

XIII.—*Remarks on Matilda, Queen of William the Conqueror, and her Daughter Gundrada.* By W. H. BLAAUW, Esq., M.A.

Read 3rd December, 1846.

THE Observations of Thomas Stapleton, Esq. F.S.A., in No. 9 of the *Archæological Journal*, purporting to be “in Disproof of the pretended Marriage of William de Warren with a daughter of the Conqueror,” contain so much curious matter relating to the early locations in Normandy of some families afterwards belonging to English history, that the reader may have failed to notice how little of such disproof there really is in the numerous extracts from *Chronicles* and *MSS.*, however interesting, brought forward by that able antiquary.

The hypothesis of this gentleman is, that Queen Matilda was the divorced wife of one Gerbodo, and the mother of three children, Gherbod, Frederic, and Gundrada, previous to her marriage with William, then Duke of Normandy; but of such former marriage, divorce, or issue of Matilda, the evidence he has offered affords no proof, direct or indirect, while the contrary of this hypothesis has the support of all the best authorities on the subject.

Mr. Stapleton states, (p. 20,) “In that year (1053) according to the *Chronicle of Tours*, William, Duke of Normandy, married Matilda, the divorced wife of Gerbodo, the mother of the children named above.”

If any one has understood from this statement, which appears so decisive, that the *Chronicle of Tours* warrants any more than the mere fact of her marriage with William, he will find on referring to it that there is not one word there of Matilda having previously been a wife or mother, nor any mention at all of Gerbodo, either as husband or son. Under the year 1053 there is in fact nothing relating to this matter; but what the chronicler does say is under 1056 (anno Henrici Imperatoris 17°. et Henrici Regis 26°); and there, so far from sanctioning Mr. Stapleton’s statement, Matilda is twice spoken of as a damsel (*puella*). The whole passage may be rendered as follows:

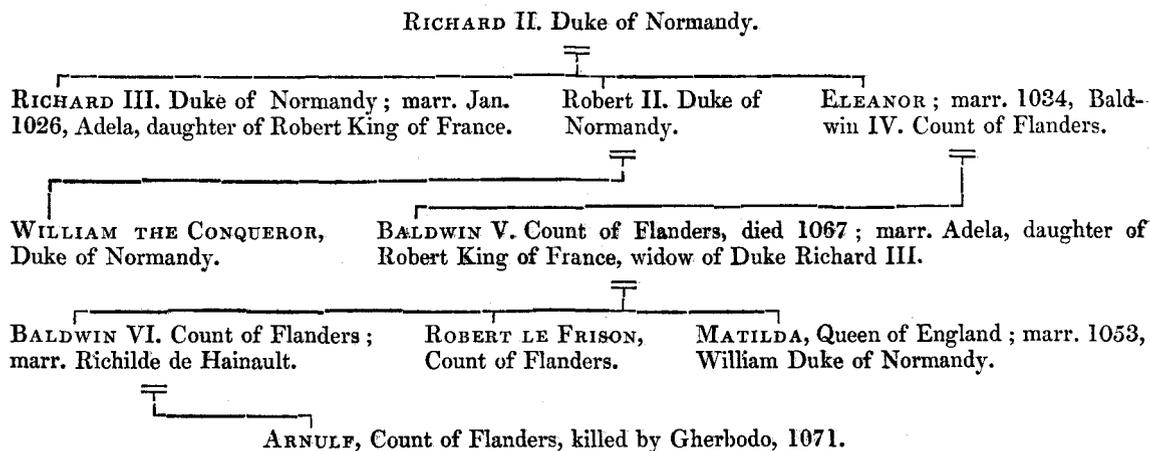
“Then William Duke of Normandy married Matilda, daughter of Baldwin, Count of Flanders, in this manner :—After she had been frequently asked by her father about accepting a husband, and William of Normandy had been above all others extolled to her by her father, who had for a long time brought him up, she answered, that she would never receive a bastard for her husband. On hearing which, Duke William, with a few companions, hastens secretly to Bruges, where the damsel was dwelling, and as she was returning from church, he beats and chastises her with his fists, heels, and spurs, and so, mounting his horse, goes back to his own country with his friends. After which deed the damsel lies down on her bed grieving, and her father, coming to her, questions and inquires of her again about receiving a husband, when she in answer says, that she would never have any husband but William Duke of Normandy, which accordingly took place.”^a Chr. Turon. p. 348. Rec. des Hist. Fr. t. xi.

Before quitting the Chronicle of Tours, another passage, not often adverted to, may be extracted, as throwing light upon the Conqueror’s imputed legitimacy.

“Dux vero Robertus nato dicto Gulielmo in isto eodem anno matrem pueri quam defloravit duxit in uxorem.” Chr. Turon. in Martene, Ampliss. Collect. tom. 5, col. 1000 b. See also Ingulf, 6, 19, and W. Malms. l. 3.

The cause of William’s marriage with Matilda being prohibited by the Council of Rheims in October 1049 will be readily explained by a glance at their pedigree, where it will be seen that, putting aside the doubtful descent from Eleanor of Normandy, (Baldwin IV. having in fact been married previously,) Matilda’s mother Adela stood in the relation of aunt to William, as widow of his father’s elder brother, an affinity quite near enough to account for, if not to justify, the interference of the Church.

^a “Tunc Gulielmus Dux Normanniæ Mathildem, filiam Balduini, Comitis Flandriæ, duxit in uxorem, in hunc modum : cum ipsa a patre suo de sponso recipiendo sæpius rogaretur, eique Gulielmus Normanniæ a patre suo, qui eum longo tempore nutrierat, præ aliis laudaretur, respondit, nunquam nothum recipere se maritum. Quo audito Gulielmus Dux clam apud Brugis, ubi puella morabatur, cum paucis accelerat, eamque regredientem ab ecclesia pugnibus, calcibus, calcaribus verberat et castigat, sicque ascenso equo cum suis in patriam remeat. Quo facto puella dolens ad lectum decubat, ad quam pater veniens, illam de sponso recipiendo interrogat et requirit, quæ respondens dicit, se nunquam habere maritum nisi Gulielmum Ducem Normanniæ, quod et factum est.” Chr. Turon.



This previous marriage of Adela has been often overlooked by historians, both Norman and English, but is proved by the Act of Espousal,^a dated January 1026, settling Coutances and other places for her dowry, as given by D'Achery, t. iii. p. 390. Richard III. died in February 1028; and, as Adela was then very young, the marriage had probably not been consummated, but the Church would consider it nevertheless as a valid bar to William's marriage. Indeed, the Canons of the Council of Rheims, held by Leo IX. seem to have in view this objection to the marriage, though not expressly so stated. Mansi, t. xix. p. 742.

“Canon XI. Ne quis incestuosæ conjunctioni se copularet.”

“Canon XII. Ne quis legitima uxore derelicta aliam duceret.”

On the authority of these two canons, the Counts Engelrai and Eustace and Hugh de Braina were immediately excommunicated, and Count Tetbald summoned to take back his wife, at the same time as the prohibition was published against William's marriage with Matilda. It would appear indeed that Baldwin V. was subsequently excommunicated by the Pope^b for disregarding this prohibition as to Matilda's

^a “Ego Richardus Normannorum Dux accipio te Dominam Adela in conjugem legalis desponsationis annulo, mihi in carnis unitate jungendam, non voluptatis exercendæ causa, sed generandæ, in obsequium Christi prout ipse disposuerit, prolis gratiâ, quod ut obtineam votis omnibus exopto, divinitate propitiâ.

“Concedo ergo jure dotali de rebus proprietatis meæ civitatem quæ appellatur Constantia, cum comitatu, &c.

“Hæc omnia tibi habenda sub nomine et lege dotis subnixâ adstipulatione de meis rebus transfundo, ut juxta nobilitatis tuæ lineam dotata indissolubili mihi jungaris amore conjugii et gaudeas nostræ consors donationis iis rebus suo jure tibi bene concessis, cujus cessionis dotalitiu, ut sibi convenientem firmitatis teneat vigorem, manu propria subscripsi, addita auctoritate mei nominis. Ego Richardus hoc dotalitiu fieri jussi et confirmo, datum mense Januario, Anno Incarnationis Domini Milesimo vigesimo sexto, Indictione ix.”

^b “Post Pentecostam Papa Coloniam venit cum ipso Imperatore, qui expeditionem contra Godefridum

marriage, and was not absolved until 1057, at the Council of Cologne, by Victor II.

All the Norman chroniclers, without exception, refer either to affinity or consanguinity as having caused the delay of Matilda's marriage with William, but not one has dropped the slightest hint of any previous husband or child, nor consequently of any divorce.

William of Jumieges, an excellent contemporary witness, says, "because he had joined to him in wedlock his own relation (*cognatam suam*) he consulted the Roman Pope upon this matter by envoys." ^a

William of Poitiers, a Norman soldier, who had accompanied Duke William in his wars, before he became a priest, and his chaplain, describes the joyous entry into Rouen of Matilda as a fresh bride, without any allusion to her having ever left her home previously. Her mother Adela having retired in the latter years of her widowhood to the convent of her own foundation, the sanctity of the mother is thus brought to testify to the purity of the daughter. "Her holy and prudent mother had nourished in her daughter that which should outweigh manifold the endowments of her father." ^b

The Chronicle of Bec, quoted by Mr. Stapleton, refers again to "the very near carnal affinity," which brought all Normandy under an interdict. The monk of Bec can scarcely be supposed ignorant of the true cause of this penalty, and indeed he writes like an eye-witness. D'Achery alludes to a life of the Conqueror by Lanfranc, and inquires in his preface for the MS. This Chronicle of Bec may possibly have been written by his direction. On Lanfranc, then a monk at Bec, preparing to obey his sentence of exile for speaking against the duke's marriage, the chronicler reports that, "There was given to him, for want of a better, a horse with three legs, the fourth being useless, and one servant. On his road at his departure he meets the duke and salutes his lord, while the horse at every step of the approach kept nodding his head to the ground." The duke could not long resist the comedy of the scene, when Lanfranc petitioned him for a better horse to assist his own banishment. Exclaiming with a laugh, "What culprit ever asks for

Lotharensium Ducem et Balduinum Flandriæ Ducem a Papa excommunicatos parabat." *Miræi Annales Belgici*. Mansi, t. xix. 842.

^a "Dum a quibusdam religiosis sæpius redargueretur eò quod cognatam suam sibi in matrimonio copulasset, missis legatis Romanum Papam super hâc re consuluit."

^b "Marchio hic (Balduinus) fascibus ac titulis longè amplior quam strictim sit explicabile, natam suam nobis acceptissimam Dominam in Pontivo ipse præsentavit, soceris generoque dignè adductam. Enutrierat autem prudens et sancta mater in filia quod muneribus paternis multoplò præponderaret. Hujus sponsæ civitas Rothomagi vocabat jucundans." p. 80.

boons from an angry judge?" he soon became reconciled, and dispatched him to obtain the dispensation for the marriage from Pope Nicholas, "because the duke would on no account give up the damsel (*puellam*) whom he had married." ^a It is said (Mansi, t. xix. p. 867) that the Normans were absolved in 1059 from their excommunication, and that the dispensation for the marriage was granted in 1063, accompanied by the condition that the duke and his wife should each in penance found a monastery, as was so nobly fulfilled by them at Caen.

In Neustria Pia there is a similar statement: "Since then by that marriage William had contracted an affinity, or rather had acted in opposition to affinity, at length the pious prince, repenting the deed, sent to the Pope. (p. 625.)" ^b

Alberic, the monk of Trois Fontaines, in the diocese of Chalons, agrees in the same story: "Because there was consanguinity between William and his wife Matilda, for the expiation of the deed, he built the monastery of St. Stephen at Caen; and she founded the nunnery of the Trinity." ^c

Robert Wace, a prebendary of Bayeux, in the time of Henry II. does not drop a hint about any previous marriage or divorce requiring dispensation, but, like the earlier chroniclers, alleges relationship.

" Li Ducs por satisfaction
Et que Dex leur fache pardon,
Et que l'Apostoile consente
Que tenir puisse sa parente," &c.

In the very full Chronicle of the Dukes of Normandy, written by Benoit, a native of Normandy, at the desire of Henry II., there are some similar passages relating to

^a " Quia melior non habebatur, tripes equus quarto pede inutili illi tribuitur et unus famulus. Protinus quâ ille discedebat Duci obuius venienti appropinquans, equo per singulos passus caput ad terram submittente, Dominum salutat. Innocentiæ quidem conscius, si locus dicendi daretur, non diffidebat causæ. Dux primo vultum avertit, sed divina agente clementia, mox miserando respexit, et nutu benevolentia aditum loquendi concedit. Tunc Lanfrancus decenti joco ait, 'Tuo jussu provinciâ tuâ discedo pedes, hoc inutili occupatus quadrupede: vel ut jussioni tuæ parere queam da mihi equum meliorem.' Cui Dux subridendo, 'Quis,' inquit, 'ab offenso iudice infecto illati criminis negotio munera exposcit?' Ex peruetusto Codice MS. Chron. Bec. cap. iii. in Vita Lanfranci.

^b " Cum ergo ex eo matrimonio affinitatem contraxisset, seu potius contra affinitatem egisset, Dux Gulielmus a nonnullis est accusatus, quod Ecclesiam sic impune fregisset, nec tale sponsalium faustè sibi cessorum ni a sede Apostolicâ opportunè provideretur, annuit tandem pius Princeps et facti pœnitens ad summum Pontificem misit." Neustria Pia, p. 625.

^c " 1068. Quia inter Regem Angliæ Gulielmum et ejus uxorem Mathildem fuerat consanguinitas, pro hujus facti expiatione ipse ædificavit," &c. Rec. des Hist. Franc. t. xi. p. 361.

the "jeune pucele" Matilda, as being a near cousin to William, which may be quoted, as being less known, owing to the MS. Harl. 1717 having been but recently published by the French Government. 3 t. 4to. Paris, 1836.

" Cist out une fille trop bele,
Maheut out non *jeune pucele*,
Sage et de bel contenment,
E de mult bien afaitement." v. 35001.

(Mangers.) " Nama le duc ne ne l'out cher,
Ainz dit que lui et sa moillier,
La fille au Conte Baudouin
Erent eissi *prochain cosin*,
Que ja ne sereit fait sofrance,
Molt en voleit la dessevrance." v. 35081.

" La bone Duchesse Maheut
Kar dame n'ama son seignor
Nule au siecle de maire amor." v. 38042.

" Sa femme ama de grant amor
Li Dux et ele son Seignor ;
Molt fur duce lor compaignée,
Sainte et leaus tote lor vie ;
Mais par le prochain parenté
Dont ils erent estrait e né
Cosin, ce restraît li escriz ;
Furent maintefeiz contrediz
E essayer a departir ;
E quant ne vouldrent plus soffrir,
Si quistrent pais e covenance :
Si lor enjoïnst en pechaance
L'Apostoile que a lor vies
Estorassent deux abeies." v. 35143.

" Eissi i sunt les abeies
Riches beles et bien servies.
S'eu mariage eurent mesprison,
Bien en durent avoir pardon,
Si orent il, s'est qui l'entende,
Kar mult en furent riche amende." v. 35171.

In the Chronique Rimée de Philippe de Mouskes, lately published by the Belgian Government, is a full account of Duke William's courtship of Matilda.

The chronicler was Bishop of Tournay from 1274 to 1283, and appears to have been a native of Ghent.

“ Lors se volt li dus marier,
 Pour ses amis emparenter
 Et pour soi mesmes enforcier.
 Si avoit oi anonchier
 Que li Quens de Flandres avoit
 Une fille qui moult savoit,
 Et moult estoit biele et vallans,
 Sage courtoise et bien parlans.” v. 16902.

To the first offer of marriage her answer is thus given :—

“ La demoiselle vint avant,
 Si leur respondi maintenant,
 ‘ J’aim mious estre nonne velée
 Que jou soie à bastart donnée.’” v. 16932.

“ Quant li dus sot la verité
 S’en ot al cuer ire et viuté.
 Tout droit à Lille vint i jour
 U la *puciele* ert à soujour.
 E la mere i fu entresait
 Et li quens i tenoit i plait.
 Li dus al perron descendi
 Et sa gens aluec l’atendi.
 La demoiselle ert en la sale,
 Ki n’iert mie laide ne pale.
 Li dus, ki quén evist bon grés,
 Sén vint tot amont les degrés.
 La demoiselle, quant le voit,
 Od sa mere encontre venoit.
 Li dus par les traices le prist,
 Ainc qu’autre raison li desist.
 Si l’a jus à ses pies gietée
 Et as esporons deboutée,
 Et de puins et de piés batue,
 Si que poi faut que il n’el tue.
 Et de ses puses emboées,
 Qui grandes estoient et léés
 Et del tai d’ivier cunchiiés,
 Le defoula plus de vii. fiés.
 Qu’ainc pour sa mere n’el lascia.

Lors descendi, si remonta,
De la vile s'en est issus,
Qu'ainc de rien n'i fu esperdus.
Boins cevaus orent, si s'en vont." v. 16942.

On the Count of Flanders, her father, afterwards repeating the offer of William's marriage, the chronicler continues :—

“ ‘ Et quant vous avoir le vorés
Je ferai tant que vous l'aures.’
‘ Oil, sire, (dist la *puçiele*
Ki, moult est avenans et biele)
J'el prendrois ore s'il voloit
Quar jou sai bien que moult valoit
Li dus, ki çaiens me vint battre.’ ” v. 17344.

(Le duc.) “ A Lille vint à la mescine
Qui moult estoit vallans et fine,
Et si li demanda le voir
Pour qu'ore le voloit avoir,
E la *puçiele*, a respondu,
‘ Sire, g'i ai moult entendu,
Pour çou que vous si hardis fustes
Ne qui vous si haut cuer eustes,
Qu'en la maison mon pere mesme
Fesistes de moi laiditesme,
Et non pour quant me laidengastes
Et puis tous séurs en alastes.
Et si vous trop preus me fusiés,
Jà si haut penset n'eussiés.
Et pour çou si vous voil-je avoir
Plus que pour trestout votre avoir.
Or ne vous caut de l'escondit,
Que jou vos fis, ne del méstit,
Quar g'en ai mon cuer entredit.’
‘ Ciertes biel buer l'aves dit,
(Dist le dus) car de Normandie
Seres dame, que c'on men die.’ ” v. 17342.

The same concurrent testimony as to the reason which impeded the marriage is found in the contemporary William of Malmsbury, and in the later Norman writers, Le Megissier, De Bras, Lafrenaye, &c.^a There is no trace of any previous husband.

^a “ Mahoud etoit fille de la veuve du Duc Richard III. oncle de Guillaume le Batard. L'empêchement.

in the *Annales Belgici*, the *Stemmata Principum Belgii*, or other antiquarian works of Miræus or Sanderus, or in the *Belgic Archives*, of which catalogues have been lately published.

On these uniform authorities we may then reject the “pretended marriage” of Matilda with Gherbodo, while, on the other hand, the idea of Matilda having had illegitimate children is utterly precluded both by her station and character, being, in the words of William of Malmsbury, “the woman in our time an especial mirror of prudence, the perfection of modesty.”^a And, since William de Warenne terms Matilda in his Charter to Lewes Priory “the mother of his wife” Gundrada, the only inference left is that William the Conqueror was Gundrada’s father.

Warenne does not indeed in his Charter so designate King William, as he might have done; but, as that document was written under the reign of William Rufus, he preferred to distinguish the first King William from the second, as him “who first brought me into England, and by whose licence I brought over the monks;” a description more apposite to the purpose of the Charter, and not requiring more details of family pedigree at a time when the single marriage of Queen Matilda with William must have been so notorious to the world, that it was quite superfluous to state expressly who was the father of her children. Gundrada was probably so named in compliment to Matilda’s own French extraction, one of the daughters of Pepin, second son of Charlemagne, having borne that name.^b Anselme, t. ii. p. 48.

In accordance with the fact of William and Matilda having been the parents of Gundrada, they are both seen testifying their affection for her in authentic documents, making grants in aid of her newly founded Priory at Lewes. Carleton was the gift of Matilda; while the Conqueror in his interesting Charter, still extant, (*Vespas. F. III. fol. i.*) signed with the cross by his own hand, and certified by the three princes his sons, and by William de Warenne, says: “I give Walton for the sake of my own soul and that of my wife Queen Matilda, and of my sons and successors, and for the soul of William de Warenne and of his wife Gondrada, my daughter, and of their heirs.”

A close and repeated examination of this MS. by Weston Styleman Walford, Esq. and

qui etoit entre eux etoit celui d'affinité, attendu que ils ne demanderent dispense de leur parenté qu'après la consommation, et le pape en leur accordant leur imposa pour penitence,” &c. Père Anselme, t. i. p. 471.

^a “Matilda fœmina nostro tempore singulare prudentiæ speculum, pudoris culmen.” W. Malms.

^b A similar masculine name is found, Gunfridus, Dean of St. Omer in 1016, Gunfridus, Abbot of Clermare. *Gall. Christ. t. iii. p. 480-525.* And in *Domesday* we find Gunfridus de Cioches and Willelmus Peverel holding lands at Hardingestorp in Northamptonshire, “ *dono Regis ut dicunt.*” W. Peverel has been supposed by some to have been a natural son of the Conqueror.

myself, has furnished very sufficient proof that the words of the original should be read thus : "Pro anima Gulielmi de Warennā et uxoris sue Gondrade filie mee et heredum suorum," not "pro me et heredibus meis," as substituted by Mr. Stapleton (p. 2) for the words "filie mee et heredum suorum." The phrase "for me and my heirs" is not admissible, both because these words were of unusual occurrence in Royal Charters at that period, and also because they would be out of their proper place, if referring to the distant word "grant," or mere tautology, if repeating the care of the Conqueror's soul, while all mention of the founder's heirs would thus be altogether omitted. The original MS. is on vellum, 7 inches by 5½ inches, and has been so doubled up, that several words occurring in the fold have been much injured and nearly effaced. At one of these places occurred the words in question. The space, (which was occupied, as I maintain, by the words "filie mee,") and the faint traces of the letters which remain, would require the "pro," suggested by Mr. Stapleton, to have been written at length ; while in every other instance, and it occurs repeatedly in this charter, the common abbreviation, a peculiar form of "p," is invariably used for it. Again, though no letter after "d" is seen in "heredum," yet it certainly was not followed by the characters used in every other instance to denote "ibus," but by the mark employed on several occasions to signify an absent "m" over a space which would be fairly occupied by "u." The next word undoubtedly begins with a very tall "s," and ends with "r," having a dash through it, the usual abbreviation of "rum," while the two intervening letters may very well have been "uo," to complete "heredū suoꝝ". Above the space which Mr. Stapleton would occupy with "pro me," are written in a hand of Sir R. Cotton's time the words "filie mee," obviously not with a view of falsifying the charter, but of preserving evidence of the faded letters, and, until the contrary is shewn, these words, which appear required by the context, may be reasonably inferred to be correct.

These minute details relative to the few disputed words of this undoubted original could not be avoided, and it may not be irrelevant to add that some inaccuracies occur in Mr. Stapleton's copy, where the words are more clear than any of those in dispute, such as "sita" for "situm," "nostram" for "in Norfolc," "ac" for "ad ;" while, on the other hand, Mr. Stapleton has been the first to correct the errors in the names of the signatures, as given by the editors of Dugdale and Rymer, and has rightly introduced Thomas, Archbishop of York, instead of "ingard nep," and Richard of Tonebridge, instead of "Michael de Tona."

Though the authority of the Lewes monks, by whom Gundrada is described as the Conqueror's daughter, throughout their Chartulary of 1444, is not decisive, yet

it seems too much to assume that their incidental evidence is "utterly unworthy of attention." They had no motive at that period to falsify the fact of their founder's parentage, a century after all the male line of Warennes was extinct, and after the castle of Lewes had been deserted by the Lords of Arundel.

No two chroniclers agree in the lists of the Conqueror's daughters, and the omission of Gundrada is only one of several instances of females of similar rank being forgotten or left thus unrecorded. Even William of Malmsbury, though living in the times, says, in his account of the King's daughters, after mentioning Cecilia, Constantia, and Adala, "The names of two others have escaped my memory." ^a

Another lady of royal and noble kindred, Gunilda, a sister of King Harold, has been thus entirely omitted by all chroniclers, though she held lands at the time of Domesday, long after her flight from the invading Normans to Denmark and Flanders, where she died 1087, and lay forgotten at Bruges, until her coffin was accidentally discovered in 1786. *Archæol.* vol. xxv. p. 399.

Of King William's other daughter, Matilda, also, not one chronicler makes any mention, and yet Matilda, "whose existence we learn from the Precatory Roll of 1113 alone," according to Mr. Stapleton, appears indisputably in Domesday. "Goisfredus, the Treasurer (*camerarius*) of the King's daughter, holds of the King Heche (in Hampshire): Odo of Winchester claims it; but Goisfredus holds it of the King for service rendered to Matilda his daughter." ^b The mention of this daughter did not escape the notice of Sir Henry Ellis, the learned author of "The General Introduction to Domesday." See vol. i. p. 322.

William of Poictou (p. 202) mentions "Goisfredus Rotronis Moritonie Comitum filius" as being present at the battle of Hastings, and the same noble person may have held office under the King's daughter. Goisfredus had also many possessions in Sussex, in one instance at Angemare, (*Angmering*), where Warenne also held land.

There is an entry relating to the adjoining lands of Garinges, (*Goring*), which is remarkable as introducing the name of Gundrada, though it is scarcely possible that Warenne's wife could have been the same person who held land in

^a "Duarum aliarum nomina exciderunt." W. Malms.

^b "Goisfredus filie Regis camerarius tenet de Rege Heche. Alsi tenuit tempore Regis Edwardi: tunc se defendebat pro una hida, modo pro iii. virgatis. Terra est iii. carucata. In dominio sunt iiæ. et ii. villani cum i. carucata. Ibi ecclesia et xi. servi. Tempore Regis Edwardi valuebat c. solidos, et post et modo iiii. libras. Hanc hidam calumniavit Odo de Wincestrie, dicens se illam habuisse in vadimonio pro x. libris de Alsi concessione Regis Willelmi, et ideo injustè eam perdidit. Goisfredus vero tenet eam de Rege pro servitio quod fecit Mathildi ejus filie." *Domesday*, tom. i. fol. 49.

Sussex under Edward the Confessor: "The same Robert holds Garinges of the Earl. Gondrede held it of King Edward."^a

Unless, therefore, we are to suppose Gundrada and Matilda to be the Danon-Norman and Flemish names of the same individual, we have here two daughters of the Conqueror unrecorded by chroniclers, and another daughter will presently be noticed, who is not anywhere named, although promised in marriage before the Conquest, but who may not improbably be identical with one of the elder children about to be mentioned.

As Matilda's marriage to William appears to have occurred in 1053, the following dates for the birth of their children may be conveniently assumed as probable.

1054. Mathilda.

1055. Agatha.

1056. Robert.

1057. Richard.

1058. William.

1059. Cecilia, Abbess at Caen.

1060. Constantia, married to the Count of Britany.

1061. Gundrada, married to William de Warenne.

1064. Adeliza.

1066. Adela, married to the Count de Blois.

1069. Henry.

If the inquirer into Gundrada's parentage should be tempted by the omission of her name to discredit the Charter of her husband, William de Warenne, which names her as the daughter of the Queen, and to suppose her to have been the illegitimate daughter of the Conqueror, it may be observed that Matilda was of a disposition too jealous to admit of her ever after patronising her or making grants to her foundation. This is sufficiently proved by the story, though discredited by William of Malmesbury, of the Queen's cruelty to a priest's daughter, whom she suspected to be her rival.^b

The only writer who assigns a different origin to Gundrada is Orderic, who calls her "the sister of Gherbodo," Earl of Chester. On matters of the royal pedigree, however, the acknowledged errors of Orderic are so numerous as to deprive him of much authority, and he wrote his chronicle when a very old man, with a confused

^a "Idem Robertus tenet de Comite Garinges. Gondrede tenuit de Rege Edwardo: tunc se defendebat," &c. Domesday, tom. i. fol. 25.

^b "Non desunt qui ganniant eum cœlibatui antiquo renunciasset, cum regia potestas accrevisset, voluntatum cum ejusdam presbyteri filia quam per satellitem succiso poplite Matildis sustulerit." W. Malms. p. 110.

memory of such details, at a distance from the court ; but even Orderic does not name Gherbodo as Matilda's son. His four lists of her daughters are all discordant, and he represents one of them, though a mere child at Harold's death, as so desperately in love with him as her betrothed husband that her knees grew callous with her constant prayers. Orderic is also clearly in error in making Gundrada survive her husband, and in stating the grant of the Earldom of Surrey to have proceeded from the Conqueror instead of William Rufus.

It is possible that Orderic's statement arose from a confused recollection of intended marriages between members of the ducal family of Normandy and that of Heribert, a name of similar aspirated sound to Gherbod. Heribert, who inherited Le Mans from his father Hugo, having been treacherously seized in the middle of a conference, into which he had been allured by Fulc of Anjou, was cast into prison and tortured for a long time. He had voluntarily offered to hold his possessions on military tenure under the Duke of Normandy, and William promised him *his daughter* in marriage ; but, before she was of sufficient age, Heribert was dead, leaving the Duke his heir. The Duke defended his new inheritance from Heribert's uncle, Walter Count of Mantes, and sent for Margherita, Heribert's sister, at his own expense from Germany (*ex partibus Teutonum*) in order to educate her carefully, and marry her to his son Robert ; but her death before she was grown up again prevented an alliance between the two families.^a There seems in this story, as related by William de Poitiers, a close resemblance to that of Orderic's Gherbod, each patronised by William, and afterwards falling into the hands of domestic enemies. Heribert's death however in fact preceded the Conquest ; but the two intended marriages, either of which would have made Gundrada Heribert's sister-in-law, may have easily occasioned Orderic's mistake.

That the family of Gherbod was an important one, may fairly be concluded from the numerous persons of that name found in history ; Gherbault, Bishop of Liege, for twenty-five years, who died in 808 (Moreri) ; Heribertus Archbishop of Cologne in 1002 (Gall. Christ. 3. 752) ; Heribert, "illustrious by birth and morals," Abbot of the same monastery of St. Bertin in 1065, of which Gherbod signs himself the *avoué* (*i. e.* protector or patron) in charters from 1026 to 1067, quoted by Mr. Stapleton ; this Abbot lived till 1081 (Gall. Chr. 3. 494). The Countess Adela,

^a " Ducis ei filia petita atque pacta est, quæ priusquam pervenisset ad nubilem annos, morbo ipse interiit. Germanam Heriberti ex partibus Teutonum suæ magnificentie maximis expensis adductam, nato suo conjugare decrevit nondum matura conjugio, sed ipsam non longe ante diem quo mortali sponso jungeretur, hominibus abstulit Virginis filius. Sepelivit eam Fiscannense cœnobium." W. Pictav. p. 85. A similar account is given by Orderic under the year 1064, Robert being named as the intended husband.

Matilda's mother, was present in 1052, at the discovery of the body of St. Bertin at St. Wlmar (Samer) near Boulogne.

Chester was given to Gherbod, probably soon after the Conquest, as Orderic, under the year 1070, describes the unfortunate termination of the earl's power there; but in Domesday a Gherbodo appears as undertenant, holding lands in Yorkshire, at Scroton, Friston, and Ristun, (vol. i. pp. 316, 317, 324,) some years after the earl had finally left England.

There is indeed one person of the name (variously called Gerbaldo, Gerboldo, Gerbado) who was accidentally connected with the history of Queen Matilda, having in 1072 slain her nephew Arnulf, the young Count of Flanders, at the instigation of her brother Robert; but the story, remarkable for its illustration of strong remorse and papal penance, does not hint at any consanguinity. "Soon afterwards, struck with remorse at such injustice and rashness, Gerbodo went to Rome, and offered the hands with which he had slain his lord to Pope Gregory VII. to be cut off in penance of his crime. Gregory publicly intrusted the execution of this mutilation to the chief of his cooks, and in secret instructed him, if, when he raised the knife, Gherbodo should in any way flinch and move his hands, that he should then at once strike them off, but if he should persist in his patient endurance, that he should instantly check the blow and spare them. Gerbodo did not shrink from the blow, and the deputed executioner reported him accordingly safe to the Pope. This Gerbodo was afterwards an eminent monk under Hugh, Abbot of Clugny." *Hist. Andag. Monast. S. Huberti, Recueil des Hist. Franc. t. xi.*

It is very probable that this penitent rebel may have been of the same family^a as the avoué of St. Bertin (1026 to 1067) and the brothers Arnulf and Gerbodo (1087) mentioned in Mr. Stapleton's Charters; but there is nothing to warrant "the inference suggested by an excellent historian that Matilda had Gerbodo the avoué of St. Bertin for her first husband," &c. p. 20. Indeed, even Orderic, if he is the excellent historian thus referred to, however inaccurate, nowhere suggests any such inference.

When we read in Domesday of "Frederi, brother of William," or, as Mr. Stapleton interprets it, brother-in-law, there is nothing inconsistent with these remarks. There appears to have been a free man, Fredregis,^b who held lands in Norfolk, at

^a There was a later Gerbodo, who was Abbot of Samer in 1192—1210. *D'Achery, Gall. Chr. t. x. 1598.*

^b "In Scernenga tenuit Fredregis liber homo tempore Regis Edwardi i. carucatam terræ et dimidiam; tunc valebat xx. solidos, modo xxx. de feudo Fedrici." *Domesday, tom. i. fol. 165. Terra Willelmi de Braose,*

Scernenga (Sherringham) before the Conquest, and he was probably the same as the Fedricus, Fredricus, Fredericus, who was displaced by William de Warenne, perhaps on his death, without issue, before Domesday; but, even accepting this "William" to be thus identified with William de Warenne, yet Frederi might as reasonably be considered his brother-in-law, by marrying an unrecorded sister of William, as be supposed by a violent straining of history to be the issue, together with Gundrada and Gherbodo, of Matilda, by a first marriage, disproved by all evidence.

With respect to the origin of the Norman family of Warenne, it may be worth notice that the great Abbey of Clugny, in the diocese of Macon, counted among its earliest benefactors Guarinus or Warinus, Count of Macon and Chalons.^a The county was created in the life-time of Varin, by Louis le Débonnaire, and in 825, under the episcopacy of Hildebald; this count, with his wife Albana, exchanged other lands for Clugny, "for their common advantage and profit;" and in 892, the Countess Ava gave the vill of Clugny to her brother Count William, "fratri meo et glorioso Comiti"; and about the year 910, William and his wife Ingelburga founded the monastery of Clugny under the first abbot, Berno.^b

William de Warenne, the founder of the first Cluniac Priory in England, relates in his Charter,^c that when travelling with his wife Gundrada on his way to Rome, "we passed through many monasteries which are in France and Burgundy, for the sake of prayer; and when we came to Burgundy, we learnt that we could not safely pass through on account of the war then going on between the Pope and the Emperor; and then we turned aside to the monastery of Clugny, a great and holy abbey, in honour of St. Peter, and there we adored and again petitioned St. Peter; and because we found there such great sanctity and religion and charity and honour towards us in the good prior and all the holy convent, who received us into

f. 28. "Ipse Willelmus tenet Eringeton, Fredri tenuit de Rege Edwardo et potuit ire quo voluit." Hundret de Grene Hoga. "Est Gamera tenet Elvolt, unus liber homo, tempore Regis Edwardi, et fuit liberata Frederio pro terra ad perficiendum manerium." Tom. ii. fol. 170.

^a "Guarinum seu Warinum Comitem Matisconensem et Cabilonensem." "Vir illustris Warinus Comes pro communi utilitate et compendio." "Gulielmus dono Dei Comes et Dux." Gall. Christ. t. iv. The county of Chalons was merged in the Duchy of Burgundy in 1237.

^b "Gall. Christ. t. iv. p. 1044. Biblioth. Cluniac. i.

^c "Et tunc divertimus ad Cluniacam monasterium, magnam et sanctam Abbatiam in honore Sancti Petri, et ibi adoravimus et requisivimus Sanctum Petrum. Et quia invenimus sanctitatem et religionem et caritatem tam magnam ibi, et honorem erga nos a bono Priore et a toto sancto conventu qui receperunt nos in societatem et fraternitatem suam, incepimus habere amorem et devotionem erga illum ordinem et illam domum super omnes alias domos quas videramus." Monast. v. p. 12. In the MS. Tib. A. x. is the entry "1077, Lanzo Prior Sancti Pancratii venit in Angliam."

their fellowship and brotherhood, we began to have a love and devotion towards that order and that house beyond all other houses which we had seen." This was probably in 1076, when the quarrel between Henry IV. and Pope Hildebrand began, and Hugh, the same Abbot of Clugny who had been present at the Council of Rheims, which prohibited Matilda's marriage, was at the time in active correspondence with both potentates, endeavouring to effect a reconciliation. Without insisting on the point, it is possible that Warenne's marked preference of the Cluniacs arose from his descent from their founder, Guarinus; and his subsequent gift of the Lewes priory to Clugny seems to denote the same local attachment. His deed of gift has not been previously published in England, but is expressly referred to in his Charter as having been sent to Clugny, when, after the accession of William Rufus, his Lewes Prior, Lanzo, and his Convent, pointed out to him that the first Charter, confirming what he had given them, was at Clugny, and that they had no muniment of their own.^a This document alone exhibits Gundrada as a witness, and also proves *her* to have been the original proprietor of Falmer, which was given to the convent. The underwritten confirmation of the Conqueror testifies to his zeal in exciting his nobles to endow monasteries. At the time of this first grant, there were only intended to be twelve monks, which accounts for the smallness of the quantity of land given.

"Let it be known to all faithful people that I, William de Warenne, and Gondreda my wife, for the redemption of our souls, by the advice and assent of our Lord William King of England, have given to God and his Holy Apostles, Peter and Paul, at Clugny, where the Lord Hugh presides as Abbot, the church of S. Pancras in the same land of the English, with all those things which belong to it, and the land of two ploughs in my own (demesne) with the villains appertaining to it, and of one plough in the land which is called Falemel, where there are three plough-lands of my own, with all things pertaining to it, in the same manner as my wife before-named held it.

"In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, I, William, by the Grace of God, King of the English, moved by divine inspiration for the safety of my kingdom, and for the salvation of my soul, at the request also and earnest entreaty of William de Warenne and his wife Gondreda, do confirm the above-written grant, which they make to the Holy Apostles of God, Peter and Paul, at Clugny, signed with our seal, and by my

^a "Donavimus in principio omnia quæ eis promissimus, et confirmavimus per scriptum nostrum quod misimus Abbati Cluniacensi et conventui." "Monstraverunt mihi Dominus Lanzo Prior et Monachi mei quod apud Cluniacum esset confirmatio mea quam feceram de rebus quas illis dederam in principio, et quod ipsi ined nullum munimentum haberent." Monast. v. p. 12.

royal authority I corroborate it that it may remain firm and unshaken for ever. I make this grant in such manner, as that I may have the same privilege in it as I have in other charitable endowments, which my nobles (have established) with my assent, and that I may have in this endowment what I have in others.^a

“ Signum Willelmi Regis Anglorum.	S. Rogeri de Mortuo Mari.
S. A. ^b Reginæ Anglorum.	S. Galfridi de Calvo Monte.
S. Willelmi filii Regis Comitis.	S. Radulphi dapiferi.
S. Roberti de Bellomonte.	S. Willelmi de Warena.
S. Henrici de Bellomonte.	S. Mauricii Cancii ^c Cancellarii.
S. Roberti Gifradi.	S. Gundredæ uxoris Willelmi de Warena.”

A few remarks may be made on this charter and its witnesses. The privilege reserved to the King himself was in all probability a corody, or right of nominating a person to be boarded, lodged, and clothed in and at the expense of the monastery. Such privileges were usual where the King was the founder; and kings seem to have often been considered the founders of monasteries, when they had in any way contributed to the endowment of them. That the crown had a corody in Lewes Priory appears from Fitzherbert's *Natura Brevium*, 233. This privilege has some resemblance to that granted about this time by the same Hugh, Abbot of Clugny, to Alphonso, King of Spain, in return for his gifts. “ We decree a daily offering in the refectory, at the high table, as if he was about to sit down and feast with us,

^a “ Notum sit omnibus fidelibus quod ego Willelmus de Warena et Gondreda uxor mea, pro redemptione animarum nostrarum, consilio et assensu Domini nostri Regis Angliæ Guillelmi, donavimus Deo et Sanctis Apostolis ejus Petro et Paulo ad locum Cluniacum, ubi præest Dominus Hugo Abbas, in eadem Anglorum terrâ, ecclesiam Sancti Pancratii cum his quæ ad eam pertinent, et terram duarum carrucarum in proprio (dominio?) cum villanis ad eam pertinentibus, et unius in terra quæ nuncupatur Falemelam, ubi sunt tres carrucæ propriæ, cum his quæ ad eam pertinent, sicut tenebat eam suprascripta uxor mea.

“ In nomine Domini nostri Jesu Christi, Ego Guillelmus Dei gratia Rex Anglorum, inspiratione divina compunctus, pro incolumitate regni mei, et salute animæ meæ, rogantibus etiam et obnixe postulantis Willelmo de Warena et uxore ejus Gondreda, hanc inscriptam donationem, quam faciunt Sanctis Apostolis Dei Petro et Paulo ad locum Cluniacum, sigillo nostro signatam confirmo, et regali auctoritate corroboro, ut in perpetuum firma et inconcussa permaneat; hanc donationem ita concedo, ut habeam eandem donationem in ea quam habeo in ceteris elemosynis, quas mei Proceres meo nutu . . . (construxerunt) et hoc in ista elemosyna habeam quod habeo in aliis. Signum Willelmi Regis, &c. as above. *Biblioth. Cluniac.* p. 532.

^b The initial A. of the Queen's name must be a mistake either of the copyist from the MS. or of the printer for M.

^c Cancii was the contraction for Cancellarii, and the latter word was probably added by some transcriber to explain it.

which may always be given to some poor christian for the salvation of his soul, both in life and death.”^a The unusual designation of “earl” to the signature of the King’s son William, though not given him in Domesday,^b is however also added to his name among the witnesses to the Charter of St. Stephen at Caen, 1077, as it also is to that of his elder brother Robert (Neust. Pia, p. 648); and again occurs subjoined to their names in the Charter of St. Trinity, at Caen, in 1082, but not to Henry, who was then only thirteen years of age, and is simply called “son of the King.” (Neust. Pia, p. 658.) William de Warenne appears also as a witness to both those charters. William and Henry de Bellomonte seem to have been the sons of the Roger de Bellomonte, with whom, when left as Regent in Normandy with Queen Matilda, she has been wrongly accused by some writers of intriguing. Roger, the son of Henry de Bellomonte, created Earl of Warwick, married Gundrada, the granddaughter of the wife of William de Warenne. Robert Gifard joined the expedition under Robert Guiscard, in 1084. (Orderic, 641.) Roger de Mortimer was apparently the founder of the Abbey of St. Victor in 1074, according to Mr. Stapleton. (p. 15.) Geoffry de Calvo Monte or Calmont was witness to a deed in the Chartulary of the Trinity at Caen. (Ib. p. 26.) Ralph dapifer appears in Domesday as a tenant in capite. Maurice was appointed Chancellor in 1067, according to Dugdale, (Orig. Jurid.) and was re-appointed 4 cal. Jan. 1077, (Spelman,) so that the date of the Charter must have been very near that time. He became Bishop of London in 1085, was witness to the Charter of Battle Abbey in 1087, and lived till 1107.

In conclusion, though more or less obscurity may remain on some collateral points of a subject so remote, yet as regards the real question at issue, which is the supposed marriage of Queen Matilda with Gerbodo, I trust that sufficient reasons have now been adduced to discredit such an hypothesis, and that the historian may acquiesce in the previously received opinion that the wife of William de Warenne was a daughter of the Conqueror by his Queen Matilda.

^a “ Statuimus præbendam quotidianam in refectorio ad majorem mensam, quasi si nobiscum epulaturus sederet, quæ uni pauperum Christi semper tribuatur pro salute animæ ejus tam in vita quam in morte.” Bibl. Cluniac.

^b Vide tom. i. fol. 77.