



Tosny' Family Estates in Normandy c.1172

The Tosny family's accumulation of properties in Normandy began, of course, with the estate and *ville* of Tosny itself, which was given by Hugues de Calvacamp, Archbishop of Rouen (942-989), to his brother Raoul(i) de Tosny.

However, the lands which Archbishop Hugues alienated from the cathedral and archdiocese of Rouen included more than just Tosny. It is also very difficult to differentiate these former church lands from those obtained by the family from other sources. By 1172, the family's possessions included those that are shown in the following maps and table. As can be seen, a number of them are considered to have come from the archbishop.² In the table below these are marked with a ⊕.

	ESTATE			J. Moore, DPhil thesis.	
1	Acquigny †	⊕ 𐆆 ③ ₶	XXX	XXX "+"	®
2	Amfreville-la-Campagne †	○	XXX	(XXX)	
3	Anceins	₶			
4	Bailieul (Saint-Pierre)	●		XXX "x"	
5	Berniers-sur-Seine	●	XXX	XXX "x"	
6	Blainville-Cleron	●			
7	Bourlier			XXX "x"	
8	Buisson-Vernet				®
9	Burey	●	XXX	XXX "x"	
10	Cailly-sur-Eure	○	XXX	XXX "+"	
11	Carneville	●			
12	Chanteloup	●	XXX	XXX "x"	
13	Clères	●			

¹ *Tosny* is a name which has ancient roots - its correct pronunciation is "Tôny." This has produced various spellings of the name through history by scribes who have heard these old pronunciations and made up their own spelling on the basis of what they heard, e.g. Tonei, Tony, Toney.

² Musset, L., 'Aux origines d'une classe dirigeante: les Tosny, grands barons normands du Xe au XIIIe siècles', *Francia*, 5 (1978), 45-80, 70-73. <https://journals.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/index.php/fr/article/view/48691/42559>

14	Collandres				®
15	Conches + Vieille Conches †	⊕ ⚙ ₣	XXX		®
16	Dieppe	○			®
17	Épaignes				
18	Fontaines-sous-Jouy	○	XXX	XXX "x"	®
19	Fresne			XXX "+"	
20	Gauville-la-Campagne			XXX "+"	
21	Guernanville	●		XXX "+"	
22	Guerny	ⓑ	XXX		
23	Guimerville	●			
24	Hacqueville †	●	XXX		
25	Heuqueville	₣		XXX "+"	®
26	Houlbec-Cocherel			XXX "+"	
27	Irreville			XXX "+"	
28	Jouy-sur-Eure			XXX "x"	
29	La Ferrière-sur-Risle	○		XXX "+"	
30	La Plancher			XXX "x"	
31	La Puthenaye	●	XXX	XXX "x"	
32	La Ronce			XXX "x"	
33	Le Bos Hion			XXX "x"	
34	Le Nuisement	●	XXX	XXX "x"	
35	Les Baons-le-Comte	Ⓐ			
36	Louversey †	○		XXX "o"	®
37	Marnières	Ⓐ †	XXX		
38	Mesnil-Anseaume			XXX "+"	
40	Mortemer-sur-Eaulne	○			
41	Mussegros	●	XXX		
42	Nagel-Seez-Mesnil			XXX "x"	
43	Nogent-le-Sec	●		XXX "x"	
44	Orvaux	●	XXX	XXX "x"	
45	Parville			XXX "+"	
46	Pîtres	Ⓐ	XXX		
47	Planches	○			
48	Plessis-Mahiet	●	XXX		
49	Pont-Saint-Pierre	⊕ Ⓐ	XXX		
50	Portes	⚙			
51	Romilly-la-Puthenaye	●	XXX		
52	Romilly-sur-Andelle †	⊕ Ⓐ	XXX		
53	Roubremont	Ⓐ †	XXX		
54	Rouen	○	XXX	XXX "o"	®
55	Saint-Aignan	●		XXX "x"	
56	Saint-Arnoult-sur-Ri	●		XXX "x"	
57	Saint-Christophe-du-Foc	●	XXX		

58	Saint-Vigor			XXX "x"	
59	Tosny	⊕ 𐌹 𐌺	XXX	XXX	®
60	Trisay (la Vielle Lyre) †	Ⓐ †	XXX		
61	Val-de-Pîtres	Ⓐ	XXX		
62	Valeuil			XXX "+"	
63	Valliquerville	○			®
64	Varengeville-sur-Mer	○			
65	Varengueville				®
66	Veauville	●			
67	Vesly (Sainte-Claire-sur-Epte)	Ⓑ	XXX		
68	Villers-en-Ouches	⌘			®
69	Villers-en-Vexin	⌘			
70	Villers-sur-le-Roule	⌘		XXX "o"	®
71	Yville	●			

Table 1. Tosny Possessions. (Source: Musset (1978))

Legend:

Ⓐ	Part of the dowry of Adeliza de Tosny (+1065), wife of William FitzOsbern (1020-1071).
Ⓑ	Part of the dowry of Bertha de Tosny (b.1028), wife of Guy de Laval (+1080).
●	Fief held of the Tosny family.
⌘	Parish Church or Chapel held by the Tosny family.
𐌹	Principal Tosny Château in 1119.
○	Lands of the Tosny family.
⊕	Land thought to have come from Archbishop Hugues of Rouen.
†	Became part of the patrimony of Lyre Abbey.
XXX "+"	Lands of Ralph de Tosny.
XXX "o"	Previously held by Roger I de Tosny.
XXX "x"	Fiefs held of Tosny.
®	Property granted to Conches Abbey by Roger I de Tosny.
†	There was an abbey, priory, or hermitage here.

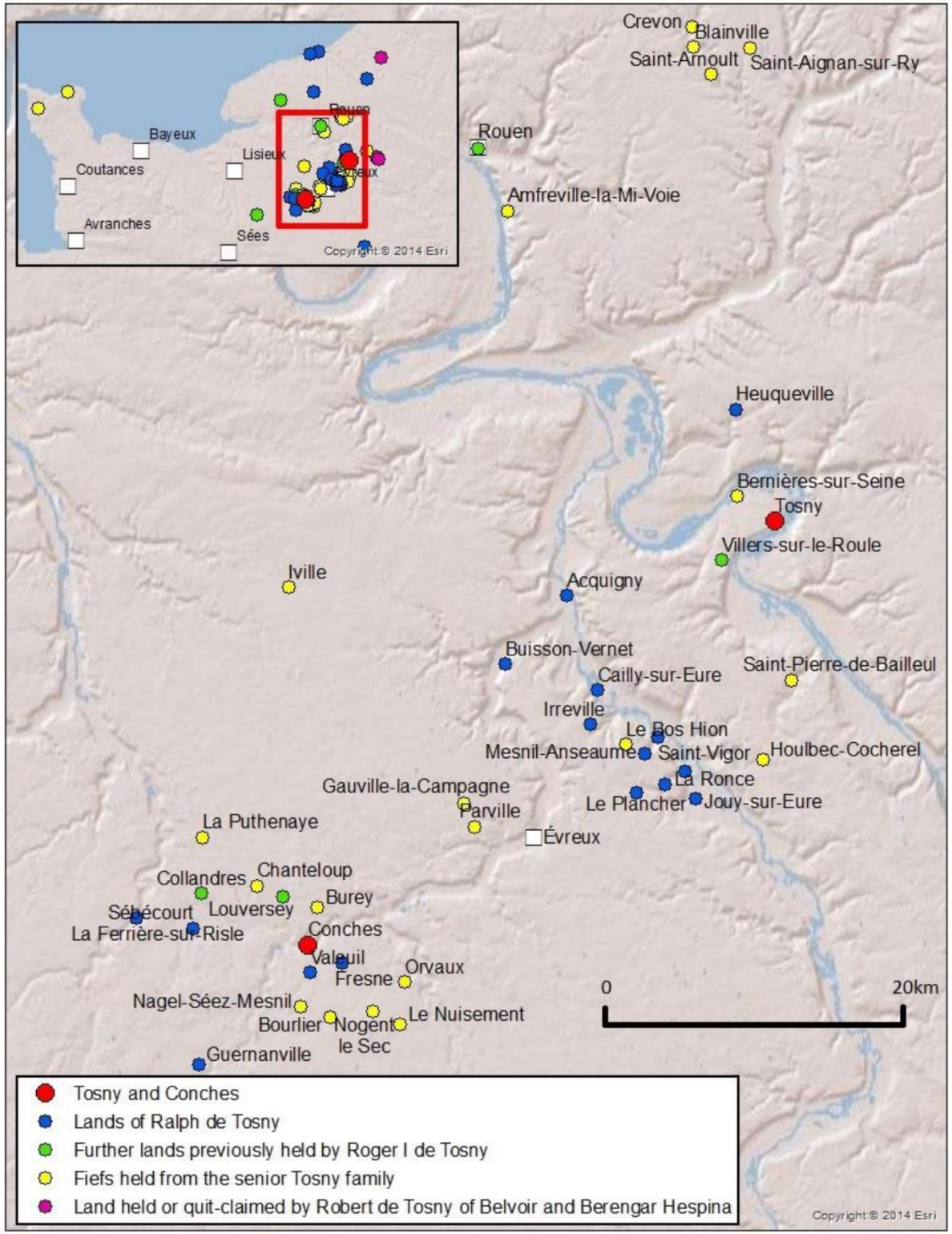


Figure 2: Map of Tosny possessions. [Moore (2017), 96]

1 Acquigny

(Eure, cant. Louviers)

Acquigny has Roman origins and in that era it was called *Aciniacus*. Saint-Mauxe and Saint-Vénérand were martyred here and pilgrimages were popular bringing the whole panoply of pilgrim activities.³

This estate is known to have belonged to the Abbey of Saint-Ouen in Rouen as early as 876, as is testified in a charter of Charles the Bald.⁴ The lands are situated at the confluence of the *Eure* and *Iton* rivers.

Acquigny appears as one of the donations to the Abbey of Conches at its foundation by Roger (I) de Tosny in 1035 and it would seem that it was one of the estates that had been given to Raoul (i) de Tosny by his brother, the archbishop, sometime before this.

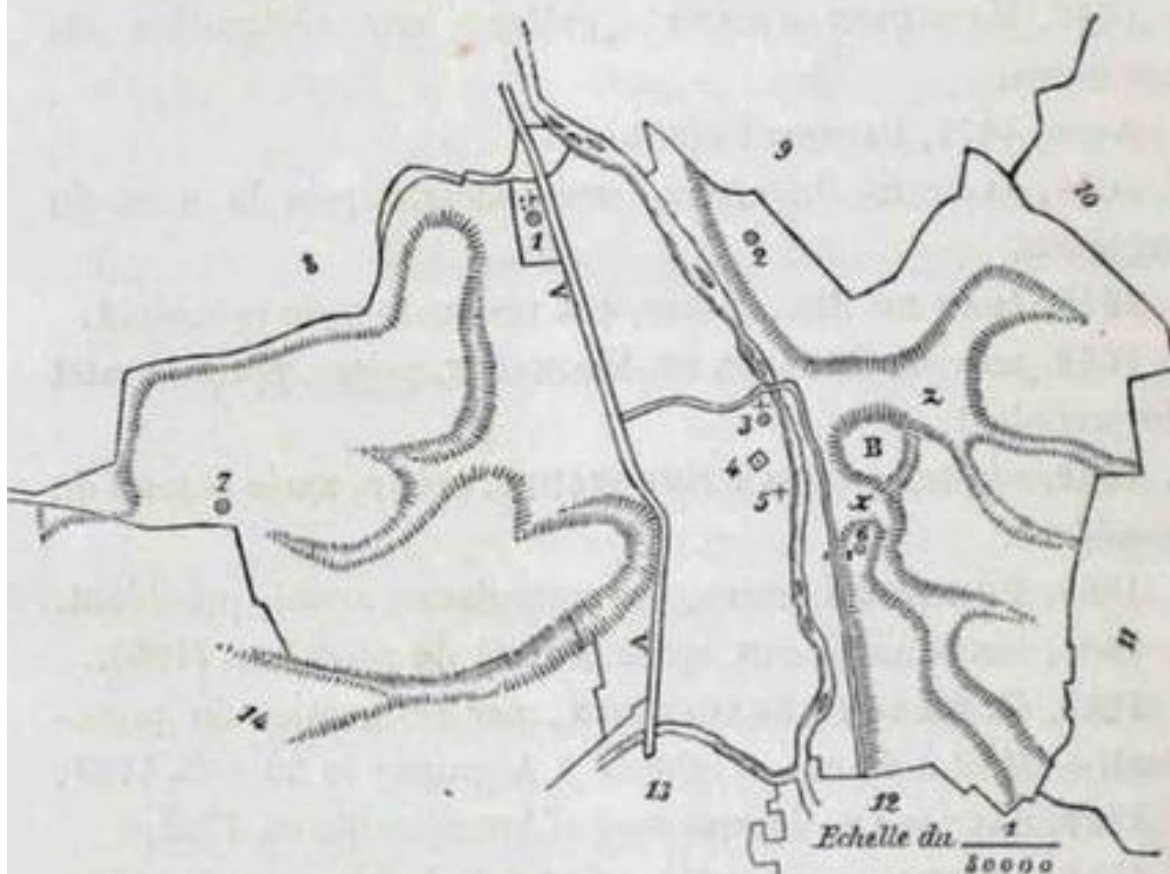
The Tosny family had one of its four major castles here on this estate. It was first constructed c.1040 at the command of William the Conqueror but it is almost certain that it was the Tosny family who brought it to completion. In 1378, at the command of King Charles V of France, Acquigny was one of several Norman fortresses which were destroyed.

Roger (I) de Tosny allowed the monks at the Abbey he had founded at Conches to build a fortified Priory at Acquigny. It is supposed to have been built over the tombs of [St Maximus of Évreux](#) and his brother Vénérand. There are scant remains of the priory visible today but the chapel which stands in the cemetery, and which was built in 1747, was constructed using stones recovered from the site of the old priory. The chapel's entrance porch is said to have been part of the priory buildings and there are other remains in the private grounds of the nearby Château.

³ Saint Maximus of Évreux († c.384) is called Saint-Mauxe locally. He was, supposedly, the second bishop of Évreux, and was martyred at Acquigny with his brother, Vénérand, who was his deacon.

⁴ *Recueil des actes de Charles la Chauve*, ed. Tessier, G., Paris (1943), Vol. II, no. 407, p. 409; »Notes carolingiennes. II. Une liste de domaines de Saint-Ouen de Rouen«, *Bull. Soc. Antiquaires de Normandie LVII (1963-1964)*, p. 381-385, for confirmation of the identification of these lands as being Acquigny.

La paroisse d'Acquigny contenait sept fiefs : 1^o Acquigny ; 2^o Becdal ; 3^o Cambremont ou le Hamel ; 4^o le Camp-Jaquet ou Surville ; 5^o la Métairie ; 6^o un second fief du nom de la Métairie ; 7^o Saint-Mauxe.



LÉGENDE : FIEFS, 1 Becdal, 2 Camp-Jaquet ou Surville, 3 Château-d'Acquigny, 4 Saint-Mauxe ou le Prieuré, 6 Cambremont ou le Hamel, 7 les deux fiefs de la Métairie, — 3 église marquée par une croix à côté du château, 5 emplacement de la chapelle Saint-Lambert, A route d'Evreux à Louviers, B enceinte fortifiée appelée Château-Robert, x z fossé qui sépare cette enceinte du plateau. — COMMUNES LIMITROPHES : 8 Le Mesnil-Jourdain, 9 Pinterville, 10 Heudebouville, 11 Ailly, 12 Heudreville, 13 Les Planches, 14 Amfreville-sur-Iton.

Figure 3: The Parish of Acquigny.⁵

⁵ Lebeurier, P.-F. (1862) *Notice Historique de la Commune d'Acquigny: avant 1790*, Éditeurs Huet (Évreux)/Dumoulin (Paris)/Lebrument (Rouen), 66.
<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k6507559x/f72.item.r=%22Acquigny%22> (accessed 02/02/2021)

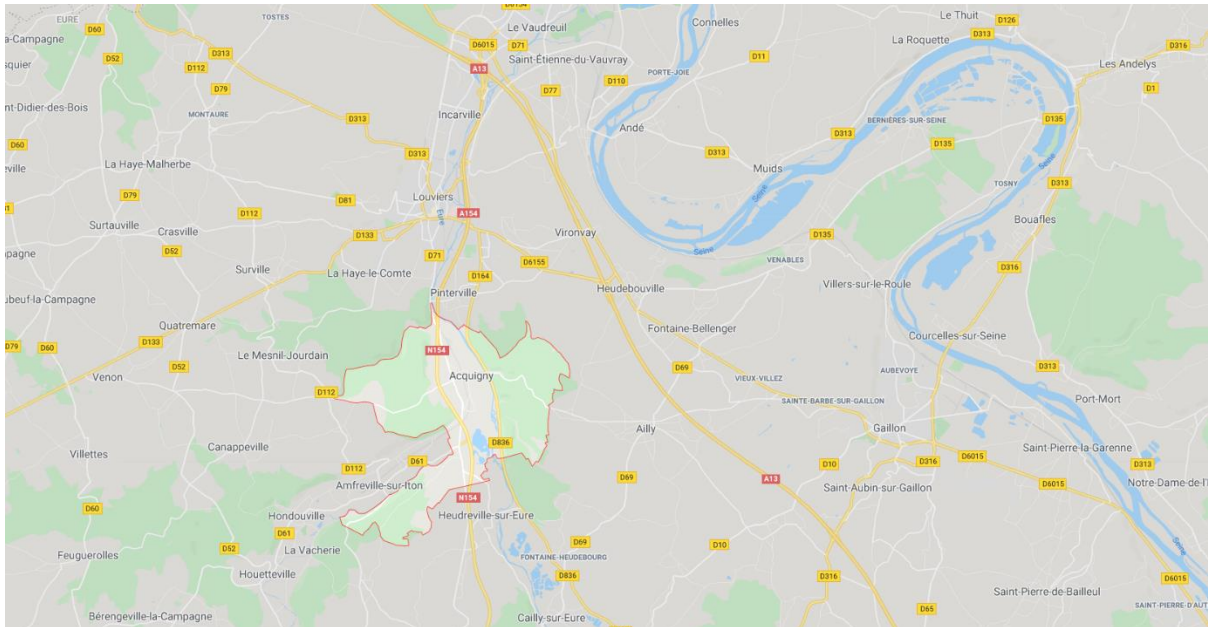


Figure 4. The extent of the lands of Acquigny. Google

2 Amfreville-la-Campagne (Eure, cant. Amfreville-la-Campagne)

The canton of Amfreville-la-Campagne is now known as Amfreville-Saint-Amand but a close inspection of maps shows that the Château still bears the old name as do the village signs round the parish church of Notre-Dame.

About the middle of the eleventh century, Amfreville belonged to a Norman noble called Gernagois and his wife Aubrée, who held it under the suzerainty of the Tosny seigneurs of Conches. The two spouses donated the church and the tithes of their parish to the abbey of la Trinité du Mont-Sainte-Catherine in Rouen. Charpillon notes that two of the sons of Gernagois and Aubrée, William and Robert, were the founders of the noble family of Umfraville [d'Amfraville] in England.⁶

As can be imagined from its name this area is renowned for growing cereals and rapeseed on its extensive tracts of alluvial soil. It also produces a great deal of cider.

⁶ Charpillon 1868, 102.

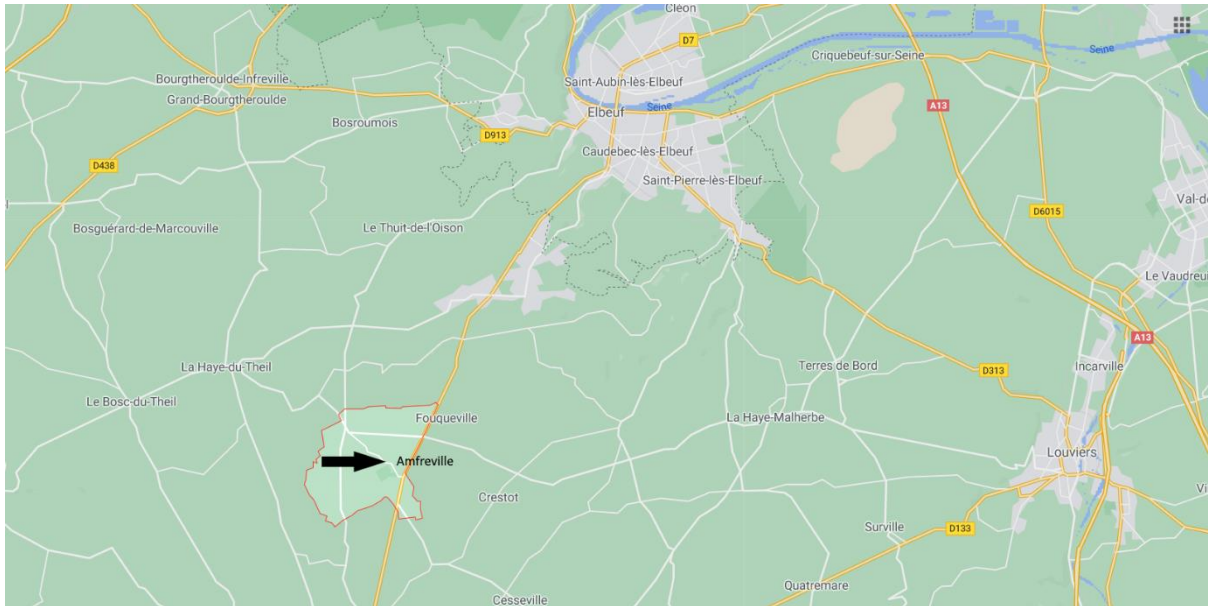


Figure 5: The location of Amfreville. [Google](#)

3 Anceins

(Orne, cant. Glos⁷ (La Ferte-en-Ouche))

Anceins is a an estate lying beyond Lyre to the south west of Conches-en-Ouches.

Orderic Vitalis records that “Hubert of Anceins sold to the abbot (of St Évroul) the church of Anceins with a measure of land.”⁸ An eleventh century knight known as William Fresnel built a castle on the lands of Anceins. He was renowned for his valour and had a large family which included six sons, all knights like their father, and he had a large number of men-at-arms and vassals. Although he did not built on a ‘height’, he surrounded the keep with waters (a moat) which made it very secure.⁹

From Orderic Vitalis we hear that when William II de Breteuil, son of William fitz Osbern, died in 1103, it leading to much conflict since his heir was illegitimate. Sixteen years later, in 1119, conflict flared up again in the lands of Breteuil which were at that time held by Richard II de Gael. Seemingly, the Fresnels, Du Bois and Glos families took the field against him. Richard Fresnel II and his eight sons fortified their lands and attacked any of their neighbours who supported Richard II

⁷ Vaugeois, J.F.G. (1841) *Histoire des Antiquites de la Ville de l’Aigle et de ses Environs*, l’Aigle: P.-E. Brédif, 590. <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=T7-pZcz0EqQC&pg=PA590&lpg=PA590&dq=Hubert+de+Anceins&source=bl&ots=7E0DGqVmp2&sig=ACfU3U2eaHw9s5GlgoolfYYMpVhLHAyvYLA&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwiroZa8pJ7uAhULa8AKHZF9DjcQ6AEwDHoECAMQAg#v=onepage&q=Hubert%20de%20Anceins&f=false> (accessed 15/01/2021)

⁸ Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History*, Vol. II, Book III, ii. 38. M. Chibnall (ed.) *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis, Vol. II, Books III and IV*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, p. 37.

⁹ Vaugeois, J.F.G. (1841) *Histoire des Antiquites de la Ville de l’Aigle et de ses Environs*, l’Aigle, P.-E. Brédif, 559.

his holding the fiefdom.¹³ It is from this family that the de Baliol family came who made such a name for themselves in England and Scotland.

There is a charter of 1080, the first in which we find written evidence of this fief, in which Richard Mansel, and his son Guérin, gave to the abbey of Saint-Pierre de Châtillon (Conches) the *moitié* of the land which is ‘vulgarly called Bailleul’, “as well as the church with its cemetery and decreed that all the men who wish to be buried within this cemetery, will be free and will belong to Sant-Pierre as well as the oratory. The tithe and the *champart*¹⁴ will be divided equally, except for Hubert’s tithe, which Hubert¹⁵ held freely, and which he gave to [the abbey of] Saint-Pierre with the consent of his son Guérin.” This was all agreed in the presence of Raoul (II)(iii) de Tosny (c.1029-1102) and his wife Elizabeth [Isabelle de Montfort (1058-1147)] on “la 4^e *féerie* de Pâques l’an de l’incarnation du Seigneur, 1080.” Richard Mansel had three sons (William, Guerin, Richard) and c.1126 William and Richard gave parts of their inheritance in Bailleul to the abbey of Saint-Pierre with the consent of Ralph [de Tosny] the younger.¹⁶

In a bull of Pope Gregory IX,¹⁷ dated 1234, all of the possessions of the abbey of Conches were confirmed including: ‘The *moitié* of the village called Bailleul with the free cemetery, the tithes of wine and of wheat, a portion of cultivatable land, and all of the tithes and the *franchise* of the village.’

¹³ Charpillon (1868), 192.

¹⁴ *Champart* was a tax in Medieval France levied by landowners on tenants. Paid as a share of the harvest, the amount due varied between $\frac{1}{4}$ and $\frac{1}{12}$, and typically $\frac{1}{8}$ of the cereal crop. Regional names for *champart* included *arrage*, *gerbage*, *parcière*, *tasque*, and *terrage*.

¹⁵ This is possibly Hubert de Bailleul.

¹⁶ This is Ralph (III)(iv) de Tosny (c.1078-1125). He inherited as second son c.1126 after his brother Hugh died some time before 1126.

¹⁷ Sainte-Marthe, Denis de, (1759) *Gallia Christiana Vol XI*, Paris, p. 640; Charpillon 1868, 756.

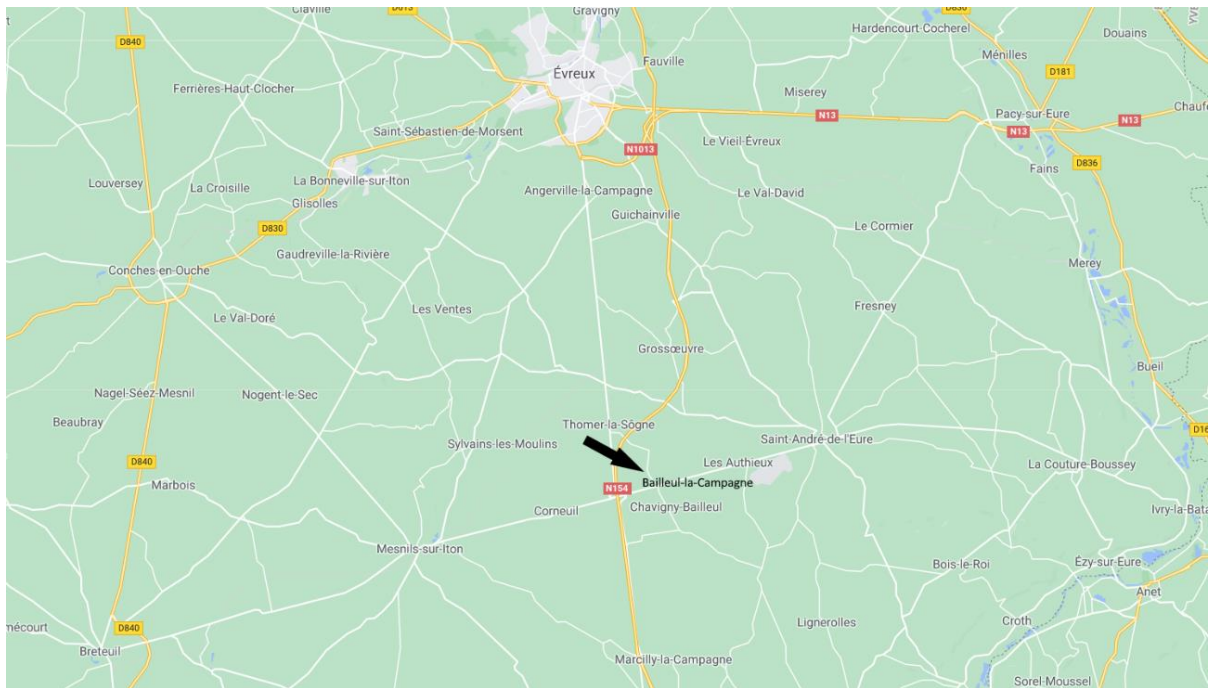


Figure 7: The location of Bailleul-la-Campagne [Google](#)

5 Bernières-sur-Seine

(Eure, cant. Gaillon)

Bnières is the estate directly to the north of Tosny which, together, occupy the whole of a large meander of the River Seine.

Charpillon was of the opinion that Bernières was one of the estates alienated by archbishop Hugues from the patrimony of the archbishops of Rouen.¹⁸ If this is true then it has been in the possession of the Tosnys since the later part of the tenth century.

In the eleventh century, Bernières was possessed of the Tosnys by a certain Robert de Vals, who is recorded as giving the monks of Saint-Evroult two portions of the tithes that were derived from it. In 1113, King Henry I, on returning to Rouen from a visit to Saint-Evroult, confirmed all the donations that the abbey had received, particularly that of Robert de Vals.¹⁹

Dependencies: none known.

¹⁸ Charpillon (1868), 340.

¹⁹ (*ibid.*)

(Eure, cant. Heudreville, sur l'Eure)

Le Bois-Regnard, marked on modern maps as Le Bois-Ricard, was a fief dependent on Heudreville-sur-Eure. It is situated directly across the River Eure from Heudreville (2km), directly north of Cailly-sur-Eur (3km) and south east of Acquigny (4km). In every sense, then, it is in the centre of a collection of Tosny possessions.

According to the titles of the monks of the Cross, le Bois-Regnard had been given to them originally by Roger de Tosny, their founder.²⁰ The fief was said to extend to 40 acres in 1418.²¹

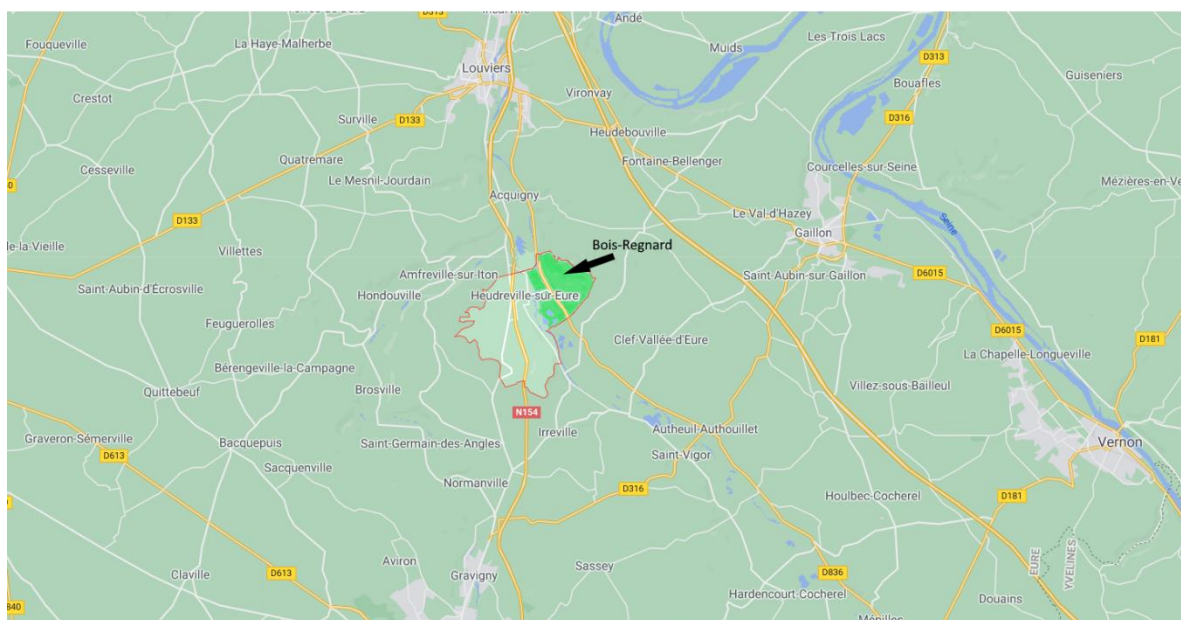


Figure 10: Fief of Bois-Regnard. Google

7 Bourlier (les)

(Eure, cant. Conches)

Bourlier (les Bourliers) is a community dependent upon, and a fief within, Nagel-Seez-Mesnil (No. 42).²²

²⁰ Charpillon (1879), 377.

²¹ *ibid.*

²² Charpillon (1879), 572

About 1090, Etienne Guimont, Guillaume and Raoul d'Orvaux, gave to the abbey of Saint-Pierre of Conches the tithes of their land of Bourlier at Nagel, with the agreement of Ralph de Vernay and of Ralph (III)(iv) de Tosny.²³

Later, in 1095, Gerelin de Vernay gave to Saint-Pierre of Conches, the tithes of all of his lands of Nagel, with the consent of Ralph (III)(iv) de Tosny, on whom the fief depended.²⁴

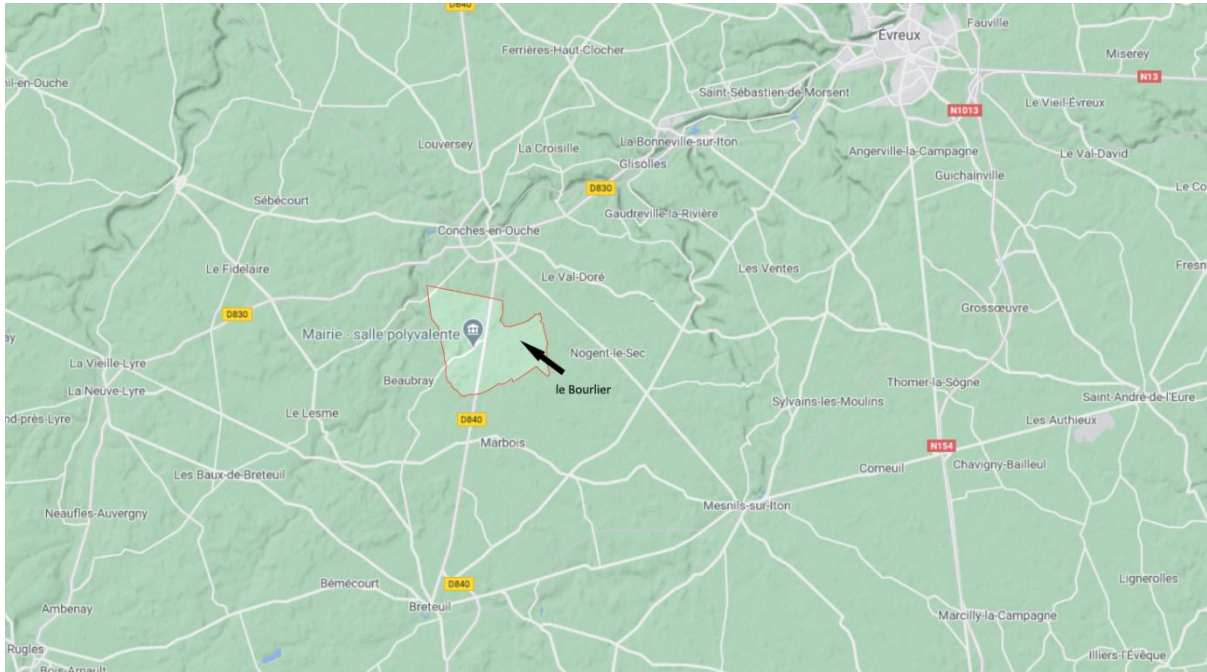


Figure 11: Location of Le Bourlier. 

8 Buisson-Vernet

(Eure, cant. Conches)

We should first take note that the location of Buisson-Vernet is incorrectly located by Moore in his map (above, Figure 2). Both Adigard des Gautries and Musset describe quite clearly that the community in question was, “Buisson-Vernet (Eure, comm. Nagel, cant. Conches)”, which is some 4km. south of Conches-en-Ouche.²⁵

Charpillon records Buisson-Vernet as the second of the two fiefs in Nagel-Seez-Mesnil.²⁶

²³ Charpillon (1879), 572.

²⁴ Charpillon (1879), 572.

²⁵ Adigard des Gautries, J. (1954) Les Noms de Lieux de l'Eure attestés entre 911 et 1066, in *Annales de Normandie* (1954) 4 – 1, pp. 39-59, 53. https://www.persee.fr/doc/annor_0003-4134_1954_num_4_1_4269 (accessed 05/02/2021); Musset 1978, 77. [Location: 48.899068, 0.901721]

²⁶ Charpillon (1879), 572.

Musset writes that Buisson-Vernet was the home of a family of that name who were of “the second circle” of association with the Tosny family “and hardly appear elsewhere” other than in the charters of Conches.²⁷

Giraume du Buisson was a witness about 1150 to a charter, given at Rouen, recording the restitution of Hacqueville to the abbey of Conches, by Ebrard de Breteuil. Giraume also figures as a witness to a donation to the abbey of Noë in 1174 by William Chevreuil.²⁸

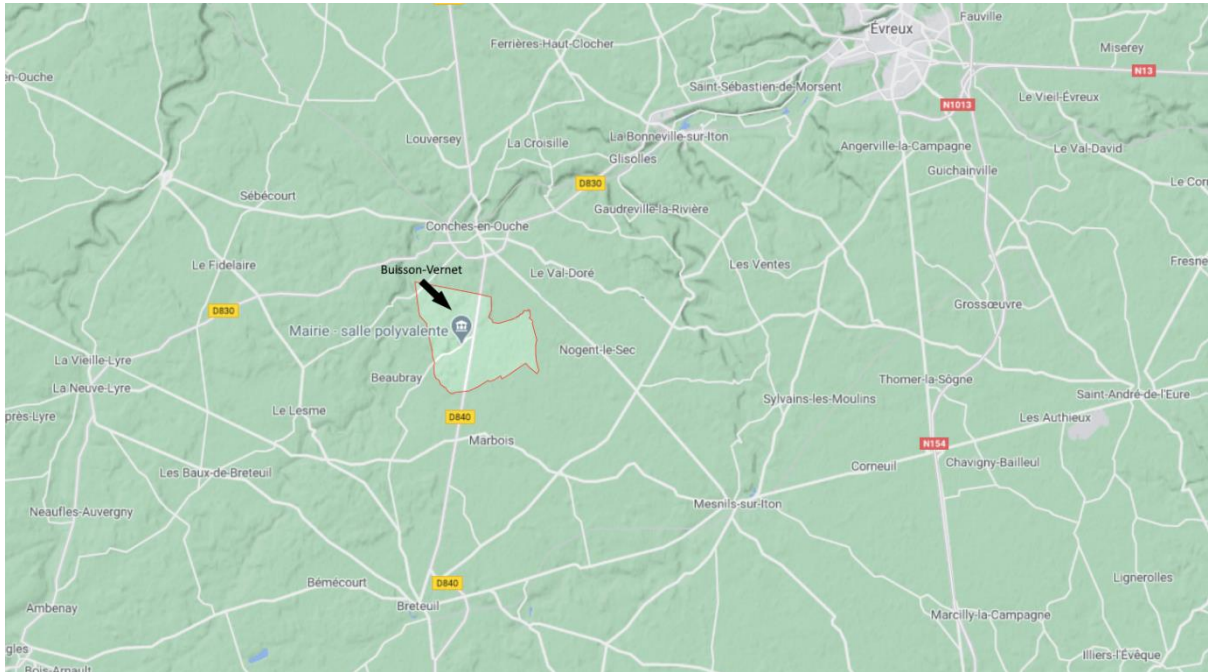


Figure 12: Location of Buisson-Vernay. [Google](#)

9 Burey

(Eure, cant. Conches)

The community of Burey dates from before the Roman era - its Roman name was *Bureium*.²⁹

Burey lies north east of Conches-en-Ouches, about 3km distant. *Louversey* (no. 36) lies to the west of Burey. The parish church was dedicated to Saint-Aubin, sometime bishop of Angers.

²⁷ Musset 1978, 77.

²⁸ Charpillon (1879), 572.

²⁹ Charpillon, M. (1868) *Dictionnaire Historique de Toutes les Communes du Département de l'Eure, Vol. 1*, Les Andelys, Chez Delcroix, Libraire-Editeur, 617.

The Tosny family had a number of important estates to the north of the Seine, where the de Clères family recognized them as their overlords. In the eleventh century, Roger de Clères, their vassal, probably in return for significant services, was given Burey beside Conches and Hacqueville in the Vexin.

There is a charter of date 1141x1163, given by Richard (II) de Rollos to the Augustinian priory of St. Stephen, Plessis-Grimould, in the diocese of Bayeux, granting the priory the churches of *Burey* and *St. Martin of Trottermer* with their tithes and other belongings.³⁰

Some little time after Roger (I) de Tosny and his two sons were killed by Honfroy de Vieilles and his sons,³¹ Roger de Clères took revenge by killing Honfroy's eldest son Robert, brother of Roger de Beaumont. This homicide seems to have been of little matter to de Clères and for a long time afterwards we find him serving the late Roger (I) de Tosny's son, Ralph (II)(iii) de Tosny. Shortly after the death of his seigneur, Roger de Clères gave, for the sake of Roger's soul, the tithes of Hacqueville in the Vexin, and two sheaves of the tithes of Burey, to the abbey of Conches. Ralph (II)(iii) de Tosny, as seigneur, gave his confirmation of this gift to the abbey where his father and brothers³² had been buried.

Subsequently, Roger de Clères was a witness to a gift made by William of Guernanville on the altar of Saint-Evroult and he was also a witness when Ralph (II)(iii) de Tosny made a gift to the same house. He himself, before 1066, with the approval of Ralph, as lord of Conches, and of duke William, gave to the abbey of Saint-Ouen his lands of Blainville, Crevon, Saint-Arnoul and Saint-Aignan-sur-Ry (all of which appear in this list as Tosny possessions).

In the great charter of foundation of the abbey of Conches one notes that Roger de Clères gave to the abbey of Saint-Pierre de Conches two sheaves of tithes at Buré:

“ ... Item, sciendum est quod Rogerius de Clara, pro anima senioris sui Rogerii de Tosteneio [Tosny], dedit Sancto Petro ... et duas garbas decimæ de Bure, annuente Godhilde comitissa et Radulpho, filio ejus de Tosteneio, ejus festi erat ...”

[Le Prevost, 1864, I, 447]

This grant was confirmed in a bull of Gregory IX (1227-1241).³³

³⁰ 'Calvados: Part 3', in *Calendar of Documents Preserved in France 918-1206*, ed. J Horace Round (London, 1899), pp. 190-217. *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/france/918-1206/pp190-217> (accessed 25/01/2021).

³¹ This was arguably on 30 May 1040.

³² The brothers names were Helinand and Helibert.

³³ Le Prevost 1864, I, 447.

About the year 1190, Roger du Breuil Poignard³⁴ gave to the abbey of la Noë,³⁵ ten acres of land, situated between the hamlet of Burey and the woods of Flimain.³⁶

The communities of le Boulay, le Breuil-Poignard, Goupigny, and le Clos-Morin were dependencies of Burey.

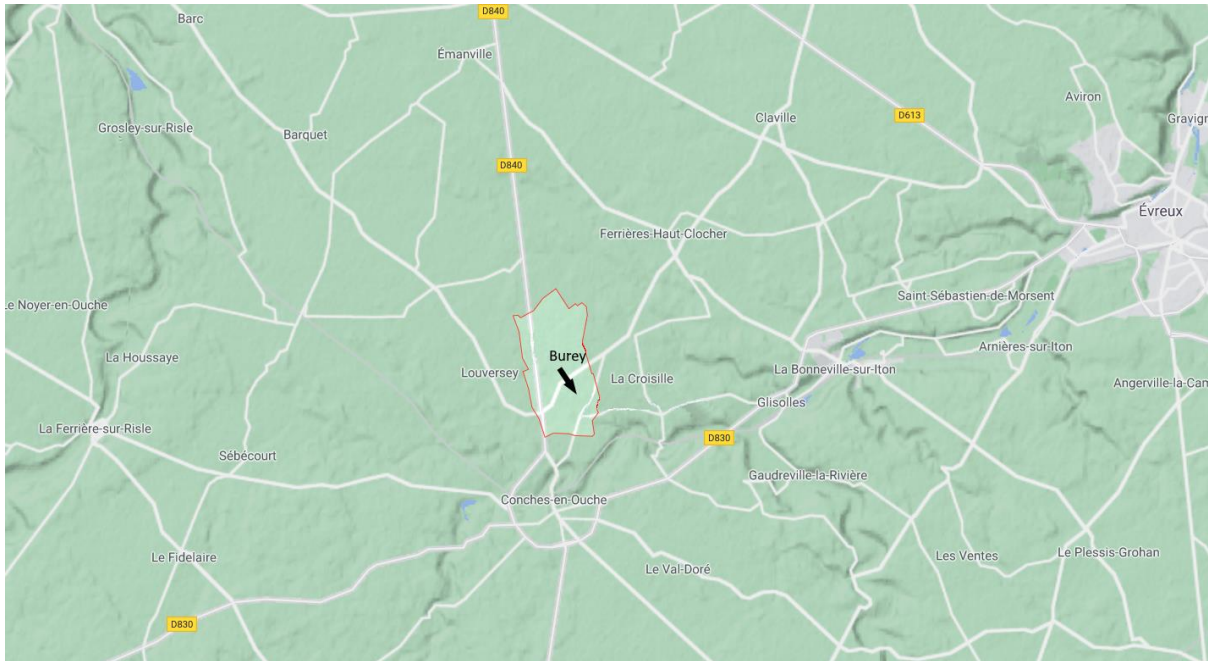


Figure 13: Location of Burey. [Google](#)

10 Cailly-sur-Eure

(Eure, cant. Gaillon)

Charpillon writes that, “the high antiquity of its [the village’s] name, is corroborated by the patronage of Saint Remi of Reims, which points to Merovingian times.” He adds that, “Cailly, in Latin Calliacum, is evidently a Celtic name.”³⁷

This village, in the valley of the Eure, was given to the Abbey of Croix-Saint-Leufroy which was founded in 690 in what became Évreux diocese. We know that the

³⁴ *Le Breuil Poignard* is situated immediately between *Burey* and *Louversey* and it is reasonable to assume that Roger held a fief of the Tosny family.

³⁵ The abbey of la Noë was a Cistercian house founded in the twelfth century (1144x1145) from Notre-Dame de Jouy, by the Empress Matilda, on land where the town of *La Bonneville-sur-Iton* now stands.

³⁶ Charpillon, M. (1868) *Dictionnaire Historique de Toutes les Communes du Département de l’Eure, Vol. 1*, Les Andelys, Chez Delcroix, Libraire-Editeur, 618.

³⁷ Charpillon (1868), 640.

possessions of this abbey, situated on the French-Norman frontier of 911, were given to Roland and his companions as part of the Treaty of Saint-Claire-sur-Epte.³⁸

Raoul (II)(iii) de Tosny, for the sake of the souls of himself, his father and mother, and all his family both living and dead, gave a forest on the 'mountain' above Cailly to the abbey of *la Croix* between 1071-1083.³⁹

At Bonneville-sur-Touques, between 1156-1160, 'Radulfo de Toineio' (Ralph (IV)(v) de Tosny) (1124-1162) witnessed a charter of King Henry II in favour of Osbert, son of Roger de Cailly.⁴⁰

In 1181, Pope Lucius III (1181-1185), confirmed the possessions of the abbey of *la Croix*, and amongst them is recorded the church of Saint-Remi de Cailly as being the oldest property acquired by the abbey.⁴¹ This was confirmed again, by Pope Innocent III, on 20 May 1199.⁴²

On 27 April 1286, the 'forest', given by Raoul (II)(iii) de Tosny, and since then called "Bois-l'Abbé", was the subject of a dispute (*différent*) between the abbot of Conches and the abbot of *la Croix*; the former said that he had the right to take as much wood from the forest as was necessary for him to repair the fishery at Acquigny; the abbot of *la Croix* opposed him. The two parties chose for arbiters in the matter Pierre du Platane, a canon of Evreux, who, by a proclamation issued in August 1288, maintained the rights of the abbot of Conches, and condemned (*condamna*) their brothers at *la Croix* to pay 15l. to defray the costs of the action.⁴³

In 1412, on the 16 March, Nicolas Loquet, abbot of *la Croix*, gave a statement to the king detailing the property of his house. Amongst other details, we find that "les bois de Cailly" extended to some 40 acres,⁴⁴ and it would seem reasonable to assume that this reflects the extent of the wood when it was first donated to the abbey by Ralph (II)(iii) de Tosny.

The present parish church building of Saint-Martin in Cailly dates from the twelfth century.

³⁸ 'Recueil des Actes de Charles III le Simple, Roi de France (893-923),' (ed.) Lauer, Philippe, (Paris 1940-49), no. 92, p. 209.

³⁹ Le Prevost, M. Auguste, *Memoires et Notes ... pour Servir a l'Histoire du Département de l'Eure*, (Évreux, Jan. 1862), Vol. I, p. 459-460. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k627896.texteImage> (accessed 25/01/2021). William, King of England, is the first signatory, followed by 'Radulfi de Conchis', Queen Matilda, and Giselberti, bishop of Évreux (Gilbert (d'Arques) 1071-1112).

⁴⁰ Delisle, Leopold (1916) *Recueil des Actes de Henri II*, Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, Vol. 1, pp. 240-241. <https://ia800901.us.archive.org/14/items/recueildesactes00fragoog/recueildesactes00fragoog.pdf>

⁴¹ Charpillon 1868, 640.

⁴² Charpillon 1868, 641.

⁴³ Charpillon 1868, 641; Archives de l'Eure.

⁴⁴ Charpillon 1868, 641.

There was a fief called Le Mailloc here in Cailly, but it was not of any great antiquity being formed between 1588-1612. Charpillon considered that it was probably a concession that the monks of la Croix made to the family of Claude de Mailloc.⁴⁵



Figure 14. The extent of the lands of Cailly. Google

11 Carneville

(Manche, cant. Saint-Pierre-Eglise/Val-de-Saire)

The ancient name of this community is *Carnevilla*. The church, which is Romanesque, is dedicated to Saint-Martin. The patronage was held by the seigneurs of Carneville as was the patronage of the chapel of St.-Samson.⁴⁶

Carneville is one of the most far-flung of the Tosny family possessions. It lies close to the north coast of the Cotentin peninsula, just east of Cherbourg. It is possible that it was, along with that of Saint-Christophe-du-Foc (below, No. 57), a ducal gift to the Tosny family sometime after 1017.

⁴⁵ Charpillon 1868, 641.

⁴⁶ Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie, 3rd Series, 2nd Volume, XXII Volume de la Collection, (1836), Paris, Derache, p. 179.
<https://archive.org/details/mmoiresdelasoci09normgoog/page/n310/mode/2up> (accessed 22/02/2021)

In 1074, Odon, the bishop of Bayeux, purchased some land in Carneville from Herbert d' Aigneaux who is described as a vassal of Ralph (II)(iii) de Conches (Tosny).⁴⁷

Philippe-Auguste, in 1222, gave to Jean Tristan, his chamberlain, the land of Galon de Montigny at Carneville.⁴⁸

The family of Lefort, possessed the seigneurie of the Castle of Carneville in 1474.⁴⁹

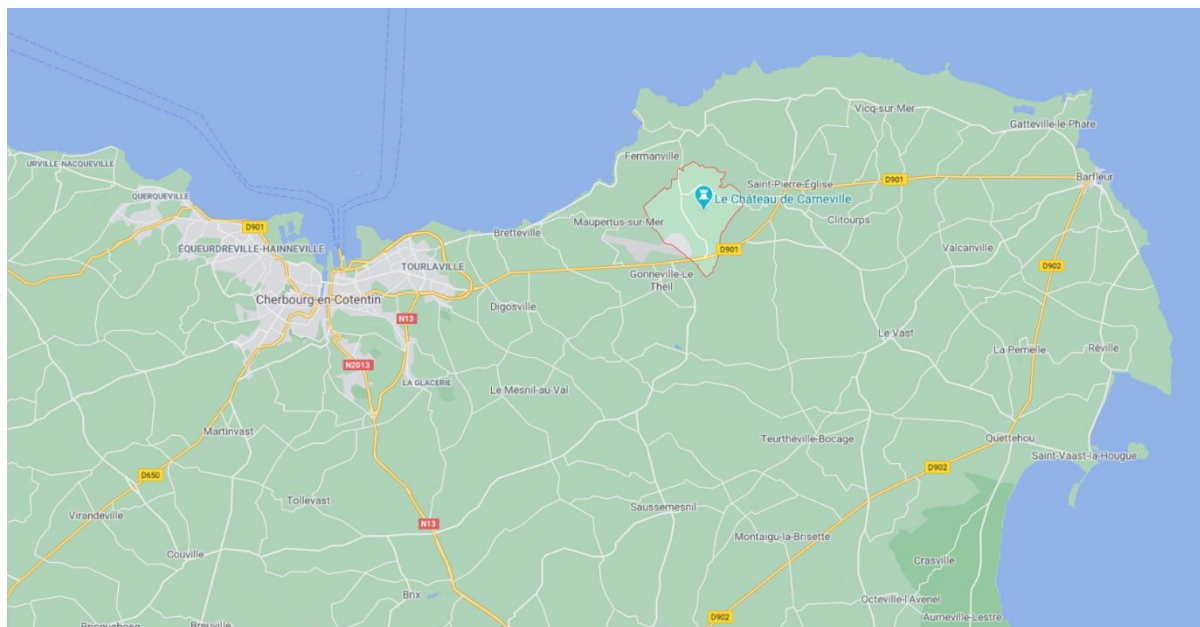


Figure 15: Extent of the lands of Carneville. [Google](#)

12 Chanteloup

(Eure, cant. Damville).

In the ninth century, the family of Romilly enjoyed these lands for a period under the suzerainty of the Tosny lords of nearby Conches.

About 1080, William, Robert and Richard, all three sons of Robert de Romilly, added to the gifts made by their father to the abbey of Conches by giving certain of the tithes of the village of Chanteloup. Their father had taken the habit at Conches recently. Both Raoul de Tosny⁵⁰ as suzerain and William de Romilly as Seigneur of the fief, gave their approval for the gift. The bull given by Pope Gregory IX to the

⁴⁷ Bourrienne, V. (ed.) (1902) *Antiquus Cartularius Ecclesiae Baiocensis*, Rouen, Vol. I, p. 3, no. II.

⁴⁸ Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie, 3rd Series, 2nd Volume, XXII Volume de la Collection, (1836), Paris, Derache, p. 179.

⁴⁹ (*ibid.*)

⁵⁰ Raoul (II)(iii) de Tosny.

abbey of Conches in 1234, makes mention of this gift of the Romilly family some 150 years before.⁵¹

There were three fiefs in Chanteloup: les Brosses, le Manoir, and le Teurcey.

Chanteloup had two dependent communities: Les Brosses, and Teurcey.

13 Clères

(Seine-Maritime, cant. Clères)

The lands of Clères lie a little to the north of Rouen. There has been a fortification here at Clères since the ninth century, the remains of which can still be seen in the parc zoologique de Clères.

In the time of Gilbert de Clères and his father Roger de Clères, the majority of their lands were situated around Clères itself and in the Pays de Caux where it borders with the Vexin, towards Blainville-Crevon, Saint-Arnoult and Saint-Aignan; but they also held some in other sectors where the Tosnys were suzerain, notably La Puthenaye (No. 31), at Burey (No. 9) and at Hacqueville (No. 24). Everything, therefore, suggests that the Clères fief had been constituted by sub-infeudating a part of each of the land groups belonging to the Tosny family: this practice, which leads to the extreme fractionation of property, is well known in Normandy in this era.⁵²

There was a priory in Clères which depended on the abbey of Sainte-Trinité in Tiron. It was dedicated to Saint-Sylvestre. In an undated charter of Tiron Abbey we find that 'Gilbert' gave to the monks of Tiron dwelling at Saint-Sylvestre [of Clères] land at *Basse*, woodlands, timber, a tithe of his food, meat and cheese, a fishpond near Clères, a garden with adjoining meadow, his share of the proceeds of his mills, pasture for their pigs and other animals.⁵³ In another undated entry from the same source we find that Walter de l'Isle gave and conceded to the monks of Tiron, who live at Saint-Sylvestre of Clères, his lands of *Bessam* and received from Ralph Canteslo, then the prior, 30s. in the coin of Rouen and the fleece in which he was clad!⁵⁴

From the eleventh century we hear of *seigneurs de Clères* and many members of the family were notable amongst the nobles of Normandy. Orderic Vitalis mentions the skirmish between Roger (I) de Tosny and Humphrey de Vieilles, and in his text he reveals that the *seigneur de Clères* (who at that time was also called Roger) was a vassal of Roger (I) Tosny. In order to avenge his former suzerain lord, Roger de Clères killed the son of Humphrey de Vieilles. Then, in order to ensure the "good

⁵¹ Charpillon 1868, 715.

⁵² Musset 1978, 76.

⁵³ Thompson, Kathleen (2013) *The Cartulary of the monastery of Tiron*, Tabularia, 103.

<http://journals.openedition.org/tabularia/1273> (accessed 03/02/2021).

⁵⁴ (*ibid.*)

repose" of his own soul, and that of his wife Golehilde [Godehilde] and his son Ralph, Roger de Clères gave the church and tithes of Hacqueville to the abbey of Conches as well as two sheaves of the tithes of Burey, which lies close to Conches-en-Ouche.⁵⁵

By the twelfth century it is assumed that there was a motte-and-bailie fortification at Clères and soon after this time a stone-built castle was constructed. During the Hundred Years War the castle of Clères was occupied by the English and the knight, Sir John Grey, was its captain for part of this time.⁵⁶

14 Collandres

(Eure, cant. Conches-en-Ouche)

The lands of Collandres lie about 7km north west of Conches, beyond those of Louversey. These lands were held in part with the family of Romilly.

At the time of the foundation of the abbey at Conches, in 1035, Roger (I) de Tosny gave to his new monastery the tithes of a plough (*charrue*) of land at Collandres, with a hostelry (*hôte*) or farm.

A number of years later, under Ralph(II)(iii), Roger (I)'s son and successor, Robert de Romilly became a monk at Conches, marking his entry into the house by giving all that he possessed at Collandres, with the consent of his wife and three sons, and the support of Ralph as his *seigneur suzerain*.⁵⁷

During the latter half of the eleventh and the whole of the twelfth centuries Collandres was held by the seigneurs de Romilly.

The parishioners Collandres were in part responsible for the community of lepers which existed within the Forest of Conches.⁵⁸

Dependent upon Collandres were: Glatigny, la Lande, le Mesnil-Gal, le Poudrier, le Perruchet, and Quincarnon. In the last of these there was a fortification/castle that was in existence by 1336.

15 Conches and Vieilles Conches

(Eure, cant. Conches-en-Ouche)

The name *Conches* is very ancient and is said to reflect the fact that there was a Roman *ville* here, the remains of which have been found near the site of the abbey. It

⁵⁵ Lemarchand, H. (1901) *Les Seigneurs de Clères, Sotteville-les-Rouen*. (no page numbers). At "Roger de Clere, XI^e Siècle". <https://docs.google.com/document/d/e/2PACX-1vSQxXbOBcJ-HYc2SI2bmkI3BtCn0FPjnKxNY9VAm9dUuK3Bpo5KxjG2omC5G4QR8-fiE4hAqviSstVx/pub> (accessed 22/02/21)

⁵⁶ The title Earl of Tankerville was instituted by king Henry V and conferred upon this John Grey.

⁵⁷ Charpillon, M. (1868) *Dictionnaire Historique de Toutes les Communes du Département de l'Eure, Vol. 1, Les Andelys*, Chez Delcroix, Libraire-Editeur, 779.

⁵⁸ (*ibid.*), 780. The parish of *Ferrière-Haut-Clocher* seems to have been the main contributor.

is believed that the Romans had an understandable interest in exploiting the local iron deposits.

It is interesting to note that the town's arms contain three scallop shells (*conches*). It is tempting to associate these with the Tosny family's adventures in Spain and the fact that at least one of them is supposed to have completed a very early *pilgrimage* to *Santiago di Compostella*, which pilgrimage's symbol is also the scallop shell.



Figure 16: Arms of Conches-en-Ouche.

In addition is this piece of 'serendipidy' - we find that one of the Tosny family, Roger (I) de Tosny, gained the nickname "Mangeur de Maures"⁵⁹ a sobriquet which is very similar to that of Santiago himself who was known as "Matamoros".

There is no certain history as far as this, the chief possession of the Tosny family, is concerned. However, it is known that, in the Carolingian era, the cathedral of Rouen had considerable, but unidentified, properties in the Iton valley - the *Rouloir*, on which Conches stands, flows into the *Iton*. Musset suggested that Conches was the first of the properties given to Raoul (i) de Tosny⁶⁰ by his brother the archbishop.⁶¹

⁵⁹ The traditional story is told that after particularly successful battles against the Moors near Barcelona, Roger took one of his prisoners each day and, in front of the other prisoners, had him cut in two. One half Roger is said to have taken into his tent, pretending that it was for him and his companions to eat, whilst the other half was boiled and offered to the starving Muslims! Because Roger cleverly allowed one or two prisoners to escape, this dreadful tale was soon being related to the Muslim leaders who promptly ceased their warfare! [Adémar de Chabannes, *Chronique d'Adhémar de Chabonais*, J. Chavanon, (ed.), Paris, 1897, 178-179.]

⁶⁰ Following considerable research, I am inclined to accept the arguments put forward by a number of modern scholars who suggest that there were two individuals of this name. For the purposes of this paper I would further suggest that the first (the archbishop's brother) should be recorded as Raoul (i), since he is the first to appear in Norman-French records, and his son, should be known as Raoul (I)(ii), since he was the first to appear in English records but the second in Norman sources. Although very speculative, I would propose that Raoul (i) lived from c.915-c.970-75 and Raoul (I)(ii) lived from c. 970-c.1024.

⁶¹ Musset, L., 'Aux origines d'une classe dirigeante: les Tosny, grands barons normands du X^e au XIII^e siècles', *Francia*, 5 (1978), 45-80, 71. <https://journals.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/index.php/fr/article/view/48691/42559>

Conches was a *seigneurie* in its own right and, consequently, the family used the name “de Conches” both instead of, and as well as, that of “de Tosny”.

But what many consider to be the ancient *caput* of the Conches *seigneurie*, the present *ville* and castle of Conches-en-Ouches (Fig. 11), is something of a ‘red-herring.’ In the days of Raoul (i) de Tosny, when the lands of *Conches* were added to his family’s estates, the *caput* of the *seigneurie* was some distance away from the present *ville* of Conches, at a site which is, to this day, called *Vieux Conches*. The village now known as *Conches-en-Ouche* was named in the earliest records as *Châtillon*, a name that it derived from a Roman fortification, the remains of which are said to have been found where the abbey was later built, and which was referred to as *Castellio* (Med. L. ‘fortification’ or ‘small castle’), which became *Castillon*.⁶²

At the time when Raoul (I)(ii) de Tosny lived, towards the end of the tenth century, castles were far less presumptuous affairs than those which were built in later periods and the site mentioned - in the woods to the west of the *Étangs de Vieux Conches* (the ‘Ponds of Old Conches’) - was the site of what we in Britain would describe as a *motte-and-bailie* castle. There are also traces of a rudimentary residential settlement to the north-east of the fortification and, to the south, lies the old Parish Church of St Ouen lying in the midst of its graveyard. If these lands did belong to the patrimony of the cathedral of Rouen before Raoul (i) de Tosny was given them,⁶³ then it would come as no surprise to find that the church here was dedicated to the same saint as the cathedral. Indeed, the implication might be that the church was established here by the cathedral authorities before the time of Raoul (i).

⁶² Gardin, Alex, (1865) *Notice Historique sur la Ville de Conches*, Évreux, 10. Gardin recounts that a ‘Roman habitation’ was found in the *Grand-Parc* area, not far from the track of the old railway. In addition, coins of the Lower Empire were found at the site of the abbey where the remains of a Roman Camp were known.

⁶³ It is generally thought that these lands were amongst those given to Raoul (i) by his brother Hugues, the archbishop of Rouen. However, Alexandre Gardin (Gardin 1865, 11) believed that Raoul (i) inherited *Castillon* from his father Malahuce, whom Gardin believed to be the uncle of none other than Rollo, the eponymous hero of the Norman Vikings (Gardin, 11).



Figure 17. Location of Vieux Conches.

If *Vieux Conches* was, indeed, given to his brother by Archbishop Hugues then this requires us to accept that Raoul (i) became *Seigneur* at some date before 989, the year of the archbishop's death.⁶⁴ Indeed, if we accept the archbishop's episcopate to have begun in 942, and that Raoul (i) died c.975, then we have the dates, *post quem* and *ante quem*, for the Tosnys becoming *Seigneurs de Conches*.

Until recently, extraordinarily little had been done to investigate the archaeology of the two Tosny castles – that at *Vieux Conches* and the other at *Conches-en-Ouche*. However, in 2011, a report appeared in the French journal *Archéologie Médiévale* which detailed the results of a project which had started off as a topographical survey carried out as part of a Master's thesis, but which, when the vast potential of the site became apparent, had turned into a much more comprehensive project that has since led to a need to re-consider the written sources.⁶⁵

Gardin commented that in 1004, Raoul (I)(ii) de Tosny laid the foundations for a new residence at a place marked on today's maps as *La Balivière* (see Figure 6 above). As can

⁶⁴ Archbishop Hugues de Calvacamp is commonly accepted to have died on 10 November, 989, at Rouen. [*Gallia Christiana*, Tome XI, col. 25-26, XLII, gives "IV Id. November"] <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=ien.35556001646462&view=1up&seq=32> (accessed 10/02/2021).

⁶⁵ Debaene, Tanguy, « Vieux-Conches (Eure), un site castral et son environnement (XI^e-XVIII^e siècle) », *Archéologie médiévale* [En ligne], 41 | 2011, mis en ligne le 18 juin 2018. URL : <http://journals.openedition.org/archeomed/11340> ; DOI : <https://doi.org/10.4000/archeomed.11340> (accessed 20/05/2020)

be seen in the illustration, the *motte* described by Debaene in 2011 (*vide supra*) corresponds to this location. Debaene's report informs us that the fortification at *Vieux Conches* was built in two phases. I would suggest that this may correspond to a first phase which was built by Raoul (i) fairly soon after he received the *seigneurie*, and a second phase, built by his son Raoul (I)(ii), to extend the area of the fortification and create a crude curtain wall.

The site at *Vieux Conches* was not inhabited for very long. Roger (I)(ii) de Tosny, after he returned from his Spanish expedition, commenced a massive building programme in *Conches-en-Ouche*, somewhat to the east of *Vieux Conches*. Around 1034, he started to build a new church that was dedicated to St Foy and which received the relics of that saint which Roger (I)(ii) had brought back with him from his ventures. Almost simultaneously, in 1035, he founded and started to build a Benedictine Abbey which, at first, was known as the *Abbey of Ss Peter and Paul of Châstillon*.⁶⁶ This was one of the first religious establishments ever to be founded in Normandy by an individual other than one of the Ducal family. In time it was to become greatly endowed by many *puissant* Norman magnates. In 1600, the community of monks at Conches, having been deprived of the pond at *Fontaines*, allowed the lamp that had burned before the tombs of the Tosnys in the chapter house since 1145, to be extinguished.⁶⁷

Roger (I), himself, now joined by his new wife Godehilde, gave to the abbey the church of *Acquigny* (*vide supra*) with its tithes of grain, wine and fish, and the income of its mills – a gift of considerable value. About 1035, he also gave to the abbey the church of St Ouen at *Vieux Conches*.⁶⁸ This would imply that this church was still standing and was probably still the parish church – the church of St Foy in *Conches-en-Ouche* being yet only a chapel. The existence of the abbey and the castle would soon have drawn people to settle nearby and, as the community grew, the church of St Foy would have become the natural focus for the parish. The church of St Ouen would have slowly fallen into disrepair and, in 1795, we are told that its bell-tower 'fell' and was removed.⁶⁹ However, parish records show that the cemetery of the church was used up to the time of the Revolution. Even after the church of St Foy became the parochial church, that of *Vieux Conches* remained a chapelry since there

⁶⁶ Charpillon, M. (1868) *Dictionnaire Historique de Toutes les Communes du Département de L'Eure, Les Andelys*, 817.

<https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=MCVDAAAACAAJ&pg=PA817&dq=Moulins+Fontaine-sous-Jouy+Tosny&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEWiJr8W7isXpAhWNIfwKHZzgDWEQ6AEIKDAA#v=onepage&q=Moulins%20Fontaine-sous-Jouy%20Tosny&f=false> (accessed 21/05/2020).

⁶⁷ Charpillon (1868), 824.

⁶⁸ "Ego Rogerius, filius [Radulp]hi Thoteniencis [...] concedo in usus [serv]orum Dei serventium in monasterio dicato in honore Saincti [Petri] [...] ecclesiam Sancti Odoeni de Conchis." HASS (éd.) 2005, p. 546.

⁶⁹ A handwritten note, dated 3 February 1795, found in the Archives of the Département de l'Eure. « (3 février 1795 Vieux Conches). Il a été fait lecture d'un mémoire se montant à la somme de 30 livres du citoyen Dumont Charpentier pour avoir descendu la croisée du clocher des Vieux Conches. Morel Abbé curé du Vieux Conches », AD Eure, 9 J 20 (1^{re} liasse).

was still a need to serve a local population, particularly for the many workers who were employed at “the forge and furnace of the Vaugoins.”⁷⁰ In a *pouillé*⁷¹ of the Diocese of Évreux there also exists a list of priests who served at Vieux Conches from 1486 to 1684, showing that the church was still staffed during these years.⁷²

There is little doubt that it was Roger (I) de Tosny and successive members of his family who created the settlement that became *Conches-en-Ouche*. However, as we have already said, the famous castle presents us with a problem. Debaene reports that, “Work carried out on the dungeon of Conches-en-Ouche would tend to prove that the fortification of the primitive land on which it rests could date back to the 13th century and so would not be the work of the Tosny family but rather that the abbey of Conches was responsible.”⁷³

Charpillon records that, in 1130, there were five hermitages in the Forest of Conches, three of which were Ste-Marguerite-de-l’Autel, Lierru, and that at Fidelaire.⁷⁴ Within the Forest of Conches, at *Lierru*, Roger (I) de Tosny founded an Augustinian Priory which was, like the abbey [of Conches], dedicated to Ss Peter and Paul.⁷⁵ On

⁷⁰ AD Eure, 4 L 23; AD Eure, Q 363³.

⁷¹ A *pouillé* is an enumeration of all ecclesiastical benefices in a given geographical area.

⁷² AD Eure, G 32.

⁷³ Debaene, Tanguy, ‘Vieux-Conches (Eure), un site castral et son environnement (XI^e-XVIII^e siècle),’ in *Archéologie Médiévale*, 41 (2011), pp. 49-75, paragraph 51.

<https://journals.openedition.org/archeomed/11340#bodyftn39> (accessed 20/05/200)

« Des travaux menés sur le donjon de Conches-en-Ouche tendraient à prouver que la fortification de terre primitive sur laquelle il repose pourrait remonter au xiie siècle et ne serait pas l’œuvre des Tosny mais du ressort de l’abbaye de Conches. »

⁷⁴ Charpillon 1879, 812.

⁷⁵ As late as 1462, the Prior of the Augustinian community of Lierru received confirmation from the Lord of Conches of their having permission to maintain beehives (*bigre*) in the forest (of Conches) to produce honey and wax for the lights of their church, and permission to mark, fell and use trees without danger or fear of reprisal. [Leber, C. (1838) *Collection de Pieces Relatives a l’Histoire de France*, Vol. XX, Paris, 308,]

https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=fTVeAAAACAAJ&pg=PA308&lpg=PA308&dq=lierru+conches&source=bl&ots=d2eatquwH9&sig=ACfU3U2Sly9ssGiiWsO46SSDY1QbpWRvjQ&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKewjH08TD9r_pAhUuaRUIHUAdDws4ChDoATAAegQICrAB#v=onepage&q=lierru%20conches&f=false (accessed 19/05/2020).

King Henry II of England gave a charter in favour of the nearby abbey of Lyre which was signed “*Apud Lerru, in foresta Conchiarum*” (at *Lierru*, in the forest of Conches). In 1234, ‘at Lierrut’, Robert de Courtenai ‘bouteiller de France’, confirmed to the church of *S. Pierre de Lierruto* all that had been given to that church by Roger de Tosny, namely the herbage and pasturage for pigs, 12 deniers per week from Ferriers (*Ferrières-Saint-Hilaire*, about 30km NW of Conches-en-Ouche), and such dead wood, firewood and lumber, as was necessary for their house. Robert was Lord of Conches by that date. [Le Prévost, A. (1849) *Notes pour servir à la Topographie et à l’Histoire des Communes du Département de l’Eure au Moyen Age*, Évreux, 27]

https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=hEMAAAAIAAI&pg=PA27&lpg=PA27&dq=lierru+conches&source=bl&ots=XzCHAnz5oj&sig=ACfU3U3vXXoK-1HdcgBVsfhjwKS13LrVRg&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKewjH08TD9r_pAhUuaRUIHUAdDws4ChDoATAAegQICrAB#v=onepage&q=lierru%20conches&f=false (accessed 19/05/2020). These gifts were confirmed by his son Pierre de Courtenai in 1248 [Cart. d’Artois, p. 186]

8 December 1142, Hervens, Hermit of Lierru, was a witness to the two charters relating to the introduction of monks from Bec into the priory of Beaumont-le-Roger. His death was indicated to have taken place in 1148.⁷⁶ In 1152, William, bishop of Evreux, retired to the priory of Lierru, where he died the following year.⁷⁷

In 1163, Henry de Longchamps signed a charter of king Henry, and about the same year he was given responsibility to manage the domains of Conches, in the name of the King of England, and for keeping “the noble guard” of Roger, still a child. This was Roger (III)(iv) de Tosny who was born c.1160.⁷⁸

In September 1199, the Tosny estate of *Conches-en-Ouche* was sequestered (confiscated) by King Philippe Auguste of France (1180-1223) as a consequence of Roger (III)(iv) de Tosny having sworn fealty to King John of England.⁷⁹ Although Roger (III)(iv) recovered Conches a little after May 1200, in 1203 the French King retook it and finally, in 1204, Roger (III)(iv) lost all his Norman lands, being one of those excluded by Philip from the terms of ‘the pacification’. The French king gave the *seigneurie* of Conches to his cousin, Robert de Courtenay.⁸⁰ In 1227, the “new” Lord of Conches raised an objection to the right claimed by the abbot of Conches to build crenelated battlements and turrets on his castle.⁸¹ If the monks did, indeed, possess such a right then it must have been granted during the Tosny era. In turn, this suggests that the castle had been given to the abbot by the Tosnys.

⁷⁶ Charpillon 1879, 812.

⁷⁷ Charpillon 1879, 812.

⁷⁸ Charpillon 1879, 448.

⁷⁹ At this time, the head of the family spent most of his time serving the English King – first Richard I and then John - and the family had, by now, accumulated vast estates in that country. On 18 September 1203, Roger (III)(iv) and Raoul de Beaumont stood as surety for King John with William de Roches, whom King Philip of France had sent for discussions. Roger (III)(iv) had adopted England and so it is natural that his French possessions were ‘at risk’.

⁸⁰ Pierre de Courtenay (c.1218 – c.1249) is thought to have been Seigneur du Conches-en-Ouche from 1239 (when his father Robert died) until his own death whilst he was participating in the Seventh Crusade in c.1249. However, this evidence shows that his father may have given him the *seigneurie* as some earlier date. However, since in 1227, the suggested date of the charter, Pierre would have been but a young boy, we must also consider that it was, in fact, his father who raised the objection about the nature of the castle’s defences.

⁸¹ « [...] et quod ipsi murum supradictum faciant a[bsque] impedimento, sine crenellis et sine fortericia [al]iq[ua] [...] », HASS (éd.) 2005, p. 69-70.



Figure 18. The remains of the parish church of St Ouen at Vieux Conches.

The vast *Fôret de Conches*⁸² was a major resource and an important source of income to the Tosny family and, in addition, provided a notable resource to be used for hunting. It is situated between the *Iton* and *Risle* rivers and spans almost the whole traverse between *Conches-en-Ouche* and *la Vieille-Lyre* (also a Tosny possession). In an account of a journey taken through the forest, c.1824, an English student of Lincoln's-Inn reported that, "It is a forest of oaks, which extends for six or seven leagues square ... where there is a good deal of game, and great numbers of foxes, wolves, wild-boars, and deer. There are forges of iron and blast-furnaces, at Conches, as well as at Breteuil. The iron ore used is brought out of the forest."⁸³ David Crouch, writing about the Forest of Breteuil says that, "(it) likewise still covers much of its twelfth-century extent. It adjoined, to the north, the Tosny forest of Conches. To the north-west was a dependent tract of woodland called the *Haie de Lyre*, which seems to have been made over to the abbey of Lyre from its possession of the forest vill of *St-Aiglan* there. The large assarts in the forest around *Guernanville*, *Bémécourt* and *La Rue Varabourg* were already there in the twelfth century."⁸⁴ The picture we get is that life around *Conches* had changed little since the 12th century.

⁸² The forest is the northern part of the *Fôret de Breteuil et de Conches*.

⁸³ Cobbett, James Paul, (1824) *A Ride of Eight Hundred Miles in France*, London: (Private Printing without page numbers), 2nd edition, notes nos. 198-203.
https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=GEjSQOvpTqoC&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false

⁸⁴ Crouch, David (2008) *The Beaumont Twins: The Roots and Branches of Power in the Twelfth Century*, Cambridge: University Press, 191.
<https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=QC25F9M6ZMYC&pg=PA191&lpg=PA191&dq=forest+of+breteuil+and+conches&source=bl&ots=zVo6GLIZUd&sig=ACfU3U2J9r5GdnBoyiGDa-qmclg7RIamtg&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKewiYkP2CxpLpAhUGQxUIHUiVBFoQ6AEwBnoECACQAQ#v=onepage&q=forest%20of%20breteuil%20and%20conches&f=false>

Conches-en-Ouche also had powerful neighbours – to the south, the honour of Breteuil; to the east, the county of Évreux; to the north, the honour of Beaumont – and it comes as no surprise to find members of the Tosny family being married into these neighbouring families over the ages.

Approximately two years after starting to build a castle at *Vieille Conches*, Roger (I) de Tosny founded a Benedictine abbey a little distance to the north of the present parish church of Sainte-Foy, which he also founded c.1026. This abbey, which is often known also as the *Abbey of Saint-Pierre-de-Castillon*, was one of the first founded by the Norman ‘nobility’ and it attracted many donations from families other than just the Tosnys. These achievements reflect the massive wealth that Roger had accumulated and the power and influence that he had created for the family in Normandy.

On the road between Conches and Breteuil there was a leper hospital which had a chapel dedicated to Sainte-Madeleine. There are records of payments being made to it in 1505.⁸⁵



Figure 19. The remains of the later castle at Conches-en-Ouche.

I have recently encountered a very good, modern (2015), treatment of the early history of Vieille Conches, Conches and Castillôn by Thomas Guérin. It is in French and takes the reader on a journey from the early chronicles to the latest scientific

⁸⁵ Charpillon, M. (1868) *Dictionnaire Historique de Toutes les Communes du Departement de l'Eure, Vol. 1*, Les Andelys, Chez Delcroix, Libraire-Editeur, 826. (Book available via Google Books.)

studies which have used cutting-edge technology to reveal the secrets of the Old Castle and the 'new' Castle. It can be found at

<https://books.openedition.org/purh/4180?lang=fr>

Charpillon records that Conches had six fiefs: la Bretèche, le Chêne-au-Loup or Bosteney, Fontenelles, Goupigny, Saint-Aubin, Valeuil.⁸⁶



Figure 20. The extent of the lands of Conches. Google

16 Dieppe

(Seine-Maritime, cant. Offranville)

There are very few details available regarding the Tosny family's holdings in Dieppe.

17 Épaignes

(Eure, cant. Cormeilles sur le Doult-Tourel)

This property is not included in Moore's thesis. However, Charpillon states that "Roger (I) de Tosny, lord of Conches, is credited with the founding of the parish of Épaignes, under the protection of Saint-Antonin."⁸⁷ This would imply that Roger was seigneur of these lands which lie south of the River Seine about 9km south west of Pont-Audemer, very much at the western edge of the Eure department.⁸⁸

⁸⁶ Charpillon 1868, 827.

⁸⁷ Charpillon 1879, 33.

⁸⁸ Modern maps show a restaurant in Épaignes called "le Tosny" at 1 Route de Anglais.

But we should also note Beaurepaire's comment that, "the name [Épaignes] evokes the idea of a colony [*colonia*] of Spaniards from the time of the Roman empire."⁸⁹

Charpillon goes on to say that, "We can believe that on his return from his first campaign against the Moors of Spain, which dates back to 1018, the lord of Conches brought back relics of Saint-Antonin from Pamiers and that he founded in one of his estates a church dedicated to this saint."⁹⁰

In 1065, along with his two sons, Helinand and Helebert, Roger (I) de Tosny was killed in battle fighting against the Beaumont family. As part of the spoils of victory the Beaumonts took possession of Épaignes. The Beaumonts disposed of a large part of their new territory in gifts to the abbey of Saint-Pierre de Préaux which they were in the process of re-building. Included in these gifts were the tithes of Épaignes, the parish church with its endowments, the tithes of and the lands a mill operated by a client (*hôte*) named Osbern. Goscelin d'Épaignes, the most powerful knight in the parish, himself gave his own tithe, on condition of being received as a 'local brother'.⁹¹ In abandoning these domains, the Beaumonts retained the homage of the knights who resided there, but a little later they released three of them, Goscelin d'Épaignes, Hugues d'Avesne and Goscelin Le Roux; their lands were granted to the convent in perpetuity and Goscelin [d'Épaignes] asked to place the donation on the altar himself, "so that upon his death, Saint-Peter would become his heir."⁹²

Goscelin's son, Auvray d'Épaignes, confirmed these arrangements of his father on the condition that, "that he, the woman he would marry, his sons and his brothers, would receive the prayers of the convent in perpetuity."⁹³ This Auvray d'Épaignes fought valiantly under the banners of the Conqueror at Hastings and, as reward, received over 30 manors and many farms in various counties of England.⁹⁴

It would seem that the Tosny family never recovered the lands of d'Épaignes after their loss of the battle with the Beaumonts in 1065. However, Charpillon states that in 1080, one Gautier d'Épaignes, is found attached to the person of Raoul de Tosny.⁹⁵

⁸⁹ Beaurepaire, F. (1981) *Les noms des communes et anciennes paroisses de l'Eure*, Paris: A. & J. Picard, pp. 103-104. Such *colonies* were territorial outposts for legionary forces.

⁹⁰ Charpillon 1879, 33. The cathedral at Pamiers is dedicated to Saint-Antonin and was the site of a great *cultus* dedicated to him.

⁹¹ Charpillon 1879, 33.

⁹² (*ibid.*), 33.

⁹³ (*ibid.*), 33.

⁹⁴ In Domesday Book we find Aluredus [Alfred] de Hispania (Lat. *Alvredi De Ispania*). The lands he was given were mainly in Somerset but also in Devon, Dorset, Wiltshire, Gloucestershire and Herefordshire. In Somerset he was 'tenant-in-chief' of Alfoxton, Arlington, Deadmans Well, Dyche, East & West Bower, and some 27 other lands. <https://opendomesday.org/name/alfred-of-spain/> (accessed 08/02/2021).

⁹⁵ Charpillon 1879, 34, note (2).

No less that twelve fiefs are found within Épaignes: la Baudardière, le Beau-Carré, le Beau-Cassé (Bosquencey), le Bosc-Hamel, le Bosc-Labbé, le Coudray, les Granges, le Plessis, la Poignerie, la Prairie, le Teil, la Vallée.

The following communities were dependent upon Épaignes – les Adems, l'Armerie, les Arons, les Bandais, le Bois-l'Abbé, le Bosc-Hamel, la Bourdonnerie, les Brevals, la Brunerie, la Cablerie, le Carouge, la Chapelle-Becquet, la Colomberie, les Comtes, les Corberans, la Denoiserie, les Desmares, la Forterie, les Gibert, le Grand-Lieu, la Hammelerie, la Héberdière, la Houssaye, le Lieu-de-Granges, la Marquerie, la Maurie, la Maugardière, les Malheux, les Marnières-Passe-Cadet, les Mares-Fleuries, le Plessis, la Poignerie, la Prairie, la Rochelle, les Savins, les Simons, la Tessonnie-Rie, le Theil, la Trouverie, la Vallée.

18 Fontaine-sous-Jouy

(Eure, cant. Pacy-sur-Eure)

This community gained its name from the large concentration of springs in the locality. The church is dedicated to la Sainte-Vierge.

When founding the abbey at Conches in 1035, Roger I de Tosny (990-1040) gave to the house the tithes of two 'ploughs' of land in the village of Fontaine, comprising grapes, forest and pasture.

About 1067, Ralph (II)(iii) de Tosny and his mother Godechilde, widow of Roger (I) de Tosny, gave to the abbey of Conches, a mill, the 'fief' of the priest Lancelin, and a the fief of Odelin the Scholastic, all situated at Fontaine-sous-Jouy.⁹⁶

In 1080, Ralph de Tosny gave a mill which stood on his lands here, to the monastic community at Jumièges. The mill stood, no doubt, on the banks of the Eure.

About 1198, William du Mesnil-Anseaume sold *le Pré-Ansaume*, close to Fontaines-sous-Jouy, to the abbey of Jumièges, which sale and alienation was confirmed by his sons.⁹⁷

There seem to have been five fiefs – Conches;⁹⁸ le Homme; Launay; le Plancher; la Ronce.

The following communities were dependent on Fontaine-sous-Jouy: les Croisy, le Homme, Launay, les Oriots, le Plancher, la Ronce.

⁹⁶ In a bull of 1234, Pope Gregory IX confirmed all of the possessions of the abbey of Conches.

⁹⁷ Charpillon, M. (1879) *Dictionnaire Historique de Toutes les Communes du Département de l'Eure*, Vol. 2, Les Andelys, Chez Delcroix, Libraire-Editeur, 204.

⁹⁸ So named because a certain Raoul de Conches gave his name to it. He was either of the Tosny family of Conches-en-Ouche, or a 'bastard' of the family of that name.

19 Fresne

(Eure, cant. Conches)

Fresne is the area which lies directly to the east of Conches-en-Ouche.

The church, which was gifted to the abbey of Conches, was dedicated to Saint-Léonard.

About 1048, Girelme du Fresne, for the soul of his seigneur Roger (I) de Tosny and that of Ralph (III)(iv) [de Tosny] his son, as well as his own soul, gave to the abbey of Saint-Pierre of Conches, le Fresne and all of his inheritance, to be paid after his death. For the present, he gave only two freemen, with the consent of Godechilde, widow of Roger de Tosny, now re-married to the Count d'Evreux, and of Ralph de Conches, her son.⁹⁹

At a date c.1060, Ralph (III)(iv) de Tosny, son of Godechilde, gave to the monks of Conches the fief of Girelme de Fresne. Guillaume de Fresne, Girelme's son (with his brothers Robert and Richard de Romilly) sign the charter.¹⁰⁰

Ralph du Fresne and his brother Girelme, second of that name, witnessed a charter of Roger (II)(iii) de Tosny, son of Ralph "le Jeune", dated c.1140, in favour of Conches abbey.¹⁰¹

In 1150, Guillaume (II) de Fresne witnessed a charter of Ralph (IV)(v) de Tosny, son of Roger (II)(iii).¹⁰²

There were four fiefs within Fresne – le Bois-Richard; la Brosse; Maubreuil; le Quenet.

The following communities were dependent upon Fresnel: le Bois-Richard, le Bout-au-Maçon, le Chantier de Quenet, le Héloup, Launoy, Malassis, Maubreuil, Quenet.

20 Gauville-la-Campagne

(Eure, cant. nord d'Évreux)

The parish church was dedicated to St Andrew and the patronage was held by the chapter of Evreux.¹⁰³

The principal family in the early years were the Harenc. In 1119, Raoul Harenc, who was probably seigneur of Gauville at the time, was charged by Henry I with the guard of the Tower of Ivry. It was Raoul who tore out the eyes of the daughters of Eustace de Breteuil because their father had subjected Raoul's son to the same

⁹⁹ Charpillon 1879, 229.

¹⁰⁰ (*ibid.*)

¹⁰¹ (*ibid.*)

¹⁰² (*ibid.*)

¹⁰³ Charpillon 1879, 263.

torture.¹⁰⁴ The day after the festival of St John [25th June], 1136, Ralph, archdeacon of Evreux, returning from Pacy, was attacked by the sons of Simon Harenc de Gauville; he managed to take refuge in a chapel, but his servant was killed.¹⁰⁵ The family of Harenc were obviously better kept as friends!

In 1162, Robert Harenc, *seigneur de Gauville*, took part in the acts confirming all of the possessions of the abbey of Conches.¹⁰⁶

In 1212, Roger Harenc, confirms the gift of his father Raoul of the patronage of Gauville to the chapter of Evreux. He also sold to the canons the tithes which he had in the parish of Gauville, with the *moitié* of the tithes of his fief of Gauville along with a place of their choice where they could build a grange.¹⁰⁷

A very strange event took place in 1245 when Simon Harenc was excommunicated by the chapter of Evreux for, "having cut a cable in the chapter's grange at Gauville". Charpillon notes that, "Later, the chapter produced this piece [of cable], in order to prove their rights of jurisdiction".¹⁰⁸ It is not clear what this cable was used for – transporting felled-trees from the woods, supporting a bridge structure, etc. Whatever it was for it was obviously of some considerable value to the chapter and one gets the sense that this was, perhaps, the final act carried out by Simon in order to end some sort of dispute.

In 1318, there was a dispute between the chapter of Evreux and Simon Harenc (the son?) regarding the patronage of Gauville, and it is possible that this was a continuation of the dispute suggested above. At all event, the bishop of Evreux interceded in order to put an end to the dispute. In 1323, this same Simon renounced his claims to the patronage of Roncenay in favour of the abbey of Bec.

It would appear that Gauville had no communities dependent upon it, nor were there any subordinate fiefs in these lands.

21 Guernanville

(Eure, cant. Guernanville (Le Lesme))

Guernanville is only some 12km to the south-west of Conches-en-Ouches.

The abbey of Saint-Évroult, which had a longstanding association with the abbey of Le Bec stretching back to the community's foundation, sealed the bond of fraternity

¹⁰⁴ Charpillon 1879, 263.

¹⁰⁵ Charpillon 1879, 263.

¹⁰⁶ (*ibid.*)

¹⁰⁷ (*ibid.*)

¹⁰⁸ Charpillon 1879, 263, note (2).

between the two houses with a gift of possessions at *Guernanville*, where William fitz Osbern and the Tosny family, both early benefactors of Le Bec, had held lands.¹⁰⁹

After the foundation of the abbey of Conches, about 1065, Girold Gastinel gave to the monks there, two hamlets and two houses, along with the tithes of Guernanville, with the consent of Ralph (II)(iii) de Tosny 'whose fiefdom moved.'¹¹⁰

In 1128, Ralph de Tosny permitted the monks of Saint-Evroult to put one hundred pigs into the Forest of Conches and exempted the pigs which the monks had in the manor of Guernanville, from payment of 'panage'.¹¹¹

On 2 Jan 1190, at *Verneuil*, Richard I confirmed, by charter, the gift of Roger (III)(iv) de Tosny (Toenio) and Gilbert Crispini de Tilleriis, of the church of *Garnevilla* (Guernanville) with all its possessions and tithes, and all the men that the abbey has in that parish of the fee of *Conches* and the fee of *Tillieres*, free of all earthly dues, particularly from *escuage* (scutage) and *gardis* (castle guard), and giving the monks the freedom of *pannage* for their swine in the forests of Conches. In return the abbots gave each of the knights a hundred shillings of Anjou and a horse worth that sum. And, as the two were about to leave for Jerusalem and did not have their own seals with them, Richard, "at their prayer and earnest request," appended his own seal on the charter, confirming the agreement against all claims for ever.¹¹²

The following communities were dependent upon Guernanville: la Géromière, le Souchey, la Vallée, and Verdun.

¹⁰⁹ *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum: the acts of William I, 1066-1087*, D. Bates (ed.), Oxford, 1998, no. 166; Allen, Richard, 'The Ecclesiastical Patrons of Le Bec,' in A.-A. Porée, *Histoire de l'abbaye du Bec*, Evreux, 1901, Vol. I, 348, n. 2.

¹¹⁰ Charpillon 1879, 318.

¹¹¹ (*ibid.*), 318.

¹¹² 'Orne', in *Calendar of Documents Preserved in France 918-1206*, ed. J Horace Round (London, 1899), no. 646, (Lat. 11,055, fo. 28), pp. 218-248. *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/france/918-1206/pp218-248> [accessed 16 May 2020].



Figure 21: The Extent of the Lands of Guernanville.

22 Guerny (and Vesly)

(Eure, cant. Gisors)

The boundaries of these two estates can be seen on the maps shown below to be coterminous. The church of *Notre-Dame* at Guerny dates to the Merovingian age. There was a chapel dedicated to *Notre-Dame de Pitié* in the church at *Boury(-en-Vexin)* which was often called *the chapel of Guerny* since it was supported by tithes which came from lands/properties in Guerny.¹¹³ Boury is just to the north east of Guerny.

Berthe de Tosny, daughter of Raoul (I)(ii) de Tosny, married Guy de Laval, grand Seigneur du Bas Maine, c.1025. Consequently, she received two estates in the Norman Vexin (l'Épte), at *Vesly* and at *Guerny*. Her first-born son, Jean de Laval,

¹¹³ Charpillon, M. (1868) *Dictionnaire Historique de Toutes les Communes du Département de l'Eure*, Vol. 2, Les Andelys, Chez Delcroix, Libraire-Éditeur, 319.

https://books.googleusercontent.com/books/content?req=AKW5QadRZ9Ya5ujuoU2507Myr9GrnyuDp6OO6DIBa80Vi2pkeKHhjyySQ_OT7J1gOSwIDhbeFFkKEm17kZl1f52-ffi5DCcbnMU4gWnzsmOqKOD85OQhaDeQScAPkww7uy-PK8i641SubY2pKqJ_heNnDE3XOsWv8p_9hDuCOxTeYwWnhysPHGMm4GBG3KPMbGqkBrVgR0NMZzv5GposrKBf3R_t4JnifgCSxNbIzdbecUHghp_jQwvGhrzShwzjSzoNhmyuwNFIHWaYfa0WCuDE-qbmUgboQS3dQb8B_v0njeOzdugWU (accessed 16/01/2021).

donated half of these lands, and the church of *Guerny*,¹¹⁴ to the Abbey of Marmoutier when he became a monk there.¹¹⁵

Berthe's brother, Robert de Tosny de Stafford (1038-1088), at some point made a vain attempt to recover the lands of Guerny, but they remained removed from the heart of the Tosny 'honour' and in the hands of the community at Marmoutier.¹¹⁶

About 1060, Roger, son of Hellouin the Sénéchal and Ada his wife, gave to the monks of la Trinité-du-Mont a piece of land of "*quatre bœufs*" [four plough-gates] which was held of him in Guerny Albold, and, later, he entered the same monastery as a monk.¹¹⁷

In 1256, in a donation of William Crespin to the Knights Templar at Bourgout, the donor expressly excepted the woods of Gisancourt,¹¹⁸ which was to become a fief of Guerny.

Guerny had three dependent communities - les Bordeaux, Gisancourt, and le Moulin-de-la-Chaussée.

¹¹⁴ The church of Guerny brought with it "a mansura of land, two mills, seven acres of meadows, and seven peasant homes [*hospitis*]." [Fauroux, Marie, *Recueil des Actes des ducs de Normandie (911-1066)* (Caen: Societe des Antiquaires de Normandie, 1961), pp. 312-314, no. 137. (English translation by Richard Barton <https://www.uncg.edu/~rebarton/jean-laval.htm>)].

¹¹⁵ Jean de Laval was the eldest son of Guy de Laval and, as such, was heir to one of the most important lordships in Normandy. However, he became a monk of Marmoutier, and his father's titles passed to Jean's younger brother Hamon.

¹¹⁶ Musset, L., 'Aux origines d'une classe dirigeante: les Tosny, grands barons normands du X^e au XIII^e siècles', *Francia*, 5 (1978), 45-80, 74. <https://journals.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/index.php/fr/article/view/48691/42559>

¹¹⁷ Charpillon 1879, 319.

¹¹⁸ Charpillon 1879, 320.

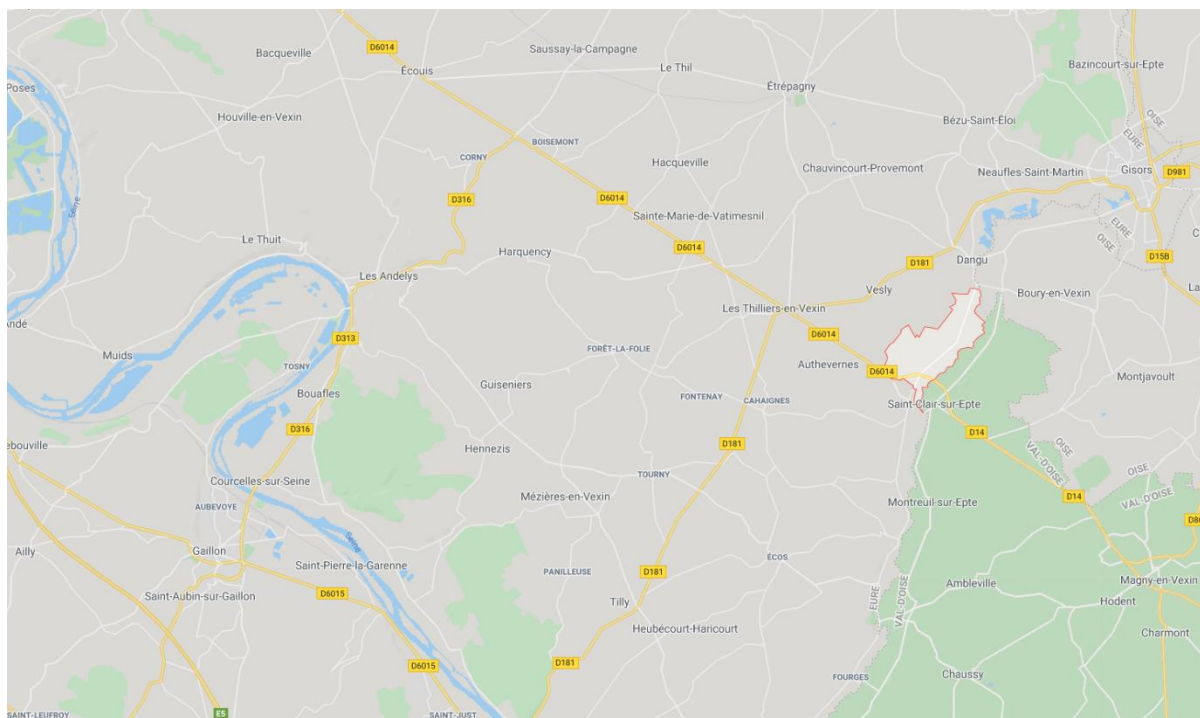


Figure 22. The extent of Guerny. Google

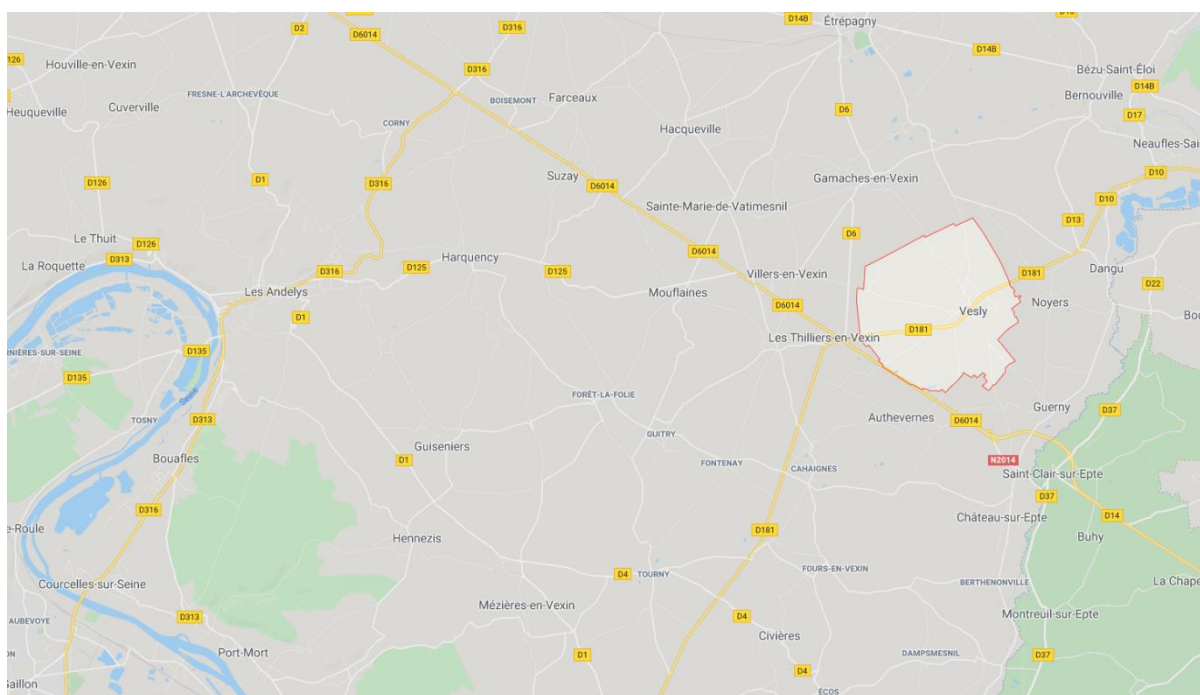


Figure 23. The extent of Vesly. Google

Note: Vesly also has a separate entry. See – no. 67.

23 Guimerville

(Seine-Maritime, cant. Blangy-sur-Bresle)

Guimerville is some 7km south east of Blangy-sur-Bresle.

It is recorded that between 1055-1066, Bérenger 'Hispinga', a member of the powerful lineage of the Tosny family, donated to the abbey of Saint-Ouen in Rouen certain lands in Guimerville.¹¹⁹ Musset says that Bérengar Hespina received certain lands in Pays de Caux from his father amongst which were those of Guimerville, near to Blangy-sur-Bresle and that these were the lands which he later passed to the abbey of Saint-Ouen.¹²⁰

In 1623, François Le Valliant received letters patent from Catherine du Cleves, Duchess of Guise and Countess of Eu, authorizing him to establish glassworks at Le Courval, located in the forest of Eu, between La Haye de Guimerville and Sénarpont.

24 Hacqueville

(Eure, cant. d'Étrépagney)

Described as an ancient chateau, fort and fief. It is also recorded that, in the fifteenth century, there was a priory here, dedicated to St. Stephen, that was dependent on the abbey of Conches.¹²¹

In 1040, Roger de Clères gave to the abbey of Conches, for the soul of Roger (I) de Tosny his seigneur, the church of Hacqueville and the tithes of Burey.¹²²

About 1220, Robert de Poissy founded a priory of Saint-Etienne at Hacqueville for the monks of Conches. Seven years later, Hugues de Mouflains, with the consent of his son Guerry, his wife Emeline and his other children, gave to the priory a 'setier' of good corn, of the measure of Andely, another of oats, 3d. and a capon, at Calletot, and a quarter of the tithes of his mill at Mouflaines; at the time Gatton was prior.¹²³

Pope Gregory IX, in 1234, confirmed the chapel of Saint-Etienne with its lands and dependencies.¹²⁴

Archbishop Eudes Rigaud visited the priory in 1265 when the prior was Brother Adam of Dieppe.¹²⁵

¹¹⁹ Bouvris, Jean-Michel, (1985) 'Contribution à une étude de l'institution vicomtale en Normandie au XIe siècle. L'exemple de la partie orientale du Duché: Les Vicomtes de Rouen et de Fécamp', in *Annales de Normandie*, 1985, 17, pp. 149-174, p. 161. https://www.persee.fr/doc/annor_0570-1600_1985_hos_17_1_6663 (accessed 27/01/2021); Orig., Arch. dép. Seine-Maritime, 14 H 805. Bérengar "l'Espagnol" de Tosny was a son of Roger (I) de Tosny and Godehildis.

¹²⁰ Musset 1979, 54.

¹²¹ Poret, B.E. (1877) *Dictionnaire Topographique du Département de l'Eure*, Paris, p. 107.

¹²² Charpillon 1879, 330.

¹²³ Charpillon, M. (1879) *Dictionnaire Historique de Toutes les Communes du Département de l'Eure*, Vol. 2, Les Andelys, Chez Delcroix, Libraire-Editeur, 331.

¹²⁴ (*ibid.*)

¹²⁵ (*ibid.*)

On 20 March 1341, Jean, bishop of Beauvais gave to Jehan de Gamaches, for the priory of Saint-Etienne at Hacqueville, a small vial of oil taken by him from the tomb of Saint-Nicholas de Bary.¹²⁶

In 1484, Robert Rosse, prior of Hacqueville, was elevated to become abbot of Conches.

There were two fiefs here: Hacqueville, and Douxmesnil.

Hacqueville had two dependent communities: Douxmesnil and le Prieuré.

25 Heuqueville

(Eure, cant. des Andelys)

This community was situated within the barony of Gisors. In a charter of Roger de Tosny it is called *Helgavilla*¹²⁷ which suggests a Viking ancestry.

From the very earliest days of the Norman conquest of this area, Heuqueville formed part of the great dominions in the Vexin belonging to the seigneurs of Conches. The parish church was dedicated to Saint-Germain and contains Romanesque features. The building was reconstructed in the thirteenth century and further work was carried out in the nave in the sixteenth century.

About 1035, at the time that Roger (I) de Tosny founded the abbey of Conches, he gave to it the church and tithes of this community, and a farm(er).¹²⁸ Later, in 1060, his son Ralph (II)(iii) de Tosny confirmed these gifts.

In 1060, Ralph de Tosny, Roger's son, gave the abbey of Conches the tithes and the fines (*amendes*) of Heuqueville.¹²⁹

In 1175, King Henry II of England, duke of Normandy, confirmed to the monks of Cormeilles, a free man (*vavasseur*) with his tenement in Heuqueville.

In 1218, whilst he was on Crusade and engaged in the siege of Damietta, Philippe-Auguste gave Walter 'Le Jeune', Fontaine-la-Guéard, Fretteville and Heuqueville, with the dependencies and rights of *seigneur*, which Roger de Conches had held for the service of two knights.¹³⁰

There were three fiefs in Heuqueville: Farain, la Haulle, and le Londe.

The following communities were dependent on Heuqueville: Aumare, le Busc, la Haule, le Londe.

¹²⁶ (*ibid.*) See <https://news.artnet.com/art-world/archaeologists-discover-tomb-saint-nicholas-1106684> for further information on Saint-Nicholas de Bary (Bari).

¹²⁷ Poret, B.E. (1877) *Dictionnaire Topographique du Département de l'Eure*, Paris, p. 114.

¹²⁸ Charpillon, M. (1879) *Dictionnaire Historique de Toutes les Communes du Département de l'Eure*, Vol. 2, Les Andelys, Chez Delcroix, Libraire-Editeur, 378.

¹²⁹ Charpillon 1879, 378-9.

¹³⁰ Charpillon 1879, 379.

26 Houlbec-Cocherel

(Eure, cant. Vernon-sur-l'Éure)

The parish church of Houlbec, dedicated to Saint-Pierre, was in the presentation of the seigneur. Cocherel was a separate parish in ancient times. Its parish church was dedicated to Notre-Dame.

The fief of Houlbec is comprised of two parts – Houlbec-la-Salle and Houlbec-le-Pré. In 1210, Godefroy Blaru was tenant of the fief of Houlbec-le-Pré.

This was the site of a celebrated battle fought between the forces of Charles V of France and Charles II of Navarre on 16 May 1364. The battle was to settle the disputed Dukedom of Burgundy. Charles V was the victor in spite of his forces being outnumbered.

In the twelfth century, Roger de Baudemont [Beaumont], seigneur of Houlbec, gave the land known then as *Chantelou*, and later called *la Moinerie*, situated at Houlbec and extending to some 474 acres, to the abbey of la Noë. In 1197, Robert de Picquigny who was married to Heudebourg de Baudemont, approved this donation given to la Noë.¹³¹

The patronage of the parish church of Cocherel, which was part of the deanery of Vernon, was a subject of dispute between the abbey of Saint-Ouen and the seigneur.¹³²

Cocherel was divided into two parts: Haute-Cocherel which was within the barony of Crèvecœur, and Bas-Cocherel, which was within the barony of Grâce, at Saint-Pierre-de-Bailleul.¹³³

The following were dependent communities: la Calterie, Cocherel, les Garnières, la Grande-Fortelle, le Haute-Cocherel, Houlbec, la Moinerie, la Potterie, la Tuillerie.

27 Irreville

(Eure, cant. North Evreux)

The seigneurie d'Irreville formed a part of the barony of Acquigny which was a Tosny barony.

In 1200, William d'Irreville, gave to the leppers of Evreux two acres of land situated in Tréville, which he had following his marriage to his wife, daughter of Ralph de Graville.

¹³¹ Charpillon 1879, 389.

¹³² Charpillon 1879, 390.

¹³³ Charpillon 1879, 390.

The lands in Irreville that were given to the chapter of Evreux, were used to form the prebend of Irrevilles united with that of Avrilly and were assigned for the maintenance of the dean (*doyen*) of the chapter of the cathedral.¹³⁴

In 1202, Robert Malapou gave, to the chapter of Evreux, two-thirds of the tithes of corn and wine of Irreville along with two-thirds of the patronage of the church. Soon afterwards, this gift was confirmed by Luc, bishop of Evreux, and again, in 1221, by his successor, Raoul de Cierrey,¹³⁵ then bishop.¹³⁶

In the month of October 1229, A., dame d'Irreville, married Guérin du Moncel; the two of them gave to the chapter of Evreux their part of the patronage of the parish church of Irreville and a piece of land, near the hovel (*la mesure*) of Garnier, priest of the said place.¹³⁷

The ville of *Pourry* was a dependency of Irreville.

28 Jouy-sur-Eure

(Eure, cant. South Evreux)

In roman times this community was called *Gaudiacum* (*lieu agréable et de plaisir*).

Among the properties of the abbey of Jumièges, in the times of Charles the Bald (843 – 877), one finds a place named *Gaudiacus*, which applies to our Jouy-sur-Eure. The church, which was dedicated to Sainte-Pierre, was in the gift (patronage) of Jumièges Abbey.¹³⁸

Between 923 and 936, William Longsword returned his ville at Jouy to the Abbey of Jumièges, with the consent of Hardrada who held it. Richard II, between 996 and 1030, mentions the restitution (to Jumièges?) of Jouy by his ancestors. For his part, Archbishop Robert II (990-1037) renounced the rights he had over this domain, as Count of Evreux.¹³⁹ In 1040, Duke Robert mentioned Jouy, as being a property of Saint-Peter of Jumièges.

Ralph de Conches, son of Godechilde,¹⁴⁰ about 1072, gave to the abbey of Jumièges, in the presence of Richard and Dottier de Jouy, the site for a mill in the village of

¹³⁴ Charpillon 1879, 409.

¹³⁵ Charpillon, M. (1879) *Dictionnaire Historique de Toutes les Communes du Département de l'Eure, Vol. 2, Les Andelys*, Chez Delcroix, Libraire-Editeur, 409.

¹³⁶ https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Raoul_de_Cierrey (accessed 22/01/2021). Ralph became a canon of Evreux about 1198, and was dean of the cathedral chapter from 1201 - 1220. He died 18 March 1223.

¹³⁷ Charpillon, M. (1879) *Dictionnaire Historique de Toutes les Communes du Département de l'Eure, Vol. 2, Les Andelys*, Chez Delcroix, Libraire-Editeur, 409.

¹³⁸ Charpillon, M. (1879) *Dictionnaire Historique de Toutes les Communes du Département de l'Eure, Vol. 2, Les Andelys*, Chez Delcroix, Libraire-Editeur, 421.

¹³⁹ (*ibid.*), 421.

¹⁴⁰ This is Ralph (II)(iii) de Tosny (1029 – 1102).

Fontaines, with the right of way to Jouy; the abbot Robert gave Ralph, in exchange, the prayers of the convent, a horse and 20s.¹⁴¹

There are frequent references to a prior of Jouy from at least as early as 1198 when a prior named Garnier is mentioned leaving us to conclude that Jumièges had built some form of priory here. On 9 May 1250, archbishop Eudes Rigaud, spent the day at the expense of the priory and he recorded that; "There are two monks of Jumièges, we found all things in good condition, they returned about 4,000l of revenues to the abbey." However, only five years later he found that all was not well and the monks were not living strictly by the Rule; "There are two monks who do not observe the young people well... They eat meat without necessity." In 1412, Nicolas Leroux, monk of Jumièges, born in Rouen, prior of Jouy, was named abbot of le Croix-Saint-Leufroy; he was replaced by Pierre d'Ailly († 1420), "*célèbre cardinal*," bishop of Cambrai, who consented to the union of the priory and the abbey, on the condition that the monks, who were at Jouy, should be given a pension of 40l. for life.

A bull of Pope Clement VII dated 1524, declared that the domains of Jouy and Gauciel were specially reserved to the abbot of Jumièges.

In 1537, the abbot of Jumièges, Francois de Fontenay, decided to sell the woods of Jouy, of Gauciel and of Crenne, which contained close to 300 acres. The 3,500 l. he received was used to repair the vault over the choir and the infirmaries at the abbey.¹⁴²

Dependencies: La Cornouilleraie; Cresne. Le Pavillon, Les Pleignes; Les Vallois.

29 La Ferrière-sur-Risle

(Eure, cant. Conches, sur la Risle)

From early times this *ville* was renowned for its iron forges and metalworkers but, by the end of the eighteenth century, only one forge was left producing some 350 tonnes of cast (pig) iron.¹⁴³ This association with iron-working led to its ancient name of *Novæ Ferrariæ*. The immense value of the iron deposits resulted in fortifications being built from Roman times to defend the property and to a succession of camps and an early castle also.¹⁴⁴

The parish church, which was dedicated to St-Georges, was in the Diocese of Evreux.

¹⁴¹ Charpillon 1879, 421.

¹⁴² Charpillon, M. (1879) *Dictionnaire Historique de Toutes les Communes du Departement de l'Eure, Vol. 2, Les Andelys*, Chez Delcroix, Libraire-Editeur, 422; Deshayes, C.A. (1829), *Histoire de l'abbaye royale de Jumièges*, Rouen: Impr. de F. Baudry.

¹⁴³ Richard, Guy, La Grande Métallurgie en Haute-Normandie à la fin du XVIII^e siècle, in *Annales de Normandie*, 12^e année, n° 4 (1962), 263-289, 266.

¹⁴⁴ Charpillon 1879, 171.

About 1069, Ralph (III)(iv) de Tosny and Godehilde, his mother, gave the church with its tithes to the abbey at Conches. The same Ralph, and his wife Isabelle de Montfort, in 1085, gave a woodturner and 'panage' in the forest of Conches, a forge in La-Ferrière-sur-Risle, and other items, to the Abbey of Bec.¹⁴⁵

In 1136, La-Ferrière-sur-Risle was the site of a battle between Roger (II)(iii) de Tosny and Richard de l'Aigle, accompanied by Auvray de Verneuil, who were routed.

About 1188, Roger (III)(iv) de Tosny, having founded the chapel of Saint_Mathieu at Conches, gave 10s. for the maintenance of the lamp {lights} from the stalls (*étaux*) of La-Ferrière-sur-Risle, or by default, from the provostry (*la prévôté*). It is noted that the 'noble sergenterie' of La-Ferrière-sur-Risle was a quarter hauberk, reporting to Conches, and that the *noble sergeantry* of Villiers-en-Ouche, had been dismembered.

There was a lepper hospital (*une léproserie*) dedicated to Saint-Blaise in the Forest of Conches that was dependent upon La-Ferrière-sur-Risle. In 1404, the Viscount of Conches and Breteuil, in the name of the king, payed to the inmates a rent of 9s. The chapel was a place of pilgrimage each year.¹⁴⁶

In the years following the Norman conquest, La-Ferrière-sur-Risle shared the same fate as Conches as successive families were given possession of the lands by the king of the time.¹⁴⁷

There are no dependencies listed by Charpillon.

30 La Plancher

(Eure, cant. south Evreux)

La Plancher lies to the south of the [D63] approximately 2km. east of Sassey. All that now remains is a farm. It formed a fief of Fontaine-sous-Jouy (No. 18).¹⁴⁸

In 1419 it is recorded that for a very long time le Plancher, in the parish of Fontaine-sous-Jouy, had belonged to the abbey of Conches.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁵ Charpillon 1879, 171.

¹⁴⁶ Charpillon 1879, 172.

¹⁴⁷ Charpillon, M. (1879) *Dictionnaire Historique de Toutes les Communes du Departement de l'Eure, Vol. 2, Les Andelys, Chez Delcroix, Libraire-Editeur, 172.*
https://books.googleusercontent.com/books/content?req=AKW5QadRZ9Ya5ujuoU2507Myr9GrnyuDp6OO6DIBa80Vi2pkeKHhjySQ_OT7J1gOSwIDhbeFFkKEm17kZl1f52-ffi5DCcbnMU4gWnzsmOqKOd85OQhaDeQscaAPkww7uy-PK8i641SubY2pKqJ_heNnDE3XOsWv8p_9hDuCOxTeYwWnhysPHGMm4GBG3KPMbGqkBrVgR0NMZZv5GposrKBf3R_t4JnjfgCSxNbIzdbecUHghp_jQwvGhrzShwzjSZoNhmyuwNFIHWaYfa0WCuDE-qbmUgboQS3dQb8B_v0njelOzdugWU (accessed 16/01/2021).

¹⁴⁸ Charpillon 1879, 205.

¹⁴⁹ Charpillon 1879, 205.

31 La Puthenaye

(Eure, cant. Beaumont)

La Puthenaye is one of the three fiefs of Romilly-la-Puthenaye (No. 51) – the other two being Romilly and Bougy.

About 1065, Gilbert de Clères gave to the abbey of Conches, the church of St-Aubin de la Puthenaye, with the tithes of the land of Roger the chaplain, with the consent of Ralph (II)(iii) de Tosny, his suzerain.

Between 1210 and 1299, a piece of land in la Puthenaye was given or sold to the Templars de St-Etienne de Renneville.¹⁵⁰

32 La Ronce

(Eure, sud d'Evreux)

La Ronce was one of the five fiefs of Fontaines-sous-Jouy (No. 18).

Pierre de la Ronce remembered in 1201 that his father, Ralph de l'Enfer, and his predecessors, had sold to the monks of Jumieges a *muid*¹⁵¹ of Longueville wine.¹⁵²

33 Le Bos Hion

(Eure, cant. Conches-en-Ouche)

Le Bos Hion lies about 3km. west of Saint-Vigor (No. 58). It was a community dependent upon that of Orvaux.¹⁵³

Boscus Hugonis is mentioned in a charter of Robert IV, earl of Leicester in 1196.¹⁵⁴

Musset writes that le Bos Hion (Boshion) was the home of a family of that name who were of "the second circle" of association with the Tosny family "and hardly appear elsewhere" other than in the charters of Conches.¹⁵⁵

34 Le Nuisement

(Eure, cant. Conches-en-Ouche)

Le Nuisement is a relatively common name in the area to the south and south-west of Conches-en-Ouche – there is one near Manthelon; one near Condé-sur-Iton; a

¹⁵⁰ Charpillon 1879, 713. The Templar Commandery of Saint-Etienne-de-Renneville the Order's most important Commandery in Normandy. It was founded in the middle of the twelfth century by Richard d'Harcourt, seigneur de Rennville (c.1085-1162). The Commandery, now a farm, lies a short distance south east of Sainte-Colombe-la-Commanderie.

¹⁵¹ The *muid* is a liquid measure. In the time of Henry IV, about 1590, he decided that a *muid* of wine was equivalent to 200 pints of Saint-Denis or 300 pints of Paris.

¹⁵² Charpillon 1879, 205.

¹⁵³ (*ibid.*), 621. Where it is called *Boshion*.

¹⁵⁴ Poret 1877, 29. This is Robert de Beaumont, 4th Earl of Leicester. His aunt (his father's sister), Margaret de Beaumont, married Raoul (IV)(v) de Tosny c.1155.

¹⁵⁵ Musset 1978, 77.

third at Le Sap-André; and a fourth at Sainte-Gauburge-Sainte-Colombe. However, reference to both Musset's map (above Figure 1) and Moore's map (above Figure 2) reveal that, in the opinion of both authors, these Tosny lands are those near Nogent-le-Sec and Manthelon.¹⁵⁶ There is certainly no doubt that Nogent-le-Sec (No. 43) was a Tosny property and le Nuisement lies only 2km. south east of Nogent-le-Sec, along the [D140] leading to Mesnils-sur-Iton.

In 1280, we find that Ralph of Nuisement had given to the abbey of Conches, certain tithes of Gilbert of Minières which he had in the village of Nogent.¹⁵⁷ The link shown here between the name of 'de Nuisement' and Nogent-le-Sec seems inescapable.

In the thirteenth century the bishops of Évreux had lands here which, in 1273-80, were redeemed from the leasee so that they were re-incorporated into the episcopal lordship here.¹⁵⁸

Today, set in the midst of rolling arable land, there remains a small hamlet with no sign of any buildings of significant antiquity. However, these lands would have provided a good income for an industrious tenant-farmer and his master.

35 Les Baons-le-Comte

(Seine-Maritime, cant. Yerville)

Musset observes that, "two charters in favour of the abbey of Lyre, so beloved of the Breteuil family, indicate they were elements of the dowry of Adeliza, daughter of Roger (I) de Tosny and his wife William Fitz Osbern. The first listed is Trisay (No. 60) with its dependency of Marnières (Eure, cant. Rugles) and Ribramont (unidentified) (below No. 37);¹⁵⁹ les Baons-le -Comte (Seine-Maritime, cant. Yerville; the churches of Pont-Saint-Pierre (i.e. Sant-Nichols, Saint-Georges, and Saint-Crespin) and the *redecima* of Val de Pîtres.¹⁶⁰

36 Louversey

(Eure, cant. Conches-en-Ouche)

¹⁵⁶ Coordinates: 48.907231989064904, 1.0229434662521844

¹⁵⁷ Charpillon 1879, 596.

¹⁵⁸ Jordan, W.C. (2019) *Servant of the Crown and Steward of the Country: the Career of Philippe of Cahors*, University of Toronto Press, 63.

https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=ohK_DwAAQBAJ&pg=PA106&lpg=PA106&dq=le+Nuisement+normandy&source=bl&ots=0SjPzdz_IN&sig=ACfU3U1FetvmhPOEWMoeW5VbbFtRBidH8A&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwixis34zbDpAhVQWRUIHVxSDOcQ6AEwA3oECACQAQ#v=onepage&q=le%20Nuisement%20normandy&f=false (accessed 13/5/2020).

¹⁵⁹ Although Musset says that this community is 'unidentified' I believe that it is Roubremont

¹⁶⁰ *Redecima* was either the cost of transporting the tithe payments or an additional payment required over and above the tithe. (See Constable, G. *Monastic Tithes: From their Origins to the Twelfth Century*, Volume 10 of Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought: New Series, Cambridge University Press (1964), 104.)

The Roman road to Chartres passed through le grand et le petit parc de Conches and the territory of Louversey which lie some 4km north west of Conches-en-Ouches. Louversey was composed of two parishes, namely, Louversey and Mesnil-Vicomte.

In 1035, Roger (I)(ii) de Tosny gave to the abbey at Conches the tithes of a 'plough' and a 'hostelry' (*d'une charrue et d'un hotage*) at Louversey.¹⁶¹ Thirty years later, Robert de Romilly gave to the same house, two 'sheaves' (*gerbes*) of the tithes of Louversey, with the consent of Ralph (II)(iii) de Tosny (1029 - 1102). Towards 1085, Richard de Romilly the younger, son of the previously mentioned Richard, the church of Louversey and the fief of Roger, son of Berthe, to the abbey of Conches.¹⁶²

About 1080, Raoul de Berville, son of Raoul, "when walking in the garden", gave two sheaves (*gerbes*) of the tithes of Ifs (to the abbey of Conches), in the presence of William de Romilly and of Richard his son.

In 1532, within the fief of Manoir-du-Bois (part of Louversey), there was to be found a Chapel of St Bartholomew, to which Jean de Conches, seigneur of this place, had the right of presentation.¹⁶³

The monks of Conches preserved their possessions up to the time of the Revolution.

There were five fiefs in the parish of Louversey itself: Breuil-Poignard, les Ifs, le Hamel, Manoir-du-Bois, and Saint-Calais.

The following communities were dependencies of Louversey: les Bosquets, le Breuil-poignard, la Couture, la Fosse-au-Jean, la Fosse-au-Loup, la Gastine, les Grands-Ifs, le Hamel, le Manoir-du-Bois, le Mesnil-Vicomte, les Petits-Ifs, la Rue-Bernard, Saint-Calais.

37 Marnières, (Trisay and Rubremont).

Marnières, Trisay and Rubremont were the possessions of Lyre Abbey. Trisay is about 1km north-west of La Vieille-Lyre (where William FitzOsbern built his abbey), along the *Rue de l'Abbaye*; Rubremont is about 2km north of Trisay; Marnières is some 6km west of La Vieille-Lyre and some 4km south of Le Barre-en-Ouche. All of these properties were within easy reach of the abbey. All three properties were given by William FitzOsbern and his wife Adeliza de Tosny to the abbey they founded at Lyre and are recorded in the original charters.

About 1248, Philippe de la Chette and his wife sold to the abbey of Lyre a tenement at Marnières.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶¹ Grande Charte de Conches.

¹⁶² "Roger, fils de Berthe" presents a difficult with the Tosny genealogy.

¹⁶³ Charpillon, M. (1879) *Dictionnaire Historique de Toutes les Communes du Département de l'Eure*, Vol. 2, Les Andelys, Chez Delcroix, Libraire-Editeur, 453.

¹⁶⁴ Charpillon 1879, 591. La Chette was one of the seven fiefs of Neuve-Lyre.

Montdidier). However, when Roger released Ralph without any ransom being paid, Duke William was outraged and confiscated all of Roger's lands, including Mortemer itself with its castle. Although Roger soon returned to William's favour, and thus recovered most of his lands, he never recovered Mortemer. Roger lived on in Saint-Victor-en-Caux where he endowed a priory that was raised into an abbey in 1074. It was a Benedictine house.

41 **Mussegnos**

(Eure, comm. Ecouis, cant. Fleury-sur-Andelle).

Mussegnos lies some 6km north east of les Andelys. The parish church was dedicated to Sainte-Vierge and Saint-Prix, a bishop of Clermont in Auvergne who was martyred in 673.¹⁶⁵ The lands of Mussegros were a fief of Ecouis and there was a second fief called Villerets.

The family of *de Mussegros* were vassals of the Tosnys in England and, at the time of Domesday Book, Roger ('de Musegross') is shown as holding Monnington in Herefordshire of Raoul (II) (iii) de Tosny.¹⁶⁶ Roger de Mussegros' name appears in a list of those who accompanied William the Conqueror to Hastings.¹⁶⁷

After the Conquest it would appear that Roger de Mussegros returned to his home lands. He is known to have been a good friend of Ralph (II)(iii) de Tosny as well as holding lands of him.

¹⁶⁵ This is St Praetexatus who became bishop of Clermont in 666 and was murdered 25 January 676, as a result of the political struggles of the time. There is another saint of the same name and also commonly called St Prix - he was bishop of Rouen from 549 until his assassination in 586. It is tempting to differ with Charpillon and to suggest that it was the bishop of nearby Rouen that is commemorated at Mussegros, rather than a bishop of the much more distant Clermont.

¹⁶⁶ *Domesday Book*, I, 185a2; 183a2, (where it is called '*Manitune*'). Before the Conquest these lands were held by Earl Harold. The Tosny holdings in Herefordshire included Ford (*Forne*), Broadfield (*Bradefelde*), Sarnesfield (*Sarnesfelde*), Monkland (*Leine*), Willersley and Winforton (*Willaveslege et Widferdestone*), Chadnor (*Chabenore*), Monnington on Wye (*Manitune*), Dinedor (*Dunre*), Westhide (*Stoches/Hide*), Ashperton (*Sptune*), and Stoke Edith (*Stoches*). These lands form a swathe running eastwards from Clifford castle to the border of Worcestershire, which castle itself became Tosny property c.1075. Remfry, P.M. *Clifford Castle, 1066-1299*, unpublished paper available at https://www.academia.edu/883040/Clifford_Castle_1066_to_1299 (accessed 12/5/2020)

¹⁶⁷ In the church of *Dives-sur-Mer*, Calvados, there is a plaque which records the names of the *seigneurs* who fought at the Battle of Hastings. Roger de Mussegros' name is 418th in the list of 475 members of the nobility. <http://www.ecouis.fr/fr/information/89964/mussegnos-hameau-chateau> (accessed 12/5/2020)

(William the Conqueror departed to England from *Dives-sur-Mer*.) The names of Raoul, Roger and Berengar de Tosny also appear in this list. <http://www.robertsewell.ca/dives.html#r>

Domesday Book, drawn up c.1086, records that Roger de Mucegros also held lands in chief in England.¹⁶⁸

By 1200, the family of Boury seem to have been in possession of Mussegros.¹⁶⁹

42 Nagel-Seez-Mesnil

(Eure, cant. Conches)

Occasionally, this community is known simply as Nagel. It lies across the [D840] road as it comes out, heading south, from Conches-en-Ouches and is no more than 4km along the road. Nogent-le-Sec (No. 43) lies immediately to the east.

About 1075, Ralph de Nagel witnessed a charter of Raoul de Tourny (*sic.*) in favour of the abbey of Lyre.¹⁷⁰

In 1095, Gerelin de Vernay gave the tithes of all of his lands (at *le Buisson Vernay*) and of Nagel, to the abbey of Saint-Pierre de Conches, with the consent of Ralph (III)(iv) de Tosny, from whom the fief depended.¹⁷¹

The gift, by Hubert de Boshion, to la Noé, in 1200, of 10 acres of the fief of Arnaud de Bois at Nagel – with the approval of Arnaud de Bosc and his son of the same name – makes no mention of the Tosny family and it would seem reasonable to assume that these lands had passed out of their hands by this date.

There were two fiefs here: le Bourlier and le Buisson Vernay.

The following communities were dependent upon Nagel: les Bourliers, la Bretèche, les Buissons and la Lande.

43 Neaufles-sur-Risle

(Eure, cant. Rougles, sur la Risle)

This estate is not mentioned by Moore. However, about 1046, in the grand charter of the abbey of Lyre, it is mentioned as being part of the dowry of the countess Adeliza de Tosny (d. 1065), wife of William Fitz Osbern.¹⁷² This being the case then a part of Neufles must have been Tosny property before the marriage, possibly held in feu from the Fitz Osberns.

43 Nogent-le-Sec

(Eure, cant. Conches)

¹⁶⁸ He held, as tenant-in-chief, Laysters and Lower and Nun Upton, both in Wolfhay, Herefordshire, and he had the titles of lord of Laysters, Upton and Monnington (-on-Wye).
<https://opendomesday.org/name/roger-of-mussegrs/> (accessed 26/02/2021).

¹⁶⁹ Charpillon 1879, 24.

¹⁷⁰ Charpillon, M. (1879) *Dictionnaire Historique de Toutes les Communes du Département de l'Eure*, Volume 2, Les Andelys, 571. The author mistakes the donor here who is, in fact, Ralph (II)(iii) de Tosny.

¹⁷¹ Charpillon 1879, 572.

¹⁷² Charpillon 1879, 580.

Nogent-le-Sec lies some 7km south-east of Conches-en-Ouches. The parish church was dedicated to Saint-Hilaire. It was an important region for mining iron-ore.

This was one of the Tosny possessions that fell to William d'Evreux during *la Guerre des Belles Dames*.

In 1155, Haimery de Nogent signed a charter of Roger (II)(iii) de Conches in favour of the abbey of Bec.¹⁷³

In 1240, there appears an interesting grant by Mathilde, wife of Robert de Courtenay who was by then *seigneur* of Conches. It reflects on the arrangements within the Castle of Conches as regards the chapels: Mathilda granted to the cure/priest of Minières, "who came to officiate at the chapels of the Castle of Conches, the right to obtain his wood for heating in the forest".¹⁷⁴

Charpillon reveals that there were six fiefs here: Bois Chevreuil, Fief a Renauld, les Gomberts, le Ménillet, Tilleul-Gibon, and Sergenterie au Graveron.

The following communities were dependent upon Nogent-le-Sec: le Bout de la Ville, le Bois Chevreuil, les Grands Gomberts, le Ménillet, les Minières, le Moulin-a-Vent, les Petits Gomberts, Pincheloup, le Tilleul-Gibon, la Redoute.

44 Orvaux

(Eure, cant. Conches-en-Ouche)

When Raoul de Tosny, founded the abbey of Conches, about 1065, Robert d'Orvaux gave to the monks there the tithes of this his parish.¹⁷⁵ In the same charter we find also the names of Etienne, Guimond, Guillaume et Raoul d'Orvaux. Other members of the family, Gautier, Roger et Mathieu d'Orvaux, are mentioned in various charters of 1174, 1194, 1202 and 1210.¹⁷⁶

Raoul, son of Mathieu d'Orvaux, gave, in 1230, all the lands which he had at Tournedos, and which had been brought to the family by his mother's marriage. She was Avicie Harenc.

In 1474, Jean Lesprévier, seigneur d'Orvaux, was Counsellor, Master of Requests and Baillie of Evreux.

The community of *Boshion* (le Bos Hion, No. 33) was dependent on Orvaux.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷³ Charpillon 1879, 596.

¹⁷⁴ Charpillon 1879, 596

¹⁷⁵ Charpillon makes a rare error here – the abbey of Conches was founded by Roger (I) de Tosny in 1036.

¹⁷⁶ Charpillon 1879, 621.

¹⁷⁷ Charpillon, M. (1879) *Dictionnaire Historique de Toutes les Communes du Département de l'Eure*, Volume 2, Les Andelys, 621.

45 Parville

(Eure, cant. nord d'Evreux).

The Roman road from Evreux to Brionne passes through this parish.

The church is very old and is dedicated to la Sainte-Trinité. It is mentioned in a charter of 996 given in favour of Saint-Taurin.¹⁷⁸

The parish and lands (*le patronage et la seigneurie*) of Parville were given to the monks of Evreux and they seem to have maintained possession up to 1789.¹⁷⁹

There are no fiefs or dependencies listed.

46 Pîtres

(Eure, cant. Pont-de-l'Arche)

Being situated at the junction of the Seine, Eure and Andelle rivers this village has played a significant role throughout history although today it has very much less importance.

The remains of two amphitheatres, a hypocaust system, and an aqueduct, are ample proof of the Roman pedigree of this community. Also, archaeological excavations in the cemetery of the parish church of *Pîtres* (medieval *Pistres*) have revealed a number of cinerary urns dating to the time of the Gauls. There is mention of *Pîtres* in a charter of Clotaire in favour of the abbey of Chelles in 660. At the time of the Viking invasions, a fortified bridge was built c.861 across the Seine at nearby *Pont-de-l'Arche*, however, in August 865, the crews of fifty Viking ships landed and settled at *Pîtres*.

King Pepin II of Aquitaine, against whom Charles the Bald († 877)¹⁸⁰ had been fighting for decades, was captured in 864 and was formally deposed at *Pîtres*, and that same year, on 25 July 864, the [*Edict of Pîtres*](#) was promulgated here.

In c.1070, Roger de Beaumont gave the lands of *Pîtres*, amongst other possessions, to la Madeleine at Rouen to furnish bread and wine for celebrating the Mass. About 1070, William de Breteuil gave to the monks at the abbey of Lyre all of the tithes of the valley of Pîtres. We see here that *Pîtres* – the community or *ville* – was not the same as the possession which was known as the Valley of *Pîtres*. Ralph and Gacel, his heirs, gave to Ralph (III)(iv) of Conches, Pont-Saint-Pierre and the valley of Pîtres. So, by the beginning of the eleventh century, the valley of *Pîtres* was in the

¹⁷⁸ Charpillon 1879, 628.

¹⁷⁹ Charpillon, M. (1879) *Dictionnaire Historique de Toutes les Communes du Département de l'Eure*, Volume 2, Les Andelys, 628.

¹⁸⁰ Charles the Bald, a grandson of Charlemagne, had a palace at Pont de l'Arche. The town was known as one of the 'gates of Normandy' and the old bridge survived up to 1850.

hands of the Tosny family and it was one part of the dowry given to Adeliza de Tosny when she was married to William FitzOsbern (see No. 61).

However, by 1119 these lands of the *ville* of Pîtres seem to have returned to the Tosny family. They were certainly in the hands of Margaret (de Beaumont) (1125-1185), widow of Raoul (IV)(v) de Tosny and mother of Roger (III)(iv) de Tosny, when they were given in fief and tribute to Raoul de Bologne.¹⁸¹

Charpillon lists three fiefs here: les Essarts, la Poterie, and la Vallée-Galentine.

Dependent on *Pîtres* were the communities of: les Essarts, l'Isle-Sainte-Hélène, le Port-du- Pîtres, la Valée-Galentine.

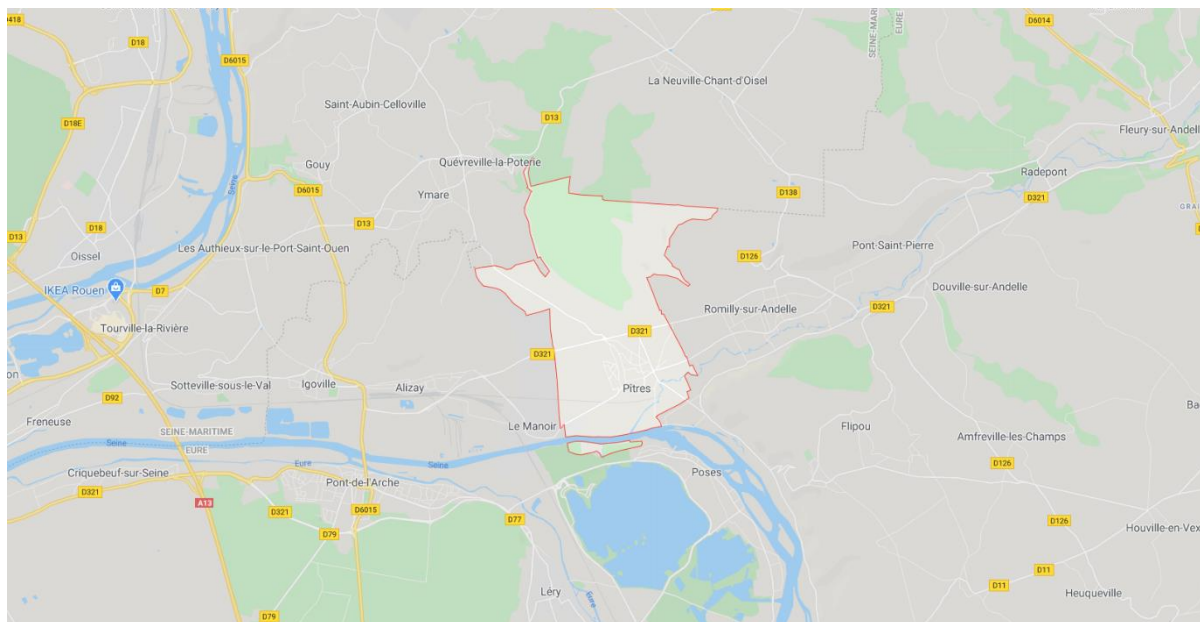


Figure 25. The Extent of the lands of Pîtres. Google

47 Planches

(Eure, cant. Louviers)

The church was dedicated to Notre-Dame and the *Seigneur des Planches* was the patron.

¹⁸¹ *Actes de Philippe August* (ed.) Monicat, no. 936, p.529.

<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k114540f/f1186.image.texteImage> Phillip Augustus gave Raoul all that 'Marguerite' (Margaret de Beaumont) had at *Pont-Saint-Pierre*, at *Romilly-sur-Andelle*, at *Pîtres*, and in the *Forest of Longboël*. (This small forest was in the hills to the north of *Pont-Saint-Pierre* and was the property of William FitzOsbern in 1068. [Deville (1841), pp. 450-1] It was known for its good deer-hunting.) He also conceded to Raoul *le Plessis-Nicolas*, to be held according to the uses and customs of Normandy. The charter is dated 1206, in the 27th year of Philip Augustus' reign, and was given at 'Pontem Arche' (*Ponte l'Arche*).

There is known to have been a fief called Les Plis here.

The hamlet of *Néant* was a dependency of Les Planches.



Figure 26: Extent of the lands of Planches.

48 Plessis-Mahiet

(Eure, cant. Beaumont-le-Roger).

Plessis Mahiet, which is now subsumed within Plessis-Sainte-Opportune, lies about 11km north-west of Conches. The 'modern' parish incorporates the three former parishes of Plessis-Mahiet, Ste-Opportune-la-Campagne, and St-Léger-le-Gautier.

About the middle of the twelfth century, Richard de Romilly, vassal of the 'comtes de Conches', gave the church of Saint-André-du-Plessis-Mahiet to the abbey of Bec, and this act was confirmed by his son Richard. Perhaps because of the abbey's patronage, the church has been richly endowed with religious paintings (polychrome on stone), sculpture and woodwork. The church building is said to date from the twelfth century.

"Roger de Conches donna à l'abbaye du Bec l'usage de sa maison du Plessis-Mahiet et le bois pour brûler dans la forêt de Conches." He made this gift for the sake of his own soul and for those of his predecessors and successors.¹⁸²

¹⁸² Le Prevost, M. Auguste, *Mémoires et Notes pour servir à l'Histoire du Département de l'Eure, II*, collected and published at Évreux (1862-1869) by L. Delisle and L. Passy, p. 547.
<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k5743335z/f560.image.texteImage>

This manor was rented in 1230 to Robert, dean of Conches, who received the bishop of Evreux there.¹⁸³

The following communities are dependencies of Plessis-Sainte-Opportune: les Anges, les Argililiers, le Chesnay, la Huanière, le Mesnil-Binet, Moraines, les Quatre-Vents, St-Léger-le-Gautier, Ste-Opportune-la-Campagne.

49 Pont-Saint-Pierre

(Eure, cant. Romilly-sur-Andelle)

In the 'old days', Saint-Nicolas de Pont-Saint-Pierre and Saint-Pierre de Pont-Saint-Pierre formed two parishes separated by the Andelle river, but the latter is by the the more ancient of the two communities. Saint-Nicolas formed part of the archdeaconry of the Vexin and bailiery of Gisors, whereas Saint-Pierre was in the archdeaconry and bailiery of Rouen.

In the early era, Pont-Saint-Pierre was part of the domains of the dukes of Normandy and they built a fortification here in order to protect the valley of the Andelle.

As we have seen when considering Anceins (*vide supra*), c.1116, Richard II de Gael (Goel) was eventually able to overcome the military resistance of certain barons in his lands of Breteuil, and, at the same time, to win the friendship of his powerful Tosny neighbours which he did by granting them his demesne holdings at Pont-Saint-Pierre.¹⁸⁴

In the summer of 1119, king Henry I (1100-1135), 'fell out' with Eustache de Breteuil, to whom he had given his illegitimate daughter Julienne in marriage, and marched on Pont-Saint-Pierre and destroyed it.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸³ Charpillon 1879, 644. The diocese of Evreux had three archdeaconries, of which one was that of Ouche. Within this archdeaconry there were seven deaneries: Breteuil; Conches; l'Aigle; Lyre; Nonancourt; Ouche; Verneuil. Each of these had a dean, a position very similar to the *rural dean* in England and the *dean of Christianity* in Scotland.

¹⁸⁴ Crouch, David, (1986) *The Beaumont Twins: the Roots and Branches of Power in the Twelfth Century*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 108; O.Vitalis, vi, p. 250.

¹⁸⁵ Charpillon, M. (1879) *Dictionnaire Historique de Toutes les Communes du Departement de l'Eure*, Vol. 2, Les Andelys, Chez Delcroix, Libraire-Editeur, 674.

https://books.googleusercontent.com/books/content?req=AKW5QadRZ9Ya5ujuoU2507Myr9GrnyuDP6OO6DIBa80Vi2pkeKHhjyySQ_OT7J1gOSwIDhbeFFkKEm17kZI1f52-ffi5DCcbnMU4gWnzsmOqKOD85OQhaDeQscaAPkww7uy-PK8i641SubY2pKqJ_heNnDE3XOsWv8p_9hDuCOxTeYwWnhysPHGMm4GBG3KPMbGqkBrVgR0NMZzv5GposrKBf3R_t4JnjfgCSxNbIzdbecUHghp_jQwvGhrzShwzjSZoNhmyuwNFIHWaYf_a0WCuDE-qbmUgboQS3dQb8B_v0njelOzdugWU (accessed 16/01/2021).

Later, King Henry II (1154-1189), with the consent of Ralph de Goel, nephew and heir of William de Breteuil,¹⁸⁶ gave Pont-Saint-Pierre and the valley of Pîtres to Ralph de Tosny, seigneur de Conches. The new seigneur set about re-building the fortifications that had been destroyed in 1119.

In 1136, Roger de Tosny, Ralph's son, was besieged in the castle/fortification at Pont-Saint-Pierre by Thibaut, count of Blois, but William de Fontaine was able to lift the siege.

The church of St-Nicholas was given by William fitz Osbern to the abbey of Lyre, which donation was confirmed by Roger (I)(ii) de Tosny. This gift was again confirmed by Robert, earl of Leicester in 1320. The church of St-Pierre was confirmed to the abbey of Bec in 1145.

These lands belonged to the Dukes of Normandy who built a castle or fort here to provide protection to the valley of the Andelle. In 1089, the lands were restored by Duke Robert to William of Breteuil († 2 January 1103). In 1119, King Henry I, with the agreement of Ralph de Goel (Gale), nephew and heir of William de Breteuil, gave Pont-St-Pierre, with the valley of Pîtres, to Ralph (III)(iv) de Tosny. Ralph set about re-constructing the castle which had been destroyed in 1119. In 1136, Roger (II)(iii) de Tosny, son of Ralph (III)(iv), was besieged in the castle by Thibaut, count of Blois; but the siege was raised by William de Fontaine.¹⁸⁷

The following were fiefs of Pont-Saint-Pierre: Beaufrepaire, Gouy, la Vigne, les Maisons.

Dependent communities were – Beaufrepaire, Bacqueville, le Cardonnel, Fontaine-Guérard, la Vigne.

50 Portes

(Eure, cant. Conches).

The family of Guillaume de Portes, son of Richard de Portes, held their fief of the Tosny family – Portes being only a little distance north-west of Conches. The Portes family also held land in England from the Tosny.¹⁸⁸

About 1150, Roger de Portes signed as witness a number of charters of Roger (II)(iii) de Tosny in favour of the abbey of la Noe.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁶ William de Breteuil had died 2 January 1103, and his illegitimate son, Eustache, had then seized the estates of Pont-Saint-Pierre and Breteuil.

¹⁸⁷ (*ibid.*), 674.

¹⁸⁸ Richard de Portes held Almely in Worcestershire c.1130-1150 [Musset (1978, 77)]. At the time of Domesday Book, Walter de Portes held Almely of Ralph (II) (iii) de Tosny.

¹⁸⁹ Charpillon, M. (1879) *Dictionnaire Historique de Toutes les Communes du Département de l'Eure*, Vol. 2, Les Andelys, Chez Delcroix, Libraire-Editeur, 678.

There was a substantial castle here which was built by the Tosnys. It was demolished in 1200 as a consequence of the charter agreed between the kings of France and England. The motte was still visible in the 1870s situated in a field close to the parish church.

In 1203, after the conquest of Normandy, Philippe-Augustus, in order to punish Roger de Portes for his attachment to the English king, confiscated all of his possessions in the Evrecin and gave them in heritage to Bernard du Plessis.

There were the following fiefs in Portes: le Breuil, Crèches, Vavasseur or Breuilpotier.

Dependent on Portes were the communities of: Beauvais, les Buissons, les Crèches, Filmains, Fourneaux, le Grand-Breuil, and le Petit-Breuil.

51 Romilly-la-Puthenaye.

(Eure, cant. Beaumont)

This estate was held in fief of the Tosnys by the 'de Romilly' family. They were always close to the Tosnys and were part of the close circle of friends who were always close at hand. Very often in Tosny charters one finds the name of one of the Romilly family at the head of the list of signatories. They held the fiefs of the Tosny lands of Romilly-la-Puthenaye (Eure, cant. Conches), Gringneuseville (Eure, comm. Glisolles, cant. Conches), and Chanteloupe (Eure, cant. Damville). These were all within a day's ride of the Tosny castle at Conches.

The parish church, dedicated to Saint-Pierre, was in the gift of the abbey of Lyre.

About 1075, Robert de Romilly became a monk and he, along with his wife and three sons - William, Robert and Richard - gave to the abbey of Saint-Pierre at Conches, where he entered the religious life, the *moitié* of the tithes of Collandres and two sheaves of the tithes of Louversey, all with the consent of Ralph (II)(iii) de Tosny, his suzerain.¹⁹⁰

In 1143, Richard, son of William de Romilly, makes a gift to the abbot and community at Bec Abbey with the assent of Roger (II)(iii) de Tosny.¹⁹¹

In 1159, Ernould de Romilly signed, as witness, a charter of Ralph (IV)(v) de Tosny in favour of the priory of l'Estrée.¹⁹²

¹⁹⁰ Charpillon 1879, 711.

¹⁹¹ Le Prevost, M. Auguste, *Mémoires et Notes pour servir à l'Histoire du Département de l'Eure*, II, collected and published at Évreux (1862-1869) by L. Delisle and L. Passy, p. 547-8.

<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k5743335z/f561.image.texteImage>

¹⁹² Charpillon 1879, 711.

In 1198, Giselbert de Minières paid 100 l. to Henry de Gray, baillie of Verneuil, for the king, in order to have the right to claim against Roger (III)(iv) de Tosny the land of Richard de Romilly. After the Conquest of Normandy, Philippe-Auguste gave the position of Sénéchal of the lands of Conches to the family of Minières.¹⁹³

Within the castle at Romilly a chapel was built which was dedicated to the Holy Trinity (*la Ste Trinité*), which led, in 1226, to an argument between the seigneur of Romilly and the local parish priest which required the intervention of the Official of Evreux to resolve.

Three fiefs existed here: Romilly, Bougy, and la Puthenaye.

Dependencies: Bougy, les Carrières, les Champs, la Charbonnerie, Doie, le Haute-Buisson, les Jardins, la Lande, les Marieux, le Marquisat, la Mouton-Nière, la Noe, le Manoir, le Nouveaux-Monde, les Perrois, la Puthenaye.

(See also La Puthenaye, No. 31.)

52 Romilly-sur-Andelle and Pont-Saint-Pierre

(Eure, cant. Fleury)

These were the estates immediately to the east of Pîtres. It is thought that they were both given by Archbishop Hugues to his brother Raoul (i) de Tosny since they appear to have been church lands in 872. They formed part of the dowry of Adeliza de Tosny. Pont-Saint-Pierre was not really known or mentioned separately before the middle of the 11th century, but it soon grew in importance after that.¹⁹⁴

A castle was built at Pont-Saint-Pierre and its location was of strategic importance since it was located at the crossing point of the Andelle river and effectively controlled the whole of the lower Andelle valley. It should also be emphasized that Pont-Saint-Pierre is a place associated with the Cult of St Nicolas, which developed in Normandy from the start of the eleventh century.¹⁹⁵ Two miracles performed by the saint in Normandy were reported by a monk of the Abbey of Bec in 1125.¹⁹⁶ It would be permissible to describe this area of the Val de Pîtres as 'saintly property'

¹⁹³ Charpillon 1879, 711.

¹⁹⁴ Musset, L., 'Aux origines d'une classe dirigeante: les Tosny, grands barons normands du X^e au XIII^e siècles', *Francia*, 5 (1978), 45-80, 72. <https://journals.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/index.php/fr/article/view/48691/42559>

¹⁹⁵ On this point, see Gazeau, V., (2002), Vol. I: *The Benedictine abbots of the Norman principality (911-1204)*, p. 220, 227. The cult of Saint Nicolas spread from the years 1020/1030, in particular under the influence of characters from Germany, such as Isembert, abbot of La Trinité-du-Mont de Rouen (1033-1055).

¹⁹⁶ One of these miracles occurs in the context of a dispute between Guillaume de Breteuil, who recovered Pont-Saint-Pierre in 1089 and Gérard de Gournay, probably during the conflict between Guillaume, count of Evreux (allied to Guillaume de Breteuil) and Raoul II de Tosny (supported by Etienne, count d'Aumale and Gérard de Gournay) around 1090-1092 (*Orderic Vital*, vol.4, p. 212-216).

whose possession conveyed and element of direct access to a saintly power.¹⁹⁷ It is not surprising that it was fought over so often and for so long by the representatives of the Breteuil and Tosny families and formed a part of the dowry of Adeliza whose marriage to William FitzOsbern was designed to end the endless feuding.

Note: Pont-Saint-Pierre has its own entry – no. 49.

There were eight fiefs in Romilly-sur-Andelle: Cormielles, le Bec, Hauterive, les Minières, les Marais, Moulin-du-Pré, Moulin le Roy, and Saint-Crespin.

The following communities were dependencies: l'Épinette, la Fontaine-d'Argent, le Grand-Moulin, le Grand-Parc, la Grande-Ruelle, l'Isle-Saint-Hélène, le Marais, le Moulin-Cabot, le Moulin-des-Deux-Amants, le Moulin-des-Planches, les Moulins-Ponché, Perpignan, la Ravine-du-Trou.

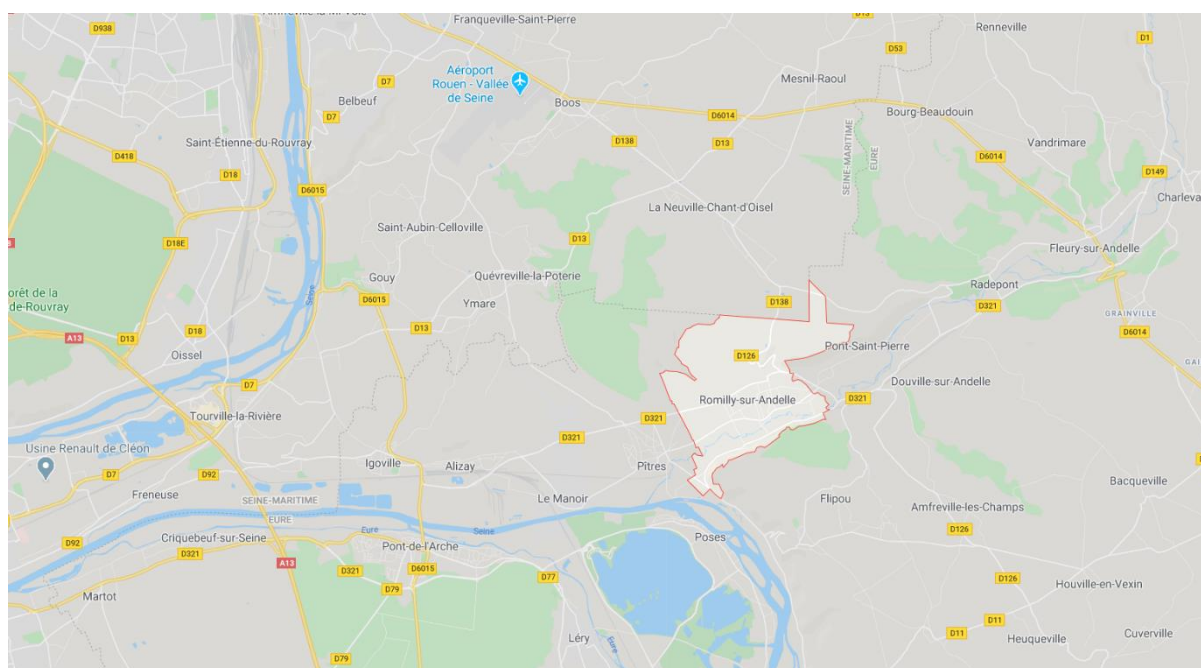


Figure 27. The extent of Romilly-sur-Andelle. Google

¹⁹⁷ Bauduin, Pierre, 'Around the back of Adeliza de Tosny: marriage and control of the territory in Normandy (XI^e-XII^e centuries)', in *Local authorities in central and western France (8th-11th centuries): Establishment and means of action*. Rennes: Rennes University Press, 2005, section 15 and note 77. (accessed 08/05/2020) <https://books.openedition.org/pur/27493?lang=en>



Figure 28. The extent of Pont-Sainte-Pierre. Google

53 Roubremont.

(Eure, cant.)

Rubremont, like Marnières and Trisay was a possession of Lyre Abbey. Trisay is about 1km north-west of La Vieille-Lyre (where William FitzOsbern built his abbey), along the *Rue de l'Abbaye*; Rubremont is about 2km north of Trisay; Marnières is some 6km west of La Vieille-Lyre and some 4km south of Le Barre-en-Ouche. These properties were all within easy reach of the abbey. All three were given by William FitzOsbern and his wife Adeliza de Tosny to the abbey that they founded at Lyre and are all recorded in the original foundation charter.

54 Rouen

(Seine-Maritime).

Roger de Tosny possessed a meadow near the bridge over the Seine at Rouen.¹⁹⁸

55 Saint-Aignan-sur-Ry

¹⁹⁸ Charpillon, M. (1868) *Dictionnaire Historique de Toutes les Communes du Département de l'Eure*, Volume 1, Les Andelys, 817.

https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=d_ssAAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=Dictionnaire+Historique+de+Toutes+les+Communes+du+D%C3%A9partement+de+l%E2%80%99Eure+Charpillon&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwjHnYv1pMfpAhXCURUIHQdYcGUQ6wEIMDAA#v=onepage&q=Dictionnaire%20Historique%20de%20Toutes%20les%20Communes%20du%20D%C3%A9partement%20de%20l%E2%80%99Eure%20Charpillon&f=false (accessed 22/05/2020).

(Seine-Maritime, cant. le Mesnil-Esnard)

The bell-tower of the church dates back to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The church was donated by Roger de Clères to the abbey of Saint-Ouen in Rouen and later given to the Priory of Mathurin de Rouvray.¹⁹⁹

56 Saint-Arnoult-sur-Ry

(Seine-Maritime, cant. Seine inf.)

A hamlet of Blainville-Crevon (No. 6), de Buchy, it had 77 habitants c.1839.²⁰⁰ The church of Saint-Arnoult dates from the thirteenth century.

57 Saint-Christophe-du-Foc

(Manches, cant. Les Pieux)

This estate is thought to be that called *le Fagum* which formed part of the dowry of the duchess Judith of Brittany (982-1017), between 996-1008.²⁰¹ The Tosny family received Saint-Christophe-du-Foc by ducal grant sometime after 1017.²⁰² By the 1020s it appears still in the hands of the Tosny family and we find it again c.1080.

The Original Tosny vassals were the family of Hugues de Foc (Hugues 'le bouteiller'). It was he who, on the day of the foundation of the abbey of Saint-Etienne at Caen in 1063, with the permission of his suzerain, Ralph (II)(iii) de Tosny, donated the church of Saint-Christophe-du-Foc to the abbey.²⁰³

The patronage of the parish church was later given to *la Trinité at Caen*.

¹⁹⁹ <https://76.monvillagenormand.fr/Eglise.php?NumEglise=4760177> (accessed 21/01/2021).

²⁰⁰ Briand-de-Verze (1839) *Nouveaux Dictionnaire de la France*, 3rd edn., Paris, Belin-Leprieur, 54.

²⁰¹ Faroux, M. (ed.) (1961) *Recueil des Actes des Ducs de Normandie (911-1066)*, Caen, n° 11, p. 85. (Her dowry lands comprised lands in the Lieuvin, Cinglais and the northern Cotentin regions, Saint-Christophe being part of the last-named.)

²⁰² Moore, J. (2017) 'The Norman Aristocracy in the Long Eleventh Century: Three Case Studies,' unpublished DPhil thesis, Oxford University, 95.

²⁰³ Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie, 3rd Series, 2nd Volume, XXII Volume de la Collection, (1836), Paris, Derache, p. 208.

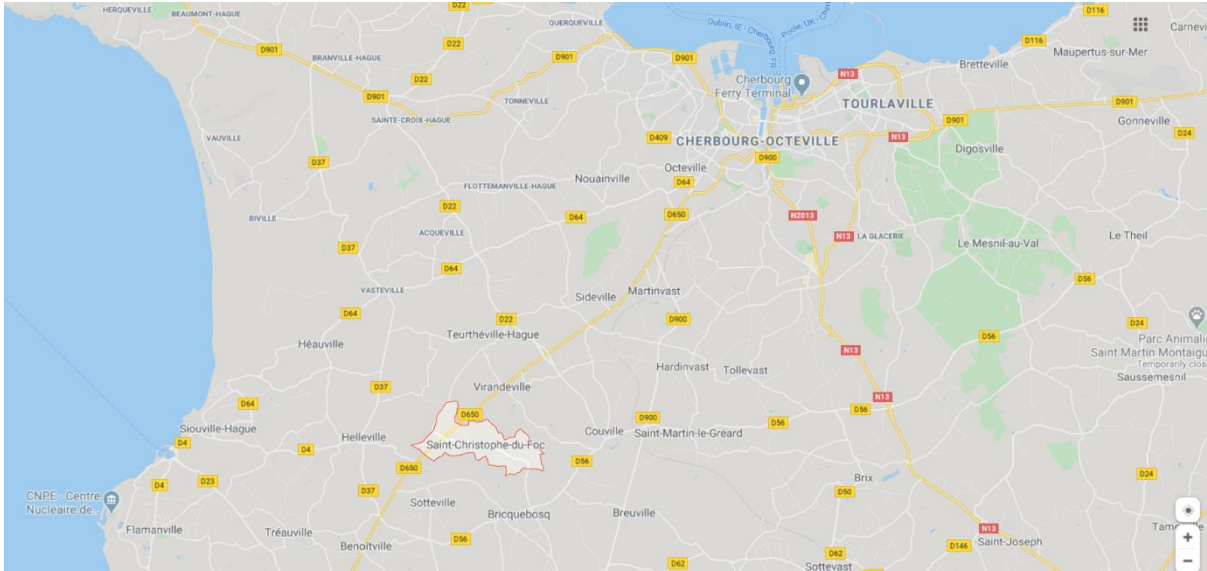


Figure 29. Extent of Saint-Christophe-du-Foc.

58 Saint-Vigor

(Eure, cant. South Evreux)

About 1067, as part of the continuing foundation process of the abbey of Conches, Ralph (II)(iii) de Tosny gave to the monks there the tithes of the revenue from the taxes on the mills, and of all his lands, both in meadow and wood, of Saint-Vigor.

In 1214, Heuton, the priest of Fontaines²⁰⁴, gave to the chapter of Evreux cathedral, the right of presentation to the church of Saint-Vigor which he had inherited from his father.²⁰⁵

There were the following fiefs in Saint-Vigor: Chantelou, Crèveœur, le Mesnil-Anseume, Fiéf Petit.

Saint-Vigor had the following *dependances*: Chanteloup, la Côte-la-Dalle, l'Henimée, le Mesnil-Anseume (No. 38).²⁰⁶

59 Tosny

(Eure, cant. Gaillon)

The lands of *Tosny* sit across the River Seine from *Les Andelys* and both estates were originally part of the patrimony of the Archbishop of Rouen – Hugues de Calvacamp. Faroux suggests that the gift of Tosny to his brother Raoul seems to

²⁰⁴ Possibly Fontaines-sous-Jouy (above, no. 18).

²⁰⁵ Charpillon 1879, 873.

²⁰⁶ Charpillon, M. (1879) *Dictionnaire Historique de Toutes les Communes du Département de l'Eure, Vol. 2, Les Andelys*, Chez Delcroix, Libraire-Editeur, 875.

have taken place c.1014, since it is from that time that Raoul became known as “de Tosny.”²⁰⁷ But this can not be true since Hugues de Calvacamp is known to have died in 989, so the gift must have been made before that year. Also, it is now considered that, at this time, two individuals successively bore the name ‘Raoul de Tosny’ – Raoul (i) (c.915-c.970) the brother of Hugues, and Raoul (I)(ii) (c.970-c.1024) who was the son of Raoul (i) and nephew of Archbishop Hugues.²⁰⁸ Hugues became archbishop of Rouen c.942 and I suspect that his programme of ‘alienation’ of episcopal properties may have commenced soon after – perhaps as early as c.950.

Tosny is still, today, a rural gem set into a large meander of the River Seine. Stunning chalk cliffs border the north bank where the river has eroded the land over many centuries and to the south a plain of alluvial deposits forms a rich, low-lying, expanse of farmland that provides much of interest to the agriculturalist. The River Seine flows steadily past providing an arterial route from the coast to Paris (and beyond) which has been used by generations of traders since before the time of the Northmen.



Figure 30. *les Andelys, looking west, with the lands of Tosny on the left bank.*

The village of Tosny itself is small and, as we have said, is overlooked at a distance by the towering defensive curtain walls of *Château Gaillard*, known to have been a favourite of its builder, King Richard I “the lionheart”.

²⁰⁷ Fauroux, Marie (ed.) (1961) *Receuil des Actes des Ducs de Normandie (911-1066)*, Caen, no. 15, p. 96.

²⁰⁸ *vide supra* “Conches” n. 11.



Figure 31. Château Gaillard in the morning mists.

Tosny's parish church of Saint-Sulpice is modest but retains many details which reveal its ancient Norman pedigree.

On an island (*Île Latour*) in the river, close to the bank on the Tosny side, Roger (III)(iv) de Tosny (1160-1209) is said to have built a fortified tower (effectively a motte-and-bailey) to complement the vast stone edifice of Château Gaillard. This fort, known as [Château de Boutavant](#),²⁰⁹ was built c.1198, but was dismantled soon after in 1202, even though Richard I had spent a considerable sum of money assisting Roger de Tosny in its construction.²¹⁰

The family built a castle on the Tosny estate, and some consider this to be the structure which is situated a little distance to the south-west of the village along the Route de Gaillon [D176]. However, it has little to commend it as a Norman castle and the ground around it seems devoid of any substantial archaeology. The evidence shows that this tower was built after the time of the Tosny ownership of the estate and it is very like the many medieval fortress towers that one finds in the region of Gaillon. It is reported that there are medieval remains incorporated into the much later Château Tosny (Figure 33. *Château Tosny today*.) and that these probably represent the remains of the earliest fortification built here by the Tosny family.

²⁰⁹ Little remains to be seen – simply a copse of trees on a roughly square mound.

²¹⁰ On Île Latour, N 49° 12' 53"; E 1° 22' 21" "Boutavant", une fortification plantée dans L'île de Tosny comportant tour, pont, estacade et constructions sur la rive opposée. "Boutavant, a fortification situated on the Island of Tosny comprising a tower, a bridge, a boom and a collection of buildings on the opposite bank." [Minerey, Jean (1991) *Récits et Documents pour servir a l'histoire de Gaillon et d'Alentour*, Editions Bertout, 27.]
<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k33305530/f29.image>



Figure 32. Some consider this to be the remains of the Tosny's Castle [N49°12'37.9", E1°21'18.2"]. [Google](https://www.google.com/maps/@49.2104096,1.3551568,3a,75y,338.52h,89.65t/data=!3m6!1e1!3m4!1sKnajcf4nMSGYkXyQXbp4Xw!2e0!7i16384!8i8192?hl=en)



<https://www.google.com/maps/@49.2104096,1.3551568,3a,75y,338.52h,89.65t/data=!3m6!1e1!3m4!1sKnajcf4nMSGYkXyQXbp4Xw!2e0!7i16384!8i8192?hl=en>

The records of the French Ministry of Culture certainly show that there are the remains of a 12th century fortified castle in within the later 17th and 18th century buildings of the *Château de Tosny*, on *Rue Saint-Sulpice*. As you travel south out of the village it is on the right-hand side, just before you reach the Route de Gaillon [D176].

In about 1080, Ralph (II)(iii) de Tosny (de Conches) (1029-1102) gifted to the abbey of St. Evroul, "two measures of a vineyard" at Tosny (*Toneium*), as recompense to the abbey's community for having helped Ernald de Eschaufour to burn their town! This mention of a vineyard reveals one of the agricultural uses of the lands of Tosny.²¹¹

In 1217, Philippe Auguste gave to Cadoc, châtelain de Gaillon, the castle of Gaillon, and that of Tosny, of which he had possession, along with the land of Jean de l'Île in Feuguerolles.

The impressive buildings of the Château have recently been renovated by a private owner.

²¹¹ 'Orne', in *Calendar of Documents Preserved in France 918-1206*, ed. J Horace Round (London, 1899), pp. 218-248. *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/france/918-1206/pp218-248> [accessed 16/5/2020].



Figure 33. Château Tosny today.



Figure 34. The extent of the lands of Tosny. [Google](#)

60 Trisay

(Eure, comm. La Vieille-Lyre, cant. Rugles)

The early history of these lands is far from clear, but some writers suggest that *Trisay* is the same as *le Tritiacum*, said to have been given, in the time of Dagobert, to the Abbey of Fontenelle. What is certain is that the lands of Trisay, with its mill, formed part of the dowry of Adeliza (Alice) de Tosny, when, about 1045, she became the wife of William FitzOsbern.²¹²

It was here that William FitzOsbern, and his wife Adeliza de Tosny, founded and endowed the Benedictine Abbey of Notre-Dame at Lyre in 1046. After the Norman Conquest, William was given great estates in England and he used the income from many of them to support his abbey at Lyre to the extent that it became one of the Norman abbeys with the greatest landholdings in England.²¹³ Both William and his wife were buried in the abbey.



Figure 35. Effigy of Adeliza de Tosny (†1065) at Lyre.

Within Trisay there were seven fiefs: Buisson-Morel, le Chalet, le Mesnil-de-la-Bretèche, le Tertre, le Ton, Trisay, and Val-Drouard.

²¹² (see Val-de-Pîtres, below, also part of her dowry lands.)

²¹³ Lyre was the mother house for several monasteries in England, including, *Carisbrooke* (Isle of Wight), *Hinckley* (Leicestershire) up to 1399, *Livers Ocle* (Herefordshire), and *Wareham* (Dorset).



Figure 36. Extent of the lands of Trisay (la Vieille-Lyre). [Google](#)

61 Val de Pîtres

(Eure, cant. Pont-de-l'Arche)

When Adelisa de Tosny, daughter of Roger (I)(ii) de Tosny, married William FitzOsbern,²¹⁴ seigneur de Breteuil, she received lands near Rugles, in the area of Caux, and, most especially, the vast estate of Val de Pîtres, on the lower course of the River Andelle. The common history of the relationships between the Tosny family and the lords of Breteuil was punctuated by deep rivalries, one of the major theatres of which was precisely the Val de Pîtres and Pont-Saint-Pierre.²¹⁵ This marriage, then, can be seen as being the focus of an important reconciliation between the two families.

However, most importantly, as Musset notes, "*le Val de Pîtres réintégra ensuite (en 1119) le fief de Tosny.*"²¹⁶

²¹⁴ This marriage is dated to sometime before 1050.

²¹⁵ Bauduin, Pierre, 'Around the back of Adelise de Tosny: marriage and control of the territory in Normandy (XI^e-XII^e centuries)', in *Local authorities in central and western France (8th-11th centuries): Establishment and means of action*. Rennes: Rennes University Press, 2005, para. 4. (accessed 08/05/2020) <https://books.openedition.org/pur/27493?lang=en>

²¹⁶ Musset 1957, 74.



Figure 37. The Extent of Pîtres. Google

62 Valeuil

(Eure, cant. Conches-en-Ouches).

Valeuil was a fief of Conches.²¹⁷

Valeuil was, in the eleventh century, the property of a knight who took his name from these lands. He donated them to the new abbey at Conches at the time of, or soon after, its foundation in 1034.

In 1419, the monks of the abbey of Conches owned the manor of Valeuil with all its lands.²¹⁸ There was also a leper hospital in the hamlet at about this time.

²¹⁷ Charpillon 1868, 827.

²¹⁸ (*ibid.*), 827.

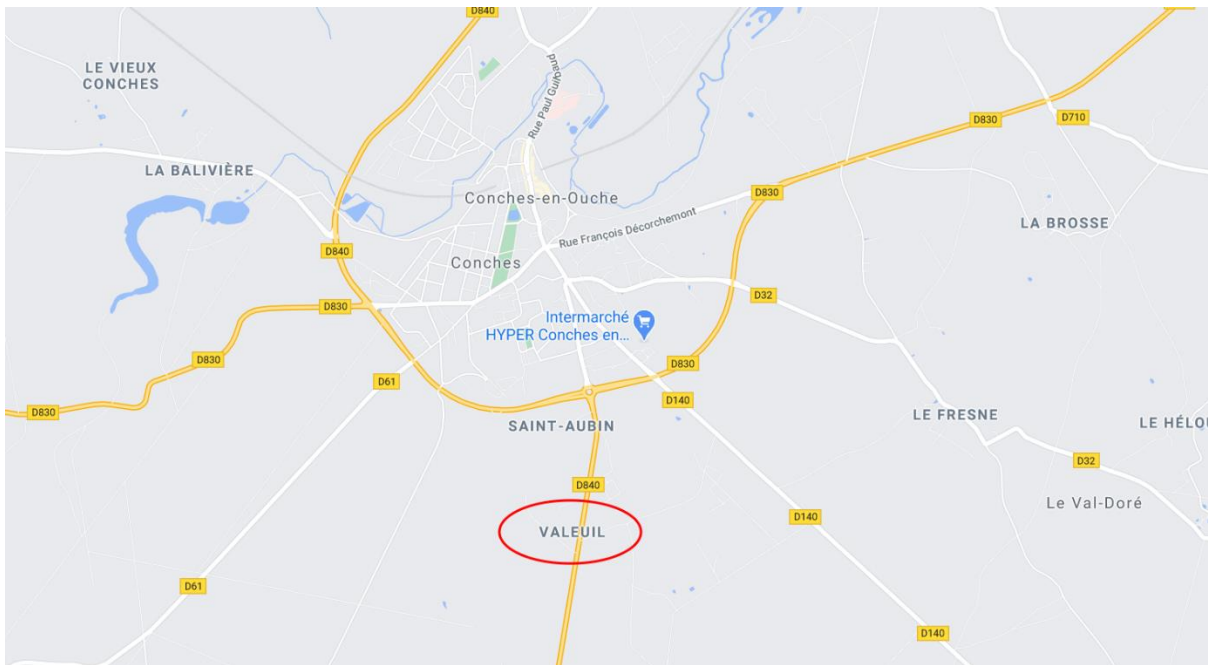


Figure 38: The hamlet of Valeuil just south of Conches-en-Ouche.

63 Valliquerville

(Seine-Maritime, cant. Yvetot).

The church, which is dedicated to Notre-Dame, dates from the thirteenth century.

This is a farming area about 40km northwest of Rouen.

In the eleventh century Robert de Mesnières, lord of Valliquerville, built a fortress surrounded by a wooden palisade in order to control passage along an ancient Roman Road and also to maintain order in the environs of the Béthune valley. Together with his wife Renza he made donations in 1043 to the Benedictines of Sainte-Catherine du Mont, near Rouen, the charter being countersigned by William the Conqueror. This family had associations with Le château de Mesnières and a member of this same family is supposed to have carried the name to Scotland at the end of the twelfth century where it became 'Menzie's'.²¹⁹ The same family gave rise to that of 'Manners' in England, ancestors of the Dukes of Rutland.²²⁰

There was a knightly family living here before the Norman Revolution who took the name Valliquerville.

64 Varengeville-sur-Mer

(Seine-Maritime, cant. Yvetot).

²¹⁹ Sir Robert Menzie's, Lord Chamberlain of Scotland in the time of King Alexander II, is thought to have been born in Normandy at Mesnières-en-Bray, c.1177. <https://www.geni.com/people/Sir-Robert-Menzie's-Lord-Chamberlain/6000000003615401306> (accessed 19/01/2021).

²²⁰ Squire, Romily (ed.) (1994). *Collins Scottish Clan & Family Encyclopedia*. HarperCollins, pp. 272 - 273.

The parish church here was dedicated to Saint-Valery and was painted on a number of occasions by Claude Monet and Jean Francis Auburtin.

65 Varengeville

(Seine-Maritime, cant. Yvetot).

66 Veauville (-les-Baons)

(Seine-Maritime, cant. Yerville).

A certain Girauld Gastinel held lands in several of the estates which comprised the 'fortune' of the Tosny family, notable amongst which were Veauville-les-Baons (Seine-Maritime, cant. Yerville) and at Acquigny (Eure, cant. Louviers). The cartulary of Conches records certain acts of this family which show that they also possessed parts, if not the whole of, Parville (Eure, cant. nord d'Evreux) (No. 45). A Girauld Gastinel subscribed to the acts of Ralph (II)(iii) de Tosny in favour of Saint-Evroul and Jumièges c.1080.

67 Vesly

(Eure, cant. Gisors).

Vesly-en-Vexin, in the diocese of Rouen, was anciently called Velli, Velly, Verlei and later Wailley, Vely, etc.

The priory of Vesly, dedicated to Saint-Martin, which was a dependency of the Benedictine abbey of Marmoutiers near Tours, was founded by Hugues de Chaumont at the same time that St-Ouen de Gisors was founded.²²¹

A charter confirmation was executed before 1064 by Ernoulf de Villanis, giving property in Vesly to the monks of Marmoutiers and another was executed in 1076 by Richard de Miry (de Miriaco) also confirming possessions in Vesly, given to the monks by his father, Onfroy, presumably about 1066.

Osberne de Vesly gave lands to the monks of Vesly, just before 1064, which gift, Milo de Vesly, his son, confirmed shortly after 1066. The latter states that he (Milo) was in England at the time of the execution of the charter and his father's subsequent death, which leads us to the conclusion that his absence was occasioned by his participation in the battle of Hastings. Charpillon²²² and Caresme are of the opinion that William, Hugues and Robert de Vesly accompanied duke William to England in 1066, in

²²¹ Charpillon, M. (1879) *Dictionnaire Historique de Toutes les Communes du Département de l'Eure*, Vol. 2, Les Andelys, 981.

²²² (*ibid.*), 981.

which they are supported by Delisle, who inscribed the latter two names on the *Dives roll*.²²³

In 1105, the barons who held lands of the church of Rouen on both sides of the River Epte, gathered at the priory of Vesly in order to witness the restoration of land at Gisors to the cathedral chapter. They included Payn de Gisors or Neaufles.²²⁴

The Crispin family, lords of Dangu, were large donors to the priory of Vesly in the 12th and 13th centuries, among which gifts were two made in 1180x1224, and 1216, by William Crispin, lord of Lisors and Dangu, son of Joscelyn. In 1260 his grandson, William Crispin, then lord of Dangu, was the sole patron of this priory, which was held by his descendants until the French Revolution, with the exception of a short period during the 15th century.

There was a *Chapel of Ste-Catherine* in Vesly which seems to have been under the patronage of the Benedictine community of La Trinité-du-Mont in Rouen. The chapel had a farm attached to it which the abbot leased out.²²⁵

Miracle of the Virgin.²²⁶ Certain texts which are available to us relate two miracles performed in favour of William I and William III Crispin (a family who, as we have seen, were great benefactors of Vesly Priory). The tales are told by Milon Crispin, precentor at the abbey of Bec, who was the younger son of William I Crispin. Lucile Trân-Duc suggests that Milon had two aims in mind in recording the tales: to celebrate and cement the amicable relations (*amicitia*) that had existed between his family and the abbey; to attempt to raise the 'honour' of his family who were only of the second division of the Norman nobility. It is appropriate to note that Trân-Duc describes the text as "being at the crossroads of hagiographic narrative and genealogy."²²⁷ Milo's tale includes a number of members of his family, some of whom appear in the diagram below.

Briefly, the first miracle involves William I being saved from an ambush after appealing to the Virgin. The second involves William III being captured and thrown in irons after a fight. He prays to God and the Virgin saying that he will go on

²²³ They appear in the list taken from the plaque in the church at Dives-sur-Mere as "Hugues de Vesli" and "Robert de Vesli." <http://www.robertsewell.ca/dives.html> (accessed 18/01/2021)

²²⁴ Power, D. (2004) *The Norman Frontier in the Twelfth and Early Thirteenth Centuries*, Cambridge: University Press, 371.

²²⁵ Charpillon, M. (1879) *Dictionnaire Historique de Toutes les Communes du Département de l'Eure*, Volume 2, Les Andelys, 982.

²²⁶ It would appear that the oldest written record of this 'miracle' is to be found in the compilations of miracles attributed to the Virgin going back to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (Paris, BnF, ms. lat. 17491; ms. lat. 12169), to be found in a text composed in the fifteenth century comprising documents associated with the abbot of Bec (Vatican, Queen of Sweden Funds, ms. 499).

²²⁷ Trân-Duc, L. (2017) 'Le Miracle par lequel la Vierge porte secours à Guillaume Crispin,' in *Annales de Normandie*, 2017/1 (67e année), Association Les Annales de Normandie, pp. 43 - 56.

pilgrimage to Jerusalem if he is 'saved'. Unfortunately he dies on the journey and his body is returned to Bec to be buried amongst his ancestors.²²⁸

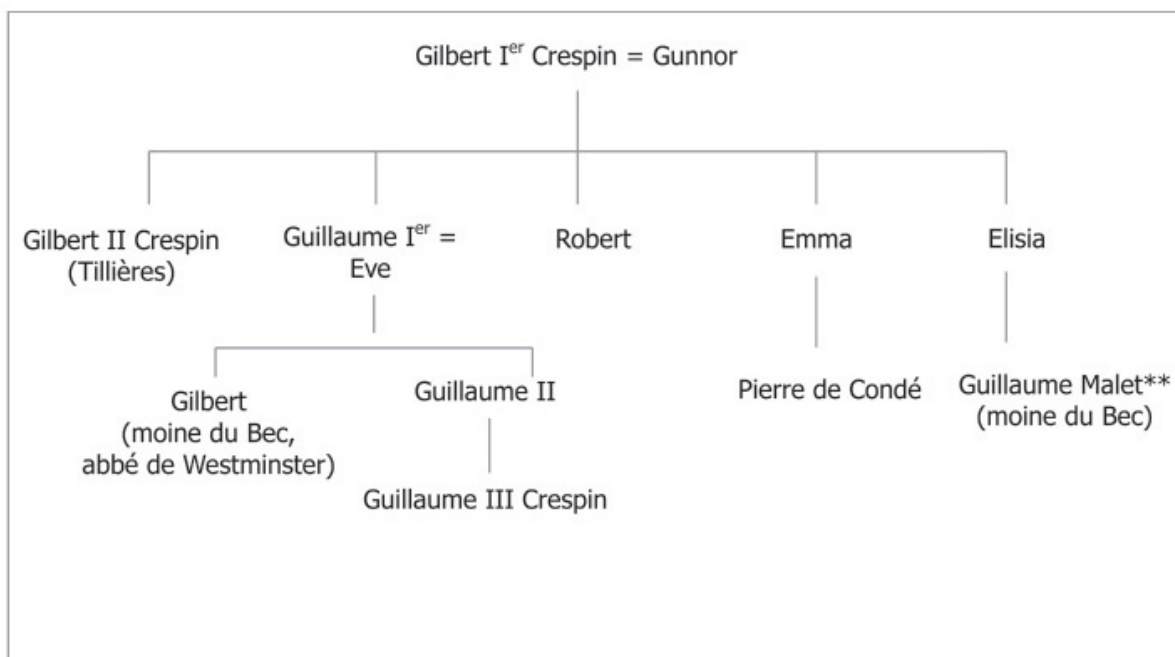


Figure 39: Genealogy of the Crespin Family as suggested by Milon Crespin..

** In making William Malet the son of Elisia, Milon seems to have made a mistake. William was Elisia's husband – they had a son called Robert.²²⁹

There were four fiefs within Vesly: la Boissière, Fief Raphois ou le Taillis, Grange a l'Abbé, la Ruelle.

The following communities were dependent upon Vesly: la Boissière, la Chartreuse, le Prieuré, le Taillis.

Note: See also Guerny – no. 22.

²²⁸ The stories of William I and William III are told in much more detail by Trân-Duc.

²²⁹ Trân-Duc 2017, 44.

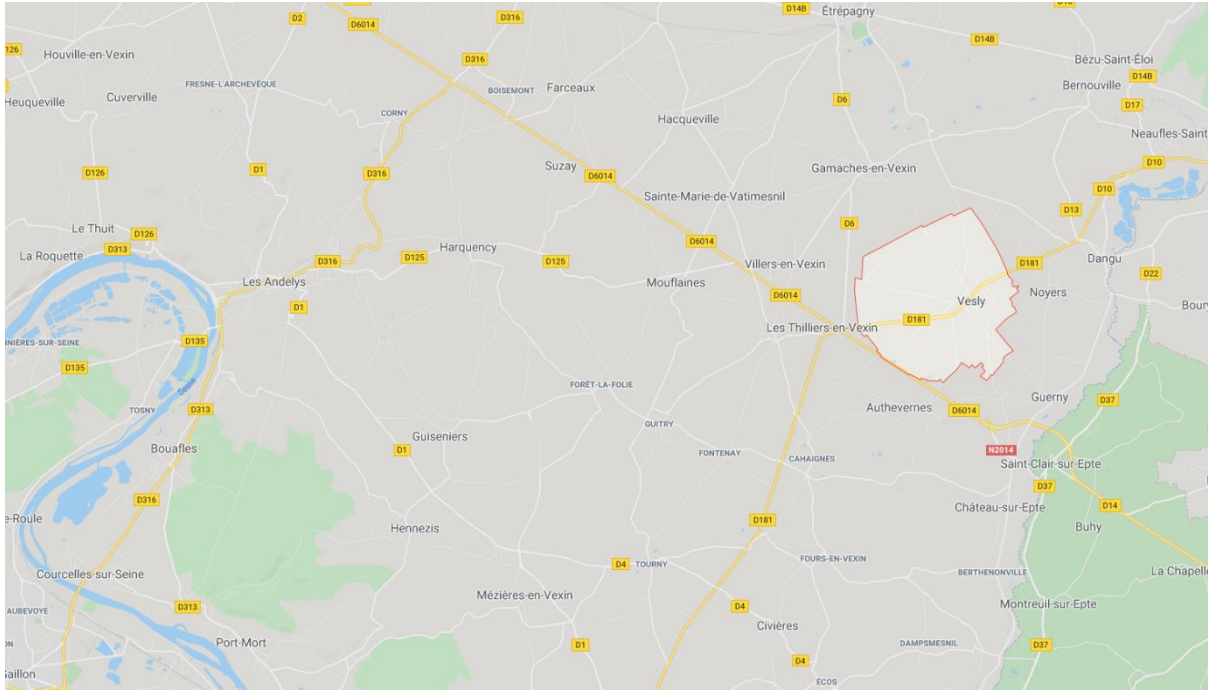


Figure 40: Extent of the estate of Vesly.

68 Villers-en-Ouches

(Eure, cant. Rai)

Villers-en-Ouche was a commune in the Orne department of Basse-Normandie. It is now part of the modern (since 1 January 2016) commune of La Ferté-en-Ouche.

The history of this site can be traced back to Roman times.

69 Villers-en-Vexin

(Eure, cant. d'Étrépagne)

The community is mentioned in the endowment charter of the abbey of Saint-Pierre-de-Chatillon at Conches.²³⁰ Roger de Tosny, in founding the abbey in c.1035, gave to it the church and the tithes of the parish along with one farm or farmer (*un fermier*).

One hundred years later, in 1105, Ralph de Villers attended the 'restitution of Gisors' at the metropolitan church.²³¹ This was probably the result of the meeting held by the barons who held lands from the church of Rouen, on both sides of the River Epte. They gathered at the priory of Vesly near Gisors in order to witness the restoration (restitution) of land at Gisors to the cathedral chapter.

²³⁰ Gall. Christ., Vol. XI, Instr., col. 129 A.

²³¹ Charpillon 1879, 993.

The lands here in Villers-en-Vexin provided for one of the prebends of the chapter of Rouen cathedral. In the diary of archbishop Eudes Rigaud it is called *Villaræ in Vulcasino*.²³² This must have been quite a burden on the community since, in c.1250, it was recorded that there were but 75 parishioners.²³³

Four fiefs are recorded in these lands: Guillaume-du-Bois, Thorel, Roquemont, and Chapitre-de-Rouen.²³⁴

Charpillon does not record any dependent communities.

70 Villers-sur-le-Roule

(Eure, cant. Gaillon)

This property was held as a fief of the Family of Tosny.²³⁵ It is bounded to the north by the lands of Tosny, and to the east by the River Seine.

The parish church here was built of flint and dates from the eleventh or twelfth century. It was dedicated to St-Ursin, first bishop of Bourges.

The community is mentioned in the endowment charter of the abbey of Saint-Pierre-de-Chatillon at Conches.²³⁶ In founding the abbey Roger de Tosny gave to the monks the tithes of St-Ursin de Villers, those of wine and all that was there.²³⁷

About 1200, Roger de Portes, nephew of Simon, count of Evereux, gave as alms to the abbey of la Noe all the trees bearing nuts or other fruits which he possessed in Villers-sur-le-Roule, with the right to replace any of them which might be destroyed because of age or by the wind, either by planting anew or by grafting.²³⁸

There do not seem to have been any fiefs.

The following communities were dependant on Villers-sur-le-Roule: le Carel, le Chateau-Ferrand, le Grand-Villers, les Nurottes, les Perruques.

71 Yville

(Eure, cant. Neubourg)

More commonly known as Iville. The seigneurie of the parish was divided into three portions: Iville-Conches, Iville-Croix and Iville-la-Garenne or Saint-Antoine.

In the foundation charter of the abbey of Conches, c.1035, Robert d'Iville gave to the monks of Saint-Pierre de Castillon the *moitié* of the tithes of Iville, with the consent of

²³² Poret, B.E. (1877) *Dictionnaire Topographique du Département de l'Eure*, Paris, p. 233.

²³³ Charpillon 1879, 993.

²³⁴ Charpillon 1879, 994.

²³⁵ Poret, B.E. (1877) *Dictionnaire Topographique du Département de l'Eure*, Paris, p. 233.

²³⁶ Gall. Christ., Vol. XI, Instr., col. 129 A.

²³⁷ Charpillon 1879, 995.

²³⁸ Charpillon 1879, 995.

Ralph de Tosny, his suzerain. This gift was confirmed by Pope Gregory IX in a bull of 1234.²³⁹

In 1181, Pope Lucius II confirmed that the tithes themselves, and the patronage of the parish church of Notre-Dame d'Iville, had been given to the abbey of La Croix.²⁴⁰ This was confirmed by Pope Innocent III in his bull of 20 May 1199, and in the bull the Pope added the tithes of the whole fief of Montfort.²⁴¹ This was the part known as Iville-Croix.

The third part of Yville, Iville-la-Garenne, gave its name to the family of Garenne who held it. After 1432, the family having recovered the property from the English, eventually sold it to the monks of Saint-Antoine and so in some instances it became known as Iville-Antoine.

In 1429, Yville was taxed at one sergeant '*pour la garde de Conches*'.²⁴²

Within Yville were the following fiefs: Mahiet; Les Mares; and Le Perrey.

The following communities were dependent upon Yville: les Deux-Moulins, les Mares, le Moulin du Prieuré, le Moulin-Gaillat.

Hacqueville, La Puthenaye, and Burey.

Gilbert de Clères is known to have had these lands at fee from the Tosny family.²⁴³

Conclusion.

The 'French' domains of the Tosny family were contained within the duchy of Normandy and were concentrated around a military and administrative centre at Conches-en-Ouche. The family was responsible for building significant castles at *Conches* (including the fortification at *Vieilles Conches*), *Acquigny*, *Portes* and at *Tosny* itself. The inner circle of knights who served the family also had properties at feu less than a day's ride from Conches Castle and we can see that some of these 'vassal

²³⁹ Charpillon 1879, 410.

²⁴⁰ The abbey of Croix-Saint-Leufroy.

²⁴¹ (*ibid.*), 410.

²⁴² Poret, B.E. (1877) *Dictionnaire Topographique du Département de l'Eure*, Paris, p. 119.c '? '#]]]]]]]]

²⁴³ According to Musset (1978, 76) the Clères held La Puthenaye (Eure, cant. Romilly, cant. Beaumont-le-Roger), Burey (Eure, cant. Conches), and Hacqueville (Eure, cant. Etrépagny), of the Tosny family; Fauroux (1961), n°. 191, p. 374. This long-standing dependence of the Clères upon the Tosny family was continued in Yorkshire where, in the middle of the twelfth century, members of the family of Clères held lands which before the death of the Conqueror had belonged to Berengar de Tosny of Belvoir. "The greater part of the fee of Berengar de Tosny in the counties of York, Lincoln, and Leicester passed to Robert de l'Isle by his marriage before 1116 to Aubrey, relict of Berengar. At an unknown date, but probably about the beginning of Stephen's reign, the lands of Aubrey de l'Isle were divided between Bigod and the heirs general of Tosny." [*Early Yorkshire Charters*, vol. I, nos. 593-596, pp.466-469.]

<https://archive.org/details/earlyyorkshirech01farruoft/page/466/mode/2up>

families' also built castles and fortifications for themselves on the lands which they held of the Tosny family.

According to Raoul (III)(iv) de Tosny himself, the family's income was derived primarily from their principal domains - those of Conches, La Ferrière-sur-Risle, Acquigny, Tosny, Heuqueville and Mortimer.²⁴⁴ A Papal Bull of Lucius III, dated to 1184, reflected this when it is said that the major sources of revenue of the monks of Conches Abbey, who seem to have based their administrative systems on those of the barony, were Conches, La Ferrière, Acquigny and Tosny.²⁴⁵

Another feature of the Tosny estates is that they seem to have been relatively 'backward' in terms of development of the kind seen in other Norman seigneuries. Indeed, only at Conches and La Ferrière was there what might be called a burgh foundation and the creation of a burgher class, and even here, the developments came late compared with other villis. Tosny, and even Acquigny, never became more than agricultural villages.

In England, the family's possessions were more scattered - Herefordshire, Worcestershire, Lincoln, Oxfordshire, etc. - and it may have been for this reason that they chose, as their *caput*, the relatively obscure estate of Flamstead which was at a fairly central location making travel to even the far-flung estates, such as those towards the Welsh border, much easier. But the end result was similar in that the Tosny family became owners of huge tracts of the English countryside which had been taken from the pre-Conquest English owners. Their total holdings ranked them amongst the greatest landowners in the country invested with all the political power that went with it. All the more strange then, that in the male line, they did not rise through the ranks of nobility as many of their contemporaries did. A number of the female members of the family became queens, but the men seem to have been content with being barons and puissant knights.

²⁴⁴ Cartul. Conches, f^o 150 r^o.

²⁴⁵ *Ibid.* f^o 212.

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