

## **Origin and early generations of the Tosny family**

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## Abbreviations & symbols

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CAPITALS	names in capitals indicate people with modern descendants
▲	legitimate son
△	illegitimate son
•	legitimate daughter
◦	illegitimate daughter
▪	legitimate offspring of undetermined gender
▫	illegitimate offspring of undetermined gender
1.1	generation and individual reference number of offspring, in estimated but not definite order of seniority (with females after males where indications of comparative age are lacking)
=	married
≈	possibly married
~	extra-marital union
≠	marriage contract not (or not known to have been) fulfilled
(1)	order of marriage for the individual on that side of = or ≈
<i>italics</i>	in the table: uncertain information on that point in the notes: quotation from primary source
<u>underline</u>	the more, or most, plausible alternative where sources differ
1/2, Jan/Feb, 1000/10	range of the possible date, month or year of event
1–2, Jan–Feb, 1000–1010	duration of event, reign or tenure by date, month or year
aft	after
ann	sub anno/ad annum
b	born
bef	before
bur	buried

## Abbreviations & symbols

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ca	approximately
CP	GEC (George Edward Cokayne), <i>The Complete Peerage</i> , new edition, edd Vicary Gibbs & others, 13 vols (London, 1910–1956); vol 14: <i>Addenda &amp; Corrigenda</i> , ed Peter Hammond (Stroud, 1998)
d	died
div	marriage repudiated or formally dissolved
Jan, Feb, etc	months are abbreviated to the first three letters
k batt	killed in a battle or combat of any kind
MGH	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica</i>
Script	Scriptores (in folio)
Script rer Germ	Scriptores rerum Germanicarum
Monast Angl	William Dugdale & Roger Dodsworth, <i>Monasticon Anglicanum: A History of the Abbies and other Monasteries, Hospitals, Frieries, and Cathedral and Collegiate Churches, with Their Dependencies, in England and Wales</i> , new edition, edd John Caley, Henry Ellis & Bulkeley Bandinel, 6 vols in 8 (London, 1846)
N	unknown name of person
NN	unknown names of two or more people
nv	non vidi
PL	<i>Patrologiae cursus completus...</i> , Series latina, edd Jacques-Paul Migne & others, 221 vols in 222 (Paris, 1844–1902)
Rer Brit M A script	Rerum Britannicarum medii ævi scriptores
RHF	<i>Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France</i> , edd Martin Bouquet & others, revised Léopold Delisle, Natalis de Wailly & others, 24 vols (Paris, 1869–1904)
TRE	tempore regis Edwardi, 1042–1066

Primary sources are abbreviated as in *Novum glossarium mediae latinitatis ab anno DCCC usque ad annum MCC*, Consilium academiaram consociatarum (Copenhagen, 1957–ongoing), listed in *Index scriptorum novus* (1973) and supplements (1989 & 2005). References are to the specific page/s or column/s where the quoted text begins and ends, not to the entire document in which this occurs; and to the edition cited, not to any book, chapter or other subdivision within the source unless further specified. Quotations reproduce as far as practicable the orthography, punctuation and symbols used in the edition cited rather than making a silent redaction at second hand where the original document has not been consulted.

Most secondary works are cited by the surname/s of author or co-authors, indicated by capital letters in the bibliography, followed by date of publication and page, column or table reference. Sometimes the title of the book, series or journal is given instead (or as well), and in that case it will be placed in the list alphabetically by the title.

Clarity is the aim in this, as in the forms of names and titles used, rather than consistency for its own sake.

HUGO of *Cavalcamp*, *Calvacamp* or *Calvacaput*,<sup>1</sup> son or grandson of MALAHULCIUS (*uncle of ROLLO*)<sup>2</sup> = N<sup>3</sup>

•1.1 Hugo (*also called Wigo*),<sup>1</sup> b ca 912,<sup>2</sup> archbishop of Rouen 942<sup>3</sup> d 10 Nov 989<sup>4</sup> ~ NN<sup>5</sup>

◦2.1 NN<sup>1</sup>

•1.2 RADULF I,<sup>1</sup> b ca 915/20,<sup>2</sup> seigneur of Tosny *aft* 942,<sup>3</sup> d *aft* 1 May 991<sup>4</sup> = N<sup>5</sup>

•2.2 RADULF II,<sup>1</sup> b ca 955,<sup>2</sup> seigneur of Tosny,<sup>3</sup> d *aft* 1023<sup>4</sup> = N<sup>5</sup>

•3.1 ROGER I Hispanicus (the Spaniard),<sup>1</sup> b ca 985/95,<sup>2</sup> seigneur of Tosny,<sup>3</sup> ducal standard bearer,<sup>4</sup> k batt 31 May ca 1038/43,<sup>5</sup> bur Saint-Pierre de Conches abbey<sup>6</sup> (1) ≈ N<sup>7</sup>

[*maternity uncertain—all three possibly sons of Godehildis*]

•4.1 Elbert (Helbertus),<sup>1</sup> k batt 31 May ca 1038/43<sup>2</sup>

•4.2 Elinand (Elinancius),<sup>1</sup> k batt 31 May ca 1038/43<sup>2</sup>

•4.3 Waszo (Vuaso),<sup>1</sup> living 1037/*ca* 1045<sup>2</sup>

ROGER I Hispanicus (2) ≈ ca 1018/20<sup>8</sup> (*div by ca* 1025)<sup>9</sup> N, a Catalan lady (most probably not *Estefanía*, later wife of GARCÍA Sánchez III, *el de Nájera*, king of Navarre,<sup>10</sup> nor a *dau* of RAMON Borrell, count of Barcelona & *ERMESSEDA* of Carcassonne<sup>11</sup>); (1, 2 or 3) = bef Aug 1026 or 1027<sup>12</sup> (1)

GODEHILDIS (Gotelina),<sup>13</sup> later wife of RICHARD, count of Évreux<sup>14</sup>

•4.4 RADULF III,<sup>1</sup> b ca 1030,<sup>2</sup> seigneur of Tosny or Conches,<sup>3</sup> ducal standard bearer,<sup>4</sup> lord of Flamstead, Hertfordshire *aft* 1066/bef 1086,<sup>5</sup> d 24 Mar 1102 or 1103,<sup>6</sup> bur Saint-Pierre de Castillon abbey, Conches<sup>7</sup> = ca 1068/70<sup>8</sup> ISABELLE,<sup>9</sup> d (as a nun) Haute-Bruyère priory *aft* 1123,<sup>10</sup> *dau* of SIMON I, seigneur of Montfort-l'Amaury & ISABELLE of Broyes, dame of Nogent-le-Roi<sup>11</sup>

•5.1 Roger,<sup>1</sup> d 15 May 1092 or 1093,<sup>2</sup> bur Saint-Pierre de Conches<sup>3</sup>

•5.2 RADULF IV,<sup>1</sup> seigneur of Tosny or Conches & lord of Flamstead,<sup>2</sup> d 1126 or 1127<sup>3</sup> bur Conches abbey<sup>4</sup> = *aft* 24 Mar 1102<sup>5</sup> ALICIA (Adeliza),<sup>6</sup> lady of Walthamstow, Essex,<sup>7</sup> d *aft* 1126,<sup>8</sup> *dau* of WALTHEOF, earl of Northumberland & JUDITH of Lens (Boulogne)<sup>9</sup>

▪ see CP xii/I 762–775 for their descendants

•5.3 Godehildis (Gutuera, Godwera),<sup>1</sup> d Mar'ash, Syria ca 15 Oct 1097,<sup>2</sup> bur there<sup>3</sup> (*possibly* ≠ ROBERT I Preud'homme de Beaumont, count of Meulan, earl of Leicester,<sup>4</sup> d 5 or 6 Jun 1118<sup>5</sup>) = bef 15 Aug 1096<sup>6</sup> (1) Balduin I of Boulogne, later count of Edessa & king of Jerusalem,<sup>7</sup> d al-'Arish, northern Sinai 2 Apr 1118,<sup>8</sup> bur Holy Sepulchre church, Jerusalem<sup>9</sup>

•4.5 ADELIZA,<sup>1</sup> b ca 1030/35,<sup>2</sup> d 5 Oct 1066 or 1067,<sup>3</sup> bur Notre-Dame de Lyre abbey<sup>4</sup> = ca 1045/50<sup>5</sup> WILLIAM fitz Osbern,<sup>6</sup> b ca 1025/30,<sup>7</sup> seigneur of Breteuil 1054,<sup>8</sup> earl of Hereford & lord of the Isle of Wight ca Feb 1067,<sup>9</sup> k batt Cassel, Flanders 20 or 21 Feb 1071,<sup>10</sup> bur Notre-Dame de Cormeilles abbey<sup>11</sup>

•4.6 ROBERT de Stafford,<sup>1</sup> lord of Stafford *bef* 1072,<sup>2</sup> *sheriff of Staffordshire* 1072/85,<sup>3</sup> d (as a monk) Evesham abbey 1088,<sup>4</sup> bur there<sup>5</sup> = N (later called *AVICE de Clare*)<sup>6</sup>

- 5.4 NICHOLAS,<sup>1</sup> lord of Stafford,<sup>2</sup> sheriff of Staffordshire *bef* 1101/02–1123 & 1130–*aft* 1133,<sup>3</sup> d *bef* 8 Aug 1135/*bef* Aug 1138,<sup>4</sup> bur Stone priory<sup>5</sup> = MATILDA,<sup>6</sup> d *aft* 1135/38,<sup>7</sup> bur Stone priory<sup>8</sup>
  - see CP xii/I 169–170 for two further generations in the male line, continuing through an heiress *ibid* 170–188

RADULF II ~ N<sup>6</sup>•3.2 N,<sup>1</sup> k batt ca 1023<sup>2</sup> ≈ N<sup>3</sup>

[*the placement of these three siblings is speculative*]

- 4.7 BERTA,<sup>1</sup> d *bef* ca 1040<sup>2</sup> = *bef* 1023<sup>3</sup> (1) GUIDO I, seigneur of Laval,<sup>4</sup> d *aft* 22 Sep 1063/*bef* ca 1070<sup>5</sup>
- 4.8 ROBERT,<sup>1</sup> lord of Belvoir,<sup>2</sup> d ca 1093,<sup>3</sup> bur Belvoir priory<sup>4</sup> = ADELAIS,<sup>5</sup> d *bef* ca 1093,<sup>6</sup> bur Belvoir priory,<sup>7</sup>
  - 5.5 Berenger,<sup>1</sup> b ca 1045/50,<sup>2</sup> d 29 Jun *bef* 1115<sup>3</sup> = Albreda<sup>4</sup>
  - 5.6 William,<sup>1</sup> lord of Belvoir,<sup>2</sup> d *aft* 1100<sup>3</sup>
  - 5.7 Geoffrey<sup>1</sup>
  - 5.8 Albreda,<sup>1</sup> lady of Belvoir,<sup>2</sup> d *aft* 1115/*bef* autumn 1126<sup>3</sup> = Robert de Insula, lord of Belvoir (by right of his wife),<sup>4</sup> d *aft* 1129/30<sup>5</sup>
  - 5.9 ADELIZA,<sup>1</sup> lady of Belvoir *bef* autumn 1126,<sup>2</sup> d *aft* 1136<sup>3</sup> = (2) ROGER Bigod,<sup>4</sup> b ca 1045,<sup>5</sup> vavasor in Les Loges & Savenay,<sup>6</sup> lord of Framlingham ca 1101,<sup>7</sup> sheriff of Suffolk 1072–1075/81, 1086 & 1101/07, sheriff of Norfolk 1086 & 1100–1107,<sup>8</sup> a royal steward,<sup>9</sup> d Earsham, Suffolk 8 or 10 Sep 1107,<sup>10</sup> bur Norwich cathedral<sup>11</sup>
  - 5.10 AGNES,<sup>1</sup> d *aft* Sep 1130,<sup>2</sup> (1) = Radulf de Belfou, lord of Hockering,<sup>3</sup> d *aft* 1100/*bef* ca 1105;<sup>4</sup> (2) = (2) HUBERT de Ryes,<sup>5</sup> d *bef* 1127<sup>6</sup>
- 4.9 Berenger Spina (Hespina),<sup>1</sup> living 1063/66<sup>2</sup> ≈ N<sup>3</sup>
  - 5.11 Berenger de Spineta (*of Épinay*)<sup>1</sup>
- 1.3 N, endowed with Douvrend<sup>1</sup> (1) = Odo (Eudes), miles;<sup>2</sup> (2) = Henri, a relative of Gautier II le Blanc, count of Valois & Mantes<sup>3</sup>

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Acta Archiepisc Rotomag 38: *Hugo ... vero fuit prosapia clarus ... Todiniacum enim qui in dominicatu archiepiscopi erat cum omnibus appenditiis suis fratri suo Radulfo potentissimo viro filio Hugonis de Cavalcamp dedit.*

The word *Cavalcamp* presumably meant a paddock for horses, and does not appear to be the name of any specific place. However, it appears as *Calvacaput* in the edition by Edmond Martène in *Vet Script Coll Nov part II 239*, meaning bald head—again not identifiable with a unique place—and as *Calvacamp* in the edition by Jean Mabillon reprinted in *PL CXLVII 278*.

In this last form the designator has given rise to much discussion: if not a misreading it appears to be a copyist's error, that should mean a bare field though with the adjective of the wrong gender. Once more, no such place, under the simplest emendation to *Calvocamp(o)* or any other plausible variant, has been firmly identified.

According to Madan (1899) 3 it was 'stated to be the name of a village near Dieppe'—no reference was given, but this was perhaps an exaggeration of Carey in *N&Q* (1861) xi 234, 'It has occurred to me that *Caldecota*, now Caude-Côte, near Dieppe, might possibly be the place', and *idem* xii 111, 'At the risk of being deemed pertinacious, I must say that ... I am confirmed in my conjecture of Caude-Côte' (because of his new understanding that Roger the Spaniard 43.1 had given properties in Dieppe to Conches abbey, from *Gallia Christ xi Instrumenta 129: tertiam partem de terræ et de hospitibus quos habeo in villa quæ vocatur Dieppa*). But if this broad method is to be applied, just about any other letters may be substituted as readily to turn *Calvacamp* into a more familiar name.

Senex in *N&Q* (1861) xi 276–277 proposed that the word should be 'Gallocamp', from the supposed Latin origin of the name Castillon (that Senex thought to be 'Gallion'), the place where the Tosnys' abbey of Conches was sited, relying on *Gallia Christ xi* (misprinted as ii) 637: 'Situm est SS. Petri et Pauli ordinis S. Benedicti monasterium ad prospectum urbis Concharum orientalem ... qui locus est prope Gallionis Castrum, haud procul a Sequanâ, ex quo Toëniorum seu Toteniorum stirps originem duxit.' However, as pointed out by Carey in *N&Q* (1861) xi 337–338, Senex apparently mistook his 'Gallion' for Gaillon, close to Tosny; perhaps he was confused by 'not far from the Seine' into associating this with Castillon and Conches abbey, that are actually by the Risle some 40 km to the south-west beyond Évreux. Senex then switched tack, *ibid* xi 413, advancing instead the notion that *Calvacamp* should read 'Calvados', and that Rollo may have given this with Caen as capital to his relative 'Huldrich' (Malahulcius), in a scheme to surround his own territory at Rouen with allies of the same clan. Later, *ibid* xii 530, Senex sailed off course into a fantasy that he could 'identify the ancient and numerous clan of Hay with that of Thorn or Toeni; also the old English families of Hedges and Hawes (fruit of the white thorn).'

Williams tried a more grounded approach, *ibid* xi 277, 'The modern French form of this word would probably be *Cauchamp*. Is there such a place?' The question went unanswered at the time. It may be that there were no places with that name, but thousands with the generic description. Lepingard (1899) 17 n 2 quoted from an unpublished late-13<sup>th</sup> century charter regarding markets held between the *Caucheus*, glossed as 'Cauchamps', of Le Hommet and the fishpond of Gournay. This presumably indicated cabbage fields, hence 'de Caulecamp' in the singular perhaps miscopied by a scribe as 'Caluacamp', a bare field, seemingly a little less unsuitable for a nobleman than one growing vegetables. In either case

the term may have been applied to Hugo originally in jest at his poverty, like ‘Lackland’ to the Angevin prince John and others later.

Whether a horse paddock or a cabbage patch anywhere (and, of course, both of these must have been ubiquitous at the time) belonged to the ancestor of the Tosny family, then their worldly prospects from the following generation improved enormously.

<sup>2</sup> Guill Gemet Gesta ii 94, interpolation by Orderic: *Rogerus Toenites de stirpe Malahulcii, qui Rollonis ducis patrius fuerat et cum eo Francos atterens Normanniam fortiter adquisierat*—this may be fiction, as some historians have supposed, but does not contradict the statement in Acta Archiepisc Rotomag (see preceding n) about the family’s origin as CP xii/I and Musset (1978) represented. Obviously *clara stirpe* in one version is scarcely at odds with *prosapia clarus* in the alternative: the difficulty comes from an oversimplified view regarding the ethnic antecedents of any man named Hugo living in the early 10<sup>th</sup> century. The forename is taken to indicate a Frankish background exclusively, as if it could not belong to an agnate of the Viking Rollo.

Madan (1899) 4 suggested that a connection with Rollo’s uncle through Hugo of Cavalcamp’s wife ‘would satisfy the probabilities of the position’ that Roger of Tosny was *de stirpe Malahulcii*. CP xii/I 753 n (b) rejected this scenario, stating that ‘as Hugh must have married about the time of the invasion of France by Rolf, this is most unlikely’, adding, ‘That a son or grandson of Malahulc, born long before the invasion, should be named Hugh, is equally out of the question’. Later it was proposed, *ibid* 755 n (b), that ‘If he [Malahulcius] really existed, the alleged descent might be through the unknown wife of the elder Ralph’ 1.2. However, the phrase used by Orderic would normally be taken to mean an agnatic connection, and of course if it is accepted that Hugo of Cavalcamp and his son were not Normans it must be noted also that Vikings were probably more apt to take local women for themselves than to give their own daughters away to Franks.

Musset (1978) 48 wrote, ‘Le premier problème qui se pose à l’historien des Tosny est de choisir entre les deux traditions qui s’affrontent au sujet de leurs origines.’ But the history of this era is obscure enough without setting out to create such a false disharmony between sources. There are plausible ways that a cousin of Rollo might have grown up or at least spent some time among Franks before 911, taking the baptismal name Hugo and fathering a namesake son who was tonsured at Saint-Denis. A background of this kind could well be described as an illustrious ancestry by another monk writing in the 1070s/80s about the archbishops of Rouen, and recounted in slightly more detail some decades later by Orderic, without any other extant source touching on the same subject.

We are not told of Scandinavian names for several sons of Viking invaders, for instance Rollo’s heir William Longsword who reportedly sought out Hugo of Cavalcamp’s son at Saint-Denis to appoint him archbishop of Rouen—indeed, if only one source had survived claiming that William was Rollo’s son even this might be doubted. Norman migration into Neustria and conversion to Christianity were not suddenly accomplished around the time of the peace settlement in 911 as the interpretation of CP xii/I and Musset seem to imply. Vikings were raiding along the Seine and more widely long before then, occasionally giving up hostages to the Franks, see for example Annal Vedast 40 (ann 874): *Karolus rex Andegavis civitate Nortmannos obsedit, sed pessimorum consilio acceptis obsidibus inlesos abire permisit*; and *ibid* 41 (ann 876): *Dani seu Nortmanni, piraticum exercentes, Sequanam ingressi incendiis et occisione regnum Francorum crudeliter devastant*. An uncle of Rollo might have been leading a band in this period (we have no information for or against the possibility), and a young son of any Viking chief would have been a natural choice of hostage to save his whole force



from capture or worse, as at Anjou in 874 (or 873 by another record). Hostages may have been chosen by the victors of the day, as recorded in Annal Bertin 88–89 (ann 862): *Qua de re Normanni ualde constricti obsides electos et a Karolo rege jussos ea conditione donant ut omnes captiuos quos ceperant postquam Matronam intrauerant sine mora aliqua redderent, et aut cum aliis Normannis constituto die placiti a Sequana recedentes mare peterunt*, making it all the more likely that a Norman leader's son might pass, temporarily or otherwise, into Frankish custody.

The selection that William made of a new archbishop from Saint-Denis was evidently not due to Hugo's piety or learning, given Orderic's account of his reputation as a monk in habit but not in habits (see •1.1 n 3 below). The see of Rouen was practically an appanage of the ducal family from the time of Hugo's successor, Robert of Normandy, onwards, and it is plausible that from similar motives William would have chosen a relative of his own in 942. It is also notable that Hugo was able to establish his brother Radulf as lord of Tosny, with rich estates in the Norman heartland, during a time of crisis when Frankish interlopers might not have found such an easy welcome there, following the assassination of his patron William Longsword when the enemy behind this, Arnulf I of Flanders, was trying to bring about the reconquest of Neustria. Radulf's successors retained possession of these estates despite Robert, who succeeded Hugo in 989/90, having the power to take back alienated property of the archdiocese at will, as with Douvrend (see •1.3 n 1 below), and through the falling out between Radulf II of Tosny and Duke Richard I that was prolonged over seven years early in the following century (see •2.2 n 3 below).

It has been suggested that a real Sandinavian name may have combined 'Mael' and 'Helgi', corrupted as 'Mala-hulc', with the second element perhaps linked to Heuqueville, south-east of Rouen, that belonged to the Tosnys, see Musset (1978) 49 n 15. Another Heuqueville, north-west of Rouen, belonged to the Giffards, see Le Maho (1976) 39, but the Tosnys also held lands nearby such as Baons-le-Comte given by Roger I to his daughter Adeliza, see Bauduin (Rennes, 2004) 160. This proximity may be mere coincidence, of course, since there are other Heuquevilles in Normandy, as no doubt there were numerous Viking settlers called Helgi. The name Hugo might have been taken on conversion to Christianity at any time ca 911 or before, possibly because of its rough similarity to whatever was behind -hulc, or from the young Robertian prince Hugo Magnus just as Rollo took that of Robert, who was marquis in Neustria and later king, while his son became William unless he had been baptised at birth with the compliance of his pagan father (Dudo claimed he was born at Rouen to the daughter of a Frank, but this conflicts with a more credible source placing his birth overseas and may well be fictitious).

Perhaps heathen personal histories were deliberately forgotten in the religious and social insecurity of the early years in Neustria, before the major reinforcement by new settlers after the death of William Longsword, with a cover story developing among clerics that the first younger generation of immigrants had been mostly Christian from birth. The mystery remains why boys such as Rollo's son should be given names preferred by foreign women and priests without deference in this matter to their strangely indulgent fathers, in whose culture naming had deep significance.

On the other hand, Scandinavian names such as Ansketil, Torf and Herfast become fairly common for the earliest traceable ancestors of leading Norman families who appeared a few decades after 911. This may be due in part to assurance in their own cultural heritage growing as numbers increased from subsequent waves of immigration, as it may be also that the infrequency of these names beforehand is partly due to recruitment of Franks in the colonial enterprise of Rollo and his heir around Rouen.

We do not have enough evidence in two monks' accounts, both written more than 150 years after the facts in question, to rule out either of the possibilities in this case of the Tosnys' ancestor. Conceivably some kind of rift had occurred between Rollo and his cousin Hugo of Cavalcamp, which was settled later by William inviting the family back into Normandy on the understanding that the younger Hugo, once installed in Rouen, would compensate his brother from estates of the archbishopric.

The argument that Orderic was merely seeking to flatter the Tosnys by relating them to the ducal family does not withstand his swingeing criticism of their original sponsor in Normandy, Archbishop Hugo, Ord Vit Hist iii 80: *Hugo legis Domini uiolator | Clara stirpe satus sed Christi lumine cassus*, or his implication of bad faith on the part of Roger I objecting to the succession of William the Bastard, despite being the ducal standard bearer and presumably among those who had sworn to accept the boy as heir to Normandy, *ibid* iii 84–86: *Rodbertus ... peregrinus adiit. Ducatum uero suum Guillelmo octo annorum puero non rediturus reliquit*; cf Radulf Glab Hist 202–204: *Robertus, Normannorum dux ... ex concubina tamen filium genuerat Willelmi nomen atauit ei imponens, cui, antequam profisceretur, uniuersos sui ducaminis principes militaribus adstrinxit sacramentis, qualiter illum in principem pro se, si non rediret, eligerent*. Roger's agreement can hardly have been withheld in these circumstances, since he was present in Normandy at the time: Saint-Pierre de Castillon abbey at Conches was founded by him in the months preceding Duke Robert's departure, see Gazeau (2007) i 276. Orderic obfuscates this to some extent by rephrasing that Roger only found out about William's succession on returning from Spain, Guill Gemet Gesta ii 94, interpolation by Orderic: *Rogerus Toenites ... dum Rodbertus dux peregre perrexerat, in Hispaniam, ubi per eum multe probitates super paganos facte sunt, profectus fuerat. Sed post aliquantum temporis in sua regressus est. Comperiens autem quod Willelmus puer in ducatu patri successerit, uehementer indignatus est, et tumide despexit illi seruire, dicens quod nothus non deberet sibi aliisque Normannis imperare*. However, since Roger is said to have gone to Spain during rather than before Duke Robert's pilgrimage this is unconvincing, and in any case given the venerable status of William the Conqueror for readers in the 12<sup>th</sup> century, an ancestor's objecting to his succession in the first place could hardly be considered flattering to the Tosnys.

<sup>3</sup> See preceding n—it is assumed that Hugo of Cavalcamp's sons were legitimate, and full-brothers, but we have no record of his wife's name or background.

4.1.1 <sup>1</sup> Archbishop Hugo was presumably a full brother to Hugo of Cavalcamp's son Radulf, Acta Archiepisc Rotomag 38: *Todiniacum enim qui in dominicatu archiepiscopi erat cum omnibus appenditiis suis fratri suo Radulfo potentissimo viro filio Hugonis de Cavalcamp [Hugo archiepiscopus] dedit*. In a 10<sup>th</sup>-century list of the archbishops of Rouen from the Norman abbey of Fécamp, the last name in the succession (after Gunhard, who is otherwise supposed to have been Hugo's immediate predecessor) is *Wigo*, see Duchesne (1907–1915) ii 202. It is possible that a man named Wigo briefly succeeded Gunhard before Hugo was appointed, but if so he was unaccountably overlooked in the local tradition set down by the author of Acta Archiepisc Rotomag ca 1070.

<sup>2</sup> Hugo's birth by ca 912 is assumed in order for him to have reached the canonical age of 30 when he was sought out for appointment as archbishop in 942—he may have been older than this, but cannot have been very much younger despite the fact that he and his brother both lived for around 50 years afterwards.

<sup>3</sup> Acta Archiepisc Rotomag 38: *Gunhardo, successit Hugo. Hic vero fuit prosapia clarus, sed ignobilis cunctis operibus. Monachus enim apud sanctum Dionisium erat, quando Willelmus filius Rollonis dux Normannorum ei episcopatum tradidit* [interpolated here in Gallia Christ xi 25: ‘anno 942, ante diem xv calend. Januarii’]. *Sed postpositis sanctę regule institutis, carnis petulantię se omnino contulit. Filios enim quamplures procreavit. Ecclesiam et res æcclesię destruxit, Todiniacum enim qui in dominicatu archiepiscopi erat cum omnibus appenditiis suis fratri suo Radulfo potentissimo viro filio Hugonis de Cavalcamp dedit, et ita a dominicatu archiepiscopatus, usque, in presens alienavit; Ord Vit Hist iii 80–82: Anno dominicę incarnationis DCCCCXLII regnante Ludouico transmarino Guillelmus dux et Gunhardus archiepiscopus obierunt.*

*Successit Hugo legis Domini uiolator*

*Clara stirpe satus sed Christi lumine cassus.*

*Hic xlvii annis presulatu functus est sed a nullo scriptorum qui de illo siue de coepiscopis eius locuti sunt laudatus est. Palam memorant quod habitu non opere monachus fuerit.* The source of the Gallia Christ interpolation above is unknown—this was perhaps a copyist’s gloss reflecting the account in Acta Archiepisc Rotomag that Hugo had been chosen as archbishop by William Longsword, who was murdered on 16 or 17 (not 18) Dec 942; it did not appear in the edition by Mabillon, Vet Analect ii 438.

Vacandard (1903–1904) 196 accepted the year 942, but placed the death of William Longsword in 943 and in his amended list of the archbishops showed 943 as the earliest known year of Hugo’s episcopate, op cit 200. Duchesne (1907–1915) 202 stated that Wigo or Hugo was archbishop from ‘948 à 989 environ’, without explaining the discrepancy between this and the account of his appointment by a Norman ruler who had died in 942; Guillot (1981) 200 n 169 followed Duchesne, but misstated the terms, in dating a single episcopate of Wigo or Hugo from ‘948 environ à 989’.

<sup>4</sup> Necrol Rotomag 369 (under 10 Nov): *Hugo, quondam archiepiscopus Rothomagensis*; the year 989 is calculated from Orderic, who wrote that Hugo was archbishop of Rouen for 47 years from 942, see preceding n. Statements like this are sometimes found to be vague, but there is no more definite record of when he died. His successor Robert of Normandy ostensibly occurs in mid-990, Acta Duc Norm 73 n° 4, undated charter written 15 Jun 990: *donante, concedente atque laudante Rotberto Rotomagensi archiepiscopo*—the document survives only in a 12<sup>th</sup>-century copy, and it is most likely that the exemption clause in which this text appears was interpolated by the monks of Fécamp after 1025, probably between 1068 and 1075, see Lemaignier (1937) 62. Robert was almost certainly not yet the elect or consecrated archbishop and exercising a precocious authority by that date, when he would have been at most ca 20 years old, and he was probably the untitled witness attesting the same charter next after his full brother Mauger, ibid 74: *Signum Ricardi comitis* [Richard I of Normandy], *Signum Willelmi comitis* [presumably Richard’s cousin William Ironarm, count of Poitou], *Signum Godefridi* [later count of Brionne, probably the eldest bastard son of Richard I], *Signum item Willelmi* [later count of Eu, another bastard son of Richard I], *Signum Madelgeri* [Mauger, later count of Corbeil, the third son of Richard I by Gunnor], *Signum Rotberti*.

<sup>5</sup> Acta Archiepisc Rotomag 38: *Filios enim quamplures* [Hugo] *procreavit*—presumably there were several mothers of these children; there is no record that Hugo was ever married.

•1.2 <sup>1</sup> Mem S Dunst 398, letter from Pope John XV describing the formal reconciliation arranged by his envoy between Æthelred II and Richard I following a dispute over Norman support for raids in England by Vikings (*nobis relatum est a compluribus de inimicitia Æthelredi Saxonum Occidentalium regis necnon et Ricardi marchionis*), in an act dated at Rouen 1 May 991: *ex parte Ricardi Rogerus episcopus, Rodulfus Hugonis filius*—this Rodulf is likely but not certain to have been Hugo of Cavalcamp’s son Radulf I of Tosny, who in this case must have been a fairly old man at the time since his recently deceased brother Hugo had become archbishop of Rouen nearly 50 years earlier. Wareham (1999) 120 considered this to have been Radulf II •2.2 instead, asserting that *Hugonis filius* ‘here means nephew of Archbishop Hugh’. It would be far more plausible to suppose that this might have been one of Hugo’s own numerous offspring (•2.1), although involving an archiepiscopal by-blow in these formalities of papal diplomacy would seem gratuitous, if not crass, even by 10<sup>th</sup>-century standards.

<sup>2</sup> Radulf I’s birth ca 915/20 is estimated from his brother’s appointment as archbishop in 942, presumably at or close to 30 years of age (see •1.2 n 2 above), but in his case this is merely a guess since it is not known which was the elder of the two.

<sup>3</sup> Acta Archiepisc Rotomag 38: *Hugo ... Todiniacum enim qui in dominicatu archiepiscopi erat cum omnibus appenditiis suis fratri suo Radulfo potentissimo viro filio Hugonis de Cavalcamp dedit, et ita a dominicatu archiepiscopatus, usque, in presens alienavit.*

<sup>4</sup> See n 1 above for Radulf’s presence in Rouen on 1 May 991. Musset (1978) 49–52 speculated that the career of a single Radulf, Hugo of Cavalcamp’s son, lasted from this occurrence in 991 until he disappeared from history in or after 1024, including the military campaigns in Italy recounted by the Montecassino chronicler and Radulf Glaber. However, since Radulf’s brother Hugo had become an archbishop in 942 this kind of extraordinarily active longevity for a sibling is hard to credit—even supposing Hugo to have been aged only ca 20 in 942, and Radulf to have been his junior by ca 20 years, both unlikely circumstances, the younger sibling would have been born ca 942 and therefore would have been ca 81 years old in 1023 when supposedly returning to Normandy after seven years in Italy following an especially arduous first winter abroad at the age of ca 76. But for all we know, Hugo could have been born ca 910 or earlier, and his brother Radulf may well have been older than him. The far more plausible solution is that there were two successive lords of Tosny named Radulf, as proposed in CP xii/I 754, assumed to have been father and son although evidence is lacking for this.

<sup>5</sup> No record of Radulf I’s wife is known—either she or the wife of his son Radulf II was of Norman rather than Frankish extraction, since Orderic describes a man with the Scandinavian name Ansgot as related to Roger the Spaniard •3.1, Ord Vit Hist ii 68: *Ansgotus Normannus ... Rogerii Toenitis qui Hispanicus uocabatur cognatus erat.* In order for this to have been remarkable, the link was presumably closer than through Hugo of Cavalcamp or his wife.

- 1.3 <sup>1-2</sup> Acta Duc Norm 81–82 n° 10, undated notice of judgement by Richard II written 996/1007: *Hoc scriptum est quomodo villa de Duverent de dominicatu archiepiscopus exiit et quomodo prius postea rediit. Duverent fuit in dominio Sancte Marie; Hugo archiepiscopus tulit de dominicatu et dedit ecclesiam militi Odoni in matrimonio sororis sue; mortuo Odone, dedit iterum sororem suam cuidam Henrico cum eadem terra; postea, defuncto Henrico, clamavit eam Walterus comes de Metanta propter hoc quod Henricus suus consanguineus erat et ita dedit ei Robertus archiepiscopus; postea redemit eam Robertus archiepiscopus.*

<sup>3</sup> See preceding n—from this it appears that Henri probably died after his wife and her brother Hugo, when Robert of Normandy was archbishop of Rouen.

- 2.1 <sup>1</sup> Acta Archiepisc Rotomag 38: *Hugo ... Filios enim quamplures procreavit*—some of these numerous children were presumably daughters.

- ▲2.2 <sup>1</sup> Musset (1978) 50 followed earlier French genealogies in proposing a single Radulf, the son of Hugo of Cavalcamp, who survived until ca 1024. The implausibility of this was noted by Geoffrey White in CP xii/I 754, although the evidence given in support of two successive Radulfs from Duke Richard II's undated charter for Lisieux written ca 1022/26, quoted *ibid* n (f), is more dubious than suggested: according to the edition by Fauroux, Acta Duc Norm 158 n° 48, the attestation cited reads: *S. Rodulphi, filii Rodulphi de Redemaco*. White cited the edition by Le Prevost appearing in *Mémoires de la Société des antiquaires de Normandie* 13 (1842–1843) 9–11 n 5, reading 'S. Rodulphi filii Rodulphi de Todeniac'. Both editions are taken from the same 17<sup>th</sup>-century copy of a lost original. Fauroux thought that the reading 'ni' in the last word could not be correct because there is no dot over the 'i' as invariably written elsewhere by the copyist, so that she preferred 'm' instead; unfortunately she did not comment on the discrepancy between her 'Re...' and Le Prevost's 'To...'. Although 'Redemaco' appears to be meaningless, it has to be noted that there were several Norman men at this time named Radulf whose fathers had the same name, so that 'Todeniac' may not be the only possible alternative reading.

<sup>2</sup> See CP xii/I 754 for the estimate of Radulf's birth probably before 970—his son Roger was a joint custodian of Tillières in 1013 or 1014, suggesting that the father must have been ca 40+ years old at the time, Guill Gemet Gesta ii 22: *[Ricardus] dux ... castrum condidit quod Tegulense uocauit ... Nigellum Constantiniensem atque Rodulfum Totiniensem necnon Rogerium filium eiusdem cum eorum militibus custodes in ea relinquens*. However, he may have been considerably older than this if his own father was close in age to Archbishop Hugo and consequently had been born early in the 10<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>3</sup> Acta Duc Norm 96 n° 15, subscription to charter of Duke Richard II for Notre-Dame de Chartres dated at Rouen 21 Sep 1014: *S. Rodulfi de Todeniac*.

Radulf II most probably visited Rome not long after this, but the dating of his participation in the siege of Salerno to the winter of 1015/16 in CP xii/I 755 is more than a year too early. Prompted by Pope Benedict VIII, the Norman exile Radulf went on to support a rebellion against the Greeks in the south. Whether or not Radulf II of Tosny was this person and one of their number, as seems likely, the Normans

wintered in Campania and reached Apulia by May 1017 under command of the rebel leader Melus of Bari, *Guill Apul Gesta Rob* 101–102:

*Postquam gens Romam Normannica transit inermis,  
Fessa labore viae Campanis substitit oris:  
Fama volat Latio Normannos applicuisse.  
Melus ut Italiam Gallos cognovit adisse,  
Ocius accessit; dedit arma carentibus armis;  
Armatos secum comites properare coegit.  
Hactenus insolitas hac tempestate Latini  
Innumeras cecidisse nives mirantur, et harum  
Casibus extinctae pleraeque fuere ferarum,  
Nec fuit arboribus fas inde resurgere lapsis.  
Huius portenti post visum, vere sequenti,  
Emptis Normannos Campanis partibus armis  
Invadenda furens loca duxit ad Appula Melus.  
Hunc habuere ducem sibi gens Normannica primum  
Partibus Italiae. Gallos tremit Appulus omnis,  
Quorum praevalido multi periere rigore...  
Maii mensis erant aptissima tempora Marti...  
Multa Graecorum cum gente Basilius ire  
Iussus, in hunc audax anno movet arma sequenti,  
Cui catapan facto cognomen erat Bagianus.*

Basileios Boioannes was appointed catepan of Italy in Dec 1017: in calling this the next year after May 1017 William of Apulia was probably following a Byzantine source that counted the civil year as beginning on 1 Sep. Ademar of Chabannes placed a Norman leader named Radulf in this timeframe with a different emphasis on the events, *Ademar Cabann Chron* 173–174: *Ricardo vero comite Rotomagi, filio Ricardi, Nortmannos gubernante, multitudo eorum una cum duce Rodulfo armati Romam, et inde, conivente papa Benedicto, Appuliam aggressi, cuncta devastant. Contra quos exercitum Basilius intendit, et congressione bis et ter facta, victores Nortmanni existunt. Quarto congressu a gente Russorum victi et prostrati sunt et ad nichilum redacti, et innumeri, ducti Constantinopolim, usque ad exitum vite in carceribus tribulati sunt.* This is a good illustration of the kind of liberties Ademar sometimes took with facts for the sake of dramatic interest—he was writing ca 1030, when he cannot have known that all the Norman prisoners taken to Constantinople after losing the battle of Cannae in Oct 1018 would be held there in captivity for life.

Despite (or perhaps because of) this defeat, where Gislebert Buatère (see below) was killed, Radulf stayed in Italy until 1023 if Glaber's chronology is accurate, *Radulf Glab Hist* 96–102: *Contigit autem ipso in tempore ut quidam Normannorum audacissimus, nomine Rodulfus, qui etiam comiti Richardo displicuerat, cuius iram metuens cum omnibus quos secum ducere potuit Romam pergeret, causamque propriam summo pontifici exponeret Benedicto. Qui, cernens eum pugne militari elegantissimum, cepit ei querelam exponere de Greorum inuasionem Romani imperii, seque multum dolere quoniam minime talis in suis existeret qui repelleret uiros extere nationis. Quibus auditis, spopondit se idem Rodulfus aduersus transmarinos preliaturum, si aliquod ei auxilium preberent uel illi quibus maior incumbere genuine necessitudo patrie. Tunc uero predictus papa misit illum cum suis ad Beneuentanos primates, ut eum pacifice exciperent, semperque preliaturi pre se haberent, illiusque iussioni unanimes obedirent; egressusque ad Beneuentanos qui eum, ut papa iusserat,*

*susceperunt. Illico autem illos ex Grecorum officio qui uectigalia in populo exigebant inuadens Rodulfus, diripuit queque illorum ac trucidauit ... Interea cum auditum esset ubique quoniam paucis Normannorum concessa fuisset de superbientibus Grecis uictoria, innumerabilis multitudo etiam cum uxoribus et liberis prosecuta est a patria de qua egressus fuerat Rodulfus, non solum permittente sed etiam compellente ut irent Richardo, illorum comite...egressique non parum Rodulfo contulerunt auxilium; sicque pars utraque, resumtis uiribus, secundo inierunt prelium, in quo utrorumque exercitus grauiter cesus; Normannorum tamen exercitui uictoria prouenit. Post paululum uero, terno commisso prelio, in sese pars utraque fessa conhibuit. Perspiciensque Rodulfus suos defecisse uirosque illius patrie minus belli aptos, cum paucis perrexit ad imperatorem Henricum, expositurus ei huius rei negocium. Qui benigne illum suspiciens diuersis muneribus ditauit, quoniam rumor quem de illo audierat cernendi contulerat desiderium ... Normanni quippe cum suo duce Rodulfo reuersi in suam patriam, gratanter recepti a proprio principe Richardo. Sequenti denique anno, mense Iulio, obiit Henricus imperator apud Saxoniam. (Heinrich II died on 13 Jul 1024.)*

The identification of Ademar's Radulf and Glaber's Rodulf with Radulf of Tosny is reinforced by his name given in Chron Casin 239 (this passage is found only in the earliest extant copy, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm. 4623, written ca 1100 in Montecassino): *Melus interea Capue cum principe morabatur. His primum diebus uenerunt Capuam Normanni aliquot, quadraginta fere numero, qui domini sui comitis Normannię iram fugientes, tam ipsi quam plures eorum socii quaquaversum dispersi, sicubi reperirent qui eos ad se reciperet requirebant, viri equidem et statura procęri, et habitu pulchri, et armis experientissimi, quorum precipui erant vocabulo, Gislebertus Botericus, Rodulfus Todinensis, Gosmannus, Rufinus, atque Stigandus.*

This account was taken mainly from the earlier work by Amatus of Montecassino, written in Latin ca 1080/85 but preserved only in an Old French translation, that described a Norman exile named Rodulf (but here called 'Lofulde') as one of five brothers from Normandy, the others being Gislebert Buatère, Rainulf (who became count of Aversa in 1029/30 and later duke of Gaeta), Ascligim (Askletin, father of Richard I Quarrel, count of Aversa from 1050, prince of Capua from 1058) and Osmu(n)d, while the duke whose wrath they were fleeing was Robert I instead of Richard II, Amat Cas Hist 25: *Et en cellui temps estoit rumor et odie entre .II. princes de Normendie, c'est Gisilberte et Guillerme. Et Gisilberte, loquel estoit clamé Buatere, prist volenté et corage contre Guillerme, liquel co[n]trestoit contre l'onor soë, et lo geta d'un lieu molt haut; dont il fu mort. Et quant cestui fu mort, ot cestui ceste dignité: que estoit viceconte de toute la terre. Et Robert, conte de la terre, fut moult iré de la mort de cestui, et manecha de occire cellui qui avoit fait celle homicide; quar, se ceste offense non fusse punie, parroit que licence fust de toutes pars de occirre li viceconte. Et Gisilberte avoit .III. freres, c'est Raynolf, Ascligime, Osmude et Lofulde.* Due to the similarity of two Radulfs fleeing from the ire of Norman dukes to Italy, and both occurring in conjunction with Gislebert Buatère, it used to be thought that the Tosny surname had been applied to 'Lofulde' erroneously. However, the chronology is hard to reconcile for any other eminent Norman, given the leading role of Radulf and his personal recourse to the pope in 1016 on whatever contention had led him to leave home in the account of Ademar that is supported by Glaber, who was doubtless fairly well informed on these matters through the close contact between several important Norman abbeys and his own, Saint-Bénigne de Dijon. 'Lofulde', who had fled after one of his brothers committed murder, was probably Radulf Trincanocte, briefly count of Aversa in 1047, or perhaps his father. The resulting fact that each Radulf left Normandy for Italy in order to escape the wrath of

his duke is a coincidence that might have beset any number of men around the same time with this common name.

For discussion of these events, dating, sources and identifications, see Chalandon (1907) i 52–58, Joranson (1948) 364–375, Ménager (1975) 302–307 & 348–349, and Hoffmann (1969) 134–142, accepting in different degrees the historicity of Radulf de Tosny's involvement.

Musset (1978) 73 pointed out that Radulf was given Saint-Christophe-du-Foc after the death of Richard II's wife Judith on 28 Jun 1017, and thought that this was shortly before he left Normandy for Italy. But if Radulf was in Italy by the winter of 1016/17 and at the siege of Salerno in the following spring he must have received the grant after returning to Normandy in 1023, perhaps as a makepeace offering from the duke.

<sup>4</sup> Radulf last occurs in a dated document on 21 Sep 1014, see preceding n. His survival until 1023 or after is based on the dubious attestation in a charter written ca 1022/26, see n 1 above, and on identifying him with Glaber's Rodulf who returned home from Italy in the year before Emperor Heinrich II died on 13 Jul 1024; this in turn relies on the chronicle of Montecassino, naming *Rodulfus Todinensis* in one copy.

<sup>5</sup> Her name is not recorded—see ¶1.2 n 5 above.

<sup>6</sup> Radulf II allegedly fathered at least one bastard, a son who was killed ca 1023 when accompanying Roger the Spaniard, Ademar Cabann Chron 174: *Cum quibus pace [inita], cum ulteriori Hispania Rotgerius decertare cepit, et die quadam una cum [Petro episcopo Tolose et] XL solummodo Christianis quingentos Sarracenorum electos in insidiis latentes offendit, cum quibus confligens, fratrem suum manzerem amisit*. The man lost to the Saracens was certainly meant as Roger's brother and not the bishop's, since the words in square brackets were omitted from the earliest copies of Ademar's chronicle. It is questionable whether this Petrus travelling with Roger in western Spain was the bishop of Toulouse occurring Nov 1010–Jun 1035, also called Petrus Rogerius, or his namesake, bishop of Girona aft 1010–bef 1050, who was Countess Ermessenda's brother, see Cabau (1991) 118–121. Villegas Aristizábal (2008) 9 noted that Elisabeth van Houts, in *The Normans in Europe* (Manchester & New York, 2000) 270 [nv], translated 'fratrem suum manzerem' as 'his brother-in-law', but this is inadmissible: Ademar clearly used the term 'manzer' in its conventional sense to denote illegitimacy, as in Ademar Cabann Chron 160: [Gauzlenus] *Erat enim ipse nobilissimi Francorum principis filius manzer*—it would be absurd to suppose that this meant Gauzlin, archbishop of Bourges was the son-in-law rather than the bastard son of a Frankish prince.

¶3.1 <sup>1</sup> Cartul S Petri Conc 546 n° 406 I, undated confirmation by King Henry I written ca 1130, probably in 1131 (Reg Regum Anglo-Norm ii 250 n° 1701), reciting the foundation charter of Conches abbey written 1035: *Ego Rogerius, filius Radulphi Thoteniensis*; Guill Gemet Gesta ii 22: *Rodulfum Totiniensem necnon Rogerium filium eiusdem*.

Roger I came to be known as 'the Spaniard', Ord Vit Hist ii 68: [Rogerius] *Toenitis qui Hispanicus uocabatur*, *ibid* iv 206: *Rogerius de Hispania*. This was presumably due to campaigning in the peninsula ca 1035 as well as to supposedly great exploits fighting



against Muslims there around 17 years before, although Orderic did not mention this earlier visit to Spain by a Norman leader called Roger (see below).

The cognomen in the second form used by Orderic, 'de Hispania', was also current in the Tosny orbit from another context, cf one of the witnesses to a donation of Roger's son Radulf III, Carte S Ebrul 181–182 n° 4, undated charter written ca 1080: *Ego Radulfus de Conchis, filius Rogerii de Toneio ... Hujus donationis mee testes: Rogerus de Clara, Galterus de Hispania*—this Walter was probably a brother of Alured de Ispania, see Keats-Rohan (1999) 141 & 452; the name was taken from the village of Épaignes near Cormeilles, south-east of Rouen, see Loyd (1951) 51, that belonged mainly to the Beaumonts, Tosny neighbours against whom Roger was fighting when he died.

Ademar of Chabannes told of a Norman leader (called 'duke', but this was not necessarily a formal title in his usage) named Roger who feigned cannibalism in order to demoralise Muslims opposed to Countess Ermessenda of Barcelona, Ademar Cabann Chron 174: *Item Nortmanni, duce Rotgerio, ad occidendos paganos Hispaniam profecti, innumeros Sarracenorum deleverunt, et civitates vel castella ab eis abstulere multa. Primo vero adventu suo Rotgerius, Sarracenis captis, unumquemque eorum per dies singulos, videntibus ceteris, quasi porcum per frustra dividens, in caldariis coctum eis apponebat pro epulis, et in alia domo simulabat se comedere cum suis reliqua medietatis membra. [Percursis omnibus hoc modo,] novissimum de custodia quasi negligens permittebat fuge, qui haec monstra Sarracenis nunciaret, [ita fabulam Tiestis veram adimplens]. Qua de causa timore exanimati, vicine Hispanie Sarraceni cum rege suo Museto pacem a comitissa Barzelonensi Ermesende petunt, et annum tributum persolvere spondent.*

The identification of this man as Roger I of Tosny results from the byname given to him by Orderic and from a chronicle written at Sens early in the 12<sup>th</sup> century calling him son of the 'Count' Radulf who went to Apulia on his way to Jerusalem, Chron S Petri Senon 112: *In illis diebus, Rotgerius, filius Rodulfi comitis, de Normannia perrexit cum exercitu in Hispaniam, vastans ipsam terram capiensque ibi civitates et castella et accipiens uxorem ... Cēpit autem civitates Terraconam et Gerundam et habitavit ibi cum uxore et exercitu suo per .XV. annos. Post hęc, homines pagi illius, insidiantes ei, voluerunt eum occidere in ecclēsia Sancti Felicis, tempore Richardi Normannorum ducis. Videns autem Rotgerius quod sibi insidias tendebant, relictis .XX. viris et uxore et omnibus que possidebat—totum enim suum exercitum jam pene interfecerant—rediit ad patrem suum in Normanniam, cum duce Richardo faciens concordiam. Dolebat enim Richardus de exercitu quem in Hispaniam duxerat quoniam omnes ibi pene interfecti erant. Post hęc iste Rotgerius contra quemdam vicinum faciens bellum interfectus est et multi alii cum eo. Rodulfus autem pater ejus, volens ire Hierosolimam, iter habuit per limna Apostolorum et per Apuliam.* However, the chronology of this is highly dubious: Radulf II reportedly did go to Italy, whether on his way to Jerusalem or not, probably in late 1016 remaining until 1023 (see 2.2 n 3 above), but there is no other trace of his being alive within a decade or so before his son Roger was killed, much less outliving him before this journey was made; while the latter could not have stayed away in Spain for 15 years after marrying there ca 1018/20 since from more reliable indications that he was at home and married to a Norman lady well before ca 1033/35.

Orderic says only that Roger went to Spain during the time of Duke Robert I's pilgrimage to the Holy Land, consequently placing this after the early months of 1035, Guill Gemet Gesta ii 94, interpolation by Orderic: *Rogerus Toenites ... uir potens et superbus ac totius Normannie signifer erat. Hic uero, dum Rodbertus dux peregre perregerat, in Hispaniam, ubi per eum multe probitates super paganos facte sunt, profectus fuerat.* Perhaps

the chronicler at Sens, writing ca 1108/09, learned of a Norman in Spain around 70 years beforehand, named Roger son of Radulf, and arbitrarily connected him to the lurid story recounted by Ademar.

Narrative sources in Catalonia are scarce until long afterwards, but Roger's gruesome trick of having a captive butchered and cooked each day then pretending to eat them so as to frighten the Muslims into seeking a pact with Countess Ermessenda, related by Ademar, is scarcely credible—see Barceló Perello (2001) 216–219 for an alternative discussion of this passage with further references, as well as Villegas Aristizábal (2004) and idem (2008) for uncritical acceptance of this particular story from Ademar despite a more general reservation about his reliability. However, the degree of shock and disgust throughout the Muslim world that would have resulted from such barbarism is evidenced by the outrage lasting to the present day caused by crusaders who resorted to cannibalism under siege, to say nothing of the horror and shame that might be expected among Christians who involuntarily gained a benefit from these perverted theatrics, cf Fulch Hist Hier 267, where the extra crime of murder was not involved in the sin as it was allegedly paraded by Roger: *dicere perhorreo, quod plerique nostrum famis rabie nimis vexati absceiebant de natibus Saracenorum iam ibi mortuorum frustra, quae coquebant et mandebant.*

If this grotesque imposture is to be credited we must first adopt the nonsensically racist belief of Ademar that Muslims while deceived by such a trick would cravenly submit to making peace and paying tribute, rather than taking it as an incentive to greater military effort, and that once disabused—solely on the word of Roger and his comrades that he did not actually eat the prisoners he had caused to be dismembered and cooked—then the whole affair would be silently ignored by chroniclers on their side, never to be recalled even in legend. There is no mention of Roger and his homicidal antics in Arabic sources. His otherwise traceless victories in Tarragona (not conquered by Christians until 1116) and Girona (conquered long before Roger's time), followed by the ignominious desertion of a wife, possessions and twenty surviving followers in order to return home safely himself, reported in the chronicle of Saint-Pierre-le-Vif, are equally hard to credit since these events were not hinted at by Norman chroniclers and Roger was not remembered at all by later writers in Barcelona. It is even more difficult to account for his absence from the comparatively massive diplomatic record there if he had been rewarded by marriage into the family of the local ruler (see n 12 below).

The reality behind these stories was probably much less glamorous, as well as less disgraceful, than represented in these sources from France. Roger could hardly have lived down rumours of feigning cannibalism, then abandoning a foreign wife and twenty Norman men, in the vituperative atmosphere during the early years of the bastard William II when he was at odds with the ducal establishment. Also, if the recently widowed Ermessenda had a nubile daughter as Ademar claimed, this girl would have been highly valuable as a prospective bride, perhaps the only one who could be offered for more than a decade to come (Count Berenguer Ramon was not old enough to marry until 1021). Roger, an outsider of no great rank who was supposedly making a brutish pantomime of feasting on Muslim prisoners, was not the kind of son-in-law likely to prove very useful to the countess in the challenging politics of that time and place.

Apart from the mythological allusion that was added in a revised manuscript, *ita fabulam Tiestis veram adimplens*, a grisly episode of cannibalism was not unique in

medieval literature—but where this actually occurred during the Crusades the trauma on both sides was immense and not to be glossed over in a single record distant from the event. It may be that Ademar believed a false rumour, adding Roger’s marriage to a daughter of the countess as a fictional device to allay some of his readers’ revulsion, by implying that his behaviour had been gratefully accepted in the circumstances.

Keats-Rohan (1999) 380–381 stated that Orderic ‘once refers to a Roger “the Spaniard” and he may do so to distinguish him from the Roger de Tosny, founder of Conches, he mentions elsewhere’. This is incorrect, as Orderic elsewhere specified Roger de Hisania as the man who was killed with his sons by the Beaumonts, and whom we know to have been the founder of Conches as well as the husband of Godehildis (see nn 5 & 13 below), *Ord Vit Hist iv 206*: reported speech of Roger the Bearded, seigneur of Beaumont: ‘... *Hoc nimirum potest in bello ... in quo corruerunt Rogerius de Hispania et filii eius Elbertus et Elinantius atque plures alii ...*’. Conjectures linking this senior line of the Tosny family to the Belvoir branch depending on the alleged existence of two Rogers, one who went to Spain and the other who founded Conches, are therefore untenable. The vanishingly remote possibility that two distinct Rogers of Tosny went to Spain at different times, both later coming to be known as ‘Roger the Spaniard’, is not supported by any evidence.

<sup>2</sup> This date range for Roger’s birth is estimated to allow for him to be at least ca 18 years old by 1013/14 when he was left by Duke Richard II as a joint custodian of the new fortress at Tillières, along with his father, Guill Gemet *Gesta ii 22*: [Ricardus] *dux ... castrum condidit quod Tegulense uocauit ... Nigellum Constantiniensem atque Rodulfum Totiniensem necnon Rogerium filium eiusdem cum eorum militibus custodes in ea relinquens*.

<sup>3</sup> *Acta Duc Norm 206 n° 69*, attestation to charter of Duke Robert II dated 13 Apr 1033: + *Signum Rogerii Todelensis [sic]*.

<sup>4</sup> *Guill Gemet Gesta ii 94–96*, interpolation by Orderic: *Rogerus Toenites ... uir potens et superbus ac totius Normannie signifer erat*.

<sup>5</sup> *Guill Gemet Gesta ii 94–96*, interpolation by Orderic: *Rogerus Toenites ... dum Rodbertus dux peregre perrexerat, in Hispaniam, ubi per eum multe probitates super paganos facte sunt, profectus fuerat. Sed post aliquantum temporis in sua regressus est. Comperiens autem quod Willelmus puer in ducatu patri successerit, uehementer indignatus est, et tumide despexit illi seruire, dicens quod nothus non deberet sibi aliisque Normannis imperare ... Rogerus itaque fretus auxiliatorum multitudine contra tenerum ducem ausus est rebellare. Omnes uicinos suos palam despiciebat, et terras eorum, maxime Vnfridi de Vetulis, rapinis et incendiis deuastabat. At ille, diutius hoc ferre nolens, Rogerium de Bellomonte, filium suum, cum familia sua contra eum misit. Quem Rogerus Toeniensis temere spreuit, et nil metuens cum eo audacter confligit, sed ibidem cum duobus filiis suis Helberto et Elinancio peremptus uictoriam hostibus reliquit; *Ord Vit Hist ii 40*: *Rotbertus [de Grentemaisnilio] ... cum Rogerio de Toenio contra Rogerium de Bellomonte dimicauit, in quo conflictu Rogerus cum filiis suis Elberto et Elinancio peremptus est; ibid iv 206*: reported speech of Roger the Bearded, seigneur of Beaumont, to Robert Curtheuse: ‘... *Hoc nimirum potest in bello luce clarius intueri quod in puericia patris tui contra rebelles gessi, in quo corruerunt Rogerius de Hispania et filii eius Elbertus et Elinantius atque plures alii ...*’.*

Roger was recorded under 31 May in the obituary of Conches abbey, printed in Le Prevost (1862–1869) i 526: *Pridie calendas junii, depositio D. Rogerii, fundatoris istius ecclesiae*. Robert I of Grandmesnil was mortally wounded in the same fight and died three weeks later on 18 Jun, Guill Gemet Gesta ii 96, interpolation by Orderic: *Ibi Rodbertus de Grentemaisnil letale uulnus accepit, quo post tres ebdomadas .xiiii. Kalendas Iulii obiit*.

The year of Roger's death cannot be established with certainty: he probably last occurs attesting an undated charter of Duke Richard II's son Guillaume, count of Talou (Arques), for Jumièges written ca 1035/1043, Acta Duc Norm 257 n° 100: *Signum + Rodgerii filii Rodulfi ... + Signum Rogerii de Sconchis*—the original charter is extant, and one of these two men was almost certainly Roger I, recte 'de Conchis', son of Radulf, but neither identity is definite. Vernier's edition also has *Sconchis*, not 'Schonchis' as misprinted in CP xii/I 756 n (f).

Bates (2002) 9 considered that the traditional dating to ca 1040 of the conflict in which Roger and two of his sons were killed must be too early, because he thought that this charter proved Roger was still alive after Duke William reached adolescence: however, the first three subscriptions were as follows: *Signum Malgerii arciepiscope +. Signum Willelmi (sic) comitis Northmannorum +. Signum + Vuillelmi, magistri comitis*—the order with William after his uncle Archbishop Mauger of Rouen, and immediately followed by his tutor, suggest that he had not yet come of age, an event placed ca 1042 by Bates, *ibid* 4.

A slightly firmer reason to place Roger's death after William came of age is the attestation by his son Waszo of Tosny to a charter of the duke appearing to act as ruler and subscribing before Mauger (although still with a tutor present, but further down the list), Acta Duc Norm 259 n° 102: *Ego Willelmus, gratia Dei consul et dux Normannorum ... Signum Willelmi comitis +. Signum Malgerii archiepiscope + ... Hii sunt testes hujus carte: + Signum Goscelini vicecomitis ... Rodulfus moine magister comitis ... Vuaso filius Rogerii Tothenensis*—since Roger was succeeded as seigneur of Tosny by Radulf III, who was evidently younger than Waszo, this would indicate that Roger was still alive at the time of this charter apparently written in or after 1042 (unless Waszo was illegitimate, but there is no evidence to support this: he may have been an adult, or possibly he was an adolescent companion around the same age as William, ca 15).

<sup>6</sup> Cartul S Petri Conc 548 n° 406 II, undated confirmation by King Henry I written ca 1130, probably in 1131 (Reg Regum Anglo-Norm ii 250 n° 1701), reciting an earlier charter of Roger's son Radulf III: *Ego Radulphus de Totteneio cum Godehilde matre mea pro sepultura patris mei Rogerii concedo Sancto Petro de Castellione apud Achineium, gordum unum quinque millium anguillarrum de sancta Cecilia, foesum quoque Claverii et foesum Obardi et mansuras plures et terras in eadem villa*.

<sup>7</sup> Roger may have been married only once, or possibly three times: first to the mother of his two apparently eldest sons who were killed with him, and probably also of Waszo; secondly in or shortly after 1018 to a Catalan lady, said to be daughter of Count Ramon Borrell of Barcelona although that relationship is most probably an error or invention by Ademar; and thirdly by ca 1026/27 to the sole definitely proven wife, a Norman lady named Godehildis who was to be his widow.

A wife prior to Godehildis may be required to account for the age of Roger's sons Elbert and Elinand, and perhaps Waszo: the first two were killed with him ca

1038/43, and the third independently attested a ducal charter written 1037/ca 1045. These three sons were apparently born by ca 1025, while Roger's widow Godehildis was still having children from her second marriage as late as ca 1045/50 (her daughter Agnes was kidnapped in order to be married to Simon I of Montfort after 1066) and so she is unlikely to have been their mother if they were old enough to go fighting alongside their father as early as 1038, but could well have been if their deaths occurred as late as 1043.

From the account given in the 11<sup>th</sup>-century Miracles of Sainte-Foy it appears that Godehildis (here called Gotelina, that would have sounded more familiar to southern ears, but surely the same lady) was married to Roger when she fell gravely ill in the lifetime of a Duke Richard, probably meant as Richard II (d Aug 1026) but possibly Richard III (d Aug 1027), Mirac Fid 128–130: *Normannię quidem in partibus, miles quidam et nobilitatis stemate cluens et honoris dignitate prepotens, Rogerius nomine, tunc temporis aderat, cujus preclara conjux, Gotelina nomine, infirmitate gravi vexata, pene ad ultima vite jam ducebatur limina. Cujus de morte summi proceres, quorum ducebat prosapiam, nimium mesti, ad ejus atria veluti suppressas celebraturi exequias, jussu magni principis Richaredi confluerunt, omniaque mortis signa diligenti experientia in ejus vultu cernentes, tantum de sepulture certatim cogitabant apparatu.* Assuming this narrative is reliable, and if the deaths of her first husband with two of his sons can be dated as late as 1043, it is possible that Godehildis was the mother of all Roger's recorded children and their three Évreux half-siblings born in the mid- to late-1040s or shortly afterwards.

Richard II was far more likely to be remembered as 'magnus princeps' than his son Richard III, but any Norman ruler might have been complimented in these terms; it is possible that the name was anachronistic at the time, since Richard II's fame would have lasted into the reign of Robert I from 1027 to 1025, and perhaps still eclipsed his so far from home when this was written. The suggestion by Musset (1978) 53 of a possible southern ancestry for Godehildis due to these links with Conques abbey in Rouergue fails to take account of the whole narrative. The story is that a bishop in Normandy told Roger about the reputedly miraculous powers of the virgin and martyr venerated in Aquitaine, while his wife was lying in extremis, so her own family background had nothing to do with the matter.

The change of name for Roger's domain of Castillon to 'Conches' after this time is presumed to derive from the local pronunciation of Conques. A church of Sainte-Foy was built there by Godehildis/Gotelina when she was unwilling to carry out Roger's promise of a journey to the shrine bearing gifts, through fear of ambush on their way by the many enemies whom he had been expelled from Normandy. It appears curiously ungrateful in these circumstances to make open excuse that the saint's protection might not extend to her own pilgrims, and thus a great lord and his wife were obliged to cower at home, nor does it suggest that the lady was very eager to revisit scenes of a childhood in the south.

Whoever was their mother, the names of Roger's sons Elbert, Elinand and Waszo may have been transmitted from her family (see 4.1, 4.2 & 4.3 nn 1 below).

<sup>8</sup> Ademar Cabann Chron 174: *vicine Hispanie Sarraceni cum rege suo Museto pacem a comitissa Barzelonensi Ermesende petunt, et annum tributum persolvere spondent. Erat enim haec vidua, et Rotgerio suam filiam in matrimonium sociaverat*—this marriage, if factual, evidently took place soon after Countess Ermessenda of Barcelona became a widow on 8 Sep 1017.

<sup>9</sup> If this marriage in Catalonia ever took place it seems to have ended when Roger reportedly abandoned his wife and went back to Normandy. This was presumably after the death of his illegitimate half-brother in an ambush ca 1023, and before his Norman wife Godehildis recovered from a grave illness in the reign of a Duke Richard, that is before the death of Richard III in Aug 1027—or if this detail of the Sainte-Foy narrative is not accurate, certainly before Roger attested a ducal charter dated 13 Apr 1033, Acta Duc Norm 206 n° 69, attestation to charter of Duke Robert II: + *Signum Rogerii Todelensis* [sic].

<sup>10</sup> See following n.

<sup>11</sup> Ademar Cabann Chron 174: *vicine Hispanie Sarraceni cum rege suo Museto pacem a comitissa Barzelonensi Ermesende petunt, et annum tributum persolvere spondent. Erat enim haec vidua, et Rotgerio suam filiam in matrimonium sociaverat.* This is partly contradicted by Chron S Petri Senon 112: *Rotgerius, filius Rodulfi comitis ... accipiens uxorem, sororem Ragnundi Berengarii, Stephaniam, quam post eum duxit uxorem rex Hispanie Garsias.* Here Estefanía is stated to have been a sister rather than aunt of Ermessenda's grandson Ramon Berenguer, making her a first cousin to her husband García and presumably closer to his own age—he was born in Nov 1016 according to Annal Toled 384–385 (compiled early in the 16<sup>th</sup> century): 'En el mes de Noviembre nació el Infant fillo del Rey D. Sancho, por nombre Garcia Sanchez, Era MLIV'—but not allowing for her to have been married to Roger by ca 1020 since her putative parents Berenguer Ramon and his first wife Sancha of Castile were themselves not married until 1021. This version was accepted by Cañada Palacio (1987) 785–786 following Ubieto Arteta (1963) 7–8. However, Sancha died on 26 Jun 1026 or 1027, see Bofarull (1836) i 242 and Aurell (1991–1992) 321–322 n<sup>os</sup> 29 and 30, whereas Estefanía's mother was living ca 1038 at the time of the marriage to García, who acknowledged her assent to the wedding in his charter dated 25 May 1040, Dipl Rivog 32 n° 3: *Ego Garsea unctus a Domino ... tibi dulcissima, elegantissima atque amantissima uxori mea Stefania ... Unde Deo annuente, meus consensit animus et tuus, genitrix uero tua comitissa sanctissima atque omnis gens nostra annuit uolentes ut michi in coniugio copularer [sic, recte copularem] sociam sicuti et feci.* Ubieto Arteta (1963) 7 n 11 proposed that *comitissa sanctissima* was a copyist's substitution for *comitissa Sanctia* in a lost original, but even if so it could not refer to Berenguer Ramon's deceased wife Sancha of Castile. His second wife Guisla is no more likely to have been the mother, because her marriage did not take place until shortly before they first occur together, Cartul Com Barc II i 501 n° 181, charter dated 2 Nov 1027: *Sig+num Guilla comitissa. Berengarius comes.* Consequently their eldest daughter could have been no more than 10 years old by Dec 1038 when García had already married Estefanía. In any event, the widowed Guisla had not dedicated herself to religion, as *comitissa sanctissima* implies, but was to remarry giving up the title of countess, see Cartul Com Barc II ii 835 n° 440, charter of her son Guillem Berenguer dated 4 Dec 1054: *Ego Guilelmus, filius qui sum Guisle femine, que fuit in diebus patris mei dum ei erat uxor comitissa, sed nunc est vicecomitissa propter vicecomitem quem abuit maritum post patris mei obitum.*

The difficulty of Estefanía's brother named as Ramon Berenguer in the Sens chronicle was explained away by Aurell (1995) 56 n 5 as an erroneous inversion of Berenguer Ramon, putting her back a generation by an arbitrary emendation of the

only source to place her in this lineage. However, turning Estefanía into a daughter of Ramon Borrell and Ermessenda is hardly more satisfactory. The epithet *sanctissima* is not otherwise accorded to the famous countess in the voluminous contemporary documentation collected in Dipl Ermessend. No indication of any kind has been found apart from Ademar of Chabannes writing in Angoulême ca 1030 and the early 12<sup>th</sup>-century chronicle from Sens to suggest that Countess Ermessenda had a daughter at all, or any children apart from two sons, one named Borrell who died young and the other her husband's successor Berenguer Ramon. Settipani (2004) 149 proposed another daughter, named Clementia, who married her first cousin Bernard II, count of Bigorre, but the rationale offered for this hypothesis is negligible.

Salazar Acha (1994) established as most probably factual that García's queen Estefanía had a daughter, necessarily by an earlier marriage, as stated in a late 12<sup>th</sup>-century account from Nájera. However, it is not equally certain that this daughter was betrothed to Sancho II, king of Castile, when she was kidnapped on her way to marry him by Sancho Garcés (a bastard son of Estefanía's husband García), Chron Naier 171: *Inter hec Santius rex desponsauerat sibi filiam regine Stephanie. Que cum ad ipsum duceretur, infans domnus Santius, quem rex Garsias Pampilonensis ex concubina habuerat, saltum in uiam dedit, quia mutui amoris celo truciabantur. Rapuit eam et cum ipsa ad regem Maurorum Cesaragustanum se contulit et ad patruum suum regem Ranimirum, qui eum pro sua probitate et armorum nobilitate quasi filium diligebat; quod rex Santius ulcisci desiderans Cesaragustam cum suo perrexit exercitu. Cui Ranimirum rex cum suis in loco qui Gradus dicitur occurrens, ab eo in bello interfectus est era MCVIII*—the battle of Graus, where Sancho's uncle Ramiro, king of Aragón, was killed probably took place on 8 May 1063 or 1064, possibly later although the attempt in Ubieto Arteta (1981–1989) i 66ff to reassign it to 1069 has not been widely accepted. Salazar Acha (1994) 152–155 identified Estefanía's daughter as Constanza, the first wife of Sancho Garcés, based on a charter of García's legitimate son Sancho IV naming both as his siblings, Canal Sánchez-Pagín (1986) 35 Apéndice documental n° 2, charter dated 29 Nov 1074: *Ego (SANTIUS REX) ... vobis germano meo domno Sancio et uxori vestra vel germana mea, domina Gostanzia [sic], facio hanc cartam donationis*. Salazar Acha (1994) 153 challenged those who might read *germana* as the king's polite form of address for his sister-in-law to demonstrate such a usage elsewhere, although he did not support his alternative view with instances. There are many examples in Iberian charters of *germanus* used for a half-sibling, presumably uterine where the individuals have different patronymics or paternal in other cases, see for instance Cartul Tog Alt 185 n° 147, testament dated 18 Aug 1211: *Ego Martinus Arie ... facio testamentum et kartulam donationis ... de tota portione mea de ecclesia Sancti Jacobi de Tali ... et de portione germani mei Froyle Pelagii*, and *ibid* 186 n° 148, testament of another sibling to the same man dated 21 Sep 1176: *ego Johannes Pelagii ... mando ibi mecum XII<sup>m</sup> integram de tota illa ecclesia Sancti Jacobi de Tali ... Item mando quod germanus meus Froyla recipiat omnia debita mea*—the rights of all three men in this church had evidently come from their mother. The term was equally used for full-siblings under its more conventional meaning, *ibid* 176 n° 136, charter dated 14 Feb 1517: *Ego Cresconius Fernandiz ... vna cum germana mea Maria Fernandiz ... facio cartam uenditionis ... de hereditate mea propria quam habeo in villa Aamir ... quantum ego ibi habeo cum illa mea germana de patris et matris*. Salazar Acha (1994) 155 postulated a Provençal ancestry for Constanza's father—not Roger of Tosny here—solely on the basis of her given name, although this had certainly spread more widely by the 1030s due to girls probably named in compliment to King Robert II's third wife without

being related to her. It should be noted that Estefanía and Constanza were by no means unexampled names amongst the higher nobility in Catalonia at this time: for instance, Arnald I, count of Pallars Sobirà, was son of an Estefanía (married to his father by Jul 1018 and widowed by 1035, certainly too old to have become García's wife), and husband of a Constanza by Sep 1050, see Aurell (1991–1992) 359 n° 106 and 361 n° 111.

It appears most likely that Estefanía was a very young widow with at least one child of her own when she married García expressly with her mother's assent, hardly suggesting she was a mature relict at the time. Since the Nájera chronicle specifies 1070 as the year of the kidnapping, a daughter born to Estefanía before 1038 must have been more than 32 years old, for all the writer knew about it, when suitors were at odds over her. For a recent alternative view of this episode as legend rather than history see Viruete Erdozáin (2008) 62–63, with three main points in refutation: first that in 1070 Sancho II of Castile was married already and Sancho Garcés had children by a second wife; secondly that Ramiro was dead for some years before Sancho Garcés is known to have gone into Muslim territory and visited Zaragoza ca 1072/83; and lastly that Sancho II's killing Ramiro instead of the abductor Sancho Garcés would have failed to restore his honour according to medieval custom. The first of these points contradicts the charter quoted above, dated 1074, on the basis of a second wife named Andregoto occurring with four children in 1075, see Ubieta Arteta (1963) 13–15. These considerations depend on the questionable dating of at least one of the relevant charters, and do not negate the likelihood that Sancho Garcés did marry his father's step-daughter Constanza, probably in 1057, that is the only issue touching on Roger of Tosny's possible connection with Estefanía. García's gush of superlatives for his bride and her mother do not leave an impression that Estefanía was a purely political choice on his part, much less that she was effectively a bigamist who had been discarded by another man years before. As noted above, it is hard to credit that Countess Ermessenda of Barcelona would give away a daughter (if indeed she had one) to the heir of an exile from Normandy, whose rank and power were far inferior to her own, and whose conduct in warfare was—by Ademar's absurd account—depraved.

Salazar Acha (2007) revised his earlier view on the paternity of Queen Estefanía's daughter Constanza, this time nominating 'Roger Hispanicus' of Tosny but making him into an otherwise unknown nephew of Roger I instead of the man himself, *ibid* 862. This involves two invented personages, a false younger Roger and his father conjectured to be a Radulf who was brother to Roger I; the marriage of this phantom to Estefanía was ascribed to ca 1032, when no source indicates that any Tosny was at large in Iberia. Ademar's story about Roger was placed in the context of events more than a decade earlier, despite Salazar's assumption *ibid* 856 that any time when Ermessenda was ruling in Barcelona before the writer's death in 1034 will do as well; although the work is not strictly chronological, the last datable events narrated took place in 1028 while the chapter including Roger's marriage in Barcelona first related the death of Æthelred II in 1016 and the marriage of his widow Emma of Normandy to Cnut the Great in Jul 1017. The section concerning the leaders identified as Radulf II and Roger I of Tosny begins, Ademar Cabann Chron 173: *Ricardo vero comite Rotomagi, filio Ricardi, Nortmannos gubernante*—Richard II was duke from Nov 996 to Aug 1026. This fits with the independent evidence from Radulf Glaber and from Italy that Radulf II was absent from Normandy in the period 1016/23, when presumably



his son also left, in another direction, for the same reason. The Sens chronicle claimed that Roger had spent fifteen years with his wife before deserting her and returning home, where he was married to a Norman lady by Aug 1027 according to the more reliable Miracles of Sainte-Foy whose author had a particular interest in this subject; while Orderic says only that he went to Spain during Duke Robert I's pilgrimage beginning in 1035. But apart from a very inexact reading of these sources, Salazar's mistake is principally due to overlooking Orderic's statement that Roger the Spaniard was killed with two of his sons in the troubled minority of William II, unequivocally meaning the seigneur of Tosny himself rather than a supposed nephew or any other namesake, Ord Vit Hist iv 206, reported speech of Roger the Bearded, seigneur of Beaumont, to Robert Curtheuse: '*... Hoc nimirum potest in bello luce clarius intueri quod in puericia patris tui contra rebelles gessi, in quo corruerunt Rogerius de Hispania et filii eius Elbertus et Elinantius atque plures alii ...*'.

The name Berenguer is not evidence for Berenger Spina <sup>4.9</sup> to have had Catalan ancestry, as proposed by Evans (1968) 616 making him a son of Roger I and compounded by Keats-Rohan (1993) 35 and n 107 adding as his mother Godehildis, most improbably identified with the purported wife from Barcelona. In fact the name Berenger was current in Normandy before this time—notably, on the first occurrence of Roger's father Radulf II in a ducal charter he attested immediately after the chamberlain Berenger, Acta Duc Norm 96 n° 15, charter of Duke Richard II dated at Rouen 21 Sep 1014: *S. Berengerii cubicularii. S. Rodulfi de Todeniaco*. The name does not appear to have been used in the comital family of Barcelona before Ermessenda's son. He did not mention a sister in his will made on 30 Oct 1032 when departing for Rome, see Test Com Barc 85–88 n° 9. Estefanía was not married to García until six years afterwards, so that provision for a sister who had been abandoned to the enemy by a foreign adventurer, along with his last twenty soldiers and all his possessions, might be expected in this context if she had been the wife of Roger. He does not occur in any of the extant charters from the relevant period (Dipl Ermessend n°<sup>os</sup> 101–120 dated between 1024 and Oct 1032), and nor does Estefanía.

It seems likely that the chronicler at Sens, writing in 1108/09, was elaborating on an earlier source, perhaps indirectly Ademar de Chabannes, that did not identify the alleged wife of Roger by name, and filling in the picture by fancifully identifying her with a queen of Navarre whose specific local connections are uncertain. García Sánchez III did marry an Estefanía, for whom he had travelled to Barcelona as stated in Cartul S Joh Pen ii 27–28 n° 72, charter dated 1038: *ego rex Garsea, simul cum coniuge mea regina domina Stefania ... Postea autem quando perrexi ad Barcinona pro coniugem meam domina Stefania*. The only other pointers supposedly linking the families are the presence of Berenguer Ramon's son, Ramon Berenguer I of Barcelona (along with a notable group including the kings of Castile & León and of Aragón, García's brothers, and three bishops), when García and Estefanía enacted the foundation of Santa María de Nájera abbey, Cartul Rivog 54 n° 13, subscriptions to charter dated 12 Dec 1052: *ego Garsia rex cum Stephania uxore atque filiis propriis manibus [sic] conformauimus [sic] et roborauimus ... Fredinandus rex confirmauit, (signum). Rainimirus rex confirmauit [sic] (signum). Raimundus comes cf. (signum); and a daughter of García and Estefanía named Ermessenda, ibid 48–50 n° 12, charter dated 18 Apr 1052: *Ego Garsias Dei gratia rex ... una cum coniuge mea Stephania regina ... Infans Ermisenda, filia mea*. All of these circumstances could have come about in other ways, and no argument has yet convincingly refuted the parentage that has usually been*

preferred for Estefanía by French and Spanish historians, as a daughter of Countess Ermessenda of Barcelona's brother Bernard of Foix, count of Couserans and Garsenda, countess of Bigorre, see for example Jaurgain (1898–1902) ii 219 & 371 and Martín Duque (2005) 30. The name Ermessenda was not rare—for instance, this belonged not only to Berenguer Ramon's mother but also to his (probable) second mother-in-law Ermessenda of Balsareny, while Gilberga of Foix who may have been the sister of García's queen Estefanía was also known as Ermessenda, Cartul S Joh Pen ii 199 n° 159, charter of Ramiro I, king of Aragón, dated 1061: *ego Ranimirus ... commendavi ad Deum et ad suos sanctos Sancio, filio meo, filius Ermesindis qui vocata est per baptismum Gilberga*. The king travelling from Navarre to Barcelona to marry Estefanía might have been meeting his bride at the home of her aunt Ermessenda, since her father (not mentioned by García) was clearly dead while her mother (*comittissa sanctissima*) had seemingly dedicated herself to religious life. Ramon Berenguer I might have been conferring with his Christian fellow-rulers in 1052, one of whom happened to be the husband of his father's cousin, rather than visiting a sister or aunt. This kind of Iberian summitry was fairly routine in the period, and six charters of García's father Sancho III el Mayor in Cartul S Joh Pen had been witnessed by Ramon Berenguer's father Berenguer Ramon from 1027, see Martínez Díez (2007) 105.

There is little value in applying speculations to a problem that cannot be solved without better evidence. The likelihood that a repudiated wife of Roger I, married to him by ca 1020, despite this absentee husband who had in the meanwhile bigamously remarried in Normandy, became the wife of a king much younger than herself almost twenty years later, subsequently bearing at least the eight children by him shown in Ubieto Arteta (1963) 14, is vanishingly slight. Nevertheless, this course of events has been accepted by several historians including Aurell (1995) 239, Stasser (1996) 187 and Settapani (2004) 149.

The ease with which identities can be mistaken, even by conscientious historians, is well illustrated by an obsolete version of this history that held credence for around three centuries: Pierre de Marca and/or his editor Étienne Baluze thought that Ademar must have meant to write about Duke Richard II of Normandy instead of 'Duke Roger', and checking Richard's unions substituted Papiæ, actually a Norman lady from Envermeu, for the alleged Catalan wife of 'Roger', Marca (1688) 429–430: 'positum est nomen Rogerii pro nomine Richardi ... & istius Papiæ familiam nemo veterum indicaverit, nihil vetat quin Ademaro credamus scribenti illam fuisse filiam Raimundi Borrelli & Ermesendis Comitum Barcinonensium'.

<sup>12</sup> Godehildis was still bearing children by her second husband well into the 1040s, if not later—her daughter Agnes was kidnapped, by the girl's uterine half-brother Radulf III, in order to be married to Simon I of Montfort after the death (or possibly the repudiation) of his unknown second wife, presumably some while after the death of his first wife whom he is said, in Anselme (1726–1733) ii 338 and vi 72, to have married ca 1055 (but the authority for this is not cited), and by whom he had at least two children.

<sup>13</sup> Cartul S Petri Conc 546–550 n° 406 I & V, undated confirmation by King Henry I written ca 1130, probably in 1131 (Reg Regum Anglo-Norm ii 250 n° 1701), reciting charters for Conches abbey: *Ego Rogerius, filius Radulphi Thoteniensis, pro salute anime*

*meae ... et conjugis meae Godehildis ... Ego, Godehildis, comitissa Ebroice civitatis, quondam uxor Rogerii de Totteneio.* She had blood relatives among the leading Norman nobles according to Mirac Fid 128: *Rogerus ... cujus preclara conjux, Gotelina nomine, infirmitate gravi vexata, pene ad ultima vite jam ducebatur limina. Cujus de morte summi proceres, quorum ducebat prosapiam, nimium mesti, ad ejus atria veluti suppremas celebraturi exequias, jussu magni principis Richaredi confluerunt.* Apart from these kinsmen who were reportedly commanded by a Duke Richard to gather at her sickbed for the last rites, we have no information about her background. The name Godehildis occurred in and around Normandy before her time, notably in the family of the seigneurs of Bellême, but it could of course have come into her lineage from another, as it did into theirs. This name was not common enough to be generally familiar elsewhere, and was rendered (for her) as Gotelina in the Miracles of Sainte-Foy, and (for her granddaughter •5.3) as Gutuera by William of Tyre and as Godwera by Albert of Aachen.

<sup>14</sup> Cartul S Petri Conc 550 n° 406 V, undated confirmation by King Henry I written ca 1130, probably in 1131 (Reg Regum Anglo-Norm ii 250 n° 1701), reciting her charter for Conches abbey: *Ego, Godehildis, comitissa Ebroice civitatis, quondam uxor Rogerii de Totteneio ... annuente domino ac seniori meo comite Richardo*; Bauduin (Caen, 2004) 370 annexe II n° 5, undated charter of her second husband for Saint-Taurin d'Évreux abbey: *Ricardus comes Ebroicensis, annuente uxore sua Godehildi filioque eorum Guillelmo*; Guill Gemet Gesta ii 98, interpolation by Orderic: *Post prefatam cedem, in qua Rogerus [Toeniensis] et Rodbertus de Grentemaisnil et alii quamplures ceciderunt, Ricardus Ebroicensis comes, filius Rodberti archiepiscopi, uxorem Rogerii de Toenia sibi in matrimonio assumpsit*; *ibid* ii 232, additional book by Robert of Torigni: *Ricardus autem comes [Ebroicensis] ex relicta Rogerii de Toenio, qui peremptus fuerat in quodam conflictu, genuit predictum Willelmum qui ei successit.*

▲3.2 <sup>1-2</sup> Roger I reportedly lost a bastard half-brother in an ambush ca 1023, when escorting the bishop of Toulouse, Ademar Cabann Chron 174: *Cum quibus pace [inita], cum ulteriori Hispania Rotgerius decertare cepit, et die quadam una cum [Petro episcopo Tolose et] XL solummodo Christianis quingentos Sarracenorum electos in insidiis latentes offendit, cum quibus confligens, fratrem suum manzerem amisit, [tercioque acies adversarias irrumpens plus centum hostium] extinxit, et cum suis propria revisit, nec ausi sunt [Hismahelite] persequi fugientem.*

<sup>3</sup> Nothing is known of a wife to Roger I's bastard half-brother who was killed in 1023, and this marriage is based only on the speculative placement of three children who are recorded as siblings to each other, but who cannot be readily connected elsewhere to a Tosny father mentioned in a contemporary source—although it must be noted that the only source for him is Ademar of Chabannes, who can have had no particular knowledge of this family.

▲4.1 <sup>1</sup> Guill Gemet Gesta ii 96, interpolation by Orderic: *Rogerus itaque fretus auxiliatorum multitudine contra tenerum ducem ausus est rebellare. Omnes uicinos suos palam despiciebat, et terras eorum, maxime Vnfridi de Vetulis, rapinis et incendiis deuastabat. At ille, diutius hoc ferre nolens, Rogerium de Bellomonte, filium suum, cum familia sua contra eum misit. Quem Rogerus Toeniensis temere spreuit, et nil metuens cum eo audacter conflixit, sed ibidem cum*

*duobus filiis suis Helberto et Elinancio peremptus uictoriam hostibus reliquit*; Ord Vit Hist ii 40: *Rotbertus* [de Grentemaisnil] ... *cum Rogerio de Toenio contra Rogerium de Bellomonte dimicauit, in quo conflictu Rogerius cum filiis suis Elberto et Elinancio peremptus est*; *ibid* iv 206, reported speech of Roger the Bearded, seigneur of Beaumont, to Robert Curtheuse: ‘... *Hoc nimirum potest in bello luce clarius intueri quod in puericia patris tui contra rebelles gessi, in quo corruerunt Rogerius de Hispania et filii eius Elbertus et Elinantius atque plures alii* ...’. The name was evidently more common in the north-east than elsewhere in the 12<sup>th</sup> century. There was a canon at Reims named Elbert who died before 1075, Necrol Cath Rem 76 (under 14 Apr): *Elbertus presbyter et canonicus*; other instances occur at Liège in 1085 and Stavelot-Malmédy in 1092, see Morlet (1968–1985) i 32. According to Musset (1978) 55 n 48 the name Elbert is a contraction of Hildebert, but Morlet associated its opening element with Ali- rather than with Hild-, *loc cit*.

<sup>2</sup> See preceding n for Elbert’s death in battle along with his father and brother Elinand—for the date and year see <sup>†</sup>3.1 n 5 above.

<sup>†</sup>4.2 <sup>1</sup> Guill Gemet Gesta ii 96, interpolation by Orderic: *Rogerus itaque fretus auxiliatorum multitudine contra tenerum ducem ausus est rebellare. Omnes uicinos suos palam despiciebat, et terras eorum, maxime Vnfridi de Vetulis, rapinis et incendiis deuastabat. At ille, diutius hoc ferre nolens, Rogerium de Bellomonte, filium suum, cum familia sua contra eum misit. Quem Rogerius Toeniensis temere spreuit, et nil metuens cum eo audacter confligit, sed ibidem cum duobus filiis suis Helberto et Elinancio peremptus uictoriam hostibus reliquit*; Ord Vit Hist ii 40: *Rotbertus* [de Grentemaisnilio] ... *cum Rogerio de Toenio contra Rogerium de Bellomonte dimicauit, in quo conflictu Rogerius cum filiis suis Elberto et Elinancio peremptus est*; *ibid* iv 206, reported speech of Roger the Bearded, seigneur of Beaumont, to Robert Curtheuse: ‘... *Hoc nimirum potest in bello luce clarius intueri quod in puericia patris tui contra rebelles gessi, in quo corruerunt Rogerius de Hispania et filii eius Elbertus et Elinantius atque plures alii* ...’. The forms Elinancius and Elinantius are idiosyncratic spellings by Orderic, probably due to his unfamiliarity with the name that occurs more frequently as Helinandus in the 11<sup>th</sup> century. The Norman Ansketil of Auteuil had a son named Elinand, who attested an undated charter of Guillaume, count of Évreux (son of Roger I’s wife Godehildis by her second husband) for Saint-Taurin abbey, printed by Le Prevost (1862–1869) i 156–157: *Helinant filius Anchetilli*; this man also was called Elinancius by Orderic, Ord Vit Hist vi 205: *Elinancius de Atoilo*. Elinand was the name of a bishop of Laon from 1052 to 1098, and later of a prince of Galilee from the family of the seigneurs of Bures, near Gometz in the diocese of Paris; there was a Helinand in Le Mans, who attested a charter of Bishop Avesgaud (who coincidentally was the son and brother of ladies named Godehildis) at Saint-Pierre de la Couture abbey dated 19 Jun 1009, Cartul S Petri Cult 10 n° 7: † *Signum HELINANDI*—coincidentally, a later namesake connected with the same abbey was known as ‘de Ispania’, in this case from Espagne near Le Mans, see Obit S Petri Cult 346 (3 Apr): *Obiit Alinandus de Yspania*. Another Helinand, possibly this son of Roger I if still living at the time, attested a charter along with Duke William II at Rouen in 1043, Acta Duc Norm 258 n° 101: + *S. Helinandi*.

<sup>2</sup> See preceding n for Elinand's death in battle along with his father and brother Elbert—for the date and year see \*3.1 n 5 above.

- \*4.3 <sup>1</sup> Acta Duc Norm 259 n° 102, subscription to an undated charter of Duke William II written 1037/ca 1045: *Vuaso filius Rogerii Tothenensis*. The name occurs in the 11<sup>th</sup> century also as Waszo, Vuazo, Guazo, Gazo, a hypocoristic form related to names beginning with the Germanic element Wad- according to Morlet (1968–1985) i 212. Waszo miles attested King Philippe I's diploma confirming a donation of Simon I of Montfort to Saint-Magloire de Paris, Acta Phil I 165 n° 72, dated 1072: *S. Waszonis militis*. Simon himself was then married to Radulf III of Tosny's uterine half-sister Agnes of Évreux, and his maternal grandfather was Guillaume of Gometz, seigneur of Bures, whose relatives or vassals later became princes of Galilee and used the name Helinand, see Lair (1876) 195. Guazo of Dreux, probably the same man as Waszo miles above, attested (along with Simon and his father Amaury II of Montfort) the foundation charter of Saint-Thomas d'Épernon priory in 1052/53, Cartul S Thom Sparn 4 n° 1: *S. Guazonis de Droicis*; this man was ancestor of the seigneurs of Châteauneuf-en-Thymerais, and his name recurred in that lineage, usually rendered as Gaston by French historians, cf Merlet (1865) 339 and Romanet i 144. He was son of Radulf Barbat, from whom Roger I's widow Godehildis bought rights in and around Gravenchon that she donated to Conches abbey with the approval of her second husband, Cartul S Petri Conc 550 n° 406 V, undated confirmation by King Henry I written ca 1130, probably in 1131 (Reg Regum Anglo-Norm ii 250 n° 1701): *Ego, Godehildis, comitissa Ebroice civitatis, quondam uxor Rogerii de Totteneio ... do Sancto Petro de Castellione decimam de villa que vulgo dicitur Cravencon; et decimam duorum molendinorum de Hondovilla; et de Albania eam partem decime atque ecclesie quam emi de Radulpho Barbato, annuente domino ac seniore meo comite Richardo*. Guazo of Dreux's son and heir was Hugo I of Châteauneuf, whose namesake grandson was at war with Radulf III of Tosny in the latter's seigneurie of Nogent, inherited through Isabelle of Montfort, see Power (2004) 295–296 and 492 table 9. Noting the coincidence of these fairly common names in both lineages with the less common one of Guazo, as well as shared links with the Montforts and other connections to the higher Norman aristocracy (for instance, a daughter of Roger II of Montgomery, earl of Shrewsbury, and Mabilia, dame of Bellême, was Hugo I of Châteauneuf's wife), some unknown relationship is a possibility. Orderic mentions a Waszo of Poissy, son of Robert the Eloquent, seigneur of Chaumont, Ord Vit Hist ii 154: *Rodbertus Eloquens de Caluimonte qui capitalis dominus erat ... filii eius Otmundus de Caluimonte et Wazso de Pexeio*; the same man occurs as Guazo in an undated charter for Marmoutier written 1050/60: Cartul Mai Mon Bles 36 n° 29: *miles quidam de caluo monte nomine Guazo*; and as Guaszo when he attested an undated charter of Eudes, count of Dammartin, dated at Melun 9 August and written before 1060, Cartul S Petri Carnot i 154: *Guaszo de Pissiaco*; his descendants with the same name are usually called Gasce by French historians, for instance Depoin in Cartul S Martin Pontis 434ff. Another G(u)azo, a prior of Marmoutier, subscribed an undated charter of Duke William II written ca 1052/58, Acta Duc Norm 321 n° 141: *Signum Guazoni (sic) prioris* (the name appears as *Gazonis* in several copies of this document).

<sup>2</sup> See preceding n for his subscription to a ducal charter written 1037/ca 1045—possibly he lived as a youth at the ducal court, but in any case Waszo was apparently

independent of other family members at this time. Since he would seem therefore to have been somewhat older than Radulf III, who succeeded their father as a minor ca 1038/43, Waszo was presumably either an illegitimate son or else was dead before Roger I, Elbert and Elinand were killed.

- 4.4 <sup>1</sup> Acta Guill I 659 n° 212, attestation to approval bef Oct 1066 of agreement between Adela, countess of Flanders and Isabelle, abbess of Montivilliers, recited in an undated charter written 1068/76: *Radulfo de Conchis Rogerii filio*; Carte S Ebrul 181 n° 4, undated charter written ca 1080: *Ego Radulfus de Conchis, filius Rogerii de Toneio*; Cartul S Petri Conc 349–350 n° 269, undated, written 1040/75: *Ego, Radulphus de Thoenio, cum Godehilde, matre mea, pro anima et sepultura patris mei Rogerii*—cf ibid 548 n° 406 II, recital of the preceding charter in undated confirmation by King Henry I written ca 1130, probably in 1131 (Reg Regum Anglo-Norm ii 250 n° 1701): *Ego [Radulphus de Totteneio cum] Godehilde matre mea pro sepultu[ra patris mei Rogerii]*; and Carte Wotton 995 n° 2, later version of the same charter: *EGO Radulphus de Tony, cum Godehelde matre meâ*; Ord Vit Hist iii 124: *Radulfus igitur de Conchis filius Rogerii de Toenia*.

Orderic also noted that Radulf was a uterine brother of Agnes of Évreux, who was a daughter of Godehildis, Ord Vit Hist iii 124–128: *Radulfus igitur de Conchis filius Rogerii de Toenia ... Agnetem uterinam sororem suam Ricardi Ebroicensium comitis filiam noctu surripuit, et Simoni de Monteforti in matrimonium dedit*.

- <sup>2</sup> Radulf III may have been born a little earlier than 1030, but reportedly not much if at all later. According to Orderic he served in arms for nearly 60 years, Ord Vit Hist iii 126–128: *Radulfus ... insignis militiæ probitate claruit, et inter præcipuos Normanniæ proceres diuitiis et honoribus maxime floruit ac fere lx anis Neustriæ principibus Guillelmo regi et Rodberto duci filio eius strenue militauit*. Calculating back from his death in 1102/03 this means he was active by 1043/44, not long after the deaths of his father and brothers, presumably from the age of 14: CP xii/I 757 n (i) estimated his birth ca 1029 in this way, assuming that Radulf died in 1102—however, it must be remembered that Orderic was not consistently precise in such arithmetic. The parents of Radulf's wife Isabelle of Montfort are said to have married ca 1055 in Anselme (1726–1733) ii 338 and vi 72, without citing an authority; his own marriage evidently cannot have taken place before 1066 (see n 8 below), and he occurs only with his mother until Acta Duc Norm 291 n° 122 n (x), charter dated 1050 confirming earlier donations, versions C, D & E with extra attestations (including Radulf's) that were perhaps added later: *S. Rodulphi (Rodulfi E) Toteniaci*.

- <sup>3</sup> Acta Duc Norm 435 n° 226, attestation to undated charter of Duke William II written 1065/66: *Rodulpho de Conchis Rogeri filio*; ibid 374 n° 191, subscription to undated charter of Roger de Clères written probably aft 1050/bef 14 Oct 1066: *Signum Radulfi de Toieno*; Acta Guill I 174 n° 26, charter of Odo, bishop of Bayeux, dated 30 Nov 1074: *Ego igitur Odo ... emi quandam terram que vocatur Chernetvilla a Herberto de Agnellis, assentiente suo domino Radulfo de Conchis*; ibid 190 n° 30, attestation to charter dated 2 Jun 1080 reciting an earlier donation to Bernay abbey (dated 5 Jun 1061): *Radulfo de Chunchis*; ibid 240 n° 50, attestation to undated charter written 1081/82: *Signum Radul+fi de Todeneio*; Ord Vit Hist iii 236 (Acta Guill I 772 n° 255),

confirmation by William the Conqueror donations to Saint-Évroult abbey, dated 1081 probably written at Winchester in May: *Radulfus quoque de Conchis eidem sancto [Ebrulfo] dedit duos manerios Alwintonam in Guighercestreascira, et Caldecotam in Nortfuch* (note the peculiar orthography for Worcestershire and Norfolk given by Orderic, who was born in England: it would be unwise to reach any conclusion about the original form of the name ‘Malahulcius’ coming from this writer’s fantastic pen); *ibid* iii 124–126: *Radulfus igitur de Conchis filius Rogerii de Toenia ... qui capitalis dominus erat.*

<sup>4</sup> Ord Vit Hist ii 140: *Rodulfus de Conchis Rogerii Toenitis filius Normannorum signifer*; *ibid* iii 124: *Radulfus igitur de Conchis filius Rogerii de Toenia, qui fuit Normannorum famosus signifer*—CP xii/I 757 n (j) questioned whether ‘famosus signifer’ here refers to Radulf or to his father Roger, but it was a paraphrase of the first description, also in the nominative, which can only indicate Radulf. According to Wace this role was politely, yet boastfully, declined by Radulf at Hastings when William invited him to take up the papal banner as his hereditary right, Wace ii 330–331:

*Li Dus apela un seruant,  
 Son gonfanon fist traire auant,  
 Que la pape li enueia,  
 E cil le traist sil despleia.  
 Li dus le prist, sus le dreca,  
 Raol de Conches apela.  
 ‘Portez,’ dist-il, ‘mon gonfanon,  
 Ne uos uoil faire se dreit non:  
 Par dreit e par anceisorie  
 Deiuent estre de Normendie  
 Vostre parent gonfanonier,  
 Mult furent tuit boen cheualier.’  
 ‘Granz merciz,’ dist Raol, ‘aiez,  
 Qui nostre dreit reconoissiez,  
 Mais li gonfanon, par ma fei,  
 Ne sera hui portez par mei;  
 Hui uos claim quite cest seruise  
 Si uos seruirai d’altre guise,  
 D’altre chose uos seruirai:  
 En la bataille od uos irai  
 E as Engleis me combatrai,  
 Tant com io uif estre porrai.  
 Saciez que ma main plus ualdra  
 Que tels uint homes i aura.’*

<sup>5</sup> Lib Domesd xii (Hertfordshire) 22,1: *RADVLFVS de Todenit ten[et] FLAMESTEDE*; Carte Wotton 995 n° 2, undated later copy or summary of a genuine charter: *EGO Radulphus de Tony, cum Godehelde matre meâ, &c. Do etiam in Anglicâ terrâ manerium unum liberum et quietum, quod vocatur Lena ... et in omnibus aliis meis maneriis per totam terram meam. Scilicet de Cabenora, de Flamsteda ...*

<sup>6</sup> Ord Vit Hist iii 128: *Rodulfus senex post plurimos euentus letos tristesque ix° kal’ Aprilis obiit*; *ibid* vi 36: *Eodem tempore precipue proceres Normanniæ Gualterius Gifardus [1102]*

*Guillelmus Britoliensis* [1099 or 1102/03?] *et Radulfus de Conchis defuncti sunt eis que iuuenes successerunt*. An anonymous interpolation written at Lyre abbey in a copy of Robert of Torigni's chronicle placed the death of Radulf's nephew William of Breteuil in 1099, Rob Torig Chron ii 154: *Willermus major natu Britolium et Paceium et reliquam partem paterni juris in Normannia obtinuit, et omni vita sua fere XXX annis tenuit ... Willermus autem, post varios eventos, hoc anno ab incarnatione Domini M<sup>o</sup> XC<sup>o</sup> VIII<sup>o</sup>, tempore Roberti ducis, apud Beccum, V idus Januarii, obiit, et in claustro Lirensis cœnobii, quod in proprio pater ejus fundo contstruxerat, sepultus quiescit*. In view of this it is not clear whether Orderic's 'eodem tempore' above ostensibly indicating 1102 or perhaps 1103 is accurate or vague—he was frequently imprecise with such details.

<sup>7</sup> Ord Vit Hist iii 128: *Rodulfus senex ... et Radulfus filius eius ... Ambos ut improba mors sibi eos subdidit sepultura in cenobio beati Petri Castellionis cum patribus suis suscepit*. CP xii/I 760 n (e), to the detail of his burial, correctly stated 'He had 2 sons, Roger and Ralph'. CP xiv 613 erroneously altered this by adding a third son named Richer—however, the authority given for this mistake is not about a son of Radulf III de Tosny at all, referring instead to donations made to Saint-Évroult abbey by Gilbert I, seigneur of l'Aigle and his father Richer I, before going on to describe a quite separate donation by Radulf, Ord Vit Hist v 266–268 (iv 67 in the edition by Le Prevost indirectly cited in CP xiv): *Gislebertus uero de Aquila medietatem Aquilæ uillæ ita sancto Ebrulfo concessit ... Alteram quippe partem dono Richerii patris eiusdem in dominio iam dudum possidebant. Radulfus quoque de Conchis Caldecotam et Alwintonam que in Anglia sunt, et tres agripennas uinearum de Toenia ... sancto Ebrulfo concessit*.

<sup>8</sup> Ord Vit Hist iii 124–128: *Radulfus igitur de Conchis ... sororem suam ... Simoni de Monteforti in matrimonium dedit. Ipse quoque pro recompensatione filiam eiusdem Simonis nomine Isabel uxorem accepit*. This exchange of brides cannot have taken place before 1067/68, since it was a third marriage for Simon de Montfort and his first wife was evidently still living in 1066. Radulf of Tosny's uterine half-sister Agnes of Évreux was the third wife of Simon, Gemet Gesta ii 232, additional book by Robert of Torigni: *Ricardus autem comes [Ebroicensis] ... genuit ... unam filiam, que nupsit Symoni de Monteforti ... Sed ante eam idem Simon habuerat duas uxores*; his first wife, Isabelle of Broyes, was almost certainly the lady who approved a donation in 1066 by Richard of Meulan to Notre-Dame de Coulombs at Saint-Hilaire de Charpont, belonging to her inheritance, between Nogent-le-Roi and Dreux, Cartul S Martin Pontis 343 pièces justificatives n<sup>o</sup> 3, charter dated 1066: *RICHARDUS HERLUINI filius, comitis GALERANI Mellenti nepos ... do ... partem [possessionum mearum de Villa Sancti Hilari ...] Itaque, inter alia, do prædictæ ecclesiæ ecclesiam sancti Hilari ... Quod donum concessit SIMON DE MONTEFORTI a quo ea tenebam, et uxor ejus, de cuius parte hæreditas illa veniebat*. This identification of Saint-Hilaire is more compelling than suggested in CP vii 710 n (e), because Coulombs abbey already held other possessions at Charpont donated by Guazo of Dreux (the man mentioned in \*4.3 n 1 above) with the approval of Isabelle's father Hugo Bardoul, then seigneur of Nogent, as confirmed before King Henri I in an undated charter, written 1037/48 according to Soëhnée (1907) 49 n<sup>o</sup> 53, printed in Devaux (1886) 298 n 1: *Ego Gastho, filius Radulphi Barbatii, notum esse volo quod ... seniore meum Hugonem Bardulfum adii, adiensque petii ut quandam villam, quam de ejus beneficio possidere uidebar, nomine Sicheripontem, loco beatissime Dei genitricis Marie, qui dicitur Columbas, ejus nutu donarem, quod ipse libentissime annuit*.



The second marriage of Simon appears to have been of very short duration, as a son by the third wife Agnes of Évreux was elected bishop of Paris in May or June 1095. He had not reached the minimum qualifying age of 30 at the time, although he is likely to have been a deacon and therefore at least 25 years old; in any case, by the time of his ordination and consecration on Sunday 28 Sep 1096 he was already a deacon, as implied by two letters of St Ivo of Chartres in light of his own collection of canons made around the same time, Ivo Carnot Panorm 1135 lib III cap xxviii: *Episcoporum vero vel presbyterum ante triginta annos, id est antequam ad viri perfecti aetatem perveniat, nullus metropolitanorum ordinare praesumat*; *ibid* cap xxx: *Placuit ut ante viginti quinque annos aetatis, nec diaconi ordinentur*. The first letter recommended the advancement of Guillaume at suitable intervals through the ecclesiastical orders after seeking a papal dispensation for inadequate age, and the second with authorisation from Pope Urban II requested Richer, archbishop of Sens, to ordain him as a priest and consecrate him before the feast of St Remy on 1 October 1096, Ivo Carnot Epist 55 n° 43, undated letter to Urban II written ca Jul 1095: *Notum autem facio sublimitati vestrae quod Guillelmum bonae spei fratrem in Carnotensi Ecclesia nutritum, Parisiensis Ecclesia elegit in episcopum ... Addimus quoque consilio ejus, quia aliquantulum infra annos legitimos nobis esse videbatur, ut promotiones ad gradus ecclesiasticos per congrua intervalla differret, et interim aut per se aut per nuntios Ecclesiae pro his quae ad integritatem ordinationis minus sunt, a paternitate vestra indulgentiam postulet*; *ibid* 62 n° 50, undated letter to Richer, archbishop of Sens, written ca Aug 1096: *Unde mando vobis ex parte domni papae ut si Parisiensis Ecclesia eum [domnum Gulielmum] sibi ordinari et consecrari postulaverit, ante festum sancti Remigii*.

Assuming that this son was born most probably by mid-1070 and certainly by the end of September 1071, and as he may well not have been their first child given that his brother Richard was named after her father, Agnes and Simon were probably married in 1068 or at the latest in 1069. Radulf may have had to wait a year or so until Isabelle of Montfort was old enough if her parents were not married until ca 1055, as stated without citing a source in Anselme (1726–1733) ii 338 and vi 72. The first proof of the marriage is well after the fact, Acta Duc Norm 545 n° 164, earlier charter recited in an undated pancarte for Jumièges abbey written 1079/87: *Ego Rodulfus de Conchis monasterio sancti Petri Gemmeticensis in villa que vocatur Fontane concedo terram quantum ad molendinum construendum opus fuerit ... Hoc eius uxor laudavit et hoc signo firmavit* †.

<sup>9</sup> Carte Wotton 995 n° 2, undated copy or paraphrase of an earlier charter (see n 1 above): *EGO Radulphus de Tony, cum Godehelde matre meâ ... Signum Radulphi. Signum Ysabellis. Signum Radulphi filii*; Ord Vit Hist iii 124–128: *Radulfus igitur de Conchis filius Rogerii de Toenia ... Agnetem uterinam sororem suam Ricardi Ebroicensium comitis filiam noctu surripuit, et Simoni de Monteforti in matrimonium dedit. Ipse quoque pro recompensatione filiam eiusdem Simonis nomine Isabel uxorem accepit*. Isabelle was heiress to her brother Amaury in their mother's seigneurie of Nogent-le-Roi, and through her this belonged to the Tosnys from ca 1089.

<sup>10</sup> Cartul Fontisebr ii 602 n° 635, undated notice for her son Radulf IV written aft 1123: *Radulphus [sic, recte 'Radulphus'] de Toenio ... dedit ecclesiae Sanctae Mariae Fontis Ebraudi, apud castrum Achineum, decem modia annonae et centum solidos ... persuadente matre sua Elizabeth quae in praefata ecclesia, cum caeteris sacris virginibus et viduis, se devote*

*sacrovelandam contulit velamine; ibid 619–620 n° 654, charter of Radulf IV dated 1123: Ego Radulfus de Toenaio universis notum facio quod Elizabet mater mea, Deo inspirante, in ecclesia Fontis Ebraudi ad religionem venit. Pro cuius amore atque pro animae meae omniumque meorum salute dono eidem ecclesiae, quamdiu mater mea vixerit, omnes redditus de Aquineio et post mortem ejus per unum annum ... Factum est autem hoc apud Altam Brueriam ... Acta haec carta anno ab incarnatione Domini MCXXXIII; Ord Vit Hist iii 128: Rodulfus senex ... obiit ... Isabel uero postquam in uiduitate diu permansit, laetalis lasciuiae cui nimis in iuuentute seruierat poenitus seculum reliquit et in monasterio sanctimonialium apud Altam Brueriam uelum suscepit, ibique uitam suam laudabiliter in timore Dei perseuerans salubriter correxit.*

<sup>11</sup> See n 8 above.

•4.5 <sup>1</sup> Guill Gemet Gesta ii 132, interpolation by Robert of Torigni: *Willelmus uero filius Osberni ... duo monasteria in honorem beate Dei genetricis Marie, unum apud Liram, in quo Adelizam, filiam Rogerii de Toenio, uxorem suam, postmodum sepeliuit ... fecit.*

<sup>2</sup> Adeliza could have been born earlier than 1030/35, but evidently not later: she had two sons who both appear to have been of full age at their father's death in Feb 1071.

<sup>3</sup> Obit Lir 417 (Oct): *III [nonas]—Adeliz, uxor Willelmi, h[uius]. [oci]. fundatoris.* This entry is in an early 13<sup>th</sup>-century manuscript; two 14<sup>th</sup>-century obituaries from Lyre have *Adelicia comitissa* under the same date, suggesting that she may have survived until after William fitz Osbern became earl of Hereford in 1067. Chron Lir 367 (ann 1066, last entry for the year): *Circa hoc tempus obiit Adelicia uxor Willelmi filii Osberni—* but this chronicle is not precise with such details, for example placing her husband's death as the first entry under 1072 instead of in 1071. Adeliza's inaccurate epitaph in Gothic lettering on a much later monument (now lost) at Lyre abbey, as recorded ca 1640, gave the year 1067 for her death, see Dubuisson-Aubenay (1911) 129: 'Dame Alis de Tony, femme de Guillaume de Crepont, comte de Leycestre [sic] et de Breteuil, grand mareschal d'Angleterre et fondateur de céans et de Cormeilles; laquelle trepassa le 5. octobre l'an 1067'.

<sup>4</sup> Chron Lir 367 (ann 1066, last entry for the year): *Circa hoc tempus obiit Adelicia uxor Willelmi filii Osberni, et sepulta fuit in claustro Lirensi; Ord Vit Hist ii 282: Guillelmi uero comitis ... in cenobio Cormeliensi cum magno suorum luctu sepultum est. Duo quippe cenobia monachorum in suo patrimonio construxerat in honore sanctae Dei genetricis Mariae. Vnum quidem erat Lireae secus Riselam fluuuium ubi Adeliza uxor eius tumulata est.*

<sup>5</sup> See following n for charter evidence of the marriage by ca 1050.

<sup>6</sup> Acta Duc Norm 285 n° 120, undated charter written ca 1050: *ego Guillelmus filius Osberni ... cum uxore mea Adeliz;* Guill Gemet Gesta ii 146, interpolation by Orderic: [Willelmus Osberni filius] *legitimus et liberalis uir Adelizam, Rogerii Toenite filiam, in coniugio habuit;* ibid ii 132, interpolation by Robert of Torigni: *Willelmus uero filius Osberni ... Adelizam, filiam Rogerii de Toenio, uxorem suam;* ibid ii 226, additional book

by Robert of Torigni: *Duxit autem idem Willelmus [filius Osberni] Aelizam, filiam Rogerii de Toeneio.*

The purported betrothal or second marriage of William to Countess Richilde of Flanders & Hainaut is not in the least plausible, despite acceptance in CP vi 448, because the many contemporary sources that would definitely have reported such an extraordinary decision by this twice-widowed great lady all fail to do so. The story derives from Guill Malm Gesta Reg i 474: *Sed tam secundos euentus turpi fine fortuna conclusit, dum tanti regni sustentator, Angliae et Normanniae consiliarius, pro feminea cupidine Flandriam pergens ab insidiatoribus impetitus interiit. Nam Balduinus antiquus ille ... pater Mathildis, duos habuit filios, Rotbertum, qui patre superstite comitissam Frisiae uxorem nactus Frisonis cognomen accepit, Balduinum, qui post patrem aliquot annis Flandriae praefuit immatureque fato functus est, superstibus duobus liberis Arnulfo et Balduino de Richelde uxore, quorum tutelam regi Francorum Philippo, cuius amitae filius erat, et Willelmo filio Osberni commendauerat. Libens id munus suscepit Willelmus, ut federatis cum Richelde nuptiis altius nomen sibi pararet. At illa, femineo fastu altiora sexu spirans nouaque a prouintialibus tributa exigens, in perfidiam illos excitauit; misso quippe propter Rotbertum Frisonem nuntio, ut supplicantis patriae habenas acciperet, omnem fidelitatem Arnulfo, qui iam comes dicebatur, abiurant. Nec uero defuere qui pupilli partes fulcirent. Ita multis diebus Flandria intestinis dissensionibus conturbata. Id filius Osberni, qui totus in amorem mulieris concesserat, pati nequiuit, quin militari manu coacta Flandriam intraret; susceptusque primo ab his quos tutari uenerat, post paucos dies securus de castello in aliud equitabat expeditus cum paucis. Contra Friso, quem huiusmodi fatuitas non latebat, occultatis insidiis inopinum excepit, et nequiquam fortiter agentem ipsum et nepotem suum Arnulfum cecidit.* William of Malmesbury, writing in 1124/25, was not the sole recipient of secret information about public events or privy to the motives of an amorous old man and a woman with ambition beyond her sex in Flanders more than 50 years earlier. Another twist on the story was given in the 13<sup>th</sup>-century annals of Winchester: here William the Conqueror, desiring a marriage between the countess and William fitz Osbern (described as the king's nephew), is supposed to have gone to Flanders personally, with his French counterpart in league, to subdue Richilde for his purpose either by love or by force majeure, Annal Winton 29 (ann 1070): *Hoc anno volens rex comitissam Flandriae nepoti suo Willelmo filio Osberni accipere, cum rege Franciae Flandriam venit, ut amore vel viribus sibi illam subiceret.* The outcome is not mentioned in this version of the story, most probably also taken from William of Malmesbury but with the compiler failing to understand that *tanti regni sustentator* referred not to the king but to William fitz Osbern, as governor of England. The legend that he was newly married to Richilde when he was killed at the battle of Cassel was later repeated, and popularised among genealogists, in Meyere (1561) 27v<sup>o</sup> (ann 1071): 'Pugnatum est iterum multo quam ante ardentius ac maiore sanguine. Cecidit inter alios ... Guilelmus Osbernius Normannus gente, nouus Richildis maritus'.

<sup>7</sup> This is a guess, from his being married by ca 1050 to the mother of his two sons who appear to have been of full age at his death in Feb 1071. William fitz Osbern's earliest occurrences in charters are all undated (apart from a forged document ostensibly written in 1024), see Acta Duc Norm 249 n<sup>o</sup> 96, undated confirmation of a gift made by Gulbert, who had been wounded ca 1040 when Osbern was murdered, and later became a monk in Rouen: *Tempore quo Osbernus dapifer a suis hostibus est interemptus, Gulbertus ... cum eo graviter est vulneratus ... In die igitur quo religionis habitum*

*sumpsit, dedit Sanctę Trinitati Vallem Richerii et prata de Reduil, annuentibus fratribus ejus ... Hoc factum Willelmus, comes Normannorum, laudavit et proprię manus sigillo confirmavit. + S. Willelmi comitis Normanni. + S. Willelmi filii Osberni, de quo erat beneficium ... + S. Gulberti, cujus est donatio.* Fauroux ascribed this document to ca 1040, but it was clearly written some time after William the Bastard had come of age ca 1042/43; *ibid* 275 n° 113, subscription to undated charter of Roger II of Montgomery written 1043/48: *Signum Willelmi [sic] filii Osberni*; *ibid* 282 n° 118, undated charter written ca 1040/51: *Willelmus et frater ejus Osbernus, annuente matre eorum Emma, pro anima patris sui Osberni, cognomento Pacifici ... + S. Willelmi filii Osberni. + S. Osberni fratris ejus. + S. Emmę matris eorum*; *ibid* 283 n° 119, undated charter written ca 1040/50: *annuentibus dominis meis scilicet Emma Osberni dapiferi uxore et filiis ejus Willelmo et Osberno*—this wording with Emma apparently in charge of her two sons suggests that William may have been under age when his father Osbern was killed ca 1040.

<sup>8</sup> Guill Gemet Gesta ii 144–146, interpolation by Orderic: *Hec pugna anno Dominice incarnationis .m.l.iiii. Postea dux contra Tegulense castrum, quod rex illi dudum abstulerat, aliud oppidum non deterius, quod Bretolium usque hodie uocatur, instaurat, et Willelmo Osberni filio ad custodiendum contra cunctos sibi aduersantes commendat.*

<sup>9</sup> Cartul Trin Rotomag 450 n° 55, charter dated 1068: *Willelmus comes, filius Osberni dapiferi ... Signum WILLELMI, comitis, filii Osberni*; *ibid* 455 n° 67, charter dated 1069: *Willelmus, dux Normannorum, regnum adeptus Anglorum ... consilio et suggestione fidelis sui Willelmi, filii Osberni dapiferi, qui comes erat palatii*; Joh Wigorn Chron iii 4: *Adueniente Quadragesima [1067] rex Willelmus Nortmanniam repetiit ... fratremque suum Odonem Baiocensem episcopum, et Willelmum filium Osberni, quem in Herefordsi prouincia comitem constituerat, Anglie custodes relinquens*—Lent in 1067 began on 21 Feb. This passage was copied in Rog Hoveden Chron i 116: *Anno M<sup>o</sup> LX<sup>o</sup> VI<sup>o</sup>. Adueniente autem Quadragesima, rex Willelmus Normanniam repetiit ... fratremque suum Odonem Bajocensem episcopum, et Willelmum filium Osberni, quem in Herefordsi prouincia comitem constituerat, Anglię custodes relinquens*; Guill Gemet Gesta ii 146, interpolation by Orderic: [Willelmus Osberni filius] *cum Willelmo duce Anglos maxime perdomuit, et comitatem Herfordi cum magna parte regni sensu et uiribus optinuit.* His authority extended to the whole of southern England overseen from Winchester, Ord Vit Hist ii 194–196: *Intra mœnia Guentę opibus et minimine nobilis urbis et mari contiguę ualidam arcem [Willelmus rex] construxit ibique Guillelmum Osberni filium in exercitu suo præcipuum reliquit, eumque uice sua toti regno uersus Aquilonem præesse constituit*; *ibid* ii 260: *Rex Guillelmus ... ex infimis Normannorum clientibus tribunos et centuriones ditissimos erexit. Willelmo dapifero Normannię Osberni filio insulam Vectam et comitatum Herefordensem dedit eumque cum Gualterio de Laceio aliisque probatis pugilibus contra Britones bellis inhiantes opposuit.*

<sup>10</sup> **20 Feb**—Obit Lir 406 (Feb): *X [Kal. martii]*—*Guillelmus comes, institutor hujus loci*; Ord Vit Hist ii 282: *Rodbertus autem Fresio exercitum Henrici imperatoris cuneis suis sociauit, et dominico septuagesimę x kal. martii mane imparatos præoccupauit et Philippo rege cum Francis fugiente Arnulfum fratrem suum et Balduinum nepotem suum et Guillelmum comitem telis suorum occidit*—this is partly incorrect, as Arnulf was Robert Friso’s nephew, not his brother, and Balduin was not killed at Cassel; Guill Gemet Gesta ii 146, interpolation by Orderic: *Denique anno ab Incarnatione Domini .m.l.xx.,*

[Annunciation style, for 1071 new style] *cum Philippo, rege Francorum, Flandriam [Willelmus Osberni filius] perrexit, uolens Balduino, Mathildis regine nepoti, subuenire. Rodbertus autem Fresio, cum exercitu Henrici imperatoris sociato cuneis suis, .x. kalendas Martii, dominico septuagesime imparatos mane preoccupauit et, Philippo cum Francis fugiente, Balduinum [sic, recte 'Arnulfum'] nepotem suum et Willelmum comitem telis suorum occidit; ibid ii 224–226, additional book by Robert of Torigni: Tandem obeunte Balduino comite Flandie cum Ernulfus comes Hainaucensis deberet ei succedere, utpote mepos ex primogenito filio eius et ad hoc etiam niteretur, Philippus rex Francorum ueniens in auxilium eius et Matildis, regina Anglorum, amita eius, mittens ei Willelmum filium Osberni cum armata militum manu. Robertus Friso, patruus eius, adiuncto exercitu Henrici, Romanorum et Alemannorum imperatoris, cuneis suis ex improuiso super eos irruens, die dominico Septuagesime, fugato Philippo rege Francorum, Ernulfum nepotem suum et Willelmum filium Osberni, comitem Herefordi, peremit; Chron Lir 367 (ann 1072, first entry for the year, also placing his death on Septuagesima Sunday that fell on 20 Feb in 1071 if the year is amended): Willelmus filius Osberni fuit interfectus à Roberto Frison die Dominica Septuagesimæ. **21 Feb**—Lamb Audomar Chron 66, written 1120 (ann 1071): Bellum Casel, in quo Rodbertus Arnulfum nepotem occidit, 9 Kal. Martii.*

<sup>11</sup> Ord Vit Hist ii 12: *Willelmus Osberni filius duo monasteria in proprio fundo construxit, unum Liræ et aliud Cormeliis ubi ipse humatus quiescit; ibid ii 282: Guillelmi uero comitis corpus in Normanniam a suis delatum est et in cœnobio Cormeliensi cum magno suorum luctu sepultum est; Guill Gemet Gesta ii 132, interpolation by Robert of Torigni: Willelmus uero filius Osberni ... duo monasteria in honorem beate Dei genetricis Marie, unum apud Liram ... alterum apud Cormelias, in quo ipse mortuus conditus est, fecit; Chron Lir 367 (ann 1072 [sic], first entry for the year): Willelmus filius Osberni fuit ... sepultus apud Cormelias.*

•4.6 <sup>1</sup> Cartul S Petri Conc 553 n° 406 XIII, undated confirmation by King Henry I written ca 1130, probably in 1131 (Reg Regum Anglo-Norm ii 250 n° 1701), reciting an earlier charter for Conches abbey: *Ego, Robertus de Stafort, filius Rogerii de Totteneio, pro salute anime meae et antecessorum meorum, do et concedo monachis sancti Petri Castellionis ecclesiam de Octona liberam et absolutam cum decimis et oblationibus meis in eadem villa et cum omnibus ad eandem ecclesiam pertinentibus, sine aliquo particeps, excepto capellano eorum voluntate prestanto. Do etiam eisdem monachis unam hidram terrae adjacentem ecclesie et aliam hidram, quae uocatur Douresel et unum manerium, quod uocatur Etristona nomine, etiam quam libertatem ego habeo in eadem villa et homines mei, eandem habeant monachi et homines sui, in plano, in boscho, in pratis et aquis; hec omnia dono et concedo libera et absoluta ab omnibus consuetudinibus, que mihi pertinent, annuente filio meo Nicholao.*

In records after the Conquest, including his own charter in n 4 below, he is usually called Robert de Stafford; however, his namesake grandson identified him as Robert de Tosny in Carte Wotton 994 n° 1, undated charter: *Robertus de Stafford ... concedo, et confirmo, auctoritate mei sigilli, omnes elemosinas quas avus meus Robertus de Toenio, et pater meus Nicolaus de Stafford dederunt apud Wottonam ecclesie sancti Petri Castellionis.*

<sup>2</sup> Cartul Stafford 178 series I n° 1, translation of lost charter dated 1072: 'I Rodbert de Stadford having a care over my soule ... and also for my wife and my parents, have given certen land Wroteslea by name to the holy monastery of Eovesham ... into the

hand of lord Agelwius Abbot my faithful friend’—cf following n for the almost identical terms of his charter dated 1088, adding Loynton, and Chron Evesham 75: *Rodbertus de Stafford dedit Wrottesleiam et Livintonam*. According to CP xii/I 168 n (b), in Domesday book Robert ‘held nearly 70 manors in Staffs, over 25 in Warwickshire, over 20 in Lincs, 10 in Oxon, 1 in Worcs., and 1 in Northants, besides claims in Lincs and Suff.’

<sup>3</sup> Acta Guill I 796 n° 265, undated writ issued 1072/85: *W(illelmus) rex Anglorum ... R. vicecomiti ceterisque suis fidelibus de Estaffordscire salutem*—it cannot be certain from this that Robert was the sheriff, but it is likely that he held this office as his son and grandson did later.

<sup>4</sup> Cartul Stafford 182–183 series I n° 2, charter dated 1088: *ego Robertus de Stafford providens animæ meæ ... pro conjuge meâ et filio meo Nicholao quandam terram quæ vocatur Wrotleslea et Levuntuna dedi in Sancto Monasterio Eveshamensi in manu dompni Walteri fidelis amici mei ... Ego Robertus monachus factus in infirmitate mea in eodem monasterio hanc donationem propria manu signo crucis confirmavi*.

<sup>5</sup> Cartul Stafford 182–183 series I n° 2, charter dated 1088: *ego Robertus de Stafford ... Anno supradicto dedi etiam corpus meum post mortem eidem Sancto monasterio [Eveshamensi]*.

<sup>6</sup> She was mentioned without name in the pipe roll for 1130, Rotul Scacc Henr I 82 (expanded here): *Et idem Ricardus [Basset] reddit compotum de .xxxv. marcis argenti pro terra matris Nicholai vicecomitis de Statford*. According to Eyton (1880) 16 ‘This is probably but the residuary account of a somewhat antique Fine’, but he gave no evidence for this; in any case, the mention of her may mean only that the land in question had passed to Nicholas on his mother’s death and does not necessarily imply that the lady herself was still living. There is no contemporary evidence for the name or family of Robert’s wife. She was called ‘Avice de Clare’ in a verse history kept at Stone priory in 1537, Monast Angl vi/I 230–231 Cartae ad prioratum de Stone, in agro Staffordiensi, spectantes n° 2, ‘The Copie of the Table that was hanging in the Priorie of Stone, at the time of the Suppression of the same’:

‘In the time of the Conquest was the lord of Stafford  
Baron Robert, which here was chief lord ...  
And when that he had builded this place,  
Then he dyed as God’s will was,  
In the entry of the cloyster he was buried sekerly,  
And Avice de Clare his wife lyeth him by.’

This goes on to describe the burial place of Robert’s namesake grandson and the latter’s wife, also Avice, both of whom we know from better evidence to have been actually buried at Stone:

‘After this Nicholas, then Robert his sonn  
Was founder there, by heritane and succession ...  
And when that he died, as God’s will was,  
He bequeathed his body into this place,  
By Nicholas his fader, in the cloister to lye  
Before the chapter house doore, and Avice his wife by him.’

Then a patent error is made in the genealogy, turning the second Robert's son-in-law Hervey Bagot into his son:

'After this blessed baron Robert was laid on beyre,

Then was Hervey his sonne, lord and founder here'.

But since we know from better evidence that Robert the Domesday lord of Stafford was almost certainly buried at Evesham, where he had become a monk in his last illness (see nn 3 & 4 above), and that his grandson Robert was buried at Stone with a wife name Avice, it seems likely that the two had become confused by the mid-15<sup>th</sup> century or later, whenever this doggerel was composed (after October 1438, if it is even genuine to that period), and then doubled up by the versifier. Whether or not either Robert's wife belonged to the Clare family is unknown, and it is worthless to speculate about possible connections on such a flimsy basis.

- 4.7 <sup>1</sup> Berta's name is given in a notice of donations to Marmoutier by her son Jean, including Vesly in the Norman Vexin from her maritagium, subscribed by Duke William II of Normandy in Sep/bef 15 Oct 1055, Acta Duc Norm 313 n° 137: *Nos igitur Majoris Monasterii monachi notum fieri volumus successoribus nostris quendam militem nomine Johannem pagi Cenomannensis indigenam, Widonis de Valle filium, in Normannia, territorio Vilcassino, quendam fundum dedisse nobis, voluntate et assensu patris sui necnon et fratris nomine Haimonis, medietatem videlicet totius potestatis Verliaci ... Sed fundum Verliaci cum uxore sua Berta, Johannis et Haimonis matre, Wido pater eorum in maritaticum accepit.* Jean's mother was a sister of Robert and Berenger of Tosny as indicated by Acta Duc Norm 342 n° 157, notice by the monks of Marmoutier dated 1063: *Notitia de conventionem Rotberti de Toeniaco avunculi domni Johannis monachi nostri ... tali pacto ut si quando monachus apud nos esse voluerit et frater ejus nomine Berengerius Spina cognominatus hoc velit et concedit illi si vixerit, nec ipse refutetur a nobis.*

There is a great difference in scale and in value between the marriage portions of Berta and Adeliza •4.5. It is fairly certain that Vesly was the whole of Berta's maritagium, as her husband Guido when ageing handed this over to their son Jean, along with other rights nearby at Guerny that he had bought later, because it was far away from his home in Maine, *ibid* 313 n° 137: *fundum Verliaci cum uxore sua Berta, Johannis et Haimonis matre, Wido pater eorum in maritaticum accepit, ecclesiam Guarniaci cum terra, molendinis, acris prati et hospitii post acceptam eam emit. Quæ omnia, cum ipse grandævus esset et senio gravis, quia longinqua erat, dedit Johanni.* These places are around 60 kms north-east of the central landholdings of the Tosny family. The marked inequality of Berta's settlement as well as her marriage to a comparatively middling seigneur from Maine suggest that she and her siblings belonged either to a much poorer branch of the Tosny family, or to an illegitimate one as conjecturally placed here.

Musset (1978) 57 (table) and Schwennicke (1989) 705 incorrectly placed Berta as Adeliza's sister, making her into a curiously ill-favoured daughter of Roger I •3.1 and Godehildis.

<sup>2</sup> Guido was remarried with two sons, Guido and Gervase, by his second wife, Rotrudis of Château-du-Loir, occurring in Cartul Laval i 26–28 n° 16, undated notice of a donation to Marmoutier when his eldest son Jean was newly a monk there, written shortly bef Sep/Oct 1055 (dated ca 1050 by Broussillon): *Guido, castri quod Vallis nuncupatur, in pago Cynnmannensi conditor atque possessor ... rogatu Johannis, filii*

*sui monachi nostri ante paucum tempus effecti ... præsentibus et annuentibus pariterque donantibus Haimone atque Guidone, filiis suis, per deprecationem scilicet supradicti Johannis, qui etiam tertium fratrem suum nomine Gervasium.* The elder, Guido, is confirmed as a son of Rotrudis from the sale of his rights in the church of Bourse, part of the maritagium received from her father Haimo (Hamelin) of Château-du-Loir, to the monks of Saint-Aubin d'Angers, Cartul S Alb Andegav i 373–374 n° 327 written ca 1100: *Hamelinus [de Castro Ledi] autem redonavit ecclesiam de Comburniaco Widdoni de Valle, cum filia sua in maritagio ... Tunc quoque monachi ... redemerunt de Widdone Juvene quadraginta solidis denariorum ecclesiam de Comburniaco, quam mater sua sicut maritagium suum donaverat ei in decessu suo.*

Broussillon dated three of the charters printed fully in Cartul Laval to ca 1050; of these, n° 16 should be revised to 1055 as there is no evidence to suggest that the monks of Marmoutier waited around five years after Jean took the habit and donated his mother's maritagium before seeking ducal consent to this gift, while n°s 17 and 18 (the latter described as 'très curieux', 31 n 2) seem to be forgeries. All three of these documents are ostensibly simultaneous, with witnesses in common. The first is a complex notice of Guido's donation, at Jean's request soon after he had become a monk, of some land near Laval castle, recounting that a vassal of Guido's named Fulcoïn, supported by many of his relatives (*cum plurimus parentibus suis*), afterwards claimed this land as an inheritance from his grandfather, and detailing how he was compensated. Twelve witnesses are named for Guido's initial donation (including his step-son), eighteen more on behalf of Marmoutier for a further donation by Haimo of Laval to help settle the matter, and lastly thirteen more (including Haimo and his wife) as proxies for two daughters and a younger son of Guido.

The apparently false notices, with some of their wording borrowed from the first, both relate directly to Marmoutier's side of the dispute settled by William II in 1063/66, see n 5 below: n° 17 is the donation of a market-place next to the castle at Laval, n° 18 concerns the division of profits from fairs and markets held there. Inconsistencies appear in the witnesses named, that are beyond explaining by the transcription of columns into lines unless at least one in the original arrangement was quite higgledy-piggledy: the witnesses attesting the endorsement of Guido's daughter Agnes in n° 17 (*ibid* 31: *Guaidalfus de Castro Gunterii, Guido filius Lonueii, Gaufridus frater Adelardi, Isemburdus filius Hamelini*) and in n° 18 (*ibid* 5: *Guidulfus de Castello Gonterii. Guido filius Lonueii. Gaufridus, frater Adelardi. Isembardus filius Hamelini*) appear to have been inaccurately copied from n° 16, where Gaufrid is a brother of Guido preceding him—presumably named before or above, however the original was laid out—instead of Adelard following (*ibid* 29: *Guidulfus de Castro Gunterii, Guido filius Lanucii, Gaufridus frater ejus, Adelardus de Castro Gunterii, Isembardus filius Hamonis*); Haimo was present with his wife attesting for another sister in n° 16 (*ibid* 29: *Testes de auctoramento Hidelindæ: Hamo frater ejus, Hersedis uxor ejus*) and n° 18 (*ibid* 34: *De auctoramento Hildeline: Hamo, frater ejus. Hersedis, uxor ejus*), whereas he is unmentioned apart from the naming of witnesses for his authorisation in n° 17 (*ibid* 31: *De auctoramento Haimonis*, followed by a redistributed list derived from the some of the witnesses to his father's initial donation that took place on a prior occasion, before Fulcoïn contested it, as well as his own subsequent gift recorded in n° 16, but with further mismatching of names: a Guido who in n° 16 was brother of the presbyter Gauscelin, separated by five other names from the armiger Aszo in second-last place, has now moved with the latter into a different list where they take



precedence over nine others, Guido becoming his brother instead in n° 17 and his son in n° 18; Guido of Laval's second wife Rotrudis appears in the middle of one list together with her son Gualter by a previous husband, while the latter appears again without her at the end of the next list).

<sup>3</sup> The marriage must have taken place a few years before 1025 and not soon after as stated in CP xii/I 755 n (c), misled by Round (see below). Jean was the eldest son and probably eldest child, described as such when his donations to Marmoutier were approved by Duke William II in Sep/Oct 1055, Acta Duc Norm 313 n° 137: *Quæ omnia ... [Wido de Valle] dedit Johanni priori natu.* The age of Berta's daughters cannot be estimated from similar evidence, and one or more of them might have been older than Jean if 'priori natu' refers only to the relative ages of Guido's sons. Jean was evidently born in 1023/24 since he became a monk when 31 years of age according to the same charter, *ibid* 313–314 n° 137: *cum Johannes unum de .XXX. agens annum ætatis jam virilis esset et militari sub habitu ... sæculari igitur derelicto, sanctæ conversationis sumens habitum.* Round (1899) 422 n° 1167 interpreted *unum de .XXX. agens annum ætatis* as 'close on thirty years old', implying that a literal translation as 'one out from 30' meant 29 instead of 31, but there is no doubt that the latter is indicated here in an idiomatic usage from classical Latin, see Lewis & Short (dē): 'In time ... Immediately following a given moment of time, *after, directly after* (very rare) ... Hence, *diem de die, from day to day, day after day*', cf Polentone ed Ullman (1928) 456, a history of Roman literature written in the 15<sup>th</sup> century: 'ætatis forte unum de XX agebat annum', unquestionably meaning aged fully 21 years. There is no reason to suppose that this expression temporarily acquired the opposite meaning in the mid-11<sup>th</sup> century.

Round made unduly heavy weather of the dating, *op cit* xxv and *idem* (1901) 4 n 1: 'The date [1055], which is derived from internal evidence in the charter, is almost impossible. I have shown in my Introduction (p. xxv), that the date of the charter itself is a question of great difficulty, and it is probable that the above marriage (which depends on it) took place much latter [sic] than 1025'. The charter is known only as transcribed by Étienne Baluze in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century from an 11<sup>th</sup>-century copy in the Marmoutier cartulary. However, there is no good reason to doubt that the original was written in 1055 between September, when Maurilius became archbishop of Rouen as he occurs in the subscriptions, and 15 October, when Gervase, bishop of Le Mans as a witness to Duke William's consent, became archbishop of Rheims. The reference to William as 'king of all his lands' (*totius terræ suæ regem*) that exercised Round was probably just monkish flattery or a later copyist's interpolation, as when Matilda was called 'queen' in the surviving copy of William's ducal charter for Saint-Georges de Boscherville written ca 1050/66, Acta Duc Norm 384–385 n° 197: *Matildis regina ... Signum Willelmi + ducis Normannorum. Signum Matildis uxoris ejus* (she was probably governing the 'regnum' of Normandy during William's absence at the earlier time recalled when she was given the title *regina* in this charter's text.) The words *totius terræ* clearly refer to the dukedom, as Jean had been given his mother's maritagium at Vesly in the Norman Vexin because it was too far away for his ageing father (*ipse [Wido de Valle] grandævus esset et senio gravis, quia longinqua erat, dedit Johanni*), who had apparently retained it until then although Berta had been dead for some years. Round's other concern was due to his familiarity with several of the witnesses occurring together around ten years later, but given the high rank of the lay group present in 1055, along with four bishops, this was a gathering for more

important business than Jean's gifts to Marmoutier, when magnates would normally assemble as of course they did also during preparations for the Conquest.

Berta's sons Jean and Haimo did not personally attest their father's charter dated 11 Nov written 1039, making a penitential restoration to the cathedral of le Mans with the assent of his sons and adherents while intending to go on pilgrimage to Jerusalem, Cartul Episc Cenom i 2 n° 7: *ego Vuido [sic], de Domini misericordia non diffidens, sed ipsius indulgentiam consequi desiderans, Jherosolimam peregre profecturus, omnes costumus quas in terra Sancti Juliani, quam Asinerias nominant, injuste quidem quorundam perverso consilio miseram, pro mei animi salute, necnon domni Gervasii episcopi et beati Juliani canonicorum deprecatione, faventibus meis filiis atque fidelibus cunctis, amodo relinquo, ea videlicet racione quo nullus meorum succedentium aliquando earum quemlibet repetere audeat*. The binding of Guido's successors was later ratified by Haimo with his own sons, *ibid* 3: *Hujus etiam testamenti cartulam corroboravit postea atque in perpetuum stabilem et inconvulsam permanere concessit Haimo, suprascripti Guidonis filius, et uxor ejus, Hersendis, filiique eorum, Guido scilicet atque Hugo*—this was added to the charter after 1064, as noted by the editor, and not in Nov 1039 as sometimes misstated, grossly distorting the chronology of these generations and the dating of Berta's marriage.

<sup>4</sup> Berta's brother Robert of Tosny was described as maternal uncle of the monk Jean at Marmoutier, Acta Duc Norm 342 n° 157, charter dated 1063: *Notitia de conventionem Rotberti de Toeniaco avunculi domni Johannis monachi nostri*; Jean was a son of Guido I, seigneur of Laval, Cartul Laval i 26 n° 16, undated charter written probably written 1055 (see above): *Vir quidam spectabilis et nobilissimus nomine Guido, castrum quod Vallis nuncupatur, in pago Cynnmannensi conditor atque possessor ... pro amore proque rogatu Johannis, filii sui monachi nostri ... donavit loco isti unam terræ mansuram, apud castrum quod diximus sitam*. He was the son of Guido by his first wife, appearing with a brother named Haimo in an undated notice of the donation by Fulcodius to the monks of Marmoutier written ca 1040, *ibid* 23 n° 9: *assensu ... Guidonis de Valle filiorumque suorum, Johannis et Hamonis*. The mother of Jean and Haimo was named as Berta in a notice by the monks of Marmoutier written 1055, see n 1 above.

There was a long controversy in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century over the origin of Guido I of Laval and his possible identification with Guido of Denezé, near Noyant south of Le Mans, depending on the authenticity of two undated charters written ca 1050 for Saint-Pierre de la Couture abbey in which the latter occurs with sons named Jean and Haimo, Cartul S Petri Cult 14 n° 10: *Ego in Dei nomine Wido de Danazeio ... meis quoque filiis annuentibus Johanne atque Hamone*, and *ibid* 16 n° 11, a confirmation of the above by Hugo IV, count of Maine (d 26 Mar 1051); these questions remain unresolved.

<sup>5</sup> Guido was living after William II of Normandy had seized Maine in 1063: on a 22 September between 1063 & 1066 the duke adjudicated at Domfront that Guido need not submit to the ordeal by red-hot iron, as had been demanded, in proof of his word regarding a dispute between the abbeys of Marmoutier and Saint-Pierre de la Couture about ownership of a market-place beside the castle at Laval, Acta Duc Norm 346–347 n° 159: *Venerunt ergo utrique monachi, de hac re, ad placitum ante Guidonem apud Vallem ... Non multo post tempore transacto, cum Guillelmus Normannię comes Cenomannicam urbem haberet adquisitam, tenuerunt iterum de hac re utrique monachi placitum ante illum ... Post non longum tempus, cum comes teneret curiam suam apud castellum quod habet nomen Domnus Fronto, tenuit placitum de hac ipsa re, et judicavit, tam*

*ipse quam curia sua, quod de hac re iudicium portari justum non erat, sed tantummodo jurare debebat Guido ... Hoc iusjurandum, cum Guido offerret Rainaldo abbati, et ille nollet recipere, precepit comes reddi monachis Majoris monasterii res suas solutas et quietas ... Hujus definitionis testes. Guillelmus ipse comes ... Johannes monachus noster ... Hamo de Valle filius Guidonis.*

Haimo was apparently deputising for him before this contretemps, as he travelled to Angers for the formal ratification of confraternity between the chapters of Saint-Maurice cathedral and La Trinité de Vendôme abbey on 26 Feb 1062, Cartul Trin Vindoc i 276 n° 159: *Haimo de Lavalle ... Actum apud civitatem Andecavem, in capitulo Sancti-Mauricii, IV° kal. martii, anno ab incarnatione Domini MLXII.* Guido must have been fairly old by then, since he had been described more than six years earlier as elderly and burdened by age, Acta Duc Norm 313 n° 137 written Sep/Oct 1055: *Wido ... cum ipse grandævus esset et senio gravis.* He was dead by ca 1070 when his son Haimo was named as seigneur of Laval in an undated charter for the nuns of Ronceray, Cartul Andegav III 220 n° 360: *quicquid in terra domni Hamonis, Guidonis filii ... Et ita concessit dominus Hamo de Lavalle;* however, the first definitely dated occurrence of Haimo as Guido's successor was on 27 Mar 1072 when he witnessed a notice by the monks of Marmoutier regarding the church of Sentier, along with Guido of Nouatre acting as count of Vendôme, Cartul Mai Mon Vindoc 79 n° 49: *hec omnia audierunt et viderunt et testes sunt: Guido, comes Vindocini ... Hamo de Valle.*

- 4.8 <sup>1</sup> Acta Duc Norm 342–343 n° 157, notice of formal confirmation in 1063 of an agreement between Robert and the monks of Marmoutier regarding his domain of Guerny: *Notitia de conventionione Rotberti de Toeniaco avunculi domni Johannis monachi nostri. Nosse debetis si qui eritis posteri nostri Majoris scilicet hujus habitores monasterii Sancti Martini Rotbertum de Toeniaco avunculum domni Johannis monachi nostri, filii Widonis de Valle, quicquid sibi reclamabat in possessione de Guarniaco concessisse totamque ex integro possessionem illam auctorizasse Sancto Martino et nobis, tali pacto ut si quando monachus apud nos esse voluerit et frater ejus nomine Berengerius Spina cognominatus hoc velit et concedit illi si vixerit, nec ipse refutetur a nobis ... Hanc Rotbertus conventionem primo cum aliquibus fratribus nostris coram Guillelmo Normannorum comite fecit, et postea veniens in capitulum nostrum, præsidente nobis domno abbate Alberto, anno ab Incarnatione Domini .MLXIII. apud nos confirmavit. Affuit cum illo Berengerius filius ejus qui factum patris auctorizavit.* This Robert contemplated in 1063 that he might in future wish to become a monk at Marmoutier, distinguishing him from his kinsman Robert •4.6, who at that time would far more plausibly have anticipated entering his father's foundation of Conches, or possibly another house in Normandy, if he should ever choose to take the habit (as he did in the end, at Evesham).

Robert was prevented by 'mundane concerns' from completing his foundation of Belvoir as planned, leading to an agreement for St Albans abbey to accept it as a dependency, Carte Belv 288 n° 1, undated record: *Robertus inceperat ecclesiam sanctæ Mariæ juxta castellum suum, quam quia ipse, sæculi curis obstantibus, ad perfectum pro velle suo producere non poterat ... concessit illam ecclesiæ sancti Albani ... in cellam, tali pacto, quod abbas Paulus eam perficeret, et post ibidem quatuor ex conventu monachos statueret*—this failure was presumably due to a shortage of resources for what was a fairly modest establishment in the first place, taken over at the cost of providing for four monks, adding to the indication of his sister's comparatively meagre maritagium (see •4.7 n 1

above) that these Tosnys were poor relations of the Conches family, perhaps through an illegitimate connection.

<sup>2</sup> Carte Belv 288 n° 1, undated record of the foundation of Belvoir priory by Robert and compact for its establishment as a cell of St Albans abbey: *Hæc est conventio inter abbatem Paulum, et Robertum de Belvedeir. Robertus inceperat ecclesiam sanctæ Mariæ juxta castellum suum, quam quia ipse, sæculi curis obstantibus, ad perfectum pro velle suo producere non poterat, consilio domini L. archiepiscopi, concessit illam ecclesiæ sancti Albani, Anglorum protomartiris, in cellam, tali pacto, quod abbas Paulus eam perficeret, et post ibidem quatuor ex conventu monachos statueret, qui, suscepto beneficio, pro animâ Roberti comitis et Willelmi regis, ejusdemque Roberti et uxoris suæ A. necnon et filiorum et parentum suorum dominum exorarent.*

<sup>3</sup> Keats-Rohan (1999) 380 stated, ‘At his death c.1093 his Norman heir was his son Berengar’. Sanders (1960) 12 placed his death in 1088, perhaps from confusion with his namesake Robert 4.6 who became a monk in infirmity at that time.

<sup>4</sup> Carte Belv 288 n° 1, undated foundation record of Belvoir priory: *Qua ex re effecti sunt uterque Robertus et A. ejus uxor in capitulo, fratres ecclesiæ sancti Albani, pleniter ut monachi; concedentes, ut post obitum eorum apud sanctum Albanum, corpora illorum sepelirentur, si in Anglia morentur, vel apud ecclesiam sanctæ Mariæ, quam juxta castellum suum fundaverunt; et hoc tamen non nisi licentia abbatis ecclesiæ sancti Albani;* *ibid* 289 n° 2, memorandum of burials written aft 1367: *in capitulo de Belvero jacet Robertus de Toteneio fundator illustris.* His coffin of brown stone, buried in the chapter house, was dug up several times in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, identified by *ROBERT DE TODENEI LE FṼDEṼR* inscribed on one side of the lid, see *Monast Angl* iii 287 n i.

<sup>5</sup> Only the initial letter of her name is given in Carte Belv 288–289 n° 1, record of the foundation of Belvoir priory by her husband: *Robertus inceperat ecclesiam sanctæ Mariæ juxta castellum suum ... Robertus et A. ejus uxor ... Robertus, concedente A. uxore sua ... Mortuâ verò A. uxore Roberti;* the full name was given in an undated charter of her daughter Agnes, *ibid* 290 n° 7: *ego Agnes de Toteneio confirmo donationem elemosinarum quas pater meus Robertus de Toteneio, et mater mea Adelais dederunt ecclesiæ sanctæ Mariæ de Belvoir.*

<sup>6</sup> Carte Belv 289 n° 1, undated foundation record of Belvoir priory written: *Mortuâ verò A. uxore Roberti, concessit Robertus ecclesiæ sanctæ Mariæ, pro anima uxoris suæ unam carucatam terræ in Sapertuna ... Defuncto etiam post aliquantum temporis intervallum Roberto*—after this interval, Robert himself apparently died ca 1093, see n 3 above.

<sup>7</sup> Carte Belv 288 n° 1, undated foundation record of Belvoir priory: *Qua ex re effecti sunt uterque Robertus et A. ejus uxor in capitulo, fratres ecclesiæ sancti Albani, pleniter ut monachi; concedentes, ut post obitum eorum apud sanctum Albanum, corpora illorum sepelirentur, si in Anglia morentur, vel apud ecclesiam sanctæ Mariæ, quam juxta castellum suum fundaverunt; et hoc tamen non nisi licentia abbatis ecclesiæ sancti Albani.* Despite the alternative provided for in this charter, it is unlikely that she was buried at St Albans or that her widower would have made a donation to Belvoir in her memory (see

preceding n) if her tomb was not there—see n 4 above for his own burial in the chapter house at Belvoir.

- 4.9 <sup>1</sup> Acta Duc Norm 342 n° 157, notice of formal confirmation in 1063 of an agreement between his brother Robert and the monks of Marmoutier: *Nosse debebitis si qui eritis posteri nostri Majoris scilicet hujus habitores monasterii Sancti Martini Rotbertum de Toeniaco avunculum domni Johannis monachi nostri, filii Widonis de Valle, quicquid sibi reclamabat in possessione de Guarniaco concessisse totamque ex integro possessionem illam auctorizasse Sancto Martino et nobis, tali pacto ut si quando monachus apud nos esse voluerit et frater ejus nomine Berengerius Spina cognominatus hoc velit et concedit illi si vixerit, nec ipse refutetur a nobis*; ibid 409 n° 211, undated charter of Berenger for Saint-Ouen written 1055/66: *Ego Berengerius Hespina ... Signum Berengarii Hespina qui hec dedit* +.

‘Spina’ means thorn, and this might have become associated with Berenger from a personal characteristic or anecdote. Alternatively, the hamlet of Épinay near the abbey of Saint-Victor-en-Caux, close to Tosny estates north of Rouen, could have provided the name, perhaps from a thorny field and possibly the place specified as such in a charter of Rotrou, archbishop of Rouen, for the local abbey of Saint-Victor, Cartul S Vict Calet 396 n° 6, confirmation dated 1175: *totum pratum de Spina et terram que est inter viam qua a Petra itur ad Pencum at Haiam militarem*. However, a Gunfred probably from this Épinay was identified by a different form of the name when attesting along with Berenger, Acta Duc Norm 374 n° 191, witnesses to undated charter of Roger de Clères for Saint-Ouen abbey written probably aft 1050/bef 14 Oct 1066: *Hujus rei testes fuerunt ... Berengerius Spina ... Gunfredus de Spineto*. NB this is a different place from Épinay in the Mortemer fief, near Sainte-Beuve some 30 km to the north-east of Saint-Victor-l’Abbaye, and from the larger villages of Épinay and Épinay-Saint-Aubin south-east of Rouen, Épinay near Londinières south-east of Dieppe and Épinay-sur-Odon south-west of Caen, all of them usually called Spinetum without explicit distinction in contemporary documents.

- <sup>2</sup> See n 1 above for Berenger Spina in 1063; he may have been living in 1066, Acta Duc Norm 374 n° 191, witnesses and subscriptions to undated charter of Roger de Clères for Saint-Ouen abbey written probably aft 1050/bef 14 Oct 1066: *Hujus rei testes fuerunt, Rotbertus de Toieno et fratres mei, Osbernus de Calle et Rogerus pincerna de Vuatnevilla, Berengerius Spina ... + Signum Willelmi ducis Normannorum. + Signum Rotberti comitis de Ou. + Signum Willelmi dapiferi filii Osberni. Signum Radulfi de Toieno. + Signum Rogerii de Clera ... + Signum Berengerii Spine*. It seems from the double appearance of Berenger Spina that the subscriptions were added on a different occasion from the attestations, presumably when ducal approval was obtained.

Roger de Clères and at least one of his two brothers, Osbern de Cailly, were tenants of Tosny estates north of Rouen, see Musset (1978) 75–75 and Acta Guill I 548–549 n° 165, undated charter of Radulf III for La Croix-Saint-Leufroy abbey written 1071/83: *ego Radulfus ... monasterio SANCTE CRUCIS sub presentia domni ODILONIS eiusdem loci abbatis, silvam quandam in monte qui est super villam que Calliacus dicitur ... absque cuiusdam calumpnia absolute do ... simul quoque omnia que Radulfus monachus filius Gisleberti de Cleris in seculari habitu positus possedit ... supradicto monasterio sine ullius contradictione libenter concedo ... SIGNUM RADULFI DE CONCHIS* +. This Roger de Clères, in or soon after 1054 according to Bates (2002) 10 n 67, killed

Robert son of Hunfred of Vieilles and brother of Roger the Bearded, seigneur of Beaumont, whose men had killed Roger I of Tosny <sup>†</sup>3.1 and his sons a decade or so before, Ord Vit Hist iv 302: *Robertus de Bellomonte filius Vnfredi quem Rogerius de Clara occiderat*. Another Roger de Clères was a tenant of the Belvoir fee by ca 1130, when Eustace fitz John held rights in his manor of Brompton from the fee of Roger de Mowbray, of Robert de Insula husband of Albreda <sup>†</sup>5.8, and of Roger, see Rotul Claus Edw II ii 287, undated notification by Henry I issued at Winchester 1129/31 (Reg Regum Anglo-Norm ii 256 n° 1730): *Sciatis me concessisse Eustachio filio Johannis et heredibus suis post eum, ut habeant in manerio suo de Brumptona, quod tenet de feodo Rogeri de Moubray et Roberti de Insula et Rogeri de Clera ... T[estibus]: ... M[ilone] Gloec. et R. de Curci et Pagano filio Johannis et W. de Albin[i] Brit[one], et W. filio Johannis. Apud Wyntoniam*; Reg Regum Anglo-Norm ii 375 Appendix n° 261, notification by Henry I issued at Woodstock 1129/31 (see *ibid* ii 254 n° 1722): *Sciatis me concessisse E. filio Johannis et heredibus ejus post eum in feodum et hereditatem terram de Brumtuna cum omnibus rebus que illi pertinent, sicut Rogerus de Clara eam ei dedit et concessit in hereditatem ... T[estibus] Milone Gloec[estrie] et Hugone Big[od] et Roberto de Curci ... et P[agano] filio Johannis et Willelmo fratre suo et Willelmo de Albin[iaco] Britone. Apud Udestoc*. The first of these was addressed to Yorkshire only, the second to Yorkshire and Lincolnshire, although it is odd that they were issued separately, in different places, with most of the witnesses in common. The same man, or perhaps his successor, was a tenant of Hugo Bigod, earl of Norfolk, in the Belvoir fee by 1166, Lib Rub Scacc i 397: *De feodo Albredæ de Insula ... Rogerus de Clere, ij milites*. Osbern de Cailly's successors were tenants of the Warenne fee, see Keats-Rohan (1999) 472 and *eadem* (2002) 366, and also associated with the Giffards by the mid-12<sup>th</sup> century. Roger de Cailly was nominated as a surety, along with Hugo Bigod, earl of Norfolk and ten others, for a treaty between Henry II and Thierry of Alsace, count of Flanders, Dipl PRO 12 n° 3, dated 19 Mar written 1163: *Hujus conventionis ex parte regis et Henrici filii sui obsides sunt ... Rogerus de Cailli pro c marcis, Hugo comes de Norf pro c marcis*. Henry II's undated charter confirming Osbert fitz Roger de Cailly in the rights and possessions held by his grandfather Osbert in the reign of Henry I was witnessed by Radulf V of Tosny, along with an imposing group, Acta Henr II i 241 n° 133: *Sciatis me reddidisse et concessisse Osberto filio Rogeri de Cailliaco omnia jura sua et hereditatem suam et omnia tenementa sua que Osbertus de Cailliaco, avus ejus, tenuit tempore regis H. avi mei et die qua idem Osbertus de Cailliaco fuit vivus et mortuus et Rog[erus] pater suus post eum ... Testibus: Thoma cancellario, et [Walterio] comite Giffardo, Hugone de Gurnaio, Radulfo de Toineio, [Johanne] comite de Augo, Willelmo camerario de Tancarvilla, Nicolao de Eustavilla*. Walter Giffard, 2<sup>nd</sup> earl of Buckingham, made a donation to Saint-Ouen abbey at Rouen in memory of William fitz Osbern de Cailly, attested by a third Osbern de Cailly with two of his sons, see Round (1899) 29 n° 102 dating this to 1142/57.

Roger pincerna of Varneville may have been a full-brother to Osbern, but was perhaps a uterine half-sibling to Roger of Clères since they shared a forename. He attested an undated charter of William, 2<sup>nd</sup> earl of Warenne, confirming donations of his vassals, Cartul S Vic Calet 379 n° 2/I: *Cetera dederunt homines de feudo meo: ... quartam partem ecclesie Sancti Helerii et decimam eidem pertinentem, datam a Rogerio de Vuatnetvilla [sic] ... Testes ... Ysabel, comitissa; Radulfus filius comitis; Rogerius de Vuanevilla [sic]*. His office of butler was perhaps to the seigneurs of Varenne, although this is not attached to his name on other occurrences. Later connections between the

Tosny and Varneville families have not been found; the most notable personage of this name was Radulf de Varneville, chancellor of England from 1173 to 1181 and later bishop of Lisieux. Varneville is not far from Clères and Cailly, and very close to Épinay that is a possible source of Berenger Spina's cognomen.

<sup>3</sup> No record has been found of a wife for Berenger Spina. According to Musset (1978) 60 he had descendants who were much less well-provided than those of the main branch and of Robert de Stafford, but no authority is given for this statement and it may be drawn from confusion over relationships in the Belvoir family since Berenger Spina's nephew Berenger 5.5 is not mentioned at all. See 5.11 below for a possible namesake son, but this connection is far from certain.

5.1 <sup>1</sup> Ord Vit Hist iii 124–126: *Radulfus igitur de Conchis filius Rogerii de Toenia ... Helisabeth etiam prefati militis uxor, et Rogerius atque Radulfus filii eius*; ibid iii 128: [Radulfus] *Isabel uxorem accepit quæ nobilem ei prolem Rogerium et Radulfum peperit.*

<sup>2</sup> Orderic placed Roger's death not long after he had been made heir to his cousin Guillaume, seigneur of Breteuil, and his uncle Guillaume, count of Évreux, that occurred soon after Richard of Montfort's death in Nov 1091 or 1092, Ord Vit Hist iv 216–218: *Non multo post ... Guillelmus [Bretoliensis] ... Rogerium consobrinum suum Radulfi filius totius iuris sui heredem fecit. Ebroicensis quoque comes eundem Rogerium utpote nepotem suum consulatus sui heredem constituit sed diuina dispositio quæ nutibus humanis non subicitur aliud prouidit ... Non multo post ... Rogerius ... idus Maii de mundo migravit.*

<sup>3</sup> Ord Vit Hist iv 218: *Rogerius ... de mundo migravit, et cum luctu multorum Castellionis cum parentibus suis sepultus quiescit.*

5.2 <sup>1</sup> Cartul S Petri Conc 349–350 n° 269, undated charter of his father written 1040/75: *Ego, Radulphus de Thoenio, cum Godehilde, matre mea, pro anima et sepultura patris mei Rogerii ... Signum Radulphi +, Signum Isabelle +, Signum Radulphi filii +*—cf later version of this in Carte Wotton 995 n° 2; Cartul S Petri Conc 550 n° 406 III, undated confirmation by King Henry I written ca 1130, probably in 1131 (Reg Regum Anglo-Norm ii 250 n° 1701): *Ego, Radulphus junior, filius Radulphi Senioris de Totteneio*; Cartul Fontisebr ii 602 n° 635, undated notice written aft 1123: *Radulphus [sic, recte Radulphus] de Toenio ... persuadente matre sua Elizabeth*; ibid 619 n° 654, charter dated 1123: *Ego Radulfus de Toenaio ... Elizabet mater mea*; Ord Vit Hist iii 124–126: *Radulfus igitur de Conchis filius Rogerii de Toenia ... Helisabeth etiam prefati militis uxor, et Rogerius atque Radulfus filii eius*; ibid iii 128: [Radulfus] *Isabel uxorem accepit quæ nobilem ei prolem Rogerium et Radulfum peperit.*

<sup>2</sup> Chron Abingdon ii 108, attestation to charter of Henry I written at Romsey in 1109 or 1110: *Radulfo de Todeneio*. This is ascribed to 1110 in CP xii/I 761 and Reg Regum Anglo-Norm ii 95 n° 956, because it is dated *in anno quando rex dedit filiam suam Imperatori*. However, Matilda was betrothed in 1109 and married in 1110; Orderic wrote that she was 'given' to the emperor's son in 1109 (then still German king, not becoming emperor until 1111), Ord Vit Hist vi 166: *Anno ab incarnatione Domini M<sup>o</sup> C<sup>o</sup> IX<sup>o</sup> ... Eodem anno Henricus rex Mathildem filiam suam dedit in coniugium*

*Karolo Henrici filio imperatori Alemannorum*; on the other hand Henry of Huntingdon considered that she was ‘given’ in the following year, Henr Hunt Hist 456: *Tempestate sequentis anni [1109], missi sunt ab Henrico imperatore Romano nuntii, mole corporis et cultuum splendoribus excellentes, filiam [Henrici] regis in domini sui coniugium postulantes ... Anno igitur sequenti [1110] data est filia regis imperatori, ut breuiter dicam, sicut decuit*; Cartul Eborac iii 139 n° 1433, attestation to undated charter of Henry I written at Rouen 1114/20, probably in Jun 1119 (Reg Regum Angl-Norm ii 147 n° 1207): *Radulfo de Todeneyo*; Haskins (1918) 27 n° 7, attestation to undated charter of Henry I for Lyre abbey written at Rouen 1123/26 (Reg Regum Anglo-Norm ii 197 n° 1447): *Radulfo de Todeneio*.

<sup>3</sup> Ord Vit Hist iii 128: *Rodulfus senex post plurimos euentus letos tristesque ix° kal’ Aprilis obiit et Radulfus filius eius fere xxiv annis patrium eius optinuit*—his father probably died in 1102, or perhaps in 1103, see \*4.4 n 6 above. According to Porée (1901) i 374 n 4, a charter of Radulf IV dated 1129 was seen in the 17<sup>th</sup> century by Bénigne Thibault as noted in his *Chronicon Beccense auctum et illustratum* (Bibliothèque nationale MS lat. 12884) [nv]. Since this reportedly confirmed an earlier donation to Le Bec abbey by Radulf and his wife Isabelle (adding a further exemption for ferrying the monks’ wine and corn on the Seine), the name of their son Roger II, who was more probably seigneur of Tosny in 1129, may have been miscopied as Radulf.

<sup>4</sup> Ord Vit Hist iii 128: *Rodulfus senex ... et Radulfus filius eius ... Ambos ut improba mors sibi eos subdidit sepultura in cenobio beati Petri Castellionis cum patribus suis suscepit*.

<sup>5</sup> They were married after the death of Radulf’s father on 24 Mar in 1102 or 1103 (see \*4.4 n 6 above) according to Ord Vit Hist vi 54: *Radulphus de Conchis post obitum patris mare transfretauit ... atque Adelizam Gualleui comitis et Iudith consobrincæ regis filiam coniugem accepit*.

<sup>6</sup> Cartul Bellocamp 202 n° 356, undated charter: *Radulfus de Toenio ... ego et meus heres et mea uxor Aelica [sic]*; Carta Westacr 576 n° 1, undated charter apparently granted by Radulf IV and his wife, printed from an early-17<sup>th</sup> century version: *ego Radulphus de Toneio, cum uxore mea Aelic, omnibusque meis pueris, Rogerio, Radulpho, pro nobis et animabus antecessorum nostrorum*. There is some doubt about the document as this is the only known record of a son named Radulf, who was not included in the family by Orderic (see above); however, his account may not be definitive since it omits another son, Simon, who is mentioned—though without a brother named Radulf—in Alicia’s undated charter written after the deaths of her husband and son Hugo, Carte Trin London 152 n° 6: *Aliz de Toeni ... Sciatis me dedisse et concessisse ... in elemosinam, pro salute animæ Hugonis de Toeni filii mei ... et pro salute animæ Radulphi de Toeni mariti mei ... et pro incolumitate filiorum meorum, Rogeri de Toeni et Simonis, et filicæ meæ Isabellæ ... Hujus donationis testes sunt Simon filius meus, Isabella filia mea*; Vita Waldev Com 19–20: *comes Simon ... Aliciam, sororem [Matildis] uxoris suæ, tradidit in uxorem nobili viro Radulfo de Tony*; Ord Vit Hist vi 54: *Radulphus de Conchis post obitum patris mare transfretauit, et a rege benigniter susceptus paternos fundos recepit, atque Adelizam Gualleui comitis et Iudith consobrincæ regis filiam coniugem accepit, quæ Rogerium et Hugonem et plures filias peperit*.



<sup>7</sup> Carte Trin London 152 n° 6: *Aliz de Toeni ... Sciatis me dedisse et concessisse ... ecclesiam de Welcomstowe, cum decimis et pratis et terris, et cæteris omnibus, tam in bosco quàm in plano ad eam pertinentibus.* Walthamstow had belonged to her father Earl Waltheof and was held by her mother Countess Judith in 1086, see CP xii/I 762 n (c).

<sup>8</sup> See n 6 above for Alicia's charter written after the death of her husband in 1126, or possibly in 1127.

<sup>9</sup> Vita Waldev Com 19–20: *comes Simon Matildam primogenitam Waldevi sibi matrimonialiter associavit ... Dictus autem Simon Aliciam, sororem uxoris suæ, tradidit in uxorem nobili viro Radulfo de Tony, cum centum libratis terræ de honore Huntendoniam, cum Welthamestowia, Kercelandes, et aliis terris et possessionibus;* Guill Gemet Gesta ii 270–272, additional book by Robert of Torigni: *Habuit enim idem Walleuus [comes Huntedonie] tres [sic] filias ex uxore sua, filia comitisse de Albamarla, que comitissa fuit soror uterina Willelmi regis Anglorum senioris. Harum autem filiarum comitis Walleui primogenitam accepit Simon Siluanectensi cum comitatu Huntedonie ... Aliam uero, scilicet Iudith [sic] Rodulfus de Toeneio, sicut iam dictum est, duxit uxorem.*

•5.3 <sup>1</sup> Ord Vit Hist iii 124–128: *Radulfus igitur de Conchis filius Rogerii de Toenia ... Isabel uxorem accepit quæ nobilem ei prolem Rogerium et Radulfum peperit, filiamque nomine Godehildem.*

<sup>2-3</sup> Guill Tyr Chron i 221: *ad urbem Marasiam ... domini Balduini, germani ducis, longa et gravi fatigata egritudine uxor, quam ipse abiens fratribus commendaverat, ex presenti luce vocata optimo fine quieuit in domino. Erat autem nobilis matrona, ex Anglia trahens originem, Gutuera nomine, vita et moribus commendabilis; quam cum honestis exequiis ibidem sepelierunt;* ibid 453: *Predicta vero eius [Balduini] uxor, antequam Antiocham fidelis perveniret exercitus, longo fatigata dolore apud Maresiam optimo fine vita decessit ibique sepulta est, ut prediximus;* Albert Aquen Hist 182: *Hac in regione Maresc, uxor Baldwini nobilissima quam de regno Anglie ortam eduxit, diutina corporis molestia aggrauata, et duci Godefrido commendata, uitam exalauit, sepulta catholicis exequiis, cuius nomen erat Godwera.* The crusaders remained at Mar'ash, where Godehildis died and was buried, for three days from ca 13 Oct 1097, see Hagenmeyer (1898) 511–512; they reached Antioch and began the siege on 21 Oct, Doc Prim Bell Sacr 145 n° 8, letter from Anselm of Ribemont written late Nov 1097: *XII Kalendas Nouembris Antiochiam obsedimus.* Mar'ash was the Byzantine Γερμανίκεια, later Maraş (now called Kahramanmaraş) in Turkey.

<sup>4</sup> Ord Vit Hist iii 124–128: *Radulfus igitur de Conchis filius Rogerii de Toenia ... Isabel uxorem accepit quæ nobilem ei prolem Rogerium et Radulfum peperit, filiamque nomine Godehildem quæ prius Rodberto nupsit Mellentensium comiti.* Orderic was either mistaken, perhaps due to confusion with the later marriage of two namesakes from the same families, Godehildis (a daughter of Radulf IV •5.2, niece of Godehildis •5.3) and Robert I, seigneur of Neubourg (a nephew of Robert Preud'homme), or else he was overstating the facts. Beaumonts and Tosnys had been inveterate enemies before this

time, and perhaps a marriage was proposed at some stage in order to end their hostility, but if so it almost certainly never eventuated or became public knowledge. St Ivo of Chartres did not bring up a pre-existing union as an impediment to Robert's marriage to Isabelle of Vermandois, that the bishop tried, unsuccessfully, to forbid on the grounds of consanguinity alleged by some relatives, Ivo Carnot Epist 57 n° 45, undated letter to the clerics of Meulan and the archdeaconry of Pinserais: *Perlatum est ad aures nostras quod Mellentinus comes ducere velit in uxorem filiam Hugonis Crispeiensis comitis; quod fieri non sinit concors decretorum et canonum sanctio, dicens: 'Conjunctiones consanguineorum fieri prohibemus.' Horum autem consanguinitas nec ignota est, nec remota, sicut testantur et probare parati sunt præclari viri de eadem sati prosapia.*

<sup>5</sup> **5 Jun**—Ord Vit Hist vi 188 (immediately after reporting the death of Queen Matilda on 1 May 1118): *Robertus autem comes Mellenti nonis Iunii obiit*; Obit Lir 472 (5 Jun): *Obiit Robertus, comes Mellenti*; Necrol Utic 487 (5 Jun): *Robertus, comes Mellensium*; **6 Jun**—Obit Ebroic 463 (6 Jun): *Obierunt Robertus, comes Mellenti, et Hubertus archidiaconus*; Obit S Petri Carnot 190 (Jun): *VIII idus. Robertus, comes Melletensis, qui dedit S. Petro terram unius aratri in Garenna.*

<sup>6</sup> Godehildis and Balduin were married before leaving, with his brothers Godefrey of Lorraine and Eustache of Boulogne, on the First Crusade, Guill Tyr Chron i 453: *dominus Balduinus Edessanus comes ... in adolescentia sua ... clericus, ut dicitur, factus est ... Tandem ex causis nobis occultis arma capescens militaria, deposito clerici habitu miles effectus est demumque procedente tempore uxorem ex Anglia duxit illustrem et nobilem dominam Gutueram nomine, quam secum deducens dominum ducem Godefridum dominumque Eustachium, fratres suos ... in expeditionem illam primam, faustam et felicem, per omnia sequutus est.* They departed on the feast of the Assumption, 15 Aug 1096, *ibid* i 161: *Eodem quoque anno, qui erat ab incarnatione domini millesimus nonagesimus sextus, mense Augusto, quinta decima die mensis, vir magnificus et illustris dominus Godefridus Lotaringie dux ... convocatis vie consortibus et compositis de more sarcinis iter aggressus est*; Albert Aquen Hist 60–62: *Godefridus dux regni Lotharingie uir nobilissimus fraterque eius uterinus Baldwinus ... ac principes clarissimi, eodem anno medio mensis Augusti, uiam recto itinere Ierusalem facientes.*

<sup>7</sup> Ord Vit Hist iii 124–128: *Radulfus igitur de Conchis filius Rogerii de Toenia ... Isabel uxorem accepit quæ nobilem ei prolem Rogerium et Radulfum peperit, filiamque nomine Godehildem quæ prius Rodberto nupsit Mellentensium comiti deinde Balduino filio Boloniensium consulis Eustachii*; *ibid* iv 218: *Balduinus autem Eustachii Boloniæ comitis filius ... gener Radulfi de Conchis ... Prius enim Rages id est Adissæ nobilissimæ urbis dux factus est et post aliquot annos defuncto Godefrido fratre suo diu regno Ierusalem potitus est.* There is no evidence that Godehildis had any offspring. Runciman (1951–1954) i 147 stated 'Baldwin welcomed the Crusade with delight ... When he set out he took with him his Norman wife, Godvere of Tosni, and their little children', and *ibid* i 200–201, 'Baldwin moved quickly on to rejoin the main army at Marash. News had reached him that Godvere was dying; and their children too, it seemed, were sick and did not long survive'; Murray (2000) 203 corrected the first error, suggesting that it may have come from misinterpreting Guill Tyr Chron i 164: *dominum Balduinum, ducis fratrem, cum uxore et familia obsidem [rex Hungarie] petit*—the hostages required by the king of

Hungary were Balduin with his wife and *familia*, meaning household not ‘family’. The second mistake appears to be extrapolated from this figment of the historian’s imagination together with the fact that Balduin was to have no direct heir, since his retainers are not said to have perished after the death of Godehildis.

<sup>8-9</sup> Guill Tyr Chron i 544: *Indicto igitur legionibus per vocem preconiam reditu, domino rege egritudine invalescente eatenus debilitato ut equitare non posset, lecticam instruunt eumque in ea anxie laborantem collocant, sicque continuatis itineribus, transcurta ex parte solitudine que inter Egyptum et Syriam media diffunditur, Laris antiquam eiusdem solitudinis urbem perveniunt maritimam. Ubi morbo superatus rex, ad extremum veniens in fata concessit; unde, lugentibus et pre doloris angustia deficientibus legionibus, Ierosolimam deportatus est et ea dominica, que dicitur Ramis Palmarum, per vallem Iosaphat, ubi de more populus ad diem festum convenerat, in urbem introductus et iuxta fratrem sub Calvaria, in loco qui Golgotha dicitur, regia magnificentia sepultus est. Mortuus est autem anno ab incarnatione domini millesimo centesimo octavo decimo, regni eius octavo decimo; Fulch Hist Hier 609–613: Anno suiquidem a partu Virginis M<sup>o</sup>C<sup>o</sup>X<sup>o</sup>VIII<sup>o</sup>, cum in exitu Martii mensis urbem Pharamiam, quam ita nominant, Balduinus rex adgressus hostiliter vastando diripisset, die quadam ... sensit rex intrinsecus se angore plagae suae veteris gravissime renovato debilitari ... reditu autem statuto, cum non potest rex equitare, de papilionum perticis lecticam ei apparaverunt, in qua eum collocaverunt ... Cumque ad usque villam, quae dicitur Laris, pervenissent, infirmitate ingruente et illum penitus consummante, defungitur ... et sepelierunt in Golgotha iuxta ducem Godefridum, germanum suum. Balduin died on a Tuesday, Albert Aquens 868: *Et hoc disposito, feria tertia que est dies Martis uehementius infirmitate usque ad interitum cepit torqueri in oculis suorum primatum fidelium*—this was 2 Apr as Palm Sunday in 1118, when he was buried, fell on 7 Apr (the distance from al-‘Arish to Jerusalem is around 150 km). The date is confirmed by Necrol S Vit Virdun 138 (Apr): *III. non. Balduinus Iherosolimitanus rex.**

- 4.4 <sup>1</sup> Cartul Stafford 182–183 series I n<sup>o</sup> 2, charter dated 1088: *ego Robertus de Stafford ... pro conjuge meâ et filio meo Nicholao ... Anno supradicto dedi etiam corpus meum post mortem eidem Sancto monasterio et conjux mea similiter suum dedit, et Nicholaus filius meus concessit suum ...* ✠ *Ego Nicholaus filius eorum confirmavi*; *ibid* 195 series II n<sup>o</sup> 1, undated charter written ca 1122/25: *Nicholaus filius Roberti de Stadford*; Cartul S Petri Conc 553 n<sup>o</sup> 406 XIII, undated confirmation by King Henry I written ca 1130, probably in 1131 (Reg Regum Anglo-Norm ii 250 n<sup>o</sup> 1701), reciting an earlier charter: *Ego, Robertus de Stafort, filius Rogerii de Totteneio ... annuente filio meo Nicholao*. A genealogy apparently written 1237/41 in the time of Hervey Bagot III, great-great-grandson of Nicholas, set out the succession to the Stafford barony from 1066, Carte Basset 5 n<sup>o</sup> 11: *Robertus de Touni qui venit ad Conquestum, post eum Nicholaus, post eum Robertus senior, post eum Robertus junior, post eum Herveus Bagot et Milisenta uxor eius, post eum Herveus filius eorum, post eum Herveus filius suus*. Madan (1899) 18–21 considered that Nigellus de Stafford, ancestor of the Gresley family, who was a Domesday tenant-in-chief and a sheriff of Staffordshire—see Keats-Rohan (1999) 302—was a brother of Nicholas, rather than his uncle (brother of his father Robert) as had been thought by Dugdale and Eyton; but as noted *ibid* 20, any connection to the Tosnys is ‘more or less probable conjecture’, based on nothing more to link the families than holding the shrievalty of

Staffordshire (that was not hereditary) at different times and their common use of the name Nicholas.

<sup>2</sup> Carte Kenil 221 n° 2, undated charter of Geoffrey de Clinton written ca 1125 conveying the church of Stone in Staffordshire to Kenilworth priory: *concedo eisdem canonicis ecclesiam de Stanes ... assensu Nicholai de Stafford, in cuius feodo ipsa ecclesia fundata est*; Rotul Cart iii 275–276, undated confirmation by Henry I for Kenilworth priory written 1124/26, probably Oct 1125, if genuine (see Reg Regum Anglo-Norm ii 193 n° 1428), from an inspeximus dated 11 Jun 1314: *Ad hec etiam concedo prefate ecclesie [Sancte Marie in terra de Chenilleworda] terram de Itelicota quam Nicholaus de Statfort meo concessu ei dedit et Robertus filius ejus concessit ... Signum + Nicolai de Stafort.*

<sup>3</sup> Nicholas may have become sheriff of Staffordshire in the reign of William II: he was addressed in an undated writ with the king's name missing, attested by Roger Bigod at Marlborough, that may have been issued before 1100, Cartul Rydeware 284 n° 102 (Reg Regum Anglo-Norm i 112 no 456): *[.] Rex Anglie, N. de Estafford salutem ... teste Rogero Bygoto apud Merlesbergiam.* However, this could have been Henry I's writ issued 1100/07, as revised in Reg Regum Anglo-Norm ii 77 n° 865 following Round (1914) 354: 'As a matter of fact, Nicholas lived through the reign of Henry I and was sheriff also under him, so that this "precept" is by no means certainly of William II'. Round gave no authority for the implication that Nicholas had outlived Henry I, but apparently he assumed this sheriff to be identical with Nicholas son of Robert de Tosny.

However, opinion has been divided over whether the Nicholas who was sheriff before 1109 was actually the son of Robert or a different individual who was supposedly in office at the time of Domesday. According to Wedgwood (1912) corrigendum to 274, 'Eyton in his Staffordshire Domesday produces evidence to show that ... one Nicholas was sheriff in 1086 and 1109 (p. 55)'. This is incorrect, but has unfortunately misled some historians: Eyton (1881) 55 actually wrote, 'Domesday says—"Hanc terram [Torp] calumniatur Nicolaus ad firmam Regis de Clistone." Thus we get hold of the name of the Domesday Sheriff of Staffordshire!' and in a footnote to this: 'There are many allusions after Domesday to a Sheriff, Nicholas. Genealogists should enquire about him. I will here say that he is evidently the same with "Nicholas," who at the date of Domesday was King William's Fermor of Coventry, and five other Warwickshire estates, late the Countess Godeva's. Domesday Sheriffs are elsewhere found farming Crown estates at a still greater distance from their sphere of office'; and *ibid* 79–80: 'Nicholas was the name of the Domesday Sheriff of Staffordshire (A.D. 1086). The same or another Nicholas is addressed by Henry I as Sheriff of Staffordshire in a deed, dated at Tamworth, and which seems to me to have passed unquestionably in the autumn of the year 1109'. This deed is presumably Placit Anglo-Norm 137–138, undated notification by Henry I sent from Tamworth probably in 1114 (Reg Regum Anglo-Norm ii 116 n° 1054): *HENRICUS rex Angliæ Roberto episcopo Cestrensi et Nicholao vicecomiti de Staffort et omnibus baronibus Francis et Anglis de Statfortsira salutem.*

Despite the compounded error by Wedgwood, the actual conclusion of Eyton was ill-founded anyway. The single claim by a Nicholas for three hides at Thorpe Constantine in Staffordshire (held TRE by Wulfwine) for the king's farm in nearby

Clifton Campville does not necessarily make him sheriff of the county: this could have referred to Nicholas acting for his elderly father Robert de Tosny or perhaps deputising while the latter was absent from England. It makes little sense to expect that the early Norman administration in the Midlands would be as disciplined as the late Victorian civil service in Whitehall. All that can be taken with certainty from the Domesday book reference is that one of the functions normally carried out by a sheriff was performed in Staffordshire at the time of the survey by a man named Nicholas; and since we know that the sheriff was addressed in 1072/85 as 'R.' (*Acta Guill I 796 n° 265: W(illelmus) rex Anglorum ... R. vicecomiti ceterisque suis fidelibus de Estaffordscire salutem*), and that a great landholder in the county by 1086 was an ageing man named Robert whose son and heir was Nicholas, there is scarcely a need to seek further on this evidence. Nevertheless, a doppelgänger named 'Nicholas de Stafford', who is alternatively called 'Nicholas de Beauchamp' from the surname of his putative son, has been admitted by many historians. Appendix F in CP xii/I discussed the question, without trying in earnest to resolve it. Keats-Rohan (1999) 300–301 accepted the existence of a second Nicholas from the single occurrence 'in a context suggesting he was then sheriff' (but preferred to identify him with Nicholas Balistarius who perhaps farmed the Warwickshire estates of Countess Godgifu for the king in 1086).

However, this man's phantom existence comes about only from misreading the cartulary of Burton and either making an anachronistic link back to Eyton's supposed Domesday sheriff Nicholas or inventing a new one. The monks of Burton in the mid-13<sup>th</sup> century compiled a dossier on their claim to the manor of Coton-in-the-Elms, Derbyshire, recounting a series of interferences with this over the preceding 100 years or more. They were evidently confused by a number of writs in their archive issued by Henry I and Henry II, and unquestionably substituted at least one name in the copying of at least one of these to fit their narrative. George Wrottesley, in his abridged 1884 edition of the Burton cartulary, offered unwarranted conclusions about this aspect of the farrago that have misled others since. Caenegem (1990–1991) ii 567 n° 517 assumed that the series of writs copied by the monks all related to a single suit, noting that 'The controversy which first started under Henry I came to a final conclusion under Henry II, at the latest by 1180' (the last part of this statement is incorrect except in a strictly forensic sense, as the abbey did not recover possession of Coton until well after Nov 1183, see below). Keats-Rohan (1999) 301 wrote, 'Burton charters allege that this Nicholas married Eda, sister of Geoffrey Maletterre abbot of Burton, in 1094, by whom he left a daughter and a son, Stephen de Bellocampo' (the first part of this statement is patently wrong, see below). But the information given in the cartulary is ambiguous on this matter and its chronology is muddled.

Eda occurs during the abbacy of a different Geoffrey (1114–1150, see Knowles & others (2001–2008) i 31) as the tenant of Dods Leigh, explicitly with the Burton chapter's consent, see Doc Gaufr Burton xlix n° 6, undated charter written 1114/26: *Hec est conuentio que facta est inter Gaufridum abbatem Burtonie et Eddam uxorem Nicholai. Facta est autem in capitulo concedentibus monachis. Concessit ei abbas, id est ipsi Edde et heredi eius, in feudum et hereditatem illam terram que uocatur Dadesleia et ad Legam pertinet*; *ibid* lvii n° 13, charter dated 1116: *Dadelseia quoque quam tenet Eda uxor Nicholai*. She was called the wife of an unidentifiable man named Nicholas, but never described as sister to Abbot Geoffrey's predecessor and namesake Malaterra, who was plainly a Norman: her name is much more likely to be English, cf another Eda in the Midlands

living a century before her time mentioned in an early 12<sup>th</sup>-century work, Simeon Dun Auct III 220: *Ecgfridam, ex qua Eilsa de Teise genuit Waltheof, et duos ejus fratres, et Edam sororem eorum.*

An abbot of Burton is said to have been deposed in the time of Henry II, either because he had sired a daughter with the sister of ‘Nicholas, sheriff of Stafford’ or vice versa, and due to this had given Coton to him without the consent of the chapter, Cartul Burton I 9, narrative written in the mid-13<sup>th</sup> century: *Tempore Regis Henrici secundi quidam Abbas Burton absque consensu sui conventus tradidit dictam villam de Cotes cuidam Nicholao Vicecomiti Staffordie occasione sororis suae de qua filiam genuit, propter quod factum idem Abbas fuit depositus.* Wrottesley, Caenegem, Keats-Rohan and others have evidently concluded that the three verbs here must have alternating subjects while the possessive adjectives in *sui conventus* and *sororis suae* must refer to the same person, the abbot, making it his sister who had given birth to a daughter by ‘Nicholas’. However, like most modern languages medieval Latin was often untidy with pronouns and pronominal adjectives, as demonstrated by a charter of Henry III copied by the monks on the same parchment inserted into the Burton cartulary, *ibid* 10: *assensu Ysondae de Bellocampo, Matildis sororis suae, Radulphi de Arderne et Alinae uxoris suae*—clearly the first *suae* refers to Ysonda de Beauchamp and the second to Radulf de Arderne, otherwise Alina would have been the wife of her own sister. It is more plausible as well as grammatically normal to construe *sororis suae* as sister of the man named immediately before, with the abbot in the nominative as subject of *tradidit*, *genuit* and *fuit depositus*, so that the latter had fathered a daughter by the sister of Nicholas the sheriff. Under the alternative reading, that Nicholas had sired the child by the abbot’s sister, the question of why the woman’s brother would reward him with land in these circumstances has been sidestepped by Keats-Rohan’s arbitrary promotion of Eda’s husband Nicholas to sheriff, so that this married couple received Coton together and their child was legitimate; yet then the mystery remains as to why the abbot indulged in a foolhardy act of patronage on the occasion of a niece’s birth, an event that would not usually lead to a property settlement even from an uncle with right on his side.

Eda’s tenancy held later in good standing (*honorifice*) with the Burton chapter, extended to her and an heir or heiress, does not support the conjecture that she and her child had been integral to an abbot’s disgrace. A further problem with the conclusion of Keats-Rohan is that Eda, whom she makes the grandmother of Stephen de Beauchamp, a later occupant of Coton, apparently did not leave an heir. Initially the grant of Dods Leigh, as quoted above, was to Eda and her heir (singular, not to her heirs general) in fee and inheritance (*Edde et heredi eius, in feudum et hereditatem illam terram que uocatur Dadesleia et ad Legam pertinet*); yet later this changed to a tenancy for Eda’s lifetime only, as enjoined by the abbot and monks when granting the manor of Leigh in fee farm to their liegeman Robert fitz Uviet, Doc Gaufr Burton lxiv n° 21, undated charter written 1130/50: *Terram uero Dadesleie tenebit Eda de eo quamdiu ipsa uiixerit, ita honorifice sicut eam tenebat de nobis*—the implication is that she had no heir at the later time, or else the condition of this grant in 1130/50 would have reneged on the heritable lease of 1114/26, which is the point of reference in *sicut tenebat de nobis*. Eda had held Dods Leigh before May 1113 under Geoffrey Malaterra’s successor, hardly suggesting that she was sister to an abbot expelled for favouring her and her family with Burton’s resources, see the survey of tenancies

headed *Extenta terrarum Monasterii de Burtona super Trent tempore Regis Henrici primi et Nigelli Abbatis*, Cartul Burton I 21: *Item Edda tenet DADESLEIA*.

Keats-Rohan (2002) 487 identified Eda's husband as the Nicholas who was sheriff of Staffordshire from 1101 to 1123, in turn identifying him as Nicholas de Gresley, a son of Nigel de Stafford, whom Madan (1899) sought without proof to connect to the Tosny family. However, this conjecture also fails: far from receiving Coton in marriage with Eda the alleged sister of Geoffrey Malaterra, Nicholas de Gresley's wife by the mid-1120s—when Eda was still living as a tenant of Burton and still called the wife of her Nicholas—was Margaret de Longford. They donated the hermitage of Calwich to Kenilworth priory soon aft ca 1125, see VCH Stafford iii 237 and Carte Kenil 224 n° 7, undated confirmation by Henry II of earlier gifts: *ex dono Nicholai filii Nigelli, et Margaretæ uxoris suæ, hæremitorium de Calewich*; Margaret gave the church of Longford to Kenilworth, *ibid* n° 9, charter written 1126/29: *Margareta uxor Nicholai, filii Nigelli de Longford ... dedi canonicis de Kiningwurd, ecclesiam de Longford ... quæ sita est in patrimonio meo*. The dating of this to the period of three years when the royal chamberlain Geoffrey de Clinton was custodian of the temporalities of the see, before his nephew Roger became bishop of Chester in 1129, is indicated in her husband's later charter, *ibid* n° 8: *EGO Nicholaus de Greseleia, concessu Willielmi fratris mei, et Margaretæ uxoris meæ, pro anima Nigelli patris mei, et assensu Rogeri episcopi Cestrensis, concessi ecclesiam S. Mariæ de Kiningwurd, &c. ecclesiam de Longford ... quam elemosinam uxor mea Margareta donavit præfatæ ecclesiæ de Kinningwurd, consensu Gaufridi camerarii, fundatoris ejusdem ecclesiæ, sub cuius cura fuit*—see Statham (1937) 48–49. As Keats-Rohan (2002) 487 wrote, 'the Burton traditions are often contradictory or plain faulty', and the same can be said of the theory that Stephen de Beauchamp's mother was the daughter of Eda by Nicholas de Gresley, as well as the consequently baseless speculation that the latter was identical with 'Nicholas the sheriff' of Staffordshire.

Wrottesley inserted an extremely unhelpful footnote to Cartul Burton I 9, narrative passage quoted above beginning *Tempore Regis Henrici secundi[\*] quidam Abbas Burton*, *ibid* n 2, indicated by the asterisk: 'Sic, but this must be the Abbot Geoffrey de Malaterra who was deposed A.D. 1094, according to the Chronicle. The original error of the monks in ascribing the writ of Henry I. to Henry II. runs through the whole account'. This is wrong—the monks consistently placed the course of events from the reign of Henry II onward, specifying that they had held Coton through the reigns of William I and II, Henry I and Stephen; and they only incidentally erred by mixing up a few writs of Henry I (regarding an earlier dispute over Coton, if they did not substitute this placename) and one of Stephen, probably from late in his reign, in order to bolster their story from a later time.

The manor of Coton had been granted to Burton abbey originally Earl Morcar, Cartul Burton I 9: *Tempore Regis Aelthredi dedit quidam Comes Morcar nomine Monasterio de Burton villam de Cotes quæ tempore Conquestus Angliæ seisita fuit in manus Conquestoris. Deinde venit Rex Willielmus apud Burton et ob devotionem quam habuit erga Monasterium, dedit dictam villam Deo et Sanctæ Mariæ in Ecclesiâ de Burton et Andresseye prout in cartâ ipsius Regis continetur quæ talis est*. William the Conqueror granted Coton as freely as Morcar's mother had held it, adding the requirement that his own clerk should be the abbey's tenant, Acta Guill I 194 n° 33, undated charter written 1066/86: *Uill(elmu)s rex Anglorum ... Sciatis me dedisse Deo et sancto Marie in ecclesia de Burthone et Andresseya terram de Chotes sicuti mater Morc' comitis melius habuit. Et volo ut Aildwinus meus clericus de eadem ecclesia teneat*. It was recorded with the abbey's estates in Lib Domesd xxvii

(Derbyshire) 3,4: (expanded here): *In COTVNE* [written above this: *COTES*] *habuit Algarus II carucatas terræ ad geldum. Terra ad III carucas. Nunc habet abbas* [written above this: *de rege*]. *Ibi nunc in dominio I caruca et VI uillani et III bordarii habentes II carucas. T.R.E. ualuit XL. solidos nunc XXX.* The abbot was to hold Coton as Ælfgar's widow Ælfgifu, Morcar' mother, 'better' (*melius*, here meaning 'freely') held it.

If Nicholas de Stafford is supposed to be the sheriff of Staffordshire who received Coton from the miscreant abbot, as proposed by Wrottesley in *Cartul Burton I 10 n 1* despite the contradictory timeline represented in the text, it is puzzling that such a great landholder would be party to flouting established rights for the sake of obtaining an estate of three ploughs worth only 30s and outside his own county, so that he could anticipate action by a colleague to rectify the injustice when the abbot died, if not sooner. But some historians tend to imagine that medieval people were usually stupid and/or shameless, just as others are ready to believe that Roger I would be rewarded with an illustrious bride for pretending to eat Muslims.

According to the mid-13<sup>th</sup> century account, the abbey kept Coton through the next three reigns, *Cartul Burton I 9: Per hanc cartam fuerunt in possessione dictæ villæ de Cotes Abbas et Conventus de Burton tempore Regis Willielmi Conquestoris et Regis Willielmi secundi ac Regis Henrici primi ac Regis S.* The memory of the monks on this essential point is not credibly disregarded while taking their word on other aspects *ad libitum*, although as noted above there may have been intermittent difficulties over possession in this period with Nicholas de Stafford, and later with Stephen de Beauchamp, if the earliest royal interventions transcribed into the Burton record are authentic—*Cartul Burton I 9*, undated writ of Henry I to the sheriff of Derbyshire, probably issued 1101/02 (Reg Regum Anglo-Norm ii 24 n° 600): *Mando tibi et precipio ut sine morâ facias rectum inter Nicholaum Abbatem et Nicholaum de Stafford Vicecomitem, de terrâ de Cotes*; *Cartul Burton I 8–9*, undated writ of Henry I issued bef Lent in 1101/06 (Reg Regum Anglo-Norm ii 56 n° 766): *Henricus Rex Anglorum Nicholao Vicecomiti de Stafford salutem. Mando tibi ut in die in initium quadragesimæ, sis ad curiam nostram, si vis disrationare terram de Cotes erga Abbatem de Burtone, si eam disrationare volueris, si vero placitare nolueris, permitte quiete eum habere terram illam*; see below for an undated writ of King Stephen naming Stephen de Beauchamp. If these were based on genuine originals, the first at least has been altered in transcription because the two abbots of Burton named Nicholas did not take office until 1187 and 1216 respectively, see Knowles & others (2001–2008) i 31 and ii 25. Wrottesley in *Cartul Burton I 9 n 1* glossed this discrepancy in the abbot's name as 'Probably a mistake for Nigellum' (d May 1113, Geoffrey Malaterra's successor).

Caenegem (1990–1991) ii 567 n° 517 also assumed a single continuing suit over possession of Coton from the time of Henry I onwards, noting, *ibid n 2*, 'The name of Abbot Robert (1150–dep. 1159) is impossible in this context. The chronicler quotes several names of abbots of the time of Henry II, to whom he mistakenly attributes several writs of Henry I. The real names of the abbots of Burton are Nigel (1094–d. 1114) and Geoffrey (1114–1150).' However, the monks of Burton in the 13<sup>th</sup> century hardly stand to be corrected on this subject from the 19<sup>th</sup> by Wrottesley and from the 20<sup>th</sup> by Caenegem and others. They were far more likely to become confused over the name of an outsider, whether truly sheriff or not, than over the identities of a series of their own abbots, especially those who had incurred the terminal displeasure of their chapter previously. The one who was deposed for giving Coton to 'Nicholas, sheriff of Stafford' was explicitly placed in the time of Henry II and named as Robert, with



his successor specified as Bernard, *ibid* 8: *tempore Regis Henrici secundi quidam Robertus Abbas Burtoniensis absque consensu sui conventus tradidit dictam villam de Cotes cuidam Nicholao Vicecomiti Staffordiæ propter quod factum dictus Abbas fuit depositus. Deinde Abbas Bernardus qui successit dicto Roberto movit querelam versus dictum Nicholaum Vicecomitem super predictâ villâ per subscripta brevia.* Bernard was abbot from 1160, see Knowles & others (2001–2008) i 31, when there was no sheriff of Stafford named Nicholas against whom he could have sustained or initiated a complaint. The stronger likelihood is that the monks deliberately replaced the name ‘Nigellum’ in Henry I’s writ with ‘Nicholaum’ because this matched their understanding, since they knew that the first Abbot Nicholas (1187–1197, *ibid* i 31) had temporarily achieved the restoration of Coton to his abbey: the subsequent narrative consistently refers to him. It is possible that *Cotes* was also substituted for another placename in the writ above (Cartul Burton I 8–9, Reg Regum Anglo-Norm ii 56 n° 766), although this may be authentic—but if so there is no need to make a genealogical connection between Nicholas the sheriff of Stafford in Henry I’s time and later deforcians of Coton, any more than from them to Ranulph de Blundeville, earl of Chester, who purchased the contentious claim from Stephen de Beauchamp’s heirs and ejected Abbot Nicholas.

The royal writs transcribed into the cartulary do not provide evidence for the circumstances behind Coton’s falling into the hands of a sheriff in Henry I’s time or of Stephen de Beauchamp in Stephen’s and Henry II’s. Short of deciding that the Burton narrative is so unreliable as to be practically worthless, it is necessary to accept that Robert in the 1150s was the abbot who either fathered an illegitimate daughter and compensated the child’s maternal uncle with Coton, or else gave it to his brother-in-law (whose identity is uncertain and whose wife’s name is unrecorded) following the birth of a legitimate niece. One abbot was deposed before the reign of Henry I, Annal Burton 185 (ann 1094): *Galfridus Mala Terra expulsus est de abbatia*—Geoffrey Malaterra, whose successor was evidently at odds with the real Nicholas de Stafford over Coton for an unknown reason, with an unknown outcome. Another abbot was deposed in the reign of Henry II, *ibid* 187 (ann 1159): *Robertus abbas Burtoniensis depositus est et expulsus est ab abbatia*—Robert, for fornication resulting in the birth of a daughter to a woman whose brother was miscalled ‘Nicholas, sheriff of Stafford’ a century later, and for alienating Coton to the individual named thus in the cartulary whose proper identity and status remain dubious.

This man was probably the sole individual described by the monks as an unlawful occupant (*deforciator*) of Coton, Stephen de Beauchamp, who caused trouble in this matter between the reigns of the two Henrys, Doc Gaufr Burton lxxi n° 32 (Reg Regum Anglo-Norm iii 51 n° 136), writ of King Stephen issued 1136/54: *Precipio quod ecclesia sancte Marie de Burthona et abbas et monachi eiusdem ecclesie teneant terram suam de Chotes ita bene et in pace et libere et quiete et pacifice sicut rex Willelmus auus meus illam predictæ ecclesie dedit et concessit et carta sua confirmavit, ne super hoc Stephanus de Belcampo uel aliquis alius eis inde iniuriam uel contumeliam faciat.* This was presumably late in Stephen’s reign since the vexation continued under Henry II, Cartul Burton I 9: *H. Rex Angliæ et Dux Normanniæ et Aquitaniæ et Comes Andegaviæ Roberto de Piro Vicecomiti salutem. Precipio tibi firmiter quod sine dilatione et juste saisias Abbatem de Burton de terrâ suâ de Cotes desicut inde carta Regis Henrici avi mei et Regis Willielmi habet ne amplius inde ei injuriam vel molestiam faciat Stephanus de Bellocampo vel alius.*

The Burton narrative goes on with a welter of information about Stephen and his successors, ostensibly indicating at least one more generation and death than other

records support but allowing him to be identified as the man who died on 20 Nov 1183 leaving a two-year-old son, Rotul Domin 68: *Filius Stephani de Bello Campo ... fuit .iij. annorum ad Pascha proximo preteritum. Stephanus de Bello Campo obiit anno quo Ricardus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus obiit* [16 Feb 1184 new style, 1183 Annunciation style], *ad festum Sancti Eadmundi* [20 Nov], not on 20 Nov 1184 leaving a four-year-old son as wrongly stated in Keats-Rohan (2002) 314—the boy turned three at Easter 1184, after his father's death. The elder Stephen's father was Richard de Beauchamp, whose only known wife was Alina. The monks noted that this man who had deprived the abbey of Coton died after their complaint was pursued by Abbot Roger Malebranche (1177–1182), and that he left a son also named Stephen then a minor, Cartul Burton I 9–10: *Successit vero Abbas Rogerus qui similiter querelam deposuit in Curiâ Domini Regis super eâdem villâ et eatenus processum fuit per duellum inde invadebatur et tunc deforcior ejusdem villæ mortuus est filio suo scilicet Stephano de Bellocampo[\*] relicto (sic) qui fuit infra etatem*. Wrottesley, again unhelpfully, provided a footnote indicated by the asterisk, *ibid* 10 n 1, 'This seems to establish the identity of Nicholas the Sheriff of Staffordshire temp. Henry I. He was Nicholas de Stafford'—but of course there can have been few if any sheriffs active before December 1135 who died 51 years later leaving a two-year-old child as heir.

The younger Stephen surrendered Coton, to be enjoyed by the monks after his death for nearly two years allegedly in the time of King John, *ibid* 10 (shortened by Wrottesley): *Stephanus de Bellocampo salutem. Me reddidisse etc. Deo et Sanctæ Mariæ et Sanctæ Moduenæ Virgini de Burton et Monachis etc. villam de Cotes cum omnibus pertinentiis suis quam injuste occupavi ... Post cujus decessum fuerunt monachi in possessione ejusdam villæ fere per biennium tempore Regis Johannis*. However, this chronology is adrift since he must be the Stephen reported as dying overseas during the abbacy of Nicholas de Wallingford (from 1216, the year of John's death), *ibid* 10: *Posito Nicholao Abbate in pacificâ et plenare possessione dictæ villæ de Cotes, Stephanus de Bellocampo transfretavit ibique mortuus est*. Then, during the siege of Mountsorrel castle in 1217, Ranulf de Blundeville, earl of Chester, evicted Abbot Nicholas from Coton and gave it to William de Vernon, *ibid*: *post cujus obitum Ranulphus Comes Cestriæ tempore quo Montsorel obsidebatur ejecit predictum Abbatem de dictâ villâ de Cotes injuste, eamque in manu suâ aliquamdiu tenuit. Deinde dictus Comes tradidit dictam villam Willielmo de Vernun qui eam tenuit per aliquot annos sine cartâ*. The place must have exerted a strong attraction for intruders, as did other possessions of Burton abbey that were also the subject of dispute with various parties.

The lure of Coton may have been for sport, or perhaps due to raising an excellent strain of hunting dogs in the vicinity: according to the Burton monks, 'Sheriff Nicholas' asked King Henry II if he could hold it in return for providing a leashed hound yearly, Cartul Burton I 9: *Regis S. Tempore Regis Henrici secundi ... predictus Vicecomes impetravit a Domino Rege ut teneret ab eo dictam villam in capite reddendo inde annuatim unum brachetum cum ligamine*. The request was probably made by Stephen de Beauchamp the elder, who had been agitating since the previous reign, and was clearly granted since the younger Stephen held Coton by this service in 1210/12, shortly before he returned it to the abbey, Lib Rub Scacc ii 566: *Stephano de Bello Campo, Cotes, per j brachetum cum ligamine*. The king must have appreciated the dog he received each year, as in the enquiry of 1212 it was reportedly unknown by whose grant Stephen's predecessors had held the contentious place, and whether it belonged

to the royal demesne or the honour of Lancaster, Lib Feud i 152: *Stephanus de Bello Campo tenet Cotes de domino rege in capite per j. brachettum cum ligamine, sed nescitur ex cuius dono antecessores eius sic tenuerunt; [added in another hand:] et sive fuerit de dominico domini regis an de honore de Lancastr' similiter nescitur, et potest valere c.s.*

There is no proven genealogical link between this family of Beauchamps and the real Nicholas de Stafford, although some kind of connection existed. Nicholas made a donation to Worcester priory with Richard de Beauchamp, recorded in an undated confirmation by King Stephen of numerous royal, episcopal and other charters dating from TRE to Henry I's reign, Cartul Wigorn lxix (with a valuable discussion of its authenticity) & ibid plate III, written Dec 1137/Jun 1139 probably 29/30 Apr 1139 (Reg Regum Anglo-Norm iii 357 n° 964): *Concedo et confirmo donationem Nicolai Stafford et Ricardi de Bello campo de decima de Piria.*

A Stephen was sheriff of Staffordshire at the time of the survey in 1166, named in the carta of Richard Peche, bishop of Coventry, Lib Rub Scacc i 263: *Mandavit nobis, venerande domine, Vicecomes Staphanus [sic] ex parte vestra, quatinus numerum, quos vobis debemus, militum.* According to Eyton (1880) 44, 'there is a tradition (I can call it nothing more) that Stephen de Beauchamp was sometime Sheriff of Staffordshire. Perhaps this was the time.' If so, the monks of Burton in the 13<sup>th</sup> century may have confused not only Henry II with his grandfather Henry I, but also Stephen the sheriff with one of his predecessors named Nicholas also documented in their archives regarding Coton; and the wayward mother of the abbot's child was perhaps a sister of Stephen, daughter of Richard de Beauchamp and his wife Alina. At any rate it seems clear enough that when Abbot Robert was expelled in 1159 the lady who had given birth to his daughter some time beforehand was not a septuagenarian (or older) sibling of Nicholas de Stafford, whose father Robert had died in 1088—or else the abbey's patron St Mordwenna would surely have won praise for an extremely rare sort of miracle, notwithstanding her own virginity.

Nicholas de Stafford may have held the post of sheriff until Michaelmas 1123, when Robert de Stanley apparently leased the county for the next five years, followed by Miles de Gloucester 1128–1130, see Walker (1922) 76–77 and Green (1990) 75. Nicholas was evidently sheriff again from 1130, Rotul Scacc Henr I 82 (expanded here): *Et idem Ricardus [Basset] reddit compotum de .xxxv. marcis argenti pro terra matris Nicholai vicecomitis de Statford;* Cartul Stafford 207 series II n° 6 (Reg Regum Anglo-Norm ii 259 n° 1744), notification by Henry I written Jul 1131/Aug 1133, probably in 1132: *Henricus Rex Angliæ Episcopo Cestriæ et N. de Staford et Baronibus et Vicecomitibus et ministris et omnibus fidelibus suis Francis et Anglis de Stafordsirâ salutem.* CP xii/I Appendix F raised a question over the expansion of *vicec'* to *vicecomitibus* in this writ, but substituting the singular *vicecomiti* could simply mean that the ageing Nicholas had at this time just one anonymous under-sheriff, greeted after the barons, instead of two or more.

<sup>4</sup> The literal reading of his son's carta in the 1166 survey suggests that Nicholas was dead and Robert was lord of Stafford at the time of Henry I's death on 1 Dec 1135, Lib Rub Scacc i 264–265: *Robertus de Stafford habet lx feoda de veteri feffamento, lj de servitio militum et ix feoda de dominio suo, de tempore Henrici Regis, die et anno, quo fuit vivus et mortuus.* Other returns, but not all, mention the present lord's predecessor with old enfeoffments of Henry I's reign where the tenant-in-chief of 1166 was a different person, for instance Hugo Bigod's carta ibid i 395: *Hoc est scriptum Comitis Hugonis de*

*militibus quos tenet in capite de Rege de veteri feffamento, quos Rogerus Bigod, pater suus, feffavit.* Such a detail may have been overlooked in Robert's carta although there is no other evidence to imply this, and given the lack of any further references to Nicholas as sheriff after 1132/33 it is more likely than not that he was dead before the end of Henry I's reign.

CP xii/I 169 placed his death 'in or after 1138', expressing *ibid n (b)* a reservation about Eyton's certainty that Nicholas was dead in 1138, on which he based the date ranges of several charters in Cartul Stafford noting *ibid 211* 'Nicholas de Stafford, living in 1132 and deceased in 1138 ... His son and heir Robert first appears as head of the House in the year 1138, if that may be taken as the date of Bishop Clinton's foundation of Buildwas Abbey'. However, Eyton's underlying analysis of the charter for the foundation of Buildwas abbey by Roger de Clinton was viewed from the perspective of a 19<sup>th</sup>-century ivory tower. It does not seem to have impressed Eyton that questions he might raise about the witnessing of a significant document from the period between 1135 and 1145 would have struck anyone reading it at that time much more forcefully, and perhaps consequentially, so that a very good reason would be needed to explain why the bishop might have left his greatest foundation relying on a dubious proof of its title to exist and to hold its home manor.

Doubt was cast by Eyton on when the act of Bishop Roger was written, and also implicitly on when it was attested by Robert de Stafford as the second of eleven lay witnesses. The analysis was predicated on the overall form of the extant copy fairly representing the document as Bishop Clinton left it. The charter was printed in Eyton (1854–1860) vi 321–322 from Roger Dodsworth's copy in Bodleian Library MS Dodsw. 90 (noting that 'Its inaccuracies, verbal and grammatical, are probably due to its Transcribers. In other respects it has every appearance of being derived from some genuine original'): *Ego Rogerius Dei Gratiâ Cestrensis Episcopus ... concedimus et in fundamentum Abbatie confirmamus Deo et charissimo fratri nostro Abbati Ingenulfo et fratribus ejus, villam nostram de Buldewas cum omnibus pertinenciis, etc. Testes,—Laurentius Prior, et Conventus Coventrensis Ecclesie; Willielmus Decanus; Ricardus Coventrensis, Radulfus Staffordensis, Rogerius Scropesburiensis, Rogerius Derbiensis; Odo Thesaurarius, et Conventus Lichfeldensis; Rodbertus Comes de Rokess.;* [Eyton omitted the last word, replacing this with asterisks and giving it in a footnote: the original charter presumably had 'Glouces.', nominating Henry I's son Robert the Consul, earl of Gloucester, or else perhaps 'Legreces.' or 'Leeces.' for Robert de Beaumont, 2<sup>nd</sup> earl of Leicester] *Rodbertus de Stafford; Gaufridus de Clintonia; Willielmus filius Alani; Philippus de Belmeis; Gulielmus de Clintonia; Gulielmus filius Nigelli; Brionisia; Rodbertus de Thorpe, et Helias, et Gaufridus fratres ejus.*

*Ego Rogerius Dei Gratia Cestrensis Episcopus—*

*Ego Laurentius Prior Coventrensis Ecclesie—*

*Ego Willielmus Decanus Ecclesie Lichfeldensis—*

*Ego Willielmus Cestrensis Archidiaconus—*

*Ego Rogerius Derbiensis Archidiaconus—*

*Ego Rogerius Scropesburiensis [sic] Archidiaconus—*

*Ego Odo Thesaurarius Ecclesie.—*

Dodsworth transcribed from what appears to have been a poor copy, indicated by the peculiarities 'Rokess.', 'Willielmus'/'Gulielmus' and 'Brionisia'. The attestations of clerics are listed above the lay witnesses in the document, as usual; but then, except for Richard of Coventry and Radulf of Stafford and with the addition of William,

archdeacon of Chester, they appear again in subscriptions below the laymens' names, unusually in the first person like the bishop.

Buildwas abbey was founded in 1135 according to the chronicle of Louth Park (reported by Thomas Tanner in *Notitia Monastica*, cited by Eyton; since rediscovered and published in *Chronicon abbatie de Parco Lude*, ed Edmund Venables & trans Arthur Maddison, Lincolnshire Record Society (1891) [nv]), and also in the late 14<sup>th</sup>-century Annal Petriburg 89 (ann 1135): *Abbatia de Bildewasch, item de Forda, item de Stanford, fundantur*, the date was 8 Aug 1135 according to British Library MS Cotton Faustina B vii folio 36, an early 13<sup>th</sup> century list of Cistercian abbeys founded 1098–1190 written in France, Birch (1870) 284 (under 1135): *vj Idus Augusti .. Abbatia de Bildewas*. Eyton did not know of this evidence; given the importance placed on the seniority of chapters in the Cistercian order there is no reason to doubt that it is correct, as noted by Janaushek (1877) 102, 'Bildewasium ... Rogerium diocesanum conditorem ... cujus coenobitas VI Id. Aug. 1135 institutos esse dubitari nequit'.

Eyton (1854–1860) vi 322 wrote, 'This Charter, appearing at first sight to be coeval with the actual gift which it implies, will, if 1135 were the date of the foundation of Buildwas, be construed to have been written in that year. Some internal evidence supports such a conclusion,—e.g. the first lay attestation, if rightly attributed to the Earl of Gloucester, indicates the presence of a person who can have attended no peaceful meeting, in company with the Bishop of Chester, after Easter 1137. Nearly the same may be said of the Earl's Son-in-law William fitz Alan, who early in 1138 was in arms for the Empress, and before the close of the year an exile,—never restored to his Shropshire estates till seven years after the death of Bishop Clinton'. Robert de Stafford occurs between these two men. The donation of the whole manor of Buildwas to found the abbey was confirmed in Aug 1138 by King Stephen at the siege of Shrewsbury, having been declared by the bishop in his own presence, Reg Regum Anglo-Norm iii 49–50 n° 132 (internally misdated 1139): *Sciatis me concessisse et confirmasse in perpetuam elemosinam deo et ecclesie Sancti Ceaddi et abbati et monachis de ordine Saviniac(ensi) in ea deo servientibus de Billewas totum manerium ... sicut Rogerus episcopus Cestr(ie) locum illum eis dedit et coram me concessit*. Witnesses to this include Robert de Beaumont, earl of Leicester and Philip de Belmeis (as *Phil(ippo) de Belnuc*) who also donated to Buildwas in a charter printed from the original by Eyton (1854–1860) ii 203, ascribed *ibid* vi 325 to ca 1139 and more certainly before 1145.

The ostensible chronology of the foundation on 8 Aug 1135, with the bishop's original charter recording this at the same time, would be straightforward enough from all of the above evidence. It was normal practice to submit a foundation for royal approval some years after the beginning of the enterprise, frequently in a pancarte recording donations during the first years. The immediate priority was to obtain assent from the district's territorial powerbrokers who might encourage, or could interfere with, further benefactions.

According to Eyton, *ibid* vi 322, 'a diligent examination of the testing-clause of this [Roger de Clinton's] Charter convinces me that it was not written at the time when the Bishop's grant was made, but some years later, and that the names which it embodies are of two classes, viz.,—1st, some who were afterwards remembered by the Bishop to have been present when he gave Abbot Ingenulf formal seizin of Buildwas Manor, and 2ndly, some who, not having been then present, were afterwards witnesses and approvers of a Charter, written to record the conveyance and assure the Abbot's title.'

Two of the clerical witnesses in the charter copied by Dodsworth, Archdeacons Radulf of Stafford and Roger of Derby, were not in office until after 1139 according to Eyton, although he gave no evidence for this. Le Neve & Hardy (1854) i 570 listed a Robert as archdeacon of Stafford between 1135 and 1145, succeeded by a William ca 1146 and then Helias, but no Radulf; *ibid* i 575 the earliest archdeacon of Derby is recorded as 'G.' about 1139/40 followed by a Richard ca 1146 who was perhaps archdeacon of Coventry instead, then Frogerus ca 1155/67, but no Roger. A William is listed *ibid* i 565 as archdeacon of Chester from 1139 to 1149, but Eyton did not mention him in the same context—his subscription was added in the second list but he was not present in the first.

However, assuming that Eyton was correct on the two appointments after 1139, he pushed the date of the charter forward to ca 1145/46 for the inconclusive reason that Laurence does not otherwise occur as prior of Coventry before 1144 and survived until 1179. Eyton proposed that the entire charter had been written perhaps ten years after the event, recalling the names of some who had witnessed at the time while adding others, and concluded, (1854–1860) vi 323, 'The gift of Buildwas Manor and the Foundation of Buildwas Abbey belong, I doubt not, to the year 1135 or 1136, the written Record or Charter to a period perhaps ten years later'. This does not help to fix the timing of Robert de Stafford's attestation, and overlooks the kind of difficulties that Bishop Roger would have been inviting by such a procedure: it is hardly conceivable that there was no foundation charter at all for Buildwas until ten years after the fact, and if the original of this had been lost within the first decade it is implausible that the bishop would have the document recreated from memory, with duplicated clerical attestations/subscriptions making it odd at best, and then exclude Nicholas de Stafford (if he had been living when the abbey was established) in favour of his heir whose anachronistic precedence in that capacity between the earl and other lords could only have added to suspicion of the conveyance.

But for all his avowedly 'diligent' examination, Eyton did not address the most obvious fact that the present tense is used for the gift (*concedimus ... confirmamus*) as if simultaneously with the foundation in Aug 1135. The perfect tense could have been used instead with no loss of authority for the charter in the event of later redrafting, with a group of politically incompatible witnesses already making it appear contrived. It is much more likely that rough copying was responsible for the spurious form of this document, and not the bishop himself as Eyton concluded.

It is safer to assume that the charter was enacted on 8 Aug 1135 and attested then by Robert as lord of Stafford; and that Dodsworth copied from a version cobbled together with subsequent subscriptions by clerics, perhaps to some omitted additional text, giving these twice due to placing their names above the laymen according to convention and then repeating them (but with one extra name and two left out) as they had actually appeared in a different form on a parchment now lost, in the order shown above. The manor of Buildwas had belonged to the bishop of Chester at the time of Domesday, and possibly some senior clerics of the diocese were not satisfied about its transfer with exemptions to a daughter house of Savigny (that was favoured by King Stephen) until some time after the foundation.

In any event, Nicholas had lived a fairly long life by Aug 1135 and it is remarkable that both he and his son Robert outlived their respective fathers by around 50 years, when neither of them was a minor on succeeding.

<sup>5</sup> Cartul Stafford 210–211 series II n° 8, undated charter of his son Robert for Stone priory written ca 1138/47: *Robertus de Stafford ... ego R. pro salute meâ et meorum et pro animâ patris mei et matris meæ ... Concedo etiam meipsum ut fratrem et patronum ejusdem ecclesie de Stanes, ita ut ubicunque infra Angliæ regionem obiero ibidem cum patre meo sepulto et ipse sepeliar*, Cartul Stone 28 folio 41, undated charter: *Robertus de Stafford ... ego et Robertus filius et heres meus donavimus etc. Hortonam cum Grettona ... Hanc autem elemosinam feci pro animâ patris mei Nicolai de Stafford et pro animâ Aviciæ uxoris meæ quorum corpora ibi requiescunt.*

<sup>6</sup> Cartul Stafford 215 series II n° 10, undated charter of Simon, bishop of Worcester, for Stone priory written ca 1138/47: *Matildis de Staford dedit unam marcam argenti ... Preterea dedit ipsa Matilda ecclesie de Tiesho [Tysoe, Warwickshire] in elemosinam duas virgatas terræ, unam pro animâ Nicholai viri sui.*

<sup>7</sup> See preceding n for Matilda's donation of uncertain date for the soul of her husband Nicholas, who was apparently dead by Aug 1135, or if not probably by Aug 1138 (see n 4 above).

<sup>8</sup> In a verse history kept at Stone priory in 1537, Monast Angl vi/I 230–231 Cartae ad prioratum de Stone, in agro Staffordiensi, spectantes n° 2, 'The Copie of the Table that was hanging in the Priorie of Stone, at the time of the Suppression of the same', she was called 'Maude Moolte', and said to be buried beside her husband:

'After this blessed Robert, came Nicholas his sonne ...  
After this blessed founder died, and went to blisse,  
And before the chapter house door buried is,  
And Maude Moolte his wife lyeth him by,  
One whose soules our Lord God have mercie.'

4.5 <sup>1</sup> Acta Duc Norm 342–343 n° 157, notice of formal confirmation in 1063 of an agreement between his father Robert and the monks of Marmoutier: *Rotbertus [de Toeniaco] ... veniens in capitulum nostrum ... apud nos confirmavit. Affuit cum illo Berengerius filius ejus qui factum patris auctorizavit*; Carte Belv 289 n° 1, undated foundation record of Belvoir priory: *Beringerius domini Roberti filius*; Carte Spald 216 n° 5, attestation to charter of Ivo Tailebois dated 1085: *Beringario de Thorneio*; ibid 217 n° 7, attestation to undated charter of Ivo Tailebois written aft 9 Sep 1087/bef 2 May 1092: *Berengarius de Thoeneye*; Cartul Eborac ix 219 n° 133, attestation to undated charter of Hugh son of Baldric for St Mary's abbey, York, written ca 1085/93: *Berengario de Thoneia*; ibid 265 n° 350, confirmation of earlier donations to St Mary's abbey ostensibly granted by William II but 'either a forgery or grossly interpolated' according to Reg Regum Anglo-Norm i 81 n° 313: *Berengerus de Todenii dedit in Lestingham unam carrucatam terre, in Spantona sex, in Mispertona Kirkeby viij carrucas et dimidiam, in Dalby iij, in Scakelden sex bovatas, in Lindeshai unam carrucatam terre et in Binne broke ecclesiam et iij<sup>xx</sup> acras*. The first and last of these donations were probably made by 1088/89, parts by 1085 (see ibid 266), and are to some extent ratified in an undated charter of Henry II from the same abbey's cartulary, written 1156/57 if authentic, ibid i 271–276 n° 354: *Berengerus de Todenii in Lestingham j carucatam terre, in Spantona vj, in Kirkabimispertun viij<sup>o</sup> et dimidiam, in Dalebi iij, in Scacheldena vj bovatas terre, in Lindesi in Bec j caracutam terre, in Binnebroke*

*quater xx acras terre ... Berengerus de Todenai ix acras terre et dimidiam in Finnara et iij carucatas terre in Hunchilebi et decimam suam de Daltona et juxta Cheremunt dimidiam carucatam terre ... Berengerus de Todenei ecclesiam de Binnebroc.*

<sup>2</sup> Berenger's age is estimated at ca 13/18 in 1063 when he participated in the agreement at Marmoutier with his father, see n 1 above, but he may have been a little older or possibly younger than this.

<sup>3-4</sup> Keats-Rohan (1999) 164 stated, 'That his successor was not his remarried widow is shown by an entry in the necrology of Belvoir priory, where the anniversaries of Berengar and his "Albreda uxor eius, deo sancta", i.e. Albreda became a nun, were kept on 29 June (BL Add. 4936, fol. 27)' [nv]. He was evidently dead before the Lindsey survey, conducted in the summer or autumn of 1115, when some of his Domesday lands were held by Robert de Insula, husband of Berenger's sister Albreda •5.8, see Green (1999) 1; consequently if he died on a 29 Jun this must have been in or more probably before that year.

•5.6 <sup>1</sup> Carte Belv 289 n° 1, undated foundation record of Belvoir priory: *Mortuâ verò A. uxore Roberti, concessit Robertus ecclesie sanctæ Mariæ, pro anima uxoris suæ unam carucatam terræ in Sapertuna ... consensu et voluntate filiorum suorum Willielmi et Galfridi*; Rotul Cart iv 293, early 14<sup>th</sup>-century copy of undated notification by Henry I confirming Belvoir priory as a cell of St Albans (Reg Regum Anglo-Norm ii 161 n° 1277, 'Spurious, at all events in form'), the original probably written Apr/May 1121 if authentic: *Rodbertus de Thodeneio et Willelmus filius ejus.*

<sup>2</sup> Carte Belv 289 n° 1, undated foundation record of Belvoir priory: *Defuncto ... Roberto, Willielmus filius ejus, et hæres Honoris renovavit apud sanctum Albanum, in capitulo fratrum conventionem patris et matris suæ.*

<sup>3</sup> William succeeded his father, who probably died ca 1093, as lord of Belvoir—see preceding n. He disappears from the record after this occurrence and there is no proof of when he died. According to Keats-Rohan (1999) 741 this was 'some time after 1100' but no authority is given for the statement.

•5.7 <sup>1</sup> Carte Belv 289 n° 1, undated foundation record of Belvoir priory: *Mortuâ verò A. uxore Roberti, concessit Robertus ecclesie sanctæ Mariæ, pro anima uxoris suæ unam carucatam terræ in Sapertuna ... consensu et voluntate filiorum suorum Willielmi et Galfridi*

•5.8 <sup>1</sup> Cartul Kirkest 188 n° 266, undated charter of Albreda's nephew Hugo Bigod, 1<sup>st</sup> earl of Norfolk, donating Barnoldswick to Kirkstall abbey: *Ego H. Comes Norfulc', pro salute anime mee et Albrede de Insula, amite mee.*

<sup>2</sup> Albreda's tenure as lady of Belvoir was noted in the return of her nephew Hugo Bigod, earl of Norfolk, to the survey of 1166, Lib Rub Scacc i 397: *De feodo Albrede de Insula*—details of this were listed at the end of his carta, with his new enfeoffments of the 1140s.



- <sup>3</sup> See •5.9 n 2 below for the succession of Albreda's sister Adeliza as lady of Belvoir by the autumn of 1126.
- <sup>4</sup> Cartul Eborac i 272 n° 354, undated confirmation by Henry II of earlier donations to St Mary's abbey, York, written 1156/57: *Robertus de Insula et uxor ejus Albreda in eadem villa [Scamestun] alias xij bovatas terre.*
- <sup>5</sup> Robert was living at the time of the Leicestershire survey completed in 1130, see Round (1895) 202–203: *H[undredum] de Herdebia ... In Stacthirn Willelmus de Alben[ei]o viiij. car. et dim. ... Robertus de Insula j. car. et dim. H[undredum] de Botlesford.—In eadem villa et Moston et Normanton[e] Willelmus de Alben[ei]o xxxij. car. ... In Mostone Robertus de Insula j. car. et dim.* This survey was placed by Round in 1124/29 and probably closer to the end of that range, *ibid* 197, but it is now usually ascribed to 1130 following *The Leicestershire Survey A.D. 1130*, ed Cecil Slade, Department of English Local History Occasional Papers n° 7 (Leicester, 1956) [nv].
- 5.9 <sup>1</sup> Reg Regum Anglo-Norm ii 199 n° 1458 (Cartul Duc Rutland 158), writ of Henry I sent from Rockingham probably in the autumn of 1126: 'Precept by Henry I to Alice wife of Roger Bigod: To cause the monks of Belvoir to have their lands and tithes and all their substance ... as her father Robert de Tosny (*Todeneio*), gave them'.
- <sup>2</sup> Rotul Scacc Henr I 114 (printed in the scribal shorthand, expanded here): *Adeliz vxor Rogerii bigoti debet .c. et quater viginti et .xviij. libras pro terra patris sui de Belueder*, Reg Regum Anglo-Norm iii 32 n° 82, undated writ of King Stephen issued 1136/40: *Steph(anu)s rex Angl(orum) Adelicie Bigote salutem. Precipio tibi quod reddas monachis de Be(llo)v(isu) decimam suam de Bradeleya ita bene et in pace et juste et plenarie in omnibus rebus et de omnibus maneriis sicut unquam eam melius et plenarius habuerant.* This repeats the terms of two earlier writs addressed to Adeliza by Henry I, Reg Regum Anglo-Norm ii 199 n° 1458 probably sent in the autumn of 1126 and *ibid* 207 n° 1495 probably sent Aug 1127. Farrer (1919) 538 n° 527 dated the first of these to 1126/29; the narrower timeframe in 1126 is explained under Reg Regum Anglo-Norm ii 200 n° 1459, one of four charters issued at Rockingham that were witnessed by Thurstan, archbishop of York, who travelled south in the autumn of that year on his way to Rome; another of these, *ibid* n° 1461, was the notification of a gift that was confirmed in Cartul Eborac iii 129–133 n° 1428 attested by Thurstan along with other Rockingham witnesses Everard, bishop of Norwich, Eustace fitz John, Payn fitz John and Walter Espec, as well as by Richard, bishop of Hereford, who died on 15 Aug 1127. Green (1999) 1 considered that, after the Lindsey survey of summer or autumn 1115, 'The next reference to Belvoir seems to be that in the 1130 Pipe Roll', overlooking these earlier writs that are paraphrased in Cartul Duc Rutland 158 & 157, from the priory's cartulary (copied in reverse order), with no dates proposed by Round except for his statement *ibid* 106 that Adeliza 'obtained Belvoir in or before 1129'.
- <sup>3</sup> Adeliza was living after Stephen became king at the end of 1135, as shown by two of his undated writs, the first addressed to her issued at Oxford 1136/40, Reg Regum Anglo-Norm iii 32 n° 82: *Steph(anu)s rex Angl(orum) Adelicie Bigote salutem. Precipio tibi quod reddas monachis de Be(llo)v(isu) decimam suam de Bradeleya*; the second issued at

Stamford around the same time addressed to the bishop of Norwich, relating to the same matter, *ibid* iii 32 n° 83: *Mando tibi et precipio quod plene et juste facias reddi monachis de Bellovisu decimam suam de Bradeleya quam Adel(icia) Big(ot) eis injuste detinet.*

<sup>4</sup> Carte Thetford 148 n° 1, undated charter giving to Cluny the priory at Thetford that he had begun constructing a few years before, granted in the presence of Henry I and three bishops on Sunday 1 Sep 1107 (see n 10 below, *Reg Regum Anglo-Norm* ii 70 n° 834 ascribed it to ‘1107, before Sept. 15’ based on an error of Le Prevost): *EGO Rogerus Bygot consilio domini mei Henrici illustrissimi regis ... et uxoris meæ Adelicie ... Ego itaque Rogerus Bygot dono imprimis, et reddo meipsum et uxorem meam Adelyciam et omnes liberos meos, &c. Deo et ecclesie beatæ Mariæ de Thetford sicut fratres, et benefactores, et advocatores sepeliendos in fine ... dum rex moram fecit apud Thetfordiam, ubi et hoc ✠ signum sanctæ crucis, et sigillum suum in testimonium apposuit; Cartul Clun v 102 n° 3748, the same charter from a 13<sup>th</sup>-century copy omitting the witnesses: *ego Rogerius Bigot de communi consilio domini mei et voluntate Henrici, illustrissimi Anglorum regis ... et uxoris meæ Adalicie ... Ego itaque Rogerius Bigot dono in primis et reddo me ipsum et uxorem meam Adaliciam, et omnes liberos meos, cum omni posteritate eorum, Deo et sancte Marie in prenominata ipsius ecclesia Theffordensi, sicut fratres et benefactores et advocatos sepeliendos in finem.**

Keats-Rohan (1999) 396 considered that she was probably the only wife of Roger Bigod, stating, ‘Although he is usually credited with two wives, it is fairly clear that he was married only once, to Adelisa ... daughter and eventual heiress of Robert de Tosny of Belvoir who is traditionally viewed as mother of Hugh, his eventual heir, Cecilia (Adelisa’s eventual heir) and (another) Matilda’, adding ‘The evidence is very limited, but it may be noted that charters for Thetford—founded by Roger and Adelisa de Tosny—by William and Gunnor Bigod mention their father, mother, brothers and sisters with no reference to stepmother or half-blood’. However, William Bigod’s undated charter for Thetford written bef Nov 1120 suggests that he was not the son of Adeliza de Tosny, since he died before her and yet in this document he includes his parents together as if they were both already dead, while the rest of his family are acknowledged separately, Carte Thetford 148 n° 2: *ego Willielmus Bigot, dapifer regis Anglorum, pro remedio animarum patris mei Rogerii Bigoti et matris meæ Adelidis, et pro salute mea, et fratris mei Hugonis, et sororum mearum, et omnium parentum meorum, vivorum et defunctorum*—as noted by Keats-Rohan (1998) 2, this evidence is inconclusive. Although charters frequently name the principal and living relatives in the ‘pro anima’ clause, the distinction between wishing for the souls of his parents to be healed and for those of others including himself to be hale implies that William’s mother had died before his father, and that Roger had then remarried to her namesake Adeliza de Tosny, as proposed in CP ix 577, having more children from the second marriage.

<sup>5</sup> Roger was perhaps born ca 1045—he was presumably not at Hastings, since his son was certainly known to Wace who could only say that Hugo’s ancestor, not father, had been at the battle (see following n). If this was Roger’s father, he was dead by 1086 and probably by mid-Apr 1070 before when Roger himself held Earsham in Suffolk (where he was to die) under Archbishop Stigand, whose estates were confiscated at that time, see CP ix 575 (wrongly placing this ‘in or before 1071’ from

Stigand's death in Feb 1072) and *ibid* n (c) quoting from Domesday book vol ii folio 139: *R. Bigot ideo addidit quando tenbeat manerium hersam tempore stigandi.*

<sup>6</sup> Navel (1934) 18, from the Bayeux inquest of 1133: *Feodum Hugonis Bigoti in Logis et in Savenayo, vavassoria, sed servit pro milite dimidio*; Lib Rub Scacc ii 646, later transcript of the same inquest: *Feodum Bigotti in Loges et Savenai, dimidium militem*. Hugo Bigod (later 1<sup>st</sup> earl of Norfolk) held these vavasories in Les Loges and Savenay from the bishopric, presumably inherited from his father Roger who was a tenant of Bishop Odo in twenty manors at the time of Domesday, see Loyd (1951) 15 and Wace ii 370:

*L'ancestre Hue le Bigot,  
Qui aveit terre a Maletot  
E as Loges et a Chanon.*

There is no independent evidence for Bigod estates at Maltot and Canon; it appears that the main holding associated with the family was at Les Loges, since this was the designation given to another Bigod subscribing along with Roger the pancarte of St Werburgh's abbey at Chester, represented as the foundation charter ostensibly written in 1093 (when these men may have witnessed the original document) but probably compiled ca 1150/60 in its current form, Cartul Com Cestr II 7 n° 3: + *Signum Rogeri Bigod ...* + *Signum Bigod de Loges.*

<sup>7</sup> Roger's successors were lords of Framlingham, but definite evidence is lacking that this was the caput of his barony from 1101, as often stated. At the time of Domesday Hugo of Avranches, earl of Chester, was tenant-in-chief for most of Framlingham and Roger held the largest part from him, see the main entry in Lib Domesd xxxiv (Suffolk) 4,42. This was 9 carucates (that had for some unknown reason increased in value from £16 in 1066 to £36 twenty years later), out of 14 in total. The entire holding of Earl Hugo in Framlingham and outlying estates apparently passed into the royal demesne before his death in Jul 1101, but there is no record clarifying why this occurred or when. Henry I is supposed to have granted it to Roger, and on this basis Sanders (1960) 46–47 named him as the first baron, but again proof is lacking. This probably happened after the fall of Robert Malet, who had held other parts of Framlingham at Domesday, following the attempt by Henry's brother to take the crown—this traditional view was given in VCH Suffolk ii 165, 'The turbulent reigns of William II and Henry I saw the gradual growth of the power of the Bigods, whose influence became almost paramount after the expedition of Robert of Normandy in 1101 to claim his brother's throne. On the suppression of the rebellion Robert Malet suffered the confiscation of his vast properties, and in consequence the castle and honour of Eye fell into the royal hands. Roger Bigod was staunch for Henry and received the castle of Framlingham as his reward.'

However, it is not known who built the original castle at Framlingham, that was demolished in the early 1170s. Presumably this was not Roger himself as the under-tenant of Hugo and sheriff of Suffolk at Domesday (when no castle is mentioned), so it was probably another of the sheriffs between 1086 and ca 1100 when he allegedly received an existing fortification from Henry.

The carta of his son Hugo in 1166 is unhelpfully vague in this regard: he recorded a total of 125 knights' fees held under the tenancy-in-chief of his father during Henry I's reign, Lib Rub Scacc i 395–396: *Hoc est scriptum Comitis Hugonis de militibus quos tenet in capite de Rege de veteri feffamento, quos Rogerus Bigod, pater suus, feffavit ...*

*Summa*—*c et xxv milites*. But it is most improbable that no changes occurred in these enfeoffments, under his elder brother William and himself, between Roger's death in Sep 1107 and Henry I's in Dec 1135.

<sup>8</sup> There is some uncertainty as to the periods of Roger's shrievalty in both counties, see Green (1990) 60–61 for Norfolk and 76 for Suffolk. In one case, or perhaps both, Green has left out an occurrence in a writ of William the Conqueror confirming the verdict in favour of the abbot of Bury St Edmunds against the bishop of Thetford's plea, recorded on 31 May 1081 and likely to be of the same date, *Acta Guill I* 210 n° 40: *Willelmus rex Anglorum Rogerio Bigoto ceterisque omnibus fidelibus suis salutem*.

<sup>9</sup> Cartul S Petri Bath 44, subscription to charter of Henry I dated 3 Sep 1101 (Reg Regum Anglo-Norm ii 12 n° 544): *Ego Rogerus Bigod dapifer*+

According to Keats-Rohan (1999) 396, Roger may have been related to a Robert Bigot whom she stated to be 'son of Norman, lord of Pirou and Cerisy in the Cotentin'; the COEL database (Nov 2007) develops this into suggesting that Roger himself may have been son of a seigneur of Pirou—unpublished sources are cited, but it appears to rely mainly on common use of the not-uncommon name Bigot/Bigod, and in part on the conjecture that Roger was a royal steward by shared inheritance with William of Pirou. Both men subscribed a charter of William II for Bath priory, along with three others who held the same office, Cartul S Petri Bath 41–42, dated 27 Jan 1090 (but written in 1091, Reg Regum Anglo-Norm i 81 n° 315): *Ego Eudo dapifer*+. *Ego Ivo dapifer*+. *Ego Hamo dapifer*+. *Ego Rogerus dapifer*+. *Ego Willelmus dapifer*+

There is no direct evidence adduced in the COEL database for such a family connection, although the office may well have been hereditary in each case. Roger's son William was serving with three of the same men twenty-five years later, Matth Paris Chron vi 37 Additamenta n° 22, witnesses to charter of Henry I dated 28 Dec 1116 (but written in 1115, Reg Regum Anglo-Norm ii 127 n° 1102): *Eudo dapifer*, *Haimo dapifer* [sic], *Willelmus Bigot daipifer* [sic], *Willelmus de Piron alius dapifer*. Wace stated that the ancestor of Roger's son Hugo had served Duke William II as steward by tenure in fee, Wace ii 370:

*L'ancestre Hue le Bigot ...  
Le duc soleit en sa maison  
Seruir d'une seneschaucie ...  
En fieu esteit sis seneschals.*

<sup>10</sup> **8 Sep**—Carte Thetford 153 n° 9, fragment of the history of Thetford priory written early in the 15<sup>th</sup> century: *Hæc omnia facta sunt octavo die ante Nativitatem beatæ Mariæ, fundamentum scilicet inceptum ... Nam præfatus Rogerus [Bigotus] octavo die a fundamento incepto vitam terminavit apud Erksam, novo nunc castro nominato*—this refers to the subjection of the priory to Cluny on Sunday 1 Sep 1107, see n 4 above, originally as a dependency of Lewes; Roger died on the octave (or eighth day inclusive) of his charter, 8 Sep, the feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary. There is no reason to doubt the accuracy of the tradition on this important point, when nothing is made of the coincidence between Roger's death and the dedicatee's liturgical birthday. It is unlikely that the ceremonial occasion with the king and three bishops present at Thetford took place not on a Sunday but on the following Tuesday, 3 Sep, as results

from ascribing Roger's death on the octave to **10 Sep.** Ord Vit Hist vi 144–146, after reporting the death of Maurice, bishop of London, in Sep 1107: *Tunc optimates Angliæ Ricardus de Raduariis et Rogerius cognomento Bigotus mortui sunt ... Super Rogerium Cluniacenses alonaxdi tale scripserunt epitaphium:*

*Clauderis exiguo Rogere Bigote sepulchro  
Et rerum cedit portio parua tibi ...  
Soli nubebat uirgo ter noctibus octo  
Cum solis morti debita morte tua.*

Chibnall noted, *ibid* 147 n 4, 'the epitaph implies 10 September, since the sun entered Virgo on 18 August according to the table used in western Europe at this date'. However, *ter noctibus octo* here more probably meant an overlapping series of three liturgical octaves from Sunday to Sunday (18–25 Aug, 25 Aug–1 Sep, 1–8 Sep) rather than the twenty-fourth consecutive night of the astrological episode, so that 8 Sep is indicated—cf a mid-12<sup>th</sup> century occurrence of the same phrase, in the speech of a physician trying to persuade a monk to lend his fur coat for the sake of an ailing king, Nivard Ysengr 338:

*Dixeris hec contra quicquam, ter noctibus octo  
Non repetes punctum commoditatis idem!*

These lines were translated by the editor, *ibid* 339, 'Say what you like against this, you won't find such a degree of complaisance for a month to come!'—but a calendar month had no more relevance to a monk's life than the number twenty-four, and it appears instead to be a poetic way of saying three octaves of nightly prayer (when the coat would be especially needed), fitting metrically as the literal 'tribus hebdomadibus noctium' does not.

The calculation of 15 Sep from this epitaph, given by Le Prevost in his edition of Orderic and repeated in CP ix 578, is mistaken.

<sup>11</sup> Ord Vit Hist vi 144–146: *Ricardus de Raduariis et Rogerius cognomento Bigotus mortui sunt, et in monasteriis monachorum sepulti sunt quæ in propriis possessionibus ipsi condiderunt. Rogerius enim apud Tetfordum in Anglia*—this is incorrect, as a dispute over Roger's burial place between the Cluniac monks of Thetford and the bishop of Norwich was won by the latter when the former withdrew their claim, Cartul Norwic i 12 n<sup>o</sup> 18, undated charter of Henry I written Sep 1107/May 1108 (omitted in Reg Regum Anglo-Norm ii): *H. rex Angl' omnibus fidelibus suis Francis et Anglis de Northfolc' et de Suthfolc salutem. Notum sit omnibus vobis et hiis qui vobis successuri sunt quod Herbertus episcopus Norwicensis disratiocinavit corpus Rogeri Bigoti et uxoris sue et filiorum suorum et baronum suorum contra monachos Cluniacenses de Tedfort hoc modo. Monachi fecerunt clamorem de episcopo quod sepelisset episcopus predictus corpus Rogeri Bigoti apud Norwicum, dicentes quod Rogerus Bigot se dedisset et uxorem suam et filios suos in Teodfortensi monasterio. Contra episcopus respondit testimonio multorum suorum parrochianorum quod priusquam monachi venissent Teodfort, Rogerus Bigot se dedisset cum uxore [sua] et filiis et baronibus suis in ecclesia Norwicensi. Inde factum iudicium est, sed antequam redderetur iudicium cognoverunt monachi injusticiam suam et quesiverunt veniam quod episcopum injuste fatigassent et clamaverunt Rogerum quietum et uxorem suam et filios et barones suos; cf the unresolved account in Carte Thetford 153 n<sup>o</sup> 9, fragment of the history of Thetford priory written early in the 15<sup>th</sup> century: *Rogerus octavo die a fundamento incepto vitam terminavit apud Ercsam ... Et ipse episcopus Norwycensis manebat in ejusdem villæ confinio, est enim ipsa villa Norwyco contiguo miliaria quasi denario: venerabilis episcopus non**

*caritative faciens, noctu corpus rapuit, et Norwycum ad sepeliendum transportavit, contradicentibus uxore et hominibus ejus ibidem tunc astantibus. Ideo autem dixi episcopum non fecisse caritative, quod constat eundem Rogerum se uxorem et omnes suos in praesentia episcopi ejusdem priori dedisse, viz. ad sepeliendum corpora eorum Thetfordiæ in cimiterio monasterii beatæ Virginis Mariæ. Quod cum patri nostro nunciatum esset, apud Thetfordiam tunc constituto, pluribus novelli operis rebus intento, cum quatuor fratribus Norwycum festinanter perrexit, corpus super feretrum in medio positum invenit; et cum uxore Bigoti et pluribus amicis episcopum precando et supplicando requisivit, ut corpus redderet sepeliendum in cimiterio beatæ Mariæ ubi se et suos reddiderat in vita sua, ipso episcopo hoc audiente et annuente. Quod episcopus valde acriter tenuit; et prius precando et blandiendo, et plurima promittendo priorem et eos qui cum ipso erant, requisivit ut permetteret corpus sepelire in pace et bona voluntate ad Norwycum, remota penitus omni calumpnia in perpetuum. Quam rem pater noster nullo modo concedere voluit. Et tam ipse, quam fratres qui cum ipso erant, et plures alii, sicut est consuetudo religionis monachorum, prostraverunt se ad pedes episcopi, ut prædictam rem concederet eis, corpus viri jam dicti defuncti quod episcopus cum ira magna se facere negavit. Tunc prior ex parte Domini et beatæ Mariæ \*\*\*\*\**

- 5.10<sup>1</sup> Carte Belv 290 n° 7, undated charter: *ego Agnes de Toteneio confirmo donationem elemosinarum quas pater meus Robertus de Toteneio, et mater mea Adelais dederunt ecclesie sanctæ Mariæ de Belvoir ... et confirmo donationem de una bovata terræ in Asclakheby, et duabus partibus decimæ de dominio ... Hoc autem specialiter confirmo quia sit de matrimonio meo.*

<sup>2</sup> Agnes was probably living on 29 Sep 1130, or at any rate within the year beforehand, as she occurs in the pipe roll for 1129/30 completed by Michaelmas, Rotul Scacc Henr I 93 (expanded): *Agnes de belfago reddit compotum de .xxxv. marcis argenti quia filius suus porrexit ad comitum Flandrensis.*

<sup>3</sup> Agnes was the mother of Radulf's son Richard before she married Hubert de Ryes, Reg Regum Anglo-Norm ii 356–357 Appendix n° 189, undated charter of Henry I for Holy Trinity, Norwich, probably written 13/16 May 1127: *Notum vobis facio quod ego concedo donum quod fecit Hubertus de Ria de decimis suis monachis ecclesie sancte Trinitatis de Norwico ... Concedo eciam eidem ecclesie ecclesiam sancte Marie de Aldebi, quam Agnes de Belfo uxor ejus donavit cum Ricardo filio suo.*

According to Keats-Rohan (1999) 330, Hubert de Ryes 'took over the tenancy-in-chief of Hockering, despite the fact that Ralph and Agnes had surviving male issue'. However, no evidence was cited for Agnes as mother of the younger Radulf de Belfou (see below) or for his survival and that of her son Richard when Hockering passed to her second husband.

The elder Radulf occurs by early 1083, Acta Guill I 422 n° 119, undated letter to Geoffrey, bishop of Coutances and Robert, count of Mortain regarding St Ethelreda's abbey, Ely, written 1081/83: *Et ad istum placitum submonete ... Radulfum de Belfo ... et alios quos abbas vobis nominabit.* It is not clear when he died and a namesake, possibly his son, occurs instead: Keats-Rohan (1999) 330 suggested that the husband of Agnes was 'probably the same as Ralph de Bellofago sheriff of Norfolk c.1108–1111/15, possibly of Suffolk c.1091–1102'. The former is implausible because Agnes remarried in time to have a son Henry de Ryes who was no longer a minor in 1127, see n 6 below.

The Radulf who was sheriff in 1108, probably by 9 May, was perhaps by another wife prior to Agnes if he was a son of her husband. His shrievalty at that time is shown by two charters for Binham priory, an agreement dated 1108 witnessed for Herbert de Losinga, bishop of Norwich, by *Radulphus de Bellofago* (Monast Angl iii 348 n° 6), and a confirmation of this by Henry I addressed *Herberto episcopo et Radulfo de Bellofago et omnibus baronibus suis, Francis et Anglis, de Southfolk et Northfok* (ibid iii 348 n° 7, Reg Regum Anglo-Norm ii 78–79 n° 875). Keats-Rohan (2002) 316 wrote, ‘The Ralph de Bellofago who died in 1179 was probably the son of the earlier Ralph, but there is no good evidence as to the date of the earlier Ralph’s death.’ It is not clear what evidence was taken for 1179 as the year of this younger namesake’s death—the references given are, first: a charter for Thurgarton priory in Norfolk, Cartul Thurg 282 n° 478, a donation by Radulf de Belfou with the consent of his brother Gilbert, providing for his own burial there at his death placed by the editor ca 1131/79, probably ca 1154; secondly: a table in Farrer (1923–1925) iii 111 with Radulf de Belfou brother of Gilbert at the head but with no dates given for either man; and thirdly: two identical occurrences of Radulf in the pipe roll for 1129/30, Rotul Scacc Henr I 11 and 95 (expanded: *Radulfus de belfago .x. solidi*). Lacking proof that this Radulf was the same as the sheriff of Norfolk in 1108/15, although it appears likely, and in view of his descendants shown in Farrer’s table given that Hockering passed instead to descendants of Hubert de Ryes, it seems that Radulf the brother of Gilbert may have been a younger cousin rather than a son of Radulf the husband of Agnes. As noted by Foulds in Carul Thurg 283, ‘Beaufou was a reasonably common name in the twelfth century’.

In her references for the elder Radulf, Keats-Rohan included documents in the cartulary of Eye priory with date ranges from 1101/06 (Cartul S Petri de Eya 22 n° 9: *H(enricus) rex Angl(orum) H(erberto) episcopo et Roberto Maleth et Radulpho de Belfou salutem*) to 1107/ca 1113 (ibid n° 10: *H(enricus) rex Angl(orum) Herberto episcopo et Radulpho de Bellofago et omnibus baronibus suis de Suffolch’ salutem*). At least the second of these must address the younger Radulf. It seems that Keats-Rohan has derived the range ca 1091–1102 for Radulf as sheriff of Suffolk from the interval between the election of Aldwin as abbot of Ramsey in 1091 and his deposition for simony in 1102, a connection that presumably depends on a proof of rights by his successor Rainald, abbot of Ramsey from 1114 to 1133, Cartul Rames i 149 n° 81: *Item testes prædicti jurare fuerunt parati, quod sub alio tempore viderunt et audierunt, apud Theforde, Aldwinum abbatem Remesiensem eodem modo quendam crassum piscem apud Bramcestre appulsum dirationatum fuisse contra Radulphum de Belphago, qui tunc vicecomes erat in provincia illa, et contra Radulphum Passelewe, ejusdem provinciae justiciarium*. However, this issue arose during Aldwin’s second term as abbot, from 1107 to 1111, as indicated by Chron Rames 228 n° 223, undated precept of Henry I written at Brampton probably in 1110 (Reg Regum Anglo-Norm ii 95 n° 954): *Henricus Rex Angliæ R(adulfo) de Bellaflago] et R. Passelewe et justitiariis de Nortfolc, salutem. Sciatis quod volo et præcipio ut sanctus Benedictus de Rames[ia] ita bene et libere habeat socam et sacam suam et jacturam maris in terra sua de Bramcestre sicut Ailsius abbas dirationavit hoc in tempore patris mei, et homines sint in pace et in respectu de placito crassi piscis donec [Aldwinus] abbas et W. de Albini interesse possint*. Green (1990) 61 repeated this error by dating Aldwin’s abbacy only to 1091–1102, overlooking his subsequent return to this office.

<sup>4</sup> See preceding n—Sanders (1960) 53 stated that Radulf died ca 1122 but added, incorrectly, ‘leaving as his heir his daughter’ Agnes, who married Hubert de Ryes. She was actually his widow, and was remarried by ca 1105 in order to have a son old enough to petition the king in his own right as heir by May 1127, see n 6 below.

<sup>5</sup> Reg S Osmund i 202–203, undated charter of Queen Matilda written 1101/18 (Reg Regum Anglo-Norm ii 145 n° 1199) mixed up by the scribe in the Salisbury register with a notification by Henry I attested 8 Sep 1131 (ibid ii 253 n° 1716): *Notum sit vobis omnibus ... quod Agnes uxor Huberti de Ria, et Henricus filius ejus, dederunt ecclesie Sanctæ Mariæ Sarum manerium de Hortun*; Carte Belv 290 n° 8, undated charter of Henry de Ryes, son of Hubert and Agnes: *Henricus de Rya ... Sciatis bene me concessisse, et warentizasse donationem Roberti avi mei, et Agnetis matris meæ, decimæ de dominio de Aslacheby, monachis de Belveer*—see n 1 above for his mother’s charter confirming the same donation within the lordship of Aslackby, her maritagium.

Hubert was not castellan of Norwich in 1075 following the flight of Radulf de Gael, earl of Norfolk & Suffolk, after his marriage to Emma, daughter of William fitz Osbern and Adeliza •4.5, as stated in a eulogising fabrication written after 1539, perhaps early in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, headed ‘Marianus libro tercio de monasterio Colcestrensi et ejus fundatore’, British Library MS Cotton Nero D viii folio 345 (printed in RHF XII 789–791 titled ‘Genealogica historia Eudonis majoris domus regiæ in Angliæ regno’), Carte Colcest 607 n° 1: *Hubertus [filius Huberti de Ria], cui commissa est turris Norwici, post fugam Radulfi de Waer*. The unreliability of this chronicle of St John’s abbey at Colchester was detailed in Round (1922) passim.

Hubert’s brothers were apparently born ca 1040–1055: Robert (d 1081) was bishop of Sées from 1072, Adam (d 1098) was a major tenant in Kent, see Keats-Rohan (1999) 123, and Eudo dapifer (d 1120) was a tenant-in-chief in ten counties, ibid 194; Hubert was not a tenant in Domesday but occurs in England from 1091 onwards, Lib Custum 26, subscription to confirmation by William II for Salisbury cathedral dated 1091, copied into the Guildhall’s record book ca 1320: + *Signum Huberti de Rya*. He was probably around 45+ when he married Agnes, so that she was perhaps not his first wife.

<sup>6</sup> His son Henry had inherited by May 1127 when he obtained confirmation from the king of earlier donations by his parents, Reg Regum Anglo-Norm ii 356–357 Appendix n° 189, undated charter of Henry I for Holy Trinity, Norwich, probably written 13/16 May 1127 (see ibid 204 n° 1479): *Notum vobis facio quod ego concedo donum quod fecit Hubertus de Ria de decimis suis monachis ecclesie sancte Trinitatis de Norwico ... Concedo eciam eidem ecclesie ecclesiam sancte Marie de Aldebi, quam Agnes de Belfo uxor ejus donavit cum Ricardo filio suo ... Has donationes petitione et concessione Henrici filii et heredis ipsorum eidem ecclesie in perpetuam elemosinam firme et quiete et libero concedo et auctoritate sigilli mei confirmo*.

•5.11 <sup>1</sup> Musset (1978) 57 (table) showed a son of Berenger Spina also named Berenger, followed in this by Schwennicke (1989) 705. However, no source was cited for the person or the relationship and it appears to be a misplacement of Berenger •5.5 who is otherwise omitted.



A Berengarius de Spineta attested a charter for Lyre abbey at the beginning of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, see Le Prevost (1862–1869) ii 46—it is only a conjecture that this man's father might have been Berenger Spina, see \*4.9 n 1 above.

The fanciful idea was put forward in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century that 'Spina' and its variants came about from a play on the imagined origin of the name Tosny, see Senex in N&Q (1861) xi 276–277: 'That this last place [Thosny or Toëny] was named after their *Norwegian* name, Thorn or Thorny, descendants of Thor, is evident by the fact, that both the members of the Standard-bearer family, and also that of Robert de Toden, of Belvoir, are known as De Spineto and De Spina, in numberless charters and other documents'. In fact the number is apparently small, just three charter occurrences of Berenger Spina or Hespina \*4.9 and this fourth case where an individual surnamed Spineta cannot be connected with any certainty to the Tosny family.

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