

C

D

E

1066¹ In this year Harold came from York to Westminster at the Easter following the Christmas that the king died, and Easter was then on 16 April. Then over all England there was seen a sign in the skies such as had never been seen before.⁵ Some said it was the star "comet" which some call the long-haired star, and it first appeared on the eve of the Greater Litany, that is 24 April, and so shone all the week. And soon after this Earl Tosti came from overseas⁶ into the Isle of Wight with as large a fleet as he could muster, and both money and provisions were given him. And then he went away from there and did damage everywhere along the sea-coast wherever he could reach, until he came to Sandwich. When King Harold, who was in London,

In this year King Harold came from York to Westminster at the Easter following the Christmas that the king died, and Easter was then on 16 April. Then over all England there was seen a sign in the skies such as had never been seen before.⁵ Some said it was the star "comet" which some call the long-haired star; and it first appeared on the eve of the Greater Litany, that is 24 April, and so shone all the week. And soon after this Earl Tosti came from overseas⁶ into the Isle of Wight with as large a fleet as he could muster and both money and provisions were given him. And King Harold his brother assembled a naval force and a land force larger than any king had assembled before in this country, because he had been told that William the

In this year the minster of Westminster was consecrated on Holy Innocents' day,² and King Edward died on the eve³ of the Epiphany, and was buried on the feast of the Epiphany⁴ in the newly consecrated church at Westminster. And Earl Harold succeeded to the realm of England, just as the king had granted it to him, and as he had been chosen to the position. And he was consecrated king on the feast of the Epiphany.⁴ And the same year that he became king he went out with a naval force against William,⁷ and meanwhile Earl Tosti⁶ came into the Humber with sixty ships; and Earl Edwin⁸ came with a land force and drove him out and the sailors deserted him, and he went to Scotland with twelve small vessels, and Harold, the Norse

¹ 'C' omits the number of this annal. 'E', having omitted the number 1065, returns to the true date. As in the previous annal, 'D' combines 'C' and 'E'.

² 28 December 1065

³ 5 January 1066

⁴ 6 January 1066

⁵ Halley's comet

⁶ On the course of Tosti's raid, see F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 3rd edn, pp. 586 f., where *Brunemuc* is taken to refer to the mouth of the Burnham river in Norfolk.

⁷ This, in 'E' only, perhaps refers to a skirmish off the south-east coast.

⁸ He had succeeded his father Ælfgar as earl of Mercia.

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was informed that Tosti his brother was come to Sandwich, he assembled a naval force and a land force larger than any king had assembled before in this country, because he had been told as a fact that Count William from Normandy, King Edward's kinsman,¹ meant to come here and subdue this country. This was exactly what happened afterwards. When Tosti found that King Harold was on his way to Sandwich, he went from Sandwich and took some of the sailors with him, some willingly and some unwillingly, and then went north to [] and ravaged in Lindsey and killed many good men there. When Earl Edwin and Earl Morcar³ understood about this, they came there and drove him out of the country; and then he went to Scotland, and the

Bastard¹ meant to come here and conquer this country. This was exactly what happened afterwards. Meanwhile Earl Tosti came into the Humber with sixty ships and Earl Edwin came with a land force and drove him out, and the sailors deserted him. And he went to Scotland with twelve small vessels, and there Harold, king of Norway,² met him with three hundred ships, and Tosti submitted to him and became his vassal; and they both went up the Humber until they reached York. And there Earl Edwin and Morcar³ his brother fought against them; but the Norwegians had the victory.⁴ Harold, king of the English, was informed that things had gone thus; and the fight was on the Vigil of St Matthew.⁷ Then Harold our king⁸ came upon the Norwegians

king,² met him with three hundred ships, and Tosti submitted to him; and they both went up the Humber until they reached York. And Earl Morcar and Earl Edwin³ fought against them, and the Norse king had the victory.⁴ And King Harold was informed as to what had been done, and what had happened, and he came with a very great force of Englishmen and met him at Stamford Bridge,⁵ and killed him and Earl Tosti and valiantly overcame all the invaders. Meanwhile Count William landed at Hastings on Michaelmas day,⁶ and Harold came from the north and fought with him before all the army had come, and there he fell and his two brothers Gyrth and Leofwine; and William conquered this country, and came to Westminster, and Arch-

¹ Note the difference of emphasis. 'C' may imply that William had some claim to the throne.

² Harold Hardrada

³ earls respectively of Mercia and Northumbria

⁴ The battle of Fulford took place on Wednesday, 20 September.

⁵ The battle of Stamford Bridge took place on Monday, 25 September.

⁶ 29 September

⁷ i.e. 20 September

⁸ The note of enthusiasm in 'D' should be remarked.

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king of Scots¹ gave him protection, and helped him with provisions, and he stayed there all the summer. Then King Harold came to Sandwich and waited for his fleet there, because it was long before it could be assembled; and when his fleet was assembled, he went into the Isle of Wight and lay there all that summer and autumn; and a land force was kept everywhere along by the sea, though in the end it was no use. When it was the feast of the Nativity of St Mary,⁴ the provisions of the people were gone, and nobody could keep them there any longer. Then the men were allowed to go home, and the king rode inland, and the ships were brought up to London, and many perished before they reached there. When the ships came home, Harold, king of Norway, came by surprise north into the Tyne with a very

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by surprise and met them beyond York at Stamford Bridge with a large force of the English people; and that day there was a very fierce fight on both sides. There was killed Harold Fairhair³ and Earl Tosti, and the Norwegians who survived took to flight; and the English attacked them fiercely as they pursued them until some got to the ships. Some were drowned, and some burned, and some destroyed in various ways so that few survived and the English remained in command of the field. The king gave quarter to Olaf, son of the Norse king, and their bishop and the earl of Orkney and all those who survived on the ships, and they went up to our king and swore oaths that they would always keep peace and friendship with this country; and the king let them go home with twenty-four ships. These two

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bishop Aldred consecrated him king, and people paid taxes to him, and gave him hostages and afterwards bought their lands. And² Leofric, abbot of Peterborough, was at that campaign and fell ill there, and came home and died soon after, on the eve of All Saints. God have mercy on his soul. In his day there was every happiness and every good at Peterborough, and he was beloved by everyone, so that the king gave St Peter and him the abbacy of Burton and that of Coventry which Earl Leofric, who was his uncle, had built, and that of Crowland and that of Thorney. And he did much for the benefit of the monastery of Peterborough with gold and silver and vestments and land, more indeed than any before or after him. Then the Golden City became a wretched city. Then the monks elected Brand, the provost, as

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large naval force – no small one: it could be [] or more.¹ And Earl Tosti came to him with all those he had mustered, just as they had agreed beforehand, and they both went with all the fleet up the Ouse towards York. Then King Harold in the south was informed when he disembarked that Harold, king of Norway, and Earl Tosti were come ashore near York. Then he went northwards day and night as quickly as he could assemble his force. Then before Harold could get there Earl Edwin and Earl Morcar assembled from their earldom as large a force as they could muster, and fought against the invaders and caused them heavy casualties, and many of the English host were killed and drowned and put to flight, and the Norwegians remained

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pitched battles were fought within five nights. Then Count William came from Normandy to Pevensey on Michaelmas eve,³ and as soon as they were able to move on they built a castle at Hastings. King Harold was informed of this⁴ and he assembled a large army and came against him at the hoary apple-tree.⁵ And William came against him by surprise before his army was drawn up in battle array. But the king nevertheless fought hard against him, with the men who were willing to support him, and there were heavy casualties on both sides. There King Harold was killed and Earl Leofwine his brother, and Earl Gyrth his brother, and many good men, and the French remained masters of the field, even as God granted it to them because of the sins of the people.

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abbot, because he was a very good man and very wise, and sent him to the atheling Edgar² because the local people expected that he would be king, and the atheling gladly gave assent to it. When King William heard about this he grew very angry, and said the abbot had slighted him. Then distinguished men acted as intermediaries and brought them into agreement, because the abbot was of good family. Then he gave the king 40 marks of gold as settlement. And he lived a little while after this – only three years. Then all confusions and evils came upon the monastery. May God take pity on it!

¹ Malcolm Canmore

² What follows in 'E' is a Peterborough addition.

³ an error for Hardraada

⁴ 8 September

¹ The text is corrupt.

² son of the atheling Edward who died in 1057

³ 28 September, but 'E' has 29 September

⁴ On Harold's actions, see F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 3rd edn, pp. 592 f.

⁵ The only English narrative description of the battle which is contemporary. For Norman accounts, see Nos 3, 4; see also Sir Frank Stenton, "The historical background", *The Bayeux Tapestry: a comprehensive survey*, repr. (London, 1965).

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masters of the field.¹ And this fight was on the eve of St Matthew the Apostle, and that was a Wednesday. And then after the fight Harold, king of Norway, and Earl Tosti went into York² with as large a force as suited them, and they were given hostages from the city and also helped with provisions, and so went from there on board ship and settled a complete peace, arranging that they should all go with him southwards and subdue this country. Then in the middle of these proceedings Harold, king of the English, came on the Sunday² with all his force to Tadcaster, and there marshalled his troops, and then on Monday⁴ went right on through York. And Harold, king of Norway, and Earl Tosti and their divisions were gone inland beyond York to Stamford Bridge, because they had been promised for

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Archbishop Aldred and the citizens of London wanted to have Edgar *Cild* as king, as was his proper due; and Edwin and Morcar promised him that they would fight on his side; but always the more it ought to have been forward the more it got behind, and the worse it grew from day to day, exactly as everything came to be at the end. The battle took place on the festival of Calixtus the pope.³ And Count William went back to Hastings, and waited there to see whether submission would be made to him. But when he understood that no one meant to come to him, he went inland with all his army that was left to him, and that came to him afterwards from overseas, and ravaged all the region that he overran until he reached Berkhamsted. There he was met by Archbishop Aldred and Edgar *Cild*, and Earl Edwin and Earl

¹ battle of Fulford, Wednesday, 20 September
² Saturday, 14 October

⁴ 25 September

² on Sunday, 24 September

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certain that hostages would be brought to them there out of all the shire. Then Harold, king of the English, came against them by surprise beyond the bridge, and there they joined battle, and went on fighting strenuously till late in the day. And there Harold, king of Norway, was killed and Earl Tosti, and numberless men with them both Norwegians and English, and the Norwegians¹ fled from the English. There was one of the Norwegians there who withstood the English host so that they could not cross the bridge nor win victory. Then an Englishman shot an arrow, but it was no use, and then another came under the bridge and stabbed him under the corselet. Then Harold, king of the English, came over the bridge and his host with him, and there killed large numbers of both Norwegians and

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Morcar, and all the chief men from London. And they submitted out of necessity after most damage had been done – and it was a great piece of folly that they had not done it earlier, since God would not make things better, because of our sins. And they gave hostages and swore oaths to him, and he promised them that he would be a gracious liege lord, and yet in the meantime they ravaged all that they overran. Then on Christmas day Archbishop Aldred consecrated him king at Westminster. And he promised Aldred on Christ's book and swore moreover (before Aldred would place the crown on his head) that he would rule all this people as well as the best of the kings before him, if they would be loyal to him. All the same he laid taxes on people very severely, and then went in spring

¹ Here the original part of 'C' ends at the foot of a folio, and what follows is on an added page in much later handwriting and language. On this, see B. Dickens, "The late addition to A.S.-C. 1066 C", *Proc. Leeds Phil. and Lit. Soc.*, v (1940), 148 f.

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Flemings, and Harold let the king's son Hetmundus¹ go home to Norway with all the ships.²

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overseas to Normandy, and took with him Archbishop Stigand, and Æthelnoth, abbot of Glastonbury, and Edgar *Cild* and Earl Edwin and Earl Morcar, and Earl Waltheof, and many other good men from England. And Bishop Odo³ and Earl William⁴ stayed behind and built castles far and wide throughout this country, and distressed the wretched folk, and always after that it grew much worse. May the end be good when God wills!

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1067⁵ This year the king came back to England on St Nicholas's day.⁶ And that day Christ Church at Canterbury was burnt down. And Bishop Wulfwig died and is buried in his

In this year the king went overseas and took with him hostages and money and

¹ or "who was called 'Mundus' (the Elegant)", see *ibid*.

² Here 'C' ends.

³ Odo, half-brother of the Conqueror, being the son of Herluin and Herleva, was bishop of Bayeux from 1049 to 1097; he became earl of Kent shortly after 1066.

⁴ William fitz Osbern, son of Osbern the steward, was given the Isle of Wight and the earldom of Hereford shortly after 1066.

⁵ The events of 1067, 1068, 1069 are not all correctly assigned; 1067 'E' has the correct order, but the journey of the atheling Edgar belongs to the summer of 1068. 'D', probably combining two sources, enters the rebellion of Eadric the Wild after the king's return, whereas Florence places it before this. After the mention of the atheling's journey, 'D' has a long interpolation, probably from some Life of St Margaret, and then goes back to the spring of 1068 to record events not entered in 'E', continuing with events of the summer of 1068. Thus in both MSS events from 6 December 1067 to the summer of 1068 are placed under 1067.

⁶ 6 December 1067

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cathedral town of Dorchester. And Eadric *Cild*¹ and the Welsh became hostile, and fought against the garrison of the castle at Hereford, and inflicted many injuries upon them. And the king imposed a heavy tax on the wretched people, and nethertheless caused all that they overran to be ravaged. And then he went to Devon and besieged the city of Exeter for eighteen days, and there a large part of his army perished.² But he made fair promises to them, and fulfilled them badly; and they gave up the city to him because the thegns had betrayed them. And in the course of the summer, Edgar *Cild* went abroad with his mother Agatha and his two sisters, Margaret and Christina, and Mærleswein⁴ and many good men with them, and came to Scotland under the protection of King Malcolm, and he received them all.⁶ Then the aforesaid King Malcolm began to desire his sister Margaret for his wife, but he and his men all opposed it for a long time; and she also refused, saying that she would have neither him nor any other if the heavenly mercy would graciously grant it to her to please in virginity with human heart the mighty Lord in pure continence through this short life. The king pressed her brother until he said "yes", and indeed he dared not do anything else, because they had come into his control. It then turned out as God had foreseen (otherwise it could not have happened) even as he himself says in his Gospel that not even a sparrow can fall into a trap without his providence. The Creator in his foreknowledge knew beforehand what he wished to do through her, because she

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came back the next year on St Nicholas's day.² And that day Christ Church at Canterbury was burnt down. And he gave away every man's land when he came back. And that summer Edgar *Cild* went abroad, and Mærleswein,⁴ and many people with them, and went into Scotland. And King Malcolm received them all and married the atheling's sister, Margaret.⁵

¹ an error for Eadric "the Wild"

² 6 December 1067

³ This campaign took place in the spring of 1068.

⁴ Sheriff of Lincoln, who held lands in Lincolnshire, Yorkshire, Devon and Somerset

⁵ The marriage between Margaret and Malcolm probably took place late in 1069 or in 1070.

⁶ Part of the following account in 'D' is in loose alliterative verse.

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was destined to increase the glory of God in the land, and set the king right from the path of error, and turn him to the better way, and his people as well, and put down the evil customs that this nation had practised, just as she afterwards did. Then the king received her, though it was against her will, and her behaviour pleased him, and he thanked God who by his power had given him such a consort; and he meditated wisely, like the very sensible man he was, and turned to God and despised every impurity. About this the apostle Paul, the teacher of all nations, said, "*Salvabitur vir infidelis per mulierem fidelem sic et mulier infidelis per virum fidelem*", etc. — that is, in our language, "Very often the unbelieving husband is made holy and saved through the righteous¹ wife, and likewise the wife through a believing husband."² The aforesaid queen afterwards performed many useful acts in that country to the glory of God, and she also prospered in the state even as was natural to her. She was descended from a believing and a noble family: her father was the atheling Edward, son of King Edmund, son of Ethelred, son of Edgar, son of Eadred³ and so on in that royal race.⁴ Her mother's family goes back to the emperor Henry who ruled over Rome. And Gytha, Harold's mother, and many distinguished men's wives with her, went out to Flatholme and stayed there for some time and so went from there overseas to St Omer.⁵ This Easter the king came to Winchester, and Easter was then on 23 March.⁶ And soon after that the lady Maud came to this country and Archbishop Aldred consecrated her as queen at Westminster on

¹ The original scribe has added "believing" over this word.

² I Corinthians vii. 14

³ Edgar was son of Edmund, Eadred's brother.

⁴ The insistence on Margaret's descent from the West Saxon royal line may suggest that the interpolation was made after Henry I's marriage to her daughter Maud in 1100.

⁵ These events probably belong to 1068.

⁶ The correct date for Easter 1068.

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Whit-Sunday.¹ Then the king was informed that the people in the north were gathered together and meant to make a stand against him if he came. He then went to Nottingham and built a castle there, and so went to York and there built two castles, and in Lincoln and everywhere in that district. And Earl Gospatric and the best men went to Scotland.² And in the meanwhile Harold's sons came unexpectedly from Ireland with a naval force into the mouth of the Avon, and ravaged all over that district. Then they went to Bristol and meant to take the city by storm but the citizens fought against them fiercely. And when they could not get anything out of the city, they went to their ships with what they had won by plunder, and so went to Somerset and landed there. And Eadnoth, the staller, fought against them and was killed there, and many good men on both sides. And those who survived went away.²

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1068³ In this year King William gave Earl Robert the aldermanry of Northumberland; but the local people surrounded him in the city of Durham and killed him and nine hundred men with him.⁴ And soon after that the atheling Edgar came to York with all the Northumbrians, and the citizens made peace with him. And King William came on them by surprise from the south with an over-

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In this year King William gave Earl Robert the earldom of Northumberland. Then the local people came against him and killed him and nine hundred men with him.⁴ And the atheling Edgar came then with all the Northumbrians to York, and the citizens made peace with him. And King William came from the south with all his army and ravaged the city, and killed many

¹ She was crowned on 11 May, which was Whit Sunday in 1068.

² These events belong to the summer of 1068.

³ The events in 'E' are correctly placed in 1068 if 'E' is using the Lady day reckoning; but 'D' continues without a break right through 1069 and on to William's return to Winchester for Easter 1070. Thorpe assumes a break where the entry of Archbishop Aldred's death begins with a capital, but a better break comes (as given here) at the point where 'E' ends its annal 1068.

⁴ on 28 January 1069; see Simcon of Durham, ed. Arnold, II, 187

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whelming army and routed them, and killed those who could not escape, which was many hundreds of men, and ravaged the city, and made St Peter's minster an object of scorn, and ravaged and humiliated all the others. And the atheling went back to Scotland.¹

1069² After this Harold's sons came from Ireland at midsummer with sixty-four ships into the mouth of the Taw, and landed incautiously. And Count Brian³ came against them by surprise with no little force, and fought against them and killed all the best men who were in that fleet; and the others escaped with a small force to the ships. And Harold's sons went back to Ireland again. In this year Archbishop Aldred of York died, and he is buried there in his cathedral city. He died on the day of SS Protus and Hyacinthus.⁵ He occupied the archiepiscopal see with great honour for ten years all but fifteen weeks. Soon after that three sons of King Swein came from Denmark with two hundred and forty ships into the Humber, together with Earl Osbeorn and Earl Thorkil. And there came to meet them the atheling Edgar and Earl Waltheof and Mærleswin and

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hundreds of men. And the atheling went back to Scotland.¹

In this year Bishop Æthelric in Peterborough had an accusation brought against him, and was sent to Westminster, and his brother Bishop Æthelwine was outlawed. Then between the two feasts of St Mary⁴ they – that is the sons of King Swein and his brother Earl Osbeorn – came from the east from Denmark with three hundred ships. And then Earl Waltheof went out, and he and the atheling Edgar and many hundreds of men with them came and met the fleet in the Humber, and went to York and landed and won the castles, and killed many hundreds of men and took a large amount of treasure on board ship, and kept the chief men in bonds, and lay between the Ouse and the Trent all that winter. And King William went into the shire and ruined it completely. And in the same year Brand, abbot of Peterborough, died on 27 November.

¹ early spring of 1069

² 'D' has no break (see p. 153, n. 3). The precise date of Bishop Æthelric's downfall is uncertain. Otherwise the events in this annal are in the proper order, except that 'D' is wrong in placing Aldred's death before the arrival of the Danish fleet (see n. 5 below). By mentioning the length of William's stay in the north, 'D' continues to Easter 1070.

³ Brian, a count of Brittany: for the family, see C. T. Clay, *Early Yorkshire Charters*, IV (1935), 84 f.

⁴ the Assumption and the Nativity, 15 August and 8 September

⁵ 11 September. Whereas 'D' says that the Danes came soon after, 'E' dates their arrival before Aldred's death, as does Florence, who attributes his sickness and death to his grief at their arrival.

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Earl Gospatric with the Northumbrians and all the people, riding and marching with an immense army rejoicing exceedingly; and so they all went resolutely to York, and stormed and rased the castle and captured an incalculable treasure in it, and killed many hundreds of Frenchmen and took many with them to the ships. And before the shipmen got there the Frenchmen had burned the city, and had also thoroughly ravaged and burnt the holy minster of St Peter. When the king found out about this, he went northwards with all his army that he could collect, and utterly ravaged and laid waste that shire. And the fleet lay all the winter in the Humber where the king could not get at them. And the king was in York on Christmas day, and so was in the country all the winter. And he came to Winchester that same Easter.¹ And Bishop Æthelric, who was at Peterborough, had an accusation brought against him, and was taken to Westminster, and his brother Bishop Æthelwine was outlawed.

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1070 (1071)² In this year Earl Waltheof³ made peace with the king. And in the following spring the king had all the monasteries that were in England plundered.⁴ And this year there was a great famine. And the monastery at Peterbor-

In this year Earl Waltheof made peace with the king. And in the following spring the king had all the monasteries that were in England plundered.⁴ Then in the same year King Swein came from Denmark into the Humber, and

¹ 4 April 1070

² 'D', having left a blank annal 1070, becomes a year in advance of the true date.

³ son of Siward, earl of Northumbria; he held an earldom in the Midlands.

⁴ What follows in 'E' is a Peterborough addition.

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ough was plundered, namely by the men that Bishop Æthelric had excommunicated because they had taken there all that he had. And in the same summer that fleet came into the Thames and lay there two nights, and then went on to Denmark. And Count Baldwin² died, and Arnulf, his son, succeeded him. And the king of the French³ and Earl William⁴ were to be his protectors. But Robert⁵ came there and killed Arnulf, his kinsman, and Earl William and routed the king, and killed many thousands of his men.⁷

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the local people came to meet him and made a truce with him – they expected that he was going to conquer the country. Then there came to Ely, Christian, the Danish bishop,¹ and Earl Osbeorn and the Danish housecarls with them, and the English people from all the Fenlands came to them and expected that they were going to conquer all the country. Then the monks of Peterborough heard it said that their own men meant to plunder the monastery – that was Hereward⁶ and his following. That was because they heard it said that the king had given the abbacy to a French abbot called Turol,⁸ and he was a very stern man, and had then come to Stamford with all his Frenchmen. There was then a sacristan called Yware; he took by night all he could, the Gospels, and chasubles, and copes and robes, and some such small things – whatever he could – and went at once before dawn to the abbot Turol, and told him he was seeking his protection, and informed him how the outlaws were alleged to be coming to Peterborough. He did all that according to the monks' advice. Then forthwith in

¹ bishop of Aarhus

² Baldwin VI, count of Flanders

³ Philip I

⁴ William fitz Osbern

⁵ brother of Baldwin VI and uncle of Arnulf

⁶ Hereward "the Wake", on whom see E. A. Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, IV, 454 f.

⁷ battle of Cassel, 20 February 1071

⁸ He had been a monk of Fécamp, but he came to Peterborough from Malmesbury, where he had been abbot.

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the morning all the outlaws came with many ships, and wanted to enter the monastery, and the monks withstood them so that they could not get in. Then they set fire to it and burnt down all the monks' houses and all the town except one house. Then they got in by means of fire at Bolhithe Gate, and the monks came towards them and asked them for a truce, but they paid no attention, and went into the church, climbed up to the Holy Rood and took the crown off our Lord's head – all of pure gold – and then took the foot-rest that was underneath his feet, which was all of red gold. They climbed up to the steeple, brought down the altar-frontal that was hidden there – it was all of gold and silver – and took there two golden shrines and nine of silver, and they took fifteen great crucifixes, of both gold and silver. They took there so much gold and silver, and so many treasures in money and vestments and books, that no man can reckon it up to another. They said they did it out of loyalty to the monastery. Then they went on board ship and proceeded to Ely, where they deposited all the treasure. The Danes expected that they were going to overcome the Frenchmen. Then all the monks were scattered and none remained there but one monk who was called Leofwine the Tall; he was lying ill in the infirmary. Then came Abbot Turol and one hun-

dred and sixty Frenchmen with him, and all fully armed. When he arrived, he found everything burnt inside and out except the church. The outlaws were then all afloat – they knew he would be bound to come there. This was done on 2 June. The two kings, William and Swein, came to an agreement. Then the Danes proceeded out of Ely with all the above-mentioned treasures, and took them with them. When they were in the middle of the sea there came a great storm, and scattered all the ships carrying the treasures – some went to Norway, some to Ireland, some to Denmark and all that reached there was the altar-frontal and some shrines and some crosses and much of the other treasure, and they brought it to a royal town called ¹, and then put it all in the church. Then afterwards through their carelessness and drunkenness the church was burnt one night with everything that was in it. Thus was the monastery of Peterborough burnt down and plundered. Almighty God have pity on it through his great mercy! And thus Abbot Tuold came to Peterborough, and the monks came back, and performed the service of Christ in the church, which had stood a whole week without any kind of service. When Bishop Æthelric heard tell about it, he excommunicated all the men who had done this

¹ a gap in the MS.

wicked deed. There was a great famine in the course of the year. And the following summer the fleet came from the north from the Humber into the Thames, and lay there two nights, and then held on their course to Denmark. And Count Baldwin died, and his son Arnulf succeeded him, and Earl William was to be his protector, and the king of the French also. And then came Count Robert and killed his kinsman Arnulf and the earl, and routed the king, and killed many thousands of his men.

1071 (1072)¹ In this year Earl Edwin and Earl Morcar fled away and travelled aimlessly in woods and moors until Edwin was killed by his own men and Morcar went to Ely by ship. And Bishop Æthelwine and Siward Bearn came there, and many hundred men with them. But when King William found out about this, he called out a naval force and a land force, and invested that part of the country from outside, and made a bridge and placed a naval force on the seaward side. And they then all surrendered to the king, that is to say Bishop Æthelwine and Earl Morcar and all who were with them except Hereward alone and those who could escape with him, and he led them out valiantly. And the king took their ships and weapons and plenty of

In this year Earl Edwin and Earl Morcar fled away and travelled aimlessly in woods and moors. Then Earl Morcar went to Ely in a ship, and Earl Edwin was killed treacherously by his own men. And Bishop Æthelwine and Siward Bearn came to Ely and many hundred men with them. And when King William found out about this, he called out a naval force and a land force, and invested that part of the country from outside, and made a bridge and went in, and placed the naval force on the seaward side. And the outlaws then all surrendered to the king, that is to say Bishop Æthelwine and Earl Morcar and all who were with them except Hereward alone and those who wished to go with him, and he led them out valiantly. And the king

¹ D' remains a year in advance of the true date.

D

money, and he took all the men prisoner and did as he pleased with them: Bishop Æthelwine he sent to Abingdon, and there he died.

- 1072** (1073)¹ In this year King William led a naval force and a land force to Scotland, and blockaded that country from the sea with ships. And he went himself with his land force in over the Forth, and there he found nothing that they were any the better for. And King Malcolm came and made peace with King William² and was his vassal and gave him hostages, and afterwards went home with all his force. And Bishop Æthelric died; he was consecrated bishop of York, but it was taken from him unjustly, and he was given the bishopric of Durham, and he held it as long as he wished, and he relinquished it later, and went to St Peter's monastery at Peterborough and lived there for twelve years. Then after William conquered England, he had him taken from Peterborough and sent him to Westminster. He died there on 15 October, and is buried there in St Nicholas's chapel.

D, E

- 1073** (1074 D)¹ In this year King William led an English and French force overseas and conquered the country of Maine; and the English damaged it severely: they destroyed vineyards and burned down cities,

¹ 'D' remains a year in advance of the true date.

² This refers to the so-called pact of Abernethy, on which see R. L. G. Ritchie, *op. cit.*, pp. 29-38.

E

took their ships and weapons and plenty of money, and did as he pleased with the men: Bishop Æthelwine he sent to Abingdon, and there he died soon after in the course of the winter.

In this year King William led a naval force and a land force to Scotland and blockaded that country from the sea with ships. And he led his land force in at the Forth, and there he found nothing that he was any the better for. And King Malcolm came and made peace with King William² and gave hostages and was his vassal, and the king went home with all his force. And Bishop Æthelric died; he was consecrated bishop of York, but it was taken from him unjustly, and he was given the bishopric of Durham, and he held it as long as he wished, and he relinquished it later, and went to St Peter's monastery at Peterborough and lived there for twelve years. Then after King William conquered England, he took him from Peterborough and sent him to Westminster. He died on 15 October and is buried in that church in St Nicholas's chapel.

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D, E

and damaged the country severely, and made all the country surrender to the king. And afterwards they went home to England.¹

D

E

- 1074** (1075)² In this year King William went overseas to Normandy. And Edgar *Cild* came from Flanders into Scotland on St Grimbald's day.³ And⁴ King Malcolm and Edgar's sister, Margaret, received him with great honour. At the same time the king of France, Philip, sent a letter to him and ordered him to come to him, saying he would give him the castle of Montreuil so that he could do daily harm to those who were not his friends. So now King Malcolm and Edgar's sister, Margaret, gave him and all his men great gifts and many treasures consisting of skins covered with purple cloth, and robes of marten's skin and of grey fur and ermine, and costly robes and golden vessels and silver, and led him and all his naval force out of his jurisdiction with great honour. But on the journey it turned out badly for them when they were out at sea, in that they met very rough weather, and the raging sea and the strong wind cast them ashore so that all their ships foundered and they themselves got to land with difficulty and their treasure was nearly all lost. And some of his men were captured by the French, but he and his fittest

In this year King William went overseas to Normandy. And Edgar *Cild* came from Scotland to Normandy, and the king reversed his outlawry and that of all his men. And he was in the king's court and received such dues as the king granted him.⁵

¹ 'D' omits the last two words.

² 'D' remains a year in advance of the true date.

³ 8 July
⁴ What follows is another indication of the interest taken by 'D' in Scottish affairs.

⁵ Edgar survived until about 1125.

D

men went back to Scotland, some walking miserably on foot, and some riding wretchedly. Then King Malcolm advised him to send overseas to King William and ask for his protection, and he did so; and the king granted it to him and sent for him. And again King Malcolm and Edgar's sister gave him and all his men immense treasure, and again very honourably sent him out of their jurisdiction. And the sheriff of York came to meet them at Durham and went all the way with them and had them provided with food and fodder at every castle they came to, until they got overseas to the king. And King William received him with great honour and he stayed there at court and received such dues as were appointed him.

1075 (1076)¹ In this year King William gave to Earl Ralph² the daughter of William fitz Osbern.³ This same Ralph was Breton on his mother's side, and Ralph his father was English, and was born in Norfolk, and the king therefore gave the earldom there and Suffolk as well to his son. He then took the lady to Norwich.⁴

There was that bride-ale
That was many men's bale.

In this year King William gave to Earl Ralph² the daughter of William fitz Osbern.³ This same Ralph was Breton on his mother's side, and his father named Ralph was English and was born in Norfolk. Then the king gave his son the earldom of Norfolk and Suffolk. Then he took the lady to Norwich.⁴

There was that bride-ale
— [Many] men's bale.

¹ 'D' remains a year in advance of the true date.

² Ralph "Guader", earl of Norfolk, lord of Gael in Brittany: for the family, see *Complete Peerage*, IX, 568f.

³ Emma

⁴ "Florence of Worcester" says the marriage took place in Exning in Cambridgeshire (now in Suffolk).

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[1]

D

Earl Roger¹ was there and Earl Waltheof² and bishops and abbots, and there they plotted to drive their royal lord out of his kingdom. And the king in Normandy was soon informed about this. Earl Ralph and Earl Roger were the ringleaders in this conspiracy; and they lured the Bretons to their side; and they also sent to Denmark for a naval force. And Roger went west to his earldom³ and assembled his people for the king's undoing, as he thought, but it turned out to his own great harm. Ralph also wanted to go forward with the men of his earldom, but the castle garrisons which were in England and also the local people came against them and prevented them all from doing anything; but he was glad to escape to the ships. And his wife remained behind in the castle, and held it until she was given safe-conduct; and then she went out of England, and all her men who wished to go with her. And the king afterwards came to England, and captured Earl Roger, his kinsman, and put him in prison. And Earl Waltheof went overseas and accused himself and asked for pardon and offered treasure. But the king made light of it until he came to England and then had him captured. And soon after this two hundred ships came from Denmark, and the commanders aboard were Cnut, son of King

E

Earl Roger¹ was there and Earl Waltheof² and bishops and abbots, and there they plotted to expel the king from the realm of England. And soon the king in Normandy was informed about this, how it was planned. It was Earl Roger and Earl Ralph who were the principals in this conspiracy; and they lured the Bretons to their side; and also sent east to Denmark for a naval force to help them. And Roger went west to his earldom³ and assembled his people for the king's undoing, but he was prevented. And Ralph also in his earldom wanted to go forward with his people, but the castle garrisons which were in England and also the local people came against him, and brought it about that he did nothing, but went on board ship at Norwich. And his wife was in the castle, and held it until she was given safe-conduct; and then she went out of England and all her men who wished to go with her. And the king afterwards came to England, and seized Earl Roger, his kinsman, and imprisoned him, and he seized Earl Waltheof as well. And soon after that two hundred ships came from the east from Denmark, and there were two commanders on board, Cnut, son of Swein, and Earl Hákon. And they dared not fight with King Willim but proceeded overseas to Flanders. And the lady Edith died at Winchester

¹ Roger of Breteuil, second son of William fitz Osbern by his first wife and thus brother of the bride; he succeeded his father as earl of Hereford in 1071.

² son of Siward, earl of Northumbria

³ Hereford

D

Swein, and Earl Hákon. And they dared not fight with King William but went to York and broke into St Peter's minster and captured a large amount of property there and so departed. But all who took part in this scheme died — that is to say the son of Earl Hákon and many others with him. And the lady Edith, who was King Edward's widow, died at Winchester a week before Christmas, and the king had her brought to Westminster with great honour, and laid her near King Edward her husband. The king was that Christmas at Westminster; there all the Bretons who were at the marriage feast at Norwich were sentenced.

Some of them were blinded
And some banished from the land
And some were put to shame.
Thus were the traitors to the king
Brought low.

1076 (1077)¹ In this year Swein, king of Denmark, died,² and Harold, his son, succeeded to his realm. King William gave the abbacy at Westminster to Abbot Vitalis who had been a monk³ at Bernay. And in this year Earl Waltheof was beheaded at Winchester on St Petronella's day;⁴ and his body was taken to Crowland, and he is buried there. And King William went overseas and led a force to Brittany and besieged the castle at Dol; but the Bretons held it until

¹ 'D' remains a year in advance.

³ "abbot" is written above this word in the MS.

² 28 April 1074

⁴ 31 May

E

a week before Christmas, and the king had her brought to Westminster with great honour, and laid her near King Edward her husband. And the king was at Westminster that Christmas, and all the Bretons who were at the wedding feast at Norwich were destroyed.

Some of them were blinded
And some driven from the land.
So were the traitors to William
Brought low.

In this year Swein, king of Denmark, died, and Harold, his son, succeeded to the realm. And the king gave Westminster to Abbot Vitalis who had been abbot of Bernay. And Earl Waltheof was beheaded at Winchester; and his body was taken to Crowland. And the king went overseas and led his force to Brittany and besieged the castle at Dol; and the Bretons held it until the king came from France, and William went away and lost there both men and

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D

the king came from France, and then King William went away and lost there both men and horses and incalculable treasure.

1077¹(1078) This year the moon was eclipsed three nights before Candlemas. And Æthelwig, the abbot of Evesham, who was skilled in secular affairs, died on St Juliana's day,² and Walter was appointed abbot in his place. And Bishop Hereman died who was bishop of Berkshire and Wiltshire and Dorset. And King Malcolm captured the mother of Mælsnechtan⁴ . . .⁵ and all his best men and all his treasure and his cattle; and he himself escaped with difficulty. . . .⁷ And this year there was the dry summer; and wildfire came upon many shires and burned down many villages; and also many towns were burned down.

1079⁸ In this year Robert, son of King William, deserted from his father to his uncle Robert, in Flanders,⁹ because his father would not let him rule his county in Normandy, which he himself and also King Philip with his consent had given him; and the chief men in that

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horses and much of his treasure.

In this year the king of the French and William, king of England, came to an agreement, but it held good for only a little while. And in the course of the year London was burned down one night before the Assumption of St Mary,³ worse than ever it had been since it was founded. And in this year Æthelwig, abbot of Evesham, died on 16 February. And Bishop Hereman also died, on 20 February.⁶

In this year King Malcolm came from Scotland into England between the two feasts of St Mary¹⁰ with a great army, and ravaged Northumberland as far as the Tyne, and killed many hundreds of people, and took home much money and treasure and

¹ Apart from Abbot Æthelwig's death (16 February), the events in this annal are correctly placed in 1077 in a chronicle beginning the year on 25 March. The agreement between William and the French king, and the fire of London, belong to 1077; and there was an eclipse of the moon on 30 January 1078, which would be 1077 on this reckoning. 'D' is a year in advance as in the last seven annals.

² 16 February 1077

³ 14 August

⁴ Mormaer of Moray, whose death is recorded in 1085 in the *Annals of Ulster*; he was the son of Macbeth's stepson Lulach, who contested the throne with Malcolm III and was killed in 1058.

⁵ One line is left blank.

⁶ 1078

⁷ Six lines are left blank.

⁸ Neither version had anything to record under 1078, as the events before 25 March in this year were entered under 1077. The chronological dislocation in 'D' now ends.

⁹ Robert of Flanders was brother of Maud, wife of William the Conqueror.

¹⁰ 15 August and 8 September

D

county had sworn oaths to him and accepted him as liege lord. Robert fought against his father and wounded him in the hand; and his horse was shot under him; and the man who brought him another horse was at once shot from a cross-bow; his name was Toki, son of Wigod;² and many were killed there and captured; and Robert came back to Flanders; nor will we here write more of the harm he inflicted on his father. . . .³

E

1080 In this year Bishop Walcher of Durham was killed at a meeting, and a hundred men with him, French and Flemish. And he himself was born a Lotharingian.⁴ The Northumbrians did this in the month of May.⁵

1081 In this year the king led an army into Wales and there liberated many hundreds of men.

1082 In this year the king seized Bishop Odo.⁶ And in this year there was a great famine.

1083 In this year the discord arose at Glastonbury between the abbot Thurstan⁷ and his monks. In the first instance, it came of the abbot's lack of wisdom in misgoverning the monks in many matters,⁸ and the monks complained of it to him in a kindly way and asked him to rule them justly and to love them, and they would be loyal and obedient to him. But the abbot would do nothing of the sort, but gave them bad treatment and threatened them with worse. One day the abbot went into the chapter and spoke against them and wanted to ill-treat them, and sent for some laymen,⁹ and they came into the chapter, and fell upon the monks fully armed. And then the monks were very much afraid of them, and did not know what they had better do. But they

people in captivity. And in the same year King William fought against his son, Robert, outside Normandy near a castle called Gerberoi,¹ and King William was wounded there, and the horse he rode was killed, and also William, his son, was wounded there, and many men were killed.

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E

scattered: some ran into the church and locked the doors on themselves – and they went after them into the monastery and meant to drag them out when they dared not go out. But a grievous thing happened that day – the Frenchmen¹ broke into the choir and threw missiles towards the altar where the monks were, and some of the retainers went up to the upper story and shot arrows down towards the sanctuary, so that many arrows stuck in the cross that stood above the altar; and the wretched monks were lying round about the altar, and some crept under it, and cried to God zealously, asking for his mercy when they could get no mercy from men. What can we say, except that they shot fiercely, and the others broke down the doors there, and went in and killed some of the monks and wounded many there in the church, so that the blood came from the altar on to the steps, and from the steps on to the floor. Three were killed there and eighteen wounded. And in the same year Maud, William's queen, died the day after All Saints day.² And in this same year, after Christmas, the king had a great and heavy tax ordered all over England – it was 72*d* for every hide.³

1084 In this year Wulfwold, abbot of Chertsey died, on 19 April.

1085 In this year⁴ people said and declared for a fact, that Cnut, king of Denmark, son of King Swein, was setting out in this direction and meant to conquer this country with the help of Robert, count of Flanders, because Cnut was married to Robert's daughter. When William, king of England, who was then in Normandy – for he was in possession of both England and Normandy – found out about this, he went to England with a larger force of mounted men and infantry from France and Brittany than had ever come to this country, so that people wondered how this country could maintain all that army. And the king had all the army dispersed all over the country among his vassals, and they provisioned the army each in proportion to his land. And people had much oppression that year, and the king had the land near the sea laid waste, so that if his enemies landed, they should have nothing to seize on so quickly. But when the king found out for a fact that his enemies had been hindered and could not carry out their expedition – then he let some of the army go to their own country, and some he kept in this country over winter.

Then at Christmas,⁵ the king was at Gloucester with his council, and held his court there for five days, and then the archbishop and clerks held a synod for three days. There Maurice was elected bishop of

¹ MS. *Gerborned*

² probably Wigod of Wallingford, frequently mentioned in Domesday Book

³ This is the end of 'D' except for one much later entry, annal 1130. Apart from the fragment 'H' (1113–1114), 'E' is the sole remaining chronicle.

⁴ He came from Liège.

⁵ 13 or 14 May

⁶ On the king's quarrel with his brother, see F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 3rd edn, p. 616.

⁷ Florence adds that he was from the monastery of Caen.

⁸ the dispute concerned chanting and the celebration of saints days

⁹ household knights

¹ household knights

² 2 November

³ A very important annal: on the events in it and in the next annal, see D. C. Douglas, *The Domesday Manichorium of Christ Church, Canterbury* (1944), pp. 26 f.

⁴ This tax was levied early in 1084.

⁵ 1085

London, and William for Norfolk, and Robert for Cheshire – they were all clerks of the king.

After this, the king had much thought and very deep discussion with his council about this country – how it was occupied or with what sort of people. Then he sent his men¹ over all England into every shire and had them find out how many hundred hides there were in the shire, or what land and cattle the king himself had in the country, or what dues he ought to have in twelve months from the shire. Also he had a record made of how much land his archbishops had, and his bishops and his abbots and his earls – and though I relate it at too great length – what or how much everybody had who was occupying land in England, in land or cattle, and how much money it was worth. So very narrowly did he have it investigated, that there was no single hide nor virgate of land, nor indeed (it is a shame to relate but it seemed no shame to him to do) one ox nor one cow nor one pig which was there left out, and not put down in his record; and all these records were brought to him afterwards.

1086 (1085)² In this year the king wore his crown and held his court at Winchester for Easter, and travelled so as to be at Westminster for Whitsuntide, and there dubbed his son, Henry, a knight. Then he travelled about so as to come to Salisbury at Lammas;³ and there his councillors came to him, and all the people occupying land who were of any account over all England, no matter whose vassals they might be; and they all submitted to him and became his vassals, and swore oaths of allegiance to him, that they would be loyal to him against all other men.⁴ From there he went into the Isle of Wight, because he meant to go to Normandy, and so he did later. But all the same he first acted according to his custom, that is to say he obtained a very great amount of money from his men where he had any pretext for it either just or otherwise. He afterwards went into Normandy. And the atheling Edgar, King Edward's kinsman, left him because he did not have much honour from him, but may Almighty God grant him honour in the future. And Christina, the atheling's sister, sought refuge in the convent at Romsey and took the veil.

And in the course of the same year, it was a very severe year, and a very laborious and sorrowful year in England, in cattle plague; and corn and crops were checked, and there was such great misfortune with the weather as cannot easily be conceived – there were such big thunderstorms and such lightning that many people were killed and it kept on getting worse and worse among the people. May God Almighty make things better when it is his will.

¹ Domesday Book (Nos 198–204, 215, 217)

³ 1 August

² 'E', by repeating 1085, falls a year behind

⁴ The "Oath of Salisbury"; see Stenton, *English Feudalism*, 2nd edn, pp. 112–15

1087 (1086)¹ A thousand and eighty-seven years after the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ, in the twenty-first year since William ruled and governed England as God had granted him, it became a very severe and pestilential year in this country. Such a disease came on people that very nearly every other person was ill with the worst of diseases – high fever – and that so severely that many people died of the disease. Afterwards because of the great storms that came as we described them above, there came so great a famine over all England that many hundreds of people died a miserable death because of the famine. Alas, how miserable and pitiable a time it was then. Then the wretched people lay driven very nearly to death, and afterwards there came the sharp famine and destroyed them utterly. Who cannot pity such a time? Or who is so hard-hearted that he cannot weep for such misfortune? But such things happen because of the people's sins, in that they will not love God and righteousness. So it was in those days, there was little righteousness in this country in anyone, except in monks alone where they behaved well. The king and the chief men loved gain much and over-much – gold and silver – and did not care how sinfully it was obtained provided it came to them. The king sold his land on very hard terms – as hard as he could. Then came somebody else, and offered more than the other had given, and the king let it go to the man who had offered him more. Then came the third, and offered still more, and the king gave it into the hands of the man who offered him most of all, and did not care how sinfully the reeves had got it from poor men, nor how many unlawful things they did. But the more just laws were talked about, the more unlawful things were done. They imposed unjust tolls and did many other injustices which are hard to reckon up.

Also, in the same year before autumn, the holy minster of St Paul, the cathedral church of London, was burnt down, and many other churches, and the largest and noblest part of all the city. Similarly also, at the same time nearly every chief town in all England was burnt down. Alas, a miserable and lamentable time was this year that brought so many misfortunes into being.

Also, in the same year before the Assumption of St Mary,² King William went from Normandy, into France with an army and made war on his own liege lord King Philip, and killed a large part of his men and burnt down the city of Mantes, and all the holy churches that were in the city; and two holy men, who served God living in an anchorite's cell, were burnt to death there.

¹ 'E' remains a year behind, but has the true date in the text.

² 15 August

E

This done, King William turned back to Normandy. A miserable thing he did, and more miserable was his fate. How more miserable? He fell ill, and he was severely afflicted by it. What account can I give? That fierce death, which spares neither powerful men nor mean, seized him. He died in Normandy on the day after the Nativity of St Mary,¹ and he was buried at Caen in St Stephen's monastery: he had built it, and afterwards had endowed it richly.

Alas, how deceitful and untrustworthy is this world's prosperity. He who had been a powerful king and lord of many a land, had then of all the land only a seven-foot measure; and he who was once clad in gold and gems, lay then covered with earth. He left behind him three sons. The oldest was called Robert, who was count of Normandy after him, the second was called William, who wore the crown after him in England. The third was called Henry, and his father bequeathed to him incalculable treasures.²

If anyone wishes to know what sort of a man he was, or what dignity he had or of how many lands he was lord – then we will write of him even as we, who have looked upon him, and once lived at his court, have perceived him to be.³

This King William of whom we speak was a very wise man, and very powerful and more worshipful and stronger than any predecessor of his had been. He was gentle to the good men who loved God, and stern beyond all measure to those people who resisted his will. In the same place where God permitted him to conquer England, he set up a famous monastery and appointed monks for it,⁴ and endowed it well. In his days the famous church at Canterbury was built,⁵ and also many another over all England. Also, this country was very full of monks, and they lived their life under the rule of St Benedict, and Christianity was such in his day that each man who wished followed out whatever concerned his order. Also, he was very dignified: three times every year he wore his crown, as often as he was in England. At Easter he wore it at Winchester, at Whitsuntide at Westminster and at Christmas at Gloucester, and then there were with him all the powerful men over all England, archbishops and bishops, abbots and earls, thegns and knights. Also, he was a very stern and violent man, so that no one dared do anything contrary to his will. He had earls in his fetters, who acted against his will. He expelled bishops from their sees, and abbots from their abbacies, and put thegns in prison, and finally he did not spare his own brother, who was called Odo; he was a very powerful bishop in Normandy (his cathedral church was at Bayeux) and was the

¹ 9 September
⁴ Battle Abbey

² see below, pp. 311–12

⁵ Lanfranc's rebuilding of Christ Church, Canterbury

³ for two other accounts of William, see Nos 6, 7

E

foremost man next to the king, and had an earldom in England. And when the king was in Normandy, then he was master in this country;¹ and he [the king] put *him* in prison. Amongst other things the good security he made in this country is not to be forgotten – so that any honest man could travel over his kingdom without injury with his bosom full of gold; and no one dared strike² another, however much wrong he had done him. And if any man had intercourse with a woman against her will, he was forthwith castrated.

He ruled over England, and by his cunning it was so investigated that there was not one hide of land in England that he did not know who owned it, and what it was worth, and then set it down in his record.³ Wales was in his power, and he built castles there, and he entirely controlled that race. In the same way, he also subdued Scotland to himself, because of his great strength. The land of Normandy was his by natural inheritance, and he ruled over the county called Maine; and if he could have lived two years more, he would have conquered Ireland by his prudence and without any weapons. Certainly in his time people had much oppression and very many injuries:

He had castles built
And poor men hard oppressed.
The king was so very stark
And deprived his underlings of many a mark
Of gold and more hundreds of pounds of silver,
That he took by weight and with great injustice
From his people with little need for such a deed.
Into avarice did he fall
And loved greediness above all.
He made great protection for the game
And imposed laws for the same,
That who so slew hart or hind
Should be made blind.

He preserved the harts and boars
And loved the stags as much
As if he were their father.
Moreover, for the hares did he decree that they should go free.
Powerful men complained of it and poor men lamented it,
But so fierce was he that he cared not for the rancour of them all,
But they had to follow out the king's will entirely
If they wished to live or hold their land,

¹ see above, p. 150

² or "kill"

³ Domesday Book

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Property or estate, or his favour great.

Alas! woe, that any man so proud should go,
And exalt himself and reckon himself above all men!
May Almighty God show mercy to his soul
And grant unto him forgiveness for his sins.

These things we have written about him, both good and bad, that good men may imitate their good points, and entirely avoid the bad, and travel on the road that leads us to the kingdom of heaven.

We can write many things that happened in the same year. The state of affairs in Denmark was such that the Danes who had been reckoned the most trustworthy of nations became perverted to the greatest disloyalty and the greatest treachery that could ever happen. They chose King Cnut and submitted to him and swore oaths to him, and then basely killed him in a church.¹ Also it happened in Spain that the heathens went and made war upon the Christians and forced much into their power. But the Christian king, who was called Alfonso,² sent everywhere into every country and asked for help, and help came to him from every country that was Christian, and they marched and killed and drove off all the heathen people, and conquered their land again through the help of God.

Also in this country in the same year there died many powerful men: Stigand, bishop of Chichester,³ and the abbot of St Augustine's,⁴ and the abbot of Bath,⁵ and that of Pershore:⁶ and the liege lord of them all, William, king of England, of whom we spoke before. After his death, his son, called William like his father, succeeded to the kingdom and was consecrated king by Archbishop Lanfranc at Westminster, three days before Michaelmas day, and all the men in England submitted and swore oaths to him. This done, the king sent to Winchester and scrutinised the treasury and the treasure that his father had accumulated. It was impossible for anyone to describe how much was accumulated there in gold and silver and vessels and costly robes and jewels, and many other precious things that are hard to recount. The king did as his father told him before he died – gave a part of the treasure for his father's soul to each minster that there was in England; to some minsters 10 marks of gold, to some 6, and to each country church 60*d*; and into every shire were sent 100 pounds of money to be distributed among poor men for his soul; and before he died, he ordered that all the people under his jurisdiction who were in captivity should be set free. And the king was in London at Christmas.

¹ on 10 July

² He transferred the see of Selsey to Chichester. He should not be confused with the archbishop.

³ Scotland

⁴ Alfonso VI of Castile

⁵ He should not be confused with the archbishop.

⁶ Ælfsige

⁷ Thurstan

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1088 (1087)¹ In this year this country was very much disturbed, and filled with great treachery, so that the most powerful Frenchmen who were in this country intended to betray their lord the king and to have as king his brother, Robert, who was count of Normandy. At the head of this plot was Bishop Odo,² with Bishop Geoffrey³ and William,⁴ bishop of Durham. The king treated the bishop⁵ so well that all England went by his counsel and did exactly as he wished; and he thought to treat him just as Judas Iscariot did our Lord; and Earl Roger⁶ was also in this conspiracy, and a very great number of people with them, all Frenchmen, and this conspiracy was plotted during Lent. As soon as Easter was reached, they marched and ravaged and burned and laid waste the king's demesnes, and they ruined the lands of all those men who were in allegiance to the king. And each of them went to his castle and manned it and provisioned it as best he could. Bishop Geoffrey and Robert of Montbray⁷ went to Bristol and ravaged it and carried the plunder to the castle, and then went out of the castle and ravaged Bath and all the surrounding area, and laid waste all the district of Berkeley. Those who were the chief men of Hereford, and all that shire with them, and the men of Shropshire, with a large force from Wales, came and ravaged and burned in Worcestershire until they came to Worcester itself, and intended to burn the town and plunder the monastery and get the king's castle by force into their hands. Seeing these things, the reverend bishop, Wulfstan, was much distressed in mind because the castle had been committed to him to hold; nevertheless, the members of his household marched out with a few men from the castle, and through God's mercy and the bishop's merits killed and captured five hundred men and routed all the rest. The bishop of Durham did whatever damage he could everywhere to the north. One of them was called Roger,⁸ who threw himself into the castle of Norwich and did always the worst of all throughout all the country. There was also one Hugh⁹ who did not mend matters at all, neither in Leicestershire nor Northampton. Bishop Odo, with whom all these affairs originated, went to Kent to his earldom, and injured it severely and they utterly laid waste the king's land and the archbishop's and he carried all the goods into his castle at Rochester.

When the king understood all these matters, and what treachery they were committing against him, he grew much disturbed in mind. Then

¹ 'E' remains a year behind the true date.

² Bishop of Coutances, a very large landowner in England: see J. H. LePatourel, *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, lix (1944), 129–61.

³ William of St Calais. For his trial, see No. 84.

⁴ Roger of Montgomery, earl of Shrewsbury

⁵ Bigot, a large landowner in Norfolk at the time of Domesday Book

⁶ of Grantmesnil, an important landowner in Domesday Book, lord of Leicester

⁷ bishop of Bayeux

⁸ Odo

⁹ The English form of the name is Mowbray.

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he sent for Englishmen and explained his need to them and asked for their help, and promised them the best law that there had ever been in this country, and forbade every unjust tax and granted people their woods and hunting rights – but it did not last any time. But, nevertheless, the Englishmen came to the help of their liege lord the king. They marched towards Rochester, and intended to capture Bishop Odo – they thought that if they had the one who had been the head of the plot they could the better get hold of all the rest. Then they came to the castle at Tonbridge. Odo's soldiers were then in the castle, and many others who meant to support him against the king. But the Englishmen proceeded to storm the castle, and the men who were in it made truce with the king. The king with his army marched towards Rochester, and they thought the bishop was there, but it became known to the king that the bishop had gone to the castle at Pevensey. And the king went in pursuit with his army, and besieged the castle with a very large army for a full six weeks. Meanwhile, the count of Normandy, Robert, the king's brother, collected a very large force and thought to conquer England with the help of the men who were opposed to the king in this country. And he sent some of his men to this country and meant to follow himself. But the English, who guarded the sea, captured some of the men, and killed and drowned more than anyone could count. Afterwards their food failed in the castle; then they asked for a truce and rendered it up to the king, and the bishop swore he would go out of England and never more come into this country unless the king sent for him, and that he would render up the castle at Rochester. Just as the bishop went and was to render up the castle, and as the king sent his men with him, the men who were in the castle rose up and seized the bishop and the king's men and put them in prison. In the castle were very good knights – Eustace the Young,¹ and Earl Roger's three sons,² and all the highest-born men in this country or in Normandy.

When the king understood these matters, he followed with the army that he had there, and sent over all England and ordered that everyone who was not a scoundrel³ should come to him, French and English, from town and country. Then a great company came to him and went to Rochester and besieged the castle until those inside made a truce and rendered up the castle. Bishop Odo, with the men who were in the castle, went overseas, and the bishop thus relinquished the dignity that he had in this country.⁴

¹ Eustace III, count of Boulogne, son of the Eustace who opposed Godwine in 1051

² Robert of Bellême, Hugh and Roger: see table 13

³ William of Malmesbury (ed. Stubbs, II, 362), using the Chronicle for this annal, retains the Old English word *niþing*, and interprets it *nequam*.

⁴ the earldom of Kent

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Then the king sent an army to Durham and had siege laid to the castle; and the bishop made a truce and rendered up the castle, and relinquished his bishopric and went to Normandy. Also, many Frenchmen relinquished their lands and went overseas, and the king gave their lands to the men who were loyal to him.

1089¹ In this year, the reverend father and consoler of monks, Archbishop Lanfranc, departed this life;² but we are confident that he went to the heavenly kingdom. Also, there was a great earthquake over all England on 11 August, and it was a very late year for corn and every kind of crop, so that many people were reaping their corn round about Martinmas³ and still later.

1090 *Thirteenth Indiction.* (1090) Things having proceeded, even as we have described above, concerning the king and his brother and his vassals, the king was considering how he could take vengeance on his brother Robert and do most injury to him, and wrest Normandy from him by force. However, by his prudence, or by treasure, he got hold of the castle at St Valery, and the harbour, and in the same way he got the one at Aumale, and put his retainers into it, and they did injuries to the country in ravaging and burning. After this he got hold of more castles in the country, and placed his knights in them. After the count of Normandy had perceived that his sworn vassals had betrayed him, and rendered up their castles to his detriment, he sent to his liege lord Philip, king of the French, and he came to Normandy with a large army, and the king and the count with an immense force besieged the castle in which the king of England's men were. King William of England sent to Philip, king of the French, and he, either for love of him, or for his great treasure, left his vassal Count Robert⁴ and his country, and went back to France and so let them be: and in the course of these proceedings, this country was severely injured by unjust taxes and many other misfortunes.

1091⁵ In this year King William held his court at Christmas⁶ at Westminster, and afterwards, at Candlemas,⁷ he went for his brother's undoing out of England into Normandy. While he was there, an agreement was reached between them, on the condition that the count handed over Fécamp and the county of Eu, and Cherbourg. And in addition to this, the king's men were to be unmolested in the castles which they

¹ 'E', by omitting 1088, comes back to the true dating.

² 24 May

³ 11 November

⁴ duke of Normandy, son of William I

⁵ Here starts the practice of beginning the annal with the Christmas court of the preceding year.

⁶ 1090

⁷ 2 February 1091

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had taken against the count's will. And the king promised him in return to reduce to obedience Maine, which his father had conquered, and had then revolted from the count, and all that his father had over there except what he had granted to the king, and that all those in England who had lost their land for the count's sake were to have it by this agreement, and the count was to have just as much in England as was in their agreement. And if the count died without a son born in lawful wedlock, the king was to be heir to all Normandy. By this same agreement, if the king died, the count was to be heir to all England. Twelve of the best men on the king's side and twelve on the count's swore to this agreement, though it lasted only a little while.

During the course of this reconciliation, the atheling Edgar was deprived of his lands – of those that the count had handed over to him – and went from Normandy to Scotland to the king his brother-in-law, and to his sister. While King William was out of England, King Malcolm came from Scotland into England and ravaged a great part of it until the good men who guarded this country sent an army against him and turned him back. When King William heard of this in Normandy, he prepared for his journey and came to England, and his brother, Count Robert, with him, and forthwith ordered an army to be called out, both a naval force and a land force; but nearly all the naval force perished miserably before he could reach Scotland, a few days before Michaelmas. And the king and his brother went with the land force, but when King Malcolm heard that he was going to be attacked by an army, he went with his army out of Scotland into Lothian in England and stayed there. When King William approached with his army, Count Robert and the atheling Edgar acted as intermediaries and so made an agreement between the kings, that King Malcolm came to our king and became his vassal to the extent of such allegiance as he had done to his father,¹ and confirmed it with an oath; and King William promised him in land and in everything what he had had under his father.

In this reconciliation the atheling Edgar also was brought into agreement with the king; and the kings separated in great accord, but it lasted only a little while. And Count Robert stayed here with the king till nearly Christmas, and found little to rely on in their agreement; and two days before that festival he took ship in the Isle of Wight and went to Normandy and the atheling Edgar with him.

1092 In this year King William with a great army went north to Carlisle, and restored the city and erected the castle, and drove out Dolfin,² who

¹ i.e. in 1072

² son of Gospatric, formerly earl of Northumbria

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had ruled the country, and garrisoned the castle with his men, and then came south, and sent many peasant people back there with their wives and cattle to live there to cultivate the land.¹

1093 In this year King William was taken so seriously ill in Gloucester in the spring that everywhere he was declared to be dead; and in his affliction he made many vows to God to lead his own life justly, and to protect and secure God's churches, and never again to sell them for money, and to have all just laws among his people. And the archbishopric of Canterbury, which had remained in his own control, he committed to Anselm,² who had been abbot at Le Bec; and to Robert,³ his chancellor, the bishopric of Lincoln, and he granted land to many monasteries, but he soon took it away when he had recovered, and dispensed with all the good laws he had promised us.

Then, after this, the king of Scots sent and asked for the fulfilment of the terms that had been promised him, and King William summoned him to Gloucester and sent him hostages to Scotland, and the atheling Edgar afterwards; and then later he sent men to meet him, who brought him to the king with great honour. But when he came to the king, he could not be granted speech with our king nor the fulfilment of the terms that had been promised him, and so they separated with great dissension, and King Malcolm returned to Scotland. But soon after he came home, he assembled his army and harried England, thus engaging on a foolish and improper project. And Robert,⁴ earl of Northumbria, with his men entrapped him by surprise and killed him. He was killed by Morael of Bamburgh, who was the earl's steward and in spiritual affinity with King Malcolm.⁵ With him also Edward his son was killed, who should have been king after him if he had lived. When the good queen Margaret heard of this – that her dearest husband and son were thus betrayed – she was distressed in mind to the point of death, and went to church with her priests and received her rites and, in answer to her prayer, God granted that she gave up her spirit. And then the Scots chose Malcolm's brother Dufenal⁶ as king and drove out all the English who had been with King Malcolm. When Duncan, King Malcolm's son, heard all that had happened in this way (he was at King William's court as his father had given him as a hostage to our king's father and so he had remained here), he came to the king, and did such homage as the king wished to have from him, and so with his

¹ on these events, see above, General Introduction; and R. L. G. Ritchie, *op. cit.*, pp. 52–66

² 4 December 1093; see No. 107 ³ Bloet, apparently consecrated 12 February 1094.

⁴ King Malcolm's "gossip", i.e. one of them had acted as sponsor to the other's child, or they had both stood sponsor to the same child. ⁵ of Mowbray

⁶ Donald Bane, whose reign marked a short-lived Celtic reaction against St Margaret's reforms

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consent went to Scotland with such support as he could get from Englishmen and Frenchmen, and deprived his kinsman Dufenal of the kingdom, and was accepted as king. But some of the Scots assembled again and killed nearly all his force, and he himself escaped with a few men. Afterwards they came to an agreement, to the effect that he would never again bring Englishmen nor Frenchmen into the country.

1094 In this year King William held his court at Christmas¹ at Gloucester, and messengers came to him from his brother, Robert of Normandy, who informed him that his brother utterly repudiated the truce and terms, unless the king would carry out all that they had arranged by way of agreement, and upon that called him forsworn and faithless, unless he kept to those agreements or went to where the agreement had been made and sworn, and cleared himself there.

Then the king went to Hastings at Candlemas, and while he was there waiting for good weather, he had the monastery at Battle consecrated, and deprived Herbert Losinga,² the bishop of Thetford, of his pastoral staff; after that in mid-Lent he went overseas to Normandy. After he arrived there he and his brother, Count Robert, agreed to come together peaceably, and they did so – but could not be reconciled. Then again they came together with the same men who had made that settlement, and also had sworn the oaths, and they blamed all the breach upon the king, but he would not assent to it, nor further keep to the agreement, and therefore they separated with much dissension.

And the king then conquered the castle at Bures, and captured the count's men inside, and sent some of them to this country. On the other hand, the count conquered the castle at Argentan with the help of the king of France and seized Roger of Poitou³ in it, and seven hundred of the king's soldiers with him, and then the castle at Le Houlme, and often each of them burned the other party's villages and took people prisoner.

Then the king sent into this country and ordered twenty thousand Englishmen to be called to his aid in Normandy; but when they reached the sea, they were ordered to turn back and give for the king's profit the money that they had received: that was half a pound for each man, and they did so.

And the count of Normandy with the king of France and all those that they could assemble went after this towards Eu, in which place King William was; and intended to besiege him inside it and so proceeded until they came to Longueville. There the king of France was

¹ 1093² on him, see Freeman, *William Rufus*, I, 354–6³ a son of Roger of Montgomery

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turned from his purpose by intrigue, and so afterwards all the expedition dispersed. Meanwhile King William sent for his brother Henry, who was in the castle at Domfront; but because he could not go through Normandy in peace he sent ships after him, and Hugh, earl of Chester.¹ But when they were to go towards Eu where the king was, they went to England and landed at Southampton on the eve of All Saints, and stayed here afterwards and were in London at Christmas.

Also in this year the Welshmen gathered together and started a fight with the French who were in Wales or in the neighbourhood and had deprived them of land, and they stormed many fortresses and castles, and killed the men. And after their forces grew they divided themselves into more divisions. Hugh, earl of Shropshire,² fought with one of these parties and routed them. But nevertheless all that year the others did not desist from doing all the damage they could.

In the course of this year also the Scots trapped their king, Duncan, and killed him, and afterwards once more chose his paternal uncle, Dufenal,³ as king, through whose instruction and instigation he had been betrayed to death.

1095 In this year King William was at Wissant at Christmas⁴ for the first four days of the festival, and after the fourth day came into this country and landed at Dover. And Henry, the king's brother, stayed in this country till spring,⁵ and then went overseas to Normandy with great treasures, in fealty to the king against their brother, Count Robert; they fought frequently against the count and did him much damage both in land and men.

And then at Easter the king held his court at Winchester, and Earl Robert of Northumbria would not come to court, and therefore the king was very much incensed against him and sent to him and ordered him firmly to come to court at Whitsuntide if he wanted to be entitled to protection.

In this year Easter was on 25 March, and then after Easter on the eve of St Ambrose's day, which is 4 April,⁶ there were seen nearly all over this country nearly all night very many stars falling from the sky, not by ones or twos but so thickly that nobody could count them. After this, at Whitsuntide, the king was at Windsor and all his council with him except the earl of Northumbria;⁷ because the king would neither give him hostages nor grant him pledges to come and go with a safe-conduct. And the king therefore summoned his army and went to

¹ son of Richard, *vicomte* of Avranches; he became earl of Chester about 1071 and died 27 July 1101.² second son of Roger of Montgomery; second earl of Shrewsbury (see table 13)³ Donald Bane⁴ 1094⁵ 1095⁶ This is the date of St Ambrose's day, not of the eve.⁷ Robert of Mowbray

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Northumbria against the earl; and soon after he got there he overcame many of the earl's household – nearly all the best of them – in a fortress,¹ and placed them in custody, and besieged the castle at Tynemouth until he conquered it, and the earl's brother inside it, and all who were with him, and afterwards proceeded to Bamburgh and besieged the earl inside it. But when the king saw that he could not take it by force of arms, he ordered a castle to be built in front of Bamburgh, and in his language called it "*Malveisin*", i.e. in English "Bad neighbour", and garrisoned it strongly with his men, and then went southwards. Then, soon after the king was gone away south, one night the earl went out of Bamburgh towards Tynemouth but those who were in the new castle became aware of this and went after him and fought against him and wounded him and then captured him and killed some who were with him, and took some alive.

Meanwhile it became known to the king that in Wales the Welsh had stormed a certain castle called Montgomery, and killed Earl Hugh's men whose duty it was to hold it, and therefore he ordered another army to be instantly called out, and marched into Wales after Michaelmas and dispersed his army and traversed all the country so that all the army came together at All Saints at Snowdon. But the Welsh always went ahead into mountains and moors so that they could not be reached; and the king then turned homewards because he saw that he could do nothing more there that winter.

When the king came back he ordered Earl Robert of Northumbria to be seized and taken to Bamburgh, and both his eyes to be put out, unless those who were within would give up the castle. His wife and Morael, who was his steward and his kinsman too, were holding it. Through this scheme the castle was then given up, and Morael entered the king's court; and through him were discovered many people, both clerical and lay, who had been instigators of rebellion against the king, some of whom the king had ordered to be reduced to captivity before that time. And, afterwards, he ordered it to be announced very peremptorily all over this country that all those who held land of the king must be at court in season if they wished to be entitled to the king's protection. And the king ordered Earl Robert to be brought to Windsor and to be kept in the castle there.

Also in this same year towards Easter, the pope's legate came to this country – that was Bishop Walter, a man very good in the conduct of his life, of the city of Albano, and he gave the *pallium* to Archbishop Anselm at Whitsuntide on behalf of Pope Urban,² and he received him at his archiepiscopal see of Canterbury, and Bishop Walter stayed here

¹ Newcastle² Urban II

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in this country a long time after during the year, and the Romescot¹ was afterwards sent by him, which had not been done for many years.

This same year also there was much unseasonable weather, so that all over this country the crops ripened very slightly.

1096 In this year King William held his court at Christmas² at Windsor, and William, bishop of Durham died there on New Year's day. And on the octave of the Epiphany³ the king and all his councillors were at Salisbury. There Geoffrey Bainard⁴ accused William of Eu,⁵ the king's kinsman, of having been a party to the treason against the king; and fought it out with him, and overcame him in trial by battle, and when he was overcome, the king ordered his eyes to be put out and that afterwards he should be castrated. And his steward, called William, who was son to his mother's sister, the king ordered to be hanged on a gallows. Also, Odo, count of Champagne, the king's uncle,⁶ and many others were deprived of their lands there, and some men taken to London and there destroyed.

In this year also at Easter there was a very great commotion over all this nation, and many other nations, because of Urban who was called pope though he had no seat at Rome,⁷ and an immense host, with women and children, went out because they wanted to fight against heathen nations.⁸ By means of this expedition the king and his brother Count Robert came to an agreement, so that the king went overseas and redeemed all Normandy from him for money according as they had come to an agreement; and then the count departed, and with him the count of Flanders⁹ and the count of Boulogne,¹⁰ and also many other chief men. And Count Robert and those who went with him stayed the winter in Apulia. But of the people who went by way of Hungary many thousands perished there, and on the way, miserably, and many dragged themselves home towards winter, wretched and hunger-bitten.

This was a very severe year among all the people of England, both because of all sorts of taxes and because of the very severe famine which very much oppressed this country this year.

Also in this year the chief men who ruled this country frequently sent

¹ see No. 82² 1095³ 13 January 1096⁴ possibly sheriff of York in the time of the Conqueror; on the family, which gives its name to Baynard's Castle in London, see J. Armitage Robinson, *Gilbert Crispin* (1911), p. 38⁵ not to be confused with William, count of Eu⁶ *adum* usually means "son-in-law" or "brother-in-law", but here must be "uncle by marriage", for he was the husband of the Conqueror's sister Adelaide, and was father of Stephen of Aumale, whom the plotters wished to make king.⁷ a reference to the earlier struggle between Urban II and the anti-pope Clement III⁸ the First Crusade⁹ Robert "of Jerusalem"¹⁰ Eustace III

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armies into Wales, and oppressed many a man very much thereby, but there was no success in it, only destruction of men and waste of money.

1097 In this year King William was in Normandy at Christmas,¹ and came to this country towards Easter, because he thought he would hold his court at Winchester, but he was prevented by bad weather, until Easter eve, so that he first landed at Arundel, and therefore held his court at Windsor.

And after that he went to Wales with a large army and traversed the country widely, by means of some of the Welsh who had come to him and were his guides; and he stayed there from midsummer nearly to August, and had great losses there in men and horses and many other things too. Then the Welshmen revolted from the king, and chose many chiefs from among themselves. One of them, who was the most honourable of them, was called Cadwgan – he was the son of King Griffith's brother.² But when the king saw that he could accomplish nothing of his purpose, he came back into this country and soon after that he had castles built along the Marches.

Then after Michaelmas, on 4 October, there appeared a marvellous star shining in the evening and soon setting. It was seen in the south-west, and the ray that shone from it appeared very long shining south-east, and it appeared nearly all the week in this fashion. Many people said it was a comet.

Soon after this, Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, got permission from the king – though the king was unwilling, so people said – and went overseas,³ because it seemed to him that in this people little was done according to justice and according to his orders. And the king, after that, at Martinmas,⁴ went overseas into Normandy, but while he was waiting for good weather, his court did the greatest damage in the districts where they stayed that ever court or army was reported to have done in a land at peace. This was in every respect a very severe year, and over-oppressive with bad weather, when cultivation was due to be done or crops to be got in, and with excessive taxes that never ceased. Also, many shires whose labour was due at London were hard pressed because of the wall that they built about the Tower, and because of the bridge that was nearly all carried away by a flood, and because of the work on the king's hall, that was being built at Westminster, and many a man was oppressed thereby.

Also in this same year, soon after Michaelmas, the atheling Edgar went with an army, with the king's support, into Scotland, and con-

¹ 1096

² Bledlyn; see p. 140, and n. 3

³ On the breach between the king and Anselm, see Stenton, *English Feudalism*, 2nd edn, pp. 148 f.

⁴ 11 November

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quered the country in a severe battle, and drove out King Dufenal;¹ and his kinsman, Edgar, who was son of King Malcolm and Margaret, the queen, he established as king in allegiance to King William, and then came back into England.

1098 In this year at Christmas,² King William was in Normandy. And Walkelin, bishop of Winchester, and Baldwin, abbot of St Edmunds, both died during that time.³ And in this year also Turol, abbot of Peterborough, died.

In the course of this year also in the summer, in Berkshire, at Finchampstead, a pool bubbled up with blood, as many trustworthy men said who were alleged to have seen it.

And Earl Hugh⁴ was killed in Anglesey by sea-rovers,⁵ and his brother Robert⁶ became his heir, even as he obtained it from the king.

Before Michaelmas the sky looked as if it were burning nearly all night. This was a very oppressive year because of all sorts of excessive taxes, and great rains that did not cease throughout the year; nearly all the cultivation perished on marshland.

1099 This year King William was in Normandy at Christmas⁷ and came to this country at Easter, and at Whitsuntide held his court for the first time in his new building at Westminster, and there gave the bishopric of Durham to his chaplain, Rannulf,⁸ who had managed his councils over all England, and superintended them. And soon after that he went overseas and drove Count Elias⁹ out of Maine, and then established it under his control, and so came back to this country at Michaelmas.

This year also on St Martin's day,¹⁰ the tide rose so much and did so much damage that it could not be remembered to have done so much before, and there was on the same day a new moon.

And Osmund, bishop of Salisbury, died¹¹ in Advent.

1100 In this year King William held his court at Christmas¹² at Gloucester, and at Easter at Winchester, and at Whitsuntide at Westminster.

And at Whitsuntide at a village in Berkshire there was seen blood bubbling out of the earth, as many said who were alleged to have seen it. And after that, in the morning after Lammas,¹³ King William when hunting was shot with an arrow by one of his own men, and then

¹ Donald Bane

² 1097

³ Walkelin on 3 January 1098 and Baldwin on 29 December 1097

⁴ of Shrewsbury; see table 13

⁵ The viking leader was Magnus "Bareleg", king of Norway, son of King Olaf "the Peaceful", who had come to visit Orkney and *Mevania* (Man and Anglesey), which belonged to him. William of Malmesbury (ed. Stubbs, II, 318, 376) says he had with him a son of Harold Godwinson.

⁶ of Bellême, elder brother of Hugh; up till now he had held only the Norman lands of the family.

⁷ 1098

⁸ Flambard; he held the see until 1128

⁹ "de la Flèche"

¹⁰ 11 November

¹¹ 3 December

¹² 1099

¹³ 2 August

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brought to Winchester and buried in that bishopric¹ – that was in the thirteenth year after his succession to the throne.

He was very strong and fierce to his country and his men and to all his neighbours, and very terrible. And because of the counsels of wicked men, which were always agreeable to him, and because of his avarice, he was always harassing this nation with military service and excessive taxes, for in his days all justice was in abeyance, and all injustice arose both in ecclesiastical and secular matters. He kept down God's Church, and all the bishoprics and abbacies whose incumbents died in his days he sold for money or kept in his own hands and let out for rent, because he intended to be the heir of everyone, clerical and lay; and so on the day he died he had in his own hands the archbishopric of Canterbury, and the bishopric of Winchester and that of Salisbury, and eleven abbacies all let out for rent. And though I prolong it further – all that was hateful to God and just men was customary in this country in his time; and therefore he was hateful to nearly all his people, and odious to God, just as his end showed, because he departed in the midst of his injustice without repentance or any reparation.

On the Thursday he was killed, and buried next morning; and when he was buried the councillors who were near at hand chose his brother Henry as king, and he forthwith gave the bishopric of Winchester to William Giffard,² and then went to London, and on the Sunday after that, before the altar at Westminster, he vowed to God and all the people to put down all the injustices that there were in his brother's time,³ and to maintain the best laws that had stood in any king's day before him. And after that Maurice, the bishop of London, consecrated him king,⁴ and all in this country submitted to him and swore oaths and became his men.

And soon after this, the king, by the advice of those who were around him, had Bishop Rannulf of Durham seized⁵ and brought into the Tower of London and kept there. Then before Michaelmas,⁶ Archbishop Anselm of Canterbury came into this country, as King Henry sent for him on the advice of his council, because he had gone out of this country as a result of the great injustice that King William did him.

And then soon after this the king married Maud, daughter of Malcolm, king of Scots, and of Margaret, the good queen, the kinswoman of King Edward, of the true royal family of England, and on St Martin's day she was given to him at Westminster with great

¹ The usual meaning of *bishopric* is diocese; its use here, instead of *minster*, may be compared with *episcopatum* in William of Malmesbury. On the doubts whether William II was buried with full rites, see Freeman, *History of the Norman Conquest*, II, 338–41, 676–80.

² He was not consecrated until 1107.

³ the so-called "Coronation Charter"; see No. 19

⁴ on 15 August

⁵ on 5 August

⁶ He arrived on 23 September.

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ceremony, and Archbishop Anselm married her to him and then consecrated her queen.

And Archbishop Thomas of York died soon after this.¹

In the course of this same year also, in autumn, Count Robert came home to Normandy, and Count Robert of Flanders and Eustace, count of Boulogne, from Jerusalem, and as soon as Count Robert came into Normandy he was joyfully received by all the people, apart from the castles that were garrisoned with King Henry's men, against which he had many struggles and battles.

1101 In this year at Christmas² King Henry held his court at Westminster, and at Easter at Winchester; and then soon after the chief men in the country grew hostile to the king, both because of their great disloyalty and because of Count Robert of Normandy, who set out to carry war into this country. And the king then sent ships out to sea for the injury and hindrance of his brother, but some of them failed again at this crisis, and deserted from the king and went over to Count Robert. Then at midsummer the king marched out to Pevensey with all his army against his brother and waited for him there; but meanwhile Count Robert landed at Portsmouth twelve nights before Lammas,³ and the king with all his army came against him. The chief men, however, went between them and reconciled the brothers⁴ on the condition that the king gave up all he was forcibly holding against the count in Normandy, and that all in England who had lost their land because of the count should have it again. And Count Eustace⁵ also should have his father's land in this country, and every year Count Robert should have 3,000 marks of silver from England, and whichever of the brothers should survive the other should be heir of all England and of Normandy as well, unless the deceased should have an heir in lawful wedlock. And this twelve of the men of highest rank on both sides confirmed with an oath. And the count afterwards stayed in this country until after Michaelmas; and his men always did much damage wherever they went while the count was staying in this country.

In the course of this year also Bishop Rannulf escaped by night at Candlemas⁶ from the Tower of London, where he was in captivity, and went to Normandy. It was chiefly through his contrivance and instigation that Count Robert had come to this country this year with warlike intent.

1102 In this year at the Nativity,⁷ King Henry was at Westminster, and at

¹ 18 November

² of Boulogne

³ 1100

⁴ 2 February

⁵ i.e. on 20 July

⁶ the so-called "Treaty of Alton"

⁷ 1101