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Origin of the Family of Warrene

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MCMXXIII.

THE ORIGIN OF THE FAMILY OF WARRENNE.¹

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In the fourth volume of the *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* Mr. A. S. Ellis published a series of biographical notes on the Domesday tenants in chief of Yorkshire. On pages 149 and 150 he deals with the parentage of William de Warenne. The pedigree which he propounds may be briefly summarised as follows: Hugh, bishop of Coutances in Normandy, married a niece of the duchess Gunnor, the Conqueror's great-grandmother, by whom he had two sons, Rodulf de Warenne and Roger "filius episcopi," otherwise Roger de Mortemer. Rodulf married firstly Beatrix and secondly Emma; by his first wife he had two sons, Rodulf, who died without issue, and William, who was present at the battle of Hastings and ultimately became the first earl of Surrey. The facts set out by Ellis are taken by him from a remarkable article on the early history of the Warennes, which in 1846 Stapleton published in the *Archaeological Journal*.² Here, as in many other instances, Stapleton is the pioneer, and the material which he has collected is invaluable; on the other hand some of the conclusions at which he arrived do not appear to be sufficiently supported by the evidence and call for a fresh examination. This seems the more necessary since Stapleton's views were accepted by Eyton in his pedigree of the family of Mortemer³ and appear to hold the field. In 1921 Mr. G. H. White published in the *Genealogist*⁴ a valuable criticism of Stapleton's article, and in the following pages an attempt will be made to carry the process a stage further.

¹ The materials here used were collected for the purposes of the article on the earls of Surrey in the second edition of *The Complete Peerage*. Some little time must yet elapse before the publication of the volume containing that article, and my thanks are due to the editors, who readily consented to the anticipation of some of its conclusions. Mr. Charles Clay, F.S.A., has assisted me with valuable suggestions and criticism, but for the views here advanced I am alone responsible.

² Vol. iii, p. 1. "Observations in disproof of a pretended marriage of William de Warren earl of Surrey with a daughter . . . of William the Conqueror," by Thomas Stapleton. I would emphasize Stapleton's great services to learning, services the more remarkable inasmuch as when he wrote much of his material was still in manuscript and difficult of access. He is the true founder of Norman studies in England.

³ *The Antiquities of Shropshire*, by the Rev. R. W. Eyton, iv, 196.

⁴ *Genealogist (New Series)*, xxxvii, 57.

RODULF DE WARENNE I.¹

The earliest occurrence of the name is in a charter of Robert I, duke of Normandy, confirming the foundation of the abbey of Saint-Amand at Rouen; it is printed in the *Monasticon* (vi, 1101) from an inspeximus of Henry V on the Norman patent roll. Since Saint-Amand was founded c. 1030 and Duke Robert left for the Holy Land in 1035, dying on his way back, it must have been executed between those dates. The charter describes the abbey lands in the following terms:

"Qui locus circa ecclesiam extenditur usque ad vicum per quem ad portam Roddebecce itur et inde usque ad terram Willielmi de Tornebu. Iterum ab ista usque ad terram Radulfi de Warennia inde vero usque ad murum civitatis."

These topographical details are sufficiently precise to show that Rodulf's land must have lain outside the then existing city wall to the east towards Mount Saint-Catherine, where stood the abbey of the Holy Trinity.

The next mention of Rodulf is an entry in the cartulary of the abbey of Saint-Pierre-de Préaux,² which recites that:

"Eodem anno, quo in conjugium sortitus est Normannorum Marchio, Willelmus nomine, Balduini comitis filiam, dedit sancto Petro Pratelli consuetudines, quas habebat in quadam terra, que Wascolium vulgo vocatur, scilicet hainfaram, utlac, rat, incendium, bernagium, bellum."

At the same time "quidam miles de Warennia, Radulfus nomine, annuente conjuge sua Beatrice" gave to the abbey all that he had in the same land; among the witnesses is Rodulf's brother "Godofridus." The date of this transaction must be 1053 or shortly before, and Wascolium is Vascoeul in the department of the Eure and the arrondissement of Les Ardelys. The grant of high justice by the duke points to Vascoeul having formed part of the ducal demesne, and the fact that Rodulf and his wife held land there suggests a connection with the ducal house. It will be necessary

¹ "Rodulfus" seems to be the correct form. He is invariably so called in the cartulary of the Holy Trinity of Rouen, a twelfth-century MS. of a house closely connected with the family, although in the same cartulary there occur persons named "Radulfus." The MSS. in which he is called "Radulfus" date from a time when the form "Rodulfus" had become rare or obsolete; the Préaux cartulary was written in the thir-

teenth century, while the Saint-Amand charter is only known from a fifteenth-century inspeximus. "Rodulfus" is moreover the "lectio difficilior." It is by no means clear whether "Rodulfus" and "Radulfus" were originally distinct names.
² Printed by Stapleton (*loc. cit.*, p. 11). It is also mentioned by Le Prevost (*Notes sur le département de l'Eure*, iii, 324), who gives the reference to the cartulary, fo. 137.

to return to this point, which is of importance as evidence of Beatrix's origin and of the family pedigree.

It has been shown that Rodulf de Warenne held land in the neighbourhood of the abbey of the Holy Trinity of Rouen, and from the cartulary of that house, written in the twelfth century, a considerable amount of information concerning him can be derived.¹ An entry in the Holy Trinity cartulary records a purchase by the convent from "Rodulfo Warethnae" of land in Blovilla, Merdeplud, and Sottevilla, which formed part of Rodulf's "alodium," and a further purchase of a hundred acres of wood "a Rogerio filio episcopi, qui et particeps et coheres est ejusdem alodii." The instrument is subscribed by Duke William, Mauger archbishop of Rouen, Beatrix wife of Rodulf de Warenne, Roger "filius episcopi," and his sons William and Hugh, the former of whom is called his heir²; the occurrence of the archbishop shows it to be earlier than May, 1055, the date of his deposition. The places named are Blosseville and Eauplet, which lie on the right bank of the Seine up stream from Mont Saint-Catherine, the site of the abbey, and Sotteville opposite to them on the left bank. Two later instruments in the cartulary show the extent of the inheritance which was thus shared between Rodulf and Roger. In the first Roger "filius Hugonis episcopi," with the consent of his wife Odain and his sons William and Hugh, sells to the abbey the suit of mill of all his men in Blosseville, Mesnil-Esnard (Einardi mansionali), Neuville (Novillula), Lescure (Scurra), and Eauplet³; these form a compact territory upstream from Mont Saint-Catherine. This is followed by a notice of a sale by Rodulf of similar rights in the same places.⁴ The identity of Roger is established by an entry in the cartulary of Saint-Amand which shows "Rogerius filius Hugonis episcopi Constancie urbis" (i.e., Coutances) granting to the abbey certain lands in the *comté* of Talou and in the modern *arrondissement* of Neufchâtel (Seine-Inferieure) when his daughter Emma became a nun.⁵ It will be convenient to postpone the examination of the nature of the connection between Roger and Rodulf until the other mentions of Rodulf in the Holy Trinity cartulary have been dealt with.

¹ Printed by A. Deville as an appendix to the cartulary of Saint-Bertin by B. Guérard (1841) in *Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France*; the more material extracts have been printed in full by Stapleton in his article in the *Archaeological Journal*. The refer-

ences in the present paper are to the printed cartulary.

² Cartulary, No. 27, pp. 435-6.

³ *Ibid.*, No. 40, pp. 442-3.

⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 41, p. 443.

⁵ Printed by Stapleton, *loc. cit.*, p. 7; see also Henry V's *inspeximus*, *Monasticon*, vi, 1101.

In 1059 Beatrix, the wife of Rodulf de Warenne, was dead and he had married again, for in the Holy Trinity cartulary we read:

"Vir quidam illustris, nomine Rodulfus de Warena, cum conjugē sua, vocabulo Emma, divina favente gratia, quatuor sui juris ecclesias cum omnibus appenditiis suis, videlicet harum villarum, id est Amundi Villæ, Anglicevillæ, Flamenvillæ, Malteville, domno abbati Rainerio et monachis ejus, pro xxx libris denariorum, in alodio vendiderunt et tradiderunt Acta sunt hæc anno ab incarnatione Domini MLVIII.¹

The four places here enumerated all lie in the pays de Caux, north of Rouen, and can be identified as follows: Emanville,² Anglesqueville-sur-Saane,³ Flamanville-l'Esneval,⁴ Motteville-l'Esneval.⁵ The connection of these places in later times with the barony of Esneval might tempt one to identify Anglicevilla with Anglesqueville-l'Esneval about 17 kil. NNW. of Le Havre; but there is no trace of the advowson having belonged to the abbey of the Holy Trinity or to the seigneurs of Esneval, and in these circumstances the history of the advowson of Anglesquevilla-sur-Saane establishes the identity.

The above entry in the cartulary is shortly followed by one recounting that Hugh de Flamanville, with the consent of his lord, Rodulf de "Warethna," sold to the abbey tithe and land in Emanville, Motteville, and Flamanville; the entry continues:

"Post modicum tempus pretaxati Hugonis dominus, scilicet supra memoratus Rodulfus, et uxor ejus, vocabulo Emma, ac filii eorum Rodulfus et Willelmus, ad nostrum venerunt monasterium; una cum eis venit ipse Hugo, rogavit eos ut harum omnium conventionum donationem in perpetuam hereditatem

¹ Cartulary, No. 29, pp. 436-7.

² In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the baron d'Esneval was the patron of the church (Toussaints Duplessis; *Description de la Haute Normandie*, ii, 529). Deville in his geographical index to the cartulary identifies it with Omonville; that Stapleton was right in identifying it with Emanville seems clear from the fact that that place with the others here mentioned subsequently formed part of the barony of Esneval.

³ In the thirteenth century the abbat of Saint-Catherine (*i.e.*, the Holy Trinity) was the patron (Pouillé of the diocese of Rouen, in *Recueil des Historiens de la France*, xxiii, 299j).

⁴ "Ecclesie de Flamenvilla heredes Roberti de Bosco patroni. Valet circa x li. Abbas Sanctæ Katerine totum capit" (Pouillé of the diocese of Rouen, *op. cit.*, xxiii, 293c). In 1600 the baron d'Esneval claimed the advowson (Duplessis, *op. cit.*, i, 465).

⁵ "Au douzième siècle Guillaume d'Épreville, Abbé de Sainte-Catherine, transigea avec Robert d'Esneval pour le patronage de cette cure, qui demeura a son abbaie" (Duplessis, *op. cit.*, i, 385). In the thirteenth century the prior of the leper-house of Pavilly was the patron; it may be noted that the château of Esneval is close to Pavilly. (See Pouillé of the diocese of Rouen *Recueil des Historiens de la France*, xxiii, 254g.)

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facerent et coram altari Sanctæ Trinitatis suis manibus cartam signarent, et fecerunt."

Among the subscriptions are, "Signum Rodulfi de Warethna Signum Emmæ uxoris Rodulfi de Warethna. Signum Rodulfi filii eorum. Signum Willelmi fratris ejus" ¹ This notice is undated, but it is followed by one dated 1060, in which one "Hugo equorum domitor, quod vulgo dicitur marescal" granted to the abbey as "alodium" at Flamanville with the consent of his lord, Rodulf de Warethna. ² Another entry dated 1062 shows us "quidam miles nomine Willelmi filius Anseri de Salceid" selling to the abbey land in Emanville with the consent of his lord, Rodulf de Warenne. ³ The conclusion to which these entries point is that the acquisition of their interests in these places by the monks of Holy Trinity took place about the years 1059 to 1062, and that the transaction in which Rodulf's sons, Rodulf and William, took part may safely be placed about the year 1060.

At a later date, in 1074, there is a further transaction which completes the story:

"Rodulfus de Warenna ejusque conjux, vocabulo Emma, cum filiis suis, Rodulfo scilicet atque Willelmo, post annos fere xvi quam quattuor villarum Caletensis pagi, Malteville videlicet, Flamenvillæ, Amundi Villæ et Anglicevillæ, ecclesias et earum decimas nobis vendiderant, convenientes in hoc monasterio anno dominicæ incarnationis MLXXIII, omnem totius Osulfi Villæ ejusdem Caletensis pagi, cum ecclesia, decimam, quam a Guillelmo, filio Rogerii, filii Hugonis episcopi, xxx libris denariorum emerant, pro redemptione animarum suarum, in perpetuam hereditatem nobis dederunt, et donationem super altare Sanctæ Trinitatis posuerunt, coram testibus.

Signum ipsius Rodulfi. Signum Emmæ uxoris ejus. Signum Rodulfi filii eorum. Signum Willelmi fratris ejus" ⁴

Osulfi Villa appears to be Auzouville-l'Esneval, a little east of Motteville and Flamanville. ⁵

¹ Cartulary, No. 31, pp. 437-8.

² *Ibid.*, No. 32, p. 439.

³ *Ibid.*, No. 34, pp. 439-440.

⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 35, p. 440. Stapleton prints this entry on p. 12 of his article in the *Archæological Journal*; it should be noted that the date is there misprinted MLXIII, making it ten years too early.

⁵ In the thirteenth century the patron was the prior of the leper-

house of Pavilly, as in the case of Motteville (Pouillé of the diocese of Rouen, in *Recueil des Historiens de la France*, xxiii, 254f), which fact and its geographical position seem decisive. Deville, in his geographical index to the cartulary, and Duplessis (*op. cit.*, i, 639), suggest Auzouville-sur-Saane, but this lies further away, and in the thirteenth century the patronage was in private hands.

It is now time to consider the probable nature of the connection of Rodulf de Warenne with Roger, son of the bishop. Stapleton makes them brothers, and this view has been accepted without comment by Mr. White. Stapleton prints from the cartulary of Rouen cathedral an entry, which from the mention of Richard duke of Normandy as living cannot be later than 1027, telling of the recovery of certain alienated lands in which a "Radulfus filius episcopi" bore a part.¹ He then alludes to the fact that Rodulf and Roger shared an inheritance near Rouen, viz., Blosseville, Eauplet, etc.; and also that there was a coheirship between them in the pays de Caux, viz., Motteville and the other places named above. On these grounds he identifies Rodulf with the "Radulfus filius episcopi" of the Rouen cathedral cartulary, and makes him a son of Hugh, bishop of Coutances, and brother of Roger.² The evidence, however, is quite insufficient to support such a conclusion and, further, all the surrounding circumstances negative it by implication. In the first place the coheirship in the pays de Caux, to which Stapleton refers, never existed; as to four of the places in question, viz., Motteville, Flamanville, Emanville, and Anglesqueville, the Holy Trinity cartulary shows us Rodulf as apparently sole lord and there is nothing to suggest that Roger had any interest in them. As regards Auzonville, on the other hand, Rodulf seems to have acquired all he possessed there by purchase from Roger's son, William. The evidence is therefore really reduced to the lands near Rouen, and in respect of these the language used is peculiarly inapt and cumbrous to express the simple relationship of brothers; "qui et particeps et coheres est ejusdem alodii" would never have been so interpreted by one who was not already prepossessed by the occurrence of a "Radulfus filius episcopi" in the much earlier entry of the Rouen cathedral cartulary. As regards the latter the offspring of the clergy, and indeed of the higher clergy, were hardly rarities in the Normandy of the early part of the eleventh century; Robert, archbishop of Rouen, who figures in this actual transaction, was a married man with a family, from whom sprang the counts of Evreux. Further, it will be recollected that in the entry of 1053 in the Préaux cartulary there appears a brother of Rodulf named

¹ *Arch. Journal*, iii, 6. It is also printed by L. Valin (*Le Duc de Normandie et sa Cour*—Paris, 1910—p. 257), where the reference to the cartulary is given, fo. 31.

² Stapleton further identifies Roger "filius episcopi" with Roger de Mortemer, and in this he has been

followed by Eyton in his pedigree of the Mortemer family (*Antiquities of Shropshire*, iv, 196). In the forthcoming ninth volume of the *Complete Peerage* (2nd edition), under "Mortimer," reasons will be given in disproof of this identification.

Godfrey: the Holy Trinity transaction in which Rodulf and Roger figure as coheirs must have been before May, 1055. If that coheirship was a sharing between brothers, the non-participation of Godfrey can only be explained by the supposition either that he was of the half-blood or died in the short, and very possibly non-existent, interval. Again there is no trace of Roger having had any interest in Rodulf's lands at Vascoeuil or in the pays de Caux, and in each case it would seem necessary to account for this by the assumption that such lands came to Rodulf with his wife. Conversely Rodulf does not figure in the grant by Roger to the abbey of Saint-Amand of lands in Talou. On a review of the whole matter it will be seen that the evidence put forward by Stapleton is quite inadequate to prove his case and that in addition there are surrounding circumstances which, if not fatal to the hypothesis, still require to be explained away.

It will be worth while to examine somewhat more closely the history of these lands near Rouen, in which Rodulf and Roger had a joint interest. In the time of Hugh, bishop of Coutances, the actual seat of the bishops, absent from their diocese, which had not yet recovered from the pagan invasions, was the church of Saint-Lô at Rouen,¹ and Bishop Hugh founded seven prebends in the church of Saint-Lô, to which he transferred seven canons from Coutances.² Instruments of a later date show the priory of Saint-Lô in possession of the church of Blosseville with the tithe, the church of Mesnil-Esnard with the tithe, and the tithes of Eauplet and Lescure.³ It seems a just inference from these facts that the possessions of the priory at Blosseville and Mesnil-Esnard originally formed part of the endowment of the seven prebends founded by Bishop Hugh, and that the interest of Roger, the bishop's son, in these places came to him from his father. A consideration of the whole of the evidence suggests that there was some blood relationship between Rodulf de Warenne and Roger "filius episcopi," but that for the reasons given above that relationship must have been more remote than one of brothers.

RODULF DE WARENNE II.

The latest known occurrence of Rodulf de Warenne I is in 1074, the entry in the Holy Trinity cartulary dealt with above, and in all

¹ Cartulary of the chapter of Coutances; extract printed in *Gallia Christiana*, xi, *Instr.* 217-218.

² *Ibid.*, 218.

³ See *Histoire du Prieuré de Saint-Lô de Rouen*, by L. de Glanville

(Rouen, 1890), vol. ii: bull of Eugenius III (1144) at p. 291; bull of Hadrian IV (1156) at p. 293; charter of Henry II (1180-1182) at p. 295; bull of Lucius III (1184) at p. 334.

probability he died not long afterwards. Of his son Rodulf there is no express mention beyond his two occurrences in that cartulary. These, however, indicate him to have been the elder son, and since neither the lands near Rouen nor in the pays de Caux held by the elder Rodulf are found at a later date in the possession of William de Warenne, the younger son, or of his descendants, it seems a justifiable assumption that Rodulf the younger left issue to whom these lands passed. Materials for a pedigree of this elder branch of the family, assuming it to have existed, are entirely lacking,¹ but the scanty facts available suggest that these lands may have passed by inheritance to the family of Esneval.

It has already been noted that some of the lands in the pays de Caux held by Rodulf de Warenne formed at a later date part of the barony of Esneval, and the clue thus afforded may be followed up. In the return of knights' fees in Normandy in 1172 we read:

"Robertus de Wesneval iij milites; et ad servitium suum xij milites et iij^{am} partem."²

Further light on this entry comes from one in the feodary of Philip Augustus, which can be dated between 1210 and 1220:

"Robertus de Woinevilla, tria feoda, de ducatu, apud Kriquetot et apud Mautevillam et apud Pavelliacum et apud Blovillam. Inde tenet Henricus de Anglica Villa ibidem unum feodum, et dimidium apud Criketot. Heres de Esclonde, dimidium feodum apud Criketot. Jordanus de Walicarvilla, unum quarterium apud Walicarvillam. Apud Frievillam, dimidium feodum, quod est in manu domini regis. Rogerus de Peretot, unum feodum et dimidium apud Criketot et apud Mautevillam et apud Ternemare et apud Yenvillam et apud Blovillam. Willelmus Belvilein, unum feodum apud Mautevillam. Willelmus de Flamenvilla, dimidium feodum apud Criketot et apud Flamenvillam. Willelmus Durescu, dimidium feodum apud Mesnil Cornel. Radulfus de Francquesnel, dimidium feodum ibidem. Willelmus de Similiaco, unum feodum apud Rancofeuquere. Radulfus de Plessez, unum feodum ibidem."³

In these entries the service of three knights due in 1172 from Robert de Esneval corresponds to the three fees held "de ducatu" in the feodary of 1210-1220, and leaves no doubt that the lands

¹ Whether they exist in the monastic records in the archives of the Seine-Inférieure (Série H) must remain a matter for surmise until these sources have been more completely classified.

² *Red Book of the Exchequer (Rolls Series)*, ii, 630.

³ *Récueil des Historiens de la France*, xxiii, 643g.

enumerated as undertenancies in the latter formed part of those 12½ fees, which went to make up the barony of Esneval in 1172. Among these places we find Motteville, Flamanville, and Anglesqueville in Caux, which were held by Rodulf de Warenne in the eleventh century, and Blosseville near Rouen, one of the chief components of that inheritance which he shared with Roger, son of the bishop. Further evidence of the connection of Blosseville with the family of Esneval is forthcoming from the archives of the priory of Saint-Lô at Rouen. By a charter dated 1285 "Robertus de Esneval miles" renounced certain rents in money and corn in the parishes of Mesnil-Esnard and Blosseville due to him from the priory of Saint-Lô,¹ while in 1307 "Robert de Esneval chevalier seigneur de Pavilly," by his charter renounced a claim to the patronage of the church of Blosseville which he had been maintaining against the priory²; this last was confirmed by his grandson, another Robert,³ who also mentions his grandfather's renunciation of the patronage of the church of Mesnil-Esnard. With regard to this it must be noted that Robert de Neubourg, dean of Rouen (1176-1189), confirmed a renunciation in favour of Saint-Lô of the patronage of Mesnil-Esnard by Roger de Pavilly⁴; Roger de Pavilly also granted to the church of Mesnil-Esnard a rent which he had in that commune.⁵ In 1236 Reginald de Pavilly gave to the priory of Saint-Lô all his wood in the parish of Mesnil-Esnard with the land pertaining thereto.⁶ How the family of Pavilly obtained a footing in Mesnil-Esnard is not apparent, but the possession of Motteville and the other fees in Caux seems to show that Esneval, and not they, were the successors of Warenne. Towards the end of the thirteenth century an heiress brought the lands of Pavilly to the family of Esneval, as is shown by Robert d'Esneval being described in 1307 as seigneur of Pavilly.⁷

The view that Esneval had obtained these lands by inheritance from Warenne is supported by some slight evidence of later date. In the "aveu" of the barony of Esneval by Marguerite d'Esneval dated 20 April, 1419, we read:

¹ Glanville, *op. cit.*, ii, 359.

² *Ibid.*, ii, 398.

³ *Ibid.*, ii, 91.

⁴ *Ibid.*, ii, 348. In 1172 Roger de Pavilly owed the service of two knights, and also three knights for castleguard at Lions (*Red Book of the Exchequer*, ii, 632); in the feodaries of Philip Augustus he had been succeeded by Thomas de Pavilly.

⁵ Glanville, *op. cit.*, ii, 358.

⁶ *Ibid.*, ii, 367.

⁷ Their tomb was in the quire of the church of the Holy Trinity at Rouen. "Gist Messire Robert d'Esneval qui deceda 1316. Et aupres de luy la Damoiselle Dame de Pavilly son épouse qui deceda en 1304" (*Pommeraye, Histoire de l'Abbaye de la Tres-Sainte Trinite du Mont du Rouen*, p. 71—from a MS. of Hgot Soumesnil). The family seems to have had rights of burial in the church.

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" Jehan de Croismare, ung plein fieu, paroisse S. Jehan du Cardonnay et ès parties d'environ; et fut messire Mahieu de Varennes qui le souloit tenir de moy par parage; et ledit Croismare le tient neuement par hommage."¹

And again in the same "aveu":

" Guillaume de Varennes ung quart appelé le fieu Rouveray par parage ou quint degré, assis en la parroise de S. Martin de Veulles sur la mer, à present en ma main."²

The Norman tenure in parage originated where a younger brother held of an elder, and this tenure would continue to the sixth degree.³ These entries therefore suggest that the representation of Rodulf de Warenne passed to Esneval through an heiress, but that a younger branch of the family holding in parage continued in the male line till the beginning of the fifteenth century. At the same time the elder line must have finished in an heiress before 1172, when the return of knights' fees shows Robert d'Esneval in possession, and one would hardly have expected the tenure in parage to have continued until the beginning of the fifteenth century. While this piece of evidence cannot be entirely neglected, it is impossible to attach much weight to it.⁴

WILLIAM DE WARENNE.

The crucial point of the pedigree and the one on which its real interest depends is the identity of William, the younger son of Rodulf de Warenne with the William de Warenne who fought at Hastings and became the first earl of Surrey. The earliest event in the career of the future earl is to be found in that dying speech which Orderic puts into the mouth of William the Conqueror. From it we learn that after the banishment of Roger de Mortemer in 1054, the duke gave the castle of Mortemer to Roger's kinsman, William de Warenne; the actual passage runs:

" Pro hac offensa Rogerium de Normannia ejeci, sed paulo post reconciliatus, illi ceterum honorem reddidi. Castrum tamen Mortui Maris, in quo inimicum meum salvavit, illi jure, ut reor, abstuli; sed Guillelmo de Guarenna, consanguineo ejus, tironi legitimo dedi."⁵

¹ *Soc. de l'Hist. de Normandie-Mélanges—Septième Série*, p. 249.

² *Ibid.*, p. 252.

³ For a definition of parage see *Summa de Legibus Normannie in Coutumiers de Normandie* (ed. Tardif—*Soc. Hist. Norm.*), ii, 97.

⁴ In the Querimonie of 1247 there

is mention of a "Mathæus de Varennis" in Anjou (*Rec. des Hist. de la France*, xxiv, 81f), and the form of the name, in the plural, is closer to that of the "aveu"; on the other hand this family is geographically far removed from the pays de Caux.

⁵ Orderic—*Historia Ecclesiastica*—

The next event in his life is his presence at the battle of Hastings, vouched by the contemporary William of Poitiers. Attention should be called to the fact that the language of the dying speech does not warrant the assumption that the grant of Mortemer to William must necessarily have been immediately after Roger's banishment.

Hitherto the identity of the two Williams has been assumed rather than proved, and a possible objection based on the language of the Holy Trinity cartulary seems to have been overlooked. In both the entries in the cartulary which mention William (see pages 100 and 101 above) the literal interpretation of the words used: "filii eorum," would make William and his brother the sons of Rodulf and Emma, the second wife. Since Beatrix, Rodulf's first wife, was certainly living as late as 1053, William, who was moreover the younger son, could not in that case have fought at Hastings in 1066. At the same time too much weight should not be attached to a particular pronoun in the somewhat informal entries of the cartulary, and it is worth while to examine any other evidence which may bear upon the question.

The first of the two entries in the cartulary dealing with William is itself significant; William and his brother join in signing, with a cross no doubt, and in placing a charter on the altar. This must have been in about 1060, and if he were the son of Emma he could barely have been five years old. It is true that there are a few cases in the eleventh century where children of tender years purport to join in a transaction, but they are sufficiently uncommon to require the support of cogent evidence.

Turning to collateral evidence Robert de Torigni, in his continuation of the chronicle of William of Jumièges, makes an important statement as to the parentage of William de Warrene. Speaking of the nieces of the duchess Gunnor, the wife of duke Richard I, he says:

"Una itaque eorum matrimonii copulata est patri primi Willelmi de Warrena; ex qua natus est idem Willelmus, postea comes Surreia, et Rogerius de Mortuo Mari, frater ipsius."¹

This statement occurs in the course of a series of genealogies which abound in mistakes and which cannot be accepted without corroboration; indeed in this very passage the statement that Roger

ed. Le Prevost—iii, 237. This is confirmed by the fact that Mortemer was afterwards in the possession of Warrene; a charter of Renand, count of Boulogne, dated December, 1204, speaks of "castrum Mortui

Maris quod fuit comitis Garanic" (*Cartulaire Normand.*, ed. Delisle, p. 285).

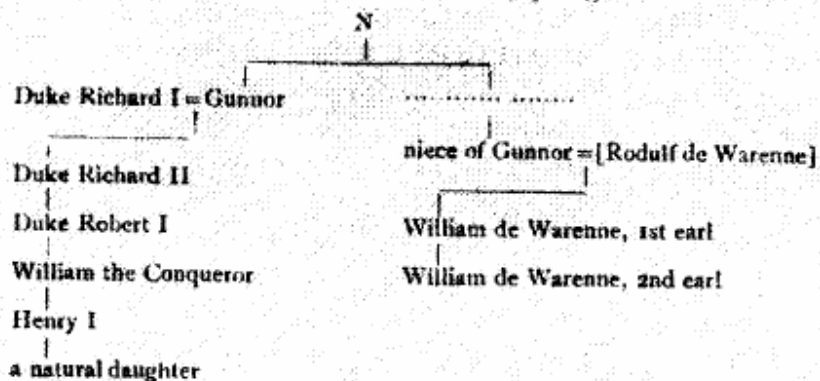
¹ Bk. viii, c. 37; ed. Marx (*Soc. Hist. Norm.*), p. 328.

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de Mortemer was William's brother is untrue.¹ That as to William himself, however, can be corroborated and stands on a different footing. At a later date a natural daughter of Henry I was betrothed to William de Warenne, the second earl, and Saint Anselm wrote to the king protesting against the projected marriage on the ground of consanguinity. In his letter he writes:

"Quærit consilium celsitudo vestra quid sibi faciendum de hoc quia pacta est filiam suam dare Guillelmo de Vuarenne; cum ipse et filia vestra ex una parte sint cognati in quarta generatione, et ex altera in sexta."²

The meaning of this passage is that the intended spouses were respectively fourth and sixth in descent from a common ancestor, and these degrees conform to the following pedigree:



Saint Anselm had been abbot of Le Bec, and it was while a monk at the same abbey that Robert de Torigni wrote his continuation of William de Jumièges; there is some ground for thinking that they both used the same documents and it would not therefore perhaps be right to claim them as totally independent witnesses. At the same time the protest was successful, the projected marriage never took place, and for this reason one seems justified in accepting Robert's statement as correct.

It would appear improbable that the niece of the duchess Gunnor would be the wife of an obscure man: either she would make a good match, or her relationship to the ducal house would advance

¹ This point will be dealt with in the forthcoming ninth volume of the *Complete Peerage* (2nd edition) under "Mortimer."

² *Migne. Patrol. Lat.*, vol. clix—*Epistolæ S. Anselmi Cantuar.*, lib. iv, ep. 84. The credit of first calling attention to this letter is due to R. E. Choster Waters; see his *Gundrada de Warenne* (Exeter, 1884). Mr. Waters,

who was dealing with the question of Gundred's parentage, introduces Hugh, bishop of Coutances, into the pedigree, making him the father of Rodulf by a sister of Gunnor. This is in flat contradiction to the statement of Robert de Torigni, the only available authority that it was William de Warenne's mother who was Gunnor's niece.

the fortunes of her husband. In the generation in which chronologically her husband must be sought, the only recorded person of the name of Warenne is Rodulf, whom we find holding extensive lands on the outskirts of Rouen, the ducal capital, and in the pays de Caux. Moreover, in the Normandy of the first half of the eleventh century the use of territorial designations as hereditary surnames was only just beginning, and the use of the same designation by collateral relations is unlikely, while on the other hand Warenne is too insignificant a place to give its name to two families of importance.

The matter, however, does not rest there. It will be recollected that the extract from the cartulary of Préaux, quoted on page 98 above, showed Rodulf de Warenne with the consent of his first wife, Beatrix, granting land at Vascoeuil which appears to have been on the ducal demesne. We know that William de Warenne's mother was a niece of Gunnor, and this connection of Rodulf with the ducal demesne suggests that he was her husband and William's father. In a transaction of this early date the consent of Beatrix to the grant, if it stood alone, could hardly be treated as conclusive evidence that she had a vested interest in the land, but when the whole of the circumstances are taken into account the inference that it formed part of her dowry scarcely seems an extravagant one.

The entry of 1074 in the Holy Trinity cartulary may appear at first sight to raise difficulties. At that date William de Warenne was a considerable tenant in chief in Normandy and a great magnate in England, and yet he figures here merely as the brother of Rodulf the younger. On consideration, however, this difficulty will be seen to be a minor one, if it does not disappear altogether, for it is not easy to see what other description would have been appropriate to the context. He was not yet an earl and his usual designation was William de Warenne; when witnessing his father's grant it would be natural that he should, so to speak, take his place in the family. In this connection attention may be called to a charter of duke Robert Curthose of about the end of 1087, printed by Professor Haskins, where among the witnesses there occur "Robertus comes de Meullent, Henricus comes frater ejus"; Henry is the earl of Warwick.¹ No express evidence is forthcoming as to William de Warenne's movements in 1074. King William left England late in 1072 or early in 1073 and appears to have appointed William de Warenne and Richard fitzGilbert joint justiciars during his absence, which extended to the last days of

¹ Haskins; *Norman Institutions*, p. 285.

1075.¹ During 1074 things seem to have been quiet in England, but in 1075 Ralf, earl of Norfolk, and Roger, earl of Hereford, rebelled. The military operations against the rebels were conducted by the justiciars, but Lanfranc's letters at this time suggest that it was he who was ultimately responsible for the government of the country.² There seems nothing improbable in a visit of William de Warenne to Rouen in 1074.

On a review of all the evidence it is submitted that no weight can be attached to niceties of phrasing in the Holy Trinity cartulary; that Rodulf the younger and William were the sons of Rodulf de Warenne by his first wife, Beatrix, who was a niece of the duchess Gunnor; and that this William is identical with the first earl of Surrey.

The career of William de Warenne in England falls outside the scope of this paper, but a few words may be said about the lands in Normandy held by him and his descendants. In 1172 the then earl made no return of his Norman fees,³ and the most that can be done is to set down a rough list of the places in which William or his descendants occur as holding land, a list, collected from charters and the scanty entries in the feodaries of Philip Augustus, which has no pretensions to completeness. Besides Mortemer, already mentioned, these lands seem to fall into three groups.

I. Bellencombre with its castle, and Saint-Ouen-sous-Bellencombre, Saint-Hélier, Bagaumesnil, Montreuil, and Grigneuseville, all in the canton of Bellencombre, with Bracquetiut in the canton of Tôtes close by. This group lies some twelve to sixteen miles west of Mortemer, but they seem to connect themselves naturally with that border fortress and were probably a part of those lands of which Roger de Mortemer was deprived in 1054. This view is supported by the fact that the Saint-Victor charters show both Warenne and Mortemer as having interests in Saint-Hélier.⁴

II. A group situate in the canton of Ofranville, just west of Dieppe, viz., Quievremont-sur-mer (now Saint-Marguerite), Bourg-Dun, Varangeville and Ancourt. These lie roughly about eighteen miles north-west of Bellencombre, from which they are separated by the intervening Giffard lands grouped round Longueville. Any theory as to how they were acquired must in the absence of express evidence be purely speculative, though it would seem far from

¹ *Orderic*, ii, 262.

² They are conveniently calendared by Davis, *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum*, i, nos. 78-83.

³ *Red Book of the Exchequer*, ii, 644.

⁴ Ch. de Beaurepaire, *Recueil des Chartres concernant l'Abbaye de Saint-Victor-en-Caux* (*Soc. Hist. Norm., Mélanges*, 5e série), pp. 373, 379.

impossible that they may have formed part of the lands of so great a border lord as Roger de Mortemer probably was before the forfeiture of 1054.

III. Louvetot in the canton of Caudebec and Allouville-Bellefosse in the canton of Yvetôt. These are far separated from the other two groups and lie to the west of those lands in the pays de Caux which were held by Rodulf de Warenne. They may possibly represent a younger son's share of the paternal inheritance.

A few words may be added as to the origin of the name of Warenne. The *caput* of the Norman honour of the first earl of Surrey and his descendants was not Mortemer but Belencombe on the river Varenne. It is commonly stated that the original name was Varenne, but that on the building of the castle and its mound it was changed to Bellus Cumulus or Belencombe. For this no evidence has been vouched and the actual facts negative it. The name of Belencombe occurs in a charter of William de Warenne, the second earl, dated 1135,¹ and in one of Hugh, archbishop of Rouen, dated 1137,² which confirms an earlier grant of the church to the abbey of Saint-Victor-en-Caux. When, further, we find an existing hamlet named Varenne lower down on the Varenne river, about thirteen miles north of Belencombe, the theory of a change of name becomes untenable. It is no doubt from this last-named place that the family derived its name.³

The result of this investigation is to exhibit the first earl of Surrey as a younger son, who inherited but little from his father and who, helped no doubt by a relationship to the ducal house, was the founder of his own fortunes. As a young man he received a part of the lands forfeited by Roger de Mortemer, while at a later date the conquest of England brought him vast estates in that country. The extent of the family's possessions in Normandy, however, seems insufficient to place them among the great Norman lords, and it was to their English lands that their power and importance were due.

Additional Note on an alleged brother of William de Warenne.

Whatever its demerits, the foregoing paper may claim credit for having avoided the vexed question of the parentage of Gundred,

¹ *Monasticon*, vi, 1113.

² Beaurepaire, *op. cit.*, pp. 365, 367. It is called Belemcombria, not Bellus Cumulus, which appears to be a later rationalised form.

³ This is Professor Powicke's view (*Loss of Normandy*, p. 506). In his

article in the *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* Mr. Ellis uses language which implies that the name of the river has been changed to Arques: this is incorrect; the river on which Belencombe stands is called Varenne on the modern French ordnance map.

William de Warenne's wife, but a few words must be added as to that Frederic who has been claimed as William's brother. The *Gesta Herewardi* tells us that an unnamed brother of William de Warenne was killed by Hereward, the famous outlaw. The *Liber de Hyda* gives us his name:

"Herewardus inter cætera scelera sua Fredericum germanum comitis Willelmi de Warennia, genere et possessionibus insignitum, nocte quadam in domo propria fraudibus circumventum occidit."¹

These are late authorities, but the existence of such a person is proved by Domesday Book, as also the fact that he was dead at the date of the Survey. One of the few facts as to Gundred which seems certain is that she was the sister of Gerbod the Fleming, for a short time earl of Chester,² and Stapleton, in his article already cited, suggested that Frederic was Gundred's brother.³ Freeman brushes this suggestion aside somewhat contemptuously, remarking that Domesday Book describes him as brother, not of Gundred, but of her husband, William de Warenne.⁴ The problem, however, cannot be solved in this off-hand manner.

In the first place the name of Frederic, while quite a possible one for a Fleming, is practically unknown in Normandy at this time.⁵ In the next Stapleton in his article sets out facts which amount to cogent evidence in favour of his view, but he left them to speak for themselves without any commentary, and Freeman entirely failed to grasp their import. It may therefore be excusable to elaborate the argument. Stapleton prints in full a number of Domesday entries relating to William de Warenne's lands in which there is mention of Frederic. Two of them will be sufficient for the present purpose. The first, dealing with Trumpington in Cambridgeshire, ends, "Hanc terram postea habuit Frederi frater Willelmi." Since the entry relates to the lands of William de Warenne this is a clear statement that Frederic was his "frater." If "frater" means brother according to the flesh, then Frederic must have been a Norman. Have we any evidence as to his nationality?

¹ The passage will be found in Freeman, *Norman Conquest* (2nd ed.), iv, 470, note.

² *Orderic*, ii, 219, 221. *Complete Peerage* (2nd ed.), iii, 164.

³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 3, 20, 25.

⁴ *Norm. Conq.*, iii, 653.

⁵ I have only succeeded in finding two examples; a benefactor of Jumièges, whose grant of land in

Calvados was confirmed by Duke Richard II in 1027 (Vernier: *Chartes de l'abbaye de Jumièges*, Soc. Hist. Norm., i, 36); and a Frederic who sold some land to the abbey of Saint-Stephen at Caen in the last twenty years of the eleventh century (Delisle-Berger: *Recueil des Actes de Henri II*, i, 281).

An entry as to Pagrave in Norfolk runs:

"In Pagraua tenet Sanctus Ricarius i carucatam terre (de fedo Fedrici) quam tenuit quidam liber homo tempore Regis Edwardi."

"Sanctus Ricarius" is the abbey of Saint-Riquier in the diocese of Amiens and the county of Ponthieu. It seems clear that this carucate was given to the abbey by Frederic, an improbable act on the part of a Norman from the pays de Caux, but not unnatural for a Fleming. Stapleton, however, carries the matter further by citing a charter of Guy, count of Ponthieu, for this same abbey of Saint-Riquier, which was executed in 1067 in the presence of Philip, king of France, and Baldwin, count of Flanders. The attestations run:

"Designantur in ordine testes idonei qui huic assertioni interfuere: S. Balduini juvenis comitis. S. Frederici. S. Baldrici. S. Rodulfi. S. Roriconis. S. Anscheri, etc."¹

Here we appear to have run our man to earth. There clearly seems to have been some connection between Queen Matilda (of the house of Flanders) and Gundred, the real, and apparently insoluble, question being its nature. Here a Frederic comes high in the list of witnesses and next in order to Count Baldwin of Flanders the younger, and this in a charter for that very abbey of which the Frederic of Norfolk was a benefactor. There seems to be a strong case for identifying the two and making him a brother of Gundred.

¹ This charter is only known from Hariulf's *Chronicon Centulense*. The best and latest edition of the charter is to be found in *Recueil des Actes des Comtes de Pontieu (Documents inédits)*, Paris, 1930, at pp. 4-6. M.

Brunel, the editor, dates it 24 Sept.-31 Dec., 1067; he considers the words introducing the attestations, "Designantur, etc.," to be an interpolation by Hariulf.