



8-1984

Ralph III and the House of Tosny

Joseph P. Huffman
Western Michigan University

Follow this and additional works at: https://scholarworks.wmich.edu/masters_theses



Part of the Medieval Studies Commons

Recommended Citation

Huffman, Joseph P., "Ralph III and the House of Tosny" (1984). *Masters Theses*. 3843.
https://scholarworks.wmich.edu/masters_theses/3843

This Masters Thesis-Open Access is brought to you for free and open access by the Graduate College at ScholarWorks at WMU. It has been accepted for inclusion in Masters Theses by an authorized administrator of ScholarWorks at WMU. For more information, please contact wmu-scholarworks@wmich.edu.



214
9999
H88

RALPH III AND THE HOUSE OF TOSNY

by

Joseph P. Huffman

A Thesis
Submitted to the
Faculty of The Graduate College
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the
Degree of Master of Arts
The Medieval Institute

Western Michigan University
Kalamazoo, Michigan
August 1984

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to dedicate this thesis in loving remembrance to my mother, Patricia, whose courage has left a legacy of love in all who knew her.

I would also like to express deep appreciation to those who were involved in the preparation of this study. Special thanks go to Dr. George Beech, whose guidance and enthusiasm were indispensable to this effort; and to my wife, Peggy, without whose support and encouragement this endeavor would not have been possible.

Joseph P. Huffman

RALPH III AND THE HOUSE OF TOSNY

Joseph P. Huffman, M.A.

Western Michigan University, 1984

The purpose of this study is to provide a full prosopographical examination of the origins of a great Norman noble family known as the Tosnys, and of its principal figure Ralph III. The Tosny role in the Norman ventures in Italy, Spain, and England is studied, and an analysis of Ralph III's English lands, as found in Domesday Book, is also included. This thesis presents a complete study of the life of Ralph III de Tosny; a life virtually void of participation in English affairs after the Conquest. In this he departs from the standard of Norman aristocratic activity in the newly-acquired kingdom of England. This lack of participation in England stands in striking relief to his large landed interest there, making him an unusual anomaly in Anglo-Norman aristocratic history.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS ii

THE HOUSE OF TOSNY 1

GENEALOGICAL ADDENDUM 67

 Belvoir Tosnys 67

 Stafford Tosnys 69

FOOTNOTES 70

APPENDICES 85

 A. Maps 85

 B. Genealogies 96

 C. Dated Itinerary of the Early Tosny Men 101

 D. Dated Itinerary of Ralph III de Tosny 102

BIBLIOGRAPHY 105

THE HOUSE OF TOSNY

Much has been written about William the Conqueror and his band of noblemen who changed the course of English history. Yet, owing to the sparseness of genealogical documentation in extant Norman literature, many gaps exist in our knowledge of the origins and family histories of these barons who made William so renowned. The house of Tosny is a fortunate exception to this problem. Numerous historical references to this family as well as many of their charters have survived and been published. The rise of the Tosny house is therefore accessible to modern scholarship and serves as a valuable example of the life led by the Norman ruling class. For although no one of this family reached the status of count or earl the members of it played a major role in the events of Norman history. Indeed, as David C. Douglas has said, "Few Norman families of the eleventh century were more powerful than those of Tosny . . ." ¹

Ralph III de Tosny (also styled "Ralph de Conches," d. 1102) was the pivotal character in the fortunes of this family. It was he who joined Duke William in 1066 and brought great landed wealth to the family, which had for a century been establishing itself as an influential member of the Norman aristocracy. He, more than any other Tosny lord, was the central figure in the history of this major baronial family. Yet no modern historian has fully compiled the abundant material on his life. Anglo-Norman scholars such as David C. Douglas, Edward Freeman, Frank Barlow, John Le Patourel, Sir Frank Stenton and Charles Homer Haskins have included Ralph III de Tosny in their historical studies; but they have only woven various primary narrative references to Ralph into the larger scheme of their own

secondary narratives.² G.H. White's account of the Tosnys in The Complete Peerage (London: St. Catherine's Press, 1959., 12: 753-775) traces biographical references yet does not afford any thorough narrative analysis either of the family as a whole or of Ralph III in particular. David Bates' recent work, Normandy Before 1066 (N.Y.: Longman Press, 1982), while broadening the inquiry, continues the cursory analysis that has been given to Ralph's life. Although historians have seen value in the study of Ralph, and even use him and the Tosnys as representative examples of the Norman baronage (see footnote 2), none has painted the whole picture of this hitherto rather anonymous baron. Yet this picture reveals some surprising elements, particularly his unusual relationship to post-Conquest England. As we review his life we shall see that in his apparent choosing to neglect his English interests, substantial though they were, he marks himself as a peculiar exception to the virtually absolute pattern of the Normans exploiting their newly-found English wealth.

The only extensive study to date of Ralph III de Tosny and his family history has been done by the French historian Lucien Musset.³ He casts much light on the power and prestige of Ralph and his family line; yet Musset's study is still incomplete. He does not examine Ralph's extensive English holdings nor does he evaluate Ralph's relationship with the Conqueror or his heirs -- both necessary to a proper perspective of Ralph's stature in Norman affairs.

This paper is written therefore in an attempt to bridge this gap and present a full prosopographical study of the origins of the house of Tosny and its principal figure Ralph III. The present study is

based on Norman narrative sources as well as published cartulary documents. So far as I know I have seen all the material existing on the Tosny family from the tenth and eleventh centuries except the unpublished cartulary of the abbey of Conches (Arch. Eure H 262, Bib. Nat. ms. lat. 12.777). Small portions of this cartulary, however, have been selectively published and I have incorporated them into this paper (see Leopold Delisle and Louis Passy, eds. Memoires et notes d'Auguste Le Prevost, 1: 522-526 and 3; 283-286; see also Dom Paul Piolin, ed. Gallia Christiana, 11: 128-133).

The origin of the Tosny line begins in obscurity, not unlike many genealogies. Two traditions are to be found in the extant records. In the first, William of Jumièges writes in his Gesta, written around 1109, that Roger I de Tosny (Ralph III's father) was of the line of Malahulcus -- a supposed paternal uncle of Duke Rollo of Normandy.⁴ This tradition attempts to establish the Tosnys as one of the original Scandinavian families who had conquered Normandy in the early tenth century. Yet, as Lucien Musset has stated, Malahulcus is not a Scandinavian name⁵ and there is no corroborative evidence surviving to substantiate this claim. It reflects most likely an effort to confirm the legitimacy of the Tosny line by establishing familial ties to the ducal family; and William of Jumièges' knowledge of this claim probably indicates that it served as such in Normandy at the time. Whether or not this is an accurate statement is not of crucial importance, however, since this supposed relationship to the ducal house was not the avenue through which the Tosnys gained their landed wealth and power.

This is rather to be explained by a second tradition based on better documented historical events. In the annals of the Acta Archiepiscoporum Rotomagensium the following entry is recorded:

Hugo followed after Gunhardus. This man indeed was from an illustrious family, but ignoble in all his works. He was a monk at Saint Denis, when William son of Rollo, duke of the Normans, committed the bishopric to him; but afterwards, having been established by the precepts of the holy rule, he devoted himself entirely to the wantonness of the flesh. He begot several sons indeed, he dismantled the church and the things of the church. He gave Tosny, for instance, which was in the domain of the archbishopric, with all its appendages, to his brother Ralph, a most powerful man, the son of Hugh de Calvacamp, and thus he alienated it from the domain of the archbishopric continuously on to the present.⁶

As this account suggests the Tosny family lands were obtained in an interesting fashion. A certain Hugh of Calvacamp (born c. 890)⁷ had two sons: Hugh (c. 915-989),⁸ apparently the elder son, was a monk of Saint Denis in Paris; and Ralph whose prior history is unknown. Orderic Vitalis chronicles that William Longsword called Hugh to the archbishopric of Rouen in 942.⁹ As archbishop he dismembered the lands of Tosny (Eure, arr. Louvins, cant. Gaillon -- see map page 85) from the archepiscopal demesne and gave them as a benefice to his brother, who then took the appellation "de Tosny." Archbishop Hugh's secularization of church lands, as well as his un-monastic lifestyle, have earned him a lasting legacy of disapprobation. Orderic Vitalis echoes the Acta's denunciation of Hugh's character, saying:

Hugh followed, violator of God's law. Worthy enough by birth, but blind to Christ. He held the office of archbishop for forty-seven years, but he received no praise from any of the writers who have described him or his fellow bishops. They record frankly that he was a monk in dress but

not in deed.¹⁰

This second tradition, based on more solid historical evidence than the one recorded by William of Jumièges, is probably more accurate. The issue of the family's provenance is then to be considered. Their origins may well have been French and not Norman, as both Anthony Wagner and G. H. White suggest.¹¹ If so, the Tosnys would be placed among the Franks, such as the Bellêmes, who were accepted and integrated into the new Scandinavian duchy. This is certainly a possibility, as close relations between the neighboring Franks and Normans were maintained. A good example of this was William Fitz Osbern's grandfather Arfast becoming a monk in his later years at St.-Père-de-Chartres.¹² Furthermore the Tosnys apparent need to legitimate their Norman position by a claim to ancient origins within the ducal family may also suggest Frankish descent. Yet this theory of a Frankish origin is based solely on the fact that Archbishop Hugh had been at St. Denis in Paris; and, as we have seen in the case of Arfast, Normans did enter monasteries on Frankish soil. Hugh's profession at St. Denis therefore suggests a Frankish background but does not rule out Norman origins. The key to the whole matter may lie in his father's appellation, "de Calvacamp," a place which has not been identified either in or outside of Normandy. David Bates declares Hugh, ". . . a native of the French Vexin . . ." yet gives no evidence for such a placement.¹³ All of these possibilities are still open to discussion at this juncture. In any case, once Hugh had been Archbishop of Rouen, a Norman see, the family, whether or not of Frankish extraction, was thereafter considered Norman.

The Tosny lands were substantial and because they bordered the French Vexin were of great strategic importance. The Tosnys were in a position to become significant marcher barons. A thorough evaluation of the Tosnys' Norman lands has been done by Lucien Musset and we need here only to summarize his findings. Musset has calculated that by 1172 the lands included some fifty to fifty-one fiefs, replete with enfeoffed knights and undertenants. The family honors included Tosny proper and the surrounding villages of Villers-sur-le-Roule and Bernières-sur-Seine (Eure, cant. Gaillon), Acquigny and its appurtenance of Planches (Eure, cant. Louviers), Cailly (Eure, cant. Gaillon), Conches and its appurtenances, Trisay (Eure, cant. Rugles), Pitres and Val de Pitres (Eure, cant. Pont-de-l'Arche), Romilly-sur-Andelle and Pont-Saint-Pierre (Eure, cant. Fleury), Guerny and Vesly (Eure, cant. Gisors), and in the distant diocese of Coutances the honor of Saint-Christophe-du-Foc (Manche, cant. Les Pieux).¹⁴

In addition they held castles at Conches, Tosny, Portes, and Acquigny.¹⁵ If, as David Bates has suggested, ". . . castle building in Pre-1066 Normandy was restricted to a small elite,"¹⁶ ownership of four castles in close proximity gives a valuable measure of the power the Tosnys had achieved in the eleventh century. Musset elsewhere sums up the significance of the Tosnys' landed wealth, "As a whole, the Tosny fiefs show an absolute predominance of upper Normandy which is unusual."¹⁷

It is worth noting in this context that the family's use of a toponymic title "de Tosny" occurs early in Norman baronial development. It is first seen in a charter of the reign of Richard II (996-1026) and

again in a charter of 1014,¹⁸ whereas the appearance of toponyms did not occur among other leading families until the 1040s.¹⁹ This is emblematic of the rapid assimilation of the new house of Tosny into the affairs of Normandy, and if indeed this family had a Frankish origin the transformation is remarkable.

The Ralph who received the Tosny lands from his archepiscopal brother presents yet another problem. Lucien Musset holds that there was only one Ralph²⁰ while other historians argue that there were two successive generations of Ralps, as shown on the family tree. G.H. White explains the case for two generations of Ralps in his article in the Complete Peerage:

He [Ralph I] is usually confused with the Ralph which follows, but there is no such authority for such identification, and the dates involved show that there must have been two Ralps belonging to successive generations.²¹

David C. Douglas, in his book William the Conqueror, accepts this as a possibility.²² The dates lend credence to this argument. If Ralph, who died c. 1025-33, were the same Ralph who had received the Tosny lands from Hugh no earlier than 942 (the date of Hugh's appointment to the archbishopric), he would have held these lands for some eighty years. When one adds to this his probable age at receiving the lands as an adult, he would have been nearly one hundred years old at death.

But the most telling evidence for the existence of two generations of Ralps is a charter of Richard II (996-1026) for Lisieux which has as a witness, "s. Rodulphi filii Rodulphi de Todeniaco."²³ Thus I have included in the family lineage a Ralph I who was the brother of Hugh, and a Ralph II whom we shall encounter soon. The only extant

material possibly concerning Ralph I is a charter of Richard I and Etheired II of England, establishing a peace at the urging of Pope John XV. This was drawn up at Rouen on March 1, 991 and bears the witnessing signature of "Rodulphus Hugonis filius," who was, "Ex parte Richardi."²⁴ Should this be Ralph I, the brother of Archbishop Hugh, his testimony would indicate not only his intimate position in Richard's court (his signature follows bishop Roger and is one of only three witnesses "ex parte Richardi" to witness such a significant charter), but also that he was alive at least until 991. Archbishop Hugh died around the year 990, and Ralph may have taken the appellation "Hugonis filius" to link himself to a known personage in conformity with the custom of the time.

The presumed Ralph II (c. 970-c. 1025-33) appears in the reign of Richard II, continuing a tie with the ducal court which would become a hallmark of Tosny history. We have already seen his appearance in a charter of Richard II for Lisieux (see footnote 23). William of Jumièges records that in 1013-14, with the duke having built the castle of Tillières-sur-Avre, the charge of guarding this castle was given to Ralph II and Néel I, viscount of the Cotentin. Ralph's son Roger I also shared in this responsibility and thus he makes his first appearance. The garrisoning of the royal castle of Tillières-sur-Avre was an important responsibility, as Tillières was situated along the southeast border of the duchy, approximately twenty miles south of Conches, and was central to the duke's defenses against his enemy Odo of Chartres.²⁵ Wace devotes over one hundred lines in

his Roman de Rou to the garrisoning and defense of this castle against the French forces. In the following excerpt he begins his account and gives his evaluation of the character of Ralph II and his son Roger I:

When Richard [II] had to leave from here
and had the castle provisioned
with wheat and chars and wine,
he sent Néel de Cotentin,
Ralph de Tosny with him,
they were brave and prudent;
with Ralph was his son Roger,
excellent vassals, noble warriors (11. 1467-1474)²⁶

He later describes the division of the castle's defense amongst these three men :

In front of the door of the castle
stood the companion Neel,
Ralph led his men to the right
and Roger turned to the left. (11. 1523-1526)

Further evidence of Ralph II's active role in Norman affairs is found in Richard II's charter of gifts to the church of Notre Dame de Chartres, which Ralph signed as a witness. This charter, which was drawn up at Rouen in the month of September some year between 1014-21, shows the early use of the surname "de Todeniaco."²⁷

Having firmly established himself in the concerns of the duchy, Ralph II was poised then at the head of the great opening chapter of Norman expansion and activity which was to spread throughout Europe. For he was a principal force in the establishment of the Normans in Italy.²⁸ Four historians of that period give us varied yet somewhat consistent accounts of the arrival of the Normans. Leo of Ostia, in his Chronica Monasterii Casinensis which was completed in the last half of the eleventh century, mentions Ralph II by name as one of the

Normans who came to Italy, fleeing the duchy because of the wrath of Duke Richard II. They happened upon an Apulian patriot by the name of Melo, who promptly obtained their services against the Greeks.

In these days . . . for the first time there came to Capua some Normans, approximately forty in number. Fleeing the wrath of their lord, the count of Normandy, they, like many of their fellows scattered about in this place and that, were seeking to find wherever they could someone to take them on. They were tall and handsome men, very skilled in the use of arms. The names of the chief (praecipui) among them were . . . Rodulfus Todinensis, Gosmannus, Rufinus and Stigandus. When Melo heard of this he promptly summoned those men, and after a diligent inquiry had acquainted him with their case he forthwith allied himself to them by a military compact; then he hastened to Salerno and Benevento . . .²⁹

William of Apulia presents a fuller, more compassionate and poetic, account of the arrival of the Normans in his Gesta Roberti Wiscardi.

Some of these [Normans] climbed the summit of Monte Gargano, to fulfill a vow they had made to thee, Archangel Michael. When they saw there a certain man dressed in the Greek fashion, whose name was Melo, they marvelled at the exile's strange garb and at the unfamiliar windings of a turban on his bandaged head. As they gazed upon him they inquired who he was and whence he came. He replied that he was a Lombard by birth and a freeborn citizen of Bari, but had been banished from his native soil by the ferocity of the Greeks. As the Gauls commiserated him in his exile he exclaimed, "I could, if you please, very easily return, provided some of your people would come to our help!" He averred that with such assistance the expulsion of the Greeks could be effected quickly and easily. The Gauls hastened to assure him that if perchance it should be permitted them to come again, he would be granted the aid of their people. Accordingly, after they returned to their native land they began to urge their compatriots to go with them to Italy. Apulia was described to them as a land where the soil was fertile and the people were by nature listless. The countries through which the journey might be accomplished were made known; and it was promised that a prudent patron would be found under whose leadership victory over the Greeks would be easy. Many made up their minds and prepared to go, some

because they had little or nothing, others because they wished to make large possessions still larger; for acquisitiveness was the quality common to them all. And so they set out, each taking with him what he deemed it necessary for a man of his ability to bring, in order to accomplish the journey.

After the Norman folk had passed, unarmed, through Rome they halted on the shores of Campania, fatigued with the labor of travel. The rumor spread that Normans had landed in Latium. When Melo learned of the arrival of the Gauls in Italy, he speedily approached them. He gave weapons to these weaponless men; then he constrained them to hasten with him [to Apulia] as his companions-in-arms.³⁰

Two other accounts, by Raoul Glaber and Adémar de Chabannes, present a different story; a certain Rodulfus, a Norman leader, came to Rome to plead his case before the pope, and then became a papal champion against the Greeks. Glaber recounts:

It happened . . . that a very audacious Norman named Rodulfus, who had incurred the displeasure of Count Richard [Duke Richard II] and feared his wrath, went to Rome with all whom he could draw with him and laid his case (causam propriam) before the supreme pontiff Benedict. The pope, perceiving that Rodulfus was a choice warrior, began to explain to him a grievance concerning the invasion of the Roman Empire by the Greeks, and greatly to deplore that there did not exist among his own people anyone capable of expelling the foreigners. After Rodulfus had heard these things he promised that he would battle against the invaders from oversea if some aid were given him by those who felt weighed down with the great distress of their fatherland. Then, indeed, the aforesaid pope sent Rodulfus together with men of his own to the Beneventan primates, who were instructed to receive him peaceably, always to have him at the head when they went forth to battle, and to give unanimous obedience to his command. And Rodulfus went out to the Beneventans, who received him as the pope had directed. Thereupon he immediately attacked those of the Greek officials who levied taxes upon the people.³¹

Adémar de Chabannes corroborates this account in a brief reference in his Chronicron:

When Richard [II] . . . governed the Normans a multitude of the latter with Rodulfus as leader went under arms to

Rome; and from there, with the connivance of Pope Benedict, they moved on to Apulia, where they laid everything waste. Against them Basilius [the Byzantine emperor Basil II] directed an army . . . 32

These various accounts have their discrepancies; however, when compared together a unified picture results. In the original Italian expedition which occurred c. 1017 Glaber and Adémar place a Rodulfus as the leader of the Normans. This is probably the same "Rodulfus Todinensis" whom Leo of Ostia mentions as one of the leaders of the emigrants. This Rodulfus seems, however, not to have been the supreme leader as Glaber and Adémar suggest. In actuality, Melo, the Apulian patriot, was the supreme leader of the army which fought the Greeks at Apulia, as Leo of Ostia and William of Apulia have recorded. Einar Joranson has concluded on this matter:

. . . it must be held that Glaber has mistakenly represented Rodulf as the accepted commander-in-chief of the troops that subsequently invaded Apulia. Very probably the Normans formed the spearhead of these troops, and Rodulf no doubt led the attack and gave tactical directions. But the supreme command unquestionably was in the hands of Melo, as is attested not only by Leo, but also by the records entered for the year 1017 in several trustworthy compilations of south-Italian annals.³³

Neither Adémar nor Glaber mention Melo's role in their accounts. In any case, "Rodulfus" (Ralph II de Tosny) was a major leader, and very likely the main leader of the Normans who first went to Italy.

Unlike the other accounts, William of Apulia chronicles two separate expeditions. It appears that Leo of Ostia's and Raoul Glaber's accounts concern only the first expedition, in which Ralph II was a leader. This would be consistent with William of Apulia's account. Ralph II and his small group were on their way to Rome. Apparently

expelled from Normandy, they had become soldiers of fortune looking for employment. This could have been the "case" which Rodulfus brought before the pope; he may have been seeking guidance toward an acceptable employment of his martial skills. In any case, the pope provided the needed direction. And such was the context of the first Italian venture of the Normans.

Those who William of Apulia says later returned to Normandy then brought back a second emigration, the "multitude" (as opposed to the first small band of emigrées) from whom Melo obtained military service. Ralph led a small Norman band against the Greeks at the behest of the pope, while Melo headed the second "multitude" against Apulia, perhaps joined there by Ralph. This would bring the first three accounts into line. Only Adémar's account would remain inconsistent. It appears, however, that he has described the attack of the second emigration, the "multitude" on Apulia, erroneously putting Rodulfus as the main leader. Adémar seems to have combined the two expeditions into one.

Whatever the truth it seems uncontestable that Ralph II took a prominent role in the momentous origins of Norman expansion in Italy. No evidence remains as to whether he obtained any land, as so many were to do, nor is there anything further known about the remainder of his life. The reasons why he incurred the duke's wrath and set off on his Italian venture and why he sought for papal guidance are not mentioned in the surviving records. Whether or not he returned home through reconciliation with the duke also remains unknown. Should the charter of Duke Richard II he witnessed at Rouen (see footnote 27)

have been issued as late as 1021, it would suggest that he had returned before his death. Yet without this knowledge it can still be said that he maintained the prominence of the Tosny house in Norman history.

Nothing else is known about Ralph II except his offspring. Roger I, already mentioned, would continue the main line of the family. G.H. White, in the Complete Peerage, lists three more sons: Ralph, Berenger Spina, and Robert de Todení who would become lord of Belvoir, England in 1086, and a daughter, Bertha, who married Guy de Laval of lower Maine.³⁴

The son Ralph is never found in the activities of the Tosny family except in the founding of the family abbey at Conches. William of Jumièges records that, ". . . Ralph de Tosny built the monastery of St. Peter of the Castle [Sancti Petri Castellionis]." ³⁵ Yet Orderic Vitalis gives Roger I the credit for the founding of the abbey, "Therefore Roger de Tosny built the cloister of the castle [coenobium Castellionis] . . ." ³⁶ This confusion may be due to the existence of two separate entries in the necrology of the abbey at Conches from which Orderic and William may have drawn their facts. The first is an entry which is dated, "On the day before the kalends of June, by the arrangement of Lord Roger, the founder of this church . . ." And the second entry states elsewhere, "Lord Ralph de Tosny gave among other things the place itself on which the monastery is situated." ³⁷ From these accounts it appears that there were two founders of the abbey: a Ralph who donated the land and Roger I who founded a church. As these are the only references to this otherwise unknown Ralph, it is possible that this Ralph was in actuality Roger I's son of the same name,

mentioned in error as the founder of the abbey. Yet he would have been but five to ten years old at the foundation date given for his father, that being c. 1035.³⁸ Hence it appears necessary to accept the existence of Ralph, the grantor of the land for the abbey.

A later event may go further to explain why Roger I is included along with this Ralph as the founder of the abbey. Roger I would later rename this abbey, originally known as St. Pierre-de-Castillon-sur-Colmon, to the abbey of Conches when he established a church in honor of Ste. Foy. Thus it appears that this anonymous Ralph established the abbey of St. Pierre's and Roger I was considered later as the founder of Conches and the church of Ste. Foy. This would be consistent with the two entries in the necrology. If this Ralph existed, and it appears that he did, he most likely was of the generation of Roger I and thus a brother.

Questions exist on the other three children as well. Lucien Musset differs from the Complete Peerage in thinking that Berenger Spina and Bertha were children of Roger I rather than his siblings, and he does not mention the Ralph just discussed at all. Furthermore, he excludes Robert de Todenis (later Robert de Belvoir) altogether as a relative whose link to the main line of the family is unestablishable.³⁹ The cartulary evidence however does not support Musset's assessments.

A charter of Marmoutier dated 1055 mentions a certain John and Hamo as the sons of Bertha and Guy de Laval.⁴⁰ And a charter of 1063 from the same abbey mentions Robert de Toeniaco as the uncle of John, son of Guy de Laval (. . . Robertum de Toeniaco avunculum domni Johannis monachi nostri, filii Widonis de Valle . . .)⁴¹ -- thus

establishing Robert de Tosny as the brother of Bertha. This 1063 document names as well Berenger Spina as the brother of Robert (. . . frater ejus nomine Berengerius Spina). This contemporary linking of Bertha, Berenger Spina and Robert de Tosny as brothers and sister (which was not noted by Musset) leads to two conclusions: the first is the relationship of the Belvoir Tosnys to the main line of the family. All contemporary scholarship agrees that Robert de Tosny (lord of Belvoir in 1086) and his family line were a separate branch of the Tosny family, but the exact connection has not previously been discerned, as Lewis C. Loyd states in The Origins of Some Anglo-Norman Families (London: John Whitehead and Son, 1951):

The evidence that Toden of Belvoir was a branch of the Tosny family is strong, but the precise nature of the connexion is difficult to prove. (p. 104).

(See also Le Patourel, Norman Empire, p. 293n and H.S. King, The Norman People, pp. 197-198, 222). However these Marmoutier charters do establish beyond doubt the relationship of the Belvoir Tosnys to the main Tosnys -- as a junior branch by virtue of Robert's fraternal relationship to Bertha and Berenger Spina. The second conclusion is reciprocal to the first. The link between Robert, Bertha, and Berenger assures us that Berenger Spina and Bertha were not children of Roger I and therefore members of the major Tosny line, as Musset assumes. This is so because all the evidence on Robert de Belvoir confirms that he was not a child of Roger I but rather a member of a cadet branch of the family (see discussion above). Hence the same must be true for his brother Berenger Spina and sister Bertha.

The issue which remains is the exact relationship of these three to Roger I. We have already established that they were not his children. Therefore, knowing the charter dates and the dates of their descendants (see family genealogy), we have no other choice than to place them in the same generation of Roger I. Thus they would have been the brothers and sister of Roger I de Tosny, as G.H. White rightly asserted in the Complete Peerage.

It appears that Musset confused Robert de Tosny of Belvoir with another Robert de Tosny, later styled Robert "de Stafford" after his English lands, who was indeed a son of Roger I.⁴² The evidence that "Robert de Toeniaco," the brother of Bertha and Berenger Spina, was Robert de Belvoir and not Robert de Stafford is found in the 1063 charter we've been discussing (see footnote 41). It states that Robert de Toeniaco's son Berenger (not to be confused with Robert's brother of the same name who is also mentioned in this charter) was present when the charter was drawn up and confirmed what his father had done (*Affuit cum illo Berengerius filius ejus qui factum patris auctorizavit*). There is evidence elsewhere that Robert de Belvoir had a son Berenger,⁴³ but Robert de Stafford's son was named Nicholas.⁴⁴ Furthermore, there is no evidence that Robert de Stafford had another son named Berenger. In fact, the name Berenger never appears in the Stafford family line.⁴⁵ Hence it is quite certain that the Robert de Toeniaco, brother of Bertha and Berenger Spina, was Robert of Belvoir and not Robert de Stafford, the son of Roger I. And thus we have established the known children of Ralph II de Tosny.

There is yet another possible son of Ralph II, Hugh de Toeni. H.S. King's genealogical study entitled, The Norman People (London, 1874; reprint ed., Baltimore: The Genealogical Publishing Company, 1975), suggests a connection:

Lindsay or De Linesi, a branch of the baronial Norman house of De Toesni, of Toesni or Conches . . . Roger de Espagne's [i.e. Roger I] brother, Hugh de Toesni, was surnamed De Limsay from his Norman seigneurie and was living in 1060. He had several sons, who accompanied the Conqueror, viz, 1. Ralph de Limesay, baron of Wolveray, Warwick, 1086, whose barony ultimately passed in part to the Scottish line of Limesay. 2. Baldric de L., who held lands from the earl of Chester in 1086; and was father of Walter de Linesay or Lindsay, who obtained grants in Scotland, and witnessed the inquisition made in 1116 into the possessions of the see of Glasgow. (p. 312)

This branch of the family is rarely found in the historical records, but both Sir Frank Stenton and R. Welldon Finn have asserted, without offering proof, that they were kinsmen of the major Tosnys, and that they bore the title "de Limesay."⁴⁶ Limesay is located in the Seine Inferieure, northeast of Rouen on the outskirts of present-day Pavilly (Arr. Rouen, cant. Pavilly).⁴⁷ Unfortunately King does not give any primary sources for Hugh's supposed family connection to the Tosnys, and this makes his comments naturally suspect. Ralph de Limesay, the son of Hugh, is however quite evident in Domesday Book.⁴⁸ Thus if King is correct, Hugh de Toesni was another son of Ralph II and hence at least a half-brother of Roger I.

This discussion has served to establish the branches of the Tosny family descended from the children of Ralph II. Nothing more is known of Ralph the grantor of the land for St. Pierre-de-Castillon-sur-Colmon abbey. And little more is recorded of Berenger Spina than

his signature on various charters.⁴⁹ Nor can we determine whether all of these five, possibly six, children came from the same marriage since the spouse or spouses of Ralph II remain unknown.

The descendants of the house of Belvoir are treated in an addendum since they are not germane to the purpose of this paper. Now we turn to Roger I and his descendants, the major branch of the Tosny family.

Roger I, son and heir of Ralph II,⁵⁰ led an adventurous and turbulent life, which was not uncommon among the nobility of William I's minority. Roger probably inherited the Tosny honor at his father's death in the late 1020s or early 1030s. He must have been in his early forties at his accession because of the necessary age required for him to have assisted his father in the defense of Tillières castle in 1013-14, as we have already discussed (see footnote 25). This late inheritance of the Tosny patrimony did not hinder his activity or limit his prominence, however, for he had already made a reputation for himself as a warrior -- a lifestyle which would eventually be the cause of his death. He was known as "vir potens et superbus" and was made the standard-bearer of the Normans, a position which became hereditary in the Tosny house.⁵¹

After aiding his father in the defense of Tillières, Roger I set out with his own army to Spain. This occurred around 1018, roughly the same time that his father was in Italy. It may have been that both father and son had incurred the wrath of the duke and had been expelled from Normandy; each taking different avenues of adventure. This possibility is further encouraged by the accounts of Clarius de Sens

and Adémar de Chabannes, both of whom mention Ralph in Italy within the same chapter that they discuss Roger's exploits in Spain.

William of Jumièges is not helpful on this count, stating only that Roger I went to Spain, ". . . when Duke Robert had travelled abroad."⁵²

In addition, Steven Runciman suggests yet another possible motivation for a journey to Spain:

It was probably Cluniac influence that brought Roger of Tosni from Normandy, though his own adventurousness may have helped, to the aid of the Countess Ersilinde of Barcelona in 1018 when the Moslems threatened her.⁵³

Still, the departure of Roger and his father from Normandy at the same time is significant. We have already seen that Ralph II had fallen out with the duke before his departure. Clarius de Sens implies that Roger I was in the same situation for he says that Roger later returned to Normandy, ". . . making peace (concordiam) with Duke Richard."⁵⁴ Thus the probability that their double expulsion was the impetus for their subsequent journeys is strong.

Clarius de Sens, a twelfth-century annalist, recorded that Roger proceeded with an army to Spain and took lands, castles, and cities from the Moslems; living there for some fifteen years with great success. Clarius even states that Roger took a wife by the name of Stephanie, who was the sister of Ramundus Berengarius, and who, Adémar de Chabannes says, was the daughter of Countess Ersilinde of Barcelona whom Roger came to aid against the Moslems.⁵⁵ Then after many years of success, with the local men plotting against him, he left both wife and retainers and returned to Normandy and to his father who must by then have returned from his Italian expedition

(which Clarius says was originally to have been a pilgrimage to Jerusalem). Following Roger's departure, his Spanish wife married King Garcias III of Spain according to Clarius.⁵⁶

This account fits well chronologically since the fifteen years which Clarius says Roger I spent in Spain (c. 1018-1033) is also the period in which he is absent from Norman records. This also provides the last known date for Ralph II, as Clarius says that Roger returned, ". . . ad patrem suum Normannium."⁵⁷

Roger's Spanish marriage is disputed by historians of the Spanish crusades, such as Marcelin Defourneaux:

. . . it is by no means certain on the other hand that Ersilinde had had a daughter, and the marriage of Roger was picked up without doubt from fantasy . . .⁵⁸

Roger was married in Normandy at an unknown date to a certain Godehilde, whose provenance is equally unknown.⁵⁹ Whether or not this Spanish marriage took place, it serves to heighten the epic nature of Roger's expedition.

Adémar de Chabannes' account of the Spanish expedition is similar to Clarius de Sens', but he includes a story which exemplifies the legendary quality of Roger's exploits. Roger I went to the rescue of Ersilinde, Countess of Barcelona, who was being threatened by Moslems. He was quite successful in martial pursuits against the Saracens, but more so in psychological warfare. When Roger captured a group of prisoners, Adémar records that he took one of them each day and had him forced into boiling water in the presence of the other prisoners. Roger would then feign eating the boiled carcasses in his house. When the number of prisoners was reduced to one, he was conveniently

allowed to escape as if neglected by the guards. His report of this atrocity to his people upon his return so terrified them that they made peace with the countess and even paid an annual tribute. Adémar says that Roger then married an unnamed daughter of the widowed Countess Ersilinde, agreeing with the account of Clarius de Sens.⁶⁰ Thus, as we have seen in this epic chapter of Roger's life, even as Ralph II was at the forefront of those Normans who began the expansion into Italy, so Roger I led the way in the Norman activities in Spain. Marcelin Defourneaux sums up well the impact of Roger's adventure, both in Spain and in Normandy:

The memory of his exploits, embellished by imagination, was itself then preserved in the province in which it had originated, and perhaps it contributed later in instigating certain of his compatriots to follow his example.⁶¹

Indeed, from this time onward he was known as Roger "de Espania."⁶²

Roger's return from Spain is confirmed by his signature on a charter granted by Duke Robert I to St. Wandrille in c. 1031-32.⁶³ The accession of the new duke (Robert I 1027-1035) may have made Roger's return possible, as well as his father's, as it was the disfavor of Duke Richard II (996-1026) which they seem to have incurred. If Clarius de Sens' statement that Roger returned to Normandy and made peace with Duke Richard (see footnote 54) is accurate, however, he must have returned no later than 1026, the year of Richard II's death. This would invalidate Clarius' own calculation of Roger's stay in Spain as fifteen years. Clarius is therefore incorrect in one of these two statements.

The St. Wandrille charter of Duke Robert shows not only the new duke's favor towards Roger I but also Roger's standing in the ducal court. His signature is found among the counts, viscounts, bishops, and Osbern the Steward rather than lower in the order as one might expect in such company. He was also the standard-bearer of the Normans (see footnote 51). As well his ties to other great Norman families is seen in his signature on a charter to the abbey of Lire,⁶⁴ which was founded by his son-in-law William Fitz Osbern and his daughter Adeline.⁶⁵

In 1035 Roger changed the name of the family abbey of St. Pierre to that of Conches and founded a church in honor of the virgin-martyr Ste. Foy. There is an interesting story recorded of the events leading up to this decision.⁶⁶ Roger's wife Godehilde was gravely ill, to the point of death as the story goes, ". . . she was soon lead in its power [i.e. the sickness] to the final door of life." By order of the duke all the nobility of Normandy assembled in anticipation to mourn her. Then suddenly an unnamed bishop, ". . . perhaps inspired by a heavenly blast. . . ," spoke prophetically. He told of the miraculous healing powers of a saint from the province of Aquitaine by the name of Ste. Foy. The bishop declared that if Roger would commit his wife to her power she would be healed. Roger, desirous of this aid, called upon Ste. Foy. Thereupon his wife awoke, cured, and began to ask why so many guests were around her. Soon afterward, Roger and his wife wished to set out on a pilgrimage to Conques, the Aquitanian abbey which held the tomb of Ste. Foy, to express their thanks for her intervention. But they were hindered in this venture by a great number of exiles

from Normandy inimical to the Tosnys. Therefore, rather than risking the ambushes of their enemies, they dedicated a church at the family abbey of Castillon to Ste. Foy and renamed it Conches.

There also exists a strong tradition that Roger brought to Castillon some relics of Ste. Foy which he had obtained during his return from Spain by stopping at the monastery of Conques in Rouergue.⁶⁷ This may then explain the adopted name of Conches, used as the alternative for St. Pierre-Castillon, which could be a northern rendering of the Aquitanian "Conques." Roger's visit to Conques is not improbable, since Ste. Foy was one of the favorite patron-saints of the eleventh-century crusaders who fought the Moslems in Spain; and the abbey of Conques was on one of four major pilgrimage routes to St. John of Compostella.⁶⁸ After 1035, in any case, we find both Roger I and his son Ralph bearing the surname "de Conches" as well as de Tosny. Roger's use of this appellation can be seen in a charter by Count William of Arques (the son of Duke Richard II) to the abbey of Jumièges around 1040 which he witnessed.⁶⁹ This charter, probably drawn up in the last year of Roger I de Espania's life, stands in a curious juxtaposition with the violent events which led to his death. William of Jumièges records that when Roger returned from Spain he learned that a bastard child, William, had succeeded to the position of duke. Roger declared that he would not have a bastard as his duke and mounted a rebellion.⁷⁰ William of Jumièges' particulars are inconsistent with other evidence, not least that Roger's signature is joined with the young duke's, who is entitled, "Vullelmi comitis Northmannorum," on the charter of 1040.⁷¹ At that date the minority

of William was in its fifth year. Yet Roger had been in Normandy for some years, having founded the church at Conches in 1035. Hence most likely it was not upon Roger's return from Spain that he rebelled -- yet rebel he did.

As Orderic Vitalis chronicles, Roger, with his two sons Elbert and Elinance, and Robert de Grandmesnil, began to pillage the countryside. Orderic confirms that they acted in rebellion against William's rule, stating that Roger de Tosny as well as the likes of Thurkill of Neufmarché, Osbern the Steward, William and Hugh of Montgomery, Hugh de Montfort, Walchelin of Ferrières, and Roger of Beaumont were, ". . . unbelievably embroiled in internecine conflict."⁷² And elsewhere Roger is numbered among those Normans who, "In his [William's] boyhood the Normans, unruly because of their innate turbulence, rebelled."⁷³

This rebellion cost Roger and his sons their lives. In the skirmish which proved their last, Roger of Beaumont and his men engaged them in battle and all three Tosny lords as well as their compatriot Robert de Grandmesnil, who died soon afterwards of a mortal wound, were killed.⁷⁴ This was an event which Roger of Beaumont would recount years later to Duke Robert Curthose, saying that, ". . . I fought against the rebels in the boyhood of your father, in which Roger the Spaniard and his sons were overthrown."⁷⁵ Both their deaths and the battle itself must have been a major event in Norman history for Orderic refers to it four times (see footnotes 72-75) and William of Jumièges devotes a chapter to these events (see footnote 70). It was certainly indicative of the troubled times of William's minority.

during which many barons were killed in rebel skirmishes. Roger's death as a rebel must have besmirched the Tosny name, leaving its future in doubt. Edward Freeman, in his epic History of the Norman Conquest (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1877), remembers Roger I de Espania as, ". . . that old foe of Normandy and mankind," (vol.3: 465). This is a far cry from the fame Roger had earned in Spain.

Soon after Roger's death Godehilde, his widow, entered into the ducal family by remarrying Count Richard of Evreux.⁷⁶ Richard was the son of Archbishop Robert of Rouen (989-1037), the second son of Duke Richard I (942-996).⁷⁷ This marriage placed the further history of the house of Tosny in doubt.

Elbert and Elinanace, presumably the two eldest sons and therefore the heirs of Roger I, had perished with their father. David C. Douglas disputes their existence:

In describing the death of Roger de Tosny, 'the Spaniard,' Ordericus Vitalis states that with him perished his sons 'Elbert and Elinance.' Now, the pedigree of Tosny has attracted the minute attention of genealogists and no place can be found in it for 'Elbert and Elinanace.' The names, which are unknown to Normandy, bear in fact all the marks of that alliterative artificiality which is characteristic of the chansons de geste, and in any case the known career of Roger indicates an early connection between Normandy and the wars against the infidels.⁷⁸

Lucien Musset, however, has found Norman cartulary evidence for the name Helinandus,⁷⁹ and their absence from the genealogy should be accounted for by their early deaths. Roger of Beaumont's reference to these two sons in his negotiations with Robert Curthose may further substantiate their existence.⁸⁰

Roger had in any case had other sons, the eldest, and sudden

heir, Ralph III de Conches,⁸¹ while Adeline -- apparently the only daughter -- married William Fitz Osbern.⁸² The next son, Robert, later became one of the largest landholders in Staffordshire and was styled Robert "de Stafford."⁸³ There may also have been another son bearing the appellation "de Stafford." Anthony Wagner, in his English Genealogy, states the case:

It was Dugdale's opinion [see William Dugdale, The Baronage of England, 1: 156. London: Thomas Newcomb, 1675; reprint ed., Ann Arbor, MI: University Microfilms, 1967] that Nigel de Stafford who in 1086 held Drakelowe and other Derbyshire manors directly of the King and other manors as a tenant of Henry de Ferrers, was a brother of Robert de Stafford. This would make him a son of Roger de Tony (d. c. 1039) and a great-grandson of Hugh de Calvacamp and would give the extant family of Gresleys of Drakelowe, which descends from him, a Norman baronial pedigree difficult or impossible to parallel.⁸⁴

The Dictionary of National Biography (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1909) also mentions a Nigel de Stafford as a son of Roger I, and ancestor to the Gresleys of Drakelowe.⁸⁵

The last son to appear in the records was named Vuaso. Nothing is known of him except for his signature on a charter of William le Batard to Saint Wandrille c. 1037-45 in which he is listed as, "Vuaso filius Rogerii Tothenensis."⁸⁶ There is no extant record of him after this date, and he did not figure in the fortunes of the Tosny house. One wonders if all these children had been borne by Godehilde, who later bore two children -- William and Agnes -- to her second husband, Count Richard of Evreux.⁸⁷ Or it is possible that the Spanish marriage, if indeed it occurred, may account for some of the children.

The new heir, Ralph III de Tosny, lived at a pivotal time in the Tosny history. At this crucial time the Tosnys were out of favor with the young duke's supporters, and as a minor, Ralph III stood in real danger of disenfeoffment. Roger I de Espania had broken the feudal code by his rebellion, giving the duke just cause to demand that the Tosnys forfeit their lands. It was left up to young Ralph to restore the Tosny house, probably threatened and at its lowest since its origin, to its previous position. Surprisingly he did much more than this already quite difficult task. He gained more power and prestige than had any Tosny lord before him.

Ralph III (c. 1025/30-1102) was still a minor when his father and two brothers were killed; probably no more than ten or fifteen years of age.⁸⁸ In a listing of the Tosny family charters or gifts to the abbey of Conches in the Gallia Christiana, Ralph's name is recorded along with his mother's as co-grantors of a gift, ". . . for the burial of my father Roger."⁸⁹ This may suggest that Godehilde, while countess of Evreux, exercised a sort of regency over Ralph until he came of age. This cannot, however, be certain as a subsequent portion of these charters records the gifts that Ralph gave to the abbey from his English lands -- which would date the charter after 1066. Gallia Christiana runs the various charters of different family members together and therefore makes it difficult to be certain whether these are two separate charters or a single charter, possibly added to at a later date. This confusion is seen in the fact that Godehilde as the countess of Evreux has a charter to Conches which follows in order those of Ralph's son and another of his grandson.⁹⁰

Ralph de Tosny first appears alone in the documentation in a witnessing signature of a charter of William I for St. Evroul in 1050.⁹¹ Orderic Vitalis also records this charter in his history.⁹² The charter is an important indicator that Ralph not only had survived his own minority but had also overcome the stigma of his father's rebellion and gained renewed access to the ducal court. Perhaps his own minority was even helpful in the survival of the Tosny house since he would hardly have been a threat to the duke at such a young age. Although his signature here occurs well down the list in order, its presence is significant.

Ralph was a warrior as his father had been. And it was in this capacity that he made his first mark in the recorded narrative history. Ralph fought in Duke William's contingent against the French king's forces at the battle of Mortemer in 1064 (see map on page 85). This is to be expected as Ralph was a marcher baron along the French Vexin and would naturally have been called upon -- if only to defend his own lands.

One can hardly overemphasize the significance of this battle, not only for the reign of young Duke William but also for the duchy of Normandy itself. From 1047, marked by the battle of Val-es-Dunes, to 1054, the survival of William as duke was very much in doubt. From 1052-54 he was involved in constant warfare. William had to face not only a coalition of rebellious lords within his duchy but also a federation of the French king's nobles from without. Henry I of France, as overlord of the duke, intended to end the independence of the Norman duchy. Had his invading forces been victorious the history

of Normandy would have been quite different. The crisis of Mortemer was a turning point in William's reign, for it was only after his incredible victory there that he began to establish a firm hold on the duchy. David C. Douglas, in his classic work William the Conqueror, concludes:

Only after 1054 can there be discerned a relaxation of the tension, and no subsequent menace to the integrity of Normandy was ever so severe during the Conqueror's reign as that which had been continuous between 1046 and 1054.⁹³

In response to the growing independence of William from the French monarch, Henry I had reconciled himself with Count Geoffrey of Anjou -- ending years of fruitless warfare between them -- and had formed an alliance with the count against Normandy.⁹⁴ The French invasion was thus a two-pronged offensive, with the Capetian-Angevin coalition massing at Mantes and entering the Evrécin under the leadership of Geoffrey of Anjou. Meanwhile the king's brother Odo led the second contingent into eastern Normandy near Mortemer.⁹⁵

Many of the Norman lords came to William's aid in reaction to this enormous threat. Certainly they had as much interest in the preservation of their own lands as they did in supporting the duke, yet their personal interests were soon identified with those of William.

The duke, along with the lords of mid-Normandy, engaged the French troops under Geoffrey west of the Seine near the Evrécin. Ralph III de Tosny fought among this contingent. The eastern lords, such as Count Robert of Eu, Hugh of Gournay, Walter Giffard, Roger Mortimer, and William of Warenne met Odo's army east of the Seine

at Mortemer. Here the famed battle took place in which the apparently disorganized French troops were virtually all slaughtered. Not present at the fateful battle, Ralph had to wait to earn his reputation. His opportunity came shortly afterwards, when he was sent to announce the victory to King Henry.

All five of the main contemporary Anglo-Norman chroniclers recount his adventure. Orderic Vitalis tells us that it was the duke himself who sent Ralph to announce the disastrous rout of the French army to the king.⁹⁶ William of Jumièges gives an epic account of this announcement to the French camp. Ralph arrived in the middle of the night and shouted from a rock to the French that they should bring their wagons to load up the large number of French corpses.⁹⁷ His dramatic declaration was said to have struck fear into the hearts of the French and they beat a hasty retreat. Robert de Torigni's Chronique presents the same story,⁹⁸ and William of Poitiers also describes this scene without mentioning who the messenger was.⁹⁹ William of Jumièges' account is repeated by Ralph de Diceto in his History:

And Duke William, having heard the result of the contest, terrified King Henry by such an embassy. The messenger of the duke, drawing near to the royal encampments, standing on a certain neighboring rock in the night, began to shout loudly, 'Ralph de Tosny I am called, and I bring a mournful announcement. Draw your carts with your wagons to the Sea of Death, and carry back from there the dead bodies of your beloved. The French indeed came upon us to test the army of the Normans, and they found this army more by far than they had preferred. Odo the brother of the king has fled dishonorably, and Count Guy de Ponthieu was captured. All the remaining ones are either captured, or slain, or they have scarcely escaped from punishment by fleeing. Report this from the party of the duke of the Normans to the king of the Franks.' The king, when he heard of his misfortune,

he withdrew his infantry back from the Norman invasion, which he was able to do very quickly.¹⁰⁰

Ralph's standing with the duke must have been considerable for him to have been hand-picked for such a duty. It should also be noted that Ralph, as lord of Tosny and Conches, was an important protector of the eastern borders of the duchy, and as such must have incurred such duties as a leader in the region in which the French invasion took place.

Orderic mentions a relative of Roger I de Espania (and hence also of our Ralph III), a man named Ansgot who was active in Normandy during this eventful period in William's minority. He is said to have, ". . . served with distinction under the dukes of Normandy, Richard and Robert."¹⁰¹ But during the troubled decade of the 1050s he gave up this way of life to enter the religious life. He was elected prior of a hospital at Melk (on the German/Magyar border) which cared for pilgrims on their way to and from the Holy Land. Although nothing more is known about Ansgot, this reference shows not only a continued ecclesiastical connection in the Tosny house but also the closest the Tosny men were to come to the Holy Land. Unlike many Norman lords, the family never had representation on a crusade. Although Ralph III is absent from the extant records during the years 1096-99, roughly the period of the first crusade, his advanced age at the time (which would have been the early seventies) makes this highly improbable.

Unlike Ansgot, however, Ralph followed in the footsteps of his ancestors and came into conflict with the duke seven years after his heroics at Mortemer. Both Orderic Vitalis¹⁰² and William of Jumièges¹⁰³

mention that Ralph, Hugh de Grandmesnil (whose father had died supporting Roger I de Espania's rebellion), and Arnold d'Échauffour were disinherited and exiled. Nothing is known about what Ralph did or where he went during his exile. Yet it is likely that he followed a course similar to that of Arnold d'Échauffour, whose peregrinations Orderic chronicles in great detail.¹⁰⁴ Exile for Arnold meant living no more than a few miles south of the borders of the duchy at Courville. He stayed with a relative by the name of Giroie de Courville and continually raided the Norman countryside. His exile lasted three years, during which he also gained riches by a venture to Apulia. He returned from Apulia and sought peace with the duke in an effort to regain his patrimony. Ralph's exile may have been similar to this, and a trip to either Apulia or Spain (reminiscent of his forebears) is not unlikely. He too was reinstated in the same time period as Arnold. Orderic says the exile occurred around the time of the deaths of King Henry I and Count Geoffrey of Anjou, or c. 1060. Yet more accurately the exile began in the second half of 1061, as Ralph's presence in Normandy on the fifth of June, 1061, is attested by his signature on a charter of Roger Porchet, Hugh de Bolbec, and others to the abbey of Bernay.¹⁰⁵

Orderic suggests that Ralph as well as Arnold d'Échauffour and Hugh de Grandmesnil were exiled unfairly through the machinations of their neighbors, Roger of Montgomery and his wife Mabel de Bellême. This could be a slanted presentation of the facts since Orderic always places Ralph in a good light in his chronicle. The issue was probably more complex than Orderic's account. He recounts this event

after mentioning the death of King Henry I of France and Count Geoffrey of Anjou, which ended the threat of William's two most dangerous enemies and thereby strengthened his position considerably. The internal strife amongst the baronage for the duke's favor may have developed in response to his new-found security and power. Whether Ralph was an agitator of whom William tired or someone in William's favor and therefore disliked by neighboring barons we cannot be sure. But we do know that Ralph shared in the rivalry which destabilized Normandy and thus precipitated the duke's action in an effort to establish order.

We are sure of this because Ralph confesses it in a later charter to St. Evroul.¹⁰⁶ In this charter he gave gifts to the abbey in repayment for aiding Arnold d'Échauffour in burning and pillaging the town of St. Evroul. In the following excerpt from Orderic Vitalis, he states that Arnold d'Échauffour sacked St. Evroul, among other towns, in revenge for his banishment:

Afterwards Arnold of Échauffour took fierce vengeance for the unjust seizure of his lands, and for three years disturbed the peace of the Lieuvin by plundering, burning and slaying, and imprisoning men . . . He also set fire to the town of St. Evroul, and for many hours he and his minions stormed every corner of the monastery, brandishing their naked swords and clamouring for Abbot Osbern's blood. But by the will of God he happened to be elsewhere.¹⁰⁷

Thus Ralph's assistance to Arnold, who was already banished, could have been the cause for his own expulsion. Or perhaps he too sacked St. Evroul to avenge for his own exile. Whatever the cause, his banishment which occurred in 1061 was not a long one.

Orderic later records that those who had been exiled were recalled to assist the duke in his invasions of Maine and Brittany.¹⁰⁸ This was an era of increasing ducal power. Through a series of marriage alliances and political pacts William had established a solid claim to the lordship of Maine. This was a major accomplishment for the duke as the addition of Maine to the ducal holdings swung the balance of power in northern France away from the king and into William's favor. He knew this acquisition would ensure that he need not fear further interference from northern France. And this would prove crucial in William's English enterprise of 1066. In 1063, at the death of Herbert of Maine, Duke William invaded the county and took it as his rightful possession.

The only other major political threat to the Norman duchy was Brittany, which William invaded next in 1064 in an effort to aid the rebellious lords against Duke Conan. The fighting proved inconclusive yet William accomplished his goal of destabilizing the region, and rendering the threat of Brittany impotent for the time being.

Against this background Orderic mentions Ralph's recall from exile. The king had need of his standard-bearer in time of war. Hugh de Grandmesnil and Arnold d'Échauffour were also reconciled to the duke at this same time. Orderic goes on to say that Ralph and Hugh, among others named, were reinstated through the intercession of Waleran de Breteuil and Simon de Montfort.¹⁰⁹ This intercession on the part of Simon de Montfort no doubt grew out of the marriage alliance between the two barons, which Orderic tells of elsewhere. In a businesslike transaction Ralph obtained Simon's daughter Isabel as wife

in exchange for kidnapping his own half-sister Agnes (the daughter of Godehilde and Count Richard of Evreux) by night and giving her in marriage to Simon. While there is no record that this alliance yielded any territorial gain to Ralph, the marriage certainly proved a valuable asset in assuring a father-in-law/brother-in-law of the stature of Simon de Montfort. Unfortunately Orderic does not give us the date for this violently-procured double marriage.¹¹⁰

Ralph returned and probably assisted the duke in the invasions of Maine and Brittany. Although there is no direct evidence of his activity there, his services were the principal purpose behind the duke's amnesty and one might expect that Ralph complied.

Ralph's sister Adeliza, wife of William Fitz Osbern, died in 1065 and was entombed at the abbey of Lire¹¹¹-- an abbey of which Ralph would soon become a benefactor. The marriage of Adeliza to William Fitz Osbern must also have provided an important alliance for Ralph. And her death did not end this important tie, for even though William remarried Ralph would gain the important Clifford Castle in Herefordshire at William's death.

By 1066 Ralph had reestablished himself as a powerful member of the Norman aristocracy. Orderic includes him, as the Norman standard-bearer, in a list of the "outstanding laymen" present at the council of Lillebonne when the decision to invade England was made.¹¹² The charters of the day further support Orderic's evaluation. In 1066, Ralph consented to a gift made by his vassal Roger de Clères to St. Ouen upon Roger's entry into monastic life there.¹¹³ This charter graphically shows the position of importance attained by

Ralph III. He had feudal undertenants who were required as vassals to obtain his consent before any grants of land or income could be made. Ralph's uncle, Berenger Spina's, signature, as well as that of Robert de Tosny, are affixed to this charter. We know of Robert's participation in the English invasion through his lands recorded in Domesday Book, and it may be that Berenger Spina also had some involvement in the Conquest later that year.

Ralph's activity within the ducal court is seen in his witnessing of a charter of Duke William in 1065-66.¹¹⁴ He is also mentioned in a charter to the abbey of St. Trinité de Caen from the duke and his wife Matilda.¹¹⁵ Ralph ranked high among the major aristocracy prior to the Conquest. His signature on the charters of the time occurs among those of the most powerful nobles, and he enjoyed various marriage alliances with some of the great names in Norman history.

Ralph continued in this position during the invasion of England. As we have seen he was present as standard-bearer of the Normans at the council of Lillebonne (see footnote 112), and he played a significant role in the battle of Hastings. Both Orderic Vitalis¹¹⁶ and William of Poitiers¹¹⁷ verify Ralph's presence at Hastings. In Wace's Roman de Rou an epic gesture of Ralph, reminiscent of his actions at Mortemer twelve years earlier, is recorded. Ralph, being the hereditary standard-bearer of the Normans, refused the honor of carrying the banner sent by the pope into battle. Wishing to have nothing which would keep his hands unfreed for battle, he responds to the duke's call to carry the banner:

'Thank you very much,' said Ralph,
 'that you have recognized our right,
 but the standard, by my faith,
 will not be carried by me today;
 today you claim that service is discharged
 if I will serve you in another manner;
 I will serve you in another way,
 I will go with you into the battle
 and I will fight against the English
 with such gladness that I would be able
 to be swift in battle.
 You know that my hand is worth more
 than those of twenty men.' (11. 7587-7598)¹¹⁸

According to Wace the banner was eventually carried by Turstin Fitz Rollo.

Ralph benefitted handsomely from his participation at Hastings, receiving some sixty-three fiefs as well as the income from a house in the borough of Southampton (Hantone) and interests in the boroughs of Droitwich and Worcester. Domesday Book lists these lands in eight different counties: Berkshire, Essex, Gloucestershire, Hampshire, Herefordshire, Hertfordshire, Norfolk, and Worcestershire.¹¹⁹

[*The lordships indicated by an asterisk bear similar names but were not differentiated in Domesday Book. These lordships on the maps are the probable locations.]¹²⁰

- BERKSHIRE: 1) Cerletone (Charlton)
- ESSEX: 1) Ouesham (Housham)
 2) Langhefara (Langford)
- GLOUCESTERSHIRE: 1) Icube (Icomb)
 2) Brunmeberge (Bromsberrow)
 3) Harehille (Harnhill)
 4) Omenie (Amphney)*
 5) Cernei (Cerney)*
 6) Suelle (Lower Swell)
 7) Chevinguarde (Cheringworth)

- HEREFORDSHIRE:
- 1) Clifford Castle
 - 2) Leine (Monkland)
 - 3) Willaveslege (Willersly)
 - 4) Widferdestune (Winforton)
 - 5) Chabenore (Chadmore)
 - 6) Manitune (Monnington on Wye)
 - 7) Stoches (Stoke Edith)
 - 8) Stoches (Stoke Lacy)
 - 9) Forne (Ford)
 - 10) Bradefield (Broadfield)
 - 11) Sarnesfelde (Sarnesfield)
 - 12) Etone (Eaton)
 - 13) Leofminstre (Leominster)
 - 14) Westeude (Westnode)
 - 15) Sptune (Spertune -- Ashperton)
 - 16) Dunre (Dinedore)

- HERTFORDSHIRE:
- 1) Flamstead
 - 2) Wesmele (Westmill)

- NORFOLK:
- 1) Nechtuna (Ketune -- Necton)
 - 2) Pichenha (North or South Pickenham)*
 - 3) Beruita (Little Cressingham)
 - 4) Great Cressingham
 - 5) Caldachota (Caldecote)
 - 6) Culestorpa (Custhorpe)
 - 7) Bodenia (Bodney)
 - 8) Esterestuna (Sturston)
 - 9) Icheburna (Ichburgh)
 - 10) Cherbroc (Carbrooke)
 - 11) Frouesham (Great or Little Fransham)*
 - 12) Dunham (Great or Little Dunham)*
 - 13) Goduic (Godwich)
 - 14) Seingham (Shingham)
 - 15) Waltuna (East Walton)
 - 16) Thorp
 - 17) Lena (Lynn)*
 - 18) Estuine (East Winch)
 - 19) Breccles (Breckles)
 - 20) East Wretham
 - 21) West Wretham
 - 22) Acre (Westacre)

- WORCESTERSHIRE:
- 1) Elmley
 - 2) Abberley (Includes Bower lordship)
 - 3) Astley (Includes Berrow lordship)
 - 4) Wormeslai (Worsley)
 - 5) Bayton (Includes Shakenhurst lordship)
 - 6) Eastham (Includes Bastwood lordship)
 - 7) Alton (Includes Advowson lordship)
 - 8) More (Two manors of this name are recorded)
 - 9) More
 - 10) Linden
 - 11) Shelsey
 - 12) Redmerledge (Redmarley)
 - 13) Halac (Location not verified to date by scholarship)

In addition two burgesses at Worcester worth two shillings a year; one saltpan which renders sixty-four pence, a woodland which renders nothing, and five houses worth twenty pence, with seven villeins who render three shillings at Droitwich.

HAMPSHIRE: In addition to these holdings Ralph was given the income from one house in the borough of Southampton.

These fiefs were most densely arranged along the Welsh border in Herefordshire, Worcestershire, and Gloucestershire, and also in the east in Norfolk. As these were strategic locations for the defense of Norman England, it appears that Ralph was expected to continue in England the role of a marcher baron which he and his predecessors had maintained in Normandy. A glance at a map of English counties shows that these lands were typically dispersed throughout the island, as Frank Barlow has observed:

. . . in general the new baronies conformed to the usual Frankish type and consisted of dispersed members.¹²¹

Of course these fiefs were of varying size and value. Domesday Book gives us incomplete data concerning the total value of the holdings -- indeed some twenty-six lordships are without value statements. We can, however, still calculate a composite picture -- one which at least gives us an indication of the overall status of

his English possessions. The total value of all incomes mentioned in Domesday Book for Ralph III de Tosny is around two hundred pounds a year (197 pounds, 15 shillings, 5 pence according to my calculations). This figure would have been still higher had the unappraised baronies been included. Yet with this rough figure in mind we may now compare it with William Corbett's useful classification in the Cambridge Medieval History of English wealth held by the Norman baronage.¹²²

Corbett advances five categories of barons, A to E, with a range from 750 or more pounds per year in category A to less than one hundred pounds per year in category E:

CLASS	WORTH
A	Over 750 pounds per year
B	650 - 400 pounds per year
C	400 - 200 pounds per year
D	200 - 100 pounds per year
E	Less than 100 pounds per year

In group A we find Roger of Montgomery, Hugh of Avranches, Eustace of Boulogne, William Fitz Osbern, Richard of Clare, William of Warenne, and Geoffrey de Mandeville. Ralph III de Tosny does not arrive until class C:

. . . it is not till class C is reached that we come to the equally famous names of Peverel, Lacy, Montfort, Toeni, Mortimer and Vere, and only at the bottom of class C that we find Beaumont and Beauchamp.¹²³

David C. Douglas, in his evaluation of the parcelling of English lands, places Ralph among the likes of Roger Bigod, Robert Malet, Hugh de Grandmesnil, and Walter Giffard.¹²⁴ Thus Ralph is in the thick of major Norman barons who increased their power immensely through the Conquest. There is no doubt that his English lands were more extensive

than his Norman lands, perhaps vastly more extensive.

Other Tosny family members also gained lands in England, making their English interests quite substantial. Ralph's uncle, Robert de Tosny, soon styled Robert "de Belvoir" after his English caput, received seventy-five manors in eleven counties, and Robert's son, Berenger de Tosny, held forty-four manors in four counties. Ralph's brother Robert de Tosny, styled Robert "de Stafford" after his English lands, received one hundred and seven manors in six counties and was the largest landholder in Staffordshire.¹²⁵

Two other probable relatives, a brother Nigel de Stafford, and a cousin, Ralph de Limesy, add to this an additional forty-seven manors in ten counties.¹²⁶ The total English benefice of the Tosny family speaks for itself: 325 fiefs in twenty-three different counties. The Tosny presence in England was extended virtually everywhere.

The evidence in Domesday Book suggests that the Tosny family replaced the Anglo-Saxon landholders in a systematic, wholesale fashion. In numerous instances the names of individual Anglo-Saxon housecarls or thegns of King Edward, for instance, are given as the previous holders of a grouping of post-Conquest Tosny lands -- indeed at times the whole landed interests of a Tosny family member in a given county had previously belonged to only one or two Anglo-Saxon thegns.¹²⁷ Furthermore, these same names of prior Anglo-Saxon landholders occur simultaneously in the Domesday listings of two or more of the individual Tosny family-members' lands, thus encouraging the notion that Anglo-Saxon lands were reapportioned along family lines.¹²⁸ This, then, may serve as an important commentary on the

method by which the Conqueror divided up the English baronies among his retainers.

A similar pattern can also be discerned in the names of the Tosny's English undertenants in Domesday Book. The same names of undertenants not only repeat throughout an individual Tosny family member's lordships, but they also appear simultaneously in the holdings of other family members. This could be illustrative of a general "Normanizing" of the Tosny's English manors, since the names of these English undertenants sometimes match those of Ralph's vassals in Normandy.¹²⁹

As a result of the Conquest, Ralph III de Tosny and the house of Tosny had increased their power and prestige enormously -- since apart from Ralph the other Tosny men had played no major role in Norman affairs, their great wealth in England was due either to their presence at Hastings, of which there is not surviving evidence, or to their relationship with Ralph.

At this point we see Ralph III de Tosny at the peak of his power and prestige. His involvement in Norman affairs has been consistently on an influential level. Yet as we observe the remainder of his life we shall see a surprising series of events in which, although he had a great landed interest in England and as much to gain as any Norman baron by cultivating this new option, he chose rather to farm out his substantial English interests in favor of the local affairs of Normandy. And it was his choosing to move away from the center of Norman growth and activity in England which ultimately explains his lack of an enduring major status in Anglo-Norman history.

He seems to have dropped out, as it were, from the opportunities in England through which many a Norman baron enriched himself and his family and thereby improved their social and political power. John Le Patourel has characterized this relationship of the Norman baronage to the new kingdom of England which Ralph chose not to take part in:

It can certainly be said that the Normans made full use of the resources of England, the land which they conquered and colonized . . . It was ultimately the wealth of England that raised the Norman dukes to the position of power and magnificence held by a William the Conqueror or a Henry Beauclerc, as it raised many a baronial family from a position in Normandy which was outstanding only by provincial standards to one which, in terms of wealth, could be compared with that of many territorial princes on the Continent.¹³⁰

It must be stated at the outset that Ralph did not have the same English resources to exploit as did the likes of Roger of Montgomery or William Fitz Osbern, whose yearly incomes dwarfed Ralph's; yet his interests were nevertheless substantial and the fact remains that he did not cultivate them or make full use of the opportunities inherent therein. In point of fact, his large vested interest there stands in striking contrast to his lack of activity.

A clear example of this incongruity is found in Ralph's holding in Herefordshire, Clifford Castle. Not among the original lordships given to Ralph after the Conquest, Clifford had initially belonged to his brother-in-law, William Fitz Osbern, the Earl of Herefordshire. William was responsible for building this castle to guard the Welsh frontier.¹³¹ Then, at William's death at Cassel in 1071, the lordship passed to Ralph. No evidence survives concerning why it passed to

Ralph, however it probably was through their marriage alliance. In any case, Ralph is listed as lord of Clifford Castle in Domesday Book, holding it of the King of England.¹³² Clifford was virtually a sovereign region, belonging to no hundred and owing no dues. It would seem a perfect location for an ambitious nobleman to enjoy a measure of independence and importance. Yet Ralph appears to have taken little interest in Clifford Castle. Lynn Nelson has summed up well the evidence in Domesday Book concerning this matter in, The Normans in South Wales (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1966):

. . . Ralph had farmed the entire castle to Gilbert, the sheriff of Herefordshire, for an annual render of sixty shillings . . . As well as we can judge from Domesday Book, Ralph de Todeney took neither interest nor initiative in the development of this major marcher fortress. The credit for garrisoning Clifford, and for guarding this important approach to Herefordshire, must remain with the small group of barons who held of Ralph. (pp. 71-72)

Ralph's absence from English affairs can also be seen in his apparent lack of a fixed seat of residence on the island. Scholars (such as Sir Frank Stenton and Lynn Nelson) have suggested that Ralph III de Tosny made the manor of Flamstead in Hertfordshire his principal seat, supposing this because the manor was centrally located amid his insular holdings.¹³³ The Victoria County Histories follow this view also:

His two Hertfordshire estates, Flamstead and Westmill, were of no great extent, but it was at Flamstead that he seems to have fixed his chief residence; and there his descendants in the male line flourished for more than two centuries after the date of Domesday.¹³⁴

Flamstead did serve as the principal seat of the Tosny family from at

least as early as 1166, until the manor passed through marriage to the Beauchamp Earls of Warwick in the fourteenth century.¹³⁵ Therefore the assumption has been made that it must have been Ralph's English caput as well. Yet there is no evidence for this assumption -- indeed Flamstead is one of only two manors which Ralph held in the whole of Hertfordshire.¹³⁶ Furthermore, there is no evidence for the existence of a castle at Flamstead.¹³⁷ His lands in the western counties would have better served as a center of power and activity. Ralph's son, also Ralph, on the other hand, became very involved in English affairs as a supporter of Henry I and could very well have been the one who established Flamstead as his English seat, since he spent much time in England.¹³⁸ Hence I am hesitant to accept this position, and, if my perspective is correct, Ralph had no center of activity in England. It is at least in nowise certain that Flamstead served as one for Ralph III de Tosny.

A study of Ralph's monastic endowments also shows a pattern of concern for his Norman lands rather than his English ones. He made rather modest gifts from his Norman lands to the abbeys of Lire,¹³⁹ (where his sister was buried), La-Croix-St.-Leufroi,¹⁴⁰ St. Evroul,¹⁴¹ and Jumièges;¹⁴² whereas he richly endowed Norman abbeys from his English lands. St. Evroul received the whole domains of Alton (Alvintune) in Worcestershire and Caldecote in Norfolk.¹⁴³ St. Taurin received the entire manor of Astley in Worcestershire, and established a priory there.¹⁴⁴ Bec was given the lands of "Wrotham" in Norfolk¹⁴⁵ -- which in fact is East Wretham¹⁴⁶ [Wrotham has been confused with West Wretham, which was given by Ralph's grandson Roger II

(died c. 1157-62) as a gift to the abbey of Wooten Wawen in Warwickshire,¹⁴⁷ an abbey founded by Ralph III's brother, Robert de Stafford.]¹⁴⁸

As we might expect, his gifts from his Norman lands to the family abbey of Conches were more extensive, yet his English grants equal his Norman. He gave Conches the whole manor of Liens (Monkland) in Herefordshire, as well as numerous tithes.¹⁴⁹ Yet to the cathedral of Bayeux his kindnesses were limited to confirming a purchase of land by Bishop Odo of Bayeux from Ralph's vassal, Herbert d'Agnellis, in 1074;¹⁵⁰ and at the founding of St. Trinité de Caen he only witnessed, for a small fee, the gift of a certain Hugh the butler.¹⁵¹ In 1091 he confirmed a gift to the abbey of St. Trinité du Mont in Rouen by another of his vassals without any personal gift of his own mentioned.¹⁵² As one looks at Ralph's endowments from his Norman wealth, one concludes, as has Lucien Musset, "All of this was quite paltry in regard to his English generosity. . . "¹⁵³

G.H. White in the Complete Peerage lists in addition to these monasteries the abbey of L'Estree,¹⁵⁴ but the endowment to this abbey was made by Ralph's grandson Roger II and not by himself. L'Estree was founded in 1144-55, well after Ralph's death,¹⁵⁵ and a charter of Ralph V (d. 1162) confirms his father's (i.e. Roger II's) gift to L'Estree.¹⁵⁶ All of the Norman monasteries which Ralph endowed -- seven in all -- were of the Benedictine order. Only once did he depart from this pattern, establishing a priory for some Augustinian canons at Westacre in Norfolk.¹⁵⁷ It was the only priory he founded, or for that matter the only grant made in England which did not have an

attachment to a monastery in Normandy.

What we have seen so far points to a pattern: Ralph III de Tosny showed little if any interest in his new English wealth and the opportunities inherent therein, while he exhibited a protectionist stance in the retention of his Norman lands. When this pattern is seen in the context of the narrative of Ralph's remaining life, it is further reinforced.

Let us now return to Ralph's personal history and consider the remainder of his life; a history which is almost completely void of English activity. In an incident characteristic of this, the first recorded activity of Ralph after the Conquest is a trip to Spain. Orderic Vitalis states that Ralph, wishing to depart for Spain, went to the chapter-house of St. Evroul and sought the pardon of Abbot Mainer for his earlier assistance to Arnold d'Échauffour in burning the town of St. Evroul (c. 1061-63: see footnotes 106-107). To atone for his deeds he promised many gifts should he return safely from Spain and he commended his personal doctor, named Goisbert, to the abbey. Goisbert thereupon took monastic vows and remained a member of St. Evroul.¹⁵⁸ The dates for this trip can be narrowed to within a decade after the Conquest. The meeting with Mainer could not have occurred before the year of the Conquest since Mainer (1066-1089) was not made abbot until 1066.¹⁵⁹ Ralph may either have gone to St. Evroul before the Conquest and departed for Spain directly from England, or gone upon returning from the battle of Hastings which occurred October 14, 1066.¹⁶⁰ The latest possible date is 1076, when his doctor Goisbert secured the foundation of the priory of Maule

and was made prior of Maule by abbot Mainer.¹⁶¹ The latest date was most likely earlier than 1076, however, as Ralph's presence back in Normandy can be seen in a charter of gifts to the abbey of La-Croix-St.-Leufroi dated as early as 1071,¹⁶² and he witnessed another charter of his vassal Herbert d'Agnellis in 1074 (see footnote 150). Thus the period for Ralph's Spanish venture seems to have been between 1066-71. The Complete Peerage's date of 1080,¹⁶³ which Musset apparently accepts,¹⁶⁴ is impossible.

A journey to Spain was not an unusual thing. Ralph's father (as we have seen) was greatly renowned for his part in a Spanish venture, earning the title "de Espania." And the growing French and Norman interest in the peninsular affairs of Spain has been well documented.¹⁶⁵ What is odd is the timing of this trip. Whether he went as a pilgrim or a crusader, his services ought to have been needed more in England, since the island had not yet been secured by the Normans in the brief years between 1066-71 during the wars of succession. Surely any Norman nobleman concerned about obtaining or maintaining interests in England would have been present during these crucial years. Unfortunately we know nothing about this Spanish trip other than Ralph's eventual return, ". . . sometime later," and his subsequent giving of gifts, as promised, to St. Evroul.¹⁶⁶ J. Saroñhandy, in his article, "La Légende de Roncevaux" (in Homenaje Ofrecido a Menéndez Pidal, 2:278. Madrid: Librería y Casa Editorial Hernando, 1925), suggests that Ralph was present at the siege of Tudèle in 1087. Yet this is pure speculation, and such a late date makes this impossible; as we shall see, Ralph was in Normandy in 1087.

Yet even if we knew about Ralph's Spanish activities, the fact of his lack of participation in the crucial affairs of England remains.

We now enter a period of ten years in which the evidence of Ralph's activities are all Norman in scope. He witnessed a charter of St. Trinité de Caen sometime between 1066 and 1083,¹⁶⁷ and granted gifts to the abbey of La-Croix-St.-Leufroi around 1071-83.¹⁶⁸ In 1074 (as has been mentioned before, see footnote 150) he confirmed the sale of land by his vassal Herbert to Bishop Odo of Bayeux. Ralph then turns up in a reference by Orderic, who includes him among the nobles who supported Robert Curthose in his rebellion against the king in 1078.¹⁶⁹ No reason is given why Ralph would have taken part in this rebellion, and some have suspected that the Ralph de Tosny mentioned here by Orderic was in fact Ralph's son and heir of the same name.¹⁷⁰ However, whether Ralph or his son rebelled the activity is still indicative of the Tosny focus on Norman affairs, for the rebellion occurred over the issue of Robert's authority in Normandy as eldest son and heir of William.¹⁷¹ If it was Ralph who took part in this revolt, he reconciled with William when Robert Curthose did in 1080, for his name appears on a charter of the king's to the abbey of St. Stephan de Caen dated around 1080-82. This was promulgated at Caen.¹⁷²

Orderic then presents the first of only two references to Ralph's presence in England after the Conquest. He chronicles that, ". . . a few years later . . ." (i.e. after returning from Spain) Ralph took Goisbert, now a monk, with him to England. There Ralph granted a second gift to the abbey of St. Evroul through the agency of Goisbert:

the manors of Caldecote in Norfolk and Alton in Worcestershire.¹⁷³

It appears that Goisbert was busy obtaining endowments for St. Evroul during this period, as we have already seen that he obtained the foundation of the priory of Maule which he received from Peter of Maule (see footnote 161). We have no further mention in this reference what else Ralph did while in England, or of the length of his stay. Orderic does not date this trip, but other evidence suggests it was c. 1080-81.

We find a charter of Ralph from 1080-81 in which he confirms his earlier gift of some Norman lands to St. Evroul; Orderic indicated that this was his first gift, given upon his return from Spain as recompense for his attack on St. Evroul -- indeed the charter begins with Ralph's confession of the deed.¹⁷⁴ Ralph then confirms his later gift of the English manors of Caldecote and Alton to St. Evroul (which Orderic had indicated were given a few years later when Ralph took Goisbert to England -- see footnote 173). The late dating of this charter in regards to the first gift given upon his return from Spain is explained by the fact that the various gifts mentioned here were given in two stages over the period of years.¹⁷⁵ Hence the first gift of Norman lands occurred around ten years prior to this charter's confirmation of it.

In 1081 we find the only other reference to Ralph's presence in England other than the trip with his personal doctor Goisbert. In a charter of 1081 drawn up at Winchester, King William confirms all the grants of English properties made to the Norman abbey of St. Evroul.¹⁷⁶ Orderic also records this charter in his history.¹⁷⁷ Ralph's gifts

of Caldecote and Alton are listed and his signature duly recorded.

The dating of the St. Evroul and the Winchester charters make it very likely that Ralph's trip to Winchester was identical to the trip on which Ralph took Goisbert and gave St. Evroul the manors of Caldecote and Alton. As we have seen, Orderic does not give a date for this trip with Goisbert, only saying that it occurred a few years after Ralph's return from Spain. It may have been therefore that Ralph took Goisbert to England c. 1080-81 and used the occasion to grant Caldecote and Alton to St. Evroul (as shown in the charter of the same year, see footnote 174) and then included this gift in the larger royal charter at Winchester in 1081 which confirmed all English grants by the baronage to St. Evroul. If this scenario is accurate, as the dates suggest, this is the only reference in all of the surviving data which indicates Ralph's presence in England after the Conquest. For the remainder of his life he was found embroiled in the local affairs of his Norman lands.

In his final documented activity at the court of King William he confirmed an earlier charter (see footnote 151) of William and Matilda to the abbey of St. Trinité de Caen. This is dated to 1082.¹⁷⁸ At the death of the Conqueror in 1087 Ralph joined a general rebellion of the baronage in Normandy against the heir, Duke Robert.¹⁷⁹ The barons saw an opportunity to strengthen their positions while a weak duke was trying to establish himself. Orderic chronicles the expulsion by the barons of the ducal garrisons from their own castles and using them as domains from which to pillage the countryside. Among these rebellious barons were Ralph and his relatives: his half-brother Count

William of Evreux (son of Godehilde and Count Richard of Evreux), and his nephew William of Breteuil (son of William Fitz Osbern and Adeliza).

While this inner turmoil of Normandy was brewing, Duke Robert was also facing the disintegration of his control over Maine. In response he mounted an invasion of the county in 1088. Ralph had apparently made his peace with the duke by then as he was present fighting in support of Robert, along with his rebellious relatives William of Evreux and William of Breteuil.¹⁸⁰

By the opening of the final decade of the eleventh century Ralph had endured the transition in the Norman ruling house, giving his backing to Robert Curthose. This was an allegiance which Robert was soon to squander. From the period roughly 1090-91 Ralph became involved in a family feud which was at the same time a very colorful and yet pointlessly destructive chapter in his life. According to Orderic this warfare was stirred up by a "maligna malicia" between the wives of the half-brothers William of Evreux and Ralph III de Tosny. It seems Countess Helwise, the wife of William, was angered against Isabel de Tosny over some insulting words Isabel had directed towards her. She therefore stirred her husband to take arms against the Tosnys. The description of these two women by Orderic is something to behold and worth recounting here:

Both the ladies who stirred up such bitter wars were persuasive, high-spirited, and beautiful; they dominated their husbands and oppressed their vassals, whom they terrorized in various ways. But they were very different in character. Helwise on the one hand was clever and persuasive, but cruel and grasping; whereas Isabel was generous, daring and gay, and therefore lovable and estimable to those around her. In war she rode armed as a knight among the knights; and she showed no less courage

among the knights in hauberks and sargeants-at-arms than did the maid Camilla, the pride of Italy, among the troops of Turnus. She deserved comparison with Lampeto and Marpesia, Hippolyta and Penthesilea and other warlike Amazon queens, whose battles, in which they held in check the kings of Asia and subdued the Asian peoples by force of arms for fifteen years, are described by Pompeius Trogus and Virgil and other writers of histories.¹⁸¹

With women such as these in mutual rivalry it is little wonder that war ensued! Since Ralph was in his mid-sixties at the time, Isabel was either quite a young and hearty bride to have earned such a reputation or Orderic's legendary embellishments knew no bounds.

Orderic clearly sides with the Tosnys while always placing the faction from Evreux in a bad light. After a period spent mutually ravaging each other's lands, Ralph turned to Duke Robert as his liege lord to complain of the injuries inflicted by Count William's incursions. But the duke, wishing not to offend either side, made the grave mistake of doing nothing. Ralph then turned to his English lord, William Rufus, promising his allegiance should the king come to his aid. The king did so and in return gained a powerful ally on the continent.

Rufus' assistance came at the right time, as Count William of Evreux was besieging Conches in November of 1090 with Ralph's nephews William of Breteuil and Richard de Montfort (who was also Isabel's half-brother), at the head of the army. The first attack resulted in the death of Richard de Montfort when he attempted to seize the monastic buildings. He was greatly mourned on both sides as he was not only related to the Tosny house but also a nephew of William of Evreux. The effects of family warfare were cruelly evident here.

When a second attack ensued, Ralph had the added support of Rufus' retainers, among whom were Count Stephan of Aumâle and Gerald de Gournay. Orderic recounts a daring strategy which Ralph employed. He allowed the invaders into the city to pillage, only to attack them as they left laden with booty. The plan worked and William of Breteuil was captured. With the Evreux party thus shamed the war ended in a peace pact. William of Breteuil was ransomed and Count William of Evreux made Ralph's younger son Roger his heir as the count of Evreux. This was to be the closest any Tosny came to enjoying a titled position. Yet even this was not to be, as Roger died a few months later. Orderic goes on to give a mini-hagiography of Roger, who died peacefully on May 15 of that year, probably 1091, a death which he had foreseen in a vision.¹⁸²

In January of that same year, very likely just after the resolution of this feud, William Rufus came to Eu in Normandy with a large contingent of soldiers in response to Duke Robert's infringement on his Norman lands. At this time his Norman vassals, of whom Ralph was one, entertained Rufus in a show of strength.¹⁸³ In response Robert made peace with Rufus. In an interesting exchange of gifts between the two brothers, Robert gave Rufus, ". . . the county of Eu with Aumâle and the whole territory of Gerald of Gournay and Ralph de Conches [i.e. Tosny], with all the castles held by them or their vassals. And there the king lived with his followers in royal style from January until August 1."¹⁸⁴ Thereafter Orderic declares that Ralph was in allegiance to the king of England.¹⁸⁵

Surely at this point, through the blunder of Robert, we would expect to see Ralph gravitating more toward the English side. Yet again the evidence suggests that while he maintained a relationship with Rufus his activities were of local Norman concern. Later in the same year, 1091, Ralph was in Rouen reaffirming a disputed donation made by one of his vassals to St. Trinité du Mont.¹⁸⁶ Count Robert's signature heads this charter, and Ralph's follows. In 1092 Ralph was at Bec witnessing a charter attesting a grant by Archbishop William of Rouen on which Duke Robert's is the first signature.¹⁸⁷ And sometime in the years 1092-96 he was in Lisieux as a witness to Robert's confirmation of a grant to St. Mary's.¹⁸⁸ Thus throughout the 1090s, although Ralph de Tosny was allied with Rufus, he appears on record to have been in the entourage of Duke Robert; a curious relationship which in the cartulary evidence shows no break, even in the year in which Robert neglected him.

Frank Barlow, in his recent work, William Rufus (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983. p. 286),¹⁸⁹ suggests that Ralph was present at the provincial synod held by Archbishop William of Rouen in June 1091 and subsequently at the inquest into ducal rights at Caen on July 18th of the same year. This theory is based only on the speculation that Ralph would have been present because he was a major baron of the region concerned. If this were so it would be yet another instance of Norman-centered activity since the issues at hand were provincial in nature at the synod and Normandy-centered at the inquest into ducal rights within the duchy.

In 1097 Ralph lost his only daughter Godehilde, who had married Baldwin, son of Count Eustace of Boulogne,¹⁹⁰ and died of a sickness on the way to the Holy Land with her crusading husband. Both Albert d'Aix's Historiae¹⁹¹ and Archbishop William of Tyre in his Historia Rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum¹⁹² recount her death among the crusaders. Had she not died she would have enjoyed royal rank for Baldwin of Boulogne was later duke of Odessa and then at his brother's death became king of Jerusalem.¹⁹³ Orderic says in an earlier passage that Godehilde was previously married to Count Robert of Meulan, but Marjorie Chibnall's discussion has established the improbability of this.¹⁹⁴

On September 22, 1098, King William Rufus lodged at Conches while on his way to an invasion of the French Pontoise.¹⁹⁵ Ralph, however, is not mentioned in Orderic's account. As Duke Robert, on a crusade himself, had left Rufus in charge of Normandy, Ralph was probably present as both host and vassal to the king and duke. Yet he is not mentioned as joining the invasion, nor is there reference to him assisting Rufus in the invasion of Maine earlier that year.

Only two events remain in the long and adventurous life of Ralph III de Tosny -- both of them local in interest. In late 1099 he was at the dedication of new altars at St. Evroul, and on this occasion he reconfirmed his English gifts to the abbey and added meagerly to his earlier grant of Norman lands.¹⁹⁶ Then at the death of William Rufus in 1100, Ralph, then in his early seventies, made his last military excursion in August of that year. This time he

joined his half-brother and former arch-enemy, Count William of Evreux, to attack the Beaumont lands of Count Robert of Meulan. Orderic says that this was done, ". . . in revenge for injuries that he [Robert of Meulan] had done to his peers for some time past by turning King Rufus against them through false accusations."¹⁹⁷

In any case, we see the natural result of the death of a powerful monarch -- civil war. Orderic goes on to say:

. . . likewise many others, who had been nursing anger and hatred, but had not dared to avenge themselves openly, because of the strict justice maintained by the prince, fell upon each other without restraint, now that control was relaxed, and by their mutual slaughter and pillaging devastated the unhappy province which was without a ruler.¹⁹⁸

By the time he died, on March 24, 1102,¹⁹⁹ Ralph III de Tosny had successively fought with all of his neighboring barons, expending much energy on concerns of local import. Time and again, faced with choices between pursuing either an English or Norman interest, he consistently elected not to cultivate his English option. And this is peculiar. No other Norman baron with an extensive vested interest in England was not active there. Such Normans as Count William of Eu and Roger of Beaumont (the latter whose sons were active in England) held very little land in England, so their lack of activity there is not unusual. The same can be said of Ralph's half-brother, Count William of Evreux, as well as Vicount Nigel II de St. Saveur. William of Evreux's lands in England were very small: twenty-one lordships worth a total of forty-one pounds, seventeen shillings per year in Berkshire and Oxfordshire, as well as the income from two houses in Southampton, Hampshire are all that is recorded as belonging to the

Count of Evreux in Domesday Book.²⁰⁰ And although there are a few anonymous Nigels in Domesday Book, one of whom might have been Nigel II de St. Saveur, but none of them had substantial holdings.²⁰¹

Count Eustace of Boulogne, whose son Baldwin was the son-in-law of Ralph III de Tosny, initially seems to fit the pattern of Ralph. His massive holdings in England dwarf Ralph's; in fact, Corbett places Eustace in category A with a yearly income of over 750 pounds per year.²⁰² As a foreign lord, however, as count of Boulogne, he may be expected to have centered his activities on his county at the expense of his large English holdings. This would give us another baron who would fit the unorthodox pattern of Ralph III de Tosny, only in a more pronounced fashion. Yet we find Eustace very active in English affairs. As brother-in-law to King Edward the Confessor, by virtue of his marriage to Edward's sister Goda, he had a vested interest in the English succession. David C. Douglas has said of Eustace, ". . . it was not only the duke of Normandy whose interests were challenged. . . "²⁰³ in regard to the throne of England. Many of his English lands came through his wife Goda, who was a tenant-in-chief in Domesday Book of manors in Sussex, Surry, Dorsetshire, Middlesex, Nottinghamshire, Buckinghamshire and Gloucestershire. In 1051 Eustace visited England²⁰⁴ and in 1067 he aided the Kentish rebels against the Conqueror. The rebels briefly held Dover, but were then routed. Eustace then suffered the forfeiture of English lands because of his treason.²⁰⁵ They were later restored after a reconciliation with William.²⁰⁶ Thus Eustace of Boulogne was active in England as we would expect because of his large interests there. Conversely,

William of Evreux, William of Eu, Roger of Beaumont and Nigel de St. Saver were not active in England, which we would expect given their small, if any, vested interest there. Ralph, however, had good reason to be involved in England yet he apparently chose not to.

Some might suggest that this discrepancy is caused simply by a lack of surviving records on Ralph, but this would be a simplification of the situation. There is, as we have seen, an abundance of material available about him; certainly equal to that available on other Norman barons who were active in English affairs. Thus Ralph is not relatively speaking less evident in the surviving records than was any other significant member of the aristocracy.

Furthermore, the major narrative source on Ralph's life, Orderic Vitalis, is generally thorough in his chronicling of the Anglo-Norman history of his time. Being a monk at St. Evroul, he had incentive to record fully the activities of Ralph which were important to Norman history, since not only was his abbey close to Conches and thus privy to the events there, but it had also been quite well endowed by Ralph and he probably had a good name there. Orderic consistently presents Ralph as a significant participant in Norman events, and always shows him in a positive light -- even when his actions are suspect.²⁰⁷ He also gives an extensive eulogy on the wonderful qualities of Ralph upon mentioning his death.²⁰⁸

Orderic himself shows a great interest in English affairs. Born in England, he continually calls himself "angligena" throughout his chronicle.²⁰⁹ Antonia Gransden describes Orderic's view of Anglo-Norman relations as follows:

He saw England and Normandy not only as a political entity in his time, but also as culturally united. He had a strong interest in English affairs and sympathy for the English and he was influenced by English writers.²¹⁰

Furthermore, Orderic shows a propensity for recording the histories of St. Evroul's benefactors,²¹¹ of whom Ralph was prominent. When one adds to this the fact that his Ecclesiastical History covers Anglo-Norman history into the reign of Henry I, it seems unlikely that Orderic would consistently overlook any important English activities of Ralph -- especially when he copiously records the many insular activities of Ralph's son, who upon the death of Ralph went to England, inherited his father's lands there, and married into the royal lineage.²¹² Indeed Ralph's son was known as an ardent supporter of Henry I.²¹³

A final piece of negative evidence should be noted in conjunction with this. It is significant to note that although Ralph III de Tosny figures prominently in Orderic's chronicle, and while he appears as well in the Norman annals of William of Jumièges, William of Poitiers, Robert de Torigni, and Wace, he does not appear in any English chronicle at all. Neither William of Malmesbury, the Anglo-Saxon chronicles, nor any other English historian mentions Ralph III de Tosny. As well the only English charter in which Ralph appears was that of the King to St. Evroul, promulgated at Winchester in 1081 (see footnotes 176-77). This evidence is not only consistent with Orderic's silence concerning Ralph in English concerns, but also argues further in favor of Ralph's absence from English affairs as a whole.

Thus it remains that Ralph III de Tosny, while holding extensive interests in England, chose to concentrate his attention on his Norman lands and to neglect his English holdings. In this he departed from the tendency of virtually all the other major Norman nobles after the Conquest; of whom Lucien Musset has ably said:

. . . the consolidation of the Conquest had a considerable influence on the Norman aristocracy. From then on the ruling class reserved its innovative boldness . . . for its English policies. In Normandy it followed more and more a policy of narrow conservation and day-to-day administration, which had no dynamism at all.²¹⁴

As we have seen, Ralph III de Tosny remained within this narrow policy concerning Normandy.

The reasons for his choice are difficult to ascertain. I do not think it was his age which caused him to remain in Normandy, as he was probably in his late thirties at the time of the Conquest,²¹⁵ and he was waging war in his seventies, well nigh to the end of his life. Perhaps he had doubts that the Conquest would ultimately be successful. Perhaps he was motivated simply by a love for his Norman lands and a dislike of England -- with its new climate and its strange and often hostile people.

It may be suggested that he remained in Normandy because of the feuds between the Tosnys and the neighboring Beaumonts or William of Evreux. This speculation cannot be unduly ignored, yet the warfare with the Beaumont family had been originally between Roger I de Espania and Roger of Beaumont over the issue of William's right to be the duke of Normandy. It was only one such example of the fighting which occurred during William's minority and was not a "feud" in any strict

sense. Ralph's later attack on the Beaumont lands in 1100 occurred in revenge on Robert of Meulan's turning King Rufus against the Tosnys and the house of Evreux. These two acts of war are isolated events and do not represent a longstanding feud between the two houses. In regard to the family feud between the half-brothers William of Evreux and Ralph III de Tosny, this too was a limited, albeit unfortunate, incident. We are assured of this because Ralph joined William nine years later to invade the Beaumont lands. These events do not appear to have been longstanding feuds but rather are more indicative of the times of instability in the duchy in which constantly-changing factions of barons sought to use the confusion for their personal gain. Yet Ralph's continued participation in these martial excesses certainly occupied much of his time and energy. Whatever the reason or reasons that caused Ralph to shun his valuable English option it was this choice, this moving away from the center of Norman activity and vitality, which ended his hitherto prominent role in the crucial events of Anglo-Norman history.

Unlike the generations before him, Ralph III de Tosny left few surviving offspring. Roger, the saintly younger son who died in 1091 (see footnote 182) and Godehilde, the wife of Baldwin of Boulogne who died in 1097 on the way to the Holy Land with her crusading husband (see footnotes 190-93), have been mentioned. The only surviving child was the eldest son and heir, Ralph IV de Tosny (d. 1126), who with his mother Isabel gave a gift to Cluny in 1102.²¹⁶ Around this time (i.e. after the death of Ralph III) Isabel was living out her remaining days in the nunnery of Haute-Bruyère -- a priory of the order

of Fontevrault at St.-Rémi-l'Honoré near her maiden home of Montfort l'Amaury.²¹⁷ Ralph IV did not follow the policy of his father, but in contrast had pursued a career of intimate relations with the English crown and the affairs of the King. Orderic tells us that upon his father's death he went to England, leading the way for those Norman lords who would abandon Duke Robert for King Henry. And Ralph IV was well rewarded for this:

After his father's death Ralph de Conches [IV] crossed the Channel, to be welcomed by the king and granted his father's estates. He married Adeliza, the daughter of Waltheof and the king's kinswoman, Judith, and she bore him Roger and Hugh and several daughters. Other prudent magnates abandoned their foolish lord in the same way, and sought out the politic king to good purpose . . .²¹⁸

William of Jumièges also records Ralph IV's marriage to Adeliza.²¹⁹ Since Judith, the mother of Adeliza, was a niece of the Conqueror, Ralph IV had entered the royal family. In addition to gaining his father's English estates he also obtained landed wealth through the marriage:

The said Simon moreover [Simon of Senlis] gave Alicia, sister of his wife, in marriage to the noble man Ralph [IV] de Tosny, with 100 libras [measurements of land] of land of the honor of Huntingdon, with Welchamentowe, Kerclinge, and other lands and possessions.²²⁰

Ralph IV supported Henry I upon his invasion of Normandy in 1104,²²¹ and fought against Duke Robert's forces.²²² Henceforth he was considered a "liege magnate" of the king²²³ and witnessed many charters for him.²²⁴

Emma Mason, in The Beauchamp Cartulary Charters, lists the remaining generations of the Tosnys who resided at Flamstead until the Tosny honors passed by marriage to the Beauchamp Earls of Warwick in

the fourteenth century.²²⁵ I have used this genealogy of the remaining generations on the attached family tree. The Tosnys continued to maintain their Norman lands until 1204, when the duchy was lost to the King of France. This loss culminated a gradual shifting of the Tosnys interest from Normandy to England. Thus Ralph III de Tosny was the last true "Norman" baron of the Tosny house. His deeds paved the way for an English residence and milieu for his posterity, yet he himself did not choose that way.

In conclusion, let us observe the profile of Ralph III given by Orderic Vitalis:

He was a man of highest renown and knightly valour, and was outstanding among the greatest nobles in Normandy for his wealth and honors; and he fought stalwartly for almost sixty years in the service of the rulers of Normandy, both King William and his son, Duke Robert . . . Finally the elder Ralph, after a life in which good and bad fortune were mingled, died on 24 March, and his son Ralph held his father's estates for about twenty-four years. Both, after relentless death had overcome them, were buried with their fathers in the monastery of St. Peter at Conches.²²⁶

This remembrance of Orderic's is a clear summing up of the man whose life we have been recounting. A powerful, long-lived warrior of the Norman nobility who led a life in the sphere of Normandy. It is instructive to note that Orderic does not include William Rufus as one for whom Ralph fought stalwartly, but rather Robert Curthose. One can only wonder what we would be writing about him had he joined more fully in the great English enterprise.

The study of the early founding members of the house of Tosny affords us valuable insights into the development of the Norman achievement. They had not only seen the remarkable transformation

of the Norman nobility but had also been a driving force behind many of these changes. Their leading participation in the Norman ventures in Italy, Spain, and England, as well as their numerous marriage alliances and resilient ties to the ducal court place them on the cutting edge of Norman history. Ralph III de Conches continued in this tradition up to the English Conquest, yet his curious post-Conquest relationship to the new Norman kingdom of England stands in sharp contrast not only to his own family's history but also to the achievement and vitality of the Norman baronage of his time. The Tosnys present us with characteristics which confirm and strengthen our perceptions of the Normans, and also show unusual divergences from the acknowledged norm which should keep contemporary Anglo-Norman historians reconsidering our assumptions and digging deeper into the evidence of the Norman past.

GENEALOGICAL ADDENDUM

Belvoir Tosnys

Robert de Toden, Domesday lord of Belvoir, was the uncle of Ralph III de Tosny. Sir Frank Stenton concurs, saying of Ralph, "He seems to have been the nephew of Robert de Tosny, the founder of Belvoir Castle."²²⁷ The Belvoir Tosnys were powerful barons of the English midlands and had their chief seat at Belvoir in Leicestershire.

Robert apparently had as many as six children, only two of whom seem to have succeeded their father in holding the family lands. And these lands passed to other families through marriage as soon as the third generation after Robert, creating a complex lineage. William Dugdale records that Robert's wife was named Adela, saying:

By this Adela he had issue four sons; viz William, Beringar, Geffrey, and Robert; and one daughter named Agnes, who was wife to Hubert de Rye [a great man in Lincolnshire] . . . of his younger children, all I have further observed is; that Beringar had diverse lordships in the county of Polk, also the manors of Wellingtone, in Lincolnshire . . .²²⁸

William, Berenger and Agnes are verifiable children. Both William and Berenger are mentioned in cartulary evidence as sons of Robert,²²⁹ and I.J. Sanders has identified Agnes as a daughter.²³⁰ Geffrey and Robert may be dubious additions by Dugdale since they are not mentioned in modern scholarship. In addition to these Sanders includes another daughter named Alice, who married Roger Bigod, the Earl of Norfolk.²³¹

The descent of Robert of Belvoir's lands seems to have followed

this pattern: William, apparently the eldest son and heir, died without issue, and his sister Alice succeeded him as heir of the majority of the Belvoir lordships. These then passed through her daughter Cecily's marriage to William de Albino Brito. The deceased original heir William de Belvoir and William de Albino Brito have been confused in the past, as Anthony Wagner states in English Genealogy (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960):

An ancient confusion has made another notable line into a branch of the Tosnys by making Robert de Tony, the lord of Belvoir in 1086 . . . into the father of William d'Aubigny called 'the Breton' [i.e. William de Albino Brito] to distinguish him from a namesake, William d'Aubigny, the Master Butler (Pincerna). William d'Aubigny the Breton did indeed succeed a son of Robert de Tony at Belvoir, but it was, as Round showed, in virtue of his marriage to Robert's granddaughter Cecily.²³²

A charter of 1126 verifies that Alice was a daughter and heir of Robert, as well as wife to Roger Bigod,²³³ and Sanders has verified the passing of her lands through Cecily.²³⁴

Some of Robert de Belvoir's lands passed to Berenger, who Dugdale identifies as a younger son. We have seen the cartulary evidence for this (see footnote 229), and John Le Patourel concurs, saying that, ". . . Robert and Berenger de Tosny . . . were father and son. . ." ²³⁵ Much of the land of Berenger de Belvoir passed from his family at his death, as Lewis C. Loyd explains in The Origins of Some Anglo-Norman Families (London: John Whitehead and Son, 1951):

. . . Berenger de Todeni . . . A great part of Berenger's lands passed by the marriage of Aubreye his widow to Robert de l'Isle, and ultimately to Hugh Bigod, earl of Norfolk . . . moreover, it is reasonably certain that Todeni of Belvoir was an offshoot of the Tosny family.²³⁶

Stafford Tosnys

The lineage for the descendants of Robert de Stafford, the brother of Ralph III^d de Tosny, which I have indicated on the attached genealogy, can be found in I.J. Sander's English Baronies: A Study of Their Origins and Descent (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960), p. 81. The lordships of the Stafford Tosnys passed from the family by marriage in only three generations from Robert.

FOOTNOTES

¹David C. Douglas, William the Conqueror (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1964), pp. 86-87.

²See David C. Douglas, William the Conqueror (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1964); Frank Barlow, The Feudal Kingdom of England 1042-1216 (London: Longman, Green and Company, 1955); John Le Patourel, Norman Barons (London: Budd and Gillatt, 1966); John Le Patourel, The Norman Empire (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976); Sir Frank Stenton, The First Century of English Feudalism 1066-1166 (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1979); Charles Homer Haskins, Norman Institutions (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1918); E.A. Freeman, The History of the Norman Conquest (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1877); E.A. Freeman, The Reign of William Rufus (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1882; reprint ed., N.Y.: AMS Press, 1970). See also the Selected Bibliography for a fuller listing of works in which Ralph III de Tosny is mentioned.

³Lucien Musset, "Aux Origines d'une classe dirigeante: les Tosny, grands barons de Xe an XIIIe siècle," Francia Band 5 (1978): 44-80.

⁴Guillaume de Jumièges, Gesta Normannorum Ducum, ed. Jean Marx (Paris: Auguste Picard, 1914), pp. 157-58.

⁵Musset, p. 49.

⁶"Gunhardo successit Hugo. Hic vero fuit prosapia clarus, sed ignobilis cunctis operibus. Monachus enim apud Sanctum Dionysium erat, quando Willelmus filius Rollonis, dux Normannorum, ei episcopatum tradidit; sed post positis sanctae regulae institutis, carnis petulantiae se omnino contulit. Filios enim quamplures procreavit, ecclesiam et res ecclesiae destruxit. Todiniacum enim qui in dominicatu archiepiscopi erat, cum omnibus appendiciis suis fratri suo Radulfo, potentissimo viro, filio Hugonis de Calvacamp, dedit, et ita a dominicatu archiepiscopatus usque in praesens alienavit." Joannes Archiepiscopus Rotomagensis, "Acta Archiepiscoporum Rotomagensium," in Patrologia cursus completus omnium ss. patrum, doctorum scriptorumque ecclesiasticorum sive Latinorum, ed. J. P. Migne (Paris, 1853; reprint ed., Turnholt, Belgium: Brepols, 1975), 147: 273-80.

⁷G.H. White, "Tony," in The Complete Peerage, ed. G.E. Cockayne (London: St. Catherine's Press, 1953), 12:753.

⁸Ibid.

⁹Ordericus Vitalis, The Ecclesiastical History, ed. Marjorie Chibnall (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), 3:80-1. (Hereafter cited as: Chibnall, Vitalis).

¹⁰"Successit Hugo legis Domni violator. Clara stirpe satus sed Christi lumine casus. Hic xlvii annis presulatu functus est, sed a nullo scriptorum qui de illo sive de coepiscopis eius locuti sunt ladatus est. Palam memorant quod habitu non opere monachus ferit." Chibnall, Vitalis, 3:80-1.

¹¹Anthony Wagner, English Genealogy (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960), p. 65; White, 12:753.

¹²John Le Patourel, Norman Barons (London: Budd and Gillatt, 1966), p. 5.

¹³David Bates, Normandy Before 1066 (N.Y.: Longman Press, 1982), p. 108.

¹⁴Musset, pp. 67-74.

¹⁵Chibnall, Vitalis, 6:244-45.

¹⁶Bates, p. 115.

¹⁷"Au total, les fiefs des Tosny présentent une prédominance absolue de la haute Normandie qui n'est pas habituelle." Lucien Musset, "Naissance de la Normandie," in Documents de l'histoire de la Normandie, ed. Michel de Bouïard (Toulouse: Privat, 1972), p. 94.

¹⁸Auguste Le Prevost, "Pouillés de diocèse de Lisieux," Memoires de la société des antiquaires de Normandie 2nd series, 3(1844): 9-11; Marie Fauroux, Receuil des actes des ducs de Normandy (911-1066) (Caen: Société d'Impressions, 1961), p. 96.

¹⁹Bates, p. 113; Douglas, William the Conqueror, p. 86.

²⁰Musset, Origines: les Tosny, p. 57

²¹White, 12:754.

²²Douglas, William the Conqueror, p. 85.

²³Le Prevost, pp. 9-11.

²⁴Fauroux, p. 22.

²⁵Guillaume de Jumièges, p. 84.

²⁶Wace, Roman de Rou, ed. A.J. Holden (Paris: A. and J. Picard and Company, 1970), 1:215-16.

"Quant Ricard dut d'iloec partir
e le chastel ont fait guarnir
de blé e de char e de vin,
Neel i mist de Costentin,
Raul de Toëni od lui,
hardiz furent e pruz andui;
od Raul fu sis filz Rogiers,
gentil vassals, noble guerriers" (ll. 1467-1474)

²⁷Fauroux, pp. 93-6.

²⁸Leon-Robert Ménanger, "Inventaire des familles Normands et Franques emigrées en Italie méridionale et en Sicile (xi-xii siècles), in Roberto il Guiscardo e il suo tempo (Rome: Centro de Studi Normanno, 1975), 11:348-49.

²⁹This translation by Einar Joranson, "The Inception of the Career of the Normans in Italy - Legend and History," Speculum 23 no. 3 (July 1948): 372. For the original Latin see Leo of Ostia, "Chronica Monasterii Casinensis," ed. W. Wattenbach, in Monumenta Germaniae Historica, ed. George Henry Pertz (Hanover, 1846; reprint ed., N.Y.: Kraus Reprint Corporation, 1963), 7 (Scriptorum): 652.

³⁰This translation by Einar Joranson, pp. 359-60. For the original Latin see William of Apulia, "Gesta Roberti Wiscardi," ed R. Wilmans, in Monumenta Germaniae Historica, ed. George Henry Pertz (Hanover, 1846; reprint ed., N.Y.: Kraus Reprint Corporation, 1963), 9 (Scriptorum): 241-242

³¹This translation by Einar Joranson, p. 371. For the original Latin see Raoul Glaber, "Historarium sui temporis libri quinque," in Patrologia Latina, ed. J.P. Migne (Paris, 1853; reprint ed., Turnholt, Belgium: Brepols, 1975), 142: 645-46. French translation also by M. Guizot, Chronique de Raoul Glaber (Collection des mémoires relatifs à l'histoire de France (Paris: J.L.J. Briere, 1824), pp. 239-42.

³²This translation by Einar Joranson, p. 371. For the original Latin see Adémar de Chabanne, Chronicron, ed. J. Chavanon (Paris: Picard et Fils, 1896), p. 178.

³³Joranson, pp. 374-75.

³⁴White, 12: 755-56.

³⁵"...monasterium autem Sancti Petri Castellionis Radulphus de Thoënis construxit." Guillaume de Jumièges, p. 255.

²⁶Wace, Roman de Rou, ed. A.J. Holden (Paris: A. and J. Picard and Company, 1970), 1:215-16.

"Quant Ricard dut d'iloec partir
e le chastel ont fait guarnir
de blé e de char e de vin,
Neel i mist de Costentin,
Raul de Toëni od lui,
hardiz furent e pruz andui;
od Raul fu sis filz Rogiers,
gentil vassals, noble guerriers" (ll. 1467-1474)

²⁷Fauroux, pp. 93-6.

²⁸Leon-Robert Ménanger, "Inventaire des familles Normands et Franques emigrées en Italie méridionale et en Sicile (xi-xii siècles), in Roberto il Guiscardo e il suo tempo (Rome: Centro de Studi Normanno, 1975), 11:348-49.

²⁹This translation by Einar Joranson, "The Inception of the Career of the Normans in Italy - Legend and History," Speculum 23 no. 3 (July 1948): 372. For the original Latin see Leo of Ostia, "Chronica Monasterii Casinensis," ed. W. Wattenbach, in Monumenta Germaniae Historica, ed. George Henry Pertz (Hanover, 1846; reprint ed., N.Y.: Kraus Reprint Corporation, 1963), 7 (Scriptorum): 652.

³⁰This translation by Einar Joranson, pp. 359-60. For the original Latin see William of Apulia, "Gesta Roberti Wiscardi," ed R. Wilmans, in Monumenta Germaniae Historica, ed. George Henry Pertz (Hanover, 1846; reprint ed., N.Y.: Kraus Reprint Corporation, 1963), 9 (Scriptorum): 241-242

³¹This translation by Einar Joranson, p. 371. For the original Latin see Raoul Glaber, "Historarium sui temporis libri quinque," in Patrologia Latina, ed. J.P. Migne (Paris, 1853; reprint ed., Turnholt, Belgium: Brepols, 1975), 142: 645-46. French translation also by M. Guizot, Chronique de Raoul Glaber (Collection des mémoires relatifs à l'histoire de France (Paris: J.L.J. Briere, 1824), pp. 239-42.

³²This translation by Einar Joranson, p. 371. For the original Latin see Adémar de Chabanne, Chronicron, ed. J. Chavanon (Paris: Picard et Fils, 1896), p. 178.

³³Joranson, pp. 374-75.

³⁴White, 12: 755-56.

³⁵"...monasterium autem Sancti Petri Castellionis Radulphus de Thoenis construxit." Guillaume de Jumièges, p. 255.

36"igitur Rogerius de Toenio coenobium Castellionis construxit," Chibnall, Vitalis, 2: 10-11.

37"Pridie calendas junii dispositio D. Rogerii, fundatoris istius ecclesiae . . ." and, "D. Radulphus de Thenis dedit inter alia locum ipsum in quo monasterium situm est." Leopole Delisle and Louis Passy, eds., Memoires et notes d'Auguste Le Prevost pour servir à l'histoire de Department de L'Eure (Evreux: Imprimerie d'Auguste Herissey, 1862-72), 1: 525.

38Dom Paul Piolin, gen. ed., Gallia Christiana (Paris: Victor Palme, 1874), 11: 637.

39Musset, Origines: les Tosny, pp. 55-57.

40J. Horace Round, Calendar of Documents Preserved in France (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1899), pp. 422-23.

41Round, p. 424; Fauroux, pp. 342-43.

42Piolin, Gallia Christiana, 11: 131.

43C. Loyd, Origins of Some Anglo-Norman Families (London: John Whitehead, 1951), p. 107; H.S. King, The Norman People (London, 1874; reprint ed., Baltimore: The Genealogical Publishing Company, 1975), pp. 197-98; John Le Patourel, The Norman Empire (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), pp. 297, 337-38; William Dugdale, The Baronage of England (London: Thomas Newcomb, 1675; reprint ed., Ann Arbor, MI: University Microfilms [Wing 2480, reel 65], 1967), 1: 112; H.C. Maxwell Lyte, ed., Calendar of the Charter Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office (London: Public Record Office, 1898; reprint ed., Wiesbaden, West Germany: Kraus Reprint Corporation, 1972), 4: 296.

44William Dugdale, ed., Monasticon Anglicanum (London: Richard Hodgkinsonne, 1655; reprint ed., Westmead, England: Gregg International Publishers, 1970), 6: 994.

45I.J. Sanders, English Baronies: A Study of Their Origins and Descent 1096-1327 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960), p. 81.

46Sir Frank Stenton, Anglo-Saxon England (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1943), p. 623; R. Welldon Finn, Domesday Book: A Guide (London: Phillimore and Company Limited, 1973), p. 51.

47Paul Jousset, La France Geographie Illustreé (Paris: Librarie Larousse, 1912), 2: 319.

48H. Arthur Doubleday, gen. ed., The Victoria History of the Counties of England (London: Dawsons of Pall Mall for the University of London, 1971-), Hertfordshire, 1: 299, 325-26, 3: 217, 415-16.

⁴⁹David C. Douglas, ed., English Historical Documents (N.Y.: Oxford University Press, 1953), 1: 916; Fauroux, pp. 373-74, 400; Round, Calendar of Documents, p. 424.

⁵⁰Piolin, Gallia Christiana, 11: 128.

⁵¹Guillaume de Jumièges, pp. 157-58.

⁵²Ibid. ". . . . dum Robertus dux peregre perrexerat."

⁵³Steven Runciman, A History of the Crusades (Cambridge: University Press, 1951; reprint ed., N.Y.: Harper and Row, 1964), 1: 90.

⁵⁴". . . cum duce Richardo faciens concordiam." Clarius de Sens, Chronique de Saint-Pierre-le-Vif de Sens (Paris: Centre Nationale de La Recherche Scientifique, 1979), p. 112.

⁵⁵Adémar de Chabannes, pp. 178-79.

⁵⁶Clarius de Sens, p. 112.

⁵⁷Ibid.

⁵⁸". . . il n'est nullement certain d'autre part qu'Ermesinde ait eu une fille, et le mariage de Roger relève sans doute de la fantaisie . . ." Marcelin Defourneaux, Les Français en Espagne aux xie et xiiie siècles (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1949), p. 130. See also Boissannade, "Les Premières croisades françaises en Espagne," Bulletin Hispanique (1934): 5-28.

⁵⁹Piolin, Gallia Christiana, 11: 128.

⁶⁰Adémar de Chabannes, pp. 178-79.

⁶¹"La mémoire de ses exploits, embellis par l'imagination, s'était donc conservée dans la province dont il était originaire, et peut-être contribua-t-elle à pousser plus tard certains de ses compatriotes à suivre son exemple." Defourneaux, pp. 130-31.

⁶²Chibnall, Vitalis, 4: 206-07, 2: 68-9.

⁶³Round, Calendar of Documents, p. 526.

⁶⁴Leopold Delisle and Louis Passy, eds., Memoires et notes, 2: 606.

⁶⁵Piolin, Gallia Christiana, 11: 644.

⁶⁶Auguste Bouillet, Liber Miraculorum Sancti Fidis (Paris: Alphonse Picard et fils, 1897), pp. 128-30. See also A. Bouillet and Louis Bernard J. Servièrès, Sainte Foy, Vierge et Martyre (Rodez: E. Carrère, 1900), pp. 284, 528.

⁶⁷Joseph Bédier, Les Légendes Épiques (Paris: Librairie Ancienne Édouard Champion, 1929), 3: 313; A. Bouillet and Louis Bernard J. Servières, Sainte Foy, p. 284; Defourneaux, pp. 130-31; David C. Douglas, "The Song of Roland and the Norman Conquest of England," French Studies 14 no. 2 (April, 1960): 110-11; Boissannade, p. 20.

⁶⁸Bédier, p. 313.

⁶⁹Leopold Delisle, Histoire de château et des sires de Saint-Sauveur-le-Vicomte (Vologres: Martin, 1867), pièces 16. Also found in J.J. Vernier, ed., Chartes de l'abbaye de Jumièges (Rouen: A. Lestringant and Paris: A. Picard, 1916), 1: 63-66. Vernier however renders it "Signum Rogerii de Sconchis."

⁷⁰Guillaume de Jumièges, pp. 157-58.

⁷¹Vernier, 1: 65.

⁷²Chibnall, Vitalis, 3: 88-89.

⁷³". . . in puerica [Willelmi] vero eius Normanni genuina inquietudine concitati rebellaverunt." Orderic Vitalis, Historia Ecclesiastica, ed. Auguste Le Prevost (Paris: Julius Renouard, 1845), 1: 158.

⁷⁴Chibnall, Vitalis, 2: 40-41.

⁷⁵". . . in puerica patris tui contra rebelles gessi, in quo corruerunt Rogerius de Hispania et filii eius Elbertus et Elinantius atque plures alii." Chibnall, Vitalis, 4: 206-07.

⁷⁶Guillaume de Jumièges, p. 159; Piolin, Gallia Christiana, 11: 130.

⁷⁷Douglas, William the Conqueror, p. 422.

⁷⁸Douglas, Song of Roland, p. 111.

⁷⁹Musset, Origines: les Tosny, p. 55.

⁸⁰Chibnall, Vitalis, 4: 206-07.

⁸¹Ibid., 2: 140-41, 3: 124-25.

⁸²Chronique de Robert de Torigni, ed. Leopold Delisle (Rouen: A. Le Brument, 1872), 2: 151, 198.

⁸³Dugdale, Monasticon Anglicanum, 6: 994-95; Piolin, Gallia Christiana, 11: 131.

⁸⁴Wagner, p. 65.

⁸⁵Sir Leslie Stephan and Sir Sidney Lee, eds., The Dictionary of National Biography (London: Oxford University Press, 1909), 16: 654.

⁸⁶Fauroux, pp. 258-59.

⁸⁷For Agnes see Chibnall, Vitalis, 3: 128-29. For William see Guillaume de Jumièges, p. 159.

⁸⁸Orderic Vitalis indicates that Ralph fought in the service of the rulers of Normandy for almost sixty years (Chibnall, Vitalis, 3: 126-27). If we subtract sixty years from his known date of death in 1102, and also at least fifteen years for a roughly minimum age to begin this service, his birth would have occurred c. 1025-1030.

⁸⁹" . . . pro sepultura patris mei Rogerii." Piolin, Gallia Christiana, 11: 129.

⁹⁰Ibid., 11: 130.

⁹¹Fauroux, pp. 287-92.

⁹²Chibnall, Vitalis, 2: 38-39.

⁹³Douglas, William the Conqueror, p. 53.

⁹⁴A fuller version of this brief account is found in Douglas, William the Conqueror, pp. 66-69.

⁹⁵Ibid., p. 67.

⁹⁶Chibnall, Vitalis, 4: 88-89.

⁹⁷Guillaume de Jumièges, pp. 178-79.

⁹⁸Chronique de Robert de Torigni, 1: 46-47.

⁹⁹Guillaume de Poitiers, Histoire de Guillaume le Conquerant, ed. Raymonde Foreville (Paris: Société d'Édition, 1952), pp. 72-74.

¹⁰⁰"At dux Willelmus, audito eventu certaminis, Henricum regem tali conterruit legatione. Nuntius enim ducis, regalibus castris appropinquans, in quodam proximo monte nocte stans, fortiter clamare coepit, 'Rodulfus de Toenia nominatus sum, vobisque defero lugubre nuntium. Ad Mortuum Mare currus vestros cum carris ducite, et inde cadavera carorum vestrorum reportate. Franci quippe Normannorum militiam experiri super nos venerunt eamque multo quam voluissent majorem invenerunt. Odo frater regis turpiter fugatus est. Reliqui omnes aut capti, aut perempti sunt, aut obnixè fugientis vix evaserunt.

Hoc ex parte ducis Normannorum renunciate regi Francorum.'
Rex ut infortunium suorum audivit, a Normannica infestatione
quam citius valuit retro pedem retraxit." The Historical Works
of Master Ralph de Diceto, ed. William Stubbs (London: Longman
Press, 1876), 1: 191.

101 Chibnall, Vitalis, 2: 68-69.

102 Ibid., 2: 90-91.

103 Guillaume de Jumièges, p. 185.

104 Chibnall, Vitalis, 2: 90-92, 106, 122-24.

105 Round, Calendar of Documents, p. 137.

106 Ordericus Vitalis, Historia Ecclesiastica, ed. Auguste Le Prevost,
5: 180-81; Round, Calendar of Documents, p. 219.

107 "Porro Ernardus de Excalfoio iniuram exhereditationis suae
acriter vindicabat et rapinis incendiisque hominimque capturis
vel occisionibus Lexouiensem pagum per triennium inquietabat . . .
Burgum quoque Utincensem igne combussit et per omnes angulos
aecclesiae cum satellitibus suis nudes enses in dextris vibrantibus
Osbernum abbatem ad occisionem diu quesinit." Chibnall, Vitalis,
2: 92.

108 Ibid., 2: 104-05.

109 Ibid., 2: 104-07.

110 Ibid., 3: 128-29.

111 Robert de Torigny, 2: 150-51, 198-99.

112 Chibnall, Vitalis, 2: 140-41.

113 Douglas, English Historical Documents, 1: 916; Fauroux, pp. 373-74.

114 Fauroux, pp. 434-35.

115 Lucien Musset, Les Actes de Guillaume le Conquerant et de la reine
Mathilde pour les abbeys Caennaises (Caen: Société d'Impressions, 1967),
p. 94.

116 Chibnall, Vitalis, 2: 174-75.

117 Guillaume de Poitiers, pp. 196-97.

118 Wace, Roman de Rou, 2: 166-67

Granz merciz,' dist Raol, aiez
que nostre dreit reconoissiez,

mais le gonfanon, par me fei,
 ne sera hui portez par mei;
 hui vos claim quite cest servise,
 si vos servirai d'altre guise;
 d'altre chose vos servirai,
 en la bataille od vos irai
 e as Engleis me combatrai
 tant com jo vif estre porrai;
 saciez que ma main plus valdra
 que tels vint homes i avra." (11. 7587-7598)

¹¹⁹Domesday Book seu libri censualis Willilmi Primi Regis Angliae, ed. Abraham Farley (London: Praelo Mandatus, 1783; reprint ed., Ann Arbor, MI: Xerox University Microfilms, 1975), 1: 52, 62, 138, 168, 176, 180-83, 2: 91, 235.

¹²⁰See H.C. Darby and G.R. Versey, Domesday Gazateer (Cambridge: University Press, 1975).

¹²¹Frank Barlow, The Feudal Kingdom of England 1042-1216 (London: Longman Press, 1972), p. 114.

¹²²William J. Corbett, "The Development of the Duchy of Normandy and the Norman Conquest of England," in The Cambridge Medieval History, eds. J.R. Tanner, C.W. Previté-Orton, and Z.N. Brooke (Cambridge: University Press, 1929), 5: 506-510.

123

Ibid., p. 517.

¹²⁴Douglas, William the Conqueror, p. 269.

¹²⁵Domesday Book, ed. Abraham Farley, 1: 138, 149, 168, 196, 215, 225, 233, 314, 352-53, 2: 90, 428 -- Robert de Tosny (Belvoir). 1: 159, 291, 314, 353 - Berenger de Tosny (Belvoir). 1: 62, 158, 176, 225, 242, 2: 248 -- Robert de Stafford.

¹²⁶Ibid., 1: 278 -- Nigel de Stafford. 1: 91, 113, 138, 225, 243, 289, 2: 90, 245, 428 -- Ralph de Limesy.

¹²⁷A viewing of the citations in Domesday Book listed above will show this, such as the following example: All of the lands held by Robert de Tosny (Belvoir) in Herefordshire, Bedfordshire, Gloucestershire, Buckinghamshire, Cambridgeshire, and Northamptonshire were previously held by two thegns of King Edward named Osulf son of Franus and Ulf, a housecarl. As well, all of his lands in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire were held in a vast majority by either Turgot or a certain Erneber.

¹²⁸In one example both Robert de Tosny's (Belvoir) lands in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire and his son Berenger's lands in Oxfordshire were previously held by Turgot,

¹²⁹The names of Gislebert, Wills, Walter and Roger reoccur throughout the various family-member lands as undertenants, of whom Roger has been identified as Roger de Mussegros by Lucien Musset (Origines: les Tosny, p. 77), who held of Ralph both in Normandy and Herefordshire.

¹³⁰John Le Patourel, The Norman Empire, pp. 325-26.

¹³¹Dugdale, Baronies, 1: 469.

¹³²Domesday Book, 1: 183.

¹³³Stenton, English Feudalism, p. 64; Lynn Nelson, The Normans in South Wales (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1966), p. 72.

¹³⁴Doubleday, Victoria County Histories, Hertfordshire, 1: 282.

¹³⁵Emma Mason, The Beauchamp Cartulary Charters (London: The Pipe Roll Society, 1980), pp. xliii-xliv.

¹³⁶Doubleday, Victoria County Histories, Hertfordshire, 1: 325.

¹³⁷Stenton, English Feudalism, p. 64.

¹³⁸Chibnall, Vitalis, 6: 54-55, 84-85. Also see H.W.C. Davis, ed., Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum 1066-1154 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913), 2: 956, 1207, 1447.

¹³⁹Leopold Delisle and Louis Passy, eds., Memoires et notes, 2: 216.

¹⁴⁰Ibid., 3: 284-85; Davis, Regesta Regum, 2: 395.

¹⁴¹Orderic Vitalis, Historia Ecclesiastica, ed. Auguste Le Prevost, 5: 180-81; Round, Calendar of Documents, p. 219.

¹⁴²Vernier, 1: 104.

¹⁴³See footnote 141.

¹⁴⁴Round, Calendar of Documents, pp. 106-07; Piolin, Gallia Christiana, 11: 140; Dugdale, Monasticon Anglicanum, 2: 1055.

¹⁴⁵Dugdale, Monasticon Anglicanum, 6: 1069.

146 Marjorie Morgan, The English Lands of the Abbey of Bec (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), p. 148.

147 Dugdale, Monasticon Anglicanum, 6: 995.

148 David Knowles, ed., Medieval Religious Houses in England and Wales (London: Longman Press, 1971), p. 95.

149 Piolin, Gallia Christiana, 11: 129; Davis, Regesta Regum, 2: 252; Round, Calendar of Documents, pp. 138-39.

150 Round, Calendar of Documents, p. 529; V. Bourrienne, ed., Antiquus Cartularius Ecclesiae Baiionensis (Rouen: A. Lestringant, 1902-03), 1: 3-4.

151 Musset, Les Actes de Guillaume le Conquerant, p. 94.

152 Achille Deville, ed., "Chartularium monasterii Sanctae Trinitatis de Monte Rothomagi," in Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Bertin (Collection des cartulaires de France. vol. 3) ed. Benjamin Edme Charles Guérard (Paris, 1840), pp. 463-64; Davis, Regesta Regum, 1: 82-3.

153 "Tout cela fait bien mesquine figure au regard de ses générosités anglaises. . . " Musset, Origines: les Tosny, p. 61.

154 White, 12: 759.

155 L.H. Cottineau, Repertoire des abbayes et prieures (Macon: Protat Freres Imprimeurs, 1939), 1: 1078.

156 Robert de Torigni, 1: 339.

157 Dugdale, Monasticon Anglicanum, 3: 574-76.

158 Chibnall, Vitalis, 3: 124-27.

159 Ibid., 1: 14.

160 C. Warren Hollister, The Making of England (Boston: D.C. Heath Company 1966), p. 84.

161 Chibnall, Vitalis, 3: 171-79.

162 Davis, Regesta Regum, 2: 395.

163 White, 12: 758.

164 Musset, Origines: les Tosny, p. 61.

165 Joseph F. O'Callaghan, A History of Medieval Spain (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1975), pp. 197-98. See also Defourneaux, pp. 131-134.

166 Chibnall, Vitalis, 3: 126-27.

167 Musset, Les Actes de Guillaume le Conquerant, p. 94.

168 Davis, Regesta Regum, 2: 395; Leopold Delisle and Louis Passy, eds., Memoires et notes, 3: 284-85; Piolin, Gallia Christiana, 11: 634-35.

169 Chibnall, Vitalis, 2: 358-59.

170 Dictionary of National Biography, 16: 653; Freeman, William Rufus, 1: 233; Freeman, Norman Conquest, 4: 643.

171 Chibnall, Vitalis, 2: 356-61.

172 Davis, Regesta Regum, 2: 124; Musset, Les Actes de Guillaume le Conquerant, p. 70.

173 Chibnall, Vitalis, 3: 126-27.

174 Orderic Vitalis, Historia Ecclesiastica, ed. Auguste Le Prevost, 5: 180-81; Round, Calendar of Documents, p. 219.

175 Chibnall, Vitalis, 3: 124 (footnote 3).

176 Davis, Regesta Regum, 1: 37.

177 Chibnall, Vitalis, 3: 237-241.

178 Musset, Les Actes de Guillaume le Conquerant, pp. 86-90; Piolin, Gallia Christiana, 11: 68-72.

179 Chibnall, Vitalis, 4: 112-15.

180 Ibid., 4: 154-55.

181 Ibid., 4: 212-15. For the full account of the feud see pp. 215-17.

182 Ibid., 4: 217-19.

183 Ibid., 4: 236-37.

184 Ibid.

185 Ibid., 5: 26-27.

- 186 Achille Deville, pp. 463-64; Davis, Regesta Regum, 1: 82-83.
- 187 Charles Homer Haskins, Norman Institutions, p. 68.
- 188 Vernier, 1: 120-21.
- 189 Chibnall, Vitalis, 4: 252.
- 190 Ibid., 4: 218-19.
- 191 Albert d'Aix, "Historiae," in Recueil des Historiens de Croisades publié par les soins de l'Academie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1879; reprint ed., Farnborough, England: 1967), 4: 357-58.
- 192 Willermus Tyrensi Archiepiscopo, "Historia Rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum," in Recueil des Historiens des Croisades publié par les soins de l'Academie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1879; reprint ed., Farnborough, England: 1967), 1: 401-02.
- 193 Chibnall, Vitalis, 4: 218-19.
- 194 Ibid., 3: 128-29 (footnote 1).
- 195 Ibid., 5: 216-17.
- 196 Ibid., 5: 266-69.
- 197 Ibid., 5: 300-01.
- 198 Ibid., 5: 301.
- 199 Ibid., 3: 128-29, 6: 36-37.
- 200 See John Morris, gen. ed., Domesday Book (Chichester, England: Phillimore and Company, 1975-), 5 (Berkshire): 60a-60b, 14 (Oxfordshire): 157b; Doubleday, Victoria County Histories, Hampshire, 1: 516.
- 201 Leopold Delisle, Histoire de château et des sires de Saint-Sauveur-le-Vicomte (Vologres: Martin, 1867).
- 202 Corbett, 5: 511.
- 203 Douglas, William the Conqueror, pp. 172-73.
- 204 Frank Barlow, Edward the Confessor (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1970), pp. 307-68.

²⁰⁵ See Guillaume de Poitiers, pp. 266-68; J. Horace Round, "The Counts of Boulogne as English Lords," in Studies in Peerage and Family History (London, 1901; reprint ed., Baltimore, The Genealogical Publishing Company, 1970), p. 147.

²⁰⁶Freeman, The Norman Conquest, 4: 746-47.

²⁰⁷Chibnall, Vitalis, 4: 212-215.

²⁰⁸Ibid., 3: 126-29.

²⁰⁹Ibid., 2: xiii.

²¹⁰Antonia Gransden, Historical Writing in England c. 550-c. 1307 (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1974), p. 152.

²¹¹Ibid., pp. 163-64.

²¹²Chibnall, Vitalis, 6: 54-55.

²¹³Ibid., 6: 56-57.

²¹⁴" . . . la consolidation de la Conquête a eu sur l'aristocratie normande une influence considérable. La classe dirigeante a désormais réservé sa hardiesse novatrice -- qui jusque là avait fait sa force dans tous les domaines -- pour sa politique anglaise. En Normandie elle ne mena, de plus en plus, qu'une politique à courtes vues, d'étroite conservation et d'administration courante, sans dynamisme aucun." Musset, Origines: les Tosny, p. 61.

²¹⁵Ralph III de Tosny was born c. 1025-30. Therefore he was about 36-41 years of age at the time of the Conquest.

²¹⁶Jean Richard, Le Cartulaire de Marcigny-sur-Loire 1045-1144 (Dijon: Société des Analecta Burgundia, 1957), p. 70.

²¹⁷Chibnall, Vitalis, 3: 128-29.

²¹⁸Ibid., 6: 55-57.

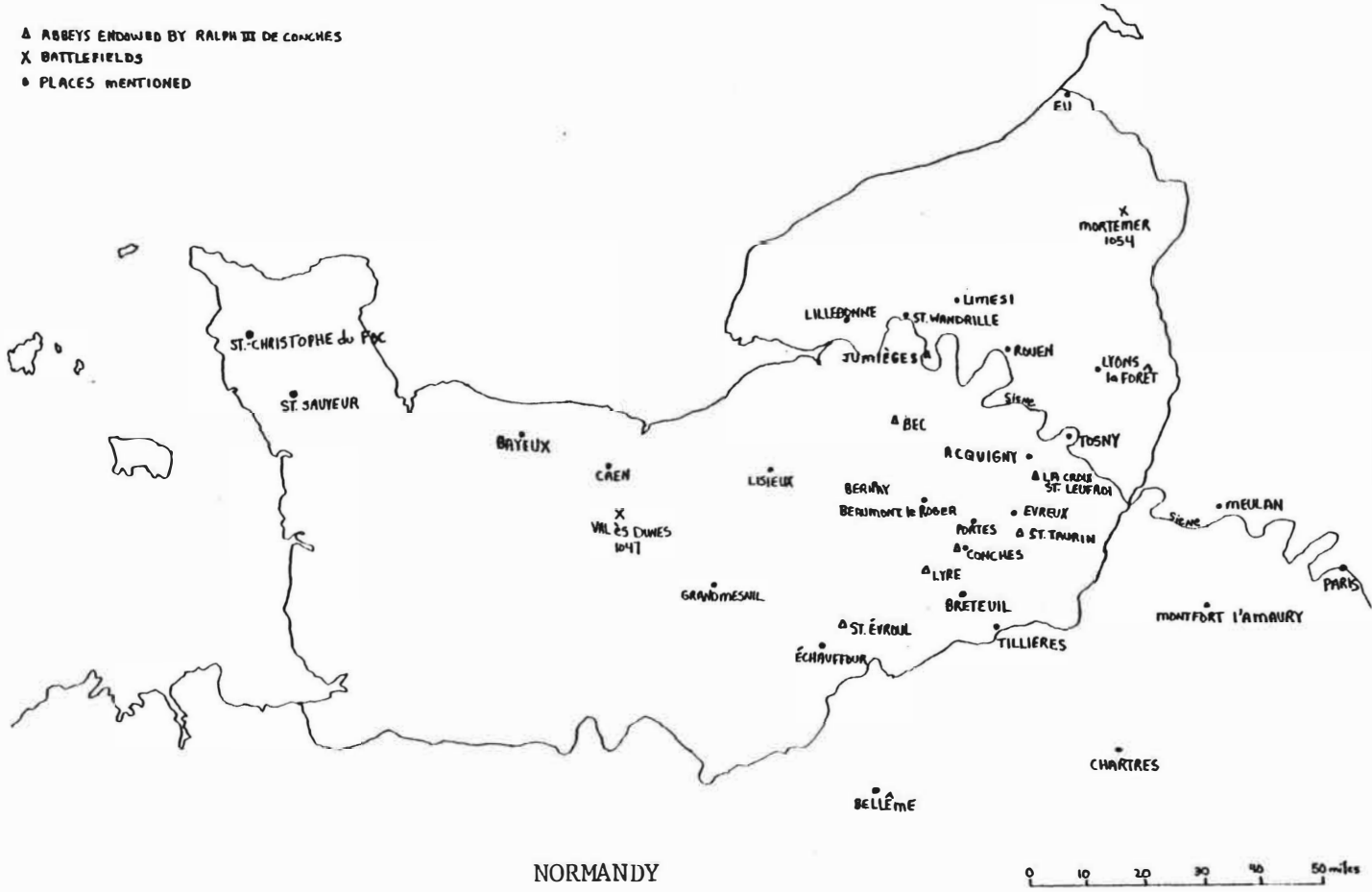
²¹⁹Guillaume de Jumièges, pp. 326-27.

²²⁰'Dictus autem Simon [Simon of Senlis] Aliciam, sororem uxoris suae, tradidit in uxorem nobili viro Radulfo de Tony [IV], cum centum libratis terre de honore de Huntendon, cum Welchametowia, Kercelinges, et aliis terris et possessionibus." Willelmus monachus Croilandiensi, "Vita et passio Waldevi Comitum," in Chroniques Anglo-Normands, ed. Francisque Xavier Michel (Rouen: Edouard Frère, 1836), 2: 126.

- 221 Chibnall, Vitalis, 6: 56-57.
- 222 Ibid., 6: 84-85.
- 223 Ibid., 6: 222-223.
- 224 Davis, Regesta Regem, 2: 95, 147, 197.
- 225 Mason, p. 1x.
- 226 Chibnall, Vitalis, 3: 128-29.
- 227 Stenton, Anglo-Norman England, p. 623.
- 228 Dugdale, Baronies, 1: 112.
- 229 Davis, Regesta Regum, 2: 161; Lyte, Calendar of the Charter Rolls, 4: 296. See also the discussion concerning Berenger on page fifteen of this paper.
- 230 Sanders, p. 12.
- 231 Ibid.
- 232 Wagner, p. 66.
- 233 Davis, Regesta Regum, 2: 199.
- 234 Sanders, p. 12.
- 235 Le Patourel, Norman Empire, p. 338.
- 236 Loyd, p. 107.

- △ ABBEYS ENDOWED BY RALPH III DE CONCQUES
- X BATTLEFIELDS
- PLACES MENTIONED

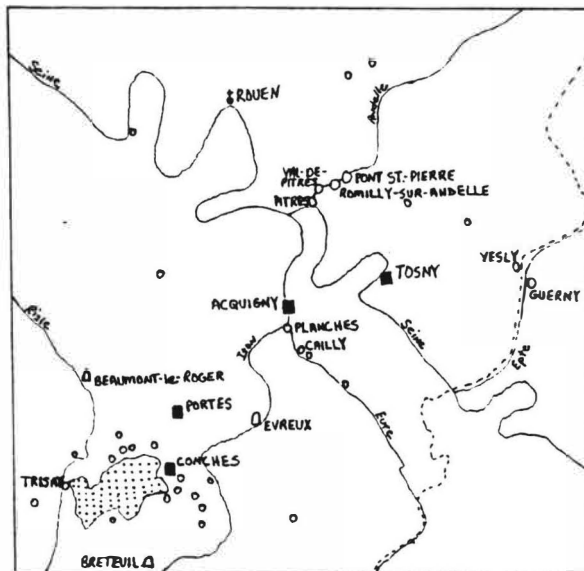
85



NORMANDY

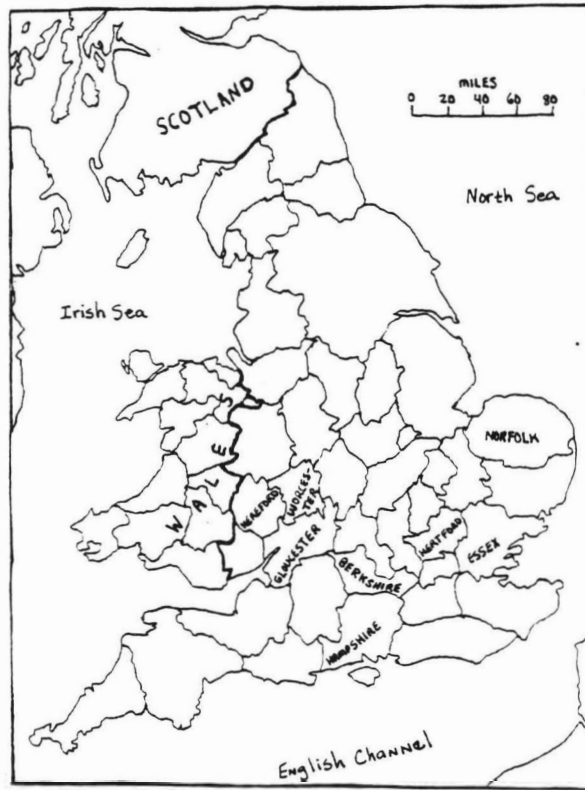
APPENDIX A
 MAPS

DETAIL OF THE TOSNY LANDS (11th-12th CENTURIES)



- TOSNY CASTLES IN 1119
 - VARIOUS TOSNY LANDS
 - ⊙ ARCHBISHOPRIC
 - RIVAL BARDONIES
 - ▨ FOREST OF CONCHES
 - - - FRONTIER OF NORMANDY
- 0 10 20 km

THE ENGLISH LANDS OF RALPH III DE CONCHES



HEREFORDSHIRE



WORCESTERSHIRE



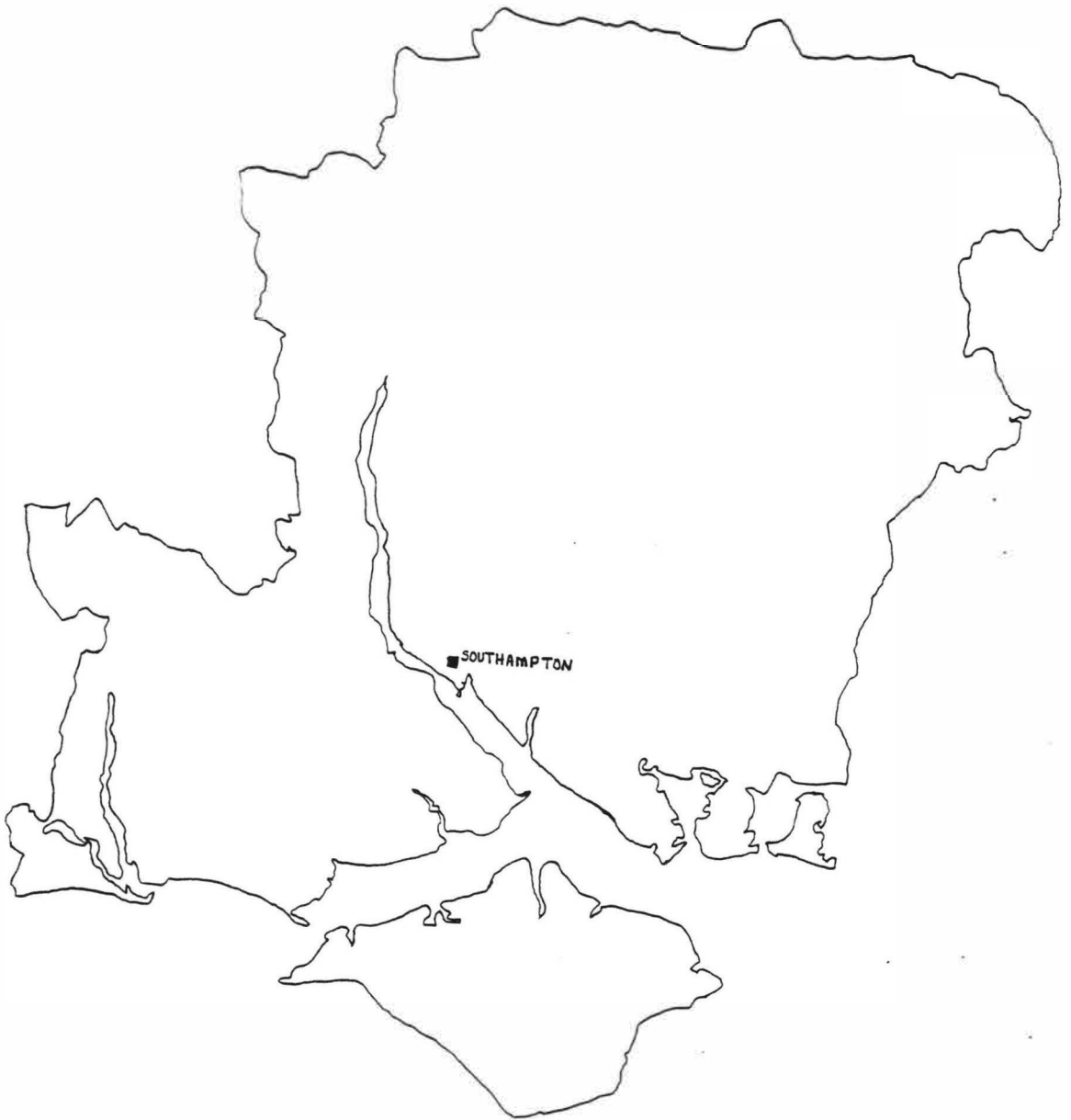
GLoucestershire



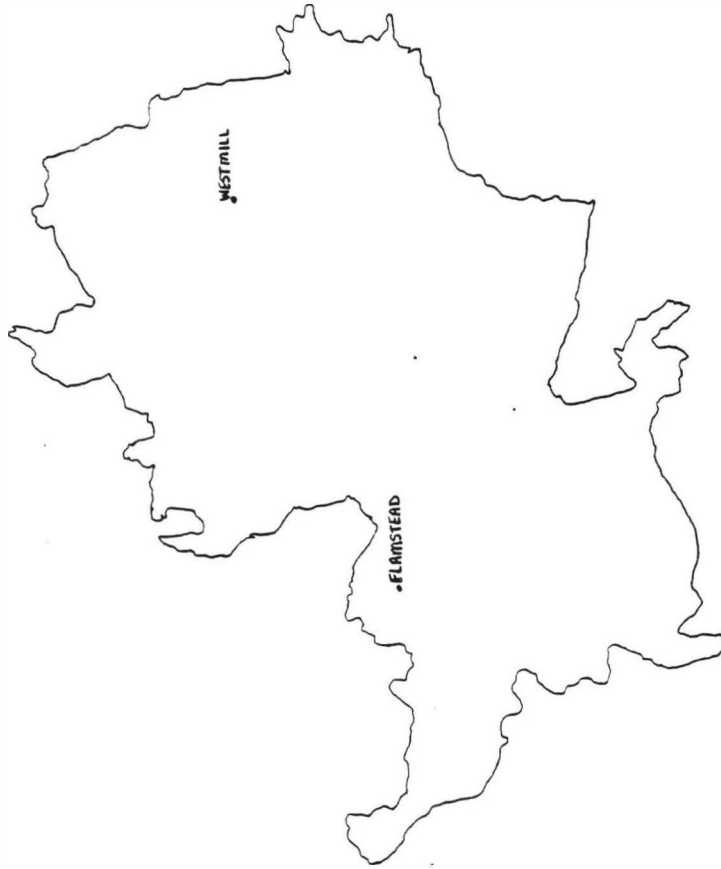
BERKSHIRE



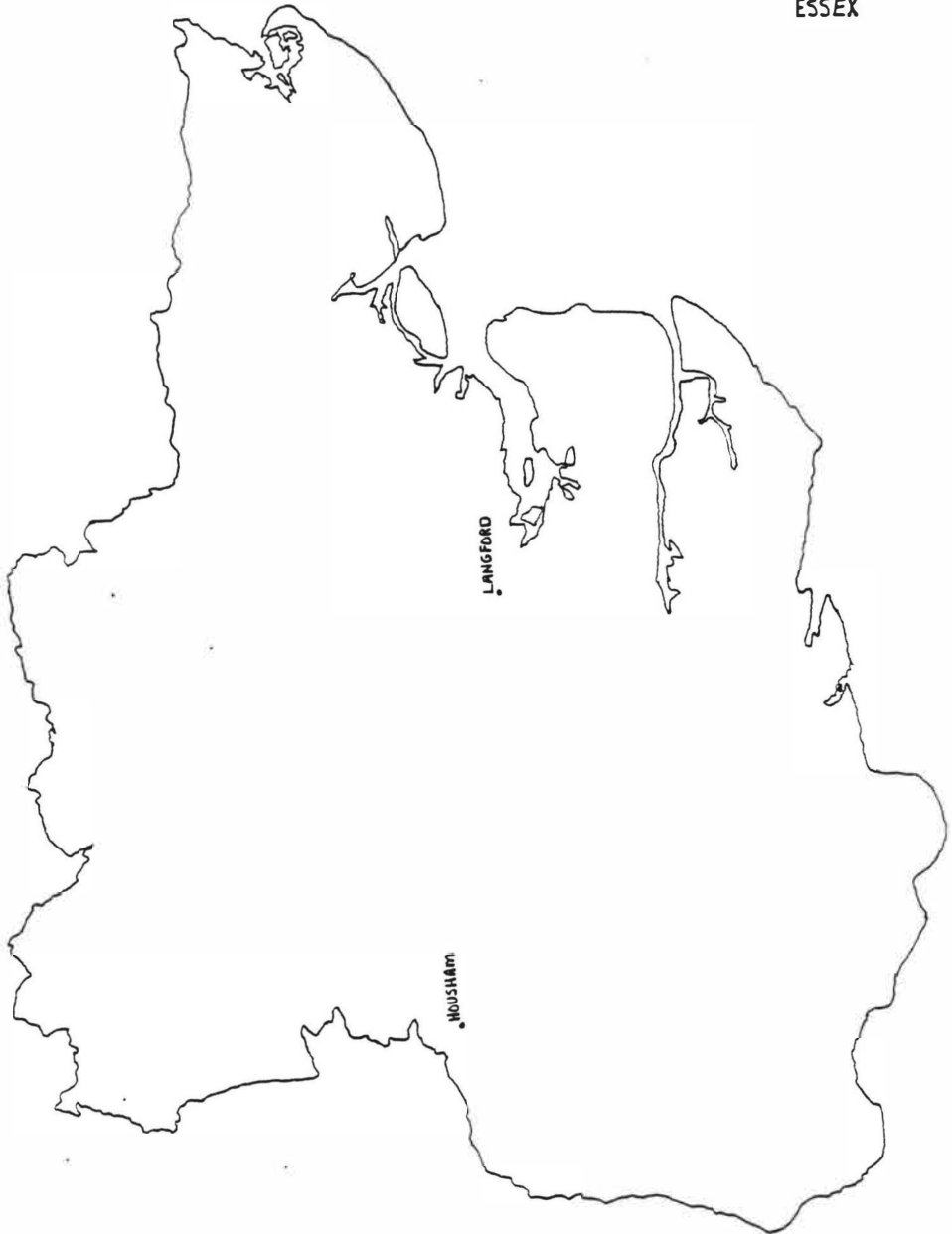
HAMPSHIRE

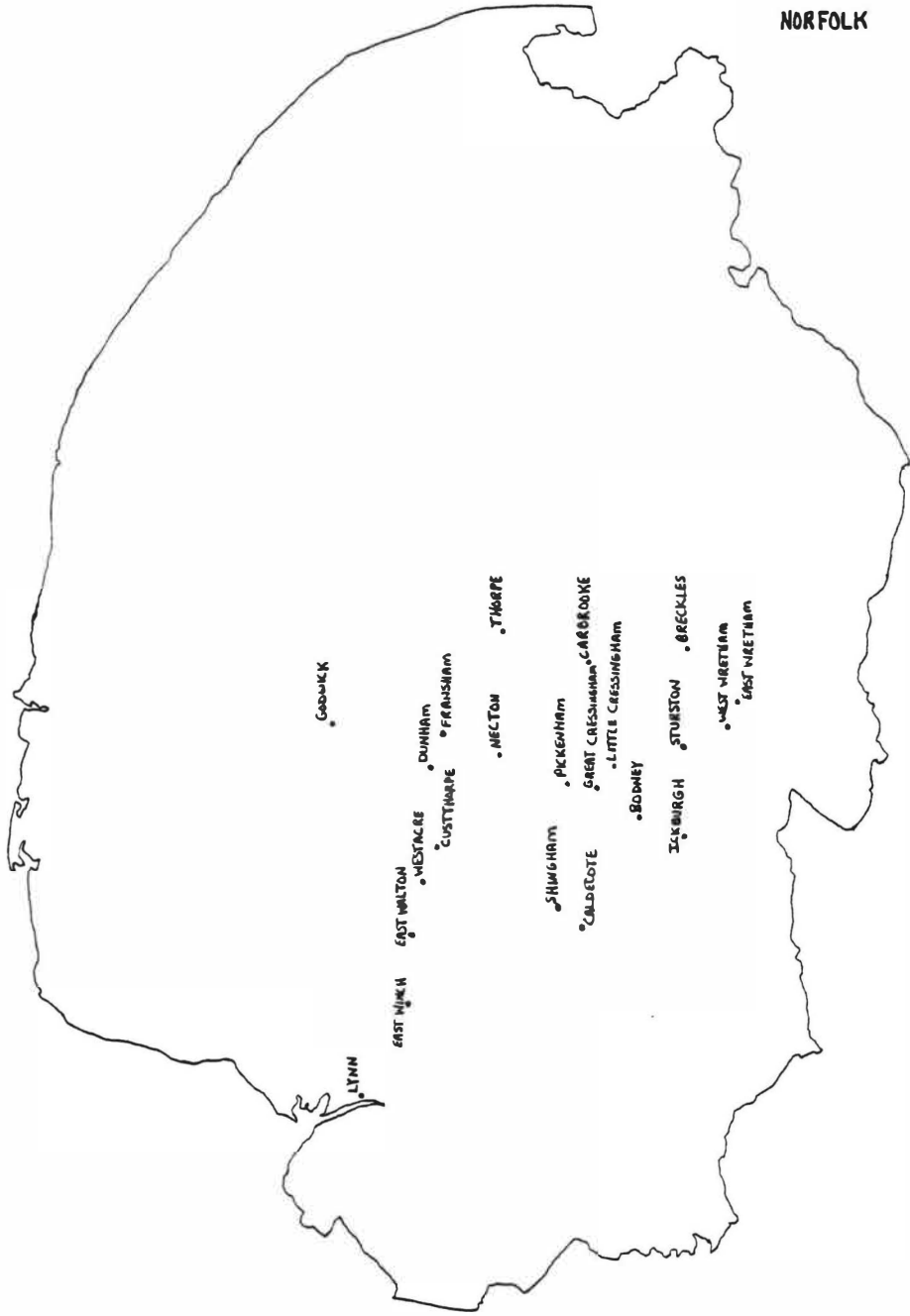


HERTFORDSHIRE



ESSEX





NORFOLK

GABWICK

EAST WILTON

WESTACRE

DUNHAM

CUSTWAKE

FRANSHAM

NECTON

THORPE

SHINGHAM

PICKHAM

GREAT CRESSINGHAM

CARBOCKE

LITTLE CRESSINGHAM

BODNEY

ICKBURGH

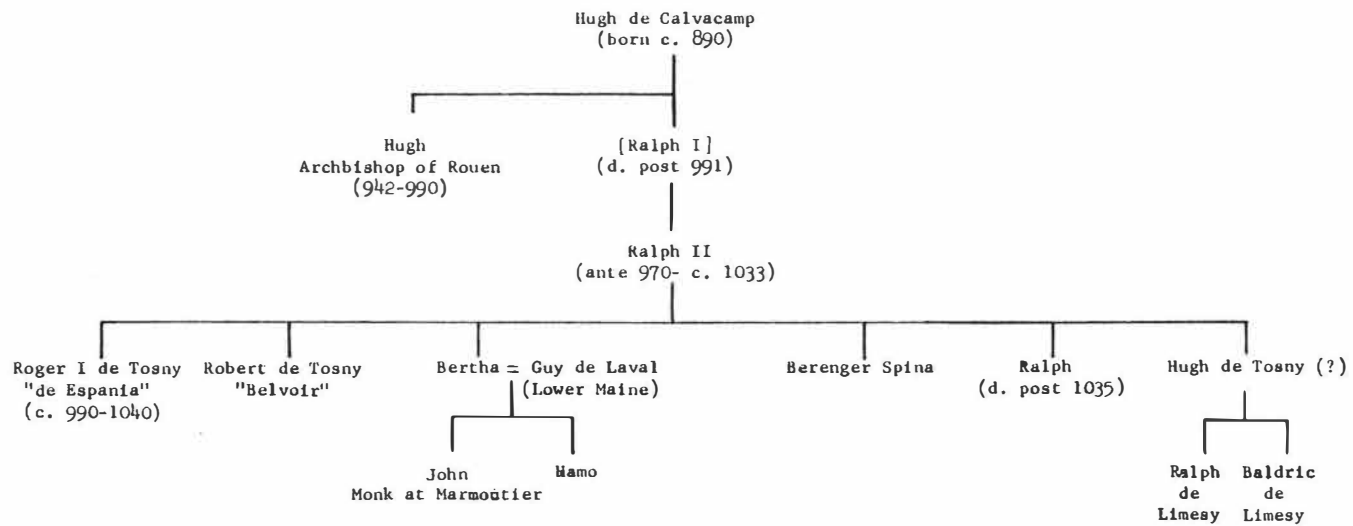
STUNSTON

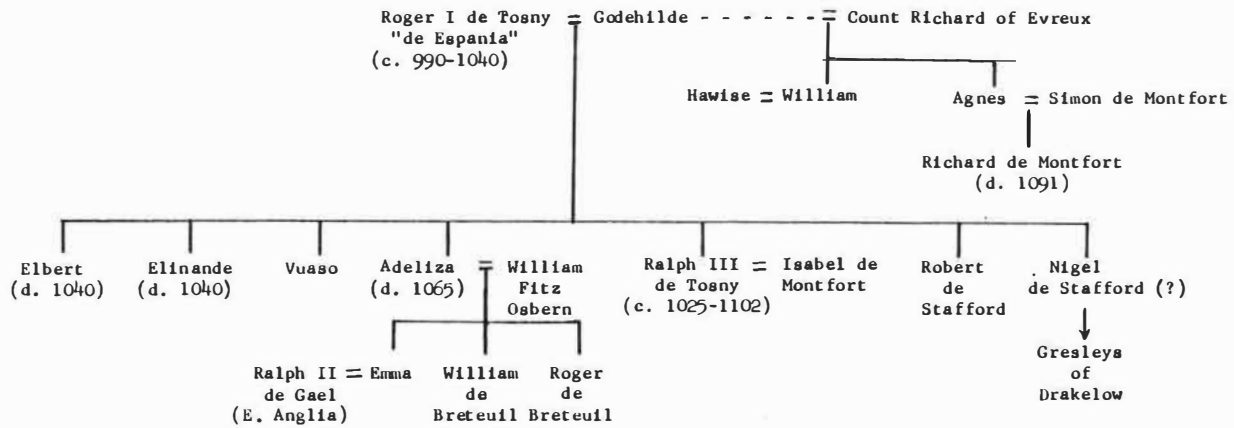
BRECKLES

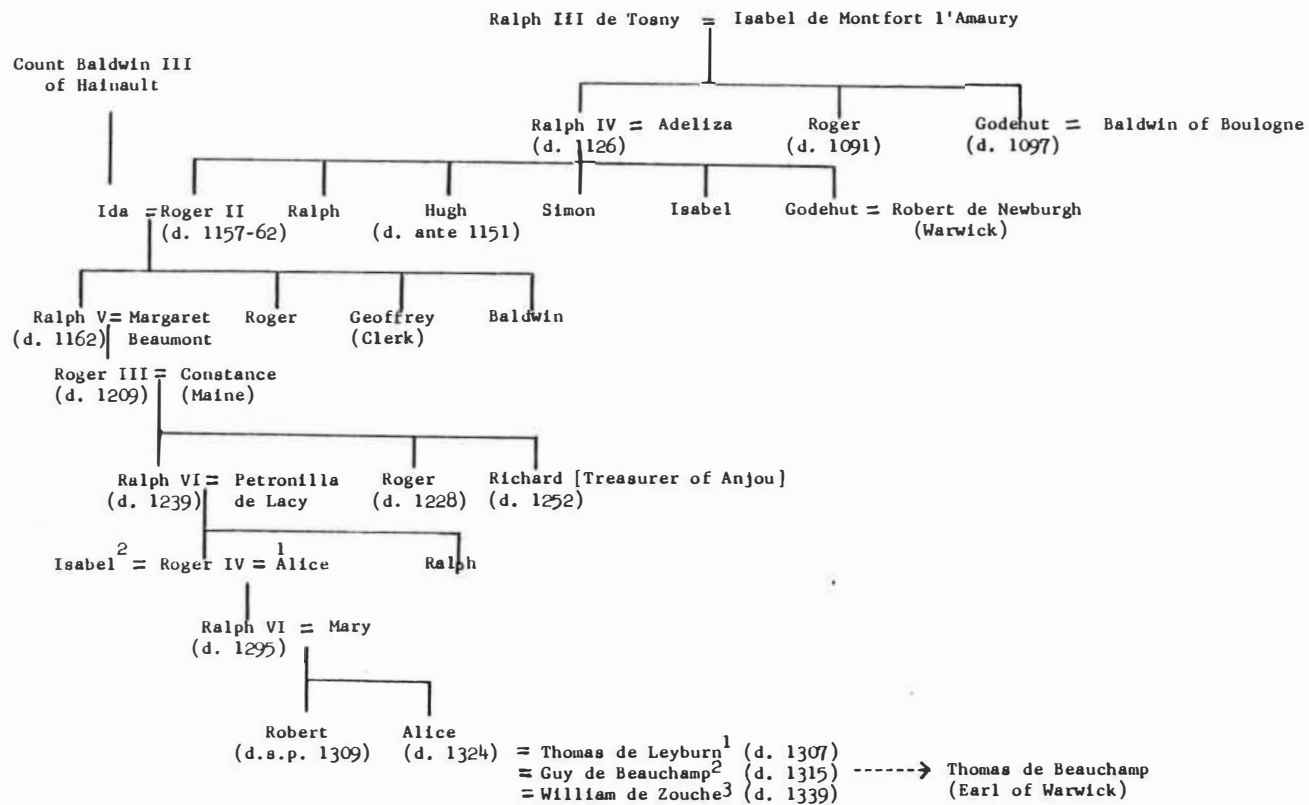
WEST WRETTON

EAST WRETTON

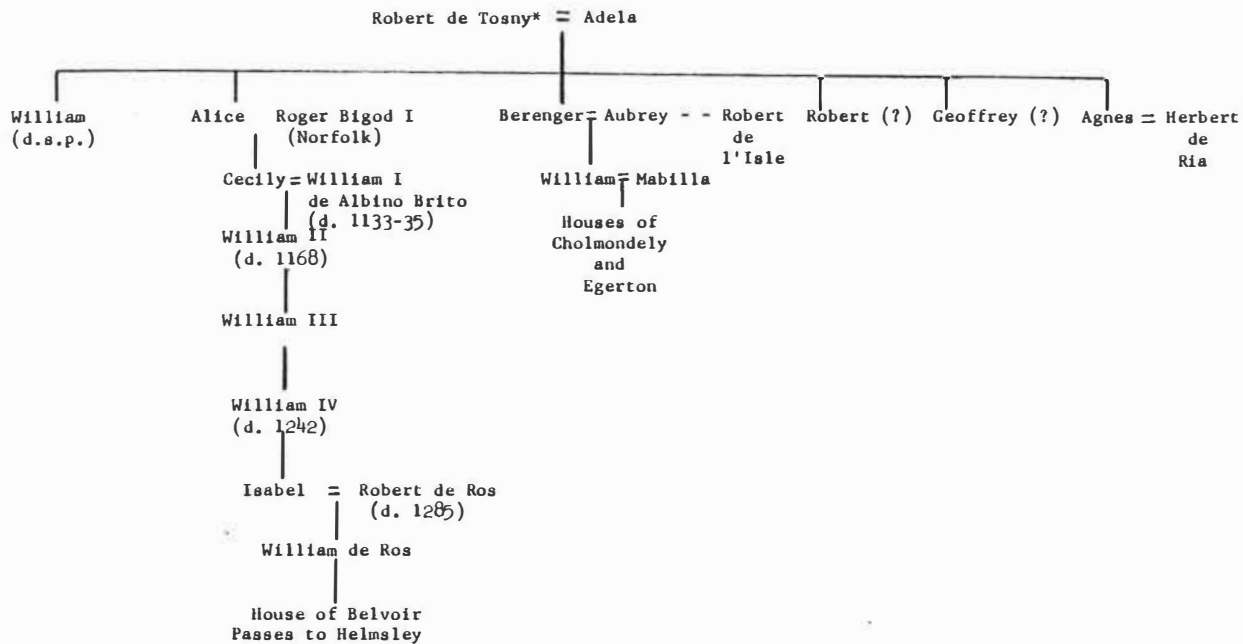
LYNN





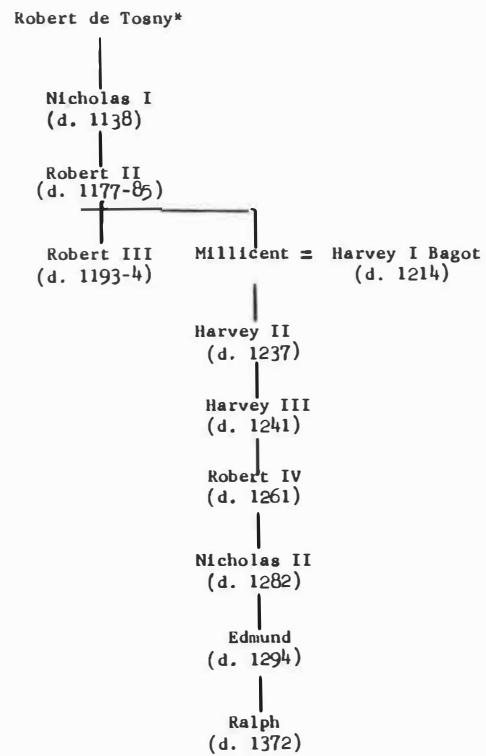


BELVOIR TOSNYS



*Uncle of Ralph III de Tosny (d. 1102)

STAFFORD TOSNYS



*Brother of Ralph III de Tosny (d. 1102)

APPENDIX C

DATED ITINERARY OF THE EARLY TOSNY MEN

Date	Event	See Footnote
942	Hugh made Archbishop of Rouen by William Longsword.	9
c. 942-989	Tosny lands given to Ralph I by Hugh.	6
991	Ralph I witnesses a charter between Richard I and Ethelred II at Rouen.	24
c. 996-1026	Ralph II witnesses a charter of Richard II to Lisieux.	23
c. 1013-14	Ralph II and Roger I charged with guarding the ducal castle of Tillières.	25
c. 1014-21	Ralph II witnesses a charter of Richard II to Notre Dame de Chartres promulgated in Rouen.	27
c. 1017	Ralph II leads an Italian expedition, possibly because of exile.	28
c. 1018-26	Roger I leads a Spanish expedition, possibly because of exile.	55
c. 1031-32	Roger I witnesses a charter of Robert I to St. Wandrille.	63
1035	Roger I founds a church at Conches to Ste. Foy.	66
c. 1040	Roger I witnesses a charter of Count William of Arques to the abbey of Jumièges.	69
c. 1039-40	Roger I killed, along with his sons Elbert and Elinande, in a battle with Roger of Beaumont.	74

APPENDIX D

DATED ITINERARY OF RALPH III DE TOSNY

Date	Event	See Footnote
c. 1025-30	Birth of Ralph III de Tosny	88
c. 1040 (?)	Ralph and his mother grant gifts to the abbey of Conches.	89
1050	Ralph witnesses a charter of Duke William to the abbey of St. Evroul.	91
1054	Ralph participates in the Battle of Mortimer.	96
ante 1060 (?)	Ralph marries Isabel de Montfort l'Amaury	110
1061	Ralph witnesses a charter of Roger Porchet, et. al. to the abbey of Bernay.	105
c. 1061-63	Ralph assists Arnold d'Échauffour in pillaging and burning St. Evroul.	106
c. 1061-63	Ralph is exiled by Duke William.	102
1063	Ralph recalled from exile. Perhaps joined William in the incursions into Maine and Brittany.	108
1065-66	Ralph witnesses a charter of Duke William to Montvilliers.	114
1066	Ralph approved a charter of his vassal Roger de Clères to the abbey of St. Ouen.	113
c. 1066-83	Ralph witnesses a charter of William and Matilda to St. Trinité de Caen.	115
1066	Present at the Council of Lillebonne when the decision to invade England was made.	112
1066	Fought at the Battle of Hastings	116

DATED ITINERARY OF RALPH III DE TOSNY (cont.)

Date	Event	See Footnote
c. 1066-71	Ralph leaves on a Spanish venture.	158
c. 1071-83	Ralph gives gifts to the abbey of La-Croix-St.-Leufroi.	162
1074	Ralph confirmed the sale of land to Bishop Odo of Bayeaux by his vassal Herbert de Agnellis.	150
1078	Ralph or his son of the same name supported Robert Curthose in rebellion against King William.	169
c. 1080-82	Ralph witnesses a charter of King William to the abbey of St. Stephan de Caen.	172
c. 1080-81	Ralph goes to England with his former personal doctor Goisbert, and gives the manors of Caldecote and Alton to the abbey of St. Evroul through the agency of Goisbert. A charter is drawn up to verify the gifts.	174
1081	Ralph witnesses King William's charter verifying all English grants to the abbey of St. Evroul, of which Ralph's are mentioned. This was promulgated at Winchester.	176
1082	Ralph witnesses a charter of King William and Matilda to the abbey of St. Trinité de Caen.	178
1087	Ralph ousts the royal garrisons from his castles at the death of King William.	179
1088	Ralph joins in Duke Robert Curthose's invasion of Maine.	180

DATED ITINERARY OF RALPH III DE TOSNY (cont.)

Date	Event	See Footnote
c. 1090-91	Ralph participates in a family feud with Count William of Evreux. Duke Robert neglects Ralph and he turns to King William Rufus for support. The King responds and gains Ralph as vassal.	181
1091	With Rufus at Eu.	183
1091	Probably present at the provincial synod in Rouen and the inquest into ducal rights at Caen.	189
1091	Ralph reaffirms a disputed gift given by his vassal to the abbey of St. Trinité du Mont in Rouen.	186
1092	Ralph witnesses a charter of Archbishop William of Rouen to the abbey of Bec.	187
c. 1092-96	Ralph witnesses a charter of Duke Robert to St. Mary's of Lisieux.	188
1098	King William Rufus lodged at Conches while on the way to invade the French Pontoise.	195
1099	Ralph was present at the dedication of the new altars at St. Evroul, where he confirmed his earlier gifts and added to them.	196
1100	Ralph joined Count William of Evreux in attacking the Beaumont lands of the Count of Meulan. This occurred upon the death of William Rufus and was done apparently out of vengeance.	197
1102	Ralph dies on March 24, and is buried at the family monastery of Conches.	199

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Ademari Cabennensis. Chronicron (Collection de textes pour servir à l'étude à l'enseignement de l'histoire). Edited by J. Chavanon. Paris: Alphonse Picard et fils, 1896.
- Albert d'Aix. "Historiae." In Recueil des historiens des Croisades publié par les soins de l'Académie royale des inscriptions et belles-lettres, 4: 268-713. Edited by Hase; Quatremère; Reinard; and Guérard. 5 vols. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1879; reprint ed., Farnborough, England: Gregg Press Limited, 1967.
- Altschul, Michael. Anglo-Norman England 1066-1154. Cambridge: University Press, 1969.
- Barlow, Frank. Edward the Confessor. London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1970.
- Barlow, Frank. The Feudal Kingdom of England 1042-1216. London: Longman, Green and Company, 1955.
- Barlow, Frank. William Rufus. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983.
- Bates, David. Normandy Before 1066. New York: Longman Press, 1982.
- Beaunier, Dom. Abbayes et prieures de l'ancienne France (Archives de la France Monastique). 45 vols. Paris: Alphonse Picard, 1925.
- Bédier, Joseph. Les Légendes Épiques. 3rd ed. 3 vols. Paris: Édouard Champion, 1929.
- Benoît de Sainte Maure. Chronique des Ducs de Normandie. Edited by Carin Fahlin. 3 vols. London: Carl Bloms Boktryckeri, 1951-67.
- Boissannade, P. "Les premières françaises en Espagne." Bulletin Hispanique 34 (1934): tome 36: 5-28.
- Bouillet, Auguste. Liber Miraculorum Sancte Fidis. Paris: Alphonse Picard et fils, 1897.
- Bouillet, Auguste et Servières, Louis Bernard J. Sainte Foy, vierge et martyre. Rodez: E. Carrère, 1900.
- Bouquet, M., gen. ed. Recueil des historiens des Gauls et de la France (Nouvelle édition, publiée sous la direction de M. Leopold Delisle). 19 vols. Paris: Victor Palme, 1869.

- Bourrienne, V., ed. Antiquus Cartularius Ecclesiae Baioncensis. Rouen: A. Lestringant, 1902-03.
- Chibnall, Marjorie. Select Documents of the English Lands of the Abbey of Bec. London: The Royal Historical Society, 1951.
- Clarius de Sens. Chronique de St.-Pierre-le-Vif de Sens. Edited by Robert-Henri Bautier and Monique Gilles. Paris: Centre Nationale de la Recherche Scientifique, 1979.
- Cockayne, G.E., gen. ed. The Complete Peerage. 13 vols. London: St. Catherine's Press, 1910-59.
- Corbett, William J. "The Development of the Duchy of Normandy and the Norman Conquest of England." In The Cambridge Medieval History, 5: 481-520. Edited by J.R. Tanner; C.W. Previté-Orton; and Z.N. Brooke. Cambridge: University Press, 1929.
- Cottineau, L.H. Repertoire des abbayes et prieures. 2 vols. Macon: Protat Freres, 1939.
- Crispin, J. Jackson and Macary, Leonce. Falaise Roll Recording Prominent Companions of William, Duke of Normandy, at the Conquest of England. London, 1938; reprint ed. with additions and corrections by G. Andrews Moriarty, Baltimore: The Genealogical Publishing Company, 1969.
- Darby, H.C. Domesday England. Cambridge: University Press, 1977.
- Darby, H.C. Domesday Gazateer. Cambridge: University Press, 1975.
- David, Charles W. Robert Curthose. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1920.
- Davis, G.R.C. Medieval Cartularies of Great Britain. London: Longman, Green and Company, 1958.
- Davis, H.W.C., ed. Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum 1066-1154. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913.
- Davis, R.H.C. The Normans and their Myth. London: Thames and Hudson, 1976.
- Defourneaux, Marcelin. Les Français en Espagne aux xie et xiiie siècles. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1949.
- Delisle, Leopold. Histoire de château et des sires de Saint-Sauveur-le-Vicomte. Vologres: Martin, 1867.

- Delisle, Leopold and Passy, Louis, eds. Memoires et notes d'Auguste Le Prevost pour servir à l'histoire de Department de L'Eure. 3 vols. Evreux: Auguste Herissey, 1862-72.
- de Monstier, Arthur. Neustria Pia seu de omnibus et singulis abbatiis et prioratibus totius Normaniae. Rouen: J. Berthelin, 1663.
- Deville, Achille, ed. "Chartularium monasterii Sanctae Trinitatis de Monte Rothomagi." In Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Bertin (Collection des cartulaires de France, vol. 3), pp. 403-487. Edited by Benjamin Edme Charles Guérard. Paris, 1840.
- Deville, Étienne, ed. Cartulaire de l'église de la Saint-Trinité de Beaumont-le-Roger. Paris: Librairie Ancienne, 1912.
- Domesday Book seu libri censualis Willilmi Primi Regis Angliae. Edited by Abraham Farley. 4 vols. London: Praelo Mandatus, 1783; reprint ed., Ann Arbor, MI: Xerox University Microfilms, 1975.
- Doubleday, H. Arthur, gen. ed. Victoria History of the Counties of England. 123 vols. to date. London: Dawsons of Pall Mall for the University of London, 1971-.
- Douglas, David C. "Companions of the Conqueror." History 28 (September 1943): 129-147.
- Douglas, David C., gen. ed. English Historical Documents. 12 vols. New York: Oxford University Press, 1953.
- Douglas, David C. The Norman Achievement 1050-1100. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1964.
- Douglas, David C. "The Song of Roland and the Norman Conquest of England." French Studies 14 no. 2 (April, 1960): 99-116.
- Douglas, David C. William the Conqueror. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1964.
- Dugdale, William, ed. Monasticon Anglicanum. 6 vols. London: Richard Hodgkinsonne, 1655; reprint ed., Westmead, England: Gregg International Publishers, 1970.
- Dugdale, William. The Baronage of England. 2 vols. London: Thomas Newcomb, 1675; reprint ed., Ann Arbor, MI: University Microfilms, [Wing 2480, reel 65], 1967.
- Ellis, Henry. A General Introduction to Domesday Book. 2 vols. Baltimore: The Genealogical Publishing Company, 1973.

- Farrar, William. Early Yorkshire Charters. Wakefield, England: Yorkshire Archaeological Society, 1963.
- Fauroux, Marie, ed. Receuil des actes des Ducs de Normandie (911-1066). Caen: Société d'Impressions, 1961.
- Finberg, H.P.R. The Early Charters of the West Midlands. Leicester, England: University of Leicester Press, 1961.
- Finn, R. Welldon. Introduction to Domesday Book. New York: Barnes and Noble, 1963.
- Finn, R. Welldon. The Domesday Book: A Guide. London: Phillimore and Company Limited, 1973.
- Finn, R. Welldon. The Domesday Inquest. 2nd ed. London: Longman, Green and Company, 1962.
- Freeman, Edward A. The History of the Norman Conquest of England. 6 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1877.
- Freeman, Edward A. The Reign of William Rufus. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1882; reprint ed., New York: A.M.S. Press, 1970.
- Glaber, Raoul. Chronique (Collection des memoires relatifs à l'histoire de France). Translated by M. Guizot. Paris: J.L.J. Briere, 1824.
- Glaber, Raoul. "Historarium sui temporis libri quinque." In Patrologia cursus completus omnium ss. patrum. doctorum scriptorumque ecclesiasticorum sive Latinorum, 142: 611-698. Edited by J.P. Migne. Paris: 1853; reprint ed., Turnholt, Belgium: Brepols, 1975.
- Gransden, Antonia. Historical Writing in England c. 550-c. 1307. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1974.
- Gross, Charles. A Bibliography of English History to 1485. Edited by Edgar B. Graves. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1915.
- Gross, Charles. Sources and Literature of English History from Earliest Times to about 1485. London: Longman, Green and Company, 1900.
- Guillaume de Jumièges. Gesta Normannorum Ducum. Edited by Jean Marx. Paris: Auguste Picard, 1914.
- Guillaume de Poitiers. Histoire de Guillaume Le Conquerant. Edited by Raymonde Foreville. Paris: Société d'Édition, 1952.

- Hall, Hubert. A Select Bibliography for the Study, Sources and Literature of English Medieval Economic History. New York: Burt Franklin, 1913.
- Haskins, Charles Homer. Norman Institutions. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1918.
- Hollister, C. Warren. The Making of England. Boston: D.C. Heath, 1966.
- Hollister, C. Warren. "The Strange Death of William Rufus." Speculum 48 no. 4 (October, 1978): 637-653.
- Joannes Archiepiscopus Rotomagensis. "Acta Archiepiscoporum Rotomagensium." In Patrologia cursus completus omnium ss. patrum, doctorum, scriptorumque ecclesiasticorum sive Latinorum, 147: 273-280. Edited by J.P. Migne. Paris, 1853; reprint ed., Turnholt, Belgium: Brepols, 1975.
- Joranson, Einar. "The Inception of the Career of the Normans in Italy -- Legend and History." Speculum 23 no. 3 (July, 1948): 353-396.
- Jousset, Paul. La France: Géographie Illustrée. 2 vols. Paris: Librairie Larousse, 1912.
- King, H.S. The Norman People. London, 1874; reprint ed., Baltimore: The Genealogical Publishing Company, 1975.
- Knowles, David and Hadcock, R. Neville, eds. Medieval Religious Houses in England and Wales. London: Longman Press, 1971.
- Laffont, Robert. Histoire générale des églises de France, Belgique, Luxembourg, Suisse. 5 vols. Sorbonne: University Press, 1966.
- Leo of Ostia. "Chronica Monasterii Casinensis." Edited by W. Wattenbach. In Monumenta Germaniae Historica, 7 (Scriptorum): 551-844. Edited by George Henry Pertz. Hanover, 1846; reprint ed., New York: Kraus Reprint Corporation, 1963.
- Le Patourel, John. Norman Barons. London: Budd and Gillatt, 1966.
- Le Patourel, John. "Norman Colonization of Britain after 1066." In I Normanni e la lor espansione in Europe nell'alto medioevo (Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano de Studi sull'alto medioevo), 16: 409-438. Spoleto: Presso La Sede del Centro, 1969.
- Le Patourel, John. The Norman Empire. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976.

- Le Prevost, Auguste. "Pouillés de diocèse de Lisieux." Memoires de la société des antiquaires de Normandie 2nd series, 3 (1844): 1-100.
- Loyd, Lewis C. Origins of some Anglo-Norman Families. London: John Whitehead and Son, 1951.
- Loyn, H.R. Anglo-Saxon England and the Norman Conquest. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1962.
- Lyte, H.C. Maxwell, ed. Calendar of the Charter Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office, 6 vols. London: Public Record Office, 1898; reprint ed., Wiesbaden, West Germany: Kraus Reprint Corporation, 1972.
- Mason, Emma. The Beauchamp Cartulary Charters (1100-1268). London: Pipe Roll Society, 1980.
- Matthew, Donald. The Norman Monasteries and their English Possessions. Oxford: University Press, 1962.
- Ménanger, Leon-Robert. "Inventaire des familles normands et franques émigrées en Italie Méridionale et en Sicile (xi-xii siècles)." In Roberto il Guiscardo e il suo tempo, pp. 261-390. Rome: Centro de Studi Normanno, 1975.
- Morgan, Marjorie. The English Lands of the Abbey of Bec. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968.
- Morris, John, gen. ed. Domesday Book. 19 vols. to date. Chichester, England: Phillimore and Company, 1975-.
- Musset, Lucien. "Aux origines d'une classe dirigeante: les Tosny, grands barons de xe au xiiie siècle." Francia Band 5 (1978): 44-80.
- Musset, Lucien. "L'Aristocratie Normande au xie siècle." In La Noblesse au Moyen Age, pp. 71-96. Edited by Philippe Contamine. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1976.
- Musset, Lucien, ed. Les Actes de Guillaume Le Conquerant et de la reine Mathilde pour les abbayes Caennaises. Caen: Société d'Impressions, 1967.
- Musset, Lucien. "Naissance de la Normandie." In Documents de l'histoire de la Normandie, pp. 59-98. Edited by Michel de Bouïard. Toulouse: Edouard Privat, 1972.

- Nelson, Lynn H. The Normans in South Wales 1070-1171. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1966.
- O'Callaghan, Joseph. A History of Medieval Spain. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1975.
- Piolin, Dom Paul, gen. ed. Gallia Christiana. 16 vols. Paris: Victor Palme, 1874.
- Poole, A.L. From Domesday Book to Magna Carta 1087-1216. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1951.
- Richard, Jean, ed. Le Cartulaire de Marcigny-sur-Loire 1015-1144. Dijon: Société des analecta Burgundia, 1957.
- Richardson, H.G. and Sayles, G.O. The Governance of Medieval England from the Conquest to Magna Carta. Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh Press, 1963.
- Robert de Torigni. Chronique. Edited by Leopold Delisle. 2 vols. Rouen: A Le Brument, 1872.
- Round, J. Horace, ed. Calendar of Documents Preserved in France. London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1899.
- Round, J. Horace. Studies in Peerage and Family History. London, 1901; reprint ed., Baltimore: The Genealogical Publishing Company, 1970.
- Round, J. Horace. "The Origin of Belvoir Castle." English Historical Review 22 (July, 1907): 508-510.
- Runciman, Steven. A History of the Crusades. 3 vols. Cambridge: University Press, 1951; reprint ed., New York: Harper and Row, 1964.
- Sanders, I.J. English Baronies: A Study of their Origins and Descent 1096-1327. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960.
- Saroiñhandy, J. "La Légende de Roncevaux." In Homenaje Ofrecido a Menéndez Pidal, 2: 259-284. Madrid: Librería y casa Editorial Hernando, 1925.
- Stenton, Sir Frank M. Anglo-Saxon England. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1943.
- Stenton, Sir Frank M. The First Century of English Feudalism 1066-1166. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1979.

- Stephan, Sir Leslie and Lee, Sir Sidney, gen. eds. The Dictionary of National Biography. 22 vols. London: Oxford University Press, 1903-.
- The Historical Works of Master Ralph de Diceto. Edited by William Stubbs, 2 vols. London: Longman Press, 1876.
- Vitalis, Ordericus. Historia Ecclesiastica. Edited by Auguste Le Prevost. 8 vols. Paris: Julius Renouard et Socios, 1845.
- Vitalis, Ordericus. The Ecclesiastical History. Edited and translated by Marjorie Chibnall. 6 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980.
- Vernier, J.J., ed. Chartes de l'abbaye de Jumièges v. 825-1204. 2 vols. Paris: Auguste Picard, 1916.
- Wace. Le Roman de Rou. Edited by A.J. Holden. 3 vols. Paris: A. and J. Picard, 1970.
- Wagner, Anthony. English Genealogy. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960.
- Wharton, H., ed. Anglia Sacra. 2 vols. London: Richard Chiswell, 1691.
- Willelmus monachus Croilandiensi. "Vita et passio Waldevi Comitis." In Chroniques Anglo-Normands, 2: 99-142. Edited by Francisque Xavier Michel. 3 vols. Rouen: Edouard Frère, 1836-40.
- Willermus Tyrensi Archiepiscopo. "Historia Rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum." In Receuil des historiens des Croisades publié par les soins de l'Academie royale des inscriptions et belles-lettres, 1: 1-702. Edited by Hase; Quatremèrè; Reinard; and Guérard. 5 vols. Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1844; reprint ed., Farnborough, England: Gregg Press Limited, 1967.
- William of Apulia. "Gesta Roberti Wiscardi." In Monumenta Germanicae Historica, 9: 239-298. Edited by George Henry Pertz. Hanover, 1861; reprint ed., New York: Kraus Reprint Corporation, 1963.