

concessi. Et ita quod ego in ista elemosina habeam . quicquid in illis habeo. Et ut donatio hec firma et inconcussa perpetuo maneat . signo sancte crucis manu propria confirmaui . et manibus fidelium meorum testificandum liberaui.

S. Willelmi regis¹ S. Willelmi filii regis S. Hainrici filii regis S. Willelmi de Warena S. Thome archiepiscopi² S. Osmundi episcopi S. Wauchelini episcopi S. Remigii episcopi S. Willelmi episcopi Dunelmensis S. Hainrici S. Richardi de Ton . . .³ S. Milonis Crispini S. Walteri Giffardi S. Eduuardi uicecomitis.

Endorsed (in early hands): Willelmus . . . Waltona; Willelmi regis de Waltona.

As William, bishop of Durham, is a witness the earliest date is 1081; and as presumably queen Maud was alive the latest date is 1083. At the Domesday survey it was recorded that in [West] Walton, surveyed among the lands of William de Warenne, an interest was held by St. Peter,⁴ the gift having been made to St. Peter of Cluny on behalf of Lewes priory.

The gift of Walton by the first earl for the soul of Gundreda his wife, with the concession of his son the second earl, is included among the entries in an early twelfth-century register of the priory.⁵ That gift, evidently later than Gundreda's death in 1085, can not, however, have been the initial one.

Although the supposed first charter of William de Warenne I to Lewes priory cannot be accepted as genuine (see Appendix D), there is no reason to doubt the terms of his gift there recorded of Walton with all the free-men whom Gundreda held there of him with that manor, and all he had there between the two rivers of Lynn and Wellstream, retaining for him and his heirs the right of entertainment twice yearly there, once when going to Yorkshire and again when returning.⁶ In the fabricated charter of the second earl (no. 6 below) there is a clause confirming Walton and neighbouring interests, whatever his mother held there of his father between the two rivers, retaining for him and his heirs only two entertainments yearly for all the services of the men of the fen, in everything as his father ordained and confirmed by his charter.⁷

5. Confirmation by king William II to Lewes priory of the manor of Heacham [Norfolk] which William de Warenne [the first] had given, including the land of Pain who was then reeve there;

¹ There are sixteen crosses with witnesses' names; fourteen of the names, given here, can be read. The name below the king's is given by Stapleton as *Robberti [filii regis]*, and apparently by St. George as *Rutbarti comitis de Medlent*. The name preceding Milo Crispin is suggested by Stapleton as *Alani comitis Britannie*, and given by St. George as *Rogeri Bigotti*; the latter is not unlikely.

² There is no doubt of this name, which is so given by Stapleton and Davis. M. A. and F. printed . . . *ingard nep*. It was omitted by St. George.

³ Davis, following M.A. and F., printed *Michael de Tona*; but that Christian name is certainly wrong. Stapleton gave *Richardi de Ton[ebri]ge*, and St. George *Ricardi de Ton*.

⁴ *D.B.*, ii, 160; the entry ends with 'hoc est de feudo Fedrici,' as to whom see Appendix A in Chapter I above.

⁵ *Mon. Ang.*, v, 9n; for this register see Appendix D below and the note to charter no. 8.

⁶ *Mon. Ang.*, v, 12; *S.R.S.*, i, 4.

⁷ *S.R.S.*, i, 11.

to possess it as William had held it in demesne at his death; also of all the land held by William [de Warenne] in demesne in the isle where the priory was built, which he had given in augmentation of his alms, and of the hide of land possessed by Eustace in Balmer [par. Falmer, Sussex] and given by the latter to the priory. [1088-91; probably the summer of 1088]

Confirmation Roll, 2 Hen. VIII, pt. 4, no. 9 (m. 5). Pd. in Davis, *Regesta*, app. no. 51; abst. in *ibid.*, no. 325; and previously in *29th Report of Deputy Keeper*, app. p. 41. Cotton Charter, xvi, 32.¹

Notum sit presentibus et futuris quod ego Willelmus Dei gratia rex Anglorum concedo monasterio sancti Pancratii quod situm est apud Leuwas et monachis Cluniacensibus ibidem Deo sanctoque Pancratio famulantibus, pro salute anime mee et antecessorum meorum, elemosinam quam Willelmus de Warennia predictae congregationi pro salute anime sue dedit, mansionem videlicet que Erceham² nominatur quantum ipse in dominio suo inde tenebat. In hoc autem dominio numeratur terra Pagani qui tunc temporis prepositus ibi erat. Hanc igitur mansionem et quicquid quomodo ad illam pertinet eisdem monachis concedo, et ut insolubiliter libere illud possideant regali auctoritate impero, sicut Willelmus illud in dominio suo habebat die qua vivus et mortuus fuit. Eadem auctoritate eis concedo totam terram quam Willelmus in dominio habebat in insula in qua monasterium ædificatum³ est quam ipse ad augmentum elemosine sue eis dedit. Hidam eciam terre quam Eustachius in Borgemera possedit et ipse eodem modo eis dedit, et ego eodem modo eis concedo. Et ut donatio hec firma et inconcussa perpetuo maneat signo sancte crucis manu propria confirmavi et manibus fidelium meorum testificandam tradidi. Signum + Willelmi regis. S. + Gunnulfi episcopi. S. + Willelmi Teforensis episcopi. S. + Rogerii⁴ comitis. S. + Roberti comitis. S. [+] Walteri Giphardi. S. + Henrici de Ferrariis. S. + Henrici de Bellomonte. S. + comitis Alani. S. + comitis Hugonis de Cestra.⁵ S. + Rotgerii de Busliaco. S. + Bernardi de Nouo mercato. S. + Walterii de Aincurte. S. + Ricoardi. S. + Radulfi de Caisneto. S. + Ricardi. S. + Hugonis filii Golde. S. + Godefridi de Petraponte. S. + Hugonis de Wanciaco.

¹ This, certainly not later than the early years of the 12th cent., may be a contemporary copy or even the actual original. It is greatly damaged by fire; but much is legible, and it can be used to amend the text on the Conf. Roll in two important points. By a curious slip Davis gives this reference as 'B.M. Cotton Cleopatra xvi, 32'; and he assigns the gift to William de Warenne the second.

² Clear in Cotton Ch., and is so given by Davis, presumably from that source. The spelling on Conf. Roll is *Erreeham*, and is so given in *Rep. D.K.*

³ Clear in Cotton Ch. On Conf. Roll the word is *redificatum*; pd. by Davis as *reedificatum*; and the word 'rebuilt' is used in both abstracts. But the charter gives no evidence whatever that the priory had been rebuilt.

⁴ Clear in Cotton Ch.; *Rogeri*, Conf. Roll.

⁵ *eestra*, Conf. Roll; the word is lost in Cotton Ch.

As this charter was issued after the death of William de Warenne the first the date is not earlier than the spring of 1088;¹ and the latest possible date is 1091, as it was witnessed by William, bishop of Thetford. It can be compared with two charters which the king issued in favour of the church of Rochester to compensate for the damage done during the siege,² and which were evidently executed soon after the surrender of the castle. One or other of them was witnessed by five of those who witnessed the present one; and as the present one was witnessed by Henry de Beaumont, who witnessed one of the others as Henry earl of Warwick, it is presumably earlier in date. As Robert count of Mortain was a witness, the date is later than the fall of Pevensey in the spring, when on his surrender he was restored to the king's favour.³ It can therefore be deduced that the date falls between that event and shortly after the fall of Rochester which is stated to have taken place at the beginning of the summer.⁴ If, as seems highly probable, William de Warenne died on 24 June 1088⁵ the date can be assigned to within a short time afterwards. It will be noticed that the list of witnesses concludes with the names of several Domesday tenants of William de Warenne, including Ralph de Chesney, Hugh son of Golda, Godfrey de Pierrepont and Hugh de Wancy;⁶ and it is not unlikely that Lewes itself was the place of issue.

At the Domesday survey it was recorded that Eustace held a hide in Falmer hundred (presumably in Balmer) of William de Warenne.⁷ The gift of Heacham, confirmed by the king, is an important factor in considering the authenticity of the supposed first charter of William de Warenne (see Appendix D below).

APPENDIX D

NOTE ON THE SUPPOSED FIRST CHARTER OF WILLIAM DE WARENNE I.⁸

The earliest document in the Lewes Chartulary is described in its heading as the first charter of William de Warenne, the first founder of the priory.⁹ Even if the document can be supposed to be genuine it was certainly not the first charter of the founder, for the mention of king William II shows that it was later than the charter printed at no. 2 above. But a detailed examination of its contents confirms the suspicions which are invited by its general character and trend. After an invocation of the Trinity it proceeds to a discursive account of how William and his wife went to Cluny

¹ See p. 4 above.

² Davis, *Regesta*, nos. 301, 302.

³ *Orderic*, iv, 17.

⁴ *Ibid.*, iii, 279.

⁵ See p. 4 above, where the importance of this charter in confirming the year of death is noted.

⁶ For them see *H.K.F.*, iii, pp. 314, 334, 322, 381.

⁷ *D.B.*, i, 26b.

⁸ This is largely based on some notes made by the late Mr. L. C. Loyd in 1934 and 1940 and many discussions which I had with him. For some contrary views see Mr. Salzman's Introduction to *S.R.S.*, ii, pp. xix, xx.

⁹ Lewes Chartulary, f. 9^v. Pd. in *Mon. Ang.*, v, 12; translation in *S.R.S.*, i, pp. 1-7. There is no number to the heading in the Chartulary, which in the case of others so numbered corresponds with the endorsements on original charters still extant.

present charter, making a benefaction subject to revision, was evidently issued earlier. The mention of countess Isabel fixes the earliest date as 1118; and the limits 1118-30 can be suggested.¹

It will be noted in the Horbury section in Chapter IV that the portion of the vill of Shitlington which belonged to the manor of Wakefield was Middle Shitlington; and that Saxe was the ancestor of the family which took its name from Horbury. As the date of his birth can be placed as *c.* 1100 the present charter was presumably issued late in the period assigned; he was succeeded by Matthew his son at a date not later than the period 1155-58.

12. Gift by William de Warenne [second] earl of Surrey to Lewes priory, for the souls of his parents and the health of himself and Rainald his brother, of all the land held of him by William de Cailli, and of land in Shippy [in Tilney All Saints, Norfolk], 'Salengeford' [Norfolk] and the marsh of Lynn, of 2 hides held of him by Walter de Grandcourt in Willingham [co. Cambridge], and land of his demesne near Chailey [Sussex]. [1088-1118]

PLATE III

Original charter, P.R.O. Anc. Deed A. 10988; pd. in *Cat. Anc. Deeds*, v, 75. Lewes Chartulary, f. 18 (without witnesses);² translation in *S.R.S.*, i, 29.

Notum sit tam presentibus quam futuris quod ego Willelmus de Warenna comes Sudreie dono Deo et sanctis apostolis eius Petro et Paulo ad locum sancti Pancratii pro anima patris mei et matris mee et mea ipsius et Rainaldi fratris mei salute . omnem terram quam Willelmus de Caili de me tenet . et illam terram quam habuerunt idem monachi in Sipea[m] que reddit xvi solidos . et illud quod habebam in Salengeford et in marisco de Luna xvi solidatas . ac illas duas iddas quas Walterius de Grandcourt tenet de me in Welingeha[m] . et omnem terram quam Stangrinus presbiter de me tenet . ac quicquid habebam in dominio meo a ponte Bouehorne usque Ceagelie ab orientali uia siue in terra seu in silua usque ad uiam iuxta pontem de Hamwde³ Rad[ulfi] de Querceto; Testes sunt⁴ Rodgerius de Glowecestre et frater eius Hosbertus Godefred[us] de Petraponte . Ricard[us] de Warenna Hogo de Greniosa uilla . Rodbertus de Buseuilla.

Tag for seal.

Endorsed: VI. C.iiij. *Also in different medieval hands*: (i) *de Willelmo de Caili et Staingrio presbitero et multis aliis*; (ii) *Welingeby et Salyngford*; (iii) *W. com' Warenn.*⁵

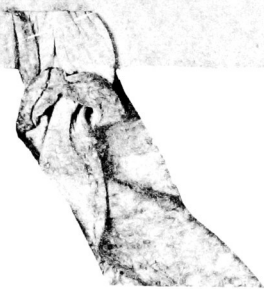
¹ Farrer in his H.K.F. MS. (as also in *E.Y.C.*, iii, p. 380) suggests *c.* 1153-1155, assigning it to the fourth earl, presumably in view of the fact that countess Isabel joined in the gift. But for other charters in which countess Isabel, wife of the second earl, joined with her husband as grantor see nos. 20, 23, 27-9 below. Holmes in his pd. text in *Pontefract Chartulary* assigns it to the second earl.

² Numbered $\frac{iiij}{c}$

³ Bouehorne bridge is now Bevern bridge in Chailey (*Place-Names of Sussex*, Eng. Place-Name Soc., p. 297). There is a Great Home Wood, 1½ mile s.w. of Chailey, marked on the 1 in. Ordnance map.

⁴ In a different hand to the end.

Notū sit tā p̄sentib; quā futū qđ ego Willm̄ de Warenna comes Sudreie dono dō & sc̄is apli' ei' Petro & Luulo
ad locū sc̄i ANKERANI p̄ anima patris mei & matris mee & mea ipsi' & jamaldi fratris mei salute. omne t̄p̄a
quā Willm̄ de cauli de me tenet. & illā t̄p̄a quā habuer' idem monachi in lupo que reddit xvi solidos. & illud
quā habebā in Salingford & in marisco de luna xvi solidos. de illas duas idē dō qđ Walti' de grandecurt
tenet de me in wylngton. & omne t̄p̄a quā Stangrin' presbit' de me tenet. ac quā habebā in dominio meo aponte
bouchorne usq; ceagete ab orientali uia siue in t̄p̄a seu in silua usq; ad uiam iuxta pontem de hamo de R ad de greco;
Tales sunt. Rodgeri' de gloucestre et fr̄ el' Holst' Godofred' de port' pontis. Ricard' de Warenna Hugo de grenuosa uilla.
Robt' de bulerilla



No. 12

Size 10 $\frac{5}{8}$ by 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.

PLATE III

Ego Willielmus comes Iuthrie dono do & scis aplis eius petro & paulo ad Locum
 sci PANCRATI ppo anima patris mei & matris mer & ppo anima mea & fratris
 mei rainaldi tres scumba & quicquid richardus archidiaconus de
 patre meo & de bat. Hec omnia tam libera & quieta ab omnib;
 causis dono. sicut ulemella. Testib; his quozs nomina subscripta st.

† Willmi comiti. † au si de querceto. † † Robti de pete ponte. † † Willmi
 filii godesfredi de pete ponte † † Radulfi filii radulfi. † † Godesfredi de pete ponte † † Nigel-
 li generi godesfredi. † † † unfredi.

PLATE IV

No. 13

Size 9¼ by 4 in.

The words of reference to the grantor's brother Rainald show that he was alive. The latest date when he is known to have been living is 1106 (see p. 6 above); and the latest possible date for his death is 1118 (note to no. 15). An early date for this charter is assured,¹ as William de Cailli and Walter de Grandcourt, still alive, were Domesday tenants of William de Warenne in Norfolk,² the latter also in Cambridgeshire,³ and Godfrey de Pierrepont, the third witness, in Sussex and Suffolk.⁴ The last witness may have been of the same family as Elias son of Hugh de Bosville, a tenant of the honour of Conisborough at a later date (see the introduction to the Neufmarché fées in Chapter III). Nothing seems to be known of Richard de Warenne, the fourth witness.

13. Gift by William [second] earl of Surrey to Lewes priory of 3 hides in Moulscombe [Sussex] and whatever Ricoard the archdeacon held of his father and him. [1088-1118]

PLATE IV

Original charter, P.R.O. Anc. Deed A. 15404⁵; pd. in *Ancient Charters*, Pipe Roll Soc. vol. x, no. 5. Lewes Chartulary, f. 19^v (first witness only)⁶; translation in *S.R.S.*, i, 30.

Ego Willelmus comes Suthreie dono Deo et sanctis apostolis eius Petro et Paulo ad locum sancti Pancratii pro anima patris mei et matris mee et pro anima mea et fratris mei Rainaldi tres *hidas in Mulescumba*⁷ . et quicquid Ricoardus archidiaconus de patre meo et de *me ubicumque tenebat*. Hec omnia tam libera et quieta ab omnibus causis dono . sicut *est terra de Falemella*. Testibus his . quorum nomina subscripta sunt. S' ✠ Willelmi comitis . S' ✠ Radulfi de Querceto . ✠ S' Rotberti de Petraponte . ✠ S' Willelmi filii Godefredi de Petrapont[e] ✠ S' Radulfi filii Radulfi . ✠ S' Godefredi de Petraponte ✠ S' Nigelli generi Godefredi . ✠ S' Hunfredi.

Endorsed : VI. C.vj. *Also* : . . . *tribus hydīs in Mulescumbe; and : Molescumbe vj.*

The latest date can be taken as 1118, for, as Round pointed out in his note to the text in *Ancient Charters*, it was clearly issued before the earl's marriage. He identified Ricoard the archdeacon with the Ricoardus who held land in Patcham (the parish in which Moulscombe lies) of William de Warenne in 1086.⁸ He also supposed that as this gift was not included in king Henry I's confirmation, 1107-18,⁹ it must have been made later; but that deduction cannot be supported, for the king's confirmation was not comprehensive, excluding as it did such properties as Falmer in Sussex and West Walton in Norfolk, acquired by the priory at an earlier date.¹⁰ Although

¹ Farrer, in *H.K.F.*, iii, 300, definitely assigns this charter to *ante* 1106.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 382, 389.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 437.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 322.

⁵ Formerly Misc. Books (Chapter House), B $\frac{5}{5}$, f. 54 (1).

⁶ Numbered $\frac{vj}{c}$

⁷ Damaged; words in italics from Chartulary text.

⁸ *D.B.*, i, 26.

⁹ *Ancient Charters*, no. 4.

¹⁰ See charters nos. 3 and 4 above.

the reference to the earl's brother Rainald is not so clear as in the previous charter, it seems safe to deduce that he was still alive; and the handwriting, in the same early hand, suggests that the two charters belong to the same period.

The first witness Ralph de Chesney, also mentioned in no. 12, was a Domesday tenant of William de Warenne in Sussex and Norfolk;¹ and Round suggested that the fourth witness was his son. Robert de Pierrepont was similarly a Domesday tenant in Sussex and Suffolk.² It is probable that he and Godfrey, also a witness to no. 12, were the donors of the tithe of Couverville to the abbey of St. Michael, Le Tréport.³

14. Gift by William [second] earl [of Surrey] to Lewes priory of the land which Bristelmus had held in Swanborough [Sussex], and whatever he held in the suburb of the earl's castle; also confirmation of 12 acres in Swanborough which Tosard had given. [1088-1118]

PLATE V

Original charter, P.R.O. Anc. Deed A. 15407. Lewes Chartulary, f. 21v; ⁴ translation in *S.R.S.*, i, 36.

Notum sit presentibus et futuris quod ego Willelmus comes Deo et sancto Pancratio dedi *et*⁵ concessi *terram* quam Bristelmus habuerat in Suamberga . et quicquid idem Bristelmus habuit in suburbio castelli mei. Concessi etiam in supradicta uilla de terra Tosardi .xij. acras quas idem prius dederat.

Slits for tag.

Endorsed: D. ij VI. Also in an early hand: De terra Tosardi. et Bristelmi in Suamberga.

The form of this charter, written in the same early hand as nos. 12 and 13, suggests that it belongs to the same period.

15. Gift by William [second] earl de Warenne to Lewes priory, for the souls of William his father and Gundreda his mother, and for the remission of his sins and for the soul of Rainald his brother and his other relations deceased, of the churches of Brighton, Hangleton, Clayton, Keymer, Barcombe, and Ardingly [Sussex]. [1106-18]

PLATE VI

Original charter, P.R.O. Anc. Deed A. 15412. Lewes Chartulary, f. 23 (without witnesses); ⁶ translation in *S.R.S.*, i, 40.

¹ *H.K.F.*, iii, pp. 313 *et seq.*, where there is a pedigree of the Chesney family. John de Chesney, son of the younger Ralph, made an agreement with Lewes priory in 1147 (*ibid.*, p. 315; and see the note to no. 33 below).

² *Ibid.*, p. 331.

³ *Cal. Docs. France*, no. 230, where Godfrey is given in the abstract as Robert's son; but this is a mistake, for from a note by L. C. Loyd, citing Coquelin, *Histoire de . . . St. Michel du Tréport* (*Soc. Hist. Norm.*), i, pp. 327, 340, it is clear that they were brothers.

⁴ Numbered $\frac{ij}{D}$

⁵ Damaged; words in italics from Chartulary text.

⁶ Numbered $\frac{xvij}{D}$