only be a matter for speculation; he may have come to Stephen from Henry I's household, or he may have served Stephen before the latter's accession. His rise under Stephen was probably gradual, and very likely was the result of his usefulness in military matters early in the reign. In October 1138 he commanded the garrison of Falaise in a particularly dashing manner during Geoffrey of Anjou's unsuccessful siege.14 Richard spent most of the rest of the reign in England, where he was in frequent attendance on the king. Some 135 of Stephen's surviving acta are witnessed by Richard de Lucy; others are addressed to him as a local justice or name him as the enforcer of the king's will.15 By 1143 he was serving as the king's local justice in Middlesex, London, and Essex.16 Although Richard was a national figure by virtue of his prominence in Stephen's household, the particular offices he filled in this reign were local ones.

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16 *Regesta III*:xxiv-xxv.

The importance in Richard's career of his local concerns in eastern England must not be overlooked. For one thing, this was the part of the kingdom where Stephen himself held vast estates and maintained relatively strong royal control, and where the Angevin party never gained a real foothold. As count of Boulogne in right of his wife, Stephen not only possessed a wealthy English honour based in Essex but could also exploit his resources and alliances on the other side of the Channel to maintain his hold upon the kingdom. The London area in particular was very much Stephen's territory. Thus Richard de Lucy's territorial interests—in Norfolk, Suffolk, and especially Kent—coincided with those of the king; this may even have had something to do with his entry into Stephen's service. (There is a possible parallel in the case of Robert de Sackville, a Suffolk landholder who served Stephen of Blois before the latter's accession.17) Whatever their previous connection, King Stephen proceeded to bind Richard even more closely to him with grants of land in Essex and Sussex. One of the estates he granted him was the important Essex manor of Chipping Ongar, which may once have served as the head of the Boulogne estates. Here Richard built a castle, encouraged the development of the town, and established the *caput* of the barony which he was gradually assembling.18 There are also some indications that after the disgrace and death in 1144 of Geoffrey de Mandeville, earl of Essex, Richard de Lucy took over some of Geoffrey's possessions, probably as a

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18 *Regesta 3*:208-09, no. 569; Round, "The Honour of Ongar," 143-44; Michael R. Eddy and Martin R. Petchey, *Historic Towns in Essex* (Chelmsford, 1983), pp. 32, 39. If Richard had lands in Normandy, the Essex grants may have been intended as recompense for their loss after 1144.
temporary royal custodian.\textsuperscript{19} Second, there is the very nature of the baronial community of which Richard was a member. There is reason to think that in Essex, in particular, this was more locally close-knit and (at least passively) loyal to King Stephen than in most other regions.\textsuperscript{20} One striking characteristic of the Essex baronage is the network of marriages connecting all the major tenants-in-chief (fig. 2).

Although he was a newcomer in Essex, Richard de Lucy was able to marry two of his daughters to prominent Essex barons: Maud to Walter fitzRobert of Little Dunmow, and Aveline to Gilbert de Montfichet, lord of Stanstead Montfichet.\textsuperscript{21} Such links were obviously desirable both for political reasons and as a sign of the status to which Richard had risen through royal service. At Stephen’s court he would have been in close contact with other locally-based \textit{familiares} such as the royal constable, Henry of Essex, and Queen Matilda’s chamberlain Hubert, father of the well-known Richard of Anstey.\textsuperscript{22} More than most other local baronial groups at the time, Essex barons found their relations with the king reinforcing their local ties, and vice versa. Moreover, the king’s firm grip on this region meant that his barons here were used to—and his officials experienced in—the administration of orderly royal government. This made them potentially valuable to the next administration.

Richard de Lucy remained a loyal supporter of Stephen until the king’s death. In the summer of 1153, when so many of Stephen’s ostensible supporters were demonstrating their reluctance to fight against Henry at Malmesbury and Wallingford, Richard de Lucy was among those who seemed determined to cause as much trouble for Henry as possible:

\begin{verbatim}
Exinde dux Henricus cum ccc. militibus obviavit Willemo de Querceio, presidi Oxinefordensi, et Ricordo de Lucesio, et Willemo Martello, et sociis eorum venientibus in terram suam, et fugavit eos usque Oxinefort, et cepit ex eis xx. milites. \textsuperscript{23}
\end{verbatim}

The association here with William de Chesney ("Querceio"), an important supporter of King Stephen in Oxfordshire, is intriguing. William’s wife was named Margaret or Margery de Lucy, and while no relationship to Richard de Lucy can be proven, the relative rarity of the surname in England in this period suggests that she may have been a sister or niece of Richard’s.\textsuperscript{24} In that case, the family tie might have aided William de Chesney in his advancement in

\textsuperscript{19}Richard confirmed to Colchester Abbey whatever the monks had held in Waltham, Essex (a Mandeville manor), in the time of Geoffrey de Mandeville; \textit{Cartularium de Colecestria}, p. 147. At least from 1155 Richard held land in the royal manor of Hatfield, where Geoffrey had received a smaller grant from King Stephen; \textit{Regesta III}:102-03, no. 276; \textit{Red Book}, 2:650. And Richard’s custody of the Tower of London in 1153 is interesting, as this too had been a Mandeville privilege; \textit{Regesta III}:97-103, nos. 272, 274-76.

\textsuperscript{20}The present paper is part of a project which includes studies of several English counties, including Essex, during the mid-twelfth century. Compare Eales, “Local Loyalties,” for the tensions in Kent, another “royalist” county, at the same time.


Stephen’s administration, or the court connection may have led to
the marriage.

Richard’s record of staunch loyalty, whether it was, at
heart, to Stephen personally or simply to stable royal government,
did him no harm with Henry of Anjou. Given Henry’s goals and
attitudes, this is not really surprising. None of Richard’s actions in
1153 and 1154 could be regarded as opportunistic, and he had
erned the respect and even the trust of those against whom he
fought in the civil war. (Some of them, of course, had once been his
colleagues.) The first indication of this comes in the 1153 peace
treaty between Stephen and Henry, in which Richard was assigned
the crucial role of guardian of the Tower of London and Windsor
Castle; he was to hand both castles over to Henry upon Stephen’s
death. Richard’s son was to be a hostage for his good faith.25 After
Stephen’s death in October 1154 we find Richard in London,
waiting quietly for Henry’s arrival from Normandy.26 This is no
surprise either; Richard de Lucy was first and foremost a royal
servant, and upon the death of one royal master he naturally
transferred his allegiance to the lawful successor whose rights he
had sworn to uphold.

The new king was obviously pleased with him, for from
the beginning of the reign Richard was in Henry’s confidence, and he
was soon appointed co-justiciar (along with the eminent Robert, earl
of Leicester). This mutually beneficial arrangement raised
Richard’s status dramatically and provided the king with an
experienced and thoroughly competent administrator. Although
there is no evidence that Richard had ever served as Stephen’s
sheriff of Essex, he was able to account, at Michaelmas 1155, for
the county farm for the entire year, including the three months
before Henry’s coronation. He managed to pay more money into

the royal coffers (both treasury and chamber) than any other sheriff
that year; and the detailed account which he rendered shows his
familiarity with the machinery of government, which Henry was
eager to restore.27 Such competence, as well as his record of loyal
service to the Crown, his readiness to make himself useful to Henry,
and, no doubt, his personal reputation, were qualities that marked
him out for the new king’s attention and favor.

The annual financial accounts record many of the benefits
which Richard received. In the 1155 Essex farm account, Richard
was allowed unusually large deductions for terre date, the royal
lands which had been granted to him (perhaps Stephen’s gifts,
confirmed by Henry II), as well as a remarkable gift of £62 from the
royal revenues. In the next two years, during which he was sheriff
of Essex and Hertfordshire and farmed several important royal
manors separately, his terre date and the gifts of money (dona) he
received together made up a large percentage of the Essex county
farm. He received numerous pardons, both for taxes (including
danegeld on nearly fifty hides) and for royal revenues for which he
was responsible, as well as confirmation of Stephen’s grants and
permission to retain one hundred acres of assarts made in the royal
forest in Essex.28

Obviously Richard enjoyed a high degree of royal favor.
But to enlarge his feudal holdings he looked to lords other than the
king, and in this he was quite successful. By 1166 he held, in

28Red Book, 2:650; The Great Rolls of the Pipe for the Second, Third and
Fourth Years of the Reign of King Henry the Second, 1155-58. ed. Joseph
Hunter (London, 1844), pp. 16-19, 36, 132; The Great Rolls of the Pipe, 5th to
34th years of the reign of Henry II, Pipe Roll Society, 30 vols. (London,
1884-1925), cited hereafter by regnal year: Pipe Roll 5 Henry II, p. 8; Regesta
III:208-09, no. 569; Round, “The Honour of Ongar,” 144; Cartae Antiquae
p. 179-80, no. 586.
addition to his hereditary lands, ten knights' fees from the king's uncle Reginald, earl of Cornwall; nine "of the fee of" Adam de Malherbe, a tenant of Reginald; and one of the honour of Clare in Suffolk. He had also enfeoffed one knight on land in Devon. 29 Sometime between 1166 and 1174 William, earl of Gloucester, granted him Greenstead in Essex for the service of ten knights. Between 1172 and 1174 came a royal grant of the hundred of Ongar in Essex. 30

In 1158 Richard was replaced as sheriff of Essex and Hertfordshire, no doubt because the king preferred to have him devote himself to his job as justiciar. It was as a powerful official at the center of royal government that Richard grew famous. Clearly the most prominent member of his family, he was probably expected to use his position to help his relatives. The earliest and best-documented case of a kinsman benefiting from Richard's patronage is that of his brother Walter, abbot of Battle Abbey from 1139 to 1171—a period which spans several phases in Richard's career. Indeed, the Chronicle of Battle Abbey maintains that Walter de Lucy had been appointed abbot in 1139 in large part through the efforts of his brother:

... rex Stephanus ... abbatiam de Bello cuidam monacho de Lunlegio transmarino, Walerto nomine, fratri cuiusdam baronis prepotentiis Ricardi cognomento de Luci, commendavit. Hic ergo ... aliquandiu in

29 Red Book, 1:261, 351-52. Richard's holding of the earl of Cornwall is described as "de antiquo feudo," i.e., before Henry I's death; presumably Richard replaced, shortly after 1154, another tenant who had held the same ten fees "of the old enfeoffment." But there are hints in Round's analysis that the Cornish fees had been granted to Richard by King Stephen as count of Mortain; Round, "The Honour of Ongar," 149 and n., 150.


Anglia manserat, fratricque sui industria regiam cognitionem et procerum favorem obtinuere. 31

Eleanor Scarle, the editor of the chronicle, sensibly points out that it was "probably anachronistic to call Richard de Lucy prepotens as early as 1139." 32 But Richard may have brought his brother to the king's attention, and Stephen probably hoped that the appointment would help him retain Richard's useful support. As time passed, of course, Richard grew in influence and thus in his ability to help his brother at court.

The Battle chronicle's account of an episode early in the reign of Henry II gives us some valuable glimpses of the Lucies and other members of the royal household, their relations with each other, and their influence with the king. Battle Abbey and the bishop of Chichester were in dispute over Battle's exemption from episcopal authority; years of wrangling had produced no resolution. We can probably assume that Richard de Lucy had tried to help his brother the abbot at King Stephen's court, but in thechronicle account Richard enters the story of the continuing dispute only after Stephen's death. 33 During the first two years of Henry II's reign, we can see Richard's assistance growing more direct and effective. At Lent 1155 he merely advised Abbot Walter, who took his own case to the king. By July, when the matter arose again, Richard and Walter were able to call upon the assistance of Reginald, earl of Cornwall, and Richard de Hommet, a royal constable, with whom (the chronicle tells us) they were joined in a treaty of friendship (fesus amicitie); the earl and the constable interceded with the king on Battle's behalf. 34 In May 1157 the king resolved to settle the dispute for good. On this occasion Richard de Lucy played a major

31 Chron. Battle, pp. 140-42.
32 Chron. Battle, pp. 142-43 n.
33 Chron. Battle, pp. 140-42, 152.
34 Chron. Battle, pp. 154-60.
public role in the deliberations, consulting with his brother and the king and making important speeches on the abbey's behalf. The king, in the chronicler's account, is clearly predisposed in favor of the brothers, calling to his counsel men described as Richard's *coherentes*, giving procedural advantages to the abbott, and being short-tempered and rather snide with the bishop. The Lucies also enjoyed the outspoken support of two very influential royal *familiares*, Thomas Becket, the chancellor (who made their summing-up speech), and Robert, earl of Leicester. When the case was decided in Battle's favor, the peace which was then made between the bishop and the abbott was extended, by the king's order, to include Richard as well.\(^{35}\)

The Battle chronicler's account of the entire dispute, especially in its final episode, emphasizes Richard's assistance to his brother, but it also reveals the importance of other, more complex, alliances at court. Some of these resulted from formal pacts, which were not uncommon in mid-twelfth-century England. Many barons had entered into alliances or non-aggression agreements during the violent years of Stephen's reign; these are mentioned in the narrative sources or outlined in surviving charters of the period.\(^{36}\) In the more urbane but no less competitive world of great men's courts, similar arrangements were just as useful. We have a description of such a pact, involving the young Thomas Becket and his colleagues in the household of Archbishop Theobald, a few years before the Battle case:

\[\text{[Thomas] inter primos et praecipuos ejus familiares in brevi admisso est. Qui . . . cum eo sociale foedus inierunt, condictentes ut in petendis sibi beneficis ecclesiasticis suffragium suum communicarent . . . Itaque paucis primis agebat quibus omnes vel unus ex istic non interesser. Qui praesentes erant, pro se vel pro absentibus ageberant; qui absentes erant in praeuentibus proficerant.}\(^{37}\)

The Lucy brothers' *fedus* (which was functioning by July 1155) obviously dates from after the 1153 Treaty of Westminster, if not from after Henry II's accession, for the other two known parties to it would not have been Richard de Lucy's allies before that. Reginald, earl of Cornwall, was Henry's uncle and had been a firm Angevin supporter; Richard de Hommet, royal constable, had been a member of Henry's ducal household.\(^{38}\) If the *fedus amicitiae* was part of the aftermath of the Treaty of Westminster, it may have helped Richard de Lucy gain his position as justiciar; as Earl Reginald was Duke Henry's designated representative in England, such alliances may have been part of his strategy for strengthening Henry's position.\(^{39}\) It seems more likely, however, that the *fedus* was negotiated in the early part of 1155. It may also have been related to Richard de Lucy's enfeoffment as Reginald's vassal.\(^{40}\)

There were also, of course, less formal alliances at court. Such were probably Richard's relations with most or all of the men

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\(^{36}\) E.g., Roger de Berkeley's *pacies foedus* with Walter of Hereford (which the latter violated) and his arrangement that Philip of Gloucester would protect him; *Gesta Stephani*, ed. K. R. Potter and R. H. C. Davis (Oxford, 1976), p. 190. For two well-known texts of treaties, see R. H. C. Davis, "Treaty between William Earl of Gloucester and Roger Earl of Hereford," in *A Medieval Miscellany for Doris Mary Stenton*, ed. Patricia M. Barnes and C. F. Slade, Pipe Roll Society, n.s. 36 (London, 1962), pp. 139-46. In Stephen's reign such agreements were often attempts to lessen rivalry and mistrust rather than true cooperative efforts.


\(^{38}\) Davis, *King Stephen*, pp. 139-40; *Regesta III*:xxxvii and attestations passim.

\(^{39}\) *Regesta III*:261, no. 709.

\(^{40}\) *Red Book*, 1:261.
described in the Battle chronicle as his coherentes: Archbishop Roger de Pont l’Eveque of York; Chancellor Thomas Becket; John, treasurer of York; Earl Robert of Leicester; Earl Patrick of Salisbury; Henry of Essex; Reginald de Warenne; Warin fitzGerold; "et aliorum nonnullorum baronum et militum multitudinem non modicam." The individuals named here were linked in many other ways as well. The first three in the list are in fact the same three clerks who had formed the alliance (mentioned above) within Archbishop Theohald’s household. Robert of Leicester was Richard de Lucy’s partner in the justiciarship; they had no doubt known each other well at King Stephen’s court too, before Robert’s defection to the Angevins in 1153. Henry of Essex had been Richard’s colleague as Stephen’s constable, and now held the same position under Henry II; he was also a neighbor of Richard’s and one of the greatest tenants-in-chief in Essex. Reginald de Warenne was another baron with an Essex connection, being an administrator of the honour of Boulogne. Patrick of Salisbury (like Reginald of Cornwall) had been one of the southwestern earls who supported the Angevins; Warin fitzGerold (like Richard de Hommet) had been a familiaris of Duke Henry. As for the unnamed barons and the “multitude” of knights, one may reasonably assume that at least some of them were Richard’s own tenants and familiares. Naturally, any important man at court would have his own followers, who—as well as hoping for advancement and favors from or through him—would support him in his own causes, as this crowd of lesser men supported Richard de Lucy at Colchester in 1157.

The Battle chronicle’s account makes it clear that, at least at this early stage of his career under King Henry, Richard de Lucy depended on his links with other members of the king’s inner circle, and that the alliances found at court were complex and wide-ranging. Through his brother, Abbot Walter had access to the benefits of such connections, and thus the Battle chronicler could write, though with exaggeration, that Walter had managed to become a familiaris of the king and that the king was willing to grant his every wish. However well other twelfth-century abbots represented Battle Abbey in the royal courts, Walter is the only one so described. Clearly the king’s benevolentia stemmed from Walter’s unique connection with the court through the person of his eminent brother.

Walter pressed many cases in defense of Battle’s lands, churches, and privileges, but the chronicler mentions Richard de Lucy in connection with only two of them. Indeed, although the writer praises Walter’s energy on behalf of the abbey, there is a hint of discontent in some quarters. Some monks, it is recorded, thought that Walter might have done more for Battle, especially with Richard’s patronage. There are also allusions in the chronicle to Walter’s having sought the bishopric of London when it was vacant from 1150 to 1152; in one of his speeches before the king at Colchester, Richard seems to admit that he had been involved in the matter. If Walter did indeed harbor episcopal ambitions as early as this, he must have suffered a good deal of disappointment over the course of the next twenty years, for he remained an abbot until his death, even though his influence at court might have been expected to increase.

On balance, the picture left of Richard and Walter’s

42 Gesta Stephani, p. 235 and n.
43 Regesta III:xx; Sanders, pp. 121, 139.
45 Davis, King Stephen, p. 140; Regesta III:xxvii and attestations passim.
47 For the second, see Chron. Battle, p. 214.
working relationship is one of limited patronage. The limits may have been imposed by a lack of ambition on Walter’s part, by hesitation on Richard’s part to press too hard for advantages for his brother, by caution on the part of the king in rewarding his servants, or by a combination of such factors. Another consideration is the probability that in the 1160s, with the pace and workload of royal government increasing, Richard had less attention to spare for Walter’s concerns.

But for relatives who could be useful royal servants themselves the advantages of kinship with the justiciar were increasing. While it seems almost certain that there was only one Lucy family in England, and that thus all Lucies were relatives of the justiciar, the exact relationship between a given Lucy and Richard himself is not always clear. Richard had a nephew named Robert, of unknown parentage, and a number of kinsmen of whom we know even less. Most of these relatives benefited only modestly, if at all, from their connection with the justiciar. One such case is Hugh de Lucy, “chaplain,” who witnessed (along with Richard de Lucy and others) a royal charter in 1164. In 1168 he received a royal pardon for ten marks, per breve Ricardi de Luci (a not uncommon formula). Another example is the Robert de Lucy who received the smith of Bray’s chattels in 1170; Bray was a royal manor farmed by Richard de Lucy. These are marginal, even doubtful, cases of patronage. Others are more clear-cut and more interesting.

Richard had two legitimate sons, Geoffrey and Godfrey, as well as the daughters mentioned above. Some of his efforts on Godfrey’s behalf are recorded in the Battle chronicle. Walter the abbot died in 1171, attended in his final illness by his brother. Richard now became the “protector” of Battle Abbey, appointing trustworthy custodians, safeguarding the abbey’s privileges during the four-year vacancy, and proving an ally at court when the new abbot took office. What Richard eventually asked of the abbey in return was the church of Wye in Kent, which was in the abbey’s gift, for his son Godfrey, who was a clerk. A misunderstanding arising from this request showed the monks how hard it was to oppose Richard de Lucy, for when the case went to a church council no churchman present wanted to argue Battle’s case for fear of incurring the justiciar’s displeasure. Meanwhile, Godfrey himself, a canon of Exeter, was studying abroad. Clearly Richard recognized the usefulness of the education available in continental schools for a man destined for a career in the Church—which might well coincide with a career in the king’s service, particularly if one’s father were an important royal administrator.

The story of Richard de Lucy’s career under Henry II is in many ways the story of that king’s reign, and to recount all of the allusions in the sources to Richard’s involvement in royal government would be pointless. A few examples demonstrate the variety of his activities and the trust which the king placed in him. In 1166 he was sent, with Geoffrey de Mandeville, earl of Essex, on the first of the revived judicial eyres. Justice, indeed, was one of the justiciar’s chief concerns, and we have many instances of cases heard before him or brought to him for assistance. In general, whenever King Henry was absent from England—which he was

51 Pipe Roll 14 Henry II, p. 164.
52 Pipe Roll 16 Henry II, p. 73. I identify this Robert, who died before 1172, with Richard’s brother of the same name; Pipe Roll 18 Henry II, p. 15; Madox, p. 178, no. 288.
54 Chron. Battle, pp. 268-70, 320-34.
more often than not—the burden of government fell upon the justiciars. As Henry sought to tighten royal control over his kingdom with a series of inquests, new procedures, and declarations of royal authority, that burden grew even heavier. One such innovation was the Constitutions of Clarendon, of which Richard de Lucy was said to be one of the authors. (He was excommunicated for it at Vézelay in 1166.) Richard, who had been instrumental in Thomas Becket’s election to the see of Canterbury a few years earlier, now incurred the wrath of Becket’s supporters, and there are many references to him in the documents relating to the controversy. He was still active in military affairs when necessary; in 1167 he repelled an attempted invasion by Matthew, count of Boulogne, who was claiming the English lands of the honour of Boulogne.

After the death of the earl of Leicester in 1168, Richard continued alone in office for another ten years. The 1170s were the last decade of his life and the most illustrious of his career. Gervase of Canterbury called him “the most powerful man in the kingdom” in 1173. In 1176, according to Roger of Howden, he was the king’s familiarissimus, and the fact that Henry would take a castle (Ongar) away from even Richard de Lucy served as a dramatic illustration of the strength of the king’s determination to confiscate castles. In 1173-74, when King Henry faced the rebellion of his own sons, Richard de Lucy led the loyalist forces in England and negotiated a truce with the king of Scotland. Several modern historians have seen the events of the mid-1170s as increasing Richard’s standing, and thus the powers of the justiciarship, still further. Richard’s personal fame and authority eventually became so great that his opinion was still cited in legal controversies long after his death.

The crisis in the 1170s was also an opportunity for the younger Lucies, who joined Richard in providing useful service to the king. A Robert de Lucy who can be assumed to be Richard’s nephew Robert begins to make frequent appearances in the pipe rolls of the 1170s, witnessing expenditures which were often authorized by Richard de Lucy. In 1173 he served as constable of the royal castle at Salisbury; in 1174 he held land in Wiltshire and was heavily involved in military affairs in the county; the next year he was sheriff of Worcestershire. In 1175 he received the lands of a deceased tenant-in-chief, and in 1177 he acquired custody of the heir, whom he then married to his daughter. But after 1175 Robert had few dealings with the king. His career as a royal administrator ceased, and his name appears in the rolls only in minor personal matters. Pulled from his private life to serve the king (and his

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Materials for the History of Thomas Becket, e.g., 5:153, 174 (where Thomas Becket calls Richard de Lucy “odiosus ille”), 388, 428; 6:76, 225.

Gervase, 1:203.

Gervase, 1:241; “in regno potentissimis, utpote praefectus Anglie, qui sub rege regni negotia disponebat.”

own uncle) during a military crisis, he retired to relative obscurity when the crisis was resolved, though better off than he had been before.

Strikingly similar is the career of Reginald de Lucy. Like Robert, he is linked to the justiciar by charters which he witnessed for Richard in the 1160s. From 1168 to 1176 he served as royal forester in Nottinghamshire, and when the rebellion broke out he was given command of several royal castles in that region: Bolesover and Peake in 1173-74, Nottingham in 1175, and all three in 1176. During the same period, he farmed the honour of Peverel or Peake. By 1177, Reginald’s career in the royal service was essentially over. Sometime in the late 1170s he married Mabel, a Cumberland heiress; from them descended the Lucies of Egremont. Reginald’s exact connection with Richard de Lucy is a mystery, but the similarity of his career to Robert’s suggests that he too was a nephew, or perhaps even Richard’s illegitimate son (Reginald named his own son Richard). John E. Lally, in his important work on secular patronage under Henry II, uses both Robert and Reginald as examples of royal servants who benefited from the king’s control of wardships and marriages. What should be noted in addition is that their known royal service was of short duration and of a specific nature; that they were so handsomely rewarded may well have been Richard de Lucy’s doing.

Conspicuously absent from the records in this period is Geoffrey de Lucy, the justiciar’s eldest son. Since Geoffrey is known to have predeceased his father, he probably died between 1170 (his younger son was born ca. 1171) and 1173, when he could reasonably have been expected to play a role in the suppression of the rebellion, but did not. Alternatively, he may have joined the rebels, but this seems less likely; as the heir of an aging and wealthy royal servant he would have had more to gain in the king’s service.

Besides relatives, the other group of men who might expect to benefit from their links to Richard de Lucy were his own tenants and servants. The career of one such follower, Ralph Brito, has been described by Lally. Ralph had been “educatus ... et promotus” in Richard de Lucy’s service; he also enjoyed the patronage of other prominent men, and he became a royal servant himself. Another follower of Richard’s who moved into the king’s administration was Oger dapifer, Richard’s tenant and presumably his steward, who served as sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk for many years. On a smaller scale, Richard helped his tenant Godfrey “Beiuin” by granting the land Godfrey held of him, in Lesnes to Holy Trinity Priory, London (a house with which Richard had special links), with the proviso that the priory accept Godfrey’s sons as canons. From the few surviving witness lists of charters of and to Richard, we get some idea of the members of his entourage, and several of these men appear in other Lucy-related

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67Madox, pp. 42, 44, nos. 75, 79; Earldom of Gloucester Charters, p. 111, no. 115.
68Pipe Roll 14 Henry II, p. 97; Pipe Roll 19 Henry II, pp. 175, 177; Pipe Roll 20 Henry II, p. 8; Pipe Roll 21 Henry II, p. 36; Pipe Roll 22 Henry II, pp. 56, 60.
69Sanders, pp. 115, 135.
71His only appearance in the pipe rolls is a royal pardon in 1171 for debts of four years’ standing, totalling four marks; Pipe Roll 17 Henry II, p. 37; Rotuli de Dominibus, p. 75.
72Lally, pp. 169-70; The Letters and Charters of Gilbert Foliot, ed. Adrian Morey and Christopher N. L. Brooke (Cambridge, 1967), pp. 14, 491-92. After Richard’s death, however, Ralph “suffered a spectacular fall from royal favour”; Lally’s view is that Ralph’s career had depended upon his patron’s “influence and protection.”
73Red Book, 1:352; Madox, pp. 42, 44, 178, 179, nos. 75, 79, 288, 291; Cartae Antiquae Rolls 11-20, p. 69, no. 404; Calendar of Documents Preserved in France, pp. 504-05; Pipe Roll 10 Henry II, p. 33.
74Cartae Antiquae Rolls 11-20, p. 69, no. 404.
contexts as well. His chamberlain Jordan was later a benefactor of Richard's own religious foundation, as was Roger fitzReinfrid, a tenant of the honour of Boulogne who witnessed several Lucy charters.\(^75\) One or more members of the St. Philibert family witnessed for Richard on most occasions; Richard de St. Philibert was a tenant of Richard de Lucy's son-in-law Walter fitzRobert.\(^76\) These men or others in similar situations were no doubt among the "militum multitudinem non modicam" who had supported Richard and Walter de Lucy at Colchester in 1157 (see above).

Even in Stephen's reign, Richard de Lucy had been in a position to make pious benefactions, granting to London's Holy Trinity Priory the church of Lesnes and land in Newington (both in Kent).\(^77\) After his wife's death he made an annual donation to the same priory, where she was buried.\(^78\) Late in his life, in 1178, he founded a house of Augustinian canons at Lesnes (or Westwood), dedicated jointly to the Virgin and to Richard's old colleague, now Saint, Thomas Becket; the new foundation's canons were drawn from Holy Trinity Priory.\(^79\) Retiring from the justiciarship in the summer of 1179, he became a canon in this house and died there a few months later.\(^80\)

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\(^76\) Madox, pp. 42, 44, 178, 368, nos. 75, 79, 288, 658; *Cartae Antiquae Rolls 11-20*, p. 69, no. 404; *Red Book*, 1:348.
\(^77\) *Cartae Antiquae Rolls 11-20*, p. 68, no. 403; Saltman, p. 387.
\(^79\) Gervase, 1:27; Clapham, pp. 104, 106.

His heir was his grandson Richard, elder son of Geoffrey.\(^81\) Three years later, the young Richard was dead, and the inheritance passed to his brother Herbert, a minor in the custody of his uncle Godfrey; Herbert died without issue in 1190.\(^82\) Herbert's sisters were now the joint heiresses to Richard de Lucy's lands, and in later years the tenurial situation was further complicated by the claims of the justiciar's own daughters (and their descendants) and of Godfrey de Lucy's illegitimate son.\(^83\)

Meanwhile, Godfrey de Lucy, the justiciar's younger son, had become an eminent man in his own right. He began to serve as an itinerant justice in 1180, and in 1182 he was among the *familiares* who witnessed Henry II's will.\(^84\) He was twice elected to bishoprics before finally becoming bishop of Winchester in 1189.\(^85\) This wealthy and prestigious see was usually filled by a powerful royal servant. Godfrey de Lucy, despite his background in the administration, was something of an exception; he can hardly be compared with either his predecessor, Richard of Ilchester, or his successor, Peter des Roches, as a national figure. But he was a successful enough bishop in his own diocese, and a powerful patron to members of his family.

Besides acting as Herbert's guardian, Godfrey looked after the family lands and interested himself in his younger relatives' welfare. The illegitimate Geoffrey seems to have acquired some of

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\(^81\) Torigni, 4:282; *Pipe Roll 25 Henry II*, pp. 1, 128.
\(^84\) *Pipe Roll 26 Henry II*, passim; Gervase, 1:298; Howden, *Gesta*, 1:334, 346.
\(^85\) Howden, *Gesta*, 1:346; 2:85.
the family lands in Godfrey's will. It was also probably Bishop Godfrey who gave other Lucies their entry into the royal service, though none had careers there as illustrious as Richard's had been. Philip de Lucy, who may have been Godfrey's son, seems to have received ecclesiastical patronage from the bishop and later held an important position in King John's Chamber (before resigning in disgrace in 1207). A Stephen de Lucy was prior of Winchester Cathedral at the beginning of the thirteenth century (Godfrey was bishop until his death in 1204); he may be the same Stephen de Lucy who became a useful servant of Henry III. And the illegitimate Geoffrey de Lucy was active in royal service, mainly in naval affairs, during the reign of John.

The legal records of the early thirteenth century reveal Richard's grandchildren and great-grandchildren engaged in frequent lawsuits, often against each other, over estates which had once belonged to him. Richard, whom they proudly claimed as their ancestor, had left them, above all, land; he had also, as a member of Henry II's administration, helped to leave them the means by which they fought for that land, the growing machinery of the common law.

Several of Richard's grandchildren continued his annual gift to Holy Trinity Priory. And Lesnes Abbey became a focus of piety among both his servants and his family. As we saw above, several of Richard's familiares were benefactors of Lesnes. The foundation also received gifts from such diverse Lucies as Richard's daughter Aveline, his granddaughter Roysia and her son Fulbert, Reginald de Lucy, and at least one Robert de Lucy. Clearly Lesnes, like the now fragmented barony, was felt to be a link between the first great Lucy and his descendants, and a source of family pride.

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86 Rotuli Chartarum, p. 137.
89 Curia Regis Rolls, 11:77-78, no. 416; Rotuli Litterarum Patentiul, pp. 50, 52, 75, 113, 121, 143.
90 E.g., Bracton's Note Book (as cited in n. 83 above).
91 'Notes on the Pedigree of Lucy of Ongar,' 105.
92 Clapham, pp. 106-07 ('Anselm' is obviously a misreading of 'Avelina'); Rotuli Chartarum, p. 164.
Figure 1
THE LUCY FAMILY IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY

Figure 2
MARRIAGE CONNECTIONS OF SOME ESSEX BARONIAL FAMILIES